

# NEW LEADER

With Which  
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by  
Eugene V. Debs

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## Smash This Reign of Terror!

### Reactionary Capitalism Fears Criticism and Seeks To Gag Opposing Opinions

**L**AST week we called attention to drastic anti-syndicalist laws emerging in some states and proposed changes in Federal statutes to be considered by Congress. This repeats the history of the World War. Within a month after the United States entered the war in 1917 the infamous Sedition Act was enacted and later "broadened." The shocking actions of Attorney General Palmer under the law provoked protests by eminent lawyers throughout the nation. Big bankers and capitalists were the strongest backers of Palmer's reign of terror.

The continuance of the depression has produced a similar reactionary trend. Big shots in the capitalist world seek to gag the critical press, restrict meetings, fill the nation with secret snoopers, throw radical publications out of the mails, and send spies into all radical meetings. Many Socialist speakers recall the Federal agent with his notebook near the platform of an anti-war meeting. That is what leading members of the ruling class now want.

The U. S. Chamber of Commerce, the holding company of American capitalism, is 100 per cent behind the proposed legislation at Washington. Its recommendations are already written into the proposed measures. Last November this organization issued a pamphlet, "Combating Subversive Activities in the United States," in which the proposals were made.

Federal statutes are now drastic enough, but the Chamber wants them "broadened." The more "broad" such laws are made the more dangerous they are. The "broad" statute is one that is not specific in its terms. For example, Section 6 of the Federal Criminal Code is specific. It declares that if two or more persons conspire to overthrow the government by force, to levy war against it, to oppose by force its authority, to prevent, hinder or delay the execution of any Federal law, or by force attempt to seize any government property, such persons may be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than six years, or both.

Each offense is clearly defined. The law refers to actions. The Chamber objects to its "limited scope" which it contrasts with the "breadth" of the Sedition Act. It wants one that is similar in "breadth" with the old Sedition Act. How "broad" that war legislation was may be appreciated by quoting its salient feature. Here it is:

"... Whoever, when the United States is at war, shall wilfully utter, print, write or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous or abusive language about the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution of the United States, . . . or any language intended to bring the form of government of the United States, . . . into contempt, scorn, contumely, or disrepute," etc., shall be punished "by a fine of not more than \$10,000 or imprisonment for not more than twenty years, or both."

Observe that the first law quoted refers to actions which are clearly defined, while the second one has reference to opinions which are referred to as "abusive," "profane," "scurrilous," etc. Then if the language you

(Continued on Page Twelve)

### Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman  
Special Correspondent

**I**N delivering his dissenting opinion in the gold cases, Justice McReynolds said—in fact, he screamed—that "the Constitution is gone! This is Nero at his worst." He warned his colleagues on the bench against legal and moral chaos, "lasting humiliation," "flagrant repudiation," etc. The one-time Attorney General is probably the worst of the four conservative members of the Supreme Court. Evidently he is getting tired of being in a minority. He

### In Washington and in Many States Laws Are Proposed To Stifle Voice of Workers

**"B**ILLS to smash treason before House," screams a headline in Hearst's frothing "paper for people who think."

From Michigan, broadcast over a powerful coast-to-coast radio network, come the raucous pleas of Father Coughlin "to preserve American ideals in our beloved nation."

In national circles, and in state after state, bills have been proposed or passed curtailing free speech, crushing the radical and labor press, and aimed at entirely wiping out those who, through the championing of the workers, are

rights guaranteed in the Constitution. It will mean the destruction of the freedom of the masses by big business.

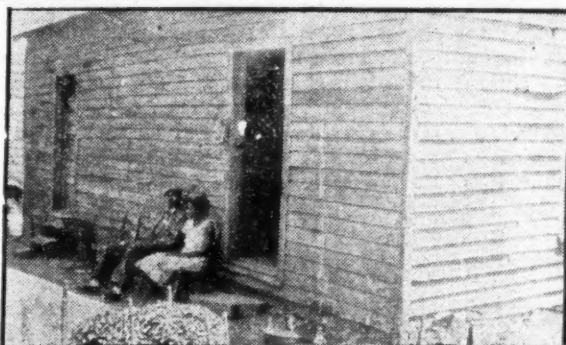
The congressional committee headed by Representative William McCormack has recommended a federal sedition law to punish advocacy of the violent overthrow of government or membership in any organization which teaches such a doctrine. This is directed at the Communist Party, but it is so broad in its phrasing that it can be interpreted to include all the left parties as well as labor organizations. Another act would exclude from the mails all matter which advocates overthrow of the state by force and violence, assaulting or killing federal officers, or unlawful destruction of property and sabotage. During the last war it was another clause which dealt heavily with radical, Socialist and pacifist opinions that jailed many victims and threw publications out of the mails.

At a recent committee hearing several publications, including The New Leader, were decried as "dangerous publications." It is unnecessary to wait for a more definite trend.

Of extreme importance is the provision in the McCormack proposal penalizing any attempt to incite disaffection or insubordination in the armed forces of the

(Continued on Page Six)

### HERE'S LILLIAN—BUT NOT DORIS



**DORIS DUKE**, who got married the other day, is a very nice girl, and very pretty. But don't tell Lillian Brown about it, because she probably wouldn't send Doris a present anyway . . . that is, any more of a present than she is already sending her. Here is Lillian Brown and part of her family of five, in a "home" for which the rent is \$1.50 a week. Wages are \$3 to \$4 a week, and it's at Winston-Salem, N. C., and they work for the tobacco trust the profits of which make Doris the richest girl in the world.

is losing his poise and usual Supreme Court dignified restraint.

In the five-to-four decision of vast economic and historic import, the Supreme Court ruled that all gold clauses in liberty bonds, private contracts, gold certificates, state, municipal and other obligations may be paid in present-day dollars.

By this margin of one, the court swept away the biggest barrier before the New Deal, ended weeks of uncertainty, indirectly gave a fillip to stock and commodity markets, and obviated counter-action for which the New Deal was warily, uneasily prepared had the verdict gone the other way.

Though the majority held that Congress could not erase gold clauses in government obligations, they enthroned a doctrine of damages whereby the holders of Liberty Bonds or other government promises to pay gold would have to show loss to collect more than the dollar face value of their bonds.

(Continued on Page Six)

a thorn in the side of a titanic capitalist hierarchy.

Behind this uncommon briskness in the creation of oppressive legislation in every section of the country are the "patriotic" societies, controlled and commanded by industrial interests. Representatives of the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Army and Navy departments, the comical Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Sons, too, are not missing, nor are the lobbyists of the omnipotent blood fraternity, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

Mentioned elsewhere is the booklet issued by this organization, suggesting the very recommendations submitted to Congress by the Committee on "Un-American Activities." This brochure was published months before the present congressional session, and its suggestions were promptly taken up.

Passage of the bills sent to the House by this committee will

### The Honeymoon Is Over

**T**HE New Deal has been running for two years and its honeymoon is over. HAS IT BEEN A SUCCESS? Dr. HARRY W. LAIDLER, one of America's leading economists and Socialist thinkers, thinks it is not.

DR. LAIDLER has written a brilliant analysis of the New Deal, and has shown how it has failed, just as capitalism has failed, and how only through Socialism will the human race be able to achieve the security, comfort and happiness that is its rightful due. This article, one of the most important we have ever printed, appears in next week's NEW LEADER.

**JULIUS UMANSKY'S** remarkable series, AMERICA GROPPES FOR UTOPIKA, continued by OTTO BAUER, leading Austrian Socialist statesman, will tell about the policies of the fascist government of his country in a great article.

**IN FUTURE ISSUES:** Articles by DR. WILLIAM E. BOHN, TH. DAN, GERTRUDE WEIL, KLEIN, BENJAMIN MEIMAN and others.

**YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO MISS THE NEW LEADER!**



## The Constitution Is Gone

Justice McReynolds Weeps, and Well He Might, Over the Gold Decision

By Historicus

IN filing a dissenting opinion in the Gold Clause cases, Supreme Court Justice McReynolds said, "The Constitution is gone." And in a very real sense he was right.

The Gold Clause decision may well mark the end of an era—or the beginning of a new era—in constitutional government. For to my mind the majority of the court—the "liberal" majority, if you please—took a position that may be interpreted in one of two ways, either of which is a startling departure from more than a century of decisions beginning with the three famous John Marshall decisions "that found the Constitution bare bones and that clothed them with flesh and blood."

The issues were very simple. Billions of dollars' worth of obligations—no one can know how much within a hundred billion—had been entered into with the purely perfunctory proviso that the money borrowed on such bonds was to be repaid in United States gold dollars of a weight and fineness of metal as of the date of the incurring of the obligations. That "gold clause" was printed in small

type on countless certificates, and no one paid any more attention to it than, for example, they pay to the fine printing on the back of a steamship ticket.

Now, in the course of its legislation to meet the results of the depression, the Administration devalued the dollar; that is, declared that from a certain date in 1934 it consisted of about 59% of the amount of gold that had gone into gold dollars prior to that date. One Norman C. Norman, holder of a \$1,000 B. & O. bond, sought to collect interest in 1934 in the amount of \$1.69 for every dollar owing him; that is, he sought to collect 1933 dollars in 1934; or, in other words, he wanted dollars in 1934 of gold of the weight and fineness of 1933 dollars; or, in other words, he wanted \$15.52 more than the \$22.50 in 1934 dollars he received for his coupon. The B. & O. refused to give him more than \$22.50 in 1934 dollars, whereas he wanted \$22.50 in 1933 dollars, as per the terms of the "gold clause" on his bond.

There was ample law and constitutional provision and judicial

decision to back him up; specifically, there is the Dartmouth College case, in which John Marshall upheld the sanctity of the Obligation of Contract in ringing words that have re-echoed for over a century and that safeguarded countless hundreds of millions—yes, and billions—in profits to capitalists and bankers.

But these are different times. If Hughes—together with Stone, Roberts, Brandeis and Cardozo—had decided with Marshall and the long line of decisions patterned after his, the results would have been almost unbelievable. Obligations totaling possibly one hundred billion dollars would have been loaded upon Federal, state, local, county and township governments and upon private business, a burden that it could never have hoped to bear.

So they decided otherwise, taking the high ground that in the face of economic circumstances a government has a right to devise such devices as it finds necessary to meet its problems.

That decision, at one blow, upsets the theory Marshall employed to give the Supreme Court its place as an arbiter of the constitutionality of laws.

It means one of two things:

1. Either the court now holds that when the people through their elected representatives decide on a course of action, that program

(Continued on Page Twelve)

## The Hauptmann Trial

The Verdict is O.K., But the Trial Revealed Grave Dangers for Workers

By William M. Feigenbaum

THE Hauptmann verdict is undoubtedly correct, and appears to the layman to be properly based upon the evidence. But it is hard to escape the conclusion, after closely following the trial, that our courts are at best geared only to approximate, not exact justice, especially for the workers and those without means.

One need not weep for Hauptmann, who at the very best was a cold, scheming money-grubber, of no particular social value; but one need be very thoughtful about the system of jurisprudence that revealed itself in the long trial in Flemington, and how that system is likely to (and very often does) affect the lives of working-men and women.

### Both Sides Sinned

Both sides sinned gravely; and the fact that both sides can sin in open court apparently within the law is a grave danger to those who may be brought to trial in cases that do not attract wide interest, or in cases in which workmen are framed up, or charged with offenses alleged to have been committed in the course of their struggle for a decent living, or for justice.

There was no social angle to the Hauptmann crime except the fact that the convict had been tossed into the bloody welter of war at the age of 17, emerging while still a boy, marred by what he had been compelled to endure and thrown into a collapsing system, where it was easier to become a criminal than to develop social tendencies.

But the nature of what passes for justice did appear every day of the trial, and during the long preparatory weeks and months.

A hideous crime had been committed, and the whole resources of the nation were thrown into the endeavor to solve the mystery. So far, so good. But the moment suspicion pointed to Hauptmann a new angle appeared. Theoretically he was innocent until proved guilty. Supposedly he was a plain workman, with no means except savings from his earnings as a carpenter and the precarious profits of stock speculation. He found himself in the meshes of the law with vast resources arrayed against him, and nothing on his side. Hunterdon County, too poor to have an adequate prosecuting staff of its own, borrowed from the State of New Jersey its Attorney General, the modest and restrained Mr. Willentz. Hauptmann, who was supposed to stand before the public an innocent man, was compelled to find some means to defend himself against the enormously powerful machinery of the state. Having no money—or at least, nothing to compare with the resources of the state—he had to cash in on all his resources and then accept any lawyer willing to take a chance for the public service, the glory and the free advertising. Hence he got that ornament to the bar, Mr. Reilly.

### And If He Were Innocent?

And suppose Hauptmann was found to be innocent—which we all had to assume was possible until the verdict—and he had gone forth a free man, he would have been bankrupt, stripped of everything by the cost of proving what in the eyes of the law was the assumption in the first place. There have been plenty of men acquitted—after being compelled to exhaust all their resources in an unequal battle with the state, which has a public treasury to battle a workman's savings.

The case was tried in the glare of the spotlight; but countless

cases involving humble men and women are held in countless courts every day, and there the victims are faced with the alternative of borrowing or bankrupting themselves to fire competent lawyers—and then facing life stripped of everything—or else being beaten by the mere fact of lack of resources to meet those of the state. For only those of real means can employ counsel who can make an adequate defense.

For every Mooney-Haywood case, for every Sacco-Vanzetti case in the glare of publicity there are thousands of unknown workers, innocent or guilty—it does not matter—arrested and railroaded by the mere fact that they have nowhere to turn, and are not sufficiently selves to hire competent lawyers—prominent to win sympathy and support to get at least a fair trial.

And then we have the conduct of Reilly digging people out of their graves and accusing them, and others still living, of hideous crimes. Hauptmann has been proved guilty, which means that the elaborate Fisch story concocted by Hauptmann and Reilly was a lie. But Reilly was permitted to stand in court and in his summation malign a working girl as a conspirator, a treacherous employee, a kidnapper and a murderer. Without necessarily caring for Betty Gow, the performance strikes us as nothing short of shocking. Is it legal and permissible for lawyers to stand up in court and say whatever pops into their heads about people presumably decent and honorable?

Suppose, for example, it had been a labor case. Suppose witnesses had been active Socialists and trade unionists. Is it legal for a lawyer to sum up—with reporters and telegraph operators ready to carry the words to every corner of the country—with a denunciation of witnesses such as that which Reilly heaped upon Betty Gow, Mr. Whately, and others now dead?

### Is It Legal?

Is it legal for a lawyer to use the rostrum of the courtroom to broadcast slanders and libels upon men and women in no position to defend themselves? Does the duty of a lawyer to defend his client's interests include that privilege? If so, the working class would like to know it, for such a legal right can often be used as a powerful weapon against them.

Mr. Willentz, too, permitted himself the luxury of wild denunciation that bordered on sadistic frenzy. It can easily be seen how such so-called summation can whip crowds into lynching madness... and not only against Negroes.

There is also the matter of perjury; one witness swears that the accused man was in particular place at a particular time. Another witness under oath swears he saw the accused at another place at the same time. Both cannot be telling the truth; at least one is lying, and lying under oath is perjury. How many witnesses, who swore to things juried did not believe, have been punished for perjury? And how often have friendless men, and trade unionists and radicals, suffered from such perjury?

### New Translator-Secretary for Bohemian Federation

Chicago.—Mrs. M. B. Beranek, 3944 W. 27th St., Chicago, has been elected translator-secretary by the Czechoslovak Federation of the Socialist Party.

### TEXAS

By Wm. Plamann, State Secretary San Antonio.—Our state convention will be held in Waco on Sunday, March 3rd, at the Metropole Hotel, 4th and Franklin Streets. There is lots of work to be done, and from all indications this convention will be well attended and a busy one. We are preparing for a big year in Texas.

## Workers Will Act Right Despite Disruptive Work of Bolshevism

AMONG the grave war menaces abroad Soviet-Japanese relations cannot be ignored. There is also reason for believing that Germany and Poland have designs on Russia and that General Göring's "hunting trip" in Poland was really to arrange with Polish imperialists for a division of important slices of Russian territory between Poland and Nazi Germany. The Socialists of the world will, of course, be ranged against the aggressions of Japan, Germany and Poland, but it is also our duty to point out that the Bolsheviks have not, by their conduct,

earned this support of the workers of the world. That support will be given, should any imperialist raids be made upon Russia, precisely because we are opposed to robber raids of the imperialist powers and against imperialist wars in general.

For more than fifteen years the Communist International and the Communist organizations in every country have made it their first business to divide and destroy organizations of the workers not under their dictation. It is a black history of fostering civil war in the economic, political, cooperative, cultural and sport organizations of the working class. Their "united front" maneuvers have been efforts to obtain confidence only to destroy. Low cunning and deceit have been stressed as legitimate methods. Blackguardism became a "principle" and destroying the character of opponents is an essential of the "party line."

The result of this fifteen years of destruction has been to divide and weaken the working masses before their own internal enemies. From this point of view Communism has been an ally of the exploiting classes. Its organs do not hesitate completely to distort the statements of its opponents and even to ascribe to them views which are the reverse of what they really hold. Funds are raised for one purpose from "innocents" and used for another purpose. Communism cries out for civil rights in the capitalist countries when its own members are affected and laughs at the demand for the release of Socialists, Anarchists and even Communists in Soviet prisons who are accused of holding opinions, not of committing overt acts.

Despite all this, the organized masses of the world will not forget their international duty in the event of a robber raid on Russia. They will think and act in terms of international brotherhood, not as sectarian fanatics who talk of one thing and act another.

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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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# What Price Old Age Pensions?

## Dr. Townsend Tells of the Plight of the Aged

By Dr. F. E. Townsend

Originator of the Townsend Plan

IN the short space of a year, the [Townsend] plan has aroused widespread interest. Its followers are numbered by the millions. It is safe to say that one-fourth of the population have become advocates and defenders of this plan. For want of a better name it has become known as the "Townsend Old Age Revolving Pensions Plan"; the idea having originated with me as the result of my contacts and experiences with human misery.

For many years I practiced medicine and surgery in the Black Hills country of South Dakota. In those days the country was still frontier, primitive and in the raw state. In that environment I saw more suffering and more human misery than the average person. Years later I moved to Long Beach, Calif., sometimes jokingly referred to as the capital of Iowa, because of the thousands of families who have migrated from the Middle West to spend their old age there.

Therefore you will understand that when the banks of the nation crashed in 1933 there were proportionately more tragic consequences in Long Beach than in perhaps any other American community. The folks who lost their all in the collapse of the Long Beach banks were old folks.

### Health Officer

In 1933 I was Assistant City Health Officer of Long Beach. My duties were to administer to the indigent old. In that capacity I witnessed the aftermath of the bank crash in the raw. I was called in to perform autopsies on countless suicide cases. All of this sad experience caused me to wonder why there must be so much social injustice; why should old people who have toiled hard all of their lives, who have raised families and given their best to create a wonderful America, through no fault of their own be deprived of decent comforts in their declining years?

Then a new administration took over the government of Long Beach. I found myself no longer connected with the Health Department. I, too, with my good wife, found myself facing a hungry old age, for my savings had also largely gone in the bank crash of 1933. An old man of 67 and his wife—and less than \$100 in the bank.

It was under these circumstances that I decided to carry out the plan I had been turning over in my mind while serving as Health Officer. I had some petitions printed, addressed to my local Congressman, asking him to endeavor to have Congress enact two laws. The first called for the voluntary retirement on a Federal monthly pension of \$200 of all citizens of 66 years of age or over, with the proviso that the person thus retired would spend the entire \$200 within thirty days from its receipt and within the borders of the United States and for goods and services.

### A Sales Tax

The second provided for financing the pension roll by means of a universal transactions-sales tax of 2%. That was all there was to my plan; and that is the Townsend Plan as it stands today, aiming at a breaking up of the concentration of wealth which has brought on

this cruel depression.

It was thirteen months ago that I called in a few of the neighbors who were likewise unemployed, and asked them to circulate the petitions; in a day or two they brought them back with hundreds of names. But more important still, a wonderful transformation had come over the people who had taken the petitions out. Hope was in their faces, a new gleam in their eyes. These people saw that there was still a ray of sunshine for them; that they might still win a modicum of comfort in old age.

The original handful of people have multiplied; first by the hundreds, then by the thousands, then by the hundred thousands, and now by the millions. Between twenty and thirty million citizens have signed these petitions.

For the past month I have been in Washington directing the fight for the passage of our plan into law, and I shall stay on the firing line until victory has been won. The Townsend Plan has been presented to Congress as the McGroarty bill.

### To Hasten Recovery

Its primary object is to restore economic recovery, to solve the unemployment problem and to furnish the masses with purchasing power.

It is commonly admitted that our machine civilization is slowly but surely disfranchising men and women from their jobs; that machines are day by day taking over more and more jobs formerly done to the accompaniment of human sweat and toil. Such being the case, we are faced with the necessity of permanently retiring from employment a large part of our population.

So far, we have refused frankly to face this factor of technological unemployment. We have temporized and toyed with the problem. We have resorted to foolish artificial work schemes and with doles and other relief ideas. I propose that we frankly face the fact of unemployment; that we permanently retire a section of our people from work, and that we retire enough of them so that those who do work will be able by reason of a scarcity of labor to command decent American wages. I propose that we retire approximately eight million American citizens from competition for jobs, and that these citizens be those who most rightfully deserve to be retired, our old people. Is not this social justice? Do we not all agree that our old people deserve this reward more than any

other group?

I further propose that we retire these old people not on a bare existence pension but an adequate one which will enable them to live in real comfort. I propose the sum of \$200 a month, in order that a vast stream of purchasing power may be unloosed upon our sleeping American markets and our clogged up channels of trade. Eight million old folks each spending \$200 every thirty days would cause \$1,600,000,000 to be rung up on the cash registers of the nation. This money would filter down through payrolls and through demand for goods to meet the old folks' wants, to you and me. We would all feel the beneficent effects of this stream of gold.

Such is our plan—restore prosperity through supplying the people with purchasing power so that the wheels of industry will again turn; frankly face the fact of a permanent army of unemployed because of machine efficiency and solve this unemployment problem in a clean and rational manner, and finally assure every person that he will be provided for by a grateful government in his old age if he is a good citizen all of his life and contributes his share toward the upbuilding of our country.

But some critics have said that our plan would cost too much; we couldn't afford it, they say. But we could afford to spend 33 billion dollars to promote a European World War!

### Our Crime Bill

Each year we spend twelve billion dollars on our crime bill—crime being the result of economic pressure on our young men. Having no jobs, being brought up in slum quarters, being deprived of opportunity—these are the causes of the greater part of our crime bill. By bringing back prosperity, our plan will eliminate the driving force behind 75% of our crimes, and save nine billion dollars a year!

Each year we spend hundreds of millions on poor-farms, on community chests, we spend additional government billions on so-called relief projects.

I say we cannot afford NOT to adopt the Townsend Plan. The Townsend Plan is simply an annuity plan. The money which is taken from you by the transaction-sales tax is simply the payment which will assure you the opportunity of retiring at age 60 on a pension of \$200. Who says we cannot afford this plan? When, in addition to providing an annuity for your old age, this plan also makes possible the balancing of consumption with production and thus restores our present economic condition to a prosperous state, I believe you will agree with me that it is economic lunacy not to adopt this plan.

## Norman Thomas Shows The Plan Can't Work

By Norman Thomas

I AM not here primarily to debate against somebody or something; I am here to speak for adequate legislation, especially for the aged. I am opposed to Dr. Townsend's plan because I am convinced that under the capitalist system it cannot work and that its failure will be fraught with peril and tragic disappointment.

I agree with Dr. Townsend in his sympathy with the aged. I do not believe that the figures of relief benefit he sets are or will be too high in a properly organized economy where production is for use and not for private profit. The popularity of his plan seems to be proof of a dim awareness that we have the machinery and the resources to conquer poverty and that we ought to do it.

### A Short Cut

The job cannot be done by so easy a short cut or by such a syrupy patent medicine as Dr. Townsend proposes. The popularity of his plan has undoubtedly been something of a force in compelling the Administration to act promptly for old age assistance. We Socialists also claim credit for that because we began to agitate for old age assistance and other security legislation forty years ago!

The Wagner bill, which embodies the Administration's, is not only grossly inadequate but actually dangerous to sound security legislation. The old age assistance provided in the Wagner bill is inadequate in total amount and it puts too heavy a burden on states.

The provisions of the Wagner bill—and in this case Senator Wagner is only the mouthpiece for the Administration—could be improved in a great many points, but they are a lot better than nothing. What vitiates the bill is the fact that it is tied up with a system of unemployment insurance which is no real insurance at all. It gives no help to those now unemployed. It will not restrain, not encourage states to adopt such decent bills for unemployment indemnity as the Socialists have introduced in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Connecticut. It will result in 48 different inadequate measures and a complete discrediting of the principle of unemployment insurance. It is not a part of a loaf. It is poison.

It is too much to hope that Congress would take the unemployment insurance bill and improve the old age assistance

feature under the Administration's dictatorship. I understand that already the Ways and Means Committee has closed its hearings and that once the Administration's own pet witnesses had been heard, the five-minute rule was applied to all other witnesses with two or three exceptions, one of them being Dr. Townsend.

### An Ambitious Plan

The theory of the more enthusiastic advocates of the Townsend Plan is that this \$200 a month payment to all over sixty will solve all or at least 90% of our problems. The aged will be cared for. They will be retired from productive work. Those now employed will give up their jobs and others can take them. The money they put in circulation will increase the number of jobs. Thus we shall almost get rid of unemployment and the chances will be that those who are still unemployed will have parents or grandparents beneficiaries of this \$200 a month plan who can take care of them. It would be lovely if it were true.

I shall have to ask you to listen to some figures. It is generally conceded that at least ten million people will take advantage of the benefits of Dr. Townsend's plan and that that will cost \$24,000,000,000 annually. Twenty-four billion dollars is much more than half of the total national income last year. It will go to about 7% of our people who do not work, leaving the remainder to support all the other people and to carry practically the whole burden of depreciation of our productive plant, and all the burden of taxation, except sales taxes. Back in our most prosperous times at least a third of the people did not have family incomes in excess of two thousand dollars. Ninety per cent of the individual workers in America get less than two thousand dollars. Dr. Townsend proposes that we pay people, including as I understand, Ford and Rockefeller, more for not working than the able-bodied get, on the average, for working.

Doubtless he will tell me those who work should get more. So they should. But how is that possible under this capitalist system? Here again he may answer that it will be possible because those who won't work will spend so much money that those who do work will have more work to do. How far is that theory valid?

In 1929, our most prosperous year, the national income was \$83,000,000,000. If our productive plant had been used at full capacity that year, experts of the Brookings Institution tell us, we might have had 19% more, others say 105 or 110 billion. Dr. Townsend's plan would mean that of this total income over a fifth would go to the 7% of the population who do no work.

### Dangers of Sales Tax

Now let's see how Dr. Townsend proposes to raise the money. The bill says that it needs a two per cent tax on the "gross dollar value of each business commercial and/or financial transaction done in the United States." The President can increase this by fifty per cent and the tax shall be in addition to any other Federal tax on goods or commodities.

Now, nobody knows exactly what the "gross dollar value of each business commercial and/or financial transaction" is. Everybody knows, however, that in the end all these successive taxes will heap

(Continued on Page Six)





# The Workers Abroad

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

By William M. Feigenbaum

### The Rising Sun in Uruguay

THINGS are happening in the little republic of Uruguay on the River Plate, although exactly what is a little obscure. The Socialist Party there has been publishing a weekly paper called *El Sol* (The Sun—the emblem of the party there is a rising sun), that appeared even when the party was outlawed and its leader, Dr. Emilio Frugoni, was in exile across the river in Buenos Ayres.

About a year ago, the ban was lifted and Comrade Frugoni took the Mihanovich boat across the broad river back to Montevideo and resumed his seat in the Chamber of Deputies. Revolutionary ferment, however, continue to keep the country in a turmoil. A previous attempt to establish a sort of half-fascist commission form of national government had failed; but President Terra appeared to be making an attempt to create a dictatorship—with himself, of course, as the Lopez or Francia or Rosas—or maybe the Irigoyen—of the moment.

Then came the uprising of last month, the first Socialist reverberation of which was the disappearance of *El Sol* and the appearance of a *Boletin Socialista*, apparently an underground paper, in its stead.

Now, however, we receive a new issue of *El Sol* with flaming headlines announcing its reappearance, and further headlines announcing implacable warfare against the government's press gag law.

More details of the interesting situation there can be expected in early issues.

### Swiss Socialists to Defend Democracy

THE powerful Social Democratic Party of Switzerland, the bulwark of democracy in that republic, the very birthplace of modern democracy, voted at its party congress at Lucerne, Jan. 26 and 27, to throw all its strength back of defense of democracy, thus taking a strong stand against both Communism and fascism. In order to make its decision effective the party decided, by a vote of 382 to 294 to revise its position in the matter of national defense.

The decision to abandon its former position of opposition to national defense was taken in view of the fascist danger on three borders, the Italian, the German and the Austrian, and the determination to defend democracy at all costs to preserve Switzerland as an island of liberty surrounded though it may be by tempestuous seas of dictatorship and tyranny.

The chief items on the agenda were the revision of the party program and the consideration of a Swiss "Labor Plan."

The most controversial problem, of course, was that of national defense. Whereas the former decisions of the party had been against national defense and had made it a fundamental duty of the party to reject military credits, the new program states in the section on the protection of democracy that: "In order to resist the threatening dangers of violent fascist attacks, and to guarantee Swiss neutrality as long as this forms a condition for the independence of the State, the Socialist Party recognizes the necessity for an armed defense of the frontier, incorporated in the militia army according to the historical conditions and the political circumstances of the country. This defense must be sustained by the will of an anti-capitalist community if it is to fulfill its task with success. The Socialist Party agrees to the provision of the necessary funds for such a defense force."

Another section of the new program contains an unconditional profession of faith in democracy as the basis for the party's struggle. Relying upon democracy, the party desires to establish a new majority of the people "on an anti-capitalist basis."

As the rapporteur, Robert Grimm, was prevented by severe illness from attending the conference the new program was introduced by Ernst Reinhard in German and Paul Graber in French. The latter reported on all the sections of the new program except the passages relating to the military question, with regard to which Graber proposed a minority motion rejecting national defense in principle. Schneider also spoke on behalf of a minority which largely demanded the retention of the party's previous attitude.

The very full debate, in the course of which the two minorities agreed upon a joint amendment, was concerned almost entirely with the military question. When the vote was taken the program, with the exception of the section on the military question, was adopted by a large majority. The decision with regard to the military question was in favor of the majority proposal put forward by Reinhard, which obtained 382 votes. The joint proposal of the Graber and Schneider minorities obtained 294 votes.

After the debate on the program the conference considered the law concerning the lengthening of the period of military training which is to be submitted to a vote of the people. The majority of the executive proposed that this law should be rejected, as it is not necessary from a military point of view, and questions of national defense in the economic sphere, which were far more important, had been postponed by the Federal Council (Parliament). A minority moved that the vote should be left free, in order that every member of the party could treat the question from the point of view of its objectivity and desirability.

In a letter to the conference Robert Grimm also recommended that the vote should be free, in order that a considerable minority in the party should not have the feeling that their hands were being forced on a question that was not important.

The conference, nevertheless, decided by 343 to 220 that the law should be rejected. The Socialists, therefore, will vote against the law in the forthcoming referendum.

Three motions from sections of the party demanded the rescinding of the decisions of the party conference at Bienne which prohibit party members from belonging to Communist or semi-Communist organiza-

# America Gropes for Utopia

Technocrats Make Sound Analysis of Weakness of Capitalism, But That's All—Have No Plan for Scientific Society

By Julius Umansky

IN discussing Technocracy it should be noted that it was not an immaculate conception, born of the air. More than a score of years before the group called Technocracy was formed several socially-minded scholars turned their attention to a careful examination of economic institutions in action, attempting to understand the difficulties which came with the profound changes in industrial processes.

Sombart in Germany, Webb and Hobson in England, Wesley C. Mitchell and Veblen in America were leaders in this "institutionalist" school. They regarded economics as the study of changing economic behavior. They hoped to remedy the stupid waste and injustice of modern society. That would require, said they, measuring with mathematical exactness the growth and operation of economic "institutions."

Thorstein Veblen, one of the few very able economists of the era, proposed a "soviet of technicians" as the saviors of society. He attracted a group of young men to form a nucleus of this soviet. Among them was Howard Scott, a bright star in the Technocratic heaven. He observed at close range the development of two ideas which came to be associated with Technocracy: precise quantitative measurement and technicians in control of industry.

In 1919, a few American engineers, and some physical and social scientists, organized a voluntary group to study "the functioning of the social mechanism on the North American continent." It included Veblen, Charles Proteus Steinmetz, Frederick Lee Ackerman, now Chief Architect for the N. Y. City Housing Authority, and Howard Scott. The group selected the name "Technocracy," which had been coined by W. H. Smyth, a California engineer. The word is now used to describe both the group (which not so long ago was housed at Columbia and supported financially by the Architects' Emergency Committee, N. Y.).

Four basic ideas were involved. The problem existing under our "price" system is that 1) Machines are displacing labor so rapidly that Capitalism will collapse. 2) That the debt burden is increasing.

Reinhard moved that these motions should be rejected, and the conference agreed.

### Prohibition of Danziger Volksstimme

ON January 18th, the Council of the League of Nations considered the continual violation of the democratic constitution of the Free City of Danzig by the Nazi Government. The Council had before it a petition from the Catholic priests of Danzig, who complained at the one-sided administration of the ban on uniforms by the Danzig Senate. There was no discussion on this petition, as Herr Greiser, President of the Danzig Senate, expressed his willingness to negotiate with the Catholic priests direct.

On the other hand, however, the general policy of the ruling Nazis in Danzig was discussed all the more fully. Mr. Sean Lester, the Irish High Commissioner for the League of Nations, which is entrusted with the protection of the constitution of Danzig, had expressed in his report to the Council for 1934 very serious misgivings as to the observance by the Senate of the Free City Constitu-



HOWARD SCOTT.

ing so quickly that industry will collapse.

Although Technocracy proposes no solution, says Scott, it nonetheless states, first, that the "price" system must be supplanted through the use of an "energy" dollar. Second, that technicians could run industry "to produce a standard of living . . . 10 times above the average income of 1929."

For a decade the Technocrats were engaged in making an Energy Survey of North America. This did not deal with profits, prices or wages. Instead, it simply lumped men and machines together as "energy consuming devices." By measuring the energy they use up and the work they do Technocracy arrived at certain conclusions.

Society remained static, says Technocracy, until the steam engine displaced the human engine. Whereas man could produce one-tenth horsepower of work in 8 hours, and did so since the days of the Pyramids, today his output is 9,000,000 times greater because of electric power. Hence, "Man in his age-long struggle for leisure and the elimination of toil has finally arrived at that position where, for the first time, this goal [plenty for all] is not only possible, but probable." But this is unlikely if the price system remains. This is because unemployment tends to be permanent, thus reducing buying power, causing more unemployment, further reducing buying power, and so on, until the collapse. The process is hastened by the absurd debt claims

which is placed under the protection of the League of Nations. These misgivings were taken up by Mr. Anthony Eden and after him by the French and Spanish members of the Council, with the result that the debate became a very serious warning to the Danzig Government to respect the Constitution to which they had sworn allegiance and which is protected by the League of Nations.

The Social Democratic Danziger Volksstimme naturally gave a very full report of these declarations, which were full of significance and consequences for the political situation in Danzig, and also published an article on the "The Geneva Warning" containing observations on the Council meeting which were strictly confined to what was said in the speeches at Geneva. The result was that on January 25th the paper was prohibited from appearing for a month. The reason is brief and to the point: The negotiations between the Government and the originators of the petition to Geneva were "seriously and deliberately endangered" by the article on "The Geneva Warning."

(estimated at \$218,000,000,000, and still going up), which shackle industry.

Moreover, new industries cannot halt the increase in unemployment because they now become too quickly mechanized. Thus, a deadlock has been reached.

Two things must happen to get out of the mess, says Technocracy: destroy the "price" system and put technicians in charge.

The technocratic attack against the price system, rather than the profit system, misses fire. Goods will have to be priced under any system. In a cooperative commonwealth, for example, the basis will not be: how much will people pay without grumbling? Instead, other social considerations will enter in determining price. The technocratic plan of energy units is not a substitute, shorn of difficulties. Imagine the ease in arriving at the value of a poem in terms of energy! Many technocratic poets might have to turn to less intellectual pursuits in order to remain alive. [For the hurried reader, a reference to Robert Owen's Labor Exchanges of 1819, briefly described in Dr. Laidler's "History of Socialist Thought," would be of interest in seeing an application of a similar idea.]

Attacking the "price" system, rather than the profit system, keeps the Capitalists from attacking the Technocrats. The implications of their entire philosophy, however, indicate that the profit system is at fault.

So long as private ownership of industry exists, what is to prevent Technocracy from being used as a means of oppression? The Technocrats offer no way of arriving at their goal which would safeguard human welfare. Technicians without an organized working class would be interested solely in efficiency for their masters. Efficiency in behalf of private owners, and efficiency in behalf of workers are about as similar as horse-power and hoarse throat.

Technocracy, in exposing Capitalism, differs from the Socialist analysis only in the matter of decimal points. To that extent it has rendered a service. It has also served well in making vivid the chronic diseases of modern society. But it ignores entirely the indispensable need for an enlightened working class, with political, industrial, cooperative, and educational organizations. How else would private control of the "price" system be transferred to community agencies whose purpose would be production for use and not for profit?

Until such organizations are well developed in the words of Veblen—"there is nothing in the situation that should reasonably flutter the sensibilities of the guardians, of that massive body of well-to-do citizens who make up the rank and file of absentee owners, just yet."

(Another article in this series next week)

### BROWNSVILLE LABOR LYCEUM BAZAAR

The annual bazaar of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum will be held at 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn, April 3rd to 7th, inclusive.

There will be programs of music, dramatics, speeches and other features every evening, and a large variety of goods to purchase.

The date of the Bazaar has been changed from the date previously announced. The date herewith noted is correct. Comrades are asked to make a note of it.



# Public Enemy Number One

Hearst Was Once Damned Himself as a "Radical," and Maybe That Is Where He Got the Idea.

By Aaron Levenstein

TODAY Hearst's papers are turning their barrage of line-type on professors who decline to accept as eternal and changeless truth the narrowest concepts of economics and sociology. In the 1909 series in Hearst's Cosmopolitan Magazine it was morality and religion that had to be preserved from the educators,

ing liberal views on political matters.

In a subsequent article, called "Polyglots in Temples of Babel," the attention of Cosmopolitan readers was directed briefly to dangerous political doctrines. Lifting the lid on the academic cloister Mr. Hearst's writer presented a glimpse of the evil being wrought by the then President of Princeton University, a certain Dr. Woodrow Wilson. This dangerous misleader

demie circles and would never emerge from the classroom and campus.

The goody-good citizenry shuddered at such revelations. Through Mr. Hearst's gallant efforts they were apprised that Professors John R. Commons and Edward A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin had expressed the fear "that the path of modern industry leads to class war." Right-thinking men and women spent sleepless

## HEARST AND THE RED FLAG



William Randolph Hearst, who is organizing systematic hysteria and hatred against those with whom he disagrees, was himself the object of the sort of thing he is now inflicting on others. In 1905, when he was running for Mayor of New York on a municipal ownership ticket, his foes used the sort of tactics against him represented in the picture above. The scene is the entrance of Tammany Hall, then on 14th Street, with posters supporting Mayor George B. McClellan for reelection. At the left the poster shows Hearst lowering the American flag and raising the red flag. At the right, voters are urged to reelect McClellan by means of the picture showing President McKinley being assassinated. Hearst was charged with inciting the murder by his incendiary editorials. Read below what President Roosevelt I said in that connection.

Instead of religion, economics is now the tender spot of the reactionaries. The poor professor of Syracuse University, Edwin L. Earp, is photographed and his features spread over the glossy pages of the Cosmopolitan for his audacity in saying: "It is unscientific and absurd to imagine that God ever turned stone-mason and chiseled commandments on a rock," but his successor in the pillory, our contemporary Professor Washburne, finds himself in the rougher newsprint of Hearst's newspapers for express-

of guileless youth is quoted as saying that the men who prepared the way for the American republic were dominated by Rousseau, "the apostle of all that is fanciful, unreal and misleading in politics." Besides, this Wilson taught that the world needs a new civilization. To draw attention to this infamous character a picture of Wilson accompanied the article.

The pious customer of the Cosmopolitan probably found some satisfaction in the reflection that the man's baneful influence was strictly confined to narrow ac-

quaints worrying over Prof. William James teaching their children at Harvard that "the Nihilists, the Socialists, the prohibitionists, the anti-vivisectionists, the radical Darwinians, these and the conservative elements of society arrayed against them, are simply deciding by actual experiment by what sort of conduct the maximum of good can be gained and kept in the world." Unfortunately for Mr. Hearst's hysteria-mongers of 1909, Professor James had never heard of Bolsheviks, Communists and other Red Specters the Hearst's hirelings of 1935 employ to such good purpose now.

The effect of the publication of those articles, we are assured by the editor of the Cosmopolitan, was tremendous. After the series closed a new article by Mr. Bolce was printed, giving the answer of the church to the heresies of the university. The colleges are breeding "spiritual degenerates," declared the pulpites in ortund accents. Social "thinkers" joined in the cry of alarm. Lawyers delivered lectures before bar associations and fraternal orders, bewailing the ruin of the young. And all the time, William Randolph Hearst watched the money roll in.

It was a cheap gag, but it worked.

That the college boys of that day were not corrupted by their professors who uttered these "revolutionary teachings" is unfortunately more than obvious as we examine that generation a quarter of a century after their exposure to such education. It is equally apparent that with all the power of his numerous publications Hearst did not succeed in stopping the tide of academic thought then. His present campaign will hardly prove more effective in that direction.

Let Mr. Hearst continue to shout "radical" and "red." It has been many years since he himself was so labeled. In 1901 he was even

people think the other half are rogues, IS A TRAITOR TO HIS COUNTRY."

Charles E. Hughes, in the same speech.

"Hearst represents every appeal to passion. . . . Every incitement to murder, every encouragement to riot, every disposition to array class against class, every assault upon property and every insinuation against virtue. [He is] an apostle of riot and an advocate of disorder. . . . [His speeches are] a pronouncement of anarchy and riot, that the very foundations of society would be shattered and the whole fabric of social order be reduced to chaos has been an appeal to baseness, [he] embodies everything the community disapproves of . . . program of anarchy, disorder, riot and ruin."

Hon. W. Bourke Cockran, in Tammany Hall, November 1, 1905.

It almost appears as though Hearst, with diabolical humor, is taking the slanders once heaped upon him, changing around a few words and is now flinging them at others.

## WHEN THE SHOE WAS ON THE OTHER FOOT

ONCE upon a time William Randolph Hearst was not hounding radicals because he was being hounded as a radical himself. Running for Governor of New York in 1906, he declared in his letter of acceptance:

"The attitude that the Democracy should take toward great capitalistic organizations now is precisely that of Jackson toward the United States Bank, which appeared as a menace in his day."

For his pains he was able to read what some of the leading figures of the time said about him:

"You are to refuse to vote for the man. . . . (Hearst) who has set class against class."

Dr. Lyman Abbott, to the students of Cornell University, October 7th, 1906.

"I am opposed to an attempt to create class hatred."

Charles E. Hughes, Hearst's successful opponent in the campaign, Bayville, L. I., Oct. 15th, 1906.

"Anyone who tries to promote a feeling of class distinction, to make one-half of the American

## Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

### Morris Hillquit and Dictatorship

IN some sections of the Socialist Party we have found those who actually try to read into a passage contained in the recent national office pamphlet by the late Morris Hillquit, entitled "Foundations of Socialism," an approval of the program of the R. P. C. First, let me say that the author of this column wrote the introduction to that pamphlet, and that he read the chapters that make up this pamphlet before writing the introduction. On this score the R. P. C'ers might just as well include myself with our late Comrade Hillquit as approving the R. P. C. program.

The passage referred to in the Hillquit pamphlet is on page 13. Referring to dictatorship of the proletariat Comrade Hillquit wrote: "But whether the principle is sound or unsound, or whether it is of general or special applicability, it is not incompatible with the Socialist ideal of a classless society. For neither the Russian Communists nor any other adherents of the 'dictatorship' profess to see in it any more than a transitory and passing form of political organization, a sort of war measure in the Socialist struggle to abolish the capitalist system and to combat counter-revolutionary movements."

As I point out in the introduction, this was written in 1920. It was a perfectly accurate statement when it was written, for the full implications of a party dictatorship could not be known until some years later. As a matter of fact, the Bolsheviks declared that their iron rule was intended only for the period of counter-revolution. This was the period of invasions and conspiracy by the capitalist powers, with France the leading aggressor. When this period passed the iron rule not only continued but it became even more ruthless in the following years until it even turned against members of the Bolshevik party. The "blood purge" of Stalin a few weeks ago was directed not against the older Bolsheviks, who have largely been "liquidated" by being exiled or imprisoned, but against younger members of the party. Even the pompous Zinoviev, intimate associate of Lenin for many years and head of the Communist International, narrowly escaped execution. He was sent to prison.

Comrade Hillquit later knew and every Socialist knows that the Bolsheviks have not followed their original program. To say that Socialists will suppress a conspiracy of reaction when in power is a commonplace of Socialist theory, but to add to this an approval of a dictatorship over the whole working class after the danger has passed is something one will not find anywhere in Socialist literature. One will not even find this idea expressed in pre-war Bolshevik literature or programs!

What actually happened later in Russia is in conflict with what Hillquit wrote, not in agreement with it. In fact, in the perspective of recent years one can almost formulate a law of the evolution of party dictatorships in both Germany and Russia for there are striking parallels between both. They begin by resting upon a broad basis of the population and then the basis continually narrows until practically all power is in the hands of one man and a few sycophants, the Nazi dictatorship within less than two years. The Stalin dictatorship was about a decade in reaching this stage. The will of the masses is first paralyzed through terror and then it is the turn of the party members. They become rubber stamps through terror. The officialdom and administrative regime also comes under the same law. The population becomes imprisoned within the national frontiers and its only knowledge of what is happening at home and abroad is obtained through the organs of the dictatorship.

Certain results follow. Culture stagnates into bigotry and whatever the original purposes of the dictatorship may have been, its maintenance becomes an end in itself. To maintain it, the dictatorship must become ever more ruthless. Any differences within the ruling party becomes a crime. As the last tissues of human confidence, solidarity and democracy are destroyed the terror turns against its own children and "bloody purges" take their toll of victims. Trials are held before secret tribunals and the accused are shot in batches. Official life becomes a duel of craft and cunning. Brutal excesses stimulate the lowest passions and intoxicate those who indulge in them. A delirium of fear, suspicion and hate broods over the entire nation while the economic, social, political and cultural life of the masses become fettered to those who hold the iron rod.

We repeat: one may search the writings of Marx, Engels and other Marxists and even the programs and writings of the Bolsheviks themselves before the Russian revolution and he will not find anything like this suggested. Socialists should learn something from contemporary history. To learn, to change and adjust our ideas to changing conditions and events, is the essence of Marxism. Otherwise we might just as well go back to the romantic period of the revolutions of 1848 and urge street fighting because Marx and Engels approved of it. They revised their views in the next few years because they were convinced that street fighting was folly.

burned in effigy on the public streets as Emma Goldman's partner in "instigating" Czolgoz to assassinate McKinley. In his first message to Congress President Theodore Roosevelt wrote of the murderer as "a professed anarchist, inflamed by the teachings of professed anarchists, and probably also by the reckless utterances of those who, on the stump and in the public press, appeal to the dark and evil spirits of malice and greed, envy, and class hatred." Roosevelt is known to have had

Hearst in mind. Shortly before the murder of the President, Hearst's paper, attacking McKinley, had said: "If bad institutions and bad men can be got rid of only by killing, then the killing must be done."

In his younger days Hearst had posed as a man of the people. In 1902 he was elected to Congress, after an acceptance speech in which he attacked the "criminal trusts" and advocated "the principles of government ownership of certain



## Townsend Plan Can't Work, Says Thomas

(Continued from Page Three) upon the ultimate consumer. In a good year, 1929, the total volume of retail sales was only 50 billion dollars. It is now nearer 35 billion dollars.

### Many Taxes

A farmer sells a cow to a packer—2% tax. The packer disposes of the hide to a jobber—2% more. The jobber to the leather manufacturer—2% more. The leather manufacturer probably to a leather wholesaler; possibly direct to a manufacturer—2% or perhaps two times 2% more. The shoe manufacturer disposes of the shoes to a jobber, in some cases directly to a retailer—2% or two times 2% more. But that isn't all. Each party to this complicated transaction at various times makes bank loans to finance him and very often uses checks. I presume that they are to be included in the money transaction on which 2% taxes will be paid. Each party to the transaction will want to be sure that he hasn't made a wrong calculation, so he's likely to add more than 2%. The result is that the price of a pair of shoes is more likely to be doubled than increased by 50%. It all comes on the poor consumer's back. Even so, there is no guarantee whatever that the total tax will equal 24 billion dollars. The probabilities are all in favor of its falling very far short. The probabilities are that the weight of the tax will almost paralyze business. What then? The only thing left is inflation. And inflation of anything like 24 billion dollars a year will have all the evils that wholesale inflation always has brought. Wages will lag behind prices, so that those who do most of the buying can afford to buy even less than they can today. Inflation will reduce the dollar value of those \$200 grants so much that the aged will be lucky if it equals in purchasing power what \$30 equals today—maybe, as in Germany, it will scarcely buy them a meal ticket!

### The Worker Pays

It must clearly be understood that every sales tax falls on the poor. Over 80% of the entire volume of retail purchases in America is made by families, not individuals, with family incomes less than \$5,000 a year—70% less than \$1,000 a year. And that was in good times. What Dr. Townsend proposes is a tax on the poor, and there is a grave danger that the net result of his advocacy of his plan will be to break down resistance to the sales tax without benefiting the aged.

By what administrative machinery will you enforce the spending of \$200 a month by each beneficiary of your plan? Have you ever calculated administrative costs?

If you try your plan and it doesn't succeed, do you have no fear of grave evils—either a monster depression or a monster col-

lapse which will invite the reactionaries, the fascist dictator, or the demagogue to step in on pretext of bringing order out of chaos?

Do you really believe that the capitalist system, motivated as it is by desire for profit, with all the curious checks and balances that it has developed, can accept such a burden on productive labor and on consumers as you propose and still keep going? Must we not have planned production for use based on social ownership really to get the degree of production your plan requires? If you agree with me in this last conclusion, you must agree that there is no easy short cut to the cooperative commonwealth. It must be built, and it must be built by the hard, intelligent, organized effort of workers rather than by an act of humanitarian kindness to the aged.

If Dr. Townsend's plan were an experiment that we might try, as a scientist tries an experiment in a laboratory without danger of tragic consequences, I should say: "Go ahead." It is by no means such a plan. It threatens us with catastrophic collapse. The reaction will not be: "Now let's try Socialism"; it will more probably be some kind of fascist dictatorship. The reactionaries will be the ones who will shout loudest: "I told you so." The public will be led to class all those who seek profound change together and reject them all because of this failure.

As a Socialist I believe intensely in the possibility of the economy of abundance. I do not believe that it can be brought into being by a miracle or by a simple legislative act. It requires the arduous work of building a new system and of developing those ideals and motives on which a new system must depend. It requires recognition of the fact that a planned society compels social ownership. The economy of abundance compels us to end the division of mankind into an owning and necessarily an exploiting class and a great mass of the exploited.

### For a New World

We can do the job. We cannot do it if those who believe that the job is worth doing start off into by-paths, wander into the desert in pursuit of mirages, or pursue this or that illusory remedy. Dr. Townsend's plan is today the outstanding illustration of an attitude of mind which believes that all we have to do is to re-divide the milk from the old family cow, the larger part of which milk goes today to an owning class.

I, like other Socialists, believe that the milk should be re-divided, but I know that the cow herself is getting skinner and skinner, and her milk thinner and thinner. We don't just need merely to re-divide the milk. We need a new cow, or better, a system that cannot be compared to a cow.

Branches in various parts of the country, many comrades have in their homes old and new, in print and out of print books, pamphlets, papers, etc., which may be of invaluable use. Comrades, not even books should be permitted to become inactive! Wrap up that extra copy and those which you long ago memorized and now only gather dust. We have use for them in one of the party's most important activities. Send them to Lalye Lane, educational director, Socialist Party, 19th-21st A. D., 2005 Seventh Ave., New York City. Do it today!

### NEW YORK

Rochester.—The local has arranged for a mass meeting in connection with the Child Labor Amendment. The meeting will be held at Temple Beth El, 117 Gibbs St., at 8 p. m., Feb. 27th. The assistance of the Trades and Labor

## WAVE OF REACTION SWEEPING COUNTRY

(Continued from Page One)

United States. The proposed new section will strike at civilians. Such a statute in peace time could easily be used to punish strikers or their sympathizers who oppose the use of the national guard in industrial conflict. This section is especially dangerous to labor.

### "Subversive Activities"

It is proposed to create a special agency in the Department of Justice to keep track of "subversive" activities. Its work would not stop with investigation, but would inevitably act as a provocative agency. Particularly dangerous is the insistence that the Secretary of Labor be empowered to shorten or terminate the sojourn in this country of any visitor engaging in the promotion or dissemination of propaganda or carrying on political activity. Thus is created an effective bludgeon of deportation.

Such is the plan proposed by an investigating committee which was to have had an objective point of view. Chairman McCormack is reported to have "lashed those temporizing with radicalism." He demanded prompt passing of the bills, saying: "Coddling of this alien un-American outfit must stop." Nation-wide headlines read: "McCormack Would Fine and Imprison 'Red' Agitators."

Congressman Charles Kramer, closely allied with Hearst in California, asked unanimous consent to continue the committee's activities until 1937, but was defeated. His attempt speaks for itself. Congressman Dickstein, also a member, represents a heavily Jewish district in New York City. Under the cloak of anti-Nazi inquiries he has sanctioned vicious attacks on the radical movement.

### A Parade of States

State legislatures are the scenes of heavy red-baiting and "patriotic" speeches. Sedition bills are pending in California, infamous home of reaction; a criminal syndicalism statute has been rushed through the New Mexico house; Georgia finds itself proud parent of another; Washington, of the I.W.W. massacres, and faraway Alaska are considering the outlawing of the Communist Party; Arizona, not to be outdone, is falling in line; capitalism is marching on; the proud southern state of Alabama plans to provide five to twenty years' incarceration for working class organizers, with death in certain cases; Oregon is always with us and Indiana promises to join.

New York has a bill pending that would deny a place on the ballot to any party "which advocates or carries on a program of sedition or of treason against the local, state or national government by radio, speech or press." Only the alertness of the five Socialist legislators in Connecticut killed a similar bill in that state.

It is significant that in each case the entering wedge is an attempt to outlaw advocacy of violence. It has always been that way; the judges of what constitutes violence and "sedition" are the enemies of the workers.

Whence comes all this simultaneous and concerted pressure? From what "invisible government" does this fear of the working class emanate? Is it that a realization is dawning that this is the sixth year of a depression? Has it finally rung home that there will be no recovery?

of Women Voters, Rabbi Bernstein, Rev. Andrew Gillies, and Mrs. Mary T. L. Gamett are included in the list of speakers. Rockland County.—The next business meeting of the local will be held on Thursday evening, Feb. 28, at the home of George Schwalm, Red Hill Road, New City. The local has accepted the \$100 United Socialist Drive quota assigned to it and will go to work forth-

## Behind the Scenes

(Continued from Page One)

in this country, there would be a job for every American, and there would be no more suffering and shivering and hunger in our big cities, and there would be no need of our government granting relief or appropriating \$4,800,000,000 to start public works."

Since even devalued dollars buy, on the average, more than dollars of the former gold content, the verdict appears to sustain the theory, which the government had rather hesitatingly advanced, that unless or until the dollar is depreciated drastically, far below its present purchasing power, no loss would result and no damages could be collected.

The substance of the court's decisions can be stated: 1. That private contracts payable in gold are not binding, inasmuch as those contracts are abrogated by the demands of public policy. 2. That the government is not obliged to redeem gold certificates in gold, inasmuch as to do so not only would require but would "enrich" holders of such paper. 3. That Congress exceeded its constitutional power in denying gold payments to holders of Liberty Bonds, but since these holders can show no loss they have no redress in law.

The effect of these conclusions is to leave the Administration's monetary policy unchanged. Suspension of gold payments and the reduction of the gold content of the dollar are now firmly established as the basis of that policy.

NRA's private linen soon is to be washed again in public. First Clarence Darrow, with his National Recovery Review Board, did some washing; then General Hugh Johnson took up his pen and did his own job; and now the Senate plans to take a hand.

Before agreeing to a request soon to be made by President Roosevelt that the Blue Eagle be given two more years of life, several Senators want to learn what happened in its first two years.

A Senate resolution for an investigation of NRA lists twenty-one charges, revolving around the basic charge that the Recovery Administration "has lost all semblance of a rule of law and has become a rule of men, bent upon oppression of their weaker competitors." Senators representing western states are among those who think that NRA has worked to the disadvantage of small employers and to the advantage of big employers.

An earnest effort is being made now to get the Senate to pass an anti-lynching law. Senators Costigan and Wagner, introducers of the bill, are ably assisted by the chairman of the committee having it in charge, Senator Frederick Van Nuys of Indiana. That Hoosier Senator is well on the road to becoming one of the Senate's leading progressives. He means well and usually does well. He will surely have his committee report favorably the anti-lynching bill. Of course, that does not mean that it will find a easy road to passage. Something always happens to anti-lynching bills. They get mislaid, lost in the shuffle, choked in the legislative jam that usually comes at the end of a session, or talked to death by some "Southern Gentleman" who loves the Negro so much—oh so much!—but wants to "keep him in his place," whatever that means. I know Senator Van Nuys will do all he can, and we wish him good luck, though frankly we do not expect much at this session.

HERE is a real gem from the blatant Blanton, the bellowing Congressman from Abilene, Texas.

"I am reliably informed that if

THIS country's greatest demonstration for collective bargaining is now getting under way in Washington when spokesmen for the United Mine Workers sit down for a series of conferences with the bituminous operators of the Appalachian Field.

The political side of this strictly labor problem comes in on account of these two major factors: 1. The bituminous industry is now working under an NRA code, which both sides agree has been beneficial to them. But the future of NRA is doubtful. Operators are on favor of a two-year extension of the code, and President Roosevelt favors it. But Congress may throw a monkey wrench into the NRA machinery. 2. Powerful among the factors is the zealous advocacy by the United Mine Workers of the "coal control bill" sponsored by Democratic Senator Joseph F. Guffey of Pennsylvania. This bill would write the code into permanent law, declare bituminous coal a public utility, set up a national commission for its regulation, and establish a national bituminous coal reserve. Hearings on the Guffey bill have begun.

## HYSTERIA BILL KILLED IN CONNECTICUT

By Abraham Knepler

HARTFORD, Conn. — The anti-red hysteria wave has invaded Connecticut, but without any appreciable success, to judge from the reception accorded a bill introduced into the General Assembly by Representative Mead (Rep.) at the request of Archibald E. Stevenson. Stevenson, notorious reactionary, is a New York lawyer living in New Canaan, Conn. He was counsel for the Lusk Committee of unsavory memory and is general counsel for the National Civil Federation.

Heckled by the rest of the audience appearing at the hearing on his anti-red bill, and also by members of the Judiciary Committee, Stevenson was the only supporter of the measure, it was revealed, when the Judiciary Committee asked for a rising vote of those in the audience. The rest of the audience, about 50 in number, voted against the bill.

Members of the Socialist and the Communist parties spoke in opposition to the bill, while Stevenson alone spoke in favor of it. Martin F. Plunkett, Socialist state chairman; Louis O. Krah of Meriden, State Senator Albert E. Eccles and State Representative Jack C. Bergen represented the Socialist Party.

The bill would fix a penalty of \$5,000 fine or 10 years' imprisonment for "two or more persons who conspire to overthrow, put down or destroy by force the state or the United States or levy war against them or either of them." It is expected that the Judiciary Committee will report unfavorably on the bill.

Another measure of the same nature which will be given a hearing later on is a bill demanding an oath of loyalty to the country and the Constitution from every school teacher in Connecticut.

A journalist suggests that in this age of machinery some one may invent a machine to think for us. Why, there are many such machines already working in capital-

## Your Dusty Books Are Needed for Building Socialism!

This appeal is addressed to Socialists, trade unionists, and dusty book collectors in general. The Socialist Party branch in Harlem is in dire need of pamphlets, books, papers, and periodicals dealing in general with Socialism, the labor movement, and in particular texts on the Negro, to assist in building a library which will advance the party's development among Negro workers not only in Harlem but throughout this country. Our resources are meager and we are obliged to call upon all interested in the success of this effort for



# LABOR NEWS

## Elevator Strike Called in Bronx; Mayor's Threat Rouses Workers of City

### Building Service Union to Fight for Metropolitan Closed Shop Agreement; Bambrick Backed Up by Membership

WITH events moving rapidly to a climax as The New Leader goes to press, the arrival of this copy at your home or newsstand may coincide with the long threatened and twice narrowly averted general strike of building service employees. In the Bronx, a mass meeting of 600 shop stewards, following a previous vote of the membership, empowered a committee of nine, headed by Louis Cooper, chief of the Bronx local of the Building Service Employees' International Union, to call strikes against all owners who had not complied with the union's demands.

In the garment, fur and millinery district in Manhattan, the deadlock which ended the 11-hour conference between union representatives and the building owners' association may mean the end of the road for advocates of peaceful settlement. At a meeting of members of Local 32-B attended by about 5,000 union members, James Bambrick, president of the union, was given an overwhelming vote of confidence, but not before he announced that owners would get 24 hours to accede to the demands of the workers. Considerable dissatisfaction, also, prevailed because of the settlement forced Monday by Mayor LaGuardia, who compelled the union to call off its strike plans at that time by threatening to have the city's policemen and firemen run the elevators if the strike continued.

A meeting of Manhattan shop stewards will take place Saturday afternoon at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street, to discuss the situation in the garment district.

In Brooklyn, a conference will be held Monday between union representatives and the owners at the offices of the Brooklyn Realty Committee on Labor Relations. The executive committee was empowered Wednesday night by the 500 shop stewards of the Brooklyn local to proceed as it sees fit.

Cheers greeted Bambrick's announcement at the Star Casino meeting that the union would fight for a closed shop agreement throughout the city. "We'll organize now so strongly that by September 1 the Real Estate Board

will find that they'll have to do what we want," he declared.

The union, which includes ele-

(Continued on Page Ten)

### TELLS SHARECROPPERS' FLIGHT OVER RADIO

CINCINNATI.—In a broadcast Thursday over the Columbia network originating at station WKRC here, Norman Thomas, Socialist national leader, was scheduled to give a first-hand picture of his experiences and observations in the sharecroppers' region of the south, where tenant farmers' union organizers have been kidnapped and beaten. The speech was from 4:30 to 4:45.

## Steady Trend of NRA to Fascist Policies Flayed by Cigar Union President

### Denunciation, Startling House Committee, Another Sign of Labor's Rebellion; Sees "Night Rider" Heading NRA

By Special Correspondent  
WASHINGTON.—Industry's grip on the National Recovery Administration means a steady

trend toward fascist policies, if not outright fascism, with increasing danger to labor, spokesmen of the organized workers told the House Labor Committee this week.

Warning of "increasing doses of fascism" was sounded by I. M. Ornburn, president of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America and secretary of the Union Label Trades Department, American Federation of Labor. Ornburn, former member of the U. S. Tariff Commission, has been known as a conservative labor leader.

As a remedy for the fascist trend of NRA, Ornburn, Francis J. Gorman and other labor officials strongly urged adequate labor representation on all NRA boards, agencies and code authorities. Only this, they declared, would establish a measure of democracy in the recovery program and bar further employer domination and autocracy.

#### Labor Uneasy

Blistering criticism of NRA policies and management featured the hearings, with Ornburn startling the committee and audience with his outspoken denunciation of NRA fascist tendencies. Testimony of the labor witness again emphasized the growing uneasiness of the labor movement at NRA policies—an uneasiness which has cropped up repeatedly in recent weeks and has already been reported in these columns.

Ornburn said labor can expect no help from the Recovery Administration because of the "presence on the inner councils of the NRA" of too many representatives of industry.

"The trend," he declared, "is alarmingly similar to the early stages of fascism in Europe where labor was first baited with promises, such as the NRA, and then suppressed."

Ornburn vigorously attacked the tobacco code, pointing out that the code provides for a 40-hour week with seasonal exceptions permitting 45 hours.

#### Insult to Labor

He told the committee that Divi-

(Continued on Page Eight)

### MAKE HIM MAN'S SERVANT INSTEAD!



The same machines that shovel men into the relief lines could guarantee a comfortable living to every family in the United States—if we could make them work for us.

### RALLY OF SOCIALIST AUTO WORKERS CALLED

DETROIT.—All members of the Socialist Party who work in the automobile industry are urgently requested to come to a meeting at 225 Forrest Avenue East Sunday afternoon, March 3, at 2 p.m. John Panzer heads a committee which is attempting to mobilize the members of the party who work in the industry. Members of the M.E.S.A. and of the A.F.o.L. and those who do not belong to any union are also urged to attend.

This movement has the endorsement of the Wayne County Convention and the Labor Com-

### MEETINGS OF SOCIALIST TRADE UNION LEAGUES

TWO very well attended and fruitful conferences of Socialist trade unionists were held last Saturday, February 16. Members of Local 17, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, met and planned for immediate activities. They will meet again on March 2.

The Socialist Painters' League held the first of a number of open forums. The problems of the union were aired and the need for more Socialist membership and influence among painters was stressed. Comrades Ginsberg, Gaff and Claessens led the discussion. Future meetings will be announced shortly.

#### Watch This List Weekly!

Saturday, February 23—2 p.m.—Shoe cutters in room 408, People's House, 7 East 15th Street.

2 p.m.—Meeting of all Socialist Party members of Local 22 at 7 East 15th Street.

Saturday, March 2—12:30 p.m.—Cutters Local 10, I.L.G.W.U., Socialist Educational League at Hotel Delano, 108 West 43rd Street. Lecture, Mark Starr on "Education—Course or Cure."

2 p.m.—Socialist Party members of Local 17, I.L.G.W.U., in room 408, People's House, 7 East 15th Street.

4 p.m.—Socialist Party members of Furriers' Union in room 408, People's House, 7 East 15th Street.

### "WE GOT WHAT WE COULD TAKE—NOTHING ELSE," SAYS GORMAN

(Special to The New Leader)  
WASHINGTON.—Labor will never have full faith in the NRA until workers are given equal representation on all code authorities, boards, committees, and commissions having to do with its administration, said Francis J. Gorman, first vice-president of the United Textile Workers before the House Labor Committee Wednesday.

(See adjoining columns for other testimony.)

"We have got what we have been able to take and nothing more," Gorman declared. "We were supposed to have been given the right to organize, but we have that right only where we are able to compel its observance. The great strike of last September was stopped by the union because we believed we had a government guarantee of certain things which meant victory to us. Decrees issued by governmental agencies since the strike was ended have been so flagrantly disregarded by so many employers that the spectacle is scandalous and astounding."

"Today a good many of us question whether we did the right thing in urging the membership to stop the strike as the President asked us to do. We had the industry paralyzed and we went back to work because we had faith in the government. Unless conditions are changed, unless labor sits at the table and helps to make decisions thereafter, if we are driven again to strike there will be no calling back the workers until labor dictates the terms of peace."



## Labor's Undercover Battle on Administration Continues

By Special Correspondent

WASHINGTON.—Having lost its fight in the Senate Appropriations Committee for inclusion of a prevailing rate of wages clause in the Administration work relief bill, the American Federation of Labor has carried the fight to the Senate membership. The campaign began with a letter to each Senator urging his support of the McCarran amendment providing for payment of the prevailing rate of wages.

Meanwhile, the undercover battle between labor and the Administration goes on, with a lull this week. Each side rests on its arms and watches the moves of the other. Pleasant words by both sides have failed to heal the breach, which seems almost certain to widen, though there may not be any important developments in the immediate future. Absence of President Green of the Federation from the city is contributing to the lull.

### Strike Hinted At

In a blast before leaving for a week's speaking trip in the automobile manufacturing centers, President Green hit out at the report of the Automobile Labor Board on the recent elections in automobile plants and strongly hinted that if necessary a strike would be called to force removal of the board which has been repeatedly denounced by the A.F.O.L. and the auto workers' union. Such a strike would place labor squarely in opposition to the Administration, as President Roosevelt has emphatically announced his support of the board.

"Evidently the report is designed to allay the opposition of automobile workers generally to the work of the board and the board itself," Green said. "The Automobile Board lost the confidence of the automobile workers. This lost confidence can not be regained through the submission of figures regarding the number of cases handled and an analysis of the disposition made of such cases. In giving consideration to this report the automobile workers will be reminded that in no single instance has the board ever actually ordered any worker who had been discharged or discriminated against, reemployed or rehired."

### Won't Deal With Board

"The automobile workers, members of Federal labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, will have nothing to do with the Automobile Labor Board. They insist that it shall pass out of the picture and that an independent National Labor Relations Board under Resolution No. 44 be created."

"The automobile workers," said Green in ending, "should not be compelled to go on strike to force removal of the Automobile Labor Board as it is now constituted."

Green again emphasized labor's stand on the Automobile Labor Board in the first speech of his speaking tour, at Cleveland. The board, he declared, "has got to go." He flayed company unionism and warned of a strike.

"We plan to attack and wage unrelenting war on the company union," the labor head said. "It is the company's pet plaything. We hold it unfair for either industry or government to force us to strike to get rid of it—but get rid of it we will!"

The labor appeal to Senators on behalf of the McCarran amendment to the work relief bill was signed by President Green. It leaves no doubt as to where labor stands on a compromise amendment adopted in the face of determined A.F.O.L. opposition. The amendment, offered by Senator Russell of Georgia, provides that if the wages paid by the government endanger the prevailing

rates on similar construction, the Federal rate shall be changed.

### Tear Down Standards

"This amendment," Green told the Senators, "if adopted, will in no way protect labor in its efforts to protect wage standards set in different communities as a result of years of struggle and effort on the part of organized labor."

"We are of the opinion that a relief wage established on a lower basis than the prevailing rate of pay will tear down our wage standards and, either directly or indirectly, cause reduction in the wages of American working people."

"For this reason I appeal to you in behalf of labor to vote against the Russell amendment and to support the amendment offered by Senator McCarran providing for the recognition, observance and protection of prevailing rates of pay in each community."

"Labor regards this matter as very vital and of tremendous importance."

Senators are further told that the Russell amendment is totally unacceptable to labor and that labor cannot permit a temporary relief measure to be used as an instrumentality through which standards of living shall be lowered.

### NRA Fascist

### Trend Flayed by Labor Leader

(Continued from Page Seven)

sional Administrator Armin W. Riley of the NRA had recommended a 36-hour week under the code, but that this provision was rejected by the National Industrial Recovery Board on recommendations of the tobacco industry's code committee. The Recovery Board is headed by S. Clay William, tobacco magnate, opposed by labor because of his low-wage and anti-union policies, shown while president of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.

Ornburn said that Riley had told the Recovery Board that the industry was well able to accept the 36-hour week. Denouncing retention of Williams as NRA head, Ornburn declared:

"The continued stewardship of the NRA in the hands of a former president of one of the most unconscionable, callous and arrogant industrial units in this country seems almost to be a studied and certainly is a standing insult to labor."

"Labor's only hope lies in Congress to which we must go for 30-hour week legislation. The recent promulgation of a cigarette code by the President reinforces this conclusion."

### Fascist Dose Ahead

"With NRA now headed by one of industry's chief night riders, labor can expect increasing doses of fascism from its decisions and activities," the union head declared.

"The White House accepted the industry's proposal although the provisions permit the payment of as low as \$10 per week and exclude an estimated 20,000 workers completely," he said earlier.

"The White House accepted the code even though two of four voting members of the NIRE voted against it and even though Division Administrator Armin Riley strongly condemned it."

"The White House also accepted it over the protest of two independent manufacturers who condemned it but offered to take the Riley code which was more favorable to labor. The White House ordered a study made by the Division of Research and Planning but if no greater respect is shown the findings of such a study than the President paid to a similar report made on the automobile industry, labor knows beforehand what to expect."

## Flays NRA



I. N. Ornburn  
President, Cigarmakers' Union

## Labor Demands Spokesman on State Milk Control Board

THE New York State Federation of Labor, through its secretary-treasurer, John M. O'Hanlon, declared today that organized labor would seek representation on any new milk control board that might be set up. The existing law allows the Commissioner of Agriculture and Markets to appoint the 15 members of the Milk Control Board. As continued at present, the board includes representatives of the producers, distributors and consumers, but no labor spokesmen.

"In view of the fact that thousands of workers," said the labor leader, "depend upon this industry for a livelihood, we feel they are entitled to a voice on the questions connected with the control of this vital industry."

"Organized labor believes that the Milk Control Board should protect the interests of all the important factors in the industry. It believes in adequate returns to the farmers, living wages and humane working conditions for milk wagon drivers and dairy employees, efficient distribution of milk and cream with reasonable profits to dealers and prices to consumers adjusted accordingly."

### Labor World Aid Farmers

"The labor movement of this state will be glad to cooperate in any sound effort to bring about increased consumption of milk in the interest of public health and as a means of helping the farmers to obtain increased returns on the fluid milk they produce."

"Representation on the Milk Control Board would facilitate cooperation which labor could render the board in enforcing rules which often are violated by 'chiseling dealers'."

O'Hanlon pointed out that the present law makes it mandatory for the Commissioner of Agriculture and Markets to appoint representatives nominated by producers' cooperative associations and milk dealers' associations. It also requires that the president of the New York State Agricultural Society shall be a member. The New York State Federation of La-

## Textile Union Carries Fight Into Feudal Southern Empire

DANVILLE, Va.—The organization campaign of the United Textile Workers of America started full swing at a mass meeting addressed by Vice-President William F. Kelly. A big crowd attended the meeting, notwithstanding the fact that it was picketed and carefully watched by overseers from Dan River and Riverside cotton mills.

Conditions existing in these mills were described in detail—the low wages and deplorable living conditions of the workers, and at the same time it was brought out that the Dan River in 1934 had a net profit of \$779,546. In fact, the financial statement of the Dan River mill to its stockholders, in view of the low wages and deplorable living conditions of its workers, is one of the marvels in chiseling, swindling and cheating industrial workers in the South.

Profits of the mill last year were

an increase over the previous year. The total income last year from sales and house rents was \$18,546,415.24. Its wage outlays are not made public, but the profit from the sales and house rents was

During and after the meeting it developed that the management of the two mills is bent on exerting every pressure and resource to prevent the industrial workers from unionizing. Steps are already being taken, it was declared, to discharge any workers who is found to be a member of the union.

It is only a few years ago that Danville was the scene of one of the historic lost strikes in American industry, with its workers standing solidly against a united and solidified mill management and business community to put an end to the ruthless exploitation, and shameful impositions upon them.

Danville is a southern town in the grip of one or two mill owners who dominate and control its business and economic destinies. It is a typical southern "one-man town," with that one man cracking the whip over its citizens, who jump at the crack and do not dare in any instance to either defy him or refuse to move along at his bidding. It is one of the typical instances in the South of the industrial feudalism that grips southern industrial enterprises and throttles and strangles enterprise, initiative and progress in the southern states.

## SHIPBUILDERS' UNION ATTACKS NAT'L BOARD

By Philip H. Von Gelder

CAMDEN, N. J.—The Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America is a newly organized independent union with seven locals in the major shipbuilding yards of the country, most of which have been organized since the union's successful strike against the New York Shipbuilding Corporation in Camden last May. Four days after the union started to organize the Fore River Shipyard in Quincy, Mass., on June 2, the three most active agents of the union were discharged. Ever since the union has been trying to get the various labor boards and industrial relations committees to reinstate these men. Now, eight months later, the national board rules that the men were not discriminated against despite all the evidence to the contrary.

At the beginning of last September the union circulated a petition for an election. Before it had time to collect more than a few hundred signatures, the company union, with the active assistance of the management and the foremen, took up a petition inside the yard opposing the election. Now, five months later, the National Labor Relations Board rules against the election, ostensibly on the basis of the petition obtained by coercion.

By such a decision the board tacitly approves Bethlehem's notorious employee's representation plan and endorses the feudal tyranny practiced by Bethlehem throughout its steel and shipbuilding plants. No more flagrant betrayal of labor than this has occurred under the NRA. The board's decision in the case of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America against the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation indicates beyond all question that it has yielded to the pressure of big business.



## Mayors for Work Plan, Not Doles

CHICAGO.—The United States Conference of Mayors announced here that it will oppose "to the limit" efforts being made in Congress to revive unemployment relief doles.

"We insist upon the full opportunities being taken of the Federal work program," Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee and president of the mayor's conference, said.

Thomas F. Murphy, secretary-treasurer of the union, stated that all the large companies in the country are organized except Sheffield Farms and the Dellwood Dairy, both of which maintain company unions. The union is conducting a vigorous campaign to organize the men and to abolish the company union in this industry.



# Militant Trade Union Action is Workers' Task, Says Dubinsky

As a man who has spent many years of his life in cutting garments with a knife in hand, I should find this task of officiating as chairman over the vivisection of Section 7-A rather easy.

Yet I confess that I am not quite ready to help drive in a final nail into the coffin of this famous section, just as I am not prepared to sing songs of praise for it. Because, if the truth is to be told, the NRA, in its entirety, and Section 7-A, in particular, while it affects, generally, labor and industry in the United States, has met with a different reaction in individual industries and among individual groups of workers.

The reason for this is not far to find: In the United States, we have not one uniform labor movement, centrally directed and moving with the same pace and tempo. We have varied labor organizations in different stages of development, with different backgrounds and histories. It stands to reason, therefore, that the NRA could not, under such circumstances, affect the labor movement as a whole with the same uniformity.

## Fighting Unions Were Aided

True, all organized labor in the United States found itself, in the spring of 1933, in an exhausted, almost tragic, situation. True, the ranks of all unions were at that time badly depleted, and many of them were financially insolvent and functioning only on the defensive. But, as we look back on these past two years and observe the effect of recovery legislation in our unions, we must inevitably reach the conclusion that NRA, in itself, was not and could not have been a patent medicine for such unions as lacked red blood or fighting power in their veins to take up the recovery program or Section 7-A as a fighting program with the help of which they could strengthen their position in industry, conquer new territory and bring thousands of new recruits into their organization.

Looking, therefore, at both the NRA and Section 7-A from this viewpoint, I think it provides us with a fairly good criterion as to what we may expect from the new edition of the NRA which is likely to pass Congress with some important or unimportant modifications. I sincerely believe that it is much less vital for us of the labor movement to vivisection or condemn or sing the praise of the NRA than to apply ourselves to the more real and important tasks of our own movement, the tasks of militant trade union action.

Let me turn to some of the more concrete problems facing the American workers today.

## Union Forced Week Cut

I fully and without reservation subscribe to the principle that only the shorter work-week can solve the distressing problem of unemployment and supply jobs to the idle millions. In our own industry, we had adopted the policy long before the present depression set in, that the only cure for unemployment is the shorter work-week. Back in 1923 we adopted the 40-hour week in order to absorb the growing number of unemployed.

The reduction of work hours in most of our industries in 1933 to 35 hours per week also came not as a gift from the New Deal, but chiefly because we compelled our employing interests to concede the shorter work-week so as to give jobs to thousands of workers who

until then could not obtain any work in the shops. Despite the 35-hour week we still have unemployment and we hope that through a further shortening of the work-week our industry will get the opportunity to absorb this new reserve army of workers.

And it is quite evident to me that what holds good for the women's garment trade can be applied with equal force to every other trade and industry. Can we, nevertheless, expect at the present moment that the 30-hour week will be legislated into existence by Congress? There may be different answers to this question. I, however, am inclined to lean to the less optimistic side. It would seem to me that most of the work in connection with shortening the working hours of industry will have to be done by the trade unions themselves, adjusting themselves to their individual situations in the various industries.

And this applies with no less force, I believe, to the other no less important questions with regard to the general problem of recovery; the question of earnings, of minimum wages and of classified wage scales in particular. Those who have attended the recent hearings on employment policy before the National Industrial Recovery Board in Washington could not have failed to observe how those who spoke for the employers and for industry were uniformly in opposition to classified wage scales. All of them were attacking it as an impossible and un-American wage system. They were all strong for the minimum—I suppose because most of them in their hearts knew that in the more poorly organized industries these minimums eventually become the maximums and make it almost impossible for the workers to rise up from the lower levels.

## Bosses Are Class-Conscious

These spokesmen for the employers were class-conscious enough; they knew what they wanted, and it should be the immediate objective of organized labor to fight and to force this issue of classified wages for various crafts and degrees of skill in every industry. Such classified wage scales are needed for the protection of both the minority of the unskilled and the majority of the skilled workers in every trade.

Labor must also insist on the right in assisting in the making or amending of codes. The organized workers have no confidence in such codes as were framed or put through by the employers alone,

## LAST CALL FOR UNEMPLOYED CONGRESS

Last call for delegates to the National Unemployed Congress in Washington, March 2 to 4, has been issued by the Provisional Committee.

"If you have not already mailed your delegate's fees and credentials, do so at once," urges Paul A. Rasmussen, secretary of the committee.

"Send them to the secretary at 20 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Ill. After February 25, send all mail to him in care of Masonic Auditorium, National Convention of the Unemployed, 10th and U Streets, Washington, D. C.

"All together now, drive hard for those extra dollars that will send your representatives to this, the most significant convention in the history of the American jobless. On to Washington for a real new deal!"

but labor does have confidence in the few codes that were written with the participation of their own representatives. As a matter of fact, only those codes where collective bargaining was a real factor provide shorter hours, classified wages and an opportunity for better enforcement.

We in the women's garment trade have found it to be invariably true that in such codes where we had participation in code authorities, even though they provide comparatively higher classified wage scales and the 35-hour work-week, the labor provisions are substantially enforced. On the other hand, in such codes where we were deprived of active code participation and where only one basic minimum of \$13 per week and longer work hours exist, there is hardly any enforcement at all.

## Labor Must Be Represented

I am, therefore, firmly convinced that the first essential of compliance with code regulations is that labor be represented on every code authority with full power. This is, in my judgment, the key to the entire question of code compliance and observance.

And finally let me say briefly as follows about Section 7-A: I believe that this section has been largely a failure not because it was not clear to explicit enough, but because the government failed to prosecute cases of its violation. That is why labor has no confidence in it. Labor feels that Section 7-A is a promise that has not been fulfilled. Employers violate the provisions of Section 7-A, secure in the knowledge that nothing will happen to them.

On the other hand it can be fair-

(Continued on Page Ten)

# "Movie Depression Over"; Actor Goes on Hunger Strike for Job

By Ben Belsky

HOLLYWOOD, Cal.—When Adolph Zukor, president of Paramount pictures, arrived here the other day he announced that the depression was over in the motion picture industry. That same day the Central Casting Bureau revealed in its annual report that of the 17,000 men and women who attempt to earn a livelihood as "extras," only 12 made a "living wage" during 1934.

Only six men extras received as much as \$2,500 for the year and only one woman that amount. Five women extras, however, received a little more than \$2,000.

The extras receiving the most money for his year's work before the camera is Oliver Cross who received \$2,846.25, an average of \$54.74 per week. Gale Ronn heads the feminine list, being paid \$2,641.25, an average weekly pay of \$50.80.

All of the dozen "high earners" are listed as "Class A Dress People" which means the extra has an extensive wardrobe that in many cases represents an outlay of \$1,000 or more. How a film extra can manage on such an unbalanced budget is a mystery even to an executive of the Casting Bureau when your correspondent confronted him with these figures.

## "Nothing We Can Do"

"I have profound sympathy for these extra actors," said the executive, "but there is nothing we can do. The ranks are overcrowded and we are gradually reducing our list to about 4,000 men, women and children. At that, there are thousands of free-lancers and bit players hanging around studio gates waiting for a chance ducat that will give them a day's or a week's work."

One actor who was denied film work went on a hunger strike in front of a film factory gate. Good looking and nattily dressed, Richard Talbott, 24-year old stock company actor from New York, was in the second day of a hunger strike by which he hopes to obtain motion picture work for the support of himself, wife, baby and aged parents.

## On Hunger Strike

Stationed on the sidewalk opposite the Paramount Studio entrance which the optimistic Adolph Zukor controls, young Talbot picketed with a sign announcing "I am on a hunger strike in an effort to obtain work in the studios in my chosen profession as an actor with four dependents."

He said he had spent yesterday and last night at his post and declared he intended to remain there "until I get work or starve."

Talbott appeared the third morning in front of the studio but was arrested by Sergeants W. T. Redican and R. P. Neepor on the complaint of an apartment house owner. The striker leaned against his building while wearing the sign which gave the police the technical excuse for taking him to the police station. The local ordinance prohibits the posting of signs on private property without the owner's consent, on which flimsy pretext the authorities removed the unemployed actor.

## Gangsters Try to Control Chicago Pocketbook Union

By Joseph M. Jacobs

CHICAGO.—The Pocketbook Workers' Union here, long an outstanding and progressive union in the Chicago labor movement, is now being made the victim of one of the sorest cancers in the labor movement—gangsters.

Efforts have been made by three gangsters to muscle in on the Chicago local and to have themselves placed upon the union payroll. After they were definitely turned down by Samuel Laderman, general manager of the union, he was threatened with physical violence. The next step taken by the hoodlums was to hire an attorney who drew up petitions on the basis of which they were going to organize a new union and obtain a charter.

The Chicago anti-union activities of the State's Attorney are so notorious that these gangsters in their petition asked for the cooperation of the State's Attorney in breaking up the Chicago local. Being unable to get any of the officials in the union to circulate this petition amongst the workers, they have now commenced a new course of terrorism by sending pictures of Tom Malloy, the recently assassinated movie union head, to Laderman and to his family.

At a huge mass meeting held by the union, at which there was an overwhelming turnout, the entire situation was explained to the membership. The loyalty and solidarity of the workers was amply demonstrated when they arose as one man and unanimously adopted an assessment on themselves for the purpose of raising a defense fund to battle against the forces of the underworld who are attempting to gain entrance to the union headquarters. All forces in the union were completely united in a fine display of cooperation for the cause of progressive unionism.

The Chicago Federation of Labor has pledged its support to Comrade Laderman, as has the Federation of Jewish Trade Unions. The matter has also been reported to the State's Attorney's Office of Cook County. The pressure of the entire labor movement in the Chicago area is forcing the State's Attorney to place the resources of his office at the disposal of the union to aid it in its campaign against hoodlums and gangsters.

## Butcher Workers' Branch Celebrates Feb. 22

The Butcher Workers' Branch of the Socialist Party will celebrate the installation of its branch Friday night, February 22, with a dinner at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street. At this dinner, Louis Waldman, Henry Fruchter, Julius Gerber and Nathan Chanan will address the Butcher Workers' Branch and welcome it into party ranks.

## CROWDS WAIT IN VAIN FOR "A LIFT"



They stood helpless in front of many of New York's skyscrapers when building service employees' union staged dress rehearsal for what may yet be big general strike

THE above article is a transcript of a speech made by President Dubinsky as chairman of a symposium on "Vivisection of Section 7-A," arranged by the Educational Department of the ILWU.



## Youth Organizations Demand Child Labor Law Ratification

THE failure of the State Legislature to act on the proposed Child Labor Amendment has prompted the youth of the state to take matters into its own hands. The New York State Youth Committee Against Child Labor, representing over half a million young people enrolled in the youth organizations of the state, last weekend sent representatives to visit the members of the Assembly Judiciary Committee and urge them to report out the resolution. Youth bodies of the Young Women's Christian Association, Young Men's Hebrew Association, Young Women's Hebrew Association, New York State Young Peoples' Baptist Convention, Intersettlement Senior Conference of the United Neighborhood Houses, New York Area Epworth League, Young Judea, Greater New York Federation of Churches, Young Circle League, Student L.I.D., and the Young Peoples' Socialist League are represented.

The youth movement against child labor seeks not only ratification of the amendment, but also financial and educational provision for youth freed from labor. One million signatures to a petition embodying these two aims are being obtained. The youth committee is also sponsoring local youth conferences on child labor in preparation for a state conference to be held in April.

The Labor Division of the Youth Committee, composed of the labor and Socialist youth groups, is enlisting the support of the trade unions. R. G. Oxford of the Y. P. S. L., chairman of the Labor Division, requests that all New Leader readers of the ages of 15-29 come and get petition blanks. In response to a letter from Murray Plavner, chairman of the Youth Committee, to the Governor and to the two chairmen of the Judiciary Committee of the Legislature, Lehman answered that in the past he had favored ratification of the amendment. He said nothing, however, about what he is doing now to make the Democratic Legislature act on the amendment.

There will be an important meeting of the E. D. S. L. this Saturday, Feb. 23rd, at 4 P. M., in Floral Park, Hudson Boulevard and 26th Street, Union City, N. J. Steps will be taken to strengthen the organization. Party affiliates and trade unions are asked to send delegates if interested to enter teams in League competition. I.L.G.W.U. teams are heartily welcomed.

A game played last week against Brooklyn I was won by N. Y., 3:1. Field conditions were bad, but the play was vigorous.

On Sunday, Feb. 24th, the following games will be played: Bronx I vs. Union City, I at 1 P. M., at 161st St. and Jerome Ave. Queens II vs. New York II, at 1 P. M., Victory Field, Brooklyn. Queens I vs. New York I, at 2:30 P. M., Victory Field, B'klyn. Karlstadt I vs. Bergen County I, at 2:30 P. M., at Carlstadt, N. J. Scotch II vs. Bergen County II, at 1 P. M., at Jersey City.

Union City II vs. Y. Circle League, at 1 P. M., Floral Park, Union City.

The League wishes to emphasize the value of the organization to workers. Join its sections in either Brooklyn, Manhattan or Queens.—Frei Heil!

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## MILITANT UNION ACTION NEEDED, SAYS DUBINSKY

(Continued from Page Nine)

ly stated that even where the government failed to enforce Section 7-A, wherever there existed a strong and a fighting union in an industry, it succeeded in putting its own teeth into Section 7-A and in making the employers respect their power.

It is from such a viewpoint that I am looking at the prospective legislative changes which are now being proposed in congress for the strengthening of Section 7-A. I am not certain whether enough strength will be mustered in the House and the Senate to pass the Wagner bill, which would strike at

## Rebel Arts Camera Group

THE Rebel Arts Camera Group is resuming operations at its new headquarters, 44 East 21st St. Classes for beginners and advanced photographers are held on Saturdays at 2:30. Lecturers from colleges and newspapers in New York will be available several times a month if the attendance warrants it. Advanced members will be allowed the use of the dark room any day in the week.

A good opportunity for Socialists to learn the art of taking pictures and developing them is offered. It is likewise an excellent chance to interest outsiders in the Socialist movement. Beginners do not necessarily have to own cameras.

Contributions of equipment or funds will be greatly appreciated, inasmuch as the group starts with a minimum of apparatus. It will supply photographs of union and Socialist activities in the New York area to all affiliated publications in America and Europe.

## Workers' Soccer Games Listed

## Party Endorses Lundeen Bill Despite "Serious Weaknesses"

CHICAGO.—The Socialist Party has endorsed the Lundeen bill (H.R. 2827) for unemployment insurance as the best of its kind now before Congress. Announcement of the party's support was made February 11 by Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, chairman of the Socialist organization committee which acted on behalf of the national executive committee.

In response to an invitation from the House of Representatives Committee on Labor to present the Socialist view on unemployment insurance, Dr. S. M. Neistadt, Frank N. Trager and Broadus Mitchell, all of Baltimore, Md., were appointed to represent the party in the Congressional hearing of February 15.

Dr. Neistadt is the Maryland state secretary, Trager is Baltimore labor secretary and a leader of the local unemployed league, and Mitchell is professor of economics at Johns Hopkins University and recently Socialist candidate for governor. They were also delegated to oppose the Wagner-Lewis bill, which the Socialist Party has condemned as grossly inadequate.

While endorsing the Lundeen bill the Socialist Party also calls attention to a serious weakness in it. The present bill gives almost unlimited bureaucratic power to the Secretary of Labor in the administration of the insurance fund. This power, the Socialists point out, would almost certainly be used to extend a Tammany political machine throughout the country.

The Socialists demand an administrative body in which representatives of unions and the unemployed would have a majority.

Superior to all unemployment

company unionism. Yet, in the light of past experience, I am still inclined to place the main emphasis on our own ability, the ability of organized labor, to enforce Section 7-A and all other vital rights which are at stake at the present critical moment.

The employers somehow always manage to find a loophole in a law, no matter how clear and explicit. They know how to drag out cases for months and months. But they are far more quickly impressed by a show of determination and force on the part of their organized workers.

## UNION DIRECTORY

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

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

CLOAK, DRESS, DRIVERS' & HELPERS' UNION, Local 192, I.L.G.W.U., Affiliated with A. F. of L. 131 West 33rd St., Clipping 4-3681.—Saul Metz, Manager.

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

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

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

JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAISTMAKERS UNION.—Offices: 232 West 46th St., N.Y.C. Tel. LONGmeers 5-1100. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening; Joint Board meets every Wednesday evening in the Council Room at 218 W. 40th St. Julius Hochman, Gen. Mar.; Phillip Kapp, Sec'y/Treas.

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

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

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

WAITERS' and WAITRESSES' UNION, Local No. 1, A. F. of L. and U. I. T., 290-7th Ave. W. Lehman, Sec'y; Tel.: LACKawanna 5-6483.

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

insurance bills before Congress, according to the Socialist Party, however, is the Hoopes bill introduced in the Pennsylvania legislature on January 4. Recognizing frankly that insurance on actuarial principles is impossible, the proposal of Darlington Hoopes, Socialist member of the legislature in Pennsylvania, provides for indemnity as long as a worker is unemployed. The indemnity would range from \$12 to \$25 a week.

## PARTY LABOR COMMITTEE IN PHILADELPHIA

PHILADELPHIA.—In line with the general industrial activities of the Socialist Party here a labor committee has been created, with David Braginsky, member of the newsmen's union, secretary of the United Hebrew Trades, and one time organizer for the Upholsterers' Union, as chairman. Sarah Lockstein of the Bookkeepers' Union was elected secretary of the committee.

The committee, though in existence only a few weeks, is giving extensive aid in the organization campaign of the building service employees. Mass meetings at the Labor Educational Centre have been addressed by the local organizer, Abe Belsky. Yipsel and party members are canvassing the commercial and residential buildings and every effort is being made to organize the tens of thousands of janitors, porters, window, office and theatre cleaners, firemen, ushers, switchboard operators, elevator operators, starters, watch men, maintenance men, special officers and doormen.

A sub-committee has been appointed to approach organized labor in the party's legislative drive to push the 30-hour week and the outlawry of company unions bills sponsored by the two Socialists in the lower house of the state legislature, Darlington Hoopes and Lilith Wilson.

On February 14 Lewis Hines, the A.F.O.F.L. representative in Philadelphia, will speak before the party membership on "The Relationship of the A.F.O.F.L. and the Socialist Party." This is one of a series of talks to be delivered by trade unionists.

## ELEVATOR MEN STRIKE IN BRONX

(Continued from Page Seven)

vator men, starters, maintenance men, cleaners, attendants, scrub women, etc., has been fighting against almost slave conditions forced upon men and women who are perhaps the most exploited serfs in the city. The action of the Mayor—who has pretended to be sympathetic to labor in the hope of winning labor support for re-election or for his projected candidacy for governor—in cracking down on the union instead of on the vicious realty interest of New York, has aroused the ire of workers' organizations against him.

"Why, this is worse than any unkindness ever issued by an out-and-out labor-hating Republican mayor or Democratic Tammany tool!" one prominent labor leader declared.

## Workmen's Circle Branch Organized by Dressmakers

By N. M. Minkoff

THE Progressive Dressmakers Branch No. 122 of the Workmen's Circle, organized several months ago, will meet Saturday, March 2, at 11 a.m. at 232 West 40th Street (Room 408), headquarters of the union. Among its charter members are most of the leaders of the union. Members of the Dressmakers' Union are familiar with the principles and traditions of the Workmen's Circle, known as the "red cross" of the labor movement, union members point out. Scarcely an industrial battle in which dressmakers were engaged but received full moral and financial support from this fraternal order. The resolution adopted at the last International convention, which strongly endorsed the Workmen's Circle, prompted several persons identified with the present administration of the Dressmakers Union to organize a Workmen's Circle Branch to be solely composed of members of the union.

In an effort to keep the quarterly bills at a low figure and make it possible for the dressmakers to join, all work of administration is done gratis. Those devoting time and energy to the work of the union are working with the same enthusiasm and zeal for the Workmen's Circle.

All progressive dressmakers are invited to attend meetings which take place every first and third Saturday morning.

## Installation of Dress Patternmakers Held

THE official installation of the Dress Patternmakers Union as Local 31 of the I.L.G.W.U. was held in the Southeast Ballroom of the Hotel Pennsylvania Thursday.

Installation ceremonies were conducted by David Dubinsky, president of the International. An invitation was extended to all members of the general executive board of the I.L.G.W.U. Jacob Panken, Matthew M. Levy and Jack Altman were also invited.

The newly elected officers and members of the executive board of the local were formally installed. Dress patternmakers of New York are notified that they may join the union at the still prevailing low initiation fee.

## Puppets to Picket for NBC

Police intervened when the Washington Heights Branch of the Socialist Party held a street meeting in front of an A & P store at 172nd Street and Broadway last Saturday night in support of the striking workers of the National Biscuit Company. Although no arrests were made the attitude of the cops demonstrated that they were out to quell any attempts of organized sympathy with striking workers. However, a hurry call to the Wadsworth Avenue station established the right of the party to hold the meeting despite the arbitrary attitude of the policemen. The meeting was continued before a big sympathetic audience.

On Thursday afternoon a new play on the NBC strike by the Rebel Arts Puppets was scheduled for the same corner.

## Workers May Picket in California, Says Court

SACRAMENTO.—Employees in California have the right to strike, carry on a "boycott" and to picket, according to the state supreme court. The decision upheld the District Court of Appeals in the famous Rainbow Cafe case, in which an injunction was modified.

The right of selling labor newspapers telling about the strike, prohibited in the original injunction on the ground that the papers were not truly "labor newspapers," but specially aimed at the picketed establishment, was definitely upheld and the injunction was ordered further modified in that respect.



## Public Enemy No. One

(Continued from Page Five)

public utilities. . . A natural beginning will be the government ownership of railroads and telegraphs. These are legitimate objects of government ownership today. . . The intolerable situation has made it advisable for the government to take possession of these coal beds [the anthracite mines] and manage them for the people's benefit."

That election to Congress was a reward for his "patriotic" services in helping bring about the Spanish-American war. Whatever the political and economic consequences were, there is no doubt that the war put Publisher Hearst very much on the map. "Patriotism" was good business for him then, as it was nineteen years later when a border of American flags on the pages of his newspapers "helped sell papers."

In 1904 he dared aspire to the Presidency, and ran for the Democratic nomination against Alton B. Parker. With the expenditure of unlimited sums he actually won nearly one-third of the delegates and his name was placed in nomination by the eloquent Delphin F. Delmas, soon to be attorney for Harry K. Thaw, who delivered a nominating speech so radical that it—and his nominee—received the tag Socialist.

A year later, while still holding his Tammany seat in Congress, he announced his candidacy for Mayor in a Municipal Ownership and anti-Tammany ticket. Hearst actually spent millions on his campaign.

he made speeches that sounded as if they had been written by a Socialist (and maybe they were; for Arthur Brisbane is the son of an old Socialist and was suspected himself of secretly harboring Socialist ideas). The red flag was fastened to Hearst, figuratively and literally; for one morning red flags were found hanging from Hearst banners, a contribution by his political enemies. Read all the venom and vile vilification by Hearst and the late Richard Washburn Child and all the rest of his hired men against Socialism and radicalism, and you will get something of a hint of the mud and slime flung at Hearst in 1905; figured that was more in his line than "radicalism," and he changed easily and naturally from the receiving to the delivering end!

Mr. Hearst's political life is a prophesy concerning the demagogic agitators springing up all over the land, calling attention to themselves through press and radio as "friends of the people." Today, Hearst is the representation of reaction in America, blowing the bugle of jingoism and beating the big-navy drum throughout the land. At the moment, he is trying to stifle expressions of honest thought. He stands supreme as an illustration that progress has no friends in the demagogues who, like Hearst before them, indulge in popular attacks on the "criminal rich." Only those who openly take their stand with labor and regard it as their sole loyalty are worthy of confidence in the struggle for a better world.

## A Personal Statement

By George H. Goebel

My right to the respect of comrades, and concern over a situation that is causing thousands of party members to send no more money to the National Office, compel me to ask space for this statement.

For several years at least half the membership have been disfranchised in national activities. All speakers and organizers sent out have been of the so-called militant or "revolutionary" group, no matter how experienced or able might be those of the so-called Right or center group.

It was with great surprise and some pleasure therefore that in mid December I received from National Secretary Senior, on behalf of Dan Hoan and the organization committee, a request that I consent to make a three to four month tour, embracing some 20 states, to the coast and back. To accept, meant that I gave up the first opportunity in months that I had had to earn a dollar, and which if I did, might mean it would be months again before an opening appeared.

Only after deliberation and agreement with Comrade Senior as to the nature of my task—and that it was to "pep" up the locals, talk straight Socialism, etc.—did I accept. Comrade Senior, as an additional argument for my serving stated, "there were several states where only a man of your type could clarify issