

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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In Three Sections—Sec. 1

PRICE FIVE CENTS

James Simpson Elected Mayor of Toronto

Old-Time Socialist and Trade Unionist Heads Canada's Second City.

TORONTO.—James Simpson, old-time Socialist and labor leader, long vice-president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, has been elected mayor of this city by a majority of over 4,000.

Simpson ran as the candidate of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, Canada's equivalent of the British Labor Party, and was elected as a Socialist. He has already served as member of the municipal council, as controller and in other city offices.

"Jimmy" Simpson, as he is affectionately known to hundreds of thousands of Canadian and American workers, has long been the leading trade unionist of Canada as well as one of Canada's outstanding Socialists. Born in England 61 years ago, Comrade Simpson went to work at 12. Coming to Canada early in his youth, he became a newspaper reporter and a member of the International Typographical Union. He has been a delegate to many international Typographical congresses and to the British Trade Union Congress as a fraternal delegate from Canada. He was elected delegate to the International Socialist Congress that was to have been held in Vienna in 1914, that was prevented by the outbreak of the war. In 1918 he traveled in Canada, England, New Zealand and other countries on Socialism and trade union topics. He has been a welcome guest lecturer at Camp Tamiment as well.

Toronto, a city of 650,000 people, is the second city of Canada and the leading industrial city of the Dominion.

Victory in Calgary

CALGARY.—T. B. Riley, labor candidate for commissioner, was elected by a majority of 2,100 over the conservative nominee. The labor party also returned two of its candidates to the city council, and the independent labor party one.

Why the NRA if Capitalism Can Serve Willing Workers?

Donald R. Richberg, Director of the National Emergency Council, recently declared: "We believe that the willing workers of trade and industry should be able to rely upon private enterprise for their continuous support."

Then why the National Emergency Council? It exists because "willing workers" relied upon private enterprise. Such reliance brought disaster. The Council seeks the disaster. It has not. It is not likely to.

Because private enterprise in the way. Industries owned to provide jobs. are not run to transport passengers. They are provide dividends for That's all.

"willing" the workers work, they will not be work if profits and not forthcoming to of private enterprise.

Either Public Jobs or an Army to Keep Order, Is View of Richberg!

BETTER provide the jobless with jobs, as this is cheaper than to pay the cost of an army to keep them quiet! That is the opinion of Donald R. Richberg, Executive Director of the National Emergency Council, expressed in Cleveland as the old year came to a close. His remarks were intended for the big shots of capitalism who are interested in the cheapest method of feeding the nation's outcasts.

"There are today a large number of business men who were opposed to the dole two years ago because of its cost," said Richberg, "and who now favor the dole because IT WILL COST THEM LESS than to give men work. I think that is a very short-sighted view."

"It isn't always sound business judgment to pay the cheapest price for a thing."

Year after year, he added, several million of able and willing workers have been offered charity. Every year about 500,000 new workers have been added to the jobless army and they have been made to feel that "they were not wanted, that there was no place for them in this world of ours."

These millions of idle would not be forever content with charity. They want work. They want to earn their own living. The big shots have not provided the work, so the government steps in. This involves taxation. The big shots must pay and they

want to pay as little as possible. What is the cheapest way of meeting the problem? Mr. Richberg ventures the following opinion:

"Perhaps it might be cheaper even in a money sense to find work for these idle hands to do than to support the armies necessary to hold them back if once those millions of pleading fingers were turned into threatening claws."

There you are! In plain words he tells the business kings that they must support taxation to provide public work or taxation for an army to suppress a hunger revolt. The "pleading fingers" of the jobless may become "threatening claws" for the masters who have closed the doors of employment in the faces of millions!

Mr. Richberg is right. One of the functions of the intellectuals who serve a ruling class is to advise that class when to restrain its greed in its own interests. His view is either work or blind revolt. People have a habit of running amuck when they are too hungry, and it is necessary to get this idea into the dull minds of the masters of industry.

But it is a new year. Why not take over the industries which the owners cannot operate and invite the workers to operate them for the welfare of all? Five years of sick capitalism leave us still with millions of "pleading fingers." Socialism will set the skill of these fingers at work and break the back of the depression.

Five Socialist Legislators Plan Their Work in Connecticut

By Abraham Knepler

BRIDGEPORT.—When the Connecticut General Assembly convenes at the State Capitol in Hartford Wednesday morning, Jan. 9, Bridgeport's Socialist legislators will play an important part in the organization of the Legislature. In the Senate no party commands a majority, the Democrats having 17 members, the Republicans 15, and the Socialists 3. Before any business can be done the Senate must be "organized" by a majority vote. The President pro tempore of the Senate and the Senate clerk, the two most important Senate officers, must be elected by the Senators.

The Socialists will nominate their own slate. Socialist Senator John M. Taft will be nominated for President pro tempore by another Socialist Senator, Albert E. Eccles. For Senate clerk, Martin F. Plunkett of Wallingford, Socialist state chairman, will be nominated by Socialist Senator Audubon J. Secor. Senator Secor will be the Socialist floor leader.

None of the business of the Socialist legislators will be done in secrecy, just as the Bridgeport

administration has insisted on conducting all public business in the open.

A conference of the Socialist Senators and Representatives will be held in Bridgeport next Tuesday, on the eve of the convening of the General Assembly, when the proposed legislative program will be thoroughly discussed. Some of the legislation the Socialists will be intent on passing are an old age pension law, unemployment insurance, adequate state relief for the unemployed, repeal of the state's obsolete "poor laws," income tax legislation, public utility legislation, a state construction program including the building of additional hospitals and institutions, and a considerable amount of legislation affecting Bridgeport including restoration of home rule and permission to build a municipal power plant with the aid of federal funds.

The inaugural ceremonies will start about 10 o'clock Wednesday morning, January 9, in the State Capitol Building, Hartford.

Socialists in Complete Control

When Mayor Jasper McLevy's new appointees to municipal boards and commissions were sworn into office in the crowded Common

Council chamber on Wednesday, January 2, the Socialist administration for the first time since election to office in 1933 came into control of the majority of the municipal departments. With a few exceptions, the city's boards and commissions are bipartisan in character, with four commissioners on each.

With one additional Socialist appointed to nearly every board there are now two Socialists and two Democrats on each. Since the Mayor can break a tie, the Socialists will have control of these departments. The most important exceptions, as mentioned in previous articles, are the Board of Apportionment and Taxation, which contains no Socialists, and the Board of Education, two of whose members are elected annually for three-year terms. Two of the six members on the school board are Socialists.

In naming his new commissioners, Democratic as well as Socialist, Mayor McLevy paid great attention to the affiliations and connections of the appointees. With hundreds of aspirants for every appointment (very few pay any salary), most of the office-seekers with something to sell the city or some other axe to grind, the Mayor

Panken Inducted As Children's Court Judge

"I Come to This Court as a Socialist," He Says in Inaugural.

IN a simple but impressive ceremony Jacob Panken was inducted into office as Justice of New York's Domestic Relations Court Wednesday morning, Jan. 2.

The court is a combination of the Family Court and of the Children's Court, and much of the work of the new judge will be with juvenile offenders.

Comrade Panken was appointed to the office several weeks ago, but he accepted the post only after he had received permission of the State Executive Committee of the party. There are no political implications in the position, and Panken is free to continue his Socialist Party activity.

"I come to this court as a Socialist," said Panken in an impressive speech after he had been inducted by Mayor LaGuardia. "I will be guided in my work here by the philosophy that has guided my life."

The new justice told the story of a case that had become before him of a lad arrested for stealing a coat, whose father had not worked for three years. "That boy is not a criminal," said Panken. "Society is the criminal."

The large court room was jammed with friends and comrades of the new judge, and over the bench was the red banner presented to Judge Panken by Local 25 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, of which he is a member.

Speakers, who delivered short addresses and who were presented by President Justice Hill, included Abraham Cahan, Louis Hollander of the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated, Chas. Solomon, Matthew M. Levy, Algernon Lee, and Joseph Schlossberg, General Secretary-Treasurer of the Amalgamated.

had to weigh his appointments carefully. A great proportion of the new appointees, Democratic and Socialist, are members of labor unions. The new Socialist appointees are:

Health Board—Benjamin A. Todd, printed and members of the pressmen's union; Welfare Board—Robert T. Beatty, engineer; Police Board—Warren J. Nichols, machinist; Fire Board—Andrew Havanich, butcher; Board of Public Purchases—Archibald L. Phillips, secretary of Painters' and Decorators' Union, Local 190; Board of Building Commissioners—Charles A. Bowen, member of carpenters' union; Garage Control Commission—Frank Pekar.

Tony Sender on WEVD

Tony Sender, who was a Socialist member of the German Reichstag from the founding of the Republic until she was forced into exile by the Hitler regime, will speak over Station WEVD on Friday evening, January 4, at 8:30. Her subject will be "Womanhood in Nazi Germany."

Dr. Siegfried Lipschitz, Director of the Transatlantic Information Service, will introduce her to the radio audience.

Ever Narrowing Basis of Dictatorship Produces Blood Purges and Pariahs

THE tendency of dictatorship is to narrow its base until one person's will is law for all. Events in Russia provide an interesting lesson for those who approve dictatorship. There was the short early period when the regime rested on a broad basis of willing consent of party members and sympathizers. In the ensuing years this base continued to narrow and members lost the right to criticize. The dreaded GPU hunted out heretics and through exile and executions all

independent thinking disappeared. Trotzky and his faction, some by expulsion, others by exile, were "liquidated." A few like Zinoviev "confessed their errors" and were permitted to occupy minor posts.

Power more and more centered in the hands of a few gathered around Stalin. The dictatorship over the masses in general became an executive dictatorship over the party members. The membership annually goes through a "purging" conducted by Stalin's agents. All who do not accept Stalin's "line" are expelled. The GPU turned to hunting out suspects in the party and also gave its attention to the governing and administrative agents of the dictatorship. Everybody became a suspect. Suspicion and fear ran rife. The terror turned upon itself. The result is a "bloody purge" in which hundreds disappear before the firing squad.

The delirium continues for several weeks. Old Bolsheviks like Zinoviev and Kameneff come under the ban and are exiled to the icy wastes of Siberia. Out of the bloody welter Stalin is supreme. Whether his immediate associates agree or do not agree, they must pretend to agree or suffer the penalty imposed on "heretics." In other words, the dictatorship spawns sycophants, human beings caught in the terror which they had organized for others. The paralysis, fear and suspicion that possess the masses creep into the dictatorship and its base is narrowed to one person—Stalin.

A Stalinite introduces a resolution in a factory in support of the terror. It is adopted unanimously. Could it be otherwise? Who would dare even to discuss it, much less vote against it? Other factories and other meetings adopt similar resolutions and for the same reasons. Life is cheap in the "Workers' Fatherland." Trials in the open are unnecessary. If you think they are—you are denounced as a "social fascist" or a paid agent of the white guards.

What the outcome will be is beyond our ken; but no Socialist ever forecast the transformation of human beings into pariahs as the aim of the Socialist movement.

tors, the great impressarios. The country that once boasted of the greatest artistic genius and appreciation in the whole world is now a desert. Nothing appears on the stage once enriched by the genius of a Rheinhardt except cheap, and blatant Nazi propaganda; great movies are hissed and booed out of the cinemas by Nazi jeering sections. All Jewish, Socialist, pacifist and liberal musicians having been ejected (or jailed), all music by Mendelssohn, Schumann, Brahms, and

refused to prostitute their art, their genius and their manhood by serving the propaganda machine of Joseph Paul Goebbels. The singers have gone, and the actors, the cinema stars, the direc-



by Will Dyson in the London Herald

A Socialist Ascends the Bench To Act as a Socialist

By Gertrude Weil Klein

THE high-light of the ceremonies which accompanied the induction into office of our good Comrade Jacob Panken as Judge of the Domestic Relations Court was his own speech, especially that part of it in which he told the court, the assembled auditors and the world at large that his conduct of the court would be guided and influenced by the philosophy which has guided and influenced his whole life, the Socialist philosophy.

The Socialist made it evident that the Judge would be a better judge because he was a Socialist, and as a Socialist had long been accustomed to attacking social ills at their sources and judging the warped, delinquent fruits of our social system by what he found at the sources. Now if we had a few judges in the courts where picketing and other labor cases come up, life would be considerably easier for a lot of us folks in this town, and that, dear comrades, is why we must bend every effort to build up our political power and capture as many of the judicial posts as possible.

I had one rather unpleasant experience. As I was walking down the aisle to shake hands with Comrade Panken I overheard one of a group of women employees of the court say: "Well, I got the odor of all the varieties of garlic." And I broke all the rules of etiquette and busted right into the conversation. "That should have been a welcome change from the usual odors of rum," I opined. "What!!!" she exclaimed, in such shocked tones as I cannot possibly describe. I repeated in detail: "The same old odors of rum become rather tiresome, don't you think?" I don't think this was such a terribly clever rejoinder; one never thinks of the clever thing to say until long after it is too late to say it, but I most emphatically wanted these people to know that I had

overheard the remark and presented it.

I had the great pleasure of meeting and talking with Comrade Tony Sender, who was a Socialist member of Parliament before the Hitler regime of terror. It was an especial joy to speak with Comrade Sender because she speaks English fluently and graphically and is a very charming person besides. Her tour of this country should be an unqualified success. I hope the comrades everywhere will turn out in large numbers to hear her.

Ernest Sutherland Bates, the literary critic, has turned labor union critic, and publishes this month in the American Mercury an article entitled "The A. F. of L.; Enemy of Labor." I have tried to get the lowdown on "Comrade" Bates' connection with the labor movement, but nobody seems to have heard of him either as participant, student, teacher or historian. That didn't deter the American Mercury from publishing the article. Yet when a well-known Socialist unionist asked whether they would print his reply, he was asked who he was, what his qualifications were, and so on. I have no doubt that Bates read a book. He probably read a book by that other labor expert, Louis Adamic. These literary boys seem to make a living by taking in each other's washing, and taking in the pseudo-radical magazines at the same time.

This reminds me of the very different attitude taken by Current History in a similar situation. A number of years ago Current History received an article against the I.W.W. Before printing it, Current History sent it along to Jim Neale for his opinion and a check-up of the facts. Jim wrote his opinion with the result that the original article was not printed but an article by Neale on the I.W.W. was. But it seems that the magazines which are supposed to be friendly to labor seize every opportunity they can to publish vicious, stupid attacks on the labor movement by those who are also supposed to be its friends. How well I understand the old bromide, "deliver us from our friends, we'll take care of our enemies!"

been banned, all books and poems by Heine, Feuchtwanger, Wasserman, Toller, Thomas and Heinrich Mann and other "undesirables" having been consigned to the flames, (Heine's *Lorelei* is still printed in school books, with the notation "Author Unknown"!)

And all scientific researches having been outlawed, the country that once hummed with intellectual, spiritual and cultural activity is now an arid waste.

Everything is "coordinated"; nothing can be done that is not part of the propaganda machinery of the department of Popular "Enlightenment" (!!). Grave sages write profound theses explaining that the old theories of ethnology and anthropology are all cock-eyed and that the Aryans are the salt of the earth. Medical experts solemnly pronounce new theories about the inferiority of non-Aryans. Highly trained historians rewrite history to conform with the insane ravings of Adolf Hitler's crazy book.

There is no such thing as freedom of the press, of expression or of opinion. Everything must serve the interests of the state, as interpreted by Goebbels and his crew of murderous madmen.

And lest you think these things are peculiar to Germany let us hasten to explain that in Italy Toscanini, greatest orchestral conductor of all time, was slapped, spat upon and beaten, and insulted and vilely villified in the fascist

press because he will not permit his art to be prostituted at the demand of Mussolini. And in Italy scholars, historians, biologists, chemists, journalists—all must serve as parts of Goebbels' propaganda machine or else go to the islands. And Italy, too, is a vast intellectual desert with the measured marching of armed and accoutred babies taking the place of serious, and scientific research, the quest for truth and the free development of the mind and soul of a people. These are no accidents; this fearful blight falls upon these two great countries because they are ruled by fascism, and fascism—or any other kind of brutal dictatorship—must of necessity always result in a tyranny over the mind and the spirit as well as over the body. Goebbels told the truth when he said that the Nazi state was war upon what he called "humanity." For if the human free, if men and women were to search for where their minds lead, TRAMMELED BY A STATE MACHINE, fascism nor Nazism can exist. Fascism has committed crimes; it has slain men and women, it has world-perilously near had waged war on the noblest ideals of man.

(Continued on Page 1)

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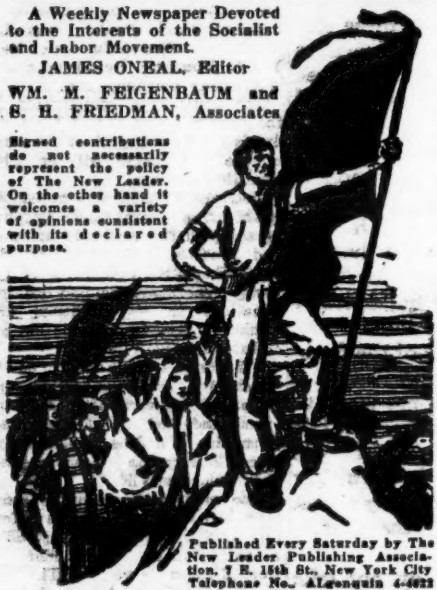
NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

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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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This Is What Always Happens When Dictatorship Rules

By W. M. F.

WILHELM FURTWÄNGLER, distinguished *Kapellmeister*, was unable to retain his job as conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic, and his self-exile at the same time, and it is interesting to try for nearly two years to serve a Nazi-dominated state. At the same time Erich Kleiber, Viennese conductor well known to New Yorkers for his work with our own Philharmonic-Symphony Society, likewise quit. That made a clean sweep, except for tenth-rate musicians and a stray open and avowed Nazi, like Richard Strauss. No distinguished musician is left to conduct or perform in the country of Wagner, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Brahms, and Mahler. All, at once, got the Jews, like Bruno Walter on the Busch brothers, were swept out by the Nazi broom; the great souls, like Toscanini, Gershwin, Stokowski and Koussevitzky, nobly

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 to write on both sides of the page and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return is enclosed.

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STUDENTS OF L. I. D. HOLD NOTABLE MEET IN EVANSTON, ILL.

By Joseph P. Lash

THE most enthusiastic and representative convention in its history was held by the Student League for Industrial Democracy last week in Evanston, Ill. Forty chapters had official delegates in addition to a fraternal delegate from the University Labor Federation of England, John Stafford Cripps.

Detailed plans for the anti-war strike of April 5 as well as a program of action in the Southern colleges were the highlights of the meeting.

The convention unanimously rejected proposals by the National Student League for amalgamation, stating that "we look forward to the day when the communist students have, through our united front activities, sufficiently gained the confidence of other radicals so that we may work in the same organization without suicidal internal conflict." It also renewed the united front pact with the National Student League on specific issues. However, little time was spent on these issues, the delegates feeling that their job was to help out a program for the Student L.I.D. and to strengthen the organization.

Reports were received from the field organizers of the Student L.I.D. on the progress of the organization. George Clifton Edwards stated that he had visited 52 colleges in the fall at approximately 20 of which new L.I.D. chapters were undertaken. Monroe M. Sweetland, fresh from the Coast, reported a great upsurge of interest in the student movement with an equivalent upsurge in reactionary vigilante organization.

The report of the editor of the Student Outlook, containing the information that the magazine now sold 4,500 monthly, was enthusiastically greeted. He also stated that three pamphlets had been published by the Student L.I.D. during the past year, "The Campus Strikes Against War," "The Handbook of the Student L.I.D.," and "Italian Intellectuals Under Fascism."

These reports of gains all over the country greatly cheered the delegates and guaranteed the success of the new program noted at the convention. This will include not only the anti-war strike on April 5 but the raising of funds in all American universities to aid underground work in German and Austrian universities, participation in May Day celebrations, the holding of regional conferences on the history of the working class movement to acquaint students with the writings of Liebknecht, Jaurès, Lenin, Kautsky, etc.

The convention also approved the project for a summer bicycle tour in Europe through Southern France, studying the achievements of municipal socialism in that region, up through Switzerland for a week of study with prominent Socialists and labor intellectuals, over to Vienna, and then to Belgium to study the powerful working class movement there, then to Paris for a solidarity demonstration. The convention also adopted the emblem of the heroic Austrian Socialists, the three arrows, as its emblem.

It elected Albert Hamilton, expelled from U.C.L.A. for his refusal to take military drill, as national chairman; Ruth Oxman, prominent in New York student work, as vice-chairman; and Joseph Lash, delegate to the Congress of the International Socialist Student Federation, as national secretary. In addition to these, the new executive committee consists of Robert Spivack, University of Cincinnati; Morris Milgrim, C.C. N.Y. (expelled); Donald Donahue, University of Idaho; Lionel Florent, Howard University; Henry Haskins, Pomona University; George Haskins, University of Chicago; and Lurie, Cornell; George C. Haskins, Jr.; Monroe Sweetland; and Holloway, Yale, and Fred Haskins, University of Missouri.

There was an enthusiastic convention held through Evanston, Ill., the International and the American L.I.D. The participants reported on their stories about getting to Evanston—San Francisco, driving

The Basic Principles of the Modern Socialist Movement

By James Oneal

American Economic History

HOUSEHOLD and shop production constituted the egg which hatched capitalist production of commodities for sale. To illustrate the revolution that occurred in the transfer of home industries to the capitalist factory, we may take a family that may have lived through this transition period.

Assume a certain family that had lived through the home, shop and factory stages of production. Now it is possible that two members of this family had the following history. One member passed through the stages of shop master, retail merchant employer, then capitalist owner of a factory.

The other member passed through the stages of shop apprentice, skilled journeyman, and finally became a factory "hand" or proletarian. The economic stages from home to factory thus takes one family, breaks it up into two industrial types or classes, capitalists and laborers, exploiters and exploited, rulers and ruled.

In the home, members of the family faced similar problems; they had the same views of their economic life, they shared alike in the production and output of their labor, and conflicts over the division of the product were unknown.

Capitalist production completely changes these harmonious relations. It creates a class of privileged owners and a class of propertyless laborers. The proletarian labors throughout life without ever owning any of the values he and his class produce. He receives a wage for producing the things exclusively owned by the capitalist. In family production the worker was independent; in the factory he becomes a dependent. He becomes a human commodity transforming other commodities for the enrichment of the capitalist.

This is a revolution in the life of the workers more profound than anything else that has occurred in American history. It changed the whole structure of civilization. It revolutionized the thought of society. If ideas within home production had been on the whole harmonious, within the factory they become antagonistic. Proletarians want high wages and capitalists want low wages. Proletarians want short hours and capitalists want long hours. Proletarians want to part with as little labor power as possible and capitalists want to use as much of it as possible by "speeding-up."

Whether he is a skilled or unskilled laborer, the

through storms for four days; from New York coming on a ramshackle bus which broke down outside of Warsaw, Indiana; from Denver, Carl Campbell rode the rods for

two days through freezing cold.

The convention was visited by a flood of publicity from the Hearst press. It passed a resolution roundly denouncing Hearst as "Public

Enemy No. 1 and chief agent at present in the drive toward fascism in this country. Although the resolution called for a boycott of Mr. Hearst's paper, the latter, never-

theless, obligingly printed the resolution on the front page of every one of his newspapers.

The convention rejected affiliation with the American League Against War and Fascism on the ground that it did not contain possibilities for an effective united front against war. It voted, however, to permit local united fronts with sections of the American League. It also demanded that the Continental Congress be reconvened as soon as possible.

The freezing of canals and rivers, however, made them useless for transportation for months in the winter season and when the horse was displaced by the steam engine on railways another new era in transportation began. The steam railways alone enormously expanded the range of the market for capitalist production. With cheap lands in the West ever beckoning to dissatisfied workers in the East, population also expanded into the West and provided a larger market for the commodities produced by eastern shops and factories.

This improved transportation emancipated capitalist production from the fetters that restricted its development and expansion. Indeed, the new form of production itself slowly expanded westward, destroying home and shop production as capitalism followed in the rear of expanding markets and population. Henceforth the capitalist class more and more became the ruling class as capital accumulated and more and more of the workers were transformed into propertyless proletarians.

(To be continued)

OLEAN SOCIALISTS URGE MUNICIPAL LIGHTING PLANT

OLEAN, N. Y.—The Socialists of this city have filed a petition with the Mayor and Common Council urging that action be taken looking toward the establishment of a municipal power plant.

John G. Cooper, candidate for Mayor at the last election, presented the petition, in which the city is requested to investigate the city's contract with the Niagara-Hudson Corporation, the powerful Morgan-controlled utility, and the amounts paid by the city for lighting during the past ten years.

The inquiry would also include a comparison of lighting rates in Jamestown, Salamanca, Andover, Watkins Glen and other places.

Cooper pointed out that Jamestown, with a municipal plant pays a rate of 3½ cents for electricity, while Olean pays the power company 7 cents. Salamanca, he said, pays 5 cents, buying from the company. That city was able to accumulate a surplus of \$125,000 which was used to reduce taxes. Salamanca owns a plant ready to operate at any time.

Cooper pointed out that many cities are going out for federal aid for this purpose and predicted that privately owned public utilities would be a thing of the past in a few years.

No action was taken by the Council, but Mayor Fred W. Forness assured Cooper that the Council would favor any plan that would save the city money.

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When Dictatorship Rules

(Continued from Page Two)

cast down the finest and exalted the vilest. But in its implications at least, fascism's greatest crime has been against the mind and the spirit.

The gruntings and the bellowings of the fat pig shown in Will Dyson's cartoon today take the place of the glorious art and music of the people country of Goethe and Mozart, of Schiller and Schubert and Lessing.

Only when fascism is destroyed root and branch, only when the danger of fascism passes away forever, will the human race be able to work for its own emancipation!

A Note For Those Who Believe in Democracy

Comrade A. P. Smirnoff, once a big shot Communist in the Soviet Union, holds the record for successive degradations. He was once secretary of the Central Committee of the Community Party and Soviet Commissar for Agriculture, but in 1933 he was expelled from his party and exiled "for being intimate with the Eismont oppositionist pamphleteers." (Eismont was another Soviet Commissar expelled and disgraced for some crime in the Communist calendar.) Later Smirnoff was reinstated in the party.

Now Smirnoff is again expelled from his party and again exiled for a crime described in the Moscow newspapers as follows: "For having boldly stated in a public address in his place of exile that the Stalin government has finally come around to his views by establishing a fixed tax on agricultural produce."

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The Workers Abroad

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

By William M. Feigenbaum

The L. S. I. on the United Front

THE official report of the November meeting of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International is now before me, and with it the exact text of the statement of position of the International on a proposed united front with the Communist International.

After four days of earnest discussion the executive voted that under conditions as they exist today each party affiliated with the L. S. I. is "free to act in this matter in accordance with its complete autonomy."

In its official statement, in the form of a letter to Marcel Cachin and Maurice Thorez, designated spokesmen of the Communist International, the executive said, "Whereas in France and other countries unity of action has been realized, in Great Britain, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, Czechoslovakia and other countries Communist proposals for common action have been rejected, for reasons given by our affiliated parties, and these reasons are known to you." The reasons for rejecting Communist overtures in those countries have been reported in these columns from time to time.

A Supplementary Statement

AFTER the vote had been taken, Léon Blum, French Socialist leader, read a statement on behalf of the French delegates and several others, in which the view is expressed that "Under present conditions, in the face of the growth of fascism and the intensification of the dangers of war in Europe, and in the presence of the movements which have spontaneously begun among the working class with a view to united action, the L. S. I. should have emphatically renewed its proposal of February, 1933, and should have asked the Communist International whether it is prepared to examine, on the basis of complete equality of rights for all the affiliated parties, the conditions of joint action in the international sphere in opposition to war, in defense of democratic liberties in the countries where they exist, and in support of the revolutionary struggle in the countries in which fascism has suppressed them."

"The undersigned express their satisfaction, however, at the fact that the executive of the L. S. I. has recognized that each of its affiliated parties is free to organize the struggle against fascism and war in accordance with the conditions that apply in each country. They express the earnest and confident desire that the results of the joint action in the countries in which it is at present being undertaken will lead the L. S. I. very soon to bring about the unity which is rendered necessary for the workers by the dangers of the present situation and the interests of their international struggle."

The statement was signed by Blum, Bracke and Longuet for France, Grimm of Switzerland, Del Vayo of Spain, Nenni and Modigliani of Italy, Ehrlich of the Polish Bund, Dan of the Russian Social Democrats and three delegates from Austria.

Vandervelde and Adler Report

EMILE VANDERVELDE and Friedrich Adler, President and Secretary respectively of the L. S. I., reported on their Brussels conversations, Oct. 15, with Cachin and Thorez (reported in this column several weeks ago) in the course of which the Communists insisted upon an immediate reply in the direction of united action against the terror in Spain, while the Socialists maintained that they could take no action without first consulting the Executive of the L. S. I.

Blum made a detailed statement on the united front situation in France (described in this column last week and on several other occasions), after which 18 comrades spoke, explaining in detail the problems they faced in their respective countries. The reply to Cachin and Thorez was then approved unanimously, except for Gvardjaladze of Georgia.

In the letter the Communists were reminded that at Brussels they insisted they had no mandate to discuss anything but united action with respect to the Spanish terror; the L. S. I., however, had organized protests everywhere and needed no pact with the Communists for such action. In France the protests were held jointly by Socialists and Communists, "Whereas in Belgium, for example, where there is no substantial Communist Party, the great demonstration on behalf of Spain, at which the undersigned [Vandervelde] delivered an address, was organized by the Belgian Socialist Party alone."

The Communists are reminded that the L. S. I., in its resolutions of March 18th and 19th, 1933, made overtures to the Comintern looking toward unity of action in the battle against fascism, and recommended to the affiliated parties not to conclude local and national united front pacts until the Comintern officially replied, so that whatever action might be taken would be on an international basis. "But since that time new circumstances have arisen, particularly in Austria, and these have caused various parties affiliated to the L. S. I. to conclude pacts for united action which take account of the different situations in various countries."

The conclusion is then reached that the parties are free

(Continued on Page Six)

Why Doesn't The Comintern

By Mark Khinoy

OUR conversation had continued for almost two hours and we were still far from the problem I intended to broach when I came to the meeting. Once members of the same underground Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia, we found ourselves at the moment in antagonistic camps—he a trusted officer of the Moscow headquarters of the Communist International and I an active soldier in the movement of the Socialist International.

At our meeting, however, we forgot the political abyss. Memories of the revolutionary romanticism of our youth gripped us and we were engrossed in political history. The oppressive gloom of today temporarily faded and we bathed in the magnificent yesterday.

Gradually, however, our talk drifted into new channels.

We spoke of old friends and acquaintances, of their individual lives and public activities, of the role some of them were playing in the labor movements of various countries. A long list of names, Socialists and Communists—past and present—until we came to the name of the exiled Trotsky, his activities abroad and his frustrated attempt to organize a new, a Fourth, International. My friend, the Bolshevik, wanted more details. I told what I knew and concluded with a few questions of my own. His answers were often so singular and so sensationally enlightening that I jotted them down the moment I was alone.

The World Revolution and the Comintern

My first question had to do with the present status of the Comintern. I wanted to know what lies behind the constant postponement of the Congress of the Communist International. According to the by-laws, congresses must take place every two years, yet almost seven years have elapsed without a congress. During the time the Socialist International has held three world congresses.

"The key to your problem," said Sch., "is to be found in our present party 'line,' in the 'line' of our general secretary, Stalin. It lies in the First and Second Five-Year Plan, in our titanic attempt to industrialize, collectivize and modernize our country. Behind this attempt of lightning-like industrialization lies a deep-rooted passion to make our Soviet Union unconquerable by militaristic powers and economically independent of the capitalist world. It is a striving to make our industry and our agriculture produce everything we need and to free us from the necessity of buying from other countries."

"You say that this is economic isolation, economic nationalism. You even call it 'National Bolshevism.' You say that our policy differs little from Mussolini's National Corporatism and Hitler's National Socialism. You claim that we of the Soviet Union have given the capitalist countries an example of reactionary economic policy for them to follow; that they also have surrounded themselves with high tariff walls in the name of absolute 'economic self-sufficiency.' You may be right, yet you must not forget that economic isolation is an unattainable goal for most of the capitalist countries. We, however, with our enormous nat-

There Are Deep Reasons of Soviet Foreign Policy Is Rapidly Being Forgotten in the Kremlin.

ural resources, with our widely varying geographic and climatic conditions, with our tremendous population and centralized State machinery—we can achieve it.

"But let us return to our Comintern congress. You must understand that what you call 'National Bolshevism' is termed by us 'building Socialism in one country.' We know that this is not completely in harmony with what Marx, Engels or even Lenin taught. It is a step forward in comparison with what they wrote. Remember, however, that if Josef Visarovich [Stalin], if the Politburo and the members of the Central Committee, all good Marxists and, still better Leninists, have accepted the non-conformist theory of 'building Socialism in one country,' they did it only because at this moment they see no possibilities of building Socialism in all industrially developed countries. They think that capitalism has again become stabilized and entrenched, that it shows no sign of a real collapse in the near future. In other words, the 'World Revolution' which seemed to knock at the door fifteen years ago appears to us to be very remote."

A Lost Hope

"Beginning with 1927-1928 we lost faith in the probability of an immediate social revolution in Germany, Great Britain, France or the United States. We therefore began to strengthen the only country which possesses a revolutionary Socialist government. We decided to lay an industrial and technical foundation in this country which would make her independent of other lands. Under such circumstances, a world congress of the Comintern would only interfere with our task. Most of the foreign comrades do not and cannot understand our position. The majority of them think that capitalism is breaking down and the social revolution is about to commence at any moment. They would like to see a war or revolution destroy the balance of the world, and we shudder at the thought. We are convinced that such an event could only destroy capitalism in the countries where it exists and would only jeopardize the social and industrial achievements of our revolution."

"Therefore, Comrade Khinoy, we have postponed for six years the world congress of the Communist parties and did not summon it even after the German catastrophe. Neither the German nor the Czechoslovak or French comrades were then in a mood to appreciate the strength of our arguments."

"But you have even now postponed the congress again," I protested.

"How did you know?" my friend demanded in surprise. "The decision to adjourn was taken only recently and not a word of it appeared in the press."

I explained to him that although the Soviet press was in complete silence about the matter, papers abroad had already reported the news. I told him that the Christian Science Monitor of Boston, in its issue of August 11, published a cable from its Moscow correspondent that the congress had again been postponed under orders of the Soviet Politburo. The correspondent added that the highest Bolshevik institution is guided in its decision by its inability or unwillingness to finance the conclave. It appears that the Soviet Union needs the foreign valuta for its

own purposes. I asked Sch. whether this money motive was really the cause of the postponement.

"No. The question of money played no role in the decision. Even as a secondary argument it was hardly used. The real reason for our decision arises from our conviction that at the present juncture a Communist world congress would harm us considerably in London, Washington, Paris and especially at the League of Nations, where there is at present a question of admitting our Union. Such a congress would endanger our borders in the Far East—Japan—and on the West—Germany and Poland. As a result of this, and only of this, the Executive of the Comintern decided a few days ago [the conversation took place during the first days of September] to postpone the congress for another six months."

Why a United Front

Our conversation about six weeks after the Comintern congress suddenly brought to mind their previous time-position on the question of united front with So-

Strikes

HIS beaten body lies beside the mud.
His pulse is still. His battered head
And broken arms are steeped in blood
While my heart mourns for one who's dead.

How a Socialist The Masses from

By Hannen Swaffer

(In the London Herald)

Hannen Swaffer, leading British journalist, tells in this article his impressions of the Socialist housing projects in the city of Leeds, recently captured by the Labor Party. While the details may refer specifically to the one city, the article shows what a determined Socialist municipal administration can do with whatever power it finds in its hands. We have been printing news of great Socialist election victories in England, and we have been asked what those victories mean to the masses. This article is a part of the answer.

I TOLD a vast audience in the Royal Albert Hall how I had seen in one of the most verminous slums of Leeds a poor family waiting in an empty house.

Its furniture had gone to the disinfecting plant before it went on to the new Council house, a journey from Hell to Heaven. I saw, afterwards, the van going along the road. Then I saw it, in the disinfecting plant, being debugged.

Leeds, that day, was being blamed because it had refused to have a military tattoo in one of its parks. Leeds, under Socialism, does not waste its time on military display, on pomp and circumstance, causing a war spirit, waving flags.

It is creating such a revolution in the lives of the poor people that within a few years, when its Socialist plans are completed, the city will own 45,000 houses and will therefore be able to control the rents of all the poor people living in the city!

When, after the war, we began to build houses, cheapjack homes, some pit heap, houses that were slums before many passed.

For the people too with them. Within a some of the new verminous as the old of they are now disinfecting houses with the ne plant!

"You do not know," I told the Rev. Charles Jenkinson of the housing of me. "The bug lives in flesh."

"I have known my sit on their doorsteps mer, when the vermin troublesome, until three the morning, because they could not sleep if to bed. One family, n disinfection, told me th enjoyed their first g sleep for seven years."

When this Socialist me to the disinfecting only one of its kind in except that Kensington, that week, had starte one, I saw a plant set perial Chemicals after experiment. It cost £6,000 a year to run. I work wearing a m the ver all

Comintern Meet Any More?

Foreign Policy Why The Communist International n. - An Amazing Story Told for the First Time

What will happen if six months now the national in- your Union will again postpone the congress?" I then again postpone ed. there any guarantee hence the international ill improve?" rant. Therefore it is ble that we shall be the day to do to the national what Marx did st-exile it to North

ited Front in France

versation took place weeks after the French suddenly reversed ous time-honored posi- the question of a real t with Socialists. The

French section of the Communist International had signed an agree- ment with the Socialist Party, promising honest and loyal co- operation in the struggle against fascism and for democratic liber- ties. None of my acquaintances in Leningrad or Moscow could explain the cause of this unexpected change in the tactics of the Com- munist International, on whose orders the inter-party agreement was signed in France, and I asked this question of almost everybody. Even the "learned counsel" of the Communist Party and of the old Bolshevik Club of Leningrad, Com- rade Shidlovsky, was at a loss.

I therefore seized the oppor- tunity to inquire of the excep- tionally well-informed Comintern official, Comrade Sch., what its real meaning was. I asked whether this meant that the leaders of the

Third International relinquished their "theory" that Socialists and Socialist trade unionists are "So- cial fascists" and must be de- stroyed before workers come to grips with real fascists. I wanted to know if the Comintern had called off its previous instructions about united front actions as tactical maneuvers directed toward isolating the Socialist leaders from their followers. I inquired if the Communist parties outside of France also received permission to support the Socialist struggle against fascism. Finally, I wished to know whether Moscow is ready for a real united front from above with the Labor and Socialist Inter- national, and if so, whether Stalin would agree that such a pact should also include Russia and the Russian Socialists, who in such a case would have to be released from prison and exile. Without this, I stressed, international unity of labor is unthinkable.

Real Unity Impossible

My companion kept silent for a long period. I thought that he would refuse to answer my question, when suddenly he lifted his head and said:

"I doubt if anyone here knows how far the united front will lim- itedly lead. It is a leap in the dark. For the present, the pacts in France and the Saar are an exception and not a planned-out move in a new direction. We are ignoring completely the tactical and theoretical problems of 'Social fascism,' 'united front from be- low,' and 'war against yellow trade unions.' No one dares to discuss these questions even in private. Our July agreement in Paris came unexpectedly for most of the Comintern workers. It originated

sistence scale, so that the poorest families pay the least. Tories have tried to work up class prejudice against this. 'Why should you pay for the wasters?' they say to the better-paid workers.

Leeds can stand the strain. 'Leeds has never been in a sounder financial position than it is today,' declares Alderman A. J. Dobbs, the Socialist leader of the council. 'Talk of ruin and bankruptcy is sheer nonsense.

"We are going to make Leeds a far finer city to look at and to live in than it is. That, in itself, will be no small asset in its prosperity." Then they are building, nearer the center of Leeds, a block of flats to hold 700 families, equipped with every modern kitchen device.

They possess outdoor swimming pools, one for adults and one for children, covered baths, a community hall, public washhouses, a shopping center, a kindergarten.

Do you remember the old doss- houses (flop-houses, we would call them) that disgraced our great cities? Leeds is replacing these with a "hostel" to accommodate 504 men and women. It has wash- houses in which a lodger can dry his shirt in two minutes by electric dryers; a concert hall for 500 people. Although not more than one shilling (24 cents) a night will be charged, every person has a separate room. The doss- house was a scandal. Leeds is de- stroying it.

Yet, when the old property goes into the dock, the Tories plead: "Oh, but most respectable families own these houses. Widows and orphans own them!"

They defend the bug in the sacred name of Property, and they

(Continued on Page Six)

in the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs rather than in the Comin- tern. The wrangle with Japan and the anti-Soviet policies of the Hitler government forced us dra- stically to modify our foreign policy. For a long period we were orien- tated toward Germany, Italy and Turkey, and away from England, France and their League of Na- tions. At present we are compelled to hunt for friends and allies in the camp of the League of Nations, in the camp of the democratic countries, and first of all in the French camp. Here it became clear to us that it is impossible to form a political-military alliance with France without the active support of the more than 100 Socialist Deputies in the French Chamber. This forced us to change our attitude toward the Socialists. The action of our section in the Saar came from the same source. Whether this will lead us to a general peace with the Socialist International is at present impos- sible to foresee. There is one thing, though, of which you can be cer- tain. We are political realists, and if our national interests demand a general peace with all the So- cialist parties, including our own, we shall not hesitate to accom- plish it."

National Interests

I was not satisfied. Had the French Communists found the arguments about the "national in- terests" of the Soviet Union con- vincing enough to make them swallow such an about-face in their policies?

"Oh yes, for Cachin and Thorez, the present leaders of the French Communists, this was more than enough. Naturally, it would not be enough for their former leaders, for Froussard, Souvarine, Paul Louis and Doriot. It would not have been sufficient even for Charles Rappoport."

"Why the mention of Charles Rappoport's name as a has-been? Is he no more the spokesman of the French Communists and their representative in the Moscow Comintern?"

"Certainly not. Charles Rappo- port is no longer one of the leaders of our movement. He is out. It is more than a year since he was ex- pelled from the Comintern and from the party."

"This is news. Why does the old man keep quiet about his expul- sion? When it comes to making a noise, he certainly can do it better and in more languages than any- other man in the Comintern."

"Why he is silent, I don't know," Sch. replied. "When you are in Paris, ask him. I think that per- haps the cause of his silence might be very simple. The Soviet pub- lishing house at Moscow published his works. They have been ready for some time, but they have not been released. They are kept in storage. He probably hopes that by his silence he will succeed in having his books see the light of day."

Czech Socialists Make Heavy Gains

The Social Democratic parties made heavy gains, and the Com- munist lost heavily, in local elec- tions held throughout Czechosla- vakia December 9th.

The German Social Democratic Party, and its sister party in the Bohemian sections, the Czech So- cial Democracy, gained every- where. The Henleinfront, the party of the German Nazis in German Czechoslovakia, appears to have absorbed much of the lost Commu- nist strength, according to the Sozialdemokrat of Prague. The elections were rightly considered a vote of confidence in democracy as well as Socialism.

Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

The "Free Soul" and "Dogmatism"

A CURIOUS theory is being hawked in some quarters and it is doubtful whether any movement has been free of it because it has a certain measure of plausibility. Human beings unite in an organization because they agree upon some basic essentials in theory and methods. Others who do not so agree form other organizations more agreeable to their views. If the organizations are to grow they must encourage a re-examination of their basic views and modify them in accord with a changing world. Otherwise an organization will become the home of a sterile dogmatism.

Normal human beings will agree with this, but very often dispute arises as to how far from basic essentials in theory and methods one may go and still serve the main purposes of the organization. Too often a move- ment attracts the anti-social person, the man or woman who claims the right of using the movement for advocat- ing anything he or she favors regardless of whether or not it is within the range of the fundamental views of the organization.

When the anti-social type appears there is, naturally, conflict. The dissenter objects to any restriction of his or her views and cries out against "dogmatism and heresy hunting." He or she becomes sarcastic, "free souls" who object to the "witch-burning" attitude of the member. The dissenter gets a following among those who do not think the matter out to its ultimate results. His follow- ers are against "dogmatism and heresy hunting," but so are most normal persons who oppose the conduct of the "free soul."

At the other extreme is the genuine dogmatist who be- lieves that his organization has settled everything for all time. He will tolerate no criticism, no suggestion, no change. His attitude is as fixed as that of the "free soul." His view is that of the militarist who insists that all must obey, not think, while the "free soul" is an anar- chist who sneers at solidarity of opinion and unity of action. The latter regards the movement as a public piano upon which any tune may be played. The movement is not maintained, he contends, to unite masses with- in a range of basic purposes but as a playground in which the "free soul" may perform as he pleases. From his point of view, Marx and Engels were reactionary "dog- matists" when they insisted that Bakunin and his force anarchists should be expelled from the First International because their philosophy and methods were in conflict with Socialist philosophy and methods.

The real dogmatist also believes that philosophy and methods have been fixed by the past; the "free soul" be- lieves that they should be carried under HIS hat and that he may change them with every new hat he buys. He believes that the organization is for HIM. It is an ex- periment station which the members must maintain for him. It does not matter that his experiments may bring bad results to the organization and its members. They must pay the cost of his adventures or be denounced as "dogmatists" if they object. HE comes first, not the members.

That we may not be misunderstood let us say that we have in mind the American Guardian which is expounding the theory of the "free soul" against the "dogmatist." We regard both views as disastrous to any organization. The Socialist Party was born of a revolt against the dog- matic S. L. P., but it has never gone to the other extreme of conceding to the "free soul" the right to do as he pleases regardless of the welfare of the organization.

Acting upon the theory of the "free soul," the Guardian approved the desertion of Sinclair to the Democratic Party in California with disastrous results to the Social- ist Party in that state. This action was the logic of the "free soul." Carry it to its ultimate logic and other "free souls" in all the states would have the right to support any and all candidates not approved by the Socialist Party. The result would be the complete destruction of the party itself. This "free soulism" is itself a destruct- ive dogmatism that makes unity of action impossible for any movement.

Ours is an age of organization in all phases of human existence and the higher capitalism develops the more is there need of collective action and discipline. The "free soul" belongs to the age of individualism, not to the collective age. The ideal Socialists should strive for in the struggle against capitalism is unity in essentials and diversity in non-essentials. If there are to be experi- ments, they should be decided by the members after care- ful discussion and not by individuals. This democratic procedure cannot be reconciled with either the "free soul" or the dogmatist.

Maker! By Douglas B. Krantzer

HAVE pity God! In your compassion, go And lift him from the place, he fell. Let Heaven ease each bitter blow— For he has had enough of Hell!

Leeds City Rescues from Vile Slums

er the war, Tories be- d houses, they built omes, some near an old uses that would become re many years had

people took the bugs Within a few months, new homes were as the old ones. Indeed, now disinfecting Tory in the new Socialist

what a prob- was in Leeds," said Charles Jenkinson, chair- housing committee, to bug lives on human

own my parishioners doorsteps in the sum- the vermin are most until three or four in , because they knew ot sleep if they went family, moved after told me that they had fir first good night's en years."

Socialist parson took disinfecting plant, the its kind in the world Kensington, copying it had started a small plant set up by Im- als after months of It cost £7,000 and t cost. I saw men at g masks when sic acid, roy the

min are vans as vermin

they do not destroy the bug. They take it with them.

"And so private profit eats into their new scheme, just as it made their old ones foul. You have got to get rid of the bug. Only Socialism can do it."

I spent an hour in Leeds with Jenkinson, Councillor Brett, the chairman of the Health Committee, and the housing inspector, who hates slums, going round the old filth. You would not believe that such conditions could exist in any civilized city. I saw 18 tumble- down houses, for which there were only three W.C.s, down a dark court. In order to use one, some of the families had to walk 95 yards, yes, and on a dark, wet night.

Yet, when the Socialist Council of Leeds wants homes like this con- demned, Tories defend them.

"We put the property on trial, just like a criminal in the dock," said Jenkinson. "We are the prosecution. The landlords appear for the defense. But we shall go on and on, until all the slums are gone."

I spent an hour in the old Hell. Then I went to the new Heaven—a properly planned estate, with lawns and gardens and playing fields.

The old council houses, built by the Tories, are monotonous streets. On Labor's new estate there are no fewer than 40 different kinds of architecture. Nearly built now, the estate I saw will soon be a garden city. Down the center runs a great boulevard—wide, open, free to the air. In the houses built for the old people there are sit- down baths, to save their bent limbs.

And Leeds is making the bold experiment of charging differential rents. They work it out on a sub-

Commonwealth Plan Is Our Answer to Many Questions

By Herbert M. Merrill

State Secretary, Socialist Party, N. Y.

WHETHER the "Co-operative Commonwealth" of Laurence Gronlund and the "Commonwealth Plan" of Paul Porter are the Alpha and Omega of APPLIED Socialism remains to be seen. The first was written before the automobile, the last after the aeroplane.

Gronlund's "Co-operative Commonwealth" was the first popular exposition of Socialism which appeared after the "Nationalism" of Bellamy's "Looking Backward" and "Equality" made Marxian ideas acceptable to Americans as reading matter in an age that was just beginning to become machine-conscious. It was also contemporary with the Utopian, simple-life Socialism of which William Morris, John Ruskin and Edward Carpenter were proponents. Morris, Ruskin and Carpenter hated machinery; they envisioned the ideal society as one comparable with life in the South Seas, against "chimney pots" and deplored modern "civilization." Not that Gronlund was affected by this reaction of poets and literati against the alleged regimentation of Bellamy, but his reply to the query as to just HOW the Co-operative Commonwealth could actually be established was altogether too simple.

The S. L. P. Plan

Gronlund held it was not necessary to convert even a large minority of the people to Socialism. He declared that the collapse of Capitalism was inevitable, and that even ten thousand well-grounded followers of Karl Marx would be in a position, due to their superior knowledge, to step in during a violent revolution and take charge of the situation. That this is still the hope of the Socialist Labor Party seems obvious. Gronlund scorned to go into much detail in regard to the liquidation of Capitalism—so do adherents of the S. L. P. They said, even as some of our own people say now, "when we come to the bridge we shall cross it."

The "Bridge" Near at Hand

However, since this last and greatest depression, the "bridge" seems near at hand—almost under our feet. Socialism is ready for us, but WE are not ready for Socialism. The time has come when it is foolish for us to refuse even to look at "blueprints" of the Co-operative Commonwealth. We may well agree that some of the lines of these prints are not drawn correctly, but we should no longer cast them aside as unworthy of consideration. We Americans would do well to be reminded that unless we can agree upon some of the details involved in transforming a capitalist order into a Socialist republic, fascism may come on us utterly unprepared. Certainly the British Labor Party is preparing itself to take power, faced as it is with the prospect of obtaining an absolute majority in the next general election.

It is with considerations such as these that I welcome the Paul Porter "Commonwealth Plan" and recommended that every Socialist read it.

Not Too Optimistic

The Porter "Plan" is not too optimistic. Promising people incomes of \$5,000 per year is not too extravagant, and my fellow Socialists who scoff at the idea of promising that amount of income to the average worker and deem it Utopian do not appreciate the possibilities of production where the most up-to-date machinery and processes are involved. Personally I am of the opinion that the Technocrats were not far out of the way in declaring that our resources were equal to \$20,000 in-

comes on 660 hours a year. I myself have always been more extravagant than Porter in setting forth the promises of Socialism, having in mind that no less a sociologist than Lester F. Ward long ago concluded that not more than 1 per cent of our intellectual resources are being realized now in the form of achievement. Intellectual resources, I submit, include inventive genius that is translated into machinery which increases the productivity of the individual worker, as well as in things which enhance our common life.

The "Commonwealth Plan" may not be the "blueprint" which we shall ultimately follow in this country. Some of its details are a little too Russian-like for my own individual taste, but the "Plan" as a whole is the best and most thorough of any which have been evolved so far.

Socialists were often embarrassed before the World War when some heckler wanted to know just HOW they were going to take over the industries. But the war showed that all the capital which Socialism would actually need in order to initiate its Co-operative Commonwealth could be taken over from private capitalists without resorting to what is commonly known as confiscation. The two hundred billions sunk in that war would have bought from the capitalist class all the mines, factories and transportation systems which Europe and America would need to make Socialism effective. If billions can be wasted by nations in destroying human life and property, billions could be quite as easily used in transferring the socially necessary means of production and distribution from a small exploiting class to the whole people. Of course, it is as true now as it was in the time of Laurence Gronlund that the first thing to be done—the most important—is to inspire our fellow-citizens with a DISPOSITION to liquidate an economic system responsible for industrial depressions.

Why should we not show them HOW WE CAN DO IT when they do HAVE the disposition or when fascism forces our hand?

West Virginia

Fairmont. A union organization campaign will be launched by the central labor union here, with the active support of the Socialist local. A house-to-house canvass will form the basis for the campaign, to interview every worker personally with an appeal for cooperation in trade union work.

The Workers Abroad

(Continued from Page Four)

to exercise their own autonomy in entering individual pacts where circumstances so warrant.

When Hitler Victory Loomed

THE situation came to a head two years ago, when the victory of Hitler in Germany was nearing. In the November, 1932, elections Hitler lost 2,027,543 votes and 35 deputies, as compared to July 31 of the same year; and shortly thereafter 30 of his deputies threatened to bolt. The Socialists then felt that by united action the decline of Hitlerism could be accelerated and his movement permanently liquidated; therefore, overlooking the long disruptive career of the Comintern and of the Communist Party the German Socialists begged for united action. Two weeks before Hitler came into power, Friedrich Stampfer, editor of Berlin *Vorwärts*, wrote Ernst Torgler, German Communist leader, asking for unity of action.

Torgler refused, and cynically added that Hitler would surely come into power, "and within 3 months

Story of the Human Race A Biographical History of the World

This gigantic work of scholarship, written in popular style for the masses instead of the dull pedants, contains 150,000 words, in five charming, entertaining and instructive books. This historical and biographical production is printed on a good grade of paper, bound in attractive, artistic covers, 5½ by 8½ inches.

Contents of These Five Books

By Henry Thomas, Ph.D.

BOOK 1. The Childhood of the Human Race. (The Story of the Early Fighters, Priests and Prophets.)

A Brief Survey of Early History. Moses, the Prince Who Became a Rebel. Jeremiah, the First Pacifist in History. Buddha, the Atheist Who Became a God. Confucius, the Spiritual Godfather of Christ. Cyrus, Who Destroyed a Civilization. Pericles, the Popular Democrat of Athens. Plato, Who Dreamed of a Better World.

BOOK 2. The Parade of the Sword and the Cross. (A Catalogue of Kings, Philosophers, Conquerors and Cut-Throats.)

Alexander, Who Tried to Divide the World Between God and Himself. Epicurus, the Smiling Pessimist. Hannibal, the Prince of Hatred. Cato, the Champion Hypocrite. Caesar, the Man Who Tried to Become a God. Jesus, the Jewish Vagabond of Nazareth. Nero, Who Murdered His Mother. Marcus Aurelius, the Emperor Philosopher. Constantine the Great, Who Murdered His Son and Became a Christian. Mohammed, the Prophet of the Sword.

BOOK 3. The Savagery of the Middle Ages. (A Book of Holy Crusades and Religious Massacres.)

Charlemagne, Who Rescued a Pope and Became an Emperor. Peter the Hermit, Who Slaughtered the Jews for the Love of Jesus. Saint Francis of Assisi, a Catholic Anarchist. Dante Alighieri, "the Voice of the Silent Centuries." Marco Polo, the Link between Europe and Asia. Petrarch, Johannes Huss and John Ball—Three Leaders of the Renaissance. Joan of Arc, Maid of Orleans and Mother Torquemada and the Holy Inquisition. Columbus, Who Didn't Discover America.

BOOK 4. The Awakening of Humanity. (Man Gradually Lifts the Fogs of Obscurantism.)

Martin Luther, the Peasant Who Defied the Pope. Michelangelo, the Devil's Disciple. Shakespeare, the Creator of a New World. Louis XIV, the most Famous of the French Kings. George Fox, an Aggressive Fighter for Peace. Spinoza, the Quiet Little Jew of Amsterdam. Voltaire, the "Black Sheep" of the Human Family. Napoleon, Who Conquered the World and Died in Exile.

BOOK 5. The Beginning of Real Civilization. (Estimates of Great Figures.)

Goethe—There Goes a Man! Mazzini, Italian Prophet of a United Europe. Karl Marx, the Father of Socialism. Bismarck, the Backward-Looking Chancellor of Prussia. Charles Darwin, Who Introduced Us to Our Ancestors. Abraham Lincoln, the Savior of the Black Race. Tolstoy, Prophet of a World Without Hate. Emperor William II, Last of the Kaisers. Lenin and Gandhi, the Fore-runners of a New Age.

we will be in." But despite that brutal rebuff the Socialists continued to urge unity of action right up to the Hitler victory, and as long thereafter as was possible.

The Comintern never replied to the L. S. I. appeal of March, 1933, but meanwhile intensified its war upon the Socialists; this column has quoted documents as late as August, September and even November of 1934, in which the Comintern stated specifically that their United Front tactics are designed to smash the Social Democracy and to win the masses to the Communist banner—in other words, that it is merely a recruiting campaign for their party.

The reason the French Socialists and Communists have been able to form a United Front is to be found in the foreign policies of the Soviet Union (see Mark Khinov's ratielle in this issue and last week's Workers Abroad column); while in the Saar a common front was made inevitable because the voting on January 13th is on one issue alone—the future national affiliation of the *Saargebiet*; likewise, in Austria, Italy, Spain and to a certain extent, Germany, the fascist terror compels common action so long as the revolutionary parties

must of necessity remain illegal and underground.

But in all the democratic and semi-democratic countries—with the single exception of France—the Socialists find no change in the Communist attitude, no evidences of

good faith in Communist circles, and no reason to compromise themselves before the great masses of the workers by dealing with the elements that have so completely discredited themselves by their theories and actions.

Socialism Redeems Slums

(Continued from Page Five)

defend slum property, almost in the name of God. But Leeds goes on.

"A person has a right to a decent house, just as the country has now recognized that a child has the right to decent education," said the Anglican parsons.

Within a few weeks Leeds will start supplying furniture to municipal tenants on the weekly payment system. Two furnished dwellings have been placed on exhibition in the center of the town. These contain the kind of furniture and furnishings the housing department considers appropriate for the new dwellings. Although no pressure will be placed upon tenants, the fittings of these model houses are so great a contrast that I venture to prophesy that within

a few years a new aesthetic sense will grow up in the minds of even the poorest people of the city.

In the same town hall where I spoke in Leeds, the Assizes were going on. People were being tried for crimes which were the result of birth in slums, life in slums, and death in slums.

You ought to put slum property in the dock, not the people. The landlords should be indicted, not the tenants.

Jenkinson argues that his differential rent policy must pay the end. If you give a family rebate because of its young children, he declares, the children be brought up better. Crime down. Health goes up.

Comrades, ours is a great movement. We are building a new world!

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Spanish Socialists Fighting On

By Victor Riesel

IN spite of its trial of fire and the imprisonment of its leaders along with thousands of militant workers, the Spanish Socialist Party is still the biggest organized political force in Spain.

Stirring news, reported by Vincent Auriol, who was sent into Spain by the Labor and Socialist International, indicates that the depleted ranks of the proletarian parties are rapidly being reformed. The strong swing towards fascism is rapidly awakening everyone, including Republicans. It was disclosed that the number of Socialists and trade unionists at present in prison is 30,000.

Wholesale arrests have been made, even in the provinces in which the recent uprising had no echo. Andalusia, where the workers did not rise because they had been exhausted by a recent strike, the government has incarcerated party members simply because they are Socialists. A general charge of conspiracy against the Socialist Party and the General Union of Workers is in effect. There is thus a presumptive charge against every member of the Socialist Party in Spain.

Optimism prevails among the imprisoned leaders, however. Largo Caballero, General Secretary of the General Union of Workers and chairman of the Socialist Party, who in jail with officials of the large trade unions and the members of the executive committee of the party, awaiting trial, told Vincent Auriol:

"Tell the International that the party is not affected and that it has nothing to fear. Nothing can legally be done against it. The workers' forces remain intact. From the news which has reached us from every quarter it appears that the trade unions are rapidly reforming. The men who have fallen or who are in prison have already been replaced in the leading positions by other men. Except in Asturias the political and trade union organization of the workers is as strong as ever. Neither our faith nor our hopes have been imprisoned."

Caballero's views were vigorously supported by all his comrades,

jailed or free, who were at the interview.

Censorship of the news throughout the country has caused a remarkable silence to fall upon the press both there and abroad. The newspapers are giving no more space to Spain than they do in normal times. Yet a state of war exists, with its progeny of persecution, repression and atrocities. Little news has come from Asturias and other Basque provinces, where the most vicious fighting took place. From various authentic sources, however, it has been ascertained that the stories of atrocities committed by the rebels are merely fictions created by the reactionaries.

There is the famous case of the Franciscan monk which shocked the entire country. The miners were said to have cut off his legs, tortured him and then burned him in front of the church. Auriol states that he was still in Madrid when the Reverend arrived with both legs intact and in the best of health.

What is little known is that the Government used brutal black troops and criminally depraved men from the Foreign Legion to put down the rebellion. The workers had little chance against them, especially since they were accompanied by warships and aircraft.

After appalling warfare which lasted for twelve days the victorious soldiers were permitted by General Ochoa to indulge in the atrocities concomitant to conquering troops. Certified facts show that men, women and children were horribly murdered. In Oviedo 13 people were slaughtered in a little hut where they had gathered. Over four thousand dead are mourned by the people of Asturias.

This bitter fighting all over Spain, the subsequent arrest of the leaders over whom hangs the death penalty for "military rebellion," and the campaign against the organizations of the labor movement, has created a more compact and determined party. The Spanish Socialists are preparing once more to meet the formidable danger of the fascist Gil Robles and his "Accion Popular." The unity of the party is stronger than ever before. It will now take advantage of the disappointment felt by the working class and the peasants in consequence of the action of the bourgeoisie.

Tremendous resentment is prevalent among the people because of an abortive agrarian reform; too great delay in the application of the emasculated social laws; the seriousness and constantly increasing unemployment; the cancellation of the contracts of labor and a reverting to lower wages and longer hours; the sabotage and then the abrogation of the social

A.S.Q. to Analyze NRA

A Socialist analysis of the record of the National Recovery Administration by Dr. Harry W. Laidler will be featured in the forthcoming issue of the American Socialist Quarterly, official theoretical organ of the party. "Labor's Upsurge, 1933-1934," by Paul Porter, national labor secretary of the party, will also review certain aspects of the Roosevelt program and labor's reaction to it.

The Quarterly will present among other articles a discussion of the Communist International by David P. Berenberg, and on the question of the united front by Haim Kantorovitch. Book reviews will be included of Thomas' "Human Exploitation," Postgate's "How to Make a Revolution," and Strachey's "Literature and Dialectical Materialism."

It becomes more apparent, through these retreats from the democratic spirit, that the Republic will only be a republic if it is Socialist. Fascist activities of the monarchists, the Jesuits propelled by the force of Gil Robles and his band is too reminiscent of the events in Austria and Germany.

In contrast to the Socialist Party there is evidence that the bourgeois parties are splitting and the parliamentary majority will soon break up. The real radicals are frightened at the initiative of the Accion Popular and at the growing and dangerous authority of Gil Robles. Premier Alejandro Lerroux realizes that he is heading for the abyss, that he will soon be thrown overboard. He knows that in their present state of the social and political forces in Spain the Socialist Party and the General Union of Workers are the indispensable counter-balance to the monarchist organizations and to the unrestrained action of the Jesuits.

The prevailing opinion is that if the Republic were in peril, President Zamora would side with the Republican elements. The army is also divided. This division and the Republican attitude of the President will facilitate a trend away from the Right.

Party Notes

Kansas

State Organizer Clayton M. Crosier reports organization of three new locals, the rebuilding of Local Populka and helping the locals at Lawrence, Ottawa and Kansas City. His experience in the field convinces him that a strong movement can be built in 1935. He agreed to work for a month and expenses for the first few months but in the first month barely met expenses. Kansas Socialists are urged to raise the organization fund to \$100 a month.

Illinois

Chicago. The 6th Cong. Dist. has entered the spring elections in Chicago by nominating Morton Shulman for Alderman of the 24th Ward. Assistance is needed to procure signatures for his petition and also for the mayoral candidate in the election of April 2nd. The open forum of the 6th Cong. Dist. announces the following for January 35: Jan. 4th, Art McDowell (Cook County sec'y), "Prospects of American Labor in 1935"; Jan. 11th, Winston Daniels (Nat'l sec'y), "Socialism and the American Youth"; Jan. 18th, Mordecai Shulman, "Is the Socialist International Swinging Leftward?"; Jan. 25th, Symposium, "The Menace of American Fascism to Labor, Civil Liberties and Racial Minorities." The place, 3437 Roosevelt Rd. Time, every Friday at 8:15. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Thurs.

Pennsylvania

William E. Duffy is available for dates beginning Jan. 15. Duffy has had long trade union experience and for some time state organizer of New York. Locals and branches should write for dates. He will also hold conferences on educational and organizational work. Charge for his services is nominal. The State Executive Committee will meet at Philadelphia Sunday, Jan. 6, at the new Labor Temple, 415 South 19th St., at 10 a.m. The committee will confer itself primarily with problems of organization and draw up a program, which will be introduced by Darlington Hoopes and Lilith Wilson, Socialist legislators from Berks County.

Tony Sender Meetings
Tony Sender will speak in Pennsylvania at the following meetings:
Sun., Jan. 6, 2 p.m., at the International Socialist Lyceum, James and Foreland Sts., N.S. Pittsburgh. Auspices Conference of Germans against Hitlerism.
Sun., Jan. 6, 8 p.m., at Moose Hall, 1045 5th Ave., New Kensington, Pa. Joint auspices of the Allegheny Valley Central Labor Union and Socialist Party.
Mon., Jan. 7, 8 p.m., at new Socialist Party headquarters, Erie. Party auspices.
Tues., Jan. 8, 8:15 p.m., at Schenley High School Auditorium, Bigelow Blvd. and Center Ave., Pittsburgh. Auspices of the Socialist Party of Allegheny Co.

Wed., Jan. 9, 8 p.m., at Socialist Party headquarters, 122 9th St., Pittsburgh. Auspices Women's Committee.
Thurs., Jan. 10, 8 p.m., at Odd Fellows Hall, 8th and Franklin Sts., Reading. Auspices Socialist Party.
Fri., Jan. 11, 8 p.m., at Labor Lyceum, 126 No. 6th St., Allentown. Auspices of the Socialist Party.
Sat., Jan. 12, 8 p.m., at New Labor Lyceum, 415 So. 19th St., Philadelphia. Auspices of the Socialist Party.

Connecticut

Hamden. The local elected the following: Town Chairman, Walter E. Davis; Fin. Sec'y-Treas., Mrs. Wallace Lewis; Rec. Sec'y, Gilbert Davis; Registrar of Voters, Cornelius Mahoney; Publicity Agent, William Bence; Literature Agent, F. R. Norton; Organizing Committee: H. T. Shapiro, Gustave Berquist, F. R. Norton, Kathleen Doolittle, Wm. Bence; Literature Committee, Party Press: F. R. Norton, Gustave Berquist, Wm. Bence; Social Committee: Rose P. Crescent, L. Lewis, Gilbert Davis, Kathleen Doolittle.

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class continues each Thursday eve., at 8:45 at 585 Main Ave. under the leadership of Aaron Levenstein.
Joint meeting of Branch 1, the Jewish Verband and the Vipsels Friday eve., Jan. 4, at Workmen's Circle, 50 Howe Av. All comrades and friends are urged to keep Saturday eve., Feb. 9, open for the Passaic County New Leader Dinner. Details later.

New York State

State Executive Committee will meet at People's House, New York, Sunday morning at 11.

Waverly. Local Waverly has elected the following officers: Organizer, George E. Newbury; Secretary, Mary Newbury; Treasurer, Robert Lane; Literature Agent, Marvenc Compton.

Ithaca. Dr. Edward A. Ott spoke on "Where We Would Begin" at the last Wednesday evening meeting of Local Tompkins County. A big mass meeting with a speaker of national renown is planned for April. The local recently adopted a resolution declaring that it regarded "every person as a Socialist who favors the abolition of Capitalism and the substitution of Socialism in an orderly manner."

State Referendum. An extension of time for upstate locals to vote on the referendum on amendments to the Party State Constitution has been granted by the State Secretary.

Yonkers. Wm. M. Feigenbaum of New York is scheduled to speak at the forum of the Yonkers branch next Monday eve. Buffalo. Forum at headquarters, 483 Main St., at 8:15 p.m.—Friday, Jan. 4, Prof. Georges Connes of France, "The Power."

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Problems of French Socialism": Friday, Jan. 11, Robert A. Hoffman, "The Road Power."

Features of the Week on

(1890 Kc.) WEVD (131 M)

Sunday—11 a. m., Forkard Hour; 12:15 p. m., Rose Buska, soprano; 8:15, Don Carlos, "Poet Philosopher"; 8:15, Rogues' Revue, Latin American Music; 10, Symposium: "Shall We have Government Banking?" Amos Pinchof, member of Board of Directors, Committee for The Nation; Dr. Julius I. Bogen, editor, Journal of Commerce; A. Wilfred May of Columbia University.

Monday—8 a. m., "Starting the Day Right" with Jacob S. List; 5:30 p. m., Polish Musicals.

Tuesday—8 p. m., Ernest Hemingway; 8:15, Esther Lane and Charles Anderson, songs; 8:30, Rose Kay, pianist; 8:45, "Economic Planning—Society in the Making," Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild of New York University; 10, New Leader Review of the News; 10:15, Cora Graham, soprano; 10:30, "Paris in New York," music.

Wednesday—8 p. m., "Negro Life in Harlem"; 8:15, Perla Del Sur, West Indian Orchestra; 10, "Collective Bargaining Under the NRA," talk by Julius Hochman, general manager of the Dressmakers' Union; 10:15, Concert House; Jack Salmon, baritone; Ruth Spitzer, soprano; Edith Friedman, piano.

Thursday—8 p. m., "The White Collar Unemployed," talk by Miss Grace Gosselin, Emergency Relief Bureau; 8:45, "Psychoanalysis Today," Dr. Sanford Lorand, Chief of Mental Health Clinic, Mt. Sinai Hospital; 10, Edward Peterson, singer; 10:15, "Newspaper Guild on the Air," talk; 10:30, Olive Geesty, soprano; 10:45, Edith Friedman, pianist.

Friday—8 p. m., Talk by Phelps Phelps; 8:15, "Art of Enjoying Music," Dr. Sigmund Speth, University of the Air; 8:30, Cecil Burrows, baritone; 10, sketch—League for Industrial Democracy presentation; 10:30, Medical Hour; 10:45, Six Rhythm Tempos, vocal instrumental.

Saturday—6 p. m., Jewish Events of Week; talk; 6:30, "Annie and the Skunk"; 8:45, "A Mother's Sketch" featuring Jennie Moskowitz; Metropolitan String Ensemble; talk: Seth Low College and New University; 10:30, Jesse Wolf,

The New Leader Book Corner

The Vienna That Will Rise Again

By James Oneal

NAOMI MITCHISON'S VIENNA DIARY. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas.

THE HOUSING PROGRAM OF THE CITY OF VIENNA. By Charles O. Hardy and Robert R. Kuczynski. Washington, D. C. The Brookings Institution.

IMMEDIATELY after the crushing of the Socialist movement of Austria by clerical fascism in February, 1934, Miss Mitchison left England for Vienna to bring relief to the stricken working class. Keeping a day-to-day diary of her experiences, it is now made available in book form. When she arrived the "Christian" despotism of Dollfuss, Fey and Starhemberg, supported by Mussolini and the Catholic Church, had the upper hand but she found the Social Democratic Party "very much alive," although underground.

Through the eyes of one who can best be described as a "humanitarian Socialist" who had not "stopped trying to live up to the main ideas of Jesus," the reader gets a close-up view of the lives of the defeated workers. She had to be careful in all her movements to avoid the police and spies. She met many workers in little cafes and secret nooks and heard the stories of women in the municipal homes shelled by the artillery of Dollfuss, stories of the fighting, of arrests, of beatings of prisoners, of the insults heaped upon women by the "Christian" soldiers, of privations and sacrifices, of intimidations, of discrimination in distributing "Christian" relief, of the executions, misery and desolation that came to tens of thousands of families of Socialist fighters.

While despair is expressed by some, hope and confidence of ultimate victory of the working class survive in the mass of workers. This diary strengthens our conviction that the proletariat of Austria

will in the end give an answer to the clerical-capitalist hangmen who for a time ride the tide of reaction. The final meeting with comrades as the diarist boarded the train in Vienna is inspiring. We quote:

"I got into the train, and the doors slammed all down its sides; and then we made the other sign, the clenched right fist held not now overhead at proud stretched arm's length for all to see, but secretly, the doubled arm only reaching to shoulder-height. And the last thing I saw was Anne, with the clenched fist hard up to her cheek, and her face white, and her eyes dark and set and wishing me well."

The book by Hardy and Kuczynski is an informative and detailed account of the Socialist housing program in Vienna, now destroyed by "Christian" fascism. The authors present a short account of the pre-war housing situation, the political backgrounds and constitutional status of Vienna in the Austrian State, the housing situation immediately after the war, the building program of the Socialists and the administration of Vienna housing to the end of the Socialist regime.

The study is objective in its approach. The authors have no theories to defend or to attack; they are merely interested in this famous experiment in municipal housing. However, on the historical side a contrast emerges between the old Vienna of the landlords, clericals and capitalists and the new Vienna of the Socialist working class. It is the difference between the pious exploiter of human beings in the first period and these human beings in the second period taking charge of their own affairs. One gets an idea of the "religion" expressed in the crowns and schillings lost by the ruling cliques in the housing experiment of Red Vienna. To recover them they did not rely on prayers; police and heavy artillery may be carnal methods of salvation but they delivered the material goods while the working class provided the blood required as a sacrifice for the remission of sins.

By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

As Congress Meets

THIS column must be written before the opening of Congress and the reading of the President's message. Hence comment on national matters and the President's program must be tentative. We may at least rejoice that, according to Senator Nye, the

President has at last decided definitely to favor the continuance of the munitions inquiry.

Columns have been written about the Administration's proposed new program for the unemployed. I prefer to await the President's own authoritative statement. I do, however, want to say that I do not believe adequate care can be taken of the unemployed if after June 1935 we are to go in for a balanced budget. The budget might be balanced, indeed, by a capital levy or a kind of income and inheritance taxes which it is not likely that capitalism will accept. It will do no good to balance it on paper by a more or less fictitious discrimination between routine and emergency appropriations. Neither will it do any good to balance the federal budget by turning over a large part of the support of the unemployed to states and cities.



Norman Thomas

It is true enough that intelligent work for the unemployed requires some recognition of the principle of neighborhood interest and responsibility. It is, however, entirely clear by now that the proper taxing agency for unemployed relief is the federal government. Some states and cities have been so drained of resources by the pull of capital toward New York or Chicago that literally they cannot take adequate care of their unemployed. State and city taxation is not uniform. It creates practical problems for all sorts of citizens.

Federal taxation for unemployment relief can be uniform and it is harder to escape. Moreover, federal administration of unemployment insurance or a public works program is on the whole likely to be more honest and efficient than state or city administration, especially if put under a proper civil service. If constitutional difficulties can be overcome, by all means unemployment insurance should be a federal function. In general, the principle may well be that states and cities have a right to raise relief benefits but not to lower them below a level fixed by the federal authorities for the whole nation. Simplicity of taxation, uniformity and equality of benefits, and the principle of taxation according to ability to pay all mean that contrary to the popular opinion in the ruling class it is the federal government and federal taxation which ought to support the burden of unemployment relief.

plies, the materials for building the schools, and other things necessary to our system of public education. They must own not only the federal building but also the railroads which carry the mails. They must own not only public services and our industry but also the government who ministers these things.

sentative McCormack extend his inquiry into the colleges.

Mr. Woll is playing with fire which may yet burn the A. F. of L. itself, to which he professes to be devoted. One can only rejoice on reading his letter, which the Hearst papers carried conspicuously, that today Mr. Woll is no longer as great a force as he once was in shaping the policies of the American Federation of Labor. No matter how sincerely he may protest that he is the enemy and not the friend of fascism, the methods he supports can have no other effect than the strengthening of fascist forces and tendencies in America.

Many Important Books

ONE of the encouraging signs of the times, which it is proper to acknowledge at New Year's, is the appearance of so much thoughtful literature on questions that concern us all. I can't turn this column into a book review, but I can at least say a little bit from time to time about books which have interested me.

First let me acknowledge, with thanks, Sir Stafford Cripps' little book, "Why This Socialism?", published in England by Victor Gollantz. It is a thoughtful propagandist statement—I use propaganda in its best sense—by one of the leaders of English Socialism addressed to his fellow countrymen. It is directed particularly to the English situation, but American readers will find it convincing.

In our own country Louis M. Hacker, the historian, has written an invaluable "Short History of the New Deal" (F. S. Crofts & Co., New York). No single book gives the reader so many authentic facts about the New Deal, and the facts are presented so that one never loses sight of the woods in the multitude of the trees. Mr. Hacker is concerned with history and he does not let his own point of view color his presentation of it. He does, however, give us some very suggestive paragraphs of interpretation. With most of them I and, I am sure Socialists in general, would heartily agree. Certainly I agree in general with his conclusion concerning AAA. I am not, however, persuaded that given the present state of technical efficiency in agriculture, we already have "too many farmers and too much land in cultivation." Mr. Gove Hambidge has given very interesting figures which I have quoted in my own book, "Human Exploitation," to show that we would need more, not less, land in cultivation were we to live up to the standard of living laid down in Plan No. 4 by the Bureau of Home Economics. This report, I may say, was confirmed to me by the admission of one of the economists of the Department of Agriculture. It is certainly true that a little over nine pounds per capita of finished cotton cloth for household and domestic use is woefully inadequate. One may admit that it is industry rather than agriculture which must take up slack among the unemployed. One may go farther and admit that probably agriculture will or should occupy a steadily decreasing proportion of the population and yet deny that already we have got a surplus of foodstuffs or what they need. Of course, some foodstuffs might of farmers provided the American people could use well be produced in other nations and be purchased by Americans in trade for what we produce. There is a lot of marginal land in America which ought to be turned back into forests and not used for farming. But in my zeal for urging this point on agriculture I do not want to draw away your attention from the immense value of Mr. Hacker's book.

Gus Tyler has already reviewed Raymond W. Postgate's book, "How to Make a Revolution" (Vanguard Press, New York). It is an immensely commonsense document of particular value because its author was himself one of the leaders of the Communist Party in England. Therefore what he says on the subject of Communism and Communist tactics is of peculiar value. He seems to have learned much.

Believers in any sort of real social revolution in our western world will probably be inclined to view with suspicion a book entitled "The Power of Non-Violence" by Richard B. Gregg (Lippincott). Nevertheless, I do not hesitate earnestly to recommend it. It is amazing what human nature has been able to accomplish by resistance that may fairly be called non-violence. Mr. Gregg effectively tells a story on a basis of wide information. His case for non-violence is based on the fact that so often it works. This is a pragmatic basis and I do not believe that it can support the absolute ethical command which he bases on it, that men should refrain from violence under any and every circumstance in the struggle for social justice. Nevertheless, I am emphatically in agreement with him that there are enormous social values in victories won without the poison that organized violence introduces into human relations.

THE SAAR AND AFTER

WHAT will happen after the people of the Saar have voted next Sunday? Will it be war or peace. These vital questions will be taken up in a highly important and authoritative article by DR. SIEGFRIED LIPSCHITZ in next week's NEW LEADER.

TONY SENDER, brilliant and heroic German Socialist woman, now in this country, will write for The New Leader. Watch for her articles.

AMERICA GROPE FOR UTOPIA, a series of articles that will clear the minds of Americans who wonder if there is any hope in the Townsend Plan, Utopia, Inc., in the EPIC, in Father Coughlin's new organization—or if there is no hope at all. The first article will appear soon. Don't miss a single one.

HEARST—PUBLIC ENEMY NUMBER ONE, an article with little known facts about the "great" journalist and "friend of the people," by Aaron Levenstein, whose article on Huey Long was appreciated.

JOHN T. FLYNN, one of America's most important financial authorities, has written a significant article on our money muddle. Watch for it!

AND A GREAT ANNIVERSARY NUMBER, with notable articles from leaders of Socialism and Labor all over the world in February.

YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO MISS THE NEW LEADER.

THE HEART OF SOCIALISM

By Anna A. Maley

The late Anna A. Maley was one of the most effective propagandists for Socialism in an earlier period of American Socialist history. The following is from her excellent propaganda pamphlet, "Our National Kitchen."

OUR bread-winning machinery is necessary to the lives of men together. It may be called social-use property. Socialism stands for a new industrial control—for the social ownership and the democratic control of social-use or industrial property.

Some forms of property may be privately owned without injury to the community. Things which are subject to private use should be privately owned.

The productive properties, the industrial properties, upon which all depend, cannot be owned by the individual without injury to the community. Mills, mines, railroads, telegraph and telephone facilities—the great means of production, transportation and communication—are subject to social use and should be socially owned and controlled.

You accept the principle of social control to the extent that you believe in public schools, public roads, the public postoffice, the public fire department and such other things as are maintained for the use of the community rather than for the private profit of the few.

The public schools and other public institutions, it is charged, are full of graft and other abuses. An

Mister Hearst

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST'S continual playing up of fear, suspicion and hate of Japan makes him a danger to America. To this evil role in foreign affairs Mr. Hearst has added two other grave injuries to the American people. He is a leader in the fight of the publishers against the proper sort of collective bargaining by newspaper reporters to their own organization and in their own behalf. The fight of the American Newspaper Guild is one of the most encouraging things in the field of labor and Hearst is perhaps its single greatest enemy.

To cap the climax of his ill-deeds, Mr. Hearst is the chief creator of a new wave of anti-Red hysteria. In particular he is excited about a largely nonexistent "red propaganda in schools and colleges." All his papers carried a contemptible letter by President Robinson of City College, New York—a man who long ago ought to have been removed from his position if for no other reason than because he cannot keep order in college without the aid of annual riots, expulsions, and the help of the police. In this letter President Robinson condemns all organization by students who are interested in radical matters. Now Mr. Hearst is asking the McCormack Committee, which was set up by the House of Representatives to investigate un-American activities, to extend its inquiry into a "probe of college Reds."

Such a probe may be represented as directed only against Communists. Its effect will be felt not only by Socialists, by advocates of the right of labor to organize, but by just plain liberals. All history teaches that lesson. Hence it is surprising and very disappointing to find Matthew Woll rushing to the support of Hearst and demanding that Repre-

LABOR SECTION

The Editor Comments: For Labor Solidarity!

FORWARD TO GREAT MEETING OF NEGRO WORKERS SUNDAY!

THE great mass meeting of Negro labor in the Rockland Palace Sunday afternoon will be a significant event. From all over Greater New York will come Negro workers in the various industries, as well as those who are unemployed, to hear eminent speakers in a plea for black and white solidarity in trade union organization. "Only by the organization and education of Negro and white labor can we save ourselves from the swamps of poverty, unemployment, lynchings and race prejudice. Join the bona fide union of your trade—now!" So reads the call for this mass meeting.

We urge every reader of the Labor Section to do his or her utmost to bring this meeting to the attention of Negro workers. Religious, national and race prejudices have divided the workers. These prejudices have at times even entered the unions. Where they exist they weaken the workers in the struggle for better conditions. Labor can never realize its full strength so long as such prejudices survive.

The terrible sufferings of the working masses as a result of five years of depression and unemployment are wiping out these prejudices. Hunger knows no distinction. Breadlines gather in both black and white, the American and foreign born. When the general wage level sinks, it bears upon all alike. Capitalism tends to reduce all workers to one level of poverty.

When our labor power is offered in the market, the employer does not care whether it is offered by black or white, American or native born. He is interested only in how cheap he can buy it. He will buy it from the cheapest and weakest worker, and that worker is the one who is not organized, who is not united with his fellow workers in the union fight against utter degradation of all workers.

Knowledge of these facts is being seared into the souls of many workers in this period of unemployment and starvation. They are awakening to the message of human solidarity in the labor struggle for a better life and the ultimate freedom of all workers from the insecurity and jobless hell that has swallowed up millions of their kind.

So this great mass meeting of Negro toilers next Sunday becomes a notable date in New York labor history. We hope that the masses who meet there will get inspiration to join the unions that are co-operating to make the meeting a success. Many thousands of colored workers are already members of the unions. All are welcomed to join.

As members, they will have the full rights and privileges that all others have. They will share in the responsibilities of the union struggle and contribute their share to the building of that human solidarity that will eventually free all mankind from industrial degradation and servitude.

Greetings to the mass meeting of colored workers in Rockland Palace on Sunday! Forward to union fraternity of all workers!

JAMES ONEAL.

CONGRATULATIONS TO HARLEM LABOR COMMITTEE

WE give a great deal of prominence to Sunday's Negro labor mass meeting in Harlem because we believe it will mark an epoch in American labor history. A movement will be set on foot which should have historic implications for both white and Negro workers. The A. F. of L. has over and over again placed itself on record as being opposed to discrimination against Negroes. Though national conventions have laid down policy and though race prejudice is a violation of every ideal of labor, specific international unions have time and again discriminated against colored workers. Negroes have felt themselves justified in being suspicious of the professed friendliness of organized labor in view of this record.

In other unions, however—notably in the needle trades of New York and other "Socialistic" unions—the reverse policy has been not only adopted on paper but carried through. The I.L.G.W.U., the Amalgamated have clean records; and they in turn have been the beneficiaries of the loyalty, devotion and love of Negro members. In launching this campaign to get all Negro workers into the respective unions of their crafts, the Harlem Labor Committee is to be congratulated or is move toward the solidarity of black and white labor and the general emancipation of the working class.

AGAINST UNION-BREAKERS— AND RED-BAITERS, TOO!

NOBODY who reads this column of comment can accuse us of a sneaking fondness for Communists, unless it be for individual partyites encountered in other lines of endeavor. Certainly there can be no reason to suspect any admiration here for Communist crimes on the industrial field against the workingclass. Nevertheless, we must protest in the name of all unionists who are revolutionists against the attempt to make the Communists, whether as dual (scab) unionists or as guerilla battlers within bona fide unions, the chief enemy of the workers. The Communists themselves played that same game with such deadly harm in too many lands for unionists here to follow example. Especially pernicious is the attempt to go to government bodies for action which should be taken within trade union

That's why the letter of the Teachers' Union (printed elsewhere) resident Green protesting against Matthew Woll's red-baiting is especially timely. The Teachers' Union has had its own battle with Communist disruption and Communist treachery. But it is that its fight must be fought by its own aroused membership and not by red raids and anti-radical hysteria which can easily be used to stifle all radicalism and all unionism. That the letter should

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FRANK R. CROSSWAITH,
chairman of the Harlem Labor
Committee, organizer for the I. L.
G. W. U. and prominent Socialist

No Place in Labor Movement For Race or Color Prejudice

By Frank R. Crosswaith

IN the six-story building at 3 West 16th Street owned by the union of which he is the trusted leader, sat David Dubinsky, president of the mighty International Ladies Garment Workers' Union—a union which, the third largest in the American Federation of Labor, is among those in the vanguard of the American labor movement.

The president's office is located on the fifth floor of the building and is comparatively bare of furnishings and decorations. Its simplicity gives one an impression of power minus pomp and extravagance. In this regard, the physical appearance of the room is markedly in contrast to some other offices I have seen.

Except for a single, large flat-topped desk laden with documents, three ordinary but comfortable chairs and two telephones constantly in use, there was nothing in the room that one could readily associate with the power and prestige which this union and its president represent.

Gompers and Debs.

What was lacking in material pretentiousness, however, was compensated for in the statued presence of two of America's labor leaders—life-sized busts of Samuel Gompers, who helped build and who for



DAVID DUBINSKY,
president of the I. L. G. W. U.,
vice-president of the A. F. of L.

Historic Meeting of Negro Labor in Harlem

LAUNCHING a movement which is expected to enroll the Negro workers of New York and other communities by the thousands into A. F. of L. unions, the Harlem Labor Committee has announced a huge mass meeting at Rockland County Palace, 115th Street and 8th Avenue, New York, for this Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock. Judging by the response so far, this will be the greatest labor demonstration ever staged in Harlem. It will be the first of its kind ever attempted.

Among the speakers will be President William Green of the A. F. of L. and the following outstanding Negro and white labor leaders: A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters Union; David

Dubinsky, vice-president of the A. F. of L. and president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; William Green, A. F. of L. New York representative; James Bambrick, president of the Building Service Employees' Union, 32-B; Frank R. Crosswaith, general organizer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and chairman of the Harlem Labor Committee, and Noah C. Walter, secretary of the committee. President Green, in endorsing the meeting, stated that he also would present a special message to the meeting. This message will deal with vital problems facing Negro labor in particular and the organized labor movement in general.

The meeting is sponsored jointly by the Harlem Labor Committee, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Building Service Employees' Union 32-B, and the Union Mechanics' Association. Plans are being made to have the speeches broadcast.

TEACHERS UNION HITS "LOYALTY" PLEDGE ACTION

Also Protests to President Green
Against Woll's Hearst-Aid-
ing Red-Baiting

DECLARING that neither Dr.

George J. Ryan, president of the Board of Education, the board itself nor the board of examiners has the power to impose tests of "loyalty" upon teacher applicants, the Teachers' Union protested against action by Ryan instituting such tests and called for a system of teachers' councils to sit in judgment on any such proposed requirement. The ultimate purpose of "loyalty" questions is the same as that embodied in the malodorous Lusk School laws—the "disciplining" or the dismissal of those teachers who hold views on the social order different from the views of those who administer the regulations," the union insisted.

At the same time, the union made public a letter it had sent to President William Green of the A. F. of L., with which it is affiliated, protesting against the witch-hunting activities of Vice-President Matthew Woll in concert with the Hearst newspaper syndicate. Woll, aiding in the millionaire newspapermen's anti-red campaign, does so as acting president of the National Civic Federation.

Urging that there is nothing in the law giving anybody but the Board of Superintendents the power to propose qualifications for licenses, the Teachers' Union stated that the "Board of Examiners did not maintain its own professional dignity by accepting without justification the order to assist in the formulation of a political test as a condition of employment."

"Owing to the fact that the administration of this political test will be carried out by the Board of Superintendents and the Board of Education, both of which bodies are

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No Place in Labor Movement for Race Prejudice President Dubinsky, I.L.G.W.U., Tells Crosswaith

(Continued from Page 1-L)

Pausing for a moment while his gray eyes rested on the cold yet live features of Gene Debs, he continued: "Nevertheless, from all that I have seen and heard about our colored brothers and sisters, we have every reason to be proud of them. They are among the most intelligent, loyal and devoted members of our unions. To me there is something fascinating and gratifying about the conduct of the colored union garment workers, once they are convinced of the absence of prejudice on the part of their fellow workers and union officials.

Courage and Loyalty

"On the picket line they are the bane of the scabs; they show marvelous courage and inspiring loyalty to their union; then, too, wherever they are, whether on the picket line, in union meetings or in the shop, their inseparable companions are their songs, their music, their mirth, their ready wit and laughter and their lonely working class philosophy. They seem to grasp easily the true meaning of the word solidarity.

"I am particularly pleased to observe this, for the colored people have been so cruelly misrepresented before the eyes of organized labor

and before the eyes of the nation. It has been said that the colored people as a whole are hostile to the principles of organized labor, that they are the scabs of America and that their sympathies are on the side of the rich. It has also been said that colored people are unorganizable. Our experience has shown conclusively what we have always believed: that there is no basis for these statements.

Mutual Benefit

"I recall that similar stories were once liberally peddled about the Jewish workers; today, however, no sane person believes any such nonsense about Jewish workers. We have shown our ability to build and conduct successful and powerful labor unions. It is my solemn conviction that when colored workers will be treated on the basis of equality with their white fellow workers—as they are in our International—the labor movement as a whole will gain imperishable values as a result. And by the same token, when our Negro comrades understand the motives and ideals of the labor movement, and are enabled to enter into it, they will bring to it those priceless spiritual treasures they so generously contributed to the world when America languished in the slough of an agrarian economy based upon the unpaid labor of black and white slaves and indentured servants."

Satisfied with this forthright statement, I then asked the following question: "President Dubinsky, now that you are a vice-president of the American Federation of Labor and a member of its executive council, will you use your influence in that important body to press for a squarer deal for Negro workers?"

No Place for Prejudice

Equally prompt and candid was the reply: "As a vice-president of the American Federation of Labor and a member of its governing body, I shall endeavor to pursue the policy that has marked our organization in the labor movement. To me a worker is a worker, and among workers there is no place

for national, religious or racial prejudice. Everything that tends to divide and weaken the ranks of labor, by the same token strengthens the ranks of labor's exploiters. I shall continue to work for a more powerful and enlightened labor movement inclusive of all workers of hand and brain and of every race, creed, color, nationality or sex."

At this point Secretary Haskell's gentle and cautioning voice advised the president of an important appointment already overdue. I went out ready to carry the International's message to other workers throughout the country and especially to my Negro co-workers.



Public Speaking Class, Dressmakers' Local 22: Group of Harlemites Enrolled for Instruction in Effective Address.



Trade Unionism Class, Local 22: Colored Workers Eager to Learn Lessons of Labor History and Principles.

Teachers Union Hits 'Loyalty' Pledge and Woll Red-Baiting

(Continued from Page 1-L)

known to have been selected chiefly because of political affiliations, the probability of the misuse of the questionnaire against teachers who hold other political views will be increased.

"Twice within the same year teachers of New York City have witnessed the subjection of their profession to suspicion-breeding requirements, with compulsory oaths on both counts. The effect of these unprofessional acts is to advertise to the country at large the inference that at least a considerable number of New York teachers are being indicted as less than honorable members of the teaching body.

"The Teachers' Union proclaims to the 36,000 teachers of the city the imperative need of demanding of the educational authorities that in every technical or professional requirement proposed, the consent of the teachers be secured by such a legally provided process as would be possible through a democratically elected and truly representative teachers council."

The letter to President Green follows:

President William Green,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

I am writing to you to enter a formal protest against the participation of Matthew Woll, a vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, in the "heresy-hunting" activities of the Hearst newspapers which are being directed against liberal college teachers in some of the great universities. It is true, Mr. Woll now speaks as acting president of the National Civic Federation, an organization active in the state in support of the infamous Lusk school laws which organized labor itself helped to abolish in 1923.

However, it is because of Mr. Woll's responsibility as a leader in the labor movement that or-

ganized union teachers are forced to bear the brunt of the discredit of his stand in opposition to the spirit of academic freedom in the schools and colleges of this country.

For several years teachers' unions have been trying to further the organization of the college teachers who are friendly to organized labor. We are obliged to state frankly at this time that the most serious obstacle we have met in this endeavor is the current belief among educators that Mr. Woll represents a reactionary and fascist spirit; and because of his frequent public utterances of that character, such spirit tends to be charged against all labor leadership, no matter how progressive it may actually be. Since Mr. Woll appears to be indifferent to the need of protecting academic freedom in the colleges even in behalf of the interests of organized labor, we believe that it is incumbent on enlightened labor leadership, of which your own attitude toward intolerant fascism is a well-known example, to protect the labor movement from discredit in this emergency.

I bespeak your deep concern in this matter of making it known to the liberal and progressive elements throughout the country that organized labor stands for freedom of conscience, freedom of inquiry and freedom of speech, not only for the workers in industry, but also for the "white collar" workers in educational institutions without whose trained intelligence, scholarship and friendly cooperation organized labor may not be able to make effective headway against the social forces aligned in opposition to our movement.

Fraternalty yours,

(signed) Henry R. Linville,
President, Teachers' Union of N. Y.

Seamen's Wage Boost Effective

International Seamen's Union
Contract Calls for Higher
Pay Scale

EFFECTIVE January 1, a general increase in seamen's wages became effective under the contract signed a week ago between leading American merchant ship lines and the International Seamen's Union, spokesman for the maritime workers. A basic monthly wage of \$57.50 for able-bodied seamen and firemen, the highest in any nation, is provided in the contract, which was signed after protracted negotiations and strike threats. An abortive strike was called and was then called off after seven days by the Marine Workers' Industrial Union (Communist) in an unsuccessful attempt to get a look-in in the negotiations.

The first line to complete revised wage scales for the entire sea-going personnel was the Calmar Steamship Corporation. The scale ranges from \$270 monthly for chief engineer to \$35 for mess-boy. First engineer and first officer get \$167.50; second officer and second assistant engineer \$140; third officer and third assistant engineer \$125; steward-cook \$105; second cook, \$90; wireless operator \$95; carpenter \$72, and boatswain, deck engineer and oiler \$67.50.

A number of other lines have also granted increases to licensed personnel, in some cases companies not in contractual relations with the union or the United Licensed Officers' Association. A committee has been appointed to represent the unlicensed personnel on a board of arbitration to meet with the ship owners whenever controversial matters arise in connection with the new wage schedule. The committee will consist of Percy J. Pryor, Eastern and Gulf Sailors' Union; Oscar Carlson, secretary,

Levy Flays Bar Association Group for Anti-Social Stand

THE special committee of the American Bar Association which opposed the child labor amendment is composed of lawyers whose social philosophies and political affiliations are antagonistic to social change, according to Matthew M. Levy, labor attorney, who accused these lawyers of writing that antagonism into the law without justification. The committee, headed by William D. Guthrie, declared that the amendment cannot be legally ratified because of the lapse of time since it was submitted to the states by Congress in 1924.

"The committee of the American Bar Association, appointed to oppose ratification of the amendment, is unjustifiably seeking to place the weight of the association against the enlightened opinion of economists, sociologists, labor and thousands of members of the bar throughout this country," Comrade Levy declared in a statement to the press.

"Not content with expressing reactionary arguments against the amendment—which have long since been exploded—the committee, presumably composed of eminent lawyers, seeks to bring pressure upon the legislatures of the several states to refuse to ratify the amendment upon the specious ground of unconstitutionality.

"The Supreme Court of the United States has never once in all of its history declared any amendments to the basic law are purely matters of political and social significance and the Supreme Court would have no power to declare unconstitutional an amendment to the Constitution itself.

"In the Dillon case, which is cited by the committee, the only issue before the Supreme Court was whether Congress had the power to provide that the Prohibition Amendment shall not become ef-

fective unless ratified within seven years of its submission. The Supreme Court did not hold that ratification within ten or even twenty years of a proposed amendment where no time limitation was imposed by Congress would be void. In its opinion rendered in 1921, the Supreme Court mentioned four proposed amendments which had not yet been ratified—two in 1789, one in 1810 and one in 1861—and stated that ratification must be within some reasonable time after the proposal.

"That by no means is a decision to the effect that ratification within ten or twenty years would be voided. When the special committee of the American Bar Association published its opinion to the contrary, it is giving its opinion gratuitously and without basis in law. Labor objects to the courts' being utilized to cloak the embodiment into the law of the personal, economic or moral beliefs of lawyers.

"I for one refuse to place private property at the center of our social philosophy, at the expense of the human rights of the individual and the collective rights of society. If the Supreme Court were, like the association's committee, to declare the Child Labor Amendment unconstitutional because as individuals they disapprove of its social effect, they will be writing into our constitutional fabric their individual and personal outlook upon economic and social life.

"The courts of our country have more than once been severely demurred for just this. Were the Supreme Court to follow the opinion of this committee and to void the ratification of the amendment because such ratification within ten years—when it did not place any limit on the time of such ratification—would again justify the abolition of the Court because of its power.

Marine Firemen's Union, and David E. Grange, secretary, Marine Cooks' and Stewards' Union.

Jubilee Convention of Canada Labor Congress Maps Fighting Program

I.F.T.U. Dispatch

WINNIPEG.—This year's fiftieth annual convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, which is affiliated with the I.F.T.U., was significant not only on account of being the Jubilee Convention but also for the number of representatives who attended and the work done by convention. A total of 373 delegates, representing an average for the year of 103,424 paying members, attended.

This figure should not be taken as the actual number of members, since in practically all the affiliated organizations there are a large number who, because of unemployment, are not in a position to keep their contributions paid up to date their contributions paid up to date and for whom, therefore, no affiliation fees were paid. While in normal years about 30% could be added to account for these members, in the present abnormal conditions 50% would not be an unfair estimate. The total receipts for the year amounted to \$25,228 and the total expenditure \$22,167.

Minimum Wages: From the international point of view, Canada's numerous legislative experiments in the sphere of minimum wages are of particular interest. In this connection, a resolution was adopted stating that:

"We recognize that the present trend is towards regulation of industry to prevent exploitation, which has been exposed as so prevalent in the industries of this Dominion. Experience of the operation of minimum wage laws has disclosed their ineffectiveness fully to protect workers unless backed by strong trade union organization, and we therefore emphasize that this is a primary essential, irrespective of what form legislation may take.

Bosses Evade Acts

"We are not unmindful of the betterment of the condition that

has been gained through the operation of minimum wage laws for women. Fair Wage Acts and regulations and similar measures enacted as the result of pressure exerted by the trade unions affiliated with the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. At the same time, we cannot ignore the many abuses that have continued to exist because of the subtlety of a number of employers in evading the intent of these acts."

To overcome this and prevent similar evasions and disadvantages in existing and any new legislation that may be enacted, Congress put forward a series of recommendations from which we quote the most important: Appointment of sufficient inspectors to ensure enforcement of the laws; all industrial regulatory laws to provide for a minimum and maximum number of hours to which they should apply; uniformity throughout the Dominion to prevent interprovincial competition and evasion of the standards set by the removal of industries from one province to another. In this connection, a special demand is made for uniform methods of enforcing the laws, the Trades and Labor Congress going so far as to express its support for the introduction of minimum wage laws to apply to women serving a prison sentence for a second or subsequent offence.

Must Work With Unions

The demands continue: "It is our opinion that any such laws must provide for co-operation with bona fide unions, as it is only by full recognition of union agreements being accepted as the schedule to be enforced that the breaking down of established conditions can be avoided. Any legislation which ignores this fundamental principle of collective agreements should also schedules fixed arbitrarily by legislative bodies without consultation and agreement with the trade union organizations of the classes of workers covered by the same."

Freedom of Organization (Political Freedom for Public Workers): Five resolutions were considered on the question of freedom of association and it was decided to press

vigorously for legislation to protect the workers fully in the exercise of their rights to organize and to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing.

Full Political Freedom

The convention adopted resolutions reiterating its stand for full political freedom for the employees of public bodies and protesting against a recently issued order of the Ontario Hydro Electric Commission which denied the exercise of political rights to its employees. As a result, the objectionable order has been cancelled and the same policy introduced as that prevailing on the Canadian National Railways, which allows its employees to run for public office by securing leave or absence and, if elected, to carry on their regular occupation between the sessions of the body to which they have been elected.

Fascism: The convention adopted a resolution pledging itself to use every legitimate means at its disposal to defeat any attempt to introduce Fascism into Canada or to establish this or any form of

dictatorship. To this end, the Federal Government will be asked to enact legislation prohibiting the wearing of uniforms in public by political organizations. Another resolution which would have empowered the Executive Council of the Congress to issue a decree to its membership for passive resistance to stop the introduction of Fascism or its equivalent was defeated, as the former resolution was thought to cover the question adequately.

Anti-War Action: One of the resolutions adopted by the convention reiterated that no declaration of war by Canada shall be made before a referendum has been taken of the people.

For Public Ownership

Economic Planning: The economic policy adopted last year was endorsed. It provides in particular for the public ownership of public utilities and national control of banking. Among the further measures endorsed by the convention as minimum demands was one for national planning and the establishment of an economic council to study and make recommendations to cope with economic changes taking place in industry and agriculture, especially in respect of the question of distribution, purchasing power and the displacement of labor by machinery.

Social Policy: The convention expressed itself in favor of the introduction of a statutory contributory unemployment insurance system, the adoption of a maximum six-hour day on relief work and government undertakings and a general reduction of the hours of work in private enterprise. Provincial governments were also urged to enact legislation establishing a system of sickness and invalidity insurance.

Workers' Soccer League Games

IN spite of the cold weather, all the games scheduled by the Eastern District Soccer League (Workers' Gymnastic and Sports Association) for last Sunday were played off. N. Y. I met last year's champion, Queens I, and was defeated by 2:0 (half time, 0:0). Four of the regular N. Y. players were missing. N. Y.'s recently organized III team played against Queens I and II combined. Showing a superior class of play, N. Y. could not prevent Queens from scoring once; result, 0:1. In an exhibition game, N. Y. II met South American I (Labor Sports Union, Communist) in Central Park and won by 5:0.



New York I Soccer Team

This Sunday, Jan. 6, the following championship games will take place:

N. Y. I, Carlstadt I, one p. m., at 161st Street and Jerome Ave.

N. Y. III, Union City II, three p. m., same place.

Queens I, N. Y. II (Bronx I), one p. m., at Victory Field, Brooklyn.

Brooklyn I, Union City II, 2:30 p. m., same place.

Scotch-American I, Bergen Co. I, at Washington Park, North St., Jersey City.

All three sections in N. Y. will hold annual membership meetings this week. Section Brooklyn, Sunday afternoon at Queens County Labor Lyceum. Soccer Section, Manhattan, Sunday at 7 p. m., at

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Labor Movement Takes Shape in Argentina

BUENOS AIRES, Argentina.—After many vicissitudes the trade union movement in Argentina is beginning to settle down and take shape. Although forces are still somewhat divided at present the various orientations are beginning to sort themselves out into the following groups: (1) The *Confederación General del Trabajo* (CGT), which takes the same standpoint as the IFTU; (2) The Anarchist *Federación Obrera Regional Argentina* (FORA); (3) The Communist *Comité sindical de Unidad Clasista* and (4) a small nucleus of clerical trade unions.

At present, the CGT comprises 215,000 members including workers in the public services, on the railways (the union formed by the recent amalgamation of the Railwaymen's Union with the Locomotive Drivers' Union covers practically all the workers on the railways), sea and inland navigation, printing trades, commerce, etc. formed as a result of an agreement between the *Confederación Obrera Argentina* (affiliated IFTU) and the *Union Sindical Argentina*, and after this agreement had been confirmed, a national committee was set up to act in the capacity of a executive until the holding of a congress to lay down principles and rules.

The Anarchist organization mentioned under (2) has a very small and continually changing membership. It numbers at most 10,000 members and is continually being persecuted and suppressed by the government; its members are mostly port workers, chauffeurs, building workers, etc. The FORA belongs to the Pan-American Anarchist organization and the Anarchist International (International Workers' Association). The Communist organization has local groups in different parts of the country and its membership is not more than 5,000.

In connection with the National Centre which is being formed on an IFTU basis, a few extracts from its draft rules may be of interest: "In order to maintain organic unity and accord among the members, the National Centre will stand aside from all political parties and ideological groups. The workers organized in it enjoy that freedom which is compatible with trade union rights and duties, and are at liberty to devote themselves to such activity as is most suitable to attain social improvement. The workers are at liberty to choose that form of organization which shall be most suitable for the special characteristics of their industry, i.e., industrial or craft unions." The affiliation of the *Confederación Obrera Argentina* to the IFTU

Socialists to Aid in Modigliani Tour

CHICAGO.—Socialist locals in nine western cities were urged to arrange meetings for Comrade G. E. Modigliani, outstanding Socialist and labor leader exiled from Italy, in a letter sent out last week by Clarence Senior, national executive secretary of the American Socialist Party.

Modigliani is speaking in this country under the auspices of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, addressing Italian-speaking workers on behalf of the union's anti-fascist activity. The Socialist Party will arrange meetings in some western cities where the needle trades unions are absent or weak.

has not been confirmed by the CGT—but the question of affiliation is on the agenda for the inaugural congress.

The amalgamation took place three years ago, and it is to be hoped that this congress will soon be held, and will officially confirm the connection with the international trade union movement.

Building Service Union Prepares for Fight

By Jack Schuller

FIFTY members of Local 32-B, Building Service Employees' International Union, will take the stand during the open hearings now being conducted before the arbitration board set up by the union and the Real Estate Board as a result of the negotiations that recently averted a city-wide strike. They will tell the tale of lives of harrowing hollowness—lives spent in cold flats, with meager and inadequate diets and with constantly mounting costs of living for themselves and their children.

These details, with the cost of electric lights, gas, dental and medical bills and others, will be paraded before the galaxy of highly paid real estate attorneys, who have been retained at figures rumored to be over \$250,000. Out of the stony silences of their temples of toil will come the embittered "social outcasts"—porters, janitors, window cleaners, washroom attendants, washwomen! Arrayed with the newer weapons of the workers before arbitration boards—figures and graphs and charts—the praetorian guard of the landlords will prove that decent hours and living wages cannot be granted if the six and ten per cent interest charges are paid to the bankers. Again it will be the age-old struggle between profits and life!

If only the Goulds, the Vanderbilts, the Astors and other glorified landlords could be put on the witness stands to tell of their hard-

ships alongside of these poorest paid workmen in the apartment houses!

Should the present negotiations end without a vast improvement in the conditions of service employees, a major strike of all building employees will be called to paralyze the city. By virtue of being an important link in the city's vertical transportation system, the elevator operators have it in their power to initiate a general strike. Many unions have assured the B.S.E.I.U. that their members will refuse—as they refused in the past—to work in buildings or deliver goods in the event of a strike.

The realtors are lining up in their own fashion. A fund of two million dollars has been mustered, to be used to fight the demands of the miserably exploited workers. In all probability the same collection of gangsters, racketeers, thugs, finks, pluguglies and scabs previously recruited will again be marshalled to buck the working class army.

Out of the dustbins of the archives of the Real Estate Board comes the infamous company union, dressed up in holiday clothes to fit the season and re-labelled, as in the case of one bank, "The National City Realty Employees' Mutual Association." Through this embellished organization, "loyal and trustworthy employees may discuss matters concerning their employment with the management."

Cleveland Labor Secretary Dies

CLEVELAND.—Thomas S. Farrell, secretary of the Cleveland Federation of Labor, died suddenly one night last week after a full day's work in the office. Thousands crowded to pay their last respect to him.

Farrell was elected last July upon the retirement of the former secretary. He was connected with the Waiters' Union at its inception and is one of the international vice-presidents.

Although Farrell was not a progressive politically, the forward-looking labor movement feels it has lost a friend, according to Abraham W. Katovsky, vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U.

"Our opinions differed," Brother Katovsky said, "but he was always tolerant and fought for labor as he saw fit. Although our union took the initiative in proposing a labor anti-fascist meeting with Julius Deutsch as the main speaker, it was Farrell who was one of those who made the meeting the success it was by his efforts and activities."

Farrell was willing to work with the Socialist Party and was actively interested in the Workers' Educational Council, which sponsors labor classes under the direction of a Socialist, John Newton Thurber. It was Farrell who led the famous A & P strike.

Among those mentioned for secretary, who will be chosen at the next meeting of the Federation this week, are John Luthringer, labor attorney; Henry Raisse, publicity director of the C.F.O.L.; John Roh-

Queens Line Bus Drivers Fight On

STIRRING Bee Line bus drivers (A. F. of L. local 1029) have been carrying on a valiant battle in Jamaica, L. I., for the past month. Led by a member of the Socialist Lawyers' Association, Leonard Lazarus, the 125 strikers, who are fighting for union recognition and seniority rights, have been pursuing every means within their power to force the battle to a successful conclusion.

Last Friday, as a protest against the failure of Mayor LaGuardia to take his promised action on the bus issue, 40 men, led by members of the Y.P.S.L., held a mass picket line in front of the Jamaica Bus Terminal and submitted themselves to arrest when ordered to disperse by the police. They received suspended sentences the following morning, but the Y.P.S.L. member was held over on a charge of inciting to riot. At a meeting of the strikers last Wednesday, it was unanimously voted to exclude the Communist Party from any activity in the strike, "as being inimical to the true cause of labor, and productive only of dissension among the ranks of the strikers." At the same meeting, a vote was likewise unanimously passed to express the sincerest thanks to the Socialist Party and the Y.P.S.L. for the splendid help they had rendered and were continuing to render the strikers.

rick of the Teamsters Union, and Dan Moley, president of the Federation.

A. F. of L. Opposes Sales Tax

THE American Federation of Labor has persistently held that the sales tax, federal, state or municipal, is in reality nothing but a scheme to exempt the well-to-do from taxation and saddle the cost of government on those who are least able to pay.

The administration of the sales tax in Illinois confirms labor's contention. The law, which became effective July 1, 1933, provided that the proceeds for the first six months should be devoted to unemployment relief. At the expiration of that period the proceeds were used to pay the expenses of the state government, which formerly had been met by taxes against the owners of real and personal property.

The sales tax now provides the state with \$36,000,000 annually, with the result that no taxes are levied on real and personal property, which has an assessed valuation of five and one half billion dollars. Practically all of this \$36,000,000 is collected from the masses of the people of Illinois, most of whom are wage earners and persons with similar low income, while the well-to-do and rich, who are abundantly able to pay, contribute relatively nothing toward paying the expenses of the state government, whose activities are largely consecrated to protecting the interests of the very property owners who by the sales tax have secured tax exemption for their property.

Adequate organization in bona fide trade unions of the workers in every state, and the mobilization of that organized power at the ballot box to elect legislators opposed to the sales tax, would prevent this iniquity from being saddled on those whose living standards are altogether too low to permit further decrease by this notorious form of indirect taxation.—American Federation of Labor National Editorial Service.

[Watch out for that "elect legislators opposed to the sales tax" sentence! Better elect legislators representing the workers—Socialist legislators! Then you won't have to worry about the sales tax or any other anti-working class legislation.—Labor Editor, New Leader.]

Unemployed Festival Is Big Success

THE Students and Workers House was the scene of great festivity on Saturday, December 29, when the Workers Unemployed Union ran its first festival. Even though festivities were not scheduled to start until 8:30 p.m., members started coming at 6 for the evening's fun. By 8 o'clock the house was shaking with the dancing feet of over 500 people. The younger people danced and sang in the Rebel Arts studio to the gay strains of an orchestra while upstairs the rest of the people enjoyed entertainment and refreshments.

Each local good-naturedly tried to outdo the other in bringing forth its local talent. The climax of the evening was reached when the Rebel Arts Puppet Group presented its show. The unemployed recognized their own experiences all too well as they watched the puppets go through a typical eviction scene. The audience roared with appreciation when they heard the poor worker-puppet describe his rooms where "the mice rrrran around! The unemployed hissed the landlord who threw the worker out and they almost brought the house down around their ears as they watched the puppets go marching up and down, up and down, in the rent strike which the puppets declared.

The sandwiches, punch and cake came as a welcome intermission. The party ended at 1:30.

Watchmakers Urged to Join Union in Vigorous Drive

By August Claessens

AN organization campaign is on to bring all watchmakers and repair men into the Amalgamated Watchmakers' Union, Local 21 of the International Jewelry Workers, A.F. of L. Watchmakers employed in the many shops and stores in Greater New York and vicinity will be urged to join the union. Through leaflets, meetings and personal contacts and with the assistance of the Labor Committee of the Socialist Party, this campaign will forge ahead.

The "assembled watch industry" and "retail jewelry trade" codes now govern the wages, hours and general conditions of workers in

the trade. The "assembled watch industry" code established a 40 to 48-hour work-week and a minimum of 40 cents per hour on time and piece work. The code for the jewelry stores has a schedule of 40 to 54 hours per week and a minimum weekly wage of \$14 to \$15. These codes established uniform conditions for the industry throughout the country.

As in all industries where the workers were not organized or very poorly organized, watchmakers had no part in the making of these codes. If watchmakers continue to remain unorganized, they cannot affect the necessary changes in the codes. What gains were gotten under Section 7-A for workers in many industries were obtained only where they had a strong fighting organization to appear before the code authorities and where their unions were constantly alert to violations and lack of enforcement.

Watchmakers are organized in Kansas City, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Denver, Elgin, Ill.; Waltham, Mass., and in other towns. Organized workers in the trade have been able to abolish piece work and low wages generally and have some control over home work. The shamefully low wages of watchmakers have brought about practices that stretch out long hours of work.

All watchmakers are urged to attend the meetings of the union, which are held every first and third Monday at 6:30 p.m. in Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place. The office of the Amalgamated Watchmakers' Union Local is at 125 West 45th Street.

officials: Charles B. Baum, president; Max Freed, vice-president; Paul N. Coulcher, secretary-treasurer; Aladar Retek, organizer; Harry Koenig, labor chief; Murray Kern, recording secretary; Alex Greenside, sergeant-at-arms, and A. A. Green, chaplain. W. Morton, M. Bozzo, J. Klein and D. Siegel were elected to the Executive Board. Coulcher, Retek and L. Stenzler were elected delegates to the Central Trades and Labor Council. Coulcher, Retek and Baum were elected to the local joint executive board.

THE EDITOR COMMENTS

(Continued from Page 11.)

have to be addressed to one who himself testified in the same tenor before a Congressional committee on "Un-American Activities," [which may yet come to include all union activities] is an additional bit of irony. We cannot fail to comment, either, on the mournful lament of Joseph P. Ryan, longshoremen's international president, in attacking Judge Humphrey's injunction against his and other port unions. "It is regrettable," said Ryan, "that the Justice did not take into consideration the fact that our membership was simply trying to see to it that communism would not be permitted to inject itself into the transportation industry."

This from the fighting president of the L.L.A. and the Central Trades and Labor Council! In a New Year's message to labor, over WEVD, Ryan spent most of his time tracking down the same old bogey, at the very time when Communist unionism has been rendered so weak as to be no longer able even to keep up the pretense of duality. Incidentally, George Meany, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, who spoke on the same program, presented a much more marly and encouraging picture of labor's aims, ideals and program. Incidentally also, a Socialist labor spokesman would not have been amiss on that program.

ON "BACKING THE PRESIDENT"

THE stand of President Green and the A. F. of L. endorsing real old age pension legislation and rapping the fantastic schemes of the Townsend ilk is all to the good. The A. F. of L. fight against the sales tax is also in accordance with traditional labor policy, and is to be recommended to Mayor LaGuardia and his apologists who are so anxious to be on the "right side" of labor. However, the wholesale readiness of the Federation to swallow President Roosevelt's "plan of constructive social and industrial progress" (sometimes called the New Deal) is a sad commentary of its unawareness of its own interests.

The same news dispatches that

carry the New Year's message of labor to this effect also sum up Roosevelt's labor philosophy as expressed in his speeches during the year. To the workers, Roosevelt's message ran: "The workers who turn away from impartial agencies of industrial peace and decline to use their good offices to gain their ends are not fully cooperating with their government." (September 30.) The workers who do not trust allegedly impartial governmental agencies, which have always gyped them in the past, and who depend upon their own organized strength, are not cooperating with the government of those who exploit them. That's pretty clear to us, and ought to be clear to organized labor as well. To an increasingly large percentage of organized labor it is becoming apparent.

"FULL SAFETY CREW" MEANT REAL SAFETY

A NEWS item that escaped us earlier brings out in a startlingly clear manner the fact that claims of safety for workers and public made by unions are not (as employers claim and newspapers often repeat) mere propaganda. Because the Strand Theatre at Broadway and 47th Street had in its projection booth a "full safety crew" of two men—a motion picture operator and an assistant, both members of Local 306, the A. F. of L. union—a fire that broke out was prevented from reaching the film and great property damage, destructive panic and probable loss of life were avoided. Had only one man been on duty, or badly-trained or inefficient operators, instead of trained union men, been on hand, another ghastly holocaust might have ensued.

UNION DIRECTORY

BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS, TUCKER STITCHERS and FLEATERS' UNION, Local 66, I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-3657-3658. Executive Board meets every Tuesday night in the office of the Union. Z. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; I. A. Barkinsky, Sec'y-Treas.

CAP MAKERS UNION, Local No. 1, Tel. Orchard 4-8660—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, 40 West 35th St., N. Y. C.—J. Breslaw, Manager; L. Biegl, Chairman.

CORSET and BRASSIERE WORKERS' UNION, Local 32, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 1 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 6-3400. L. Hollender, J. Catalano, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

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

JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAISTMAKERS' UNION—Offices: 232 West 40th St., N.Y.C. Tel. Longacre 5-5100. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening; Joint Board meets every Wednesday evening in the Council Room at 218 W. 40th St. Julius Hochman, Gen. Mgr.; Philip 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, Wls. 7-8011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, 60 West 35th St., 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 High Broadway; phone, Spring 7-4543; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St.; phone, Wisconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 o'clock. Manager, N. Spector; Secretary-Treas., Alex Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodos.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 1016, 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 Gottman, Secretary-Treasurer.

NEW YORK TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6, Office and headquarters, 21 West 16th St., N. Y. Meets every 3rd Sunday of month at Stuyvesant High School, 15th St., East of 2nd Ave. Phone, Tompkins Sq. 6-7470. Leon H. Rouse, Pres.; James P. Redmond, Vice-Pres.; James J. McGrath, Secretary-Treas.; Samuel J. O'Brien, James P. O'Brien, and James J. Buckley, Organizers at International Typographical Union.

WAITERS' and WAITRESSES' UNION, Local No. 1, A. F. of L. and 280-7th Ave. W. Lehman, Tel.: Lackawanna 4-5453.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 62 of I.L.G.W.U., 87 West 40th St., New York City. Tel. Algonquin 4-1800. S. S. Stone,



The Republican Party Gets Pious in Its Decadence

G.O.P. Leaders Seek to Halt Disintegration By Stealing Social Reform Planks of Socialists, But They Fool No One, Least of All Themselves.

*The Devil was sick,
The Devil a monk would be.
The Devil got well,
The Devil a monk was he...*

The Republican party finds itself out in the cold in New York state for the first time in twenty years. In the brave days of the impeachment of Governor Bill Sulzer Tammany Hall controlled both the State Senate and the Assembly, as well as the Governorship, but since 1914 the Republicans have held on at least to the Assembly and usually the Senate as well no matter how big the Democratic majorities were in the state. (That, little children, was the result of Practical Politics in apportioning Assembly districts.)

Now, at last, the Grand Old Party has lost even the Assembly, and with its serious decline it is getting religious. First of all, it threw out the reactionary McGinnes, Speaker of the Assembly for ten years, as party leader. And then it sat down in a chastened mood to figure out what it could do next.

We have before us documents indicating the present state of attempted convalescence of the noble party of Sweet and Moe, of Allds and Bill Barnes, and all the rest of the gallant crew of piratical statesmen of an elder day.

Chase Mellen, Jr., New York County Chairman, writes a letter to State Chairman Melvin C. Eaton and suggests a conference at which plans can be made for rehabilitation. "Dear Mel," he writes, "permit me to make the following specific suggestions," and then he dives into his plan.

Briefly, his suggestion is a conference at which a program can be worked out, and Chase suggests to Mel what he thinks the G.O.P. (Greedy Old Pig) ought to advocate. He does not want to commit anybody in advance, but he suggests that as a working basis the statesmen of the G.O.P. (Gargantuan Old Pachyderm) might discuss

1—Social Legislation, including Unemployment Insurance; Adequate laws directed toward elimination of child labor; Liberalization of Workmen's Compensation Laws; ... and much other legislation designed to cause Thaddeus C. Sweet, Simon L. Adler, Bill Barnes, Deacon Moe, Jotham P. Allds and the other heroes of the Black Horse Cavalry to turn in their dishonored graves.

"I feel," says Mellen, "that it is a mistake to permit the Democratic party to jockey us into the annual position of appearing to oppose much of the social welfare legisla-

tion introduced when our party has steadfastly worked for the passage of a great many of these measures."

And (Haw! Haw!) much more to the same effect.

Of course, the plain citizen—mainly the workers—can emit a loud and vulgar horse laugh and say, "Oh, yeah?" and ask where the hell the G.O.P. (Glittering Old Peculator) was during all the years it controlled both houses of the legislature, as well as when Miller, Whitman, Hughes, Higgins and Odell were governors of Our Gr-r-rreat State.

But why be so unkind as to raise such embarrassing questions? Everybody knows that during the past decades the G.O.P. (Grasping Old Pinhead) has been the bulwark of reaction where it has not also been the up-state analogue of New York City's own thieving Tammany.

What's the difference between the G.O.P. (Good Old Panhandler) of today and the G.O.P. (Gay Old Pervert) of the days when they had all the power there was to be had? Why did Socialists in the Legislature have to fight like tigers just to get a bill reported out of committee? Why was the bi-partisan machine of the G.O.P. (Gorgeous Old Protozoön) and the corrupt and degenerate Democratic party so hysterical when Socialists began to demand legislation for human betterment that they united to tear up the Constitution and throw the Socialists out of the seats to which they had been elected?

The answer is easily found; In office the G.O.P. (Generals Of Plunder) rode high, wide and handsome, serving their thieving masters and glorying in their prostituted degradation. Out of office the same crew feels that they must do something to get back to the fleshpots. And how better than to imitate their partners in corruption, the Democrats, and take a pale carbon copy of the Socialist program, and after emasculating it present it as their own?

For that is just what the Democrats did. For years they were a small and (properly) despised minority in Albany. The type of Tammany Assemblyman and Senators sent to Albany is impossible to describe; the fact that Al Smith rapidly rose to stand out among them gives some idea of the type.

But there came a time when Tammany was no longer satisfied to be the despised crew they in reality were. There came a time when the Democrats—profiting by the Republican split of 1912—came to Albany as a majority—and they found as their leaders such men as Bill Sulzer, Looie Cavillier, Marty McCue, Senator Stilwell, later of Sing Sing, Aaron J. Levy, and others of that caliber. There wasn't too much honesty among them, but there was a low sort of cunning;

Important Educational Notice

All educational directors of the Socialist Party and leaders of the YPSL and YCLA are urged to take action during the current week on the selection of a representative to attend the Rand School class of Fred Shulman on "Methods of Socialist Teaching." This lecture begins on Thursday, January 10, at 8:30 p.m. The regular fee for this course is \$5 but by special arrangement with the Rand School, accredited representatives will be enrolled for \$1 for the entire course.

The Education Committee is planning a conference of new party members on Sunday afternoon, January 13, in the studio of the Rand School. Persons who have enrolled in the party since September 1st, will be invited to attend. Further notice next week.

Education Committee of the Socialist Party.

and before long they burgeoned forth as social reformers! They saw the rising tide of Socialism, and they stole some of the Socialist immediate program, butchered it and emasculated it, and called it their own.

Now comes the G.O.P. (Grafters' Own Papa), and finding itself in a tough spot seeks to do the same old thing.

It's a big laugh; but it's more than that. Chase and Mel and the rest of the Republican statesmen would never have thought of taking such a line IF IT WERE NOT FOR THE DECADES OF SELF-LESS WORK OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

Despite their own inner depravity, despite the economic demands of their masters the two old parties are COMPELLED to adopt more and more of the demands of the working class if they are to survive. (And they will not survive, no matter how long they keep up this tragic-farce.)

Nothing that the Socialist Party does is lost. Even if it compels the G.O.P. (Greasy Old Pshakreff) and the Democrats to steal some of the things we demand for the workers, OUR WORK WILL NOT HAVE BEEN IN VAIN.

Rich Offering of New Courses in Socialism at Rand School,

When the Rand School opens its classrooms for the winter term on January 7 it will offer the Socialists of New York nine different courses on various phases of Socialist history and theory. This list does not include courses in the Labor Movement, in Industrial Development, or in general economic theory. These nine courses deal definitely with the Socialist parties of Europe and America, their development, their present condition, their problems, and the various theories being advanced in connection with plans for their future policies. Any party member, no matter how experienced or how well read in Socialist literature, can find here something which he can take with pleasure and profit.

Two of the basic courses, one "An Introduction to Socialism" and the other "The Elements of Economics," will be given by Algonon Lea, President of the Rand School and editor of "The Essentials of Marx." The first of these is, of course, intended for young party members and Y.P.S.L. members, but the second is needed by practically all persons interested in Socialism. Many know the phrases of Socialism. Very few really understand its economics.

James Oneal, author of "Workers in American History," will give a thorough course in "The History of American Labor and Socialism," a fundamental history of Socialism as an outgrowth and a phase of the labor movement. Another basic course will be by David P. Berg, author of "The Fundamentals

Women's Socialist Activities Humming with the New Year

Lectures, Classes, Committees and Entertainments Fill Time of Nine Units in All Parts of the City—But More Activities Are Needed

The Woman's Committee announces a lecture, "The Social Drama of Today," by Sylvia Friedman, chairman of the Theatre Union on Thursday, January 10, at 9 p.m. at the Rand School. Admission free to all.

Prior to the lecture, commencing at 8:30 sharp, Esther Friedman, chairman of the Woman's Committee, will give a brief report on the committee's activities of the year just closed and the present.

The election of a chairman, secretary, treasurer and an executive committee of seven will take place. The present incumbents are Esther Friedman, Eleanor Broun and Clara Rothstein.

Perhaps the party membership does not know of the splendid work done by the Socialist Women's Units (afternoon clubs) in promoting the women's afternoon classes in "Socialism," "Public Speaking," "Social and Political Revolution," "Socialist History" and "Current Problems." This means the development of a more enlightened and articulate woman membership and a more intelligent woman citizenry.

Out of these classes we already have several women who have, with great credit to themselves and the party, taken the platform during the last two campaigns. This year's results are even more promising.

There are at present three classes in the Rand School. A new class will begin Monday, January 7, at 3. The subject is "Woman Through the Ages"; the instructor, Dr. Ruth Sandis, a brilliant young educator.

In addition, there are women's classes in the upper West Bronx; in the Amalgamated and Sholem Alechem houses, in Bensonhurst, Brownsville, and a new class began Wednesday, January 2, in Elementary Socialism at Brighton Beach

headquarters, 1113 Brighton Beach Avenue. The instructor is Esther Friedman. Thus we begin the new year with eight afternoon classes.

The women attending these classes are in the main not members of the Socialist Party. Many of them have never had any previous contact with or knowledge of the party. With increasing association they become more regular attendants to party and Rand School forums and affairs. Some join the Socialist Women's Units and are in line for joining the party.

These activities should particularly attract branch organizers who are looking for new material and who realize the serious lack we suffer of women speakers. The Woman's Committee will be glad to cooperate with any organizer or branch committee to build up a women's unit in a feasible district.

Nearly a year ago branches were notified to send women representatives to meet with the Woman's Committee in order to widen the scope of women's activities in and outside of the party. Only a few branches took such action. That is unfortunate for the branches and the party. An opportunity for increasing activity has been missed where it is badly needed. We earnestly hope the lax branches will elect a Woman's Committee representation at their next meeting.

The Woman's Committee is eager to do constructive work. Let's go!

of economic determinism as a theory and as a practical aid to the understanding of the past and to the solution of the problems of the present.

Jacob Bernstein will offer a seminar, called "Special Studies in Marxism," in which the students will devote their time to the study of certain moot problems in Socialist theory. Special attention will be given to theoretical matters with regard to which sharp divisions have arisen between Communists and Socialists, such as the Marxian Theory of the State and Proletarian Dictatorship. And, finally, Frederick Shulman will offer, especially for practical workers in the party and the Y.P.S.L. a course called "Method in Socialist Education." Many branch organizers and educational directors have already signified their intention of taking this course.

Since the Rand School is the "educational organ of the Socialist movement in Greater New York," party branches and circles of the Y.P.S.L. are especially urged to register for the courses outlined above and otherwise to make full use of the facilities which the school offers to them.

A symposium on Fascism will be held Friday, Jan. 4, at 8:30, at the Grand St. Settlement House, 311 East Broadway, under the auspices of the Young People's Socialist League. The speakers are Reing Watnick on "Fascism and the Jew," Aaron Levenstein on "Fascism and the Worker," and Gus Tyler on "Fascism and the Youth." Admission free.

Benefit for the Rand School of Social Science and the Society for Relief of Russian Socialist Prisoners and Exiles

"ESCAPE from the SOVIETS"

A LECTURE BY

Mme. TATIANA TCHERNAVIN

at Town Hall, Saturday Eve., Jan. 12

TICKETS at \$2.20, \$1.25, \$1.10, 50c., and 50c., on sale at Dutton's Book Shop, 681 Fifth Ave.; Town Hall Box Office, 113 W. 43rd St.; The Rand Book Shop, 7 E. 15th St.; Jewish Daily Forward, 175 East Broadway.

JUDGE PANKEN INDUCTED



Judge Panken, editor Jewish Forward, shown speaking at incident to the induction of Judge Jacob Panken into the Jewish Forward. Judge Panken is on the left. At the right is Mayor LaGuardia.

THE DYING YEAR'S BEST LAUGH

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All Hands Go With "Thumbs Up" At The St. James

Hands Down!

"THUMBS UP!" Eddie Dowling presents John Murray Anderson revue. Lyrics by B. Macdonald and E. Crooker. Music by J. Stanley and H. Sullivan. Comedy scenes by H. I. Phillips, Harold Atteridge and Alan Baxter. At the St. James.

Our chief complaint about "Thumbs Up!" is that it contains so much talent that even when it closes at 11:30 we want to have more. Take Clark and McCullough, for instance; that sleighride of Bobby Clark (with Rose King) gives us, literally, a good horse-laugh; but they come along and help in a few other sketches with very little chance to give us their own characteristic fun. And the Pickens Sisters, "small pickins," we might say, like the fat boy who got only a wing for Thanksgiving dinner. How about adding a hill-billy song, girls? Others who crowd the stage with interest, until it seems to have as many stars as the Milky Way, are Ray Dooley, who sings and antics and—yes!—acrobats; Eddie Garr in some excellent impersonations of folks you all know; Paul Draper, who taps tunes with tempestuous toes; and Hal Le Roy, whose whole body and sense of humor go into his excellent hoofing (he can also sing!).

Several sketches punch hard at current trends. The old gag (alas, too often true!) returns when the judge cries out: "What's the idea of calling for justice? This is a court room!" in the first sensational trial to be broadcast. (We've been wondering how New Jersey escaped a radio offer for Hauptmann's!) That interesting offshoot of the depression, the increase in the endorsement racket, is traced to its climax, when Granny Vandergould comes in her scanties to "get a lift" with a mattress. And one cure of the depression (fascist cure!) is indicated, when in order to help the composer sell a war song Congress obligingly arranges a war. But I think our sympathy goes most fully to the secretary of the Independent Order of Minute Men, Local No. — no, Paul Revere Chapter when, trying to order circulars announcing a dance, he falls into the hands of two Communist printers and watches his dance change into a protest meeting, with a parade from Union Square!

Pleasant songs and gay music, with a deft chorus appearing in quick-changing and beautiful costumes, combine with these sketches and stars to fill the evening with tuneful color and swift gaiety. Decidedly, "Thumbs Up!"

S. Raphaelson, Who Wrote "Accent on Youth," Gave Up Advertising Job for Theatre

Samson Raphaelson, whose newest comedy, "Accent on Youth," is said to be established as one of the successes of the town at the Plymouth Theatre, under the managerial aegis of Crosby Gaige, took to playwriting as a career because it was the only profession that afforded him all the free time

Guy Robertson and Marie Burke



As they appear in a scene from "The Great Waltz," Max Gordon's eye-filling musical extravaganza, which continues its successful run at The Center Theatre.

he sought. A capable advertising executive, he rebelled against the thought of reporting at his desk at certain prescribed hours and so turned to the stage. His first play was "The Jazz Singer," one of the outstanding hits of several seasons ago, and he has since been writing successes for both the Broadway

theatregoer and movie audiences of the nation.

"Accent on Youth" has had an interesting history. Conceived originally as a tragedy, Raphaelson spent three months in Sussex, England, outlining the story of a man of fifty who found love in a girl much younger than himself.

"A HILARIOUS HOLIDAY"—Percy Hammond, Herald-Tribune
"EXTRAVAGANTLY FUNNY"—Burns Mantle, News

PAGE MISS GLORY

with DOROTHY HALL and CHAS. D. BROWN

MANSFIELD THEATRE, 47th St. West of Broadway
Eves. 55c to \$3.30—Mats. Wed. & Sat.
Entire Balcony At All Performances 55c - \$1.10 - \$1.65

GILBERT MILLER presents

INA CLAIRE

"ODE TO LIBERTY"

with WALTER SLEZAK

"A gay prank heightened by Miss Claire's mischievous playing."—Anderson, Journal
LYCEUM THEA., 45th St. E. of B'way Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40

RUTH DRAPER

EVERY EVENING INCLUDING SUNDAY AT 8:40
MATINEES THURSDAY AND SATURDAY AT 2:30

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BROCK PEMBERTON presents

PERSONAL APPEARANCE

with GLADYS GEORGE

A NEW COMEDY BY LAWRENCE RILEY
Staged by Antoinette Perry and Mr. Pemberton

"Fills an evening with laughter."—Brooks Atkinson, N. Y. Times
Henry Miller's Theatre
124 W. 43rd St. Eves. 8:40
MATINEES: Thursday and Saturday at 2:30

"One of the most straightforward, driving plays of the season."—Brooks Atkinson, Times
HERMAN SHULIN presents

The Children's Hour

By LILLIAN HELLMAN

MAXINE ELLIOTT'S THEATRE WEST 39th STREET

Evenings 8:30—50c to \$3. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40—50c to \$2

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

BOOTH THEA.

WEST 45th ST.
Eves. 8:40. Mats. Wed. and Sat., 2:40.

SYBIL THORNDIKE

in John Van Druten's New Comedy

THE DISTAFF SIDE

with ESTELLE WINWOOD and VIOLA KEATS

For some curious reason, however, he couldn't set himself to the task of writing the dialogue. Meanwhile, while laboring in Hollywood, he originated a play centered about Hitler. He outlined this new plot to his bosom pals, Vincent Lawrence, the playwright, and James Mc Cain, novelist, whose "The Postman Always Rings Twice" is a current best seller. Both ridiculed the idea and in jest Raphaelson told them the plot of the play of the man of fifty who suddenly found love. Instead of telling the story in terms of tragedy, the playwright told it in terms of comedy. Enraptured, his listeners insisted he write the play and thus "Accent on Youth" was born.

When completed, Raphaelson dispatched a script to Benn W. Levy, famous British dramatist and husband of Constance Cummings. Also a film of their own that is now in progress. It is interesting to note that all the money they were exchanged and the romantic comedy reached Broadway soon thereafter.

Film and Photo League's Second Series Opens Tonight with "China Express" and "Shanghai Express"

Commencing tonight, Saturday, Jan. 5, with "China Express" and "Shanghai Express," the Film and Photo League will present their second series of distinguished films. For this series they have drawn on the most interesting films of German, French, American and Russian directors. Some of the pictures ha will be shown at two weeks' intervals are: Golden Mountains, Killing to Live, Hell's House, A nous la Liberté, Phantom President, Stark Love, Mirages de Paris, Waxworks, and Potemkin. Also a film of their own that is now in progress. It is interesting to note that all the money they make on these film showings at the New School go entirely for the production of workers' films.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents

MAXWELL ANDERSON'S play

VALLEY FORGE

with PHILIP MERIVALE

GUILD THEATRE

52nd STREET West of Broadway
Eves. 8:40. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40

S. N. BEHRMAN'S play

RAIN FROM HEAVEN

with JANE COWL and JOHN HALLIDAY

GOLDEN THEATRE

45th STREET, West of Broadway
Eves. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

"CONGRATULATIONS! ONE OF THE BEST THINGS IN TOWN"—STARK YOUNG, New Republic

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

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

BELASCO Thea., 44th St. E. of B'way
Eves. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 55c to \$2.20

MAX GORDON HITS

The Musical Hit!

Production conceived and directed by HASSARD SHORT

"THE GREAT WALTZ"

Book by Moss Hart - Music by Johann 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!

LAST 2

HUSTON in "DODSWORTH"

Dramatized by SIDNEY HOWARD

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

JAMES BELL

in the Most Discussed Play in the History of the Theatre

"TOBACCO ROAD"

By JACK KIRKLAND, Based on Erskine Caldwell's Novel

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POPULAR PRICE MATINEES

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THEATRE
49 St. W. of B'y
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STILL THE GREATEST MUSICAL
SUCCESS IN NEW YORK!

Life Begins at 8:40

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FRANCES WILLIAMS

BOOTH THEA. ORCHESTRA
Mats. at \$1.00 250 Seats at \$2.50
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Mats. at \$2.00 All Plus Tax

"Rain From Heaven" Falls on a Parched Broadway

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

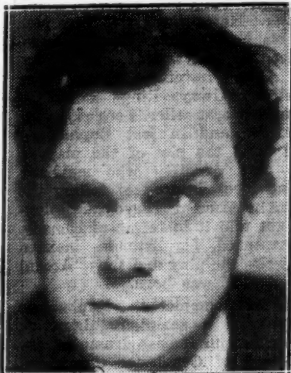
MANNA

"RAIN FROM HEAVEN." By S. N. Behrman. Theatre Guild Play at the Golden.

The variety of opinions, and of those that share them, makes opportunity for interesting contrasts, greater than usual, in the world today; and Mr. Behrman has taken advantage of them to build a sane and intelligent comedy of a society deciding which way to move out of its dying. At the home of Lady Wyngate, owner-editor of the radical (not Communist) "The Torch," gather a group of refugees, a Russian of the old regime, a Russian pianist who tries not to let the world see he is a Jew, and a polished German music critic whose great-grandmother happens to have been Semitic—a fact which Hitler has made loom large for him. Also there, drawn by love of the Lady, is a world-famous Antarctic explorer, whose brother comes on the trial of a great Anglo-American newspaper alliance to promote "patriotism"—fascism—in both those lands.

Out of this gathering many clashes spark. The characters are presented in the round, as human beings, and the dialogue is both natural and as distinguished as several seasons have proffered, as the various points of view lead these persons, not into arguments about politics, but into living, into social ways, prompted by their prejudices and opinions. The inevitability of the explorer's calling the German "Jew!"—and the right reason for his apology, are neatly exposed. When the American millionaire is tipsy, and his scheme fails, his fears and his utterance give a brilliantly successful display of the terror of the capitalist in the face of impending destruction. From this peak to its close, the play is drawn by exigencies of plot into a bit of wordiness, as the German justifies his leaving the lady he has come to love, to become one of the "border battalion" fighting Hitler. Despite this, "Rain From Heaven" is one of the theatre's rarities, an intelligent drama, a play with surface lightness and illuminating depths.

Thomas Mitchell



Who will open on Tuesday evening in "Fly Away Home," a new comedy by Dorothy Bennett and Irving White, which Theron Bamberger will offer at the 48th St. Theatre.

Expert Casting, Important Factor in Success of Plays

Playgoers who step up to a box-office to buy seats for any particular attraction seldom stop to think of the task involved in selecting a competent cast of players to interpret the various roles in the drama or musical comedy they are going

to witness. This, of course, is only natural. Patrons of the theatre buy entertainment secure in the thought the play has been skilfully cast since to do otherwise would spell the inevitable ruin of a costly production. The extreme care involved in picking a cast, however, furnishes an example in thoroughness seldom matched in any other line of endeavor.

Lou Irwin, recognized as one of the leading artist representatives in America, reveals a few illuminating facts hitherto not generally known.

"Wise producers," said Mr. Irwin, "begin casting a play sometimes a year in advance of actual production. This is made necessary by the fact that the very players a producer seeks for his play are either working in current productions or are under contract for forthcoming ones. Very often, of course, producers find actors available on the minute, but this is rare in the case of the more important principals."

"In many cases," states Mr. Irwin, "musical comedies are built around the principals as in the instance of Vinton Freedley, producer of the successful musical 'Anything Goes.' Mr. Freedley engaged Ethel Merman, William Gaxton and Victor Moore six months before his authors started actual work on the book." "An outstanding example of patience is the case of a well-known producer who has held up a play for two seasons while waiting for a certain star to finish a contracted tour."

Leslie Howard Returns to the Broadway Stage



Above you see one of Broadway's favorite actors, who will open Monday evening at The Broadhurst Theatre in R. E. Sherwood's new play, "The Petrified Forest."

Victor Wolfson to Present "Crime and Punishment" at Biltmore Theatre Jan. 22

The Biltmore will be the theatre which will house the dramatization of Dostoevsky's "Crime and Punishment" when it comes to town on January 22, according to an announcement by its producer, Victor Wolfson.

Rehearsals of the cast headed by Morgan Farley in the role of Rodion Raskolnikov have been under way for the past week both at the Biltmore and in the Chanin Building. Mr. Wolfson expects to announce the other leading members of the company within a day or two.

Starting today, Frank Capra's latest film success, "Broadway Bill," begins its second week at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre.

2nd BIG WEEK!

Joan CRAWFORD

Clark GABLE

MONTGOMERY

"Forsaking All Others"

On Stage

TED LEWIS

and his New Revue

"HAPPINESS FOLLIES OF 1935"

CAPITOL Broadway at 50th St.

MUSIC HALL

SHOW PLACE of the NATION

2nd WEEK!

Katharine HEPBURN

in "THE Little Minister"

ON THE STAGE

A spectacular revue

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SEATS NOW 55c-75c-\$1.00-\$1.50 & \$2

CARNEGIE HALL, SATURDAY AFTERNOON, Jan. 19, at 2:30

Only New York Recital

JOSEF HOFMANN

Tickets at Carnegie Hall Management R. Copley (Steinway Piano)

★★★ "The happiest romance of the current theatre season. The best I can wish you is that you will have as good a time as I had." —Burns Mantle, News

CROSBY GAIGE, Inc., presents

ACCENT ON YOUTH

by SAMSON RAPHAELSON,

well known author of "The Jazz Singer"

with CONSTANCE CUMMINGS, NICHOLAS HANNEN

IRENE PURCELL

PLYMOUTH THEATRE, 45th St. West of Broadway

Eves. 8:40—Matinees Thurs. & Sat. 2:40

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.

Fabian's

3rd BIG WEEK!

★★★ News

WARNER BAXTER—MYRNA LOY in

"BROADWAY BILL"

FLATBUSH at NEVINS A Columbia Picture—Frank Capra Prod.

plus plus GALA STAGE SHOW!

25c 105c 105c 105c

FILM AND PHOTO LEAGUE present

SATURDAY NIGHT, JAN. 5th

Promptly at 7 and 9 P.M.

"SHANGHAI EXPRESS"

with MARLENE DIETRICH

—and—

"CHINA EXPRESS"

—A Soviet Film—

at The New School for Social

Research, 66 West 12th St.

—ADMISSION 50 CENTS—

Tickets available at:

Workers' Book Shop, 50 E. 13th St.
Mayfair Book Shop, 1 E. 47th St.
New Masses, 43 East 27th Street
Film & Photo League, 161 W. 22 St.

MUSIC

PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY

BRUNO WALTER, Conductor

AT CARNEGIE HALL

Sunday Afternoon at 3:00

MOZART... BEETHOVEN

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

Soloist: ARTHUR SCHNABEL, Pianist

in BEETHOVEN—"Emperor" Concerto

Saturday Evening at 8:45

Handel—Beethoven—Moussorgsky - Ravel

Arthur Judson, Mgt. (Steinway)

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"THE BAND PLAYS ON"
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"MURDER IN THE CLOUDS"
with LYLE TALBOT

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