

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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N. Y. C. Edition

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Social Welfare Is Program in Connecticut

**Socialist Legislators to Push
Laws for Workers; On
Important Committees.**

By Abraham Knepler

BRIDGEPORT.—A program of social legislation to be introduced into the General Assembly was drawn up in Bridgeport at a conference Sunday attended by the Socialist State Executive Committee, the Legislative Committee, the Socialist legislators, and Mayor Jasper McLevy. In addition to the passage of the proposed legislation the Socialists will demand Socialist representation on the commissions created to carry out the state relief work, and on other important commissions already in existence.

The legislative program calls for a state tax on incomes over \$5,000; an old age pension law; a study in power and light rates with the ultimate aim of public ownership of utilities; a state constitutional convention to provide more equal and democratic representation in the General Assembly; a commission to study plans for proposed health insurance for the people of the state; prison reform; improvement of the minimum wage law, and ratification of the Federal Child Labor Amendment.

Socialists Win Important Committee Assignments

HARTFORD.—Important committee assignments have been given to Bridgeport's five Socialist legislators, with representation on the Labor, Finance, Humane Institutions, Cities and Boroughs, Roads, Rivers and Bridges, Senate Appointments, State Library, New Counties, and Federal Relations Committees. Two Socialists obtained important chairmanships.

Senator Albert E. Eccles has been named chairman of the Committee on Humane Institutions, which plans a comprehensive construction program of new institutional buildings, serving the double purpose of providing adequate care for more inmates and of providing employment for a considerable number of the state's unemployed. Eccles is a member also of the Education and State Library committees.

Senator Audubon J. Secor, Socialist floor leader, was made chairman of the Committee on Federal Relations, and was named a member also of the Committee on Roads, Rivers and Bridges; Senate Appointments; New Counties and County Seats. Senator John M. Taft is on the Cities and Boroughs Committee, which will handle most of the legislation affecting the city of Bridgeport, and to the Labor and Unfinished Business committees.

On the Labor Committee, also, has been named Representative

PIONEERS OF SOCIAL INSURANCE LEGISLATION



Louis Waldman

Who introduced the first bill for a comprehensive system of social insurance in the New York Legislature in 1918.



Meyer London

Socialist Congressman, who introduced bill for full system of social insurance in 1916.



Victor L. Berger

Socialist Congressman, who introduced first Federal old age pension bill in 1912.

Many Years of Earnest Socialist Work Bring Concessions

By Louis Waldman

New York State Chairman,
Socialist Party

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S message to Congress on unemployment insurance and old-age pensions marks an epoch in the struggle for social legislation. The principles set forth in the message are thoroughly sound, even if there is room for disagreement on this or that detail. This message should now insure the passage of an unemployment insurance law by the New York Legislature. There remains only the necessity of seeing to it that the New York law contains sound standards not only good in themselves, but to set an example to

the other 43 states whose legislatures meet this year.

The President's statement that "we pay now for the dreadful consequences of economic insecurity—and dearly," is an admission which will arouse the admiration of those who are willing to learn from experience; and the truth of this admission cannot be successfully denied by conservative critics.

The Socialists should be particularly happy because the President's message is the triumph of an idea which they advocated for a quarter of a century. They were the pioneers in the movement for social insurance. Twenty-three years ago Victor L. Berger, Socialist Congressman from Milwaukee, sponsored a

federal old-age pension bill. Nineteen years ago Meyer London, Socialist Congressman from New York, sponsored a federal social insurance measure. And seventeen years ago, in the State of New York, the Socialist delegation sponsored the first social insurance bill ever introduced in the state legislature.

It is gratifying to Socialists to know that political and social measures which were advocated by them yesterday and which were sneered at and derided as visionary, are to be translated into realities today.

While we regret that action on health insurance is for the time being deferred we are glad that

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Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman

Our Washington Correspondent

YOU can always depend on the Supreme Court to do the unexpected. Most people expected last Monday a ruling on the gold case, and it didn't come; practically nobody looked for a decision on the Mooney case, but it did come, and in a strange way.

Thomas J. Mooney's plea that the Supreme Court take up his case was rejected. But the court's opinion was so sharply worded that it seemed almost to direct California state courts to free the prisoner. The Mooney opinion sketched his plea and his contention that he had been convicted on testimony known to be perjured while the prosecuting attorney also withheld evidence which would

Jack C. Bergen. The Socialists have a large number of bills on their legislative program, and with two Socialists on the committee, labor's interests will have vigorous champions. Representative Harry G. Bender, Socialist, has been appointed to the equally important Finance Committee.

have refuted charges against him.

The court referred to these contentions as serious charges and criticized the answer set up by the Attorney-General of California as failing to meet the issues presented. Chief Justice Hughes noted that the state's answer defended the charge of denial of Due Process of Law in holding Mooney with the contention that the acts or omissions of a prosecuting attorney could not, of themselves, amount to a denial of Due Process.

On this score the court said: "Without attempting at this time to deal with the question at length, we deem it sufficient for the present purpose to say that we are unable to approve this narrow view of the requirements of Due Process. That requirement, in safeguarding the liberty of the citizen against deprivation through the action of the state, embodies the fundamental conception of justice which lies at the base of our civil and political institutions. It is a requirement that cannot be denied to be satisfied by mere notice and

hearing if a state has contrived a conviction through the pretense of a trial which in truth is but used as a means of depriving a defendant of liberty through a deliberate deception of court and jury by the presentation of testimony known to be perjured."

But the Supreme Court refused to review the plea for a writ of habeas corpus because, as the court says: "We do not find the petitioner has applied to the state court for a writ of habeas corpus upon the grounds stated in his petition here. That corrective judicial process has not been invoked and is not shown to be unavailable. . . . Orderly procedure, governed by principles we have repeatedly announced, requires that before this court is asked to issue a writ of habeas corpus, in the case of a person held under state commitment, recourse should be had to whatever judicial remedy afforded by the state may still remain open. . . . Accordingly, leave to file the petition is denied, but without prejudice."

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Job Security Is Accepted in Principle

**No Matter How Ungenerous
Law May Be, Its Intro-
duction Is Significant.**

THE fact that the President of the United States, and a Senator known to be an Administrative spokesman, sponsored a Social Security Bill together with a message laying down certain principles of social legislation, marks a remarkable victory for some of the things the Socialist movement has been striving for during a third of a century.

The principles and ideas advanced by the Socialists that were ridiculed and considered so visionary that they were never even reported out of committee when introduced in legislative bodies, have now been accepted as a basis for a vast program of legislation by the Administration.

With the details of the bills presented by Senator Wagner on behalf of the President we need not here concern ourselves; they are far from adequate and in many instances positively ungenerous. Socialists and the labor movement will have something to say about that feature of the legislation when hearings on the bill begin.

But about the principle back of the program there is but this to say, that the principles for which the Socialists battled for so many long, weary and discouraging years have been accepted now as sound.

Capitalism and capitalist spokesmen in all parties supporting the present system, from moss-back reactionary to Progressives of various hues, vainly tried everything to meet the grave problems raised by a system in which there is no security for the masses.

The Socialist indictment is completely, triumphantly sustained. Capitalist society, unchecked and unrestrained, is unable to take care of those who do its work. There must be some form of social responsibility, some recognition that society as a whole is responsible for the welfare of those without whom it could not exist.

Charity has been tried, and failed. A dole has been tried; made work has been tried. Direct and indirect relief have been tried.

Now nothing is left but what the Socialists have maintained from the start, that society as such must accept responsibility for the welfare of all.

To the extent that the bill as it stands is inadequate, is even ungenerous, and does not include illness, Socialists and the labor movement will oppose it. But to the extent that it accepts the principles for which we have long contended we call attention to the fact that long, persistent, intelligent and tireless agitation will have its effect even though the party advocating high ideals may still be a minority.

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Enforcement of the Servile Mind Is Not The Road to Emancipation

OVER a century ago the philosophers solved everything by asserting the "rights of man." It was easy to understand. Some time and somewhere human beings made a mistake and thereafter everything had gone wrong. They had ignored the "rights of man." Restore these and there would be peace and happiness. Primitive man was contrasted with the noble aristocrat. The noble savage was preferred to the savage noble. Man in a "state of nature" was virtuous; in a state of civilization he was vicious. So, back to nature and "natural rights."

The whole theory was an explosive that helped to destroy the Bourbon monarchy and other feudal oligarchies, but the theory had no basis in fact. Its authors thought that there were "natural rights" and thought that some terrible

mistake had been made in the past, but the theory was purely speculative. However, believe it or not, it was not rammed down any person's throat. The human mind was open to challenge it and it was challenged in the succeeding years. Had it been enforced by a dictatorship when its advocates were successful, much fruitful thinking and investigation would have been lost to mankind.

A reading of Nazi or Bolshevik literature reveals another form of this utopianism. Like an infant's food, one must receive his ideas from the "leader." It comes stamped and standardized. We are saved from doing any thinking of our own both because it is dangerous and because it is unnecessary. Why think when others will do it for you? Brains are superfluous baggage except for the leader. If you have any, don't use them. Like Ernest Crosby's soldier who finally died in an asylum, "I do not think; I obey."

Of course, an empty intellectual life may also have its tragic humor, as in the case of the youngster whose experience is told by Eugene Lyons in the last number of ARISE. He went on a vacation for several months with the latest truth fixed in his mind. When he returned he found that it had given way to another entirely different truth fixed by the leader. Truth had become falsehood and falsehood had become truth.

Did the youth accept the second version? He did. So would any of our readers under similar circumstances. He is not permitted to think within a range of Bolshevik thought, to say nothing of a range outside of it. So it is with the Nazi rank and file in Germany.

All the rules of scientific exploration are violated by these two methods. The first means sentimental wishing, and the second means the third degree. Science is shackled and the servile mind is the outcome of the order, "Mind and be servile." This can never be the road to human emancipation.

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NEW LEADER

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JAMES ONEAL, Editor

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

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



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BEN HANFORD DEAD 25 YEARS, YET HIS SPIRIT STILL INSPIRES

A QUARTER of a century ago a great American Socialist passed from the scene. To a later generation Ben Hanford is only a name, often only a statistic, the name of the running mate of Eugene V. Debs in two presidential campaigns. But to those who knew him, those who came under the inspiring influence of his zeal, his devotion and his matchless eloquence he will ever be a shining memory.

January 24, 1910, Ben Hanford laid down his life after a long and

wracking illness. It was written that his life had been a sword and a song. When he wrote the little sketch "Jimmie Higgins" he thought he was describing the devotion to Socialism of his intimate friend Julius Gerber, but he was

also mirroring his own ideals.

Of him Eugene V. Debs wrote: "Ben Hanford was a perfect type of proletarian revolutionist. He had the clear head of a philosopher and the brave soul of a warrior."

Socialism is life, said Ben Hanford. Until I joined the Socialist movement I had never really lived. And it was true. With a flaming proletarian eloquence that has never been equalled in this country, with a pen tipped with fire, with a soul ablaze with devotion to his cause, Ben Hanford, the plain workman, gave himself to Socialism and left a memory that will be kept green so long as men and women serve the cause to which he gave his life. Today, on the occasion of the quarter centennial, we reprint the Profile of Hanford that appeared in these columns some years ago:

The Father of Jimmie Higgins

"Jimmie Higgins" . . . It sometimes happens that the name of a man becomes so intertwined with the name of a fictitious character that the one becomes symbolic of the other. And to tens of thousands the name of Jimmie Higgins is known as the symbol of selfish devotion to the cause of



JIMMIE HIGGINS

By Ben Hanford

A COMRADE who shall be called Jimmie Higgins because that is not his name, and who shall be styled a painter for the very good reason that he is not a painter, has perhaps had a greater influence in keeping me keyed up to my work in the labor movement than any other person.

Jimmie Higgins is neither broad-shouldered nor thick-chested. He is neither pretty nor strong. A little, thin, weak, pale-faced chap. A poor dyspeptic, asthmatic epileptic. But he is strong enough to support a mother with equal physical disabilities. Strong enough to put in ten years of unrecognized and unexcelled service to the cause of Socialism.

What did he do? Everything. He has made more Socialist speeches than any man in America. Not that he did the talking; but he carried the platform on his bent shoulders when the platform committee failed to be on hand.

Then he hustled around to another branch and got their platform out. Then he got a glass of water for the speaker. That same evening or the day before he had distributed handbills advertising the meeting.

Previously he had informed his branch as to "the best corner" in the district for drawing a crowd. Then he distributed leaflets at the meeting, and helped to take the platform down and carry it back to headquarters, and got subscribers for Socialist papers.

The next day the same, and so on all through the campaign, and one campaign after another. When he had a job, which was none too often, for Jimmie was not an extra good workman and was always one of the first to be laid off, he would distribute Socialist papers among his fellows during the noon hour or take a run down to the gate of some factory and give out

Socialism while Ben Hanford, Jimmie's creator, is . . . but a name.

But to those who have been in the Socialist movement a quarter of a century or more the name of Ben Hanford evokes a living, a throbbing reality. Dead 25 years, his old comrades-at-arms can still hear his eloquent voice, can still thrill to his great spirit and to the beauty of his character.

Ben Hanford was a little printer who learned his Socialism from life itself and who was steered into the party by Fred Long and Abraham Cahan.

For many years he had been a wanderer. Born in Cleveland, Ohio, he had begun his career as a printer at the age of 18 on the Marshalltown, Iowa, "Republican," and then drifted into every part of the United States earning his living at his trade in the authentic tradition of his craft.

In his early thirties, during the terrible depression of 1893, he was down and out; he was a little better than a tramp. He had nothing to hold him to life. And then Socialism came to him.

In Philadelphia he had heard Fred W. Long, another great character in the early days of Socialism in America, and he had heard Cahan lecture in the same city. Back in Washington he attended a meeting of his union at the Typographical Temple on G Street, and he took the floor during the discussion period. He spoke a few minutes, and when he sat down a fellow printer said: "Ben, I didn't know you are a Socialist." Ben denied it in the vigorous language of which all printers are masters—but he was.

Shortly afterwards he was working in New York and living in Brooklyn. There, in a boarding house, he met three rare souls at the dinner table—Charles L. Fur-

man, Charles H. Matchett and Julius Gerber. The four became fast friends, and organized Socialism gained a great recruit in Hanford.

Speaking of the time that Socialism had given him inspiration and something to live for, he said: "Next to Socialism the greatest thing on earth is working for Socialism."

Almost on a chance the Socialists named him for Governor of New York in 1898, and he amazed everyone by his energy, his eloquence and his willingness to go anywhere and do anything and everything for his cause. He ran again for Governor in 1900 and 1902, for Mayor in 1901, and for Vice-President with Debs in 1904 and 1908. In his campaign in 1904 he outdid himself in glorious and inspired eloquence.

In 1902 the printers on the old New York "Sun" struck, and the union literature for that epic battle was all written by Hanford; he moved everyone by the fire, the cogency and the inspiration he put into his writing. Old-time printers still talk of that battle and of Hanford with pride and joy.

He was sent by the party into Idaho and into Pennsylvania during terrible industrial battles, and he spoke and wrote on what he saw. He wrote with a pen tipped with fire, and this unlettered proletarian became one of the greatest pamphleteers the American Socialist movement ever developed.

Toward 1905 his health began to fail, but no pain could quench the fire of his noble spirit. His writing became more inspired, his spirit more in flame for his cause.

"Let me thank you," Eugene Wood once said to him, "for what you have done for Socialism."

"I have done nothing" for Socialism. (Continued on Page Seven)

Take a fresh start and never let go.

Think how great his work, and he has so little to do with. How little ours in proportion to our strength.

I know some grand men and women in the Socialist movement. But in high self-sacrifice, in matchless fidelity to truth, I shall never meet a greater man than Jimmie Higgins.

And many a branch has one of him.

And may they have more of him.

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ABRAMOWITSCH GIVEN WARM WELCOME HERE

RAPHAEL ABROMOWITSCH, leading Russian Social Democrat and member of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International, received a warm welcome upon his arrival Tuesday on the Berengaria to begin a lecture tour for the Educational Committee of the Workmen's Circle. He was full of optimism and hope for the future and ultimate triumph of Socialism in Europe.

A number of comrades met the liner at Quarantine, and a large delegation of party, trade union and Workmen's Circle officials were at the pier when the ship docked to welcome Abramowitsch to America.

Comrade Abramowitsch had a good deal to say on the world Socialist and labor situation, with which he is thoroughly familiar, and consented to write several articles exclusively for The New Leader. He begged, however, to be given time to prepare them, and his first article will appear here next week.

Comrade Abramowitsch will speak principally for the Workmen's Circle, but it is possible that he will also speak for the party. He speaks Russian, French, German, English and Yiddish equally well.

Socialist Party Welcomes Abramowitsch to the U.S.

**COMRADE RAPHAEL AB-
RAMOWITSCH**, member of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International, received the following radiogram as his ship approached the shores of the United States:

SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA SENDS HEARTY FRATERNAL GREETINGS AND A SINCERE WELCOME TO THIS COUNTRY. MAY YOUR VISIT BE BOTH ENJOYABLE AND SUCCESSFUL.

(Signed) Clarence Senior,
National Secretary.

Years of Earnest Work Bring Concessions

(Continued from Page One)

the principle is endorsed without reservation. We are confident that once begun, the movement for a comprehensive system of social insurance will be irresistible. The social benefits from such a system will be its own best advocate and promoter.

The great significance of the President's plan goes much deeper than the allowance of money benefits to the unemployed and the aged, important as that undoubtedly is. With a system of unemployment insurance and old-age pensions in operation, we will for the first time, as a government, really know something about the wages the workers of the country receive, the rise and fall in unemployment, the exact number of its victims, the shifts and changes due to various economic and technologic causes. We will know about the labor market and we will be in a position intelligently to legislate on the problems affecting labor. We will remove this field of legislation from the sphere of happy and unhappy guesses. We will act on knowledge.

Viewing the rapid movement for social legislation and its far-reaching consequences, it is only fair to say that as a result of the great suffering brought on by this depression, there may yet arise in our country lasting social reforms, the enactment of which has been long neglected.

This Is the Government's Plan For Forms of Social Insurance

THE following is a brief summary of the proposals for social legislation now before Congress. They have been reduced to their bare essentials so that our readers may be able to understand the basic proposals that are buried in a mass of details.

Non-Contributory Pensions
Those over 65 years without means of support will become eligible. Beneficiaries not required to contribute. Congress is asked to vote \$50,000,000 for the year beginning July 1, and \$125,000,000 each year thereafter in aid of state systems, the Federal Government's monthly contribution to be limited to \$15.

Compulsory Old Age Pensions
A national system for those under 65. Beneficiaries required to

contribute. Payments to increase each five years for twenty years, to begin January 1, 1937. Employers will pay 1 per cent of each worker's pay for five years, 2 per cent for five years, 3 per cent in the next period, then 4 per cent, and finally 5 per cent in 1957. Half of these percentages will be paid by workers, which will finally be 2½ per cent for each worker's wage. Limited to states cooperating with the Federal Government.

Payments Begin in 1942
Contributions begin January 1, 1937, and first payments on January 1, 1942, to permit the fund to accumulate. To be eligible for a pension a worker must be 65 and must have made 200 contributions to the fund. His pay may range from \$7.50 a month to \$60, depending on his wage and the payments he makes.

Voluntary Saving System

A government proposal to establish a voluntary system of old age insurance. Workers may buy government policies insuring them a life income beginning at 65. "The primary purpose of the plan," the government declares, "is to offer persons not included within the compulsory system a systematic and safe method of providing for their old age. It could also be used by insured persons as a means of supplementing old age income provided under the compulsory plan."

Cost of the Program

The plan contemplates an initial cost of \$100,000,000 for the Federal Government the first year and \$218,000,000 the second year. It is expected that thereafter the contributions from workers and employers will bring the total to \$2,500,000,000.

Principle of Job Insurance Accepted In Social Security Bill

(Continued from Page One)
IF WE HAD PREVAILED POLITICALLY THOSE PRINCIPLES WOULD HAVE BEEN PUT INTO EFFECT AND IN A FAR MORE ADEQUATE MEASURE LONG AGO.

IF WE WERE STRONGER THAN WE ARE THE BILL WOULD HAVE COME FROM OTHER QUARTERS LONG AGO, AND WITH FAR MORE GENEROUS PROVISIONS.

AND AS WE GROW POLITICALLY, AS OUR INFLUENCE SPREADS THE BILL, EVEN AS IT STANDS, WILL BE MADE STRONGER AND MORE ADEQUATE AS TIME GOES ON.

Socialists were the first to promote the idea of social insurance. It was—and is—a fundamental part of the Socialist program. Socialists were the driving force back of the idea of employers' liability, or Workmen's Compensation, and it was the Socialist Party that drove through legislature after legislature the idea that has become enacted into law in 47 states and the District of Columbia. The laws enacted under that principle are by no means adequate, but the fact that the principle was established is highly important, and a vindication of the toil the Socialists have so selflessly put into their work.

In 1912, the late Victor L. Berger, Socialist Congressman from Milwaukee, introduced a Federal old-

age insurance measure; that was laughed into a Congressional pigeonhole; maybe some aged member of Congress who is now singing songs of praise to President Roosevelt might oblige by taking Berger's bill out of the resting place to which he helped consign it in order to demonstrate to the whole world where credit is due. Yes, indeed, they said, we like you, Victor, but never in a thousand years will America get around to such things.

In 1916, Meyer London, Socialist Congressman from New York, introduced H.J. RES. 158, calling for the appointment of a Commission to Prepare and Recommend a Plan for the Establishment of a National Insurance Fund and for the Mitigation of the Evil of Unemployment. There lies on the desk before me the stenographic report of hearings on that bill, and fascinating reading it is, too. The idea of social responsibility for those who are victims of the evils inherent in capitalist society had not yet penetrated even throughout the labor movement. Meyer London was ahead of his time. It was a delightful hearing, fine arguments were made, some men who ought to have known better made fools of themselves, and there the matter rested. (Until a year later, when Congress, in the War Risk Insurance, issued a policy to every one of the 4,000,000 boys who were drawn into service.)

Two years later a brilliant young Socialist member of the New York Legislature named Louis Waldman undertook to make a study of all forms of Social Insurance, and to prepare a bill that could serve as a model for the whole country. It was a remarkable piece of work, and if enacted it would have put New York at the head of the procession for social welfare. Under the rules of the Assembly the bill was printed . . . and promptly forgotten by the statesmen in Albany. It was not even reported out of committee.

Meanwhile, for many years good old James H. Maurer had striven in the Pennsylvania legislature and out of it for old-age security, until his own rockbound state placed him at the head of a commission to make studies looking toward such legislation in the future.

But Socialists never let up in their agitation. They felt that the first thing to do was to establish the principle; and now, after everything else has tried, and has failed, those who have tried every plan in vain at last of necessity turn to what the Socialists have maintained for all these weary years.

Woman suffrage; employers' liability; wage, factory and child labor legislation . . . all these and many other things were first advocated by the Socialists, ridiculed, denounced, and finally adopted. And Socialists continue to fight on.

BELIEVE IT OR NOT

Question propounded to the Editor of the Daily Worker by a reader: "Why is there so much exaggeration in the reports and news stories in the Daily Worker and other publications of the revolutionary [he means Communist] press?"

Answer by the editor (presumably with a straight face): "The policy of the Daily Worker is never to introduce the slightest distortion of facts. The Communist press has nothing to conceal or falsify. . . . The Communist press at all times sticks to facts. . . . Every distortion and exaggeration would be a blow against the revolutionary movement. Of course, mistakes are made and sometimes an exaggeration creeps into a news item or article. But these are corrected as soon as they are caught. Readers should immediately call the paper's attention to any mistake or shortcoming. They will be remedied immediately." Oh, yes, indeed. We pass a

suggestion on to Socialists and other honest workers to catch every deliberate lie, slander and libel in the Communist press, and follow the editor's suggestion. Then let us know how you make out.

Abramowitsch Next Week in The New Leader

RAPHAEL ABROMOWITSCH, world-famous Socialist journalist, will write on the prospects of Socialism and Democracy in Europe as opposed to fascism and other forms of dictatorship.

AARON LEVENSTEIN on "HEARTS, PUBLIC ENEMY NUMBER ONE," an excellent article that will tell you things you never knew before.

AMERICA GROPE FOR UTOPIA—very soon.

AND DON'T FORGET OUR GREAT ANNIVERSARY ISSUE.

YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO MISS THE NEW LEADER!

WAR IS SUICIDE!

By Major-General John F. O'Ryan
(From a letter to the New York Times)

War has been a greater plague to the human race than any of the dreaded scourges, epidemics and plagues that have from time to time swept the populations of the world.

These plagues and epidemics tended to kill off the weak and defective rather than the strong and virile. Thus, in general terms, it might be said that they acted as a purge.

War, however, works the other way. The entire system of war tends to shelter from its scourge the physically weak, the mental defectives, the neurotics, the diseased and the habitual drunkards.

It sends into the fire of battle for potential destruction the young men of all the lands who are the fittest in all respects.

War is actually the most effective form of race suicide known to man.

SOCIALISTS LEAD FIGHT FOR PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.—Public ownership of power plants is not used as a "threat" to compel private utility corporations to lower rates, Dr. Eugene H. Lehman, president of the Westchester Council of Utility Rate Committees, has told Floyd L. Carlisle, head of the Consolidated Gas Company who is spending large amounts of consumers' money in publishing letters to Mayor LaGuardia as paid advertisements in a frantic attempt to hold on to the power trust's privilege of mulcting the people.

"We are determined," said Dr. Lehman, "to own and operate our own plants regardless of what you may do!" This is a plain and unequivocal declaration, contrasting with LaGuardia's talk of "threats" and "yardsticks."

A year ago, however, when the Westchester Council was formed, municipal operation of power plants was advocated as a means of bringing pressure to bear on the Power Trust. Westchester Socialists, invited to participate in this movement to arouse the consumers, urged the council to go on record for public ownership forthrightly. But its leaders thought such a stand was too radical. Leonard Bright and Carl O. Parsons of the party's public affairs committee continued to press for a position in accord with the Socialist Party platform. Both organizations united in backing the Dunnigan bill, permitting municipalities to build their own plants, which was passed by the Legislature despite the utilities' bitter opposition.

In the recent election in Westchester the Council of Utility Rate Committees backed Stanley W. Church, Democratic candidate for State Senator, who refused to declare for public ownership, believing the idea "too radical" for the "wealthiest suburban community in the United States." Jacob Jay, Socialist candidate, ridiculed Church's position and throughout the campaign challenged the Democrat to stop pussyfooting. Jay's campaign on this outstanding issue in the country attracted wide attention and served an educational purpose. Charles Solomon, gubernatorial candidate, also made a major contribution in attacking the Democratic Party's attitude on this question in speeches made in Yonkers, New Rochelle, Mount Vernon, Port Chester and White Plains.

Church went down to defeat, and shortly after the election, less than a year after the council was organized, it adopted the Socialist position and is cooperating with the party in fighting for publicly owned and operated plants.

New York Socialists Head Procession

The Socialist Party of New York State is at the head of the Socialist procession of states, both in total number of members and in increased membership during the past year. Indeed, New York accounts for well over one-third of the membership gains the entire party recorded during the year 1934.

Membership reports just issued by the National Office show a gain of membership during the year of 2,403. New York accounted for 983 of that gain. The figure, moreover, does not do exact justice to New York's gains because it is based on dues stamps sold, and while many states purchase large blocks of stamps at once, New York buys from month to month, according to the requests of locals and branches.

The Workers Abroad

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

By William M. Feigenbaum

British Labor's Foreign Policy

THE British Labor Party is fully aware that within a year or so it may form the government of Great Britain, and therefore its pronouncements on international affairs are state papers of the highest importance. Two important documents outlining the party's policy on foreign policy and on war and peace are therefore deserving of careful attention.

"Labor and Labor alone," one of the manifestoes says, "knows the heavy price that must be paid for Peace, and is prepared to pay that price. Labor means business with the League [of Nations] and peace. Our attitude is fundamentally different from the mere lip-service to the League being paid by many of the orthodox politicians."

"In the grim enterprise of mastering the forces that make for war only Labor is capable of raising and leading a great mass movement, a movement made formidable by overmastering conviction, and putting into its hand the effective instrument of a clear and courageous policy."

"The fundamental idea for which Socialism stands is that peace must be conceived of as a positive, constructive enterprise, as the building up of a Cooperative World Commonwealth, that international anarchy is as much the enemy of Socialism as economic anarchy, and that to have peace we must subordinate national sovereignty to world institutions and obligations."

A Federation of the World

THE Labor Party is pledged by its party Constitution "to assist in organizing a Federation of Nations for the Maintenance of Freedom and Peace."

The party believes the League of Nations, imperfect though it may now be, is the agency through which to work. "The League is a mere instrument, a means to an end. Its action or inaction at any given moment is the resultant of the policies of the governments of members of the League . . . and no Government has more influence at Geneva than the British."

The idea, then, is to use the League, and to capture the governments that make it up; today the President of the League is a Socialist, Rickard J. Sandler, Swedish Foreign Minister.

"Labor believes we must abjure once and for all the old negative backward-looking, competitive idea of maintaining the 'balance of power' as the final goal of British foreign policy. That idea is based on the belief in state absolutism, international anarchy and the inevitability of war. In its place Labor resolutely substitutes as its goal in foreign policy the constructive, positive, forward-looking idea of a Cooperative World Commonwealth. . . . The idea of the Cooperative World Commonwealth is based on the Socialist faith in the Brotherhood of Man, on our belief that we can and must build a new worldwide society on the crumbling ruins of the class and nation-bound old order."

There follow detailed planks of the Labor Party's program for cooperation with the League of Nations, and then the following highly important sections:

General Strike

LABOR is fully cognizant of the various implications of a general strike against war. The present Standing Order 8 (h) of the Trades Union Congress, which states that a Special Congress should be called in the event of danger of outbreak of war, covers the position; and in spite of the psychological difficulty of taking action once the war spirit has been roused, provides the best means of dealing with such a situation. The lack of an independent trade union movement in such countries as Germany, Italy, Austria, etc. make the calling of a general strike against their governments an impossibility. In other countries, such as Japan, the trade union organization is too weak to be able to restrain its government.

"It is quite possible that aggressive action might come from some of those countries. A general strike under such circumstances could not possibly be made effective by the trade unions in those countries."

"The responsibility for stopping war ought not to be placed upon the trade union movement alone. Every citizen who wants peace and every other section of the Labor Movement must share the responsibility of any organized action that might be taken to prevent war."

"There is no alternative to the collective Peace system except a relapse into international anarchy, a race in armaments and, sooner or later, war or revolution or both. Development of the collective system is the only policy that holds out any hope of producing a warless world, of preventing war by organizing Peace. Those who reject this policy, to whatever political camp they belong, can never suggest any alternative which is not based on the assumption that war is inevitable which is not directed solely to proposing what should be done after war has broken out."

There follow details of the far-reaching and intensive campaign the party and unions are pledged to undertake the moment war threatens.

How Three Men Seek the Way to Perfect Truth

THREE articles appeared in the New York Times of Sunday, January 20th, that had no formal connection with each other but that should be read together to get an important picture. One was a news item from Berlin; another was a scientific article by a world-famous anthropologist, and the third was by an astronomer.

The news item reported that Bernhard Rust, Commissioner of Education, has decreed that from now on all university students must devote their first two semesters to Nazi "racial science." The Commissioner outlines in advance what the courses will demonstrate. It will be recalled that this Rust, prior to the installation of Hitler, was a high school teacher removed from his job because of progressive mental deterioration due to syphilis. Now, being a devoted follower of Hitler, he is absolute dictator of every school, university, museum, opera house, symphony orchestra and art gallery in Germany.

The second item was a long article by Sir Arthur Keith, noted anthropologist, who tells of the quest of scientists for the origin of the human race; and the third, by Waldemar Kaempffert, tells of the researches of scientists into the chemical composition of planets.

Sir Arthur tells a fascinating story of his own fifty years' painstaking research, examining countless thousands of prehistoric skulls in every part of the world, accepting theories as working bases for further research, rejecting them when he found they did not hold water, comparing notes with other scientists working in Java and Kenya, in Siberia and Devon, in Australia and in Yucatan. The article gives an amazing picture of careful, selfless work, devoted men digging into the earth, studying fossil remains, checking up, and constantly rejecting theories found to be untenable. Sir Arthur indicates that scientists often work for decades, and then find they are barking up the wrong tree. Nothing is sacred except intellectual integrity, for the sole object of their labors is to find the truth . . . or at least the way to truth.

Similarly, the article on the planets indicates the same painful research. Instruments measuring the heat of the sun on the planet Uranus; spectroscopes to discover the chemical make-up of Neptune and the rings of Saturn . . . research the very conception of which makes the layman's head whirl.

In both fields of exploration it is significant that nothing is settled, nothing is taken for granted; everything is subject to further research and recheck and discovery of new facts.

And out of such quest for the truth, out of such devotion to objective science has come the progress of mankind out of the jungles . . . into whatever we have today. In Nazi Germany we have a Rust who takes from an ignoramus like Hitler a pre-digested idea about racial "purity" and the origins of peoples and who makes that pre-digested preconception the compulsory basis of all science and scholarship. Nothing that does not conform to that pre-digested notion can be taught in the country of Ostwald and Helmholtz; nothing that would even seem to lead scholars and scientists to follow their own researches to their logical conclusions will be permitted so long as Germany's inspiration is Hitler, and Hitler's ideas are the fountain-head of Germany's policy.

And it must be understood that these ideas on race, fantastic and idiotically false as scientists (even in Germany) know they are, are purely political conceptions. If they do not stand up the whole basis of Hitler's rule of Germany must

of necessity fall down.

And here we have a characteristic of all dictatorship, whether Hitler's or Mussolini's or Stalin's. Ideas and conceptions are accepted beforehand, and facts are adjusted to suit. In the Soviet Union political and economic conceptions come out of the Kremlin, and woe to anyone who does not accept them! Out of the 168,000,000 people in Russia, outside of the ruling group, not one man or woman may read a line in a newspaper, book or magazine, listen to a speech from a platform or radio, look at a movie or play, or engage in any literary or scientific work that does not meet the approval of the ruling group and that is of necessity a pre-conception in history, economics, or race. And no matter how intelligent Hitler, Stalin or Mussolini may be, no matter how exalted the ideals that animate one or another of them, it is humanly impossible for anything to result except intellectual stagnation.

It may be of little immediate moment whether or not a Keith or a Kaempffert is permitted to pursue researches in Germany or Italy in these critical days. Whether there is uranium in the atmosphere of Uranus or solium in the gases of the sun; whether or not the Piltown Man antedates the Sinanthropus may butter no bread in Berlin. But if all intellectual enterprise is harnessed to the chariot of a preconception that is part of the basis of a dictatorship all thought will of necessity die, and the human race will tend to slip back into barbarism.

No dictatorship can survive free discussion. Dictatorships, in their very nature, must lay down certain "lines" that all must follow on pain of exile, imprisonment or death. Whether the "line" is racial idiocies, like those of Hitler, Rosenberg or Rust, or economics, like whatever theories Stalin happens to hold at the moment, does not matter. The important thing is whether the human mind is to be free, or not. And the human mind cannot be free in a dictatorship, no matter how noble its professed ideals.

A Candidate for Oblivion Speaks His Little Piece

A little over a hundred years ago Massachusetts and Connecticut maintained a state-kept church. The pastors who obtained their salaries from public taxation fought to the last ditch for the union of church and state. Legislative sessions were opened with a state-kept preacher delivering an "election sermon." Where the preacher ended and the politician began was a problem that has never been solved. The state graft of the kept pastors was ended about the third decade of the nineteenth century, smashed by the Jeffersonian "infidels" while the preachers mourned the end of the republic.

The Rev. J. Harvey Murphy of Hudson, N. Y., recalls the history of these two states in a recent sermon. Socialism is the enemy. "How can we achieve peace by means of plunder?" he thundered. "How can we hope to elevate mankind by means of anti-moral propaganda?" More thunder. "How ridiculous to tell the masses that all sufferings and inequalities are due to capitalism and that their condition is in no way the result of their own errors!" Thunder and lightning!

Cheer up, Rev. Murphy. When the working class is free of the capitalism you support, as your brothers of old Connecticut and Massachusetts fought for their state graft, the world will continue in its orbit and you will be as forgotten as Theodore Dwight who thundered that the Jeffersonians intended to throw all women into a common stew.

The Townsend On Finance

By Irving

Economist Shows How Plan Is A Pishment Under A

This article, dealing with the economic aspects of the Townsend Revolving Pension Plan, is of particular importance at this time because of the introduction of Social Security Legislation in Washington. Is the Townsend Plan to be considered an alternative to that legislation, or is it just another plan? This article serves as an appetizer for the series, "America Gropes for Utopia," that will begin in an early issue.

JIMMIE HIGGINS and Henry Dubb were discussing the problems of the eleven million unemployed, the twenty million on relief and the debt burdens. "Don't you think it would be a good plan to scrap the capitalist system which is the cause of all these evils?" asked Jimmie. "No," replied Henry, "you Socialists are Utopians. We have other plans to cure our economic ills."

Henry is right. The adherents of the capitalist system have other plans. Right now the most prominent is the so-called Townsend Plan.

How would you like to be able to quit work some day and travel, play golf and do only the things you want to do? How would you like, when you are 60 to have a check for \$200 arrive every month for the rest of your life? There is a plan that seeks to make it possible. The Townsend plan, supported by millions of people in this country and now being urged upon Congress, provides that the Federal Government shall pay each man and each woman over sixty a monthly pension of \$200. The only restrictions are that if you are over sixty and have a job you must retire from such gainful employment and, furthermore, you

must agree to stop committing crimes, however sinned.

The cost of the raised through a g That, dear rea and substance of and outstanding, proposed in this about the rehabili political and econo not propose to in private ownership production and dis private profits.

The Townsend child of Dr. F. kindly gentle Beach, California. famous crops, brought up this bumper crop signed to cure e tical and econom body politic. EF sunny California. Incorporated, have State their happy And in this ferti send Plan was p and blossomed f nostrum to deli elder generation. popular song, "C the Poor House," ing piece of music The Townsend P make the institut digent museums stored such obec the old rocking remind us of our old folks.

All good citizen planned society. are between ten a unemployed in th say that the plann far-reaching imp the central aim of from the prevent

Horrors! One of the unemployed



Plan Is Based 1 Fallacies

Altman

Absolutely Impossible of Accomplishment Under Existing Circumstances

the entire well be the establishment of such guidance and control over our economic life as will lessen the likelihood of devastating and socially harmful unemployment.

We are having a maze of proposals which attempt to indicate how depressions may be averted and the planning process improved. The good and the bad, the wise and the stupid, the fundamental and the superficial, the opportunists with a special motive and the disinterested seekers for the public welfare, are hopelessly intertwined. It is therefore of peculiar interest to us, as a contribution to clarity, to summarize and compare the significant features of some of the more important planning proposals.

The American economic planning movement is still in its infancy. It has not yet gone beyond the promotional stage. The apothecaries set up by the Government give adequate confirmation to the well-grounded belief that we have yet to learn a great deal about planning. America thinks almost primarily of regional and national planning and only rather tentatively of international (world) planning. America does not wish to imitate Russia. While its whole movement seems to be stimulated and inspired by the Gosplan, our country is eager to develop its own American planning as a special type of planning. American planning as it is visualized in the present literature on this subject does not foresee pure state (or other) Socialism nor any other form of collective organization.

Most authors of American plans hasten to assure us that their proposals contain no Socialism, Communism and in some cases fascism. They want to be sure that their

Fourteen Dollars and One Hundred Billion

A MAN who is in himself utterly unimportant happens to own a \$1,000 Baltimore and Ohio railway gold bond, calling for interest of 4½ per cent, to be paid in gold in the amount that went into a dollar as of the time of the sale of the bond; that is the usual "gold clause" in gold bonds.

There came a time when our man received a credit of \$22.50—or 4½ per cent for six months' interest—in payment of his current coupon. But he told the B. & O. that the \$22.50 was the value of the gold at the time he bought the bond, while with the gold devaluation proclaimed by the President he was entitled to \$36, the dollar having been fixed at about 59 cents' worth of gold, and would the B. & O. kindly enclose check for \$14 more to make up the difference in 1934 dollars between the gold content of the kind of dollar he was entitled to under the "gold clause" and the kind of dollar he was getting?

The B. & O. laughed at him, and so he hired a young lawyer to get his \$14. The case went through all the courts, and it is in the Supreme Court now. By now the suit is no laughing matter, and the Supreme Court of the United States is wondering whether to decide strictly in accordance with the law—which would mean that the young man would get his fourteen dollars—or with that vague entity known as Public Policy; which would mean that the Supreme Court would take the revolutionary step of deciding that it

proposals will receive a respectable hearing in the press and among the press and among the "substantial" classes. Besides the planning movement there is a widespread opinion here that the actual crisis is nothing more than a normal cyclical crisis aggravated by political and psychological circumstances (for example: an unbalanced budget or tinkering with the currency), but open to the traditional remedy of the natural re-establishing forces of competition on a free market. They want to treat the present emergency by Public Works programs and unemployment relief.

Another equally widespread opinion believes in the near end of capitalism and does not see any possibility of a successful planned economy without a radical change of the present economic system.

It is from the latter viewpoint that the writer wishes to analyze the so-called Townsend Plan. The Townsend Plan is important, not so much for what it proposes but because it has won the support of so many people throughout the land. The real danger in this proposal is that it serves to mislead the people, as do most temporary economic plans, and adds to the general confusion about the basic causes of the periodic breakdown of the capitalist system.

The reader will recognize in the Townsend old-age pension plan the following two features: first, the idea is an extension of some of the retirement systems now in operation; and, second, the plan embodies the monetary theories of the inflationists and "social creditors."

These latter schools of economic thought believe that "purchasing power is a question of money." Accordingly, all we need to maintain permanent prosperity is to create enough money or social credit and place these exchange mediums in the hands of the people.

According to the latest available figures there are over ten million (Continued on Page Six)

has jurisdiction not only over the law and the decisions of lower courts, but upon all public policies, which would indeed be a political revolution of the first magnitude.

For if the youth gets his fourteen dollars it would mean that all obligations entered into in the United States prior to Roosevelt's devaluation of the dollar would have to be met not on the basis of 100 cents on the dollar but on the basis of about \$1.69 on the dollar. And when those obligations—government debts, Federal, state and municipal, county, and international; private loans, bonds, mortgages and all the rest of it—are totaled up, and if the Supreme Court decides strictly on the law, and if the obligations are met on the basis of \$1.69 on the dollar, the extra obligations might very easily rise to the staggering total of from \$100,000,000,000 to \$250,000,000,000; nobody can guess within a few thousand light-years just how much.

And it is entirely possible that if there is such a decision, and if payment is pressed and attempts are made to collect in full, the capitalist system may not be able to stand the burden.

Now, consider these facts:

Man needs food, clothing, shelter, transportation, education, amusement, and so forth. We have the raw materials, and we have the scientific knowledge and mechanical equipment and skilled labor to convert the raw materials into the things the human race needs for a wholesome, useful and happy life.

To carry on the complicated business of living and creating we have invented the device of credit, supposedly as a convenience. But credit, once a convenience, has long since become the end in itself, rather than an aid to that end. Credit, finance and the other entanglements tend to assume a greater and greater importance, until the object has long ago been lost in the tangle of credit machinery and manipulation, and the thing designed in the first place solely as a convenience has become the be-all and end-all of our complicated existence.

And if the Supreme Court votes to give our friend his fourteen bucks, and if the logical implications of that \$14 award are carried through, would it not be the most colossal, the most cosmic jest of the ages if this over-complicated system that spans the earth with its far-reaching arms were to collapse and fall into ruins under the weight . . . of fourteen dollars!

DO YOU WANT TO END THE CRIME WAVE?

There is a new War on Crime, and we're all for it. But we can't get excited over the various plans that are proposed because we can't forget a remark made by Morris Hillquit in a debate with a notorious enemy of Socialism many years ago.

The anti-Socialist was smugly and sanctimoniously deploring vice and crime and wondering what Socialists had to say about that. And Morris Hillquit said:

"If a man is hungry, and has a starving family, and bread is placed within his reach, it is inevitable that he will be tempted to steal."

"You can pass a law against stealing, you can lecture him on the immorality of stealing, you can preach a sermon on the sin of stealing, and you will accomplish nothing."

"But if you give him bread, he will no longer steal."

Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

Questions and Answers

J. O. J., Oklahoma. We have received several inquiries like yours regarding the new paper, "Producers' Alliance News," published in Oklahoma City, and the Oklahoma case in general. We notice that the publication office is not given and that its mail is received through Box 273, Oklahoma City. Its editor is A. E. Bowen while the paper represents The National Producers' Alliance.

This organization is declared to be "a nonpartisan political organization. Its one aim is to select candidates for public office who are pledged to a program that will solve the problem of distribution in this country and restore to our people the opportunity to work and receive honest pay for their work." The paper declares that it has "confidence" in Governor Marland and it hopes to "see harmony prevail at the state capitol" between "the Governor and the Legislature." That is as much as we can get of its program.

On organization the paper declares that "We have built a powerful organization, the greatest ever known in Oklahoma, and ten thousand of our members have agreed to act as precinct committeemen. If these men and women are in earnest—if each one will secure one subscriber a month for this paper—we will abolish poverty and establish justice in Oklahoma."

We notice that seven cartoons of John Baer which had appeared in the American Guardian are again used in this paper. Whether this connects the two publications in some intimate relation we do not know.

We do know that in the post-war period an organization with similar purposes was formed in Oklahoma and through its "nonpartisan" action it became a group in the Democratic party. It helped to elect Jack Walton Governor and Walton was impeached and removed from office. He turned out to be an ordinary political hack and the masses who helped to elect him were left holding an empty bag. What else can be expected by forming another organization of this kind is beyond our ken.

As for the investigation of the Guardian and the Socialist Party in that state, it was to have been made at a state convention several weeks ago but it was postponed. Since then requests have come from Oklahoma that the investigation be secret and that no publicity be given to it. The writer of this column who made the complaint has declined to agree to this request. He has nothing to conceal from the party membership and he hopes that no party member in that state has anything to conceal.

Moreover, for several weeks articles have been appearing in the Guardian presenting what is alleged to be the history of the Socialist movement in that state during the post-war period. The articles also consider events and actions that come within the range of the investigation. One side is being presented to the readers of the Guardian and this has been going on for several weeks.

It is astonishing that a weekly publication is being used to present one side of matters that are yet to be investigated and yet it insists that when the investigation occurs it should be secret, that party members be excluded, and that no publicity should be given to the proceedings. This would be a back stairs proceeding that cannot be tolerated in a Socialist movement. Unless the investigation is conducted in broad daylight it should be abandoned.

We give this much attention to the affair because of the interest of party members who have inquired about it and also because widespread publicity has been and is still being given to the Ameringer version of what has happened to the once fine Socialist movement we had in Oklahoma.

B., Philadelphia. As a rule we pay no attention to anonymous letters, but will ignore the rule in this instance. What you send from the organ of the S.L.P. we had already received. That publication always sends us marked copies of such material which we always read with relish. The S.L.P. boasts that it has always stood "like a rock." This is true. Like a rock it has not moved in forty years. As for its criticism which you think important, consider the following samples. Oneal suffered "a severe attack of mental indigestion from which he never recovered." He combines "craftiness" with "ignorance." He has "emitted a series of belchings." The Socialist Party was born "to save the bulwark of capitalism." Oneal's "pro-capitalist associates belch." Oneal's "mental stomach is bound to get worse." One cannot argue with this sort of thing. We can only ignore it or laugh at it and we have done both in the years in which we have received this stuff from its authors.

J. W. H., Jr., Michigan. "I am not a Communist because I cannot subscribe to some of their dogmas." That is, you have reached a half-way roadhouse on the road to Communism and yet you expect us to compromise with this sick bolshevism of adolescents. We are "dogmatic" yet your letter implies your only objection to bolshevism is "some dogmas," not all of them. Be consistent.

Drops in at the Charity Ball



by Harry McEug in February issue of ARISE

Buffalo Local Backs Expulsion Of Five

BUFFALO.—Five members of the Revolutionary Policy Committee were expelled by Local Buffalo last Sunday at a largely attended membership meeting. Under the local constitution the executive committee, a delegate body, had voted expulsion with only two members dissenting and the expulsions were approved by the membership meeting after a thorough discussion. Herman J. Hahn and William Chamberlain, two of the expelled group, presented their case before the vote was taken.

After the executive committee had acted the members of the local R. P. C. were given an opportunity to disband and to repudiate advocacy of insurrection. Twenty-one members replied in a document reaffirming their views, except four who declared that while they did not accept the "ideology" of the R. P. C. they believed that members should have the right to advocate them. The remaining cases are still pending. The local Communist group distributed a circular in favor of the R. P. C. at the meeting.

James Oneal appeared at the hearing as a member of the state committee at the request of Local Buffalo. Hahn read the following section of the Detroit Declaration of Principles on the ground that it approved armed insurrection:

"If the capitalist system should collapse in a general chaos and confusion, which cannot permit of orderly procedure, the Socialist Party, whether or not in such a case it is a majority, will not shrink from the responsibility of organizing and maintaining a government under the rule of the producing masses."

Chamberlain concluded the argument for his group by making the following statement to which no member of the group made any objection:

"We are not Communists with a large C; we are Communists with a small c."

James Battistoni, Robert A. Hoffman and others participated in the discussion and James Oneal summed up for the state committee. The local press has been filled with stories of the dispute for a week or two, the general trend being that it was a personal one between Hahn and others. Because of this situation, Oneal drew up a statement regarding the issues involved. The statement follows:

"The controversy in local Buffalo of the Socialist Party is not one of individuals or personal rivalries or a contest for power by individuals. This controversy has become general in a number of states and the party members are taking their stand irrespective of individuals. It is a controversy over basic principles of the Socialist movement and its settlement will determine whether the party favors Communism and its methods of conspiracy and armed insurrection, or whether it favors Socialism through intelligent organization and education of the masses. These two fundamental conceptions cannot be reconciled. With knowledge of this irreconcilable conflict over fundamental issues it is ridiculous to assume that leaders are responsible for the conflict.

"The Revolutionary Policy Committee, which brought these issues into the party, is an organized group within the Socialist Party. It is a party within the party. As such it comes into conflict with the party because it propagates Communist theories and methods within a Socialist organization.

"Because of this dual organization and advocacy of Communist

The Townsend Plan Is Based On Financial Fallacies

(Continued from Page Five)

people who are eligible to receive pensions under the Townsend plan. At \$200 per month for each person pensioned the plan would cost the first year \$24,000,000,000, or \$2,000,000,000 a month; in addition we would have to allow for the cost of administration of the plan. This colossal sum has to be raised by a general sales tax. Retail sales this past year have been about thirty billion dollars. So to raise the money needed to pay the pensions it would be necessary to impose an eighty per cent tax. This means that on a ten per cent article the housewife would pay a tax of eight cents, or a total of eighteen cents.

The palpable unfairness of this scheme is that it places the burden of supporting the poor upon the shoulders of the poor. Of the goods consumed in this country 71 per cent is purchased by the low-income classes who spend the bulk of their earnings for food, clothing and shelter. Those in the upper income brackets spend comparatively little for consumers' goods. One can readily see what this sales tax would do to the incomes of the workers. And it must be remembered that every other form of taxation would still continue. The total tax bill of the nation already amounts to over 10 billion dollars and is taking about 25% of the nation's income.

The Townsend plan advocates propose only a 10% sales tax. This would raise only 12% of the

amount needed. It would, therefore, be necessary to raise prices 80%, and this in terms of purchasing power would decrease the pensions from \$200 to \$25. No matter how you figure it, the pensions would be taken out of the hides of the 34 million workers. According to a recent study made by Walter Rautenstrauch ("Who Gets the Money?") 34,131,000 persons were engaged, in 1932, in agriculture, mining, manufacture, construction, power, transportation communication. Of this number 17,279,000 are classified as producers, receiving wages and salaries, 16,852,000 as "overhead." In 1932, approximately one-half of the employed population made a living by producing goods for which they received only one-third of the national income, while the majority of the other half made a living by various services for which they received two-thirds of the national payroll.

It is because of this latter development that we find that it frequently costs more to distribute goods than to produce them. This creates a set of interferences which makes it more difficult for the producers to buy back the products they have created. From the results of their labor are paid wages, salaries, rent, interest, dividends, royalties and profits. They are carrying the weight of the capitalist order on their backs. And now it is proposed that they shall further tax themselves to support a new army of non-producers, ten

million in number, who have attained the age of 60. It was Tolstoy who said that the capitalists would do anything for the workers but get off their backs.

To say all this is not to say that a system of old-age pensions is not desirable. The aged, who through no fault of their own have been made the victims of the present economic order, must be provided for. We must set aside reserves, accumulated out of production and income, to take care of the aged and also of those grown old before their time under the strain of modern industry. But the burden must not be made the sole responsibility of the workers. Workers must understand that the Townsend Plans which provide for sales taxes and not income taxes are but alluring and deceptive schemes to bolster up a tottering economic system at the expense of the workers. In a sane society where goods are produced for use and not for private profit, it would not be necessary to set up old-age pensions based upon a system of sales tax imposts.

If workers will hold clear in their minds that the true function of money is to facilitate the exchange of goods and services for goods and services, they will not fall victims to the various monetary schemes that perpetually arise in a capitalist society. They will understand that the eleven million unemployed and the twenty million on relief are in need not just because they haven't the purchasing power, money, to buy the goods they must have; they, the workers, will understand that these millions are in need because they are unable to produce goods and render services which they could exchange with other members in society. These millions are in distress because the owners of the tools of production do not find it profitable to have the goods produced at this time and therefore they deny the workers access to the machine.

Workers must understand that "money" in itself is not wealth but the representative of wealth. As a matter of fact in a capitalist society "money" is in the main nothing but a debt instrument, a promise to pay. Of our money 90% is not real money at all, based on metals, but is manufactured by our bankers and by the banking machinery. This money, which has become the real circulating medium of the country, is known as credit money or bank deposit money. The bankers manufacture this "counterfeit" money which they term "sound money" and charge the people interest for the privilege of letting them use this money. And this is one reason, among a number, why people who have grown old cannot support themselves in their declining years, and also why we get Townsend plans to help them. But in the long run the Townsend plans are designed to benefit the owners of industry, and particularly the bankers, who will manufacture the "money" that is to be paid out to the old folks.

To summarize (Under the Townsend Plan, if adopted):

1. The aged will get \$200 pensions worth much less in actual purchasing power.
2. The producing workers will have to carry the burden in lower standards of living.
3. The wealthy will be spared the cost of taking care of the "deserving poor."
4. The bankers will make greater profits than ever before because they will furnish the "sound money" which will be paid out to the beneficiaries of the pension system.

Claessens Stages One-Man Debate On the New Deal

By Thomas W. Davis

SPRING VALLEY, N. Y.—Comrade August Claessens staged a one-man debate January 13 in Spring Valley on the question, "Will the New Deal Bring Permanent Prosperity?"

As chairman, I made what Claessens described as a pretty ineffective defense of the New Deal in order to preserve the appearance of a debate.

This was the first event in a series on "Depressions—Their Cause and Cure" staged by the Workers' Circle. All the Democrats approached, either because they didn't know what the New Deal is about or because they lacked courage, turned down the request to debate the proposition. Their excuse was, "Why Debate AFTER Election?"

We know that the Democrats aren't interested in whether the working people enjoy a little security and a little prosperity or not as long as they can bank themselves, in the comparative prosperity of the public treasury after they get into office.

The brazen indifference of the Democrats or Republicans to questions involving the welfare of the people is not new, but it's revealing.

AND NOW THIS MAY BE CONTEMPT OF COURT

IT APPEARS that a lawyer named Colden, who used to be District Attorney of Queens County, is now a judge. He was appointed by Governor Lehman, ratified by the State Senate, and praised by Mayor LaGuardia. And now what we have to say here may be contempt of court, and if it is make the most of it.

It will be recalled that Colden is the District Attorney who was so hot for the prosecution of Athos Terzani, whom the fascist Khaki Shirts were so eager to railroad to the chair, but who was so notoriously lukewarm in the prosecution of Frank Moffer, self-confessed killer of the person for whose killing Terzani was tried, and of Art J. Smith, comic-opera Führer of the Khaki Shirts.

Even if that is forgotten—and who can forget that shabby episode?—there is nothing in Colden's record to recommend him for high advancement, except that there were political considerations involved in promoting him. It is hard to see what Governor Lehman saw in this man except those political considerations.

And then it occurs to one that no matter how honest and personally decent a man might be, even if he is in a rotten party, he must play the game of that party regardless of what he thinks about that game in his own heart.

And it further occurs to us that it might not be a bad idea to use this relatively unimportant Colden incident as a point to make when some one comes along and says about a "good" man, "Oh, but he is so good!"

Not a "good" man in a bad party, but a party of our own; only that way lies emancipation.

Lecture Notes

The Cooper Union Department of Social Philosophy has announced the following lectures: Jan. 25, "The Importance of a Knowledge of History—Lucian," Everett Dean Martin. On Jan. 27, Prof. Scott Buchanan will lecture on "The Nature of Institutions" and on Jan. 29th on "Reform."

"The Economic Determination of Religion" will be the subject of the lecture to be delivered by Dr. William E. Bohm, Sunday at 8:30. The lecture will be given under the auspices of the Free-thinkers of America in the headquarters of the organization, 155 E. 34th St.

Hearst Salutes

Hearst's New York American runs a "Salute to Sweden," which is about to celebrate the 550th anniversary of its parliament, the Riksdag, but in its campaign against the "reds" in general the American gets into an embarrassing jam.

Sweden has "withstood the batteries of absolutism and foreign wars for half a millennium," says the American. Her budget is balanced and unemployment has been reduced to one per cent of the total population. Sweden is democratic. "Salute to the Riksdag!"

Better fire that editor, Willie, for while you are fighting "reds" he is saluting a Social Democratic Government.

New Leader Dinner in Paterson

A BIG New Leader dinner is being arranged by Paterson and Passaic Socialists on Saturday evening, February 9. This affair will be held in the S and C Restaurant on Church Street, Paterson.

Frank R. Crosswaith will head the list of prominent speakers and an enjoyable evening is promised. Large delegations of hungry Socialists are expected from Paterson and nearby towns. Reservations may be obtained from A. Dolder, Box 55, Great Notch, N. J.

The State Referendum Again

By Julius Gerber

COMRADE THOMAS' letter last week impels me to reply. It seems that whenever the militants find fault with anything, Comrade Thomas runs to their rescue.

Not being on their mailing list I did not see the letter they sent out about the proposed Amendments to the State Constitution. I am responsible for most of the amendments, and I can't see why Comrade Thomas or anyone else should get excited about them, except on the theory that anything coming from the New York State Committee is bad.

Let us see what these amendments propose: The first amendment proposes to make assessments obligatory as is the payment of dues. Only those who object to paying dues will object to this.

The second amendment changes the time from six to three months for a member to be in arrears, and brings the State Constitution in line with the National Constitution. Since the so-called militants are staunch upholders of the National Constitution, they surely ought to support this.

The third amendment provides when and how members are entitled to exempt stamps, which is not provided in the Constitution at present. What is wrong with this?

The next amendment provides that the secretary of the local shall notify the state office when a member transfers to his local from another local. Surely no militant can object to that!

Then there is the amendment providing that the state convention elect five alternates to fill vacancies on the State Committee. This amendment follows the same line as the National Constitution. Would the militants and Comrade Thomas prefer to have the State Committee fill its own vacancies?

The next amendment provides that a member of the State Executive Committee must have an excuse if absent from a meeting. What is wrong with that?

The next amendment defines the status of a member suspended when found guilty on charges. There was no provision in the Constitution to cover this and it was subject to decision by the State Committee. We thought it better to have it in the Constitution; practically there is no change. This was the rule and we prefer to be guided by the Constitution rather than by a ruling of the State Committee.

The same thing applies to the next amendment, which defines the status of a member expelled or suspended from the decision of the local.

Much fuss is made about the next amendment to strike out the word "unofficial," and Comrade Thomas made it a point of inquiry

to me. As I explained to Comrade Thomas, some twenty years ago when the primary law was passed providing that state convention delegates must be elected at the primary election, the party differentiated between the conventions composed of delegates elected at the primary by calling them "official" and the conventions called by the party organization by calling them "unofficial." For practical purposes, it does not make any difference, as we considered the so-called unofficial conventions more official than the so-called official conventions, as far as our organization is concerned. The unofficial conventions always adopted the platform and nominated the candidates which the so-called official conventions had to approve.

The amendments providing how special conventions may be called, or how the Constitution may be amended, or how state referendums may be initiated, are simply clarifications necessitated by the growth of the party in the state. And try as I may, I can't see why anyone, even the militants, should get excited and why Comrade Thomas, busy as he is, should take time to write a letter about it. Except, as I have said above, that Comrade Thomas feels he must come to the rescue of the militants whenever they have a bad case.

In conclusion, I want to say that it does not matter much whether the amendments are adopted or not. In practice they have been operative, except that we prefer to have them in the Constitution instead of as rulings of the State Committee. Let me add that these amendments were ready to be submitted to the convention, but when the state convention referred them to the State Committee, the latter—unlike the N.E.C.—felt that they should be referred to the members for a vote, and accordingly they are submitted to a referendum.

I can assure Comrade Thomas and the rest of the members in this state that no one remained awake nights figuring out how to put something over on the membership. These amendments were prepared in light of the experience and practice of the past years. And I can recommend, with a clear conscience, to the comrades to vote for them.

And while we are talking about the party in New York State, I have just received from the National Office the stamp statement for 1934. I notice that New York State furnished 37% of the total increase in the membership, while Illinois increased one whole member, and Wisconsin even lost members. It is not so very long since Comrade Thomas bemoaned the fact that New York was the only state that lost members, and lately we read that New York lost votes, while in reality New York was one of the few states where the Socialist vote increased materially.

It seems that some comrades in the party enjoy kicking New York. While New York is not all that I would like to see it, it is not as bad as some people would like to make it. And were it not that we are hampered in every way by an organized group which stifles every activity and compels us to waste time on internecine fights, New York would do even better in every respect. It is a pity that Comrade Thomas should give his time and efforts to the support of this organized group.

POGORELEC TO TOUR FOR THE NEW LEADER

Charles Pogorelec, Translator-Secretary of the South Slav Socialist Federation and Editor of Prole-



tarec, the brilliant weekly paper of that organization, will start soon on a speaking trip for the Federation and for his paper and The New Leader.

Pogorelec, who speaks equally well in English and the languages of Yugoslavia, will go to the Pacific Coast, beginning with New Mexico and California. He will then go to Oregon, and coal mining camps in Washington, such as Roslyn, Renton, Black Diamond, Cle Elum, Enumclaw, and possibly Takoma, Seattle and Spokane. From there he will go to Montana, speaking in Butte, Great Falls, Red Lodge, Washoe, Stockett, Klein and other places. Then to Utah, Wyoming, Colorado and Kansas.

Comrades are urged to get in touch with Pogorelec and see to it that he is able to visit their localities.

Party Notes

Illinois
Chicago, Sixth Cong. Dist. Branch meets Feb. 2 to install officers, at 3437 W. Roosevelt Road.
Open Forum at same address; Feb. 2, symposium on significance of Kiroff assassination, participated in by a Socialist, Communist and Trotskyist. Feb. 8, "Socialist Program of the U.S.—The Commonwealth Plan," Paul Porter. Feb. 15, Clarence Senior on the Austrian Revolution, with slides of last year's fighting. Feb. 22, symposium, "The Menace of American fascism."

New Jersey
Passaic, Rand School Extension Course continues, with Aaron Levenstein as instructor, at Workmen's Circle Building, 50 Howe Ave., Friday evenings at 8:45.
Branch 1 is preparing to enter the municipal election campaign in May.
Following officers elected for ensuing year: Organizer, Irving Fischer; Secretary, Abe Simon; Fin. Sec'y and Treasurer, Herman Miller; Literature Agent, Ben Kraft; Labor Sec'y, Bernard Daly.

New York State
State Executive Committee, The S.E.C. held a special meeting last Monday evening, and conferred with S. John Block in regard to co-operation with the City charter revision commission. It also selected representatives to attend Legislative hearings at Albany. Next regular meeting of the S.E.C. Sunday, Feb. 3, Poughkeepsie. A meeting will be held at the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union Hall Sunday evening under the auspices of the Party Local, William E. Duffy will speak.

Auburn Local Cayuga County has re-elected Walter O'Hagen as organizer, Mrs. B. C. Mead as secretary, and Herman Kromer as treasurer. The local has set out to double its membership.
Westchester The third annual membership convention will be held Sunday, Jan. 27, at 2 p.m., at Debs Hall, 26 E. 1st St., Mount Vernon. Annual reports will be submitted by County Chairman Jacob Jay and Executive Secretary Leonard Bright, who will offer recommendations for increased activity.

A convention dinner will be served at 6 p.m. The speaker will be August Claessens.
Rockland County At recent annual elections, the following were elected: Organizer, T. Davis; Asst. Organizer, A. Batten; Treasurer, E. Draudt; Corr. Sec'y, J. Sauter; Rec. Sec'y, J. Schwalbe; Lit. Agent, E. Albright. Comrades Batten, Svensson and Sauter were elected to an Executive Committee. The Social Committee was re-elected. Local meets Thurs., Jan. 31, in Svensson's home, Palmer Ave., Nanuet, at 8 p.m. Several members of the local are working actively with the Public Ownership League of Rockland County, a non-partisan organization which hopes to have the local gang of racketeers, called the Rockland Power and Light Co., out of the county within a year.

Drive Starts on February 22

CHICAGO.—First to accept its quota in the 1935 United Socialist Drive for \$50,000 was New York State. The State executive Committee at its last meeting voted to accept its assigned quota of \$10,000 and went unanimously on record to give the fullest cooperation in making the Drive a success.

The action of New York was quickly followed by similar actions from the other side of the continent when California and Wyoming enthusiastically accepted their quotas. Reports reaching national headquarters indicate that the United Socialist Drive is the first business on the agenda of meetings of state executive committees in every state in the country.

Local quotas will be fixed by state committees. This year as last, proceeds will be divided between the national, state and local organizations.

Every Socialist Party member should immediately get in touch with his branch, local or state secretary, or with national headquarters, to see what contribution he can make to the success of the Drive.

Washington's Birthday has been chosen as the opening day of the Drive, with simultaneous rallies all over the country. At the request of Daniel W. Hoan, Chairman of the Organization and Finance Committee, party leaders including every member of the National Executive Committee, will give

their time during the opening week-end, February 22-25.

As the Socialist city to have made the most phenomenal growth during the past year, Bridgeport has been selected to launch the Drive officially in the east. In the mid-west Cincinnati will stage the opening rally. At the Bridgeport celebration, Fred Henderson and Norman Thomas will be the guest speakers. Thomas and Mayor Daniel W. Hoan will open the Drive at Cincinnati February 21, where they will be joined by Clarence Senior and Maynard Krueger. Senior and Krueger will also be featured speakers at Louisville on February 22, Evansville February 23, and St. Louis February 24.

Mayor Hoan's schedule will take him to Indianapolis on the 22nd and Philadelphia the 24th, where he and Judge Jacob Panken of New York City have been asked to serve as guest speakers. Other scheduled meetings will bring these members of the N.E.C. to the east and New England: Leo Krzycki, Portland, Me.; James Oneal has been asked to take two dates in Massachusetts; Powers Haggood, Schenectady, N. Y., February 22; Syracuse, February 23, and New York City, February 24; Darlingtown Hoopes, Pennsylvania; Albert Sprague Coolidge, Vermont.

On the west coast the Drive will be inaugurated by Tony Sender in Washington and Roy Burt, national organizer, in California.

Features of the Week on (1300 Kc.) WEVD (121 Mc)

Sun.—11 a.m., Forward Hour; 2 p.m., "The Cantor's Daughter," sketch with Lola Montez; 8 p.m., "The Philosopher"; 8:15, Jack Salmon, baritone; 8:30, Edith Friedman; 10, Symposium.

Mon.—8 a.m., "Starting the Day Right," with Jacob S. List; 4:45 p.m., Musical Album.

Tues.—8:15 p.m., Charlotte Tonhazy, violin; 8:30, Cecil Burrows, baritone; 8:45, "Economic Planning—Society in the Making," Prof. Walter E. Spahr, N.Y.U.; University of the Air; 10, New Leader Review of the News, Dr. William L. Childs; 10:15, The Three Debs, vocal trio; 10:30, "Paris in New York," music.

Wed.—8 p.m., M. Maldwin Fertig; 8:45, "The Unemployed and Emergency," talk by Mary Fox; 10:15, "Education for a New Social Order," Prof. John L. Childs of Columbia U.; University of the Air; 10:30, Selma Brite, songs; 10:45, Rose Kay, piano.

Thurs.—8 p.m., Emergency Relief Bureau, talk; 8:15, Irish Blackbirds Orch.; 8:30, Sylvia Bagley, soprano; 8:45, "Psychoanalysis Today," Dr. Sander Lorand, Chief of the Mental Health Clinic, Mt. Sinai Hospital, University of the Air; 10:30, "The Wandering Jew," songs; 10:45, Lane and Anderson, songs.

Fri.—8 p.m., Travel Talk; 8:15, "Art of Enjoying Music," Dr. Sigmund Spaeth, University of the Air; 8:30, Rhythmic Aces, vocal sextet; 10, Sketch, League for Industrial Democracy presentation; 10:30, Medical Hour, talk; 10:45, Vint Bedell, cowboy songs.

Sat.—10 a.m., "Voice of Local 89," music; 6:45 p.m., "A Mother's Sacrifice," sketch featuring Jennie Moskowitz; 8, Metropolitan String Ensemble; 8:30, Studio Music.

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SEND 25c to I. Levin, State Hotel, San Fernando, California, for the booklet called Good Sense, Hard Times, Cause and Cure, and learn how to explain to Democrats and Republicans what are our troubles, and the only remedy for it and how to answer all possible questions against Socialism.

18th A.D. Ball Jan. 26

All out for the Grand Ball and Dance given by the 18th A. D., Branch 1, Kings, at the Arion Pythian Temple, 937 Eastern Parkway, Saturday evening, January 26, at 8:30.

Music and entertainment by Vernan Andrade and his Renaissance Casino Orchestra. A good time and lots of fun is promised all who come.

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BEN HANFORD

(Continued from Page Two)
cialism," snorted Hanford. "Socialism has done everything for me. It gave me something to live for."

It was in this period that he wrote "Jimmie Higgins," the story of the devoted worker for Socialism who has become a symbol, and as the author of "Jimmie Higgins" Hanford will live as long as there are Socialists.

During 1908 and 1909 his health failed rapidly. He wrote his daily pieces for the old New York Call, bringing them into the office and joking with his comrades with a voice high-pitched and cracking with pain. But like Jimmie Higgins he never gave up.

He died January 24, 1910. Before he passed he was in a delirium and imagined himself on a platform, speaking to multitudes. His mind cleared, and he signaled for pencil and paper. He wrote: "I would that my every heartbeat had been for the working class and through them for all humanity." That was the end.

That, and the sorrow of his comrades and a memory and an inspiration that will live forever.

A. S. Q. Holds Celebration Friday, January 25th

The American Socialist Quarterly will celebrate the third anniversary of its existence and launch an intensive campaign for sufficient subscribers to enable it to become a monthly at a meeting Friday night, January 25, at the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th St.

The subject the speakers will discuss will be, "For Theoretical Clarity in the Socialist Party." The speakers will be Norman Thomas, Devere Allen, Haim Kantorovitch, Algernon Lee, August Tyler, and possibly others. David P. Berenberg, one of the founders and editors of the Quarterly, will preside.

And Still We Battle Against Child Labor

By Gertrude Weil Klein

IT seems almost fantastic; certainly it is incredible that after all these years of agitation and discussion the ancient atrocity of child labor still flourishes, and that we must journey to the legislatures of the various states to fight for the ratification of a child labor amendment.

New York is one of the states which has not ratified. The resolution to ratify was defeated at the previous session of the legislature. Now sixteen more states are needed to put it over, and so in a few minutes



G. W. Klein

I'll be on a train bound for the Capitol as a representative of the Socialist Party and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, to join with the throng of other organizations which are urging ratification.

The census of 1930 showed that the textile industry alone employed 20,625 children under sixteen years of age. This in an industry which has an enormous unemployed and semi-employed problem. Ten years before that the situation in textiles was even more shocking with 54,649 children between the ages of ten and fifteen. For several years seven states had a higher minimum, but in general fourteen years was the minimum before the codes, and often it was indifferently enforced.

Despite legislative reforms in some parts of the country, the great textile states—Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, North and South Carolina—could hire children as young as fourteen. And despite our twelve or thirteen

million unemployed, and a half million more this year than last, according to the figures of the American Federation of Labor, we are still hammering away for ratification of a child labor amendment. I don't think I need here say any more.

In my article last week two whole lines were dropped out. It should have read: "The first of the Gould railroad strikes was a spontaneous strike. It had nothing to do with the Knights of Labor. The workers organized after the strike and then affiliated with the Knights. The second strike was a strike of the skilled workers in the trades assemblies only. The unskilled workers refused to come out."

Even a suspected murderer gets a break if his victim or victim's relatives are important people. Had Hauptmann been alleged to have kidnapped and murdered the child of parents of lesser note than the Lindberghs he would never have had the array of able attorneys to defend him. There are no fat fees in sight; indeed, the indications are that the attorneys are putting up the money for the defense themselves for a publicity that is practically priceless.

How different the fate of the luckless youth in Jersey who recently murdered a relative in a blind rage! He had no money with which to hire a lawyer, and so the court assigned one for his defense. This busy gentleman did not intend to take much pains with the case. Instead he snapped at the defendant: "Make up your mind, make up your mind! Do you wanna go to the chair? Do you wanna boin?" The boy was close to collapse and did not know what to say. "Do you wanna take a plea or do you wanna boin?" the attorney persisted. The boy pleaded guilty and went to prison for twenty years to life.

Behind the Scenes

(Continued from Page One)

UNDER the Four Billion Works Bill, introduced last Monday, unprecedented dictatorial powers would be given President Roosevelt, and almost dictatorial powers were being used to railroad the bill through the lower House the day it was brought in.

The bill gives the President full power to:

1. Issue edicts, violation of which would be tantamount to felonies punishable with \$5,000 fines, two-year penitentiary sentences, or both.
2. Consolidate, redistribute or abolish existing governmental departments, establish any new ones, or any corporations, he desired, and postpone demise of NRA or other emergency agencies till June 30, 1937.
3. Guarantee loans to the needy and make whatever grants, loans or contracts he saw fit.
4. Acquire by eminent domain any real or personal property he considers necessary to the purpose of the bill.
5. Transfer to any governmental department or corporation the powers heretofore described.
6. Between now and June 30, 1937, spend the 4,880 million dollars not only for public works but in any manner he feels is adapted to accomplishment of the purposes of the act.

Administration forces tried to push the bill through the House on Monday. The machine was well greased for riding roughshod over opposition. It was made clear that Chairman O'Connor, the high command's spokesman on the Rules Committee, suggested a closed rule

limiting debate to one hour, banning all amendments except those offered by the Appropriations Committee and permitting only one motion to recommit.

Representative Cox (Georgia), Dies (Texas), Lewis (Colorado), Smith (Virginia) and other Democrats kicked up so much dust over the wording of the bill and the one-hour debate limitation that the committee adjourned without reaching a decision. Democratic members than went into huddle. Indications were the recalcitrant Democrats would win a compromise under which the committee would report out a rule permitting three hours' debate and clearing the way for some "pork barrel"—oh, just a touch of it—to add flavor.

By the time this appears the chances are that the House will have adopted the bill, but the real, the interesting fight may be expected in the Senate.

YOU wouldn't think there would be strong-arm tactics in connection with such humanitarian legislation as that dealing with economic security. Yet Representative David Lewis of Maryland worked on unemployment insurance in the previous Congress. He and Senator Wagner of New York introduced identical bills in the previous Congress. When the new Administration program was drafted and offered this week, Wagner introduced it in the Senate and Lewis again introduced it in the House. A few hours after the

By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

AFTER twenty-five years and more of Socialist agitation the Administration is jamming through Congress a security program for the principles of which Socialists were pioneers. Senator Wagner, in support of part of that program, cites figures to show the immense funds which could have been accumulated in the '20's for unemployment reserves on the basis of his bill. Shall Socialists and other lovers of justice therefore join in a great jubilee? Emphatically not.

It cannot be made too clear that the President's security program is going through Congress, not as an inadequate step in social justice, not as a means of feeding labor's army while it struggles on toward Socialism, but as a pitiful sop to keep the workers quiet. Its chief support comes from conservatives who heretofore have damned all security legislation. Frankly, they support it because they are afraid of adequate legislation or of such impossibilist legislation as the Townsend Pension Plan.

Listen to the editorial statement in the New York Times: "Merely to endorse them [the President's bills] is not sufficient. They will have to be made like so many battle flags to lead the opposing hosts. If that is done with vigilance and with valor, there can be no doubt that the advocates of extravagance and individual gifts outright from the Treasury will be driven from the field." Comment is superfluous.

An Inadequate Program

WHAT the President proposes in his security program is grossly inadequate. It involves a federal expenditure in the coming fiscal year of something like a hundred million dollars as against nine hundred million dollars which we can afford to expend in getting ready for another war and thereby making that other war more likely. Our laws do not even enable us to catch up with the more advanced European countries. They do not yet include a proposal for health insurance. So far as unemployment is concerned, it is true that if these laws had been in force during the decade of the '20's, as we Socialists wanted better laws to be, the plight of the unemployed would have been infinitely relieved. But today little or nothing will be accomplished, for the simple reason that the unemployment insurance bill is nothing to those already unemployed. It merely provides 15 weeks' inadequate benefits to those who hereafter may become unemployed. Then they will be recommended to public works authorities by whom they will be employed at less than the regular wage. All those now unemployed are to be dependent upon the cold mercy of a public works program at "security wage." This is no plan for unemployment relief that is worthy of the name. It is instead a cold calculation of the minimum that can be given to keep people quiet.

Today what is necessary is not an unemployment insurance bill which shall take effect for the benefit of those now employed. It is not a bill based on actuarial calculations of the amount of a certain percentage payment by employers. What is needed is an unemployment indemnity bill, something on the order, let us say, of the Lundeen Bill. Still better, what is needed is a positive and comprehensive program for maintaining a decent standard of living for American workers. In the end that means Socialism; nothing less will do.

Our Fight

ALL of the President's security program requires cooperation by State Legislatures. One of the best things that can be said for it is that it is ingenious in avoiding the ridiculous constitutional limitations, or alleged limitations, upon the power of the federal government to act for the common welfare. Socialists in Legislatures and in a position to bring pressure upon Legislatures should fight to the utmost for a more adequate and comprehensive program. Then this fight will have to be carried to Washington.

Lewis bill went in an identical bill was introduced by Chairman Doughton of the Ways and Means Committee; indeed, the same type was used in the Government printing office in printing the two bills. There were only two changes, one the substitution of Doughton's name, the other in the numbers. Doughton's bill, which went in last, was No. 4120. The earlier Lewis bill was given a higher number, 4142, making it appear that



Norman Thomas

Will NRA Die?

THE papers have been full of rumors that NRA is to be allowed to die when it expires in June. General Johnson openly charges that it is being "put to sleep." The President has taken notice of these charges and headlines tell us that he has decided to strengthen NRA. The fact that such action is regarded as necessary shows how NRA is slipping. Meanwhile its value for labor has been still further impaired by the President's decision that the Labor Board has no direct control over the controversy between newspaper publishers and the working reporters.

Since NRA has proved what we Socialists have said from the beginning, namely, that at heart it was a plan for stabilizing the capitalist system, we shall not unduly mourn its fate. Nevertheless we are all aware that even if it should be allowed to die, some of its consequences—and by no means the best—will live. Big business has been encouraged in getting together to fix monopolistic prices. Big business in many cases has been encouraged to form company unions. The results will stay with us. What may not stay with us is the abolition of child labor in the textile region. If the codes go, with nothing better to replace them, I for one would expect to see within a comparatively short time revival of child labor in the Southern textile mills. That is another argument, and a very strong one, for pushing the child labor amendment through the Legislatures which have not yet ratified. In New York, especially, the fight should be pushed. Both Lehman and Roosevelt should be called to account. What good is their leadership if they cannot compel a Legislature, controlled by their party, to adopt a measure which allegedly they have favored?

The Public Works Program

IN the next few weeks there will be a great discussion about this four billion dollar program of public works on which the President wishes to throw the entire burden of relieving unemployment. Labor's first job is to fight with all its might against this security wage which will destroy the present wage scales and the unions with them.

Labor's next job is to watch the housing program. Under cover of a laudable attempt to clear out some slums and to provide some better housing and to take care of the unemployed, the Administration is likely to go in for a program which will protect rather than destroy speculative land values. In the war between real estate and homes it will not clearly come out on the side of homes. It will probably favor a program of subsidizing a new peasantry on the land. Subsidized peasantry and subsistence farms may apparently meet a relief situation. They will aggravate the entire economic set-up. They will make it harder to work out an economy of abundance. All this I tried to make clear at a housing conference in Washington. Labor and Socialists must be on their guard.

The Saar Result

THERE'S no disguising the fact that the overwhelming vote of the Saar for return to Hitler's Germany is discouraging. It shows once more the immense power of nationalism even in the face of economic interest. Not only will the workers in the Saar lose whatever little democracy they have had or seem to have had under the League of Nations administration, but their economic plight will be worsened because the market for Saar coal will be hurt. Nevertheless, drunk with nationalism, they overwhelmingly voted for return. Making all due allowances for the nature of Nazi propaganda and Nazi intimidation, it cannot be denied that the Saar vote is another indication of the power of nationalism in the modern world.

An Expert

IN Michigan the new Governor appointed Harry H. Bennett of the Ford Motor Company for the State Prison Commission. Mr. Bennett is well known and deservedly unpopular among Ford workers. Hence the reader ought to appreciate this quotation from an editorial in the Detroit Free Press congratulating Governor Fitzgerald on his choice:

"Mr. Bennett, as the head of the Ford Sociological Department, has an intimate practical knowledge of prison problems."

Doughton's was the original bill.

"Dave" Lewis, who worked in a coal mine in his early childhood, knows what it means to fight for recognition. But he does not intend to put up any kind of a fight now. He is hoping that when it comes to explaining and interpreting the measure it will show who is who. Lewis studied the social insurance question as long ago as 1916, when Meyer London was a member of the House Labor Committee and

Lewis was chairman. Lewis knows about social insurance and always has been in sympathy with it. Doughton, on the other hand, doesn't know anything about it and never showed any sign of sympathy for it. But that's politics. Nowadays it has become good politics to be for social insurance, as when such men as Chairman Doughton of the powerful Ways and Means Committee begins to climb the insurance bandwagon.

LABOR SECTION

Rodgers, Glass and Coast Cases a Challenge to Labor

By Norman Thomas

EVERY Socialist paper, and I hope most labor papers, will carry the story of the arrest and conviction of Ward H. Rodgers, a Socialist Party member, for "anarchy" because of his work in behalf of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. Funds for his appeal are imperatively needed. So are funds to prosecute the fight against the wholesale eviction of members of this union by the plantation owners.

The Rodgers case may do good by focusing attention once more on those most forgotten of all forgotten Americans, the cotton share croppers. It's no good for the government to cite figures of the gross increase of cotton farmers' income or of the overwhelming vote of the farmers to continue the cotton reduction program. At least it's no good to the men at the very bottom of the ladder. It is impossible to reduce cotton acreage 40 per cent and not reduce the number of tenants. The cotton contracts don't even temper the rate of reduction adequately, and had as the contracts are they are worse in the way they have been enforced.

Heretofore government investigators haven't even seen the people who have made complaints. Things seem to be a little better now. Actually the government has held up benefit payments to one of the most obdurate landlords who is guilty of wholesale evictions of members of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

Nevertheless, what is happening is that, on the plea that we have too much cotton in a country where the children of the cotton growers can't have underclothes, thousands of men are being driven to join the armies of the unemployed in the cities or to exist as occasional day laborers living in hovels on the land of the planters. Organization is imperative, and I am proud of the work the Southern Tenant Farmers Union is doing.

Another case which imperatively demands support is that of Stanley Glass, secretary of an important unemployed organization in West Virginia, a Socialist and splendid fighter in the labor struggle. A desperate effort is being made to frame him because of his gallant work in a strike. He was held, I believe, some four days in a cell where he could not lie down. Both the Rodgers and the Glass case are labor cases in the best sense. They are doubly Socialist cases because these gallant comrades happen to be Socialists. The Labor Committee of the Socialist Party, of which Paul Porter is national secretary, is raising funds for them both and there are local committees being set up in various towns and cities, including New York. Help is imperative. He gives twice who gives quickly.

Another labor case of extraordinary interest is the criminal syndicalist trial shortly to begin in Sacramento, California. Most of the victims are Communists. The activities, however, which especially aroused the ire of the owning class were activities in the organization of the exploited migratory agricultural workers.

If these people are convicted, no Socialist, no aggressive labor unionists, will be safe. As a matter of fact, as I understand it, one Socialist lawyer is among the defense lawyers and one defendant has asked for him and requested other than I.L.D. support. Therefore the Socialist Party in California is cooperating.

We simply must build up defense machinery and I am glad that committees of the party locally and nationally are working on the job. Remember the party address: 549 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.

Word has just come from Memphis, Tenn., that comrades of Ward H. Rodgers have arranged a \$1,000 appeal bond to insure his release from jail following his conviction. Comrade Rodgers was returned to a Harrisburg, Ark., jail after being sentenced to six months and fined \$500 by a magistrate court jury for "anarchy" and inciting Negro and white share croppers against the planters.

The conviction of U.T.W. members in Burlington, N. C., described elsewhere, is another case in point. (SEE STORIES ON NEXT PAGE.)

LABOR AND SOCIALIST DEFENSE BODY FORMED

By August Claessens

Secretary, Labor Committee, New York Socialist Party.

GOOD progress is being made in the organization of a Labor and Socialist National Defense Committee to carry on more efficiently the defense of class war prisoners and persons prosecuted for their political beliefs and labor activities. The Socialist Party and allied organizations have aided successfully in many such cases. Other committees and organizations have also done fine work in other cases. However, there is great need for a powerful and effective labor and Socialist national organization, with local committees in every large city to begin with, that will function immediately in calls for strike relief, emergencies, arrests and preparation for trials and for appeals in cases of conviction.

For example, immediate help is needed in the cases of Stanley Glass of West Virginia, arrested and framed on the charge of criminal syndicalism, and of Ward H. Rodgers, young FERA instructor, convicted on the charge of "anarchy" in Arkansas.

A conference of Socialists was held last Tuesday at 7 East 15th Street at which the basis of a New York City Committee was formed. A provisional committee was elected consisting of Morris Feinstone as chairman; August Claessens, vice-chairman; Adolph Held, treasurer; Murray Baron, secretary; and Norman Thomas, Frank R. Crosswaith, Matthew M. Levy, Jack Altman, Murray Gross, Robert Delson, Mary Fox, Samuel H. Friedman, John Sullivan, Noah C. Walter, Amicus Most, Julius Gerber, Mark Starr and William Beedle. Immediate work was started to raise funds

SCREEN ACTORS NOW MEMBERS OF EQUITY

Actors' Equity Association, the A.F.of.L. union in the theatrical industry, has chartered the Screen Actors' Guild as an autonomous section of Equity. Movie actors are, therefore, members of the American Federation of Labor, and legitimate performers will be stopped from taking their place if they strike. Closed shop and minimum pay rates are the next step for the actors of shadowland.

Waldman Leads Fight to Curb Injunctions

By Hyman Samuel

ALBANY.—The past few days have been field days for the few labor and Socialist representatives who fought before the legislative committees of the State Assembly and Senate for favorable action on ratification of the Child Labor Amendment and on the bill restricting injunctions in labor disputes. Among those who made the trip to Albany were Louis Waldman, state chairman of the party, who urged the codes committee of both houses to amend and pass the bill against labor injunctions; Abraham Miller, secretary-treasurer of the New York Joint Board, and Gertrude Weil Klein, also of the ACWA, who appeared for the child labor amendment.

Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz, legislative representative of the American Federation of Teachers (A. F. of L.), and Rose Schneiderman, of the Women's Trade Union League, also spoke.

While the forces of callous capitalism tried to block progressive action on the injunction and child labor evil—appearing sometimes blatantly as representatives of commercial and financial organizations yearning for "liberty" and "constitutionalism," and sometimes covertly in the form of charming and aristocratic "ladies" pleading for the "child's God-given right to toil" or a non-partisan college president who opposed child labor restriction for the state Catholic Welfare Association—the most impressive evidence was the sudden apparition of a huge mob of 1,500 people. This army had been mobilized by the private insurance companies to oppose the creation of a single state fund for workmen's compensation insurance. The few who appeared in favor of the bill, including George Meany, president of the State Federation of Labor, were swamped by the disapproval of the private monopolists and their lobbyists.

Especially significant was the mounting testimony that the labor or social welfare bills had been introduced and were being halfheartedly pushed by some Democratic moguls only because of the increasing power of labor and the fear of the breaking-away of labor from the old parties. Again was demonstrated the fact that the parties in power are willing to throw a sop to labor, even if only in the form of "welfare bills" introduced, discussed and then killed in committee, in order to prevent organized workers from thinking about a party of their own. A deal to the capitalist parties, one labor man declared.

Comrade Waldman, in behalf of the party and of a number of

Shorter Hours, Higher Pay Upheld in Garment Industry

ON the eve of a general strike announced by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers to enforce a 10% increase for workers in the cotton garment industry, Justice Adkins of the District of Columbia Supreme Court vacated the injunction secured by manufacturers in the industry against enforcement of the new wage provisions

that had been incorporated into the code after extensive hearings and an executive order. The vacation of the injunction, announced January 22, opened the way to securing the 10% raise without a strike.

The issue had been long fought before many tribunals. In June, 1934, a hearing was held in Washington where the ACWA, the International Workers' Union and the United Garment Workers, unions represented in the cotton garment industry, pleaded their case for reduction of hours from 40 to 36 and a 10% compensating wage increase. The administration ruled favorably, and the new provisions were to go into effect October 1.

Bosses Get Injunction

The unions declared that it would call a strike if the employers continued their opposition to the new provisions. On Oct. 1, (Continued on Page 2-L)

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TEXTILE STRIKE IN SPRING UNLESS—

THOMAS F. McMAHON, president of the United Textile Workers of America, declared this week that no power on earth can prevent textile workers "north, east, south and west, from demonstrating their economic strength," in the spring unless Congress adopts legislation putting teeth in NRA enforcement. He thus confirmed reports from Washington that a general walkout is in prospect. The union president indicated that the threatened move would be a spontaneous walkout.

Francis J. Gorman, vice-president in charge of organization, also predicted a strike in the spring, in speeches made in the south. "The workers are disgusted with the lack of decision in remedying their grievances and in the lack of enforcement even when such decisions are obtained," McMahon pointed out. Wholesale violation of the minimum wage scales under the code, anti-union discrimination and the failure to set up minima for unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled and super-skilled workers are inflaming the situation. No power on earth can prevent them from demonstrating their strength unless Congress acts."

The wage differential between the north and south, Mr. McMahon said, also is intensifying the situation, since southern workers insist the differential be abolished.

Gov't Figures Back Union

WASHINGTON.—The issuance of the long-awaited report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Labor Department on wages, earnings and hours in the textile industry, just completed, has been hailed by the United Textile Workers as fully sustaining the union's charges and as revealing the avarice and harshness of the mill bosses. At a time when international officers of the union are talking of another general strike unless something is done—and done quickly—and when union members north and south are exasperated beyond measure by mill treatment, the national office has sent out a summary of the report to its members which reads in part as follows:

The report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Labor Department rips the covers from the naked greed and the inhuman callousness of the mill owners and their managers. The textile workers have long known what the facts were, but even they had not hoped for such a scourging set of revelations, coming in bare statements of fact, as are contained in this document. The report of the Federal

code administration. This report uncovers the methods by which this was done.

Low Earnings

The report says, among other things: "... the most obvious fact developed in subsequent pages is the low earnings of workers in the industry, even where there is no special curtailment and even under the scale of wage increases provided for and generally observed under the code. Such a condition breeds discontent and unrest, and challenges the ingenuity of all those connected with the industry or responsible for public welfare to find some solution."

Recognizing the foundation for the protest voiced by the United Textile Workers, the report says: "This conflict between those seeking more adequate incomes from the industry and those contending that this is beyond the financial capacity of the industry, is the basic problem of the industry."

Going to the root of the matter of hours and wages, "In no week since the adoption of the code has the industry averaged more than 36.5 hours per person, though 40 hours are necessary to attain the minimum weekly earnings of \$12 and \$13 for those receiving the

(Continued on Page 4-L)

57 Years in Prison for \$12 Damage in Dynamite Frame-up

By Alton Lawrence

BURLINGTON, N. C.—The stage is set for another legal drama in the struggle between southern mill owners and bosses, as six defendants in the Burlington "dynamite" case appeal from sentences aggregating 57 years and various liberal and radical groups back defense measures.

The case had its inception during the recent textile strike when a charge of dynamite went off in the plant of E. M. Holt Plaid Mill Co. of Burlington. For a long time no one was arrested in the matter. Finally several northern detectives arrived on the scene and began "investigations." Before long it was announced that three characters of a reputedly unsavory reputation in Burlington (and not members of the United Textile Workers) had confessed the crime and had implicated John Anderson, Tom Canipe and John Haggard, all prominent in the local U.T.W. organization, together with three of their fellow workers.

57 Years for \$12.50

The damage done to the plant was estimated at twelve dollars and fifty cents. The charge had been set off at a part of the plant where it could do but little damage. To many observers it had all the appearance of having been an inside job meant to discredit the strike in Burlington. As a matter of fact, it seems that little evidence was presented against the accused labor leaders except the testimony of the three men who confessed.

The bias of the sheriff, the judge, the solicitor and even to some extent of the defense attorney is reported to be apparent throughout the trial. The result was a conviction of all six for terms aggregating 57 years, John Anderson, member of the Piedmont Textile Council of the U.T.W., getting the longest term, eight to ten years.

Of the alleged stoolpigeons two were discharged altogether. The third, it seems, had manufactured such a lurid story and had so stupidly involved himself that the jury found him guilty of conspiracy. This verdict the judge hastily changed to one of "forceful trespassing" and sentenced him to twelve months on the roads. The other two, who had never worked in the mill before, were immediately given jobs.

Looks Like a Frame-up

It is charged that the sheriff in the case ignored the usual practice of calling jurymen from the tax-lists and picked men arbitrarily to his own liking. Of these most were from his own community, two being his own first cousins, it is said. Two others were reported to have publicly declared that they had talked the case over with the sheriff and had formed an opinion on the case. Observers say that the entire trial seemed to be aimed at discrediting the union. They quote the solicitor in his address to the jury as having referred to John Anderson as the "Al Capone of Allegheny County" and to the union hall as the "meeting place of the gang."

Believing that the case has all earmarks of a typical labor "frame-up," a number of groups and individuals in the state have already indicated their intention of investigating the case. A State Defense Committee has been organized and is actively collecting funds and securing liberal support. The State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has appointed a sub-committee to investigate the facts in the case and to determine immediately what steps can be taken by the state organization to aid the defense. It is expected that a group of prominent North Carolina citizens will take similar action in the near future.

Red Baiter Pushes Coast Cases

SAN FRANCISCO.—Direction of the campaign to free 18 defendants on trial in Sacramento under the criminal syndicalism law has been put into the hands of a joint defense committee, with Dr. George Hedley of the Civil Liberties' Union as chairman. Non-Partisan Labor Defense, since it was called into the case two months ago by Norman Mini, a defendant, has been urging the formation of such a committee, which will invite all trade unions to participate. Included are the Socialist Party, the Workers' Party, the C.P., the I.L.D., the Civil Liberties' Union and the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

The first three days of the trial showed that the strategy of the prosecution will be to ignore the actual occasion of the arrests, which was the beginning of the harvest-time campaign of the union of which all defendants are officers and members, and to play up the Communist angle instead. Neil McAlister, former District Attorney who began these cases and was defeated in the last election, has been placed in charge of the prosecution as a special deputy state attorney general, after the Hearst press, the Sacramento Bee, and the business men's organizations had demanded that McAlister displace his successor.

Judge Dal M. Lemmon at once dismissed the constitutional objections of the defense attorney to the re-entrance of McAlister into the case, although the lawyer charged that business men's organizations were supplementing McAlister's salary. Albert Goldman, noted Socialist attorney and representative of the Non-Partisan Labor De-

fense, moved unsuccessfully to dismiss the jury because of the mob spirit aroused by the Hearst press, the Sacramento Bee, and city officials. City Manager James Dean had declared in press statements that he had recruited 600 "citizens" to repel an alleged Communist invasion on February 2.

(Further details will follow.)

BEIGEL BAKERS LIST UNFAIR SHOPS

The Beigel Bakers' Union, Local 505-07-09 (Bakery Workers International, A.F.ofL.), asks that the members of organized labor and friends keep in mind that the following firms have refused to sign up with the union: Goldstein, 184th Street and Washington Avenue; Fleishman, 1121 Union Avenue, Bronx; Malino, Varet and Bushwick Avenue, Williamsburg; and Drucker, 136 Suffolk Street; Orenzoff, 104 Suffolk Street; Haberman Bros., 42 Clinton Street, Manhattan. The union states that it will appreciate the cooperation of all who assist in bringing about union conditions in these shops.

Officers Named

CHICAGO.—The Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Alliance, Joint Board, elected the following officers: Gaston Ramat, of the Cooks' Union, president; Adeline Devine, Waitresses' Union, vice-president; Maurice Cohen, Waiters' Union, secretary-treasurer. The term of office is one year. Delegates from the Waiters' Union to the Joint Board: Jacob Abrams, Ben Parker and Maurice Cohen.

REEVES GROCERY PACT SEEN SOON

Over 2,000 employees of the Daniel Reeves, Inc., grocery store chain in New York City, are involved in negotiations for a collective agreement now going on between officials of the firm and the Grocery Chain Store Executives and Employees Association, the A.F.ofL. union. It is expected that the union will be recognized and an agreement signed, with provisions for wage increases, cutting hours, etc.

"SIEGERS" SHOW HOW CASH RELIEF IS REALLY A CUT

THE third installment of the interesting narrative about the Pittsburgh relief besiegers and "how they held the fort" is believed by Pittsburgh comrades to be especially important because it points out in detail how the switch to cash relief is often used as a maneuver to cut relief drastically. It is noteworthy that notes were kept by a number of the survivors of the "siege" and that this human document is their composite product.

All day Thursday the reception room was crowded with clients and each one seemed to outdo the previous one on insisting that his complaint be handled and settled at once. About this time some of the former hardboiled social workers began breaking down. One in particular had to leave in the morning and did not return till the next day. All the while the "siegers" were compiling important information on neglected complaints.

Siegers Still on Job

On Friday things were not so lively. To illustrate the change in the attitude of the social workers in the reception room, one asked of the "siegers," "won't you please open the side door, just for a moment?" Previously it had been, "open that door and keep away from it!" The "siegers" were not fooled by this sudden change from icebergs to sunshine and fully realized that the only reason for it was in the fact that ACERB discovered to its bitter regret that what might be used for a benefit could also be used as a detriment. Friday night the siegers had their pictures taken again, one of which appeared in the following edition of Bulletin Index.

Up to the time of this writing 588 hours had gone by and the "siegers" were still on the job.

Thus closed another chapter of this titanic struggle to regain recognition. It should be remembered that this was not any individual's battle to gain some material benefit but of a group determined that workers should rule and govern!

"We Want Jobs!"

By Friday night the siegers had composed fifteen songs. We believe the songs can be used by many workers' organizations. One of these, to the tune of "Home on the Range," follows:

Give me a job to buy me a home,
Where the workers are singing all day,

Where seldom is heard a discouraging word,
And all workers are receiving good pay.

Chorus:

Jobs, jobs, all year long,
A job at a decent day's pay,
The League it is strong,
Loud sing we this song,
A job at a decent day's pay.

(2)

Oh, many a night while the stars
shone bright,
We slaved in the mill near home,
Often we thought and asked what
we got,

The answer was misery and no!

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Biscuit Strikers Strengthen; How Party Members Can Help

THE walkout of the thousands of workers employed by the National Biscuit Company in a number of cities is being carried on with unflinching vigor by the men and women strikers, who are resolved to stay out until better conditions are won. The company is resorting to all kinds of methods to keep production up and prevent picketing, but the strikers' lines are firm and output is at a complete standstill. The attempt to ship by parcel post and at night from the one plant still operating slightly is proving futile, as local merchants, warned by the energetic pickets, are refusing to accept merchandise which at best means practically no profit.

A number of arrests have been made, but they have served to heighten rather than dampen the ardor of the strikers.

For some time the Inside Bakery Workers' Union had been carrying on its work alone, although offers of cooperation were made at once by the New York Socialist Labor Committee, through August Claessens, and the national labor committee. The party offered to throw its resources behind the strike in other cities where, indeed, much pressure was exerted on retailers to refuse to accept, display or push NBC products. When picketing of grocery stores began in earnest, party members were able to help in practical and substantial ways.

What happened in Brooklyn is

an example of what can be done in a situation of this kind. Downtown, David Cory, president of the Ministers' Union of America, is pastor of the Cuyler Presbyterian Church, whose board contains union men and Socialists. He organized a picket line on Smith and Court streets which covered all the groceries in the district, himself visiting a great many and in every case inducing the owners to withdraw displays and not boost NBC goods.

When cops proved rambunctious and precinct captains obdurate, he went to bat for the pickets and established their right to proceed up and down the thoroughfares unmolested. In addition, he allowed the union to use his private office as a sort of sub-headquarters where a striker acts as liaison man, getting telephone messages and relaying them to temporary union headquarters in the neighborhood.

In his work, Comrade Cory is especially aided by two other party members—Herbert Hadden and Edward Feist. Members of the church and of the Workers' Unemployed Union are prepared to take up the picketing if an injunction is obtained against the members of the inside bakery workers' union. Meanwhile, they are all backing up the strike 100% under the guidance of their spiritual adviser, who has been Socialist candidate in the district a number of times, polling a steadily increasing vote.

Shorter Hours, Higher Pay

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however, the administration granted a stay of the order on the plea of the employers, to allow an investigation of fact by governmental authorities. The code authority pledged itself to accept the verdict. On Oct. 15, the order was affirmed, to go into effect Dec. 1. On the eve of that effective date, 31 manufacturers obtained an injunction in a District of Columbia court against enforcement of the order, and against any punitive measures the government might take against them for its violation.

Upholding of this preliminary injunction would have declared the whole label provisions of the garment codes invalid, and seriously attacked the constitutionality of the NRA. The injunction left the way open for more manufacturers to join in the suit, and about three times the number fled to its protection. The Code Authority meanwhile granted exemptions to the rest of the industry, which had gone on the 36-hour week, from paying the additional 10%. During this period, then, the workers in the industry were actually suffering a 10% reduction in earnings, after a year's effort to improve their economic position.

Strike Threatened

The hearings on the permanent injunction were held from Dec. 11 to Dec. 18. The decision was long postponed, and the situation became very tense, with the workers themselves asking for immediate strike. On Jan. 11, a conference of shirt managers of the ACWA announced that the union would enforce the additional 10% before Feb. 1—by any means that became necessary. The workers in the New York capital district were to come out Feb. 23, and other sections were soon to follow, when the decision was announced.

At present there is considerable excitement in the industry, with the Amalgamated striking against any firm that will not immediately put into effect the new wage schedule.

Contractors' Lockout

The situation is further complicated by a lockout of shirt contractors which went into effect Monday and affects more than 15,000 organized workers in the ACWA. The contractors are, in effect, calling a strike against the manufacturers for whom they work, demanding higher prices for contracting in order to pay code wages.

The union has countered the lockout by a strike, announcing that its people will not return to work in the contracting shops until the union's demands are incorporated into any settlement made between contractors and manufacturers. The demands of the union are for the 10% increase in piece rates, now legalized by the court victory, and the abolition of contract cutting. The latter demand is one which makes it more possible for the union to control the shipment of work from manufacturers to contractors.

McLEVY URGES LABOR TO FIGHT FOR ITS WANTS

BRIDGEPORTE, Conn. — Jasper McLevy, Socialist mayor of this city, received an ovation when he addressed some 300 representatives of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Connecticut state organization at a banquet held here Jan. 19 in the Stratfield Hotel. Comrade McLevy urged the union membership to back labor bills now pending before the Connecticut legislature.

Stressing the fact that labor got only what it fought for, McLevy dwelt on the benefits to come from old age pensions, unemployment insurance, 40-hour week and ratification of the child labor amendment, the Socialist and labor bills. "It's not the lawyer that drafts the bills, nor the politician that argues for them, that will determine their passage," he told labor's representatives. "It depends upon you, and

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Unemployed Union Wins Another Victory

W. U. U. Presents Position of Jobless Weekly Over WEVD

A NEW victory for the Workers Unemployed Union in its fight for better relief standards for the unemployed has just been announced by David Lasser, chairman, in the policy of the Home Relief Bureau to deliver coal to 100,000 families on relief in New York City. Previously, the families were obliged to come to the coal stations and either carry home 100-pound bags of coal or pay someone to have the coal delivered.

The fight of the Workers Unemployed Union on this question has lasted four months. On September 20 a delegation visiting Edward Corsi, director of the Home Relief Bureau, insisted that coal be delivered to the unemployed, with unemployed men being hired to make the deliveries. Nothing was done about it and protest after protest was made until the new policy was announced.

It is interesting to note that the decision of the relief bureau to deliver coal was announced on Wednesday morning, January 16, the very day the Workers Unemployed Union was starting its series of radio broadcasts over WEVD exposing the administration of relief in New York.

This is the second big victory for W.U.U. in several months. The first came in November when a threat to call a strike of school children was made unless an appropriation for clothing for the unemployed was voted by the relief authorities. The appropriation was voted within two days.

The W.U.U. is not satisfied with the present clothing appropriation. It amounts to about \$150,000 a month—about 50 cents a month for each family on relief. Demonstrations are being called by the union in each neighborhood to demand adequate clothing allowances for all families in need.

W.U.U. SPOKESMEN TALK OVER WEVD

Each Wednesday evening at 8:45 p.m. over station WEVD, spokesmen for the Workers Unemployed Union will present the position of the unemployed on the administration of relief in New York.

McLEVY URGES LABOR TO FIGHT FOR ITS WANTS

(Continued from Page 2-L)

your interest, whether or not these bills will become a reality in Connecticut or just another election password."

Leo Krzycki, chairman of the Socialist N.E.C. and member of the A.C.W.A. general executive board, was toastmaster and introduced Comrade McLevy. "Bridgeport has the distinction of being the second American city where labor can say not only that it is represented on the industrial field and on the educational field, but also in the seat of power. Not only are the mayors of Bridgeport and Milwaukee friends of labor, but they are labor's own, put there to do labor's bidding. In Bridgeport, you have shown that you know not only how to wield your industrial strength, but also to use your political strength to your advantage."

Other speakers at the banquet were President Egan of the Connecticut State Federation of Labor, Dr. Jerome Davis of Yale University, Aldo Corsi, head of the Connecticut union and other union officials. The banquet was in celebration of the election of new officers of the Connecticut Shop Delegates Council of the A.C.W.A., which represents about 8,000 organized workers in the clothing and shirt industry in the state.

played Union will present the position of the unemployed on the administration of relief in New York. On Wednesday, January 16, Comrade Lasser reviewed the policies of the relief authorities and showed up the inadequate relief, the intimidation of unemployed on home and work relief, and the forced labor schemes of the relief administration.

From Nothing to 4,000---Local No. 25's Story

FROM no union at all to a strong weapon in the hands of the workers for better conditions—a union of over 4,000 in the city and out-of-town shops in one year: this is the story of the Blouse and Waistmakers Union (Local 25 of the I.L.G.W.U.), of which Max Moskowitz is manager.

Prior to the signing of the agreement in the blouse industry over a year ago—in December, 1933—there was no labor organization of any kind in the blouse industry, i.e., since the famous waistmakers' union of an earlier generation. Practically no information with regard to the number of workers employed in New York City or elsewhere, or the actual conditions prevailing in the factories where blouses are manufactured, such as wages, hours, etc., existed.

Little Data Available

During the general strike of the dressmakers, some meagre information was obtained from a handful of blouse makers who had joined the dressmakers' strike, and that was hardly encouraging. The earnings and the hours in these blouse factories were about the same as

in the non-union shops of the other miscellaneous trades.

Later on, by the time Local 25's own general strike was called, it had compiled considerable data and information which in a large measure confirmed its worst suspicions. It found that in the factories where lower-priced blouses were manufactured, conditions were extremely bad, lower than in most of the smaller trades. The reason was not hard to find. While the white goods workers or the children's dress makers had no strong organizations, they still had unions which from time to time had written agreements with a portion of the employers in this industry and were to a considerable degree factors in preventing conditions from being as bad as they were in the blouse industry.

Conditions Changed

When the agreement, which necessarily, under the conditions outlined, was weak and inadequate in part, was about to expire last month, conditions had changed in the industry almost beyond recognition. After the settlement of the general strike the union constituted a mighty weapon. At the close of the strike the union had

would give the relief workers an opportunity to organize and to have their grievances heard and acted on.

Next Wednesday, Jan. 30, Mary Fox, executive secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy, will speak on the "Plight of the Single Woman Under Relief." In

organized 47 shops, employing approximately 1,200 members in New York and nearby area. Membership was then increased to over 2,500 in New York, employed in 105 factories and over 1,500 blouse-makers working in out-of-town organized union shops.

The union, therefore, went into negotiations with the National Blouse Manufacturers Association as an organized industry, aware that the membership of the union, in and out of town, would rally behind its banners. The effectiveness of the union and its ability to maintain and improve standards and conditions for the blouse-makers had been established. Records showed that in a comparatively small industry \$15,000 had been collected for members in back pay and fines imposed on employers for violations of the agreement. Still, a number of difficulties had been encountered in the enforcement of the collective agreement. The contract lacked a number of important provisions needed to make it a strong and efficient instrument for the maintenance of standards and effective control.

(Save this installment. To be concluded next week.)

'SIEGERS' SHOW CASH RELIEF MEANS CUT

(Continued from Page 2-L)

(3)
Oh, many a night while the stars shone bright,
We slept in the "unit" near home.
We asked for some shoes but we were refused,
That's why we sleep here each night.

Over the week-end, plans were outlined to make the lot of the siegers more comfortable and to make the League more effective through the activity of those in the reception room. Not a sieger complained about being tired nor expressed a desire to give up the fight.

Members of the League outside showed the same fighting spirit as the "siegers" and were very active securing donations of money and foodstuffs. The rank and file was quick to realize that this was a desperate struggle, involving not only the unemployed but those still working. Pickets were furnished to the Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Garage Men, Local Union 249, which was engaged in a strike, involving A. & P. haulers. The unions reciprocated in furnishing food for the siegers.

"Cash Payment" Starts

New Year's passed by without much happening, but the siegers "dug in," knowing that their job was only beginning, as, commencing January 14, cash payment of relief would become effective in Allegheny County. A great deal of thought and study was given the new cash budget plan, and we concluded that with the institution of cash, new complaints would come in and serious situations would arise. Having secured the information that "all clothing requests would be filled and coal would be furnished," word was sent out to all locals that the members get their requests in again before January 11. In Penn-Butler, the social workers were kept busy writing requests for over a week and

were heard to remark: "that scum over there is sure causing us a lot of trouble." But to the clients, these same social workers were asking: "Couldn't you use two tons of coal instead of one?"

With the institution of cash relief, the real excitement started. Many persons, who had been fooled into believing their troubles would end under the new system, learned that they were getting a tremendous cut in their food allowance. Here is an illustration:

"An average family of five persons, including father, mother, one child under two years, and two children over two years but under 12 years, are budgeted as follows: Food, \$5.75; milk, \$1.40; clothing, \$2.50; heat, \$1.07; shelter, \$3.15; light, 60 cents. Total, \$14.47, plus 75 cents (5% for personal incidentals and household necessities), making a grand total of \$15.22. However, this is a work-relief budget and those who are on direct relief receive only 80%, or \$12.20 a week.

Really a Cut

Actually, those on direct relief have suffered a cut, ranging from 30 to 47%. This is what is happening:

Milk cannot be purchased at .10, dealers having raised price to .11 a quart. The Equitable Gas Co. insists on a \$10 deposit by relief clients before rendering service. The Duquesne Light Co. insists on a \$5 deposit before supplying current.

Landlords have been instructed by the Pittsburgh Real Estate Board "to check on tenants who are relief clients and collect the weekly allowance for shelter." In addition to this, clients are being asked to pay back-rent due to landlords.

It should be remembered that the family is actually allowed only \$4.60 per week for food (\$5.75 less 20%), and if they make an effort

to pay even the items as budgeted by the relief board, you will discover their food allowance will have been cut to \$3.30.

Chiselling Going On

The budget we have used as an illustration is that furnished us by George P. Mills, executive director of the bureau. When we asked Mr. Mills "What will happen in case of eviction?", Mills replied: "We will not pay any rent." The reason we mention only Mills' figures is that social workers are informing clients that "we have nothing to do with the budget and cannot furnish you any information." There is something else going on behind the scenes, and while we have discovered that many clients are being "chiseled" already, we do not expect the "real chiseling" to commence for at least a month.

Every "sieger" was thoroughly familiar with the figures of family budgets as calculated by Mr. Mills and was busy furnishing them to relief clients, pointing out where they were being "gyped." In addition to this, after working all day in the reception room, each evening some of the group visited locals and encouraged the members to struggle for the institution of a budget, based upon living costs, of a week for a single individual, and twelve dollars (\$29.60) for a family of five.

We hope every reader will analyze the figures we have furnished on cash relief as administered here and compare similar figures at home. If this is done, we are sure every workingman will see the danger it presents to our people. We are thoroughly convinced that cash relief is being used by the administration—first: because it is more economical; second, to shield the fact it really represents a cut; third, to further batter down the living standards of those on relief preparatory to cuts in the wages of employed. We be-

Eastern Federation Sessions to Open Here Saturday, February 2

following weeks Norman Thomas, Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein, Dr. Harry W. Laidler and others will speak on this program.

MEETING FEB. 2 TO DISCUSS WORKS PROGRAM

A mass meeting of the Workers Unemployed Union membership and other unemployed and relief workers will be held at the Labor Temple, 242 East 14th Street, New York, Saturday, Feb. 2, at 8 p.m., to discuss the new works program of the Federal government. Hundreds of unemployed have written to the union, asking questions about this program, which is supposed to give 3,500,000 jobs. The questions are, "Who will be employed in the new program, how much will they be paid, will there be union conditions, will there be jobs for women, for white collar workers and for others who cannot do construction work; what will happen to me if I should lose my job?"

Among the speakers will be Norman Thomas, David Lasser, Edward Welsh and prominent labor leaders. All unemployed and relief workers are invited to attend and to ask their questions about the new works program.

EASTERN FEDERATION CONVENES FEB. 2

Representatives of unemployed groups of five eastern states will meet at the Students and Workers House, 22 East 22nd Street, for a two-day session of the Eastern Federation of Unemployed and Emergency Workers, beginning at noon Feb. 2. Delegates are already pledged to attend the conference from Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia.

Among the important questions that will be discussed is the new works program of Roosevelt and the adoption of the demands of the unemployed, the discussion of action for unemployment insurance and the discussion of the national convention of unemployed, which is to take place in Washington March 2-4. Delegates from state groups will be elected at this time to represent their organizations in Washington. The Eastern Federation was formed in July, 1934, and includes about 150,000 unemployed and relief workers in its total membership. David Lasser is chairman of the federation.

KAYNEE STRIKERS WIN TEN-WEEK BATTLE

CLEVELAND.—Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, was honored with a banquet during his recent visit to this city to address the workers at the Kaynee Co., who had just settled their strike against the company. Sixty-three notables attended the dinner at the Hotel Hollenden, arranged by Beryl Peppercorn, manager of the Cleveland Joint Board of the ACW.

The 700 Kaynee workers, employed by the second largest manufacturer in the country, won their strike January 10, after a 10-week walkout. The battle enlisted the aid of the Central Labor Council, which threw a mass picket line of thousands about the plant.

lieve it should be mentioned that in Pittsburgh prices of food have increased on an average of 18%. These figures are authentic, having been compiled by the women of the UCL, who actually do the buying and are forced to feed families on very little.

(To be Continued Next Week)

Waldman Leads Fight to Curb Injunctions

(Continued from Page 1-L)

On behalf of the Socialist Party and as counsel for the New York Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, with a membership of over 30,000 in Greater New York; the Millinery Workers Union, affiliated with the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, with a membership of over 20,000, the New York Sign Writers Local No. 230; the Washable Jackets, Knee Pants & Novelty Workers Local 169, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the Upholsterers' Carpet & Linoleum Mechanics' International Union of North America, and the Butcher Workers' Union Local 234, all affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, I am submitting this brief in support of Senate Bills Introductory Numbers 26, 27 and 28.

The bills are sound in principle and are designed to do away with a long standing evil against which organized labor and advanced students of law and economics have persistently complained.

Suggests Changes

There are some details in connection with the bills that should be amended. I am incorporating these suggested changes in this brief prior to the date of your hearing and forwarding the brief to you so that the members of your Committee may become familiarized with them.

The problem with which the Anti-Injunction Bill deals has acquired new significance in the light of Federal legislation and because of the new social and economic factors created by five years of unprecedented depression.

Under Section 7a of the NIRA workers have been given the right to organize and bargain collectively with their employers, this being considered by the authors of the Act as essential to national recovery. But organization does not come of its own accord. It requires continuous and strenuous activity on the part of labor unions. It is not enough to tell labor that it has the right to organize and to bargain collectively. This is particularly true in view of the fact that under the NIRA employers are compelled to organize, whereas employees are only permitted to organize.

Must Organize

Labor must therefore be given the right to organize and bargain collectively without interference by employers or the law. There is thus presented at this time more forcibly than ever before the problem of labor injunctions and the extent to which they will be permitted to stand in the path of labor organization for collective bargaining, mutual benefit and protection.

The passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act by Congress has emphasized the labor injunction problem in the courts of our State. Because employers may no longer obtain injunctions without effort and without sworn testimony in open court in the Federal Courts, they are turning more and more to the State Supreme Court for such injunctions. The attorney for one employer stated openly on an application for an injunction in the Queens County Supreme Court that the reason for applying to the State Court was that he could not obtain an injunction in the Federal courts.

Unless the use of the labor injunction is abolished entirely or drastically limited, the rights of labor will not rest on solid foundations. The urgency of the legislation here proposed is best shown by the increase in the number of applications for injunctions against labor unions within the past year and a half. Thousands which have resulted from judicial interference in labor conflict by means of in-

junctions are too numerous to be here set forth.

Discarded in England

That there is no necessity for the injunctive process in labor disputes, and that peace and order can be maintained in the modern industrial world without it, is best shown by the fact that, though the injunction originated in England, it has long since been discarded there. As Mr. Justice Brandeis states in his dissenting opinion in *Truax vs. Corrigan*, 257 U. S. 312 (1921):

"In England, observance of the rules of the contest (between capital and labor) has been enforced by the courts almost wholly through the criminal law or through actions at law for compensation."

And yet the social peace and industrial relations of England have not been impaired.

Ever since the labor injunction first came into use, labor has felt that it is not getting a fair deal in the courts. The result has been a resentment on the part of labor towards the courts and the government and an incessant demand that the discriminations against labor before the bar of Justice be removed.

Time Is Important

It is urged by those who defend the injunctive process that a strike, with picketing and possible violence, works irreparable damage to the employers' property and that unless an injunction can be obtained immediately, a business against which a strike is being conducted is likely to be ruined. It was this argument which for years was used to justify the issuance of temporary restraining orders *ex parte*, so that, without having a chance to be heard in any way, a union would be restrained from carrying on the various activities involved in a strike until the hearing on the application for the temporary injunction, which might be from several days to a week or more later. In the meantime the strike would be lost. For time is of the essence in a strike, as far as labor is concerned. The employer can hire strike-breakers or can simply shut down his factory for the duration of the strike. But the employee has only his labor power to sell in order to earn some money to support himself and his family. When his wages are cut off as a result of a strike, he cannot hold out very long. The damage suffered by labor as a result of the issuance of an injunction is truly irreparable and is much more serious than any damage that the employer can possibly sustain as a result of the non-issuance of the injunction.

POINT I—The temporary injunction based on affidavits must be abolished and all issues of fact in labor disputes must be tried with full right of confrontation and cross-examination of witnesses.

In our judgement, provision should be made for a jury trial upon the request of the defendant in any labor dispute, upon certified questions of fact. It is not enough merely to provide for the taking of testimony as to disputed facts.

POINT II—Labor injunction cases, with their deep social implications, make it imperative that the courts balance equities and social convenience before granting degrees.

It is important that injunctive relief should not be vague and general, but definite, certain and limited. That employees have the right to strike is undisputed. If employees may strike, as has been declared by the Court of Appeals in a long line of cases and by the courts of other jurisdictions, the union must be able to sustain the strikers and keep them from starvation by means of strike benefits.

Abolish Loose Charges

POINT III—Loose charges of misconduct against unions must be

STITCHDOWN SHOE WORKERS TO MEET

A committee of stitchdown shoe workers has been formed to organize a union local under the banner of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, affiliated with the A.F. of L. A mass meeting will be held Friday, January 25, at 6 p.m., at 15 Second Avenue, New York City.

B.S. & A.U. PUSHES ORGANIZATION DRIVE; FIRST DANCE JAN. 29

THE Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union (Local 12,646, A.F. of L.) which has been carrying on a quiet but intensive organizing campaign for some time, is not neglecting the social side of its members' lives, either. This Saturday night it will hold its First Annual Dance and entertainment at the Hotel Delano, 108 West 43rd St. Murray Nathan, chairman of the social and entertainment committee, points out that in addition smaller affairs will be run at short intervals both to enable members to get acquainted and to raise funds for organization.

The organization committee is busy on plans which will push the unionization of thousands of office workers in the city, including those in the printing and publishing, financial and insurance industries, the social agencies and the garment shop staffs.

The educational committee is hard at work, and the publications committee points with pride to its monthly organ, the B. S. & A. News. Morton Friedman is editor, Bernard Seaman art editor, and Arthur W. Krubel, Murray Nathan, Nelle Calderon and Leo Rosenblum are associates.

eliminated and in their place be established the legal principles of agency governing situations other than labor disputes.

In labor cases, presumptions of guilt and inferences that any striker acted for the union and on instructions from union officials have resulted in labor unions and labor leaders being held responsible for all violence and unlawful conduct committed by anyone at all. It is proposed here that these discriminatory presumptions be abolished and that the law of principal and agent govern this situation, just as it does every other situation where it is sought to fix responsibility upon one person for the acts of another.

POINT IV—"Yellow dog" contracts should be outlawed.

The proposed bills omit any provision which would outlaw yellow dog contracts. Such provisions should be included in any anti-injunction bill passed by the Legislature.

Jury Trial Vital

POINT V—A jury trial is essential for all contempt proceedings for alleged violations of labor injunctions.

It is important that there be a jury trial when a person is charged with contempt of court for having violated an injunction decree. In demanding a jury trial in contempt cases, labor only asks that persons charged with contempt have extended to them the constitutional guarantees extended to other persons accused of crime—admission to bail, time to prepare a defense, a jury trial, and a right to demand the retirement of the sitting judge. This bill is also of vital importance to labor because penalties for contempt must be fixed by statutes and not left to the discretion of the court.

POINT VI—We respectfully submit that the legislation here urged should be recommended by your committee to the Legislature for passage.

LOUIS WALDMAN

State Chairman of the Socialist Party and counsel for the above named labor unions.

Government Figures Back Textile Union

(Continued from Page 1-L) organization—for the workers. So they had to be kicked out of the mills. In their places were gathered in green hands, called "students," who were permitted to be employed under the code rules and the interpretation given these rules, with no pay at all for a period of six weeks, or with very small pay. The report shows how the mill managers took advantage of that provision, as long as they possibly could.

At Bottom of Scale

This report, for perhaps the first time in the history of government reports, throws the spotlight on this bare, black, unholy fact: That there are a million people working in one of the most essential industries of the nation, an industry demanding skill and care and reliability; and that this industry has insisted on keeping its workers at the very bottom of the scale of living.

This is the kind of crime which our minds have been forced to dwell for years. When the New Deal came along, we looked confidently for such industrial crimes as these to be wiped out.

This is the kind of crime which has made the textile industry a sick industry, and which has shoved the textile workers down and under to serve as the mudsills for an essential and basic national industry.

But this report goes on, and it shows how the manufacturers have evaded the provisions of the code, with respect to such matters as the employment of so-called "students." While there were plenty of idle textile workers, who had experience and skill, they were guilty of having so much intelligence that they resented the degradation and humiliation heaped upon them by other folks who happened to be mill owners and managers. They had brains enough to understand the necessity and the possibility of

Codes Violated

In much detail the figures in the report show clearly how the managers of the mills have either twisted the provisions of the code, and defrauded the workers of their rightful earnings; or willfully and knowingly violated the provisions of the code, in such matters as reclassification of work.

It is not necessary to operate cotton mills so that 80 per cent of the inmates of tuberculosis hospitals are victims of cotton mills. There are millions of Americans who want and who need more cloth and better cloth; but they are not going to get what they need so long as the industries of America are operated on the principles which have controlled the making and the marketing of textiles in America.

THESE ARE SOME OF THE FACTS WHICH HAVE BEEN BROUGHT OUT AND PUT UNDER THE SPOTLIGHT AS A RESULT OF YOUR GREAT TEXTILE STRIKE LAST SEPTEMBER. AND NOW, IF IT TAKES ANOTHER STRIKE TO ACCOMPLISH SOMETHING MORE IN THE WAY REACHING THE GOAL WHICH WE HAVE SET, WE SHALL KNOW MORE NEXT TIME OF HOW TO GO ABOUT THAT, TOO.

On the showing made in this report of statistical facts, the United Textile Workers now make these demands:

That the codes be re-opened, for the establishing of wages and hours and conditions of work; that wages be increased; that the differentials between the various grades of skill be clearly defined and wage rates fixed accordingly; that the work-week be made shorter.

Woolen-Worsted Unions to Meet

PROVIDENCE.—A special meeting of the woolen and worsted department of the United Textile Workers of America has been called by Horace A. Riviere, International vice-president, for Feb. 3 in Providence at which about 600 delegates from all parts of the east and south will attend. William Dunlop of Rockville, Conn., president of the woolen and worsted division, will arrange to have representatives from each union at the meeting.

UNION DIRECTORY

BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS, TUCKERS, STITCHERS AND PLEATERS' UNION, Local 66, I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St. Phone ALgonquin 4-3657. 1658. Executive Board meets every Tuesday night in the office of the Union. Z. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; I. A. Barkinsky, Sec'y-Treas.

CAP MAKERS UNION, Local No. 1, Tel. Orchard 4-9860.—Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every 1st 15th. 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., Clifflinger 4-3681.—Saul Metz, Manager.

CLOAK, SUIT AND DRESS PRESSERS' UNION, Local 35, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 80 West 35th St., N. Y. C.—J. Breslaw, Manager; I. Biegel, Chairman.

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

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

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union, Office and headquarters, 949 W. 109th Ave., Brooklyn; STAG 2-0798. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice-President, Stephen Tobasco; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Heib.

JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAISTMAKERS' UNION.—Offices: 232 West 40th St., N.Y.C. Tel. LONgacre 5-5190. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening. Joint Board meets every Wednesday evening in the Council Room at 215 W. 40th St. Julius Hochman, Gen. Mgr.; Phillip Kapp, Sec'y-Treas.

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

THE AMALGAMATED MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local No. 10, I.L.G.W.U. Office, 60 West 35th St.; Phone, WIder, 7-8011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union. Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmund M. Perovetter, Mgr.; Sec'y: Louis Stolberg, Asst. Mgr.; Maurice W. Jacobs, Sec'y to Exec. Board; Nathan Saperstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union. Downtown office, 640 Broadway; phone, Spring 7-4548; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St.; phone, WIdconsin 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 Hodou.

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

NEW YORK TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 4. Office and headquarters, 24 West 16th St., N. Y. Meets every 3rd Sunday of month at Stuyvesant High School, 15th St., East of 2nd Ave. Phone, TOMpkins Sq. 6-7470. Leon H. Rouse, President; James P. Redmond, Vice-President; James J. McGrath, Secretary-Treasurer; Samuel J. O'Brien, James L. Redmond and James J. Buckley, Organizers.

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

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

Socialists to Discuss Security Bills

**Party Members Will Hear
Thomas and Prof. Burns
Thursday, January 31**

By William E. Bohn

WHAT do you think about President Roosevelt's much advertised social insurance program? The Committee on Economic Security includes a lot of well-known experts, and they have been sitting there in Washington for a long time concocting the measures which have, finally, been introduced by Senator Wagner. Ever since the presidential campaign more than two years ago the country has been waiting to see what sort of an egg would be hatched. Now we have it. And there is a lot of cackling over it.

Socialists had the first idea of social security. Elsewhere in The New Leader you will read about the efforts of Victor L. Berger, Meyer London, James H. Maurer, and Louis Waldman to get action on insurance bills in Washington, Harrisburg and Albany. Now the Democrats have introduced not one bill, but a whole program. What about it? Is it what we Socialists want? Have the Democrats stolen our thunder? Should we support their bills? Should we criticize them? Should we oppose them? How far are they good? How far bad?

The whole Socialist Party is debating these questions. The members will have a chance to talk the subject out and make up their minds. The Educational Committee of the party, Bela Low, chairman, has arranged a social security symposium. All who attend this meeting will have a chance to go away well informed about the whole business. And that will mean something, for the comrades will be there.

The speakers will be Norman Thomas, who has just come from Washington and who has given a lot of attention to the insurance problem, and Professor Eveline Burns of Columbia University, one of the real experts on social security measures. Professor Burns was formerly a member of the British Labor Party and came to America as an expert on the British Unemployment Act and is now

a member of the Graduate Department of Economics at Columbia. In the beginning Professor Burns was a member of the President's Committee on Economic Security, the body which gathered material, discussed principles and made up the President's mind about the whole subject. This committee is the body that is directly responsible for the bills that have been introduced. When the investigations and discussions had proceeded sufficiently so that Professor Burns could see what the upshot would be she resigned. The audience, therefore, will have a chance to hear the President's program discussed by an insider, one who knows the facts as an expert and, too, knows just exactly how the problems were approached in Washington and how the program turned out to be what it is.

In order to give the meeting the educational character which the Educational Committee stands for, printed material on the President's program will be distributed to all those in the audience who wish to have the exact facts in permanent form.

This meeting will be held in the Rand School Auditorium on Thursday evening, January 31. Matthew M. Levy, representing the Socialist Party, will be the chairman. Since there will be only two speakers, there will be time for questions and discussion from the floor. The Educational Committee, in its announcement, emphasizes the fact that party members, if they differ with the points of view presented by the speakers, will have full opportunity to express themselves. The idea is that this is to be an unofficial party congress for the crystallization of opinion on this vital subject. Entrance will be limited to party members upon presentation of membership cards.

The Rand School Presents Sigmund Spaeth

Last Friday evening at the Rand School, Dr. Sigmund Spaeth concluded the second in a series of six lectures on "The Art of Enjoyed Music." A large and enthusiastic class is finding Sigmund Spaeth's approach ideal for beginners, and even trained musicians enjoy his weekly presentation.

In the introductory sessions, Dr. Spaeth defined music as "the organization of sound toward beauty." He then indicated the five points of contact for the enjoyment of music and classified them as rhythm, melody, harmony, tone color and form. Many know Dr. Spaeth for his popular "Tune Detective" program on the air and think of him as primarily an entertainer rather than a teacher. His ability to employ humor in his teaching does not detract at all from the soundness of the principles he implants in the minds of his students. His illustrations are particularly interesting, as his students have dis-

LENA MORROW LEWIS AVAILABLE FOR DATES

SOCIALIST PARTY BRANCHES, labor unions, open forums and other groups looking for something different will be glad to learn that Lena Morrow Lewis of California, one of the outstanding speakers of the country, is available for a limited number of engagements in eastern states if application be made soon.



Comrade Lewis was the first woman elected to the N.E.C., and was a delegate (by referendum vote of the entire membership) to two International Congresses. She has spoken before every imaginable kind of an audience and auspices in every imaginable kind of hall or surroundings, and in Alaska, British Columbia and all the states; in Europe speaking in the great capitols to masses of people in company with Bebel, Jaurès and other famous Socialists. She has filled every office in the party from local secretary to state secretary of California for several years, where her popularity as a campaigner was such as to poll many thousands of votes more than Upton Sinclair, her companion that year on the state ticket, and in 1932, as state candidate, poll several thousand more even than Norman Thomas for President.

During her five-year stay in Alaska she was made vice-president of the Alaska Federation of Labor and polled an astonishing vote for Alaska delegate to congress, editor of a labor daily, in the shut-in winter period of dark days and nights nightly conducting classes in Socialism, labor history, etc. Out of this varied experience comes an ability to be of more than usual service to those engaging her.

Applications for her dates can be made either to The New Leader or Bertha H. Mailly, Rand School, 7 East 15th St. Terms are so reasonable that any group can afford to have her.

covered from his first two lectures on rhythm, harmony and melody.

Next Friday evening at 8, Dr. Spaeth will take up tone color and form in music and then go on to an analysis of what he terms "the permanent music," or what is generally known as "classic music." This brief review only indicates the scope of the course, and students of music, particularly music lovers who have no special training, should make it a point to attend the remaining four lectures at the Rand School, 7 East 15th St.

New York Is Now Thinking Of Catching Up With the Socialists of the World

PLANS are under way, it has been announced, for the establishment of a municipal symphony orchestra, and as a passionate lover of music we are more than delighted. It is to be hoped that the plays will be pushed through, that it will be a real orchestra led by a genuine musician, and that it will pay New York the compliment of playing real music.

New York already has an orchestra and a conductor, and we enthusiastically declare that nowhere in the world is there music so superb as that given by our own Philharmonic Symphony under the direction of the incomparable Toscanini. But that music is an expensive luxury and which no one can hear without paying rather high prices; and even then the organization incurs a substantial loss every year, which is made up by benefactors like Harry Harkness Flagler of Standard Oil, Vincent Astor, and, of course, the late Otto H. Kahn.

In other words, generally speaking, symphonic music and the opera cannot be expected to support itself. The result is that it must necessarily be priced far beyond the reach of the common man and woman, and consequently it tends to become an appendage of that unspeakably snobbish institution known as "Society"—whatever that is.

If the common mass of people are to get the benefits of music there are but two alternatives to requiring people of low income classes to pay prices far beyond what they can afford. One is to supply cheap "ersatz" substitutes, tenth-rate tin-pan companies, which do the exact opposite of implanting an appreciation of real music in the hearts of laymen; the other is endowment.

Today we have endowment of both opera and symphonic music, but it is far from generous enough to place the music within the reach of just the people who need it, that is, workers and white collar people, small professionals and other non-plutocrats. It is just generous enough to create a class of smug and self-important patrons, without placing prices within reach.

A third alternative is to have public subsidy, the plan that has long been a commonplace on the continent of Europe; in fact, the greatest era for music was the pe-

riod from the end of the war to the recent fascist dictatorships when Socialist city governments, and the cultural departments of Prussia and other states under Socialist rule, gave orchestral and operatic music its greatest opportunity, and placed it within the reach of the masses.

New York—and America in general—are far, far behind the lead set in their Socialist days by Vienna and Berlin, Leipzig and Hamburg, when the greatest conductors of all time gave their best to the masses in the service of the state.

It can hardly be expected that New York will put Toscanini on the city payroll, hire Bruno Walter and make Lily Pons an employee of the Department of Education. [Why not? Socialist cities in Europe did it.] New York is not yet ready to take over the deficits of the Philharmonic and the Met; but New York is slowly swinging around to the Socialist idea that those things that closely affect the masses should be the concern of all, not of self-appointed Maccenas to whom (often ill-gotten) fortunes give the opportunity to patronize their betters.

A city-operated symphony orchestra may not be as urgent a need as more adequate jobless relief or slum clearance, but it is a wholesome sign. We are far, far behind other cities and countries; but that is because other cities and countries had the vision and courage to put Socialists in charge of their business long, long ago.

Some time America—and New York—will catch up with the Socialists!

RAND SCHOOL WOMEN TO HOLD TEA

The Women's Committee of the Rand School announces a reception, and tea to its new members Monday afternoon at 2.30. The reception will be given in the studio of the Rand School, 7 East 15th St.

Support Friends of Workers' Children
The drive for the organization of the Friends of Workers' Children, the adult organization that will sponsor all labor children's activity, including a regularly printed children's magazine, radio programs, summer camps, aid for children of strikers, creation of labor children's literature, etc., was also given added impetus by this convention. The Falcons have decided to push the organization of the Friends of Workers' Children.

SHIPLACOFF MEMORIAL MEETING FEB. 8

Friday, February 8, the Socialists of New York will commemorate the life and work of the late A. I. Shiplacoff at a memorial meeting in the Debs Auditorium in the People's House, 7 East 15th Street.

A. I. Shiplacoff, Socialist legislator, party official and labor leader, one of the best loved comrades in the history of the Socialist Party in the United States, died February 7, 1934, after a long and agonizing illness, mourned by hundreds of thousands.

Details of the meeting, and the speakers, will be announced later.

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LECTURE CALENDAR

(All lectures begin at 8:30 p.m. unless otherwise stated. Lectures listed below are under the auspices of Education Committee of Socialist Party.)

FRIDAY, JAN. 25th

Manhattan
William M. Feigenbaum—"The British Labor Party." 8th A.D., 226 E. 10th St.
Brooklyn
Nathan Fine—"End of an Era." 4th-10th A.D., 241 S. 4th St.
Jean Jacques Corneil—"The British Labor Movement." East New York Forum, 864 Sutter Ave.
Mark Khinoy—"A Socialist Views Russia." Brighton Beach Branch, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., Brighton Beach.

SUNDAY, JAN. 27th

Manhattan
George H. Goebel—"Upton Sinclair, Huey Long, Dr. Townsend, President Roosevelt, Norman Thomas—Which Road America?" 4th A.D., 383 Grand St.
Brooklyn
Henry Fruchter—"What About Our Future?" Coney Island Branch, 2202 Mermaid Ave.

MONDAY, JAN. 28th

Brooklyn
George H. Goebel—"General Johnson and the Soviets." Upper Branch, 4th A.D., Pelham Palace, White Plains and Lydig.
Brooklyn
Vincenzo Vacca—"Fascism in Italy." 21st A.D., Colby Academy, 230 Snyder Ave.
George Baron—"Current Events Discussion." 22nd A.D., 864 Sutter Ave.

TUESDAY, JAN. 29th

Brooklyn
Lena Morrow Lewis—"Capitalism's Contribution to Civilization." Upper 8th A.D., 3230 Bainbridge Ave., near 205th Station, 8th Ave. Subway.
Brooklyn
August Tyler—"Origins of Capitalism." 10th A.D., 6618 Bay Parkway.
James Oneal—"Revolutionary Socialism." 18th A.D., Br. 2, 841 Ulen Ave.
Queens
Discussion on "Paul Porter's Commonwealth Plan." Leader, Pincus Sheer, Astoria Bk., 3632 Steinway St., Astoria.

WEDNESDAY, JAN. 30th

Brooklyn
David Ashe—"Labor and the NRA." Boro Park Branch, Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 42nd St. and 14th Ave.
David P. Berenberg—"Class in 'Essentials of Socialism.'" Brighton Beach Br., 1113 Brighton Beach Ave. Open for entrance of students.

THURSDAY, JAN. 31st

Brooklyn
David Kaplan—"Cure for Employment per Socialism." Midwood Branch, Kingsway Mansion, Ave. P and E, 16th St.
Phil Heller—"Class in Socialism 'Road to Power.'" 22nd A.D., 864 Sutter Ave.
Manhattan
Siegfried Lipich—"Socialism in Germany." 8th A.D., 226 E. 10th St.
Brooklyn
Dr. William Bohn—"Socialism and American Tradition." 4th-14th A.D., 211 St. 4th St.
Algeron Lee—"Economies of Fascism."

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Tony Sender Meeting in Bensonhurst

Tony Sender, brilliant and courageous German Socialist spokeswoman and former member of the Reichstag, will speak Friday night January 25, in Bensonhurst, under the direction of the Bensonhurst Branch of the Socialist Party, at Savoy Mansion, 20th Ave., near 64th St.

Comrade Sender will speak on the present situation in Hitler's Germany and the prospects of an early reconquest of freedom there.

With Tony Sender B. C. Vladeck will likewise occupy the platform and speak, and Julia Primoff will act as chairman.

Party's Uptown Dance This Saturday Night

The Washington Heights Upper West Side dance promises to be one of the big affairs of the year. Every detail has been taken care of to give everyone an enjoyable evening: a beautiful dance hall, an excellent band, stage and radio stars, refreshments, and dancing.

The time: Saturday night, January 26. The place: Paramount Mansions, 183rd St. and St. Nicholas Avenue.

22nd A.D. Branch, 864 Sutter Ave.
James Oneal—"Revolutionary Socialism." Brighton Beach Branch, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave.

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Party Progress

MANHATTAN

8th A.D. The following were elected to party offices: Organizer, John Lesnick; Fin. Sec'y, Abraham VanderCar; Rec'y Sec'y, Mac Eisenberg; Educational Director, David Kaplan.
12th A.D. The branch will meet socially at Mary Hunter's home, 237 E. 29 St., Apt. 9D, Tues., Jan. 29, at 8:30. Bring at least one sympathetic friend to the gathering.

Upper West Side. Will meet Mon., Jan. 28, at 100 W. 72nd St. Nominations for City Central and County Committee delegates; voting on state referendum. Delegates will report on Central Committee.

4th A.D. The following are the new officers: Organizer, J. Green; Fin. Sec'y, B. Sussman; Educational Dir., M. Isaacs.

BRONX

Lower 6th A.D. Branch meeting will be held Tues., Jan. 29, at 1137 Ward Ave. 7th A.D. Meeting will be held Tues., Jan. 29, at 789 Elmsmore Place. Election of branch officers and voting on amendments. Settle for theatre tickets for Feb. 6th theatre party.

KINGS

East Flatbush. Sat. night, Feb. 2, the branch will hold a dance; entertainment by Rebel Arts Puppet Group and branch choral group.

4th-14th A.D. Meets every Monday at 241 So. 4th St. The following elected for the coming term: Organizer, Stanley Flaks; Fin. Sec'y, Harry Schachner; Recording Sec'y, H. Feinerman; Educational Director, Sidney Goldstein.

18th A.D. Br. 2. New branch officers: Organizer, I. Myron; Fin. Sec'y, B. Novick; Recording Sec'y, P. Arnaud; Labor Contact Man, E. Greiff.

Midwood. Business meeting will be held Mon., Jan. 28, at Kingsway Mansion, 1602 Ave. P, to vote on the referendum and take up other important business.

23rd A.D. Elected the following: Organizer, I. Rotkin; Educ. Dir., Minnie Weisberg; Fin. Sec'y and Treas., Bertha Polsky; Lit. Agents, Reuben Newman and Comrade Newerth; Recording Sec'y, Ernest Brown; Corr. Sec'y, Ray Zolan; Delegates Central Comm., Jack Altman and Comrade Gombberg; County Comm., Minnie Weisberg and Vivian Gunar.

LECTURES

The Department of Social Philosophy of Cooper Union

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IN THE GREAT HALL
8th Street and Astor Place
At 8 o'clock Admission free

Friday, Jan. 25th—
EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
"The Importance of a Knowledge of History—Lucian"

Sunday, Jan. 27th—
Professor SCOTT BUCHANAN
"The Nature of Institutions"

Tuesday, Jan. 29th—
Professor SCOTT BUCHANAN
"Reform"

Freethinkers of America

155 East 34th Street
Sunday Eve., 8:30 P.M.
Professor William M. Bohn
"The Economic Determination of Religion"
Major Wheel—"Bible Criticism," 8 P.M.
Admission 25c—Questions and Discussion

INGERSOLL FORUM

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"The Wandering Jew" Continues Its Run at the Criterion

There have been so many conceptions of the Wandering Jew in the arts that, at the mere mention of the title, one automatically thinks of Gustave Dore's paintings, Eugene Sue's gigantic novel or E. Temple Thurston's famous play. It was the play which was used for the picture called "The Wandering Jew," now in its 4th week at the Criterion Theatre.

Gustave Dore treated the legend with the originality of a poetical and romantic mind. His illustrations awoke the imagination of every thinker—yet there are those who think that the popular vogue of the Wandering Jew began with "Le Juif Errant" by Eugene Sue, a serial story almost as endless as the wanderings of its central figure, which ran into ten volumes when issued in book form in 1844.

Many writers, however, by the romances they wove despoiled the

nobility of the original legend. The historical evidence on which the play rests is too slender for us to admit for it any validity other than that of a myth. The names and circumstances connected with the Jew and his doom vary with each story.

When Julius Hagen decided to produce the story for the screen in England, he chose the late E. Temple Thurston's play.

Thurston's story is told in four episodes: Jerusalem on the day of the Crucifixion; Antioch in the time of the first Crusade; Palermo, Sicily, in 1290, and Seville in 1560 during the days of the Inquisition.

An outstanding British cast includes such well-known actors as Peggy Ashcroft and Joan Maude who are featured, Anne Grey, Marie Ney, Basil Gill, Francis I. Sullivan, Felix Aylmer, and John Stuart.

RKO THEATRES

"The Little Minister"
SIR JAMES M. BARRIE'S
An RKO Radio Picture

COLISEUM E'way & 181st St. RKO Acts Sat. & Sun. ADA BROWN IN PERSON	FRANKLIN Prospect & 161st St. RKO Acts Sat. & Sun. EDDIE WHITE IN PERSON	CHESTER Tremont & E. 177th St.	FORDHAM Fordham Hl. & Valhalla
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Radio's Wandering Minstrels
REIS & DUNN
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FOUR SOME
CAPT. WILLIE MAUSS

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Symbol In Realism At The Biltmore Theatre

TENSE SYMBOL

"CRIME AND PUNISHMENT."
From the novel by Fyodor Dostoevsky. Dramatized by V. Trivas and G. Schdanoff; translated by Sonia Gordon Brown.

One of the world's greatest novels is again seen; "Crime and Punishment" incessantly challenges—and defies—dramatization. It is by erecting its inner significance on a skeleton of the plot that the present version, despite episodic character and final flaw, achieves poignancy and power. There is no time to make all these figures come to life; we grasp them the better as symbols. We can even peer, through some scenes of deep emotion, at a universal thought.

For—as Cabell uses the pawnbroker to represent the average man—Dostoevsky (more wisely) spins the pawnbrokers' spider web, enmeshing its victims among the wretched of the world, as the symbol of the selfish cruelty and greed of the capitalist order. Thus, theoretically, Raskolnikoff feels wholly justified in his murder of the devourer of souls. Yet he is tortured; and he comes to learn from the prostitute, from the steadfast soul who has given her body (as most workers do) to earn the family's livelihood—he learns that the way of violence is death, that murder is also spiritual suicide—that to give is to grow in life, but to take is to move toward death. Only in sharing is fellowship; through suffering we attain understanding; through understanding, love. The novel traces the long pathway of this achievement; the play perforce ends with Raskolnikoff's realization of the proper way—not the swift soul-suicide of violence, the slow partnership of suffering, learning, and love.

The play is simply but effectively staged, so that the sordid reality of the many settings does not obscure the spiritual problem that is its core. Harry D. Southard does a splendid piece as the pathetic wastrel whose daughter has gone the "white slave's" way; and Sonia herself is capably handled by Juliana Taberna. After a little

In the Gaumont - British Film at Radio City Music Hall



Gladys Cooper and George Arliss as they appear in a scene from "The Iron Duke," which will have an indefinite run at the Big Theatre in Radio City.

over-acting, Morgan Farley settles down into a sensitive and deeply moving presentation of the philosophical murderer, the tortured Raskolnikoff, who literally bends on his knees before the suffering of the world, and who carries into the play some breath of the great spirit of Dostoevsky's novel.

TRANS-LUXURY

New Theatre Opens Tonight in Brooklyn.

One of the cheerful signs of the cinema world is the continuing success and growth of the Translux idea, the dollar's worth for a quarter, that for a bit over an hour—odd time during the day—picks in the news of the world, and adds a generous slice of lighter tidbits. Trying to read all the items of the daily newspapers would be too great a tax on time of most workers; and too many of us, I fear, fall back on the sports pages and the comics—after a swift running over of the headlines. But those headlines become living and unfolding action in the newsreel theatres, which capture and hold for us the most important and the most interesting items throughout the world.

Beyond these, at the Translux, you are sure to find a swift summary of sports, or a travel-film of rare and vivid beauty; and either a cartoon comedy or the Laurel and Hardy boys, or some other fun-dispenser of filmdom. The two Manhattan theatres (Broadway and 49th Street; Madison Ave. and

59th Street) and the 561 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, house are this week having a fourth Translux companion, at 927 Flatbush Ave., Brooklyn, where the same stimulating sort of program will offer further neighborhoods the opportunity of this goodly gathering of the events of the world and sideline entertainment.

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PARLOR RADICALS

"FLY AWAY HOME." By Dorothy Bennett and Irving White. At the 48th Street.

How quickly critical times can make parlor pranks turn pale is demonstrated in "Fly Away Home," when "Lady-Bug" Nan Masters shows how well she knows a dog from a porcupine. She has brought up her children in best "American Mercury" tradition, that scoffing at the booboisie, that undermining of current morality, that skill at knocking down the straw bogies of society, which somehow offer little substantial in their stead. But they are funny to look upon—almost quaint, today. And they are easy game for their father who, at first shocked by what he discovers, soon truly Masters the situation. Mr. Masters,

successive business man of conservative tendencies, has been invited by his wife to be a guest at her second wedding; somewhat bewildered, he journeys to Provincetown for the happy occasion, and—what, ho! the family come to their several and collective senses.

This is the better managed because Thomas Mitchell pauses in his many engagements as director (including this play) to play the role of Mr. Masters; and his jolly ways quite rout the poor Professor Sloan, whose radical theories are among the children's choice acquisitions. Not always at the peak of its laughter or satire, this engaging comedy takes us back to

Hope for the Children

The first showing of The Junior Film Society will be held this Saturday, January 26th, at the New School for Social Research, 66 West 12th Street. The program will include "Smoky," starring Will James; Irene Bentley and Victor Jory; "Miro-Unga," the story of the sea-elephant; "Roaming the Netherlands," "Mighty Atoms" and a color-cartoon, "The Little Tin Soldier." There will be two performances, one at 11 a. m. and the other at 1 p. m.

The Junior Film Society plans a repertory of children's films

the days when parlor radicalism was a harmless household sport, guaranteed to keep the young out of serious mischief.

"Bordertown" With Paul Muni Reopens Strand Theatre—Big List of Films to Follow

The Strand Theatre, reconstructed and redecorated, reopened last Wednesday morning with "Bordertown," the new Warner Bros. picture starring Paul Muni, as its first attraction. Bette Davis and Margaret Lindsay head the supporting cast in this film, which

was suggested by Carroll Graham's novel of the Mexican border, and in which Paul Muni has a role said to be his most dramatic and powerful since "I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang."

A notable series of attractions will follow "Bordertown" at the Strand. The first of these will be "Devil Dogs of the Air," the first Cosmopolitan Production released by Warner Bros.

3rd Capacity Week!!

CHAPAYEV

"THE RED COMMANDER"

"Vigorous, richly humorous, and genuinely heroic... a distinguished screen offering!" —Richard Watts, Jr., *World Telegram*.

"Interest is held every minute... highly effective." —H. F. S., *N. Y. Times*.

CAMEO—42 St. East of B'way
Cent. from 9 a. m.—Midnight Show Sat.

RADIO CITY
MUSIC HALL
SHOW PLACE OF THE NATION
George Arliss
as "THE Iron Duke"
A GB Production
On the Stage—
"SILK-SATIN-CALICO-RAGS"—colorful revue stage by Russell Markert, with Viola Hilde, Maria Grimaldi, Nickolas Dakis, Carlos Peterson, Rockettes, Corps de Ballet & Glee Club, Tchaikovsky's "18th Symphony" by Orch.
Popular Prices
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ALL THIS WEEK
FIRST NEW YORK SHOWING
"BEHIND THE EVIDENCE"
with
SHEILA MANNERS
NORMAN FOSTER
HAL SHERMAN
SYBIL BOWAN
and other RKO Acts
PALACE B'way & 47 St.

MUSIC
PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY
TOSCANINI, Conductor
AT CARNEGIE HALL
This Afternoon at 3:00
Bruckner—Strauss—Bach—Reepighi
Thurs. Eve. at 8:45; Fr. Aft. at 2:30
Soloist: GREGOR PLAGIORSKY, "Cellist
Handel, Castelnuovo—Tedesco, Schubert
Sat. Eve. at 8:45; Sun. Aft. at 3:00
Rossini, Beethoven, Wagner
Arthur Judson, Mgr. (Steinway)

HELD OVER!

—Naturally

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer presents

DAVID COPPERFIELD

WITH A STAR CAST OF 65 PLAYERS

"★★★★—One has to see the picture to appreciate the great and loving care that went into the production." —*Daily News*

"The most profoundly satisfying screen manipulation of a great novel that the camera has ever given us." —*N. Y. Times*

"Scene after scene that is achingly beautiful or hilariously funny." —*N. Y. World-Telegram*

CAPITOL B'WAY

—Plus—
An Unusual Capitol Stage Presentation

"IT IS THE BEST OF ALL THE EXPEDITIONARY FILMS"—*N. Y. Sun*

MR. & MRS. MARTIN JOHNSON'S

"BABOONA"

AN AERIAL EPIC OVER AFRICA

"Continuously interesting"—*World-Telegram*

RIALTO B'WAY & 42nd St. • 25¢ TO 2 P.M.

Fabian's
FOX
FLATBUSH AT REVINS
with JESSIE MATTHEWS
"Nimble and winning. A feminine Fred Astaire."—*N. Y. Times* "★★★★"
Big New Vaudeville Bill & Revue
SAMMY COHEN—16 Girls—2 Bands
25¢ TO 5 P.M. W & DAYS

"Colorful, exciting, gorgeously produced... FILLED WITH ACTION AND ROMANCE!" —*World-Telegram*
"One of Colman's best screen performances!" —*N. Y. Times*
JOSEPH M. SCHENCK presents
CLIVE OF INDIA
DARRYL F. ZANUCK'S production
starring **RONALD COLMAN**
LORETTA YOUNG
DOORS OPEN 9:30 A. M.
CONTINUOUS SHOWS... POPULAR PRICES
UNITED ARTISTS **RIVOLI** BROADWAY at 49th St.
MIDNITE SHOW TONIGHT

Now Playing at the **CRITERION THEATRE**
BROADWAY AT 44th ST.

BELIEVE IT OR NOT—38 YEAR BOX OFFICE RECORD BROKEN BY
The WANDERING JEW
with **CONRAD VEIDT**
HELD OVER FOR 2nd Week
JOHN P. GORING
CRITERION THEATRE
TIMES SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY
BRYANT BLDG.
January 15, 1935
"It is highly commended as one of the really great pictures of the year." Selected Motion Picture Magazine published by the Will Hays Office.
"It ranks as one of the most pretentious film productions ever attempted—opened at Criterion Friday and on First Four days broke attendance records of house for 38 years"—*VARIETY*
"Impressive Production of Classic with Conrad Veidt Giving Outstanding Performance"—*FILM DAILY*
"On Saturday night, January 12th, the crowds at the Criterion Theatre, anxious to see the showing of 'THE WANDERING JEW' actually broke the doors trying to get in. I have heard the expression 'the doors of a theatre broken to get in' used on hundreds of different occasions but this is the first time that I have seen it actually happen."
I want you to know that the box office records of the Criterion Theatre were broken by your film, 'THE WANDERING JEW', during the first four days of the engagement of that film at the Criterion Theatre.
Yours very truly,
John P. Goring
JOHN P. GORING

PAUL MUNI RE-OPENS THE NEW STRAND

in Warner Bros. Terrific "Bordertown" with Bette Davis — Broadway and 47th St. — 25¢ to 1 p. m. weekdays — Midnight Show Every Night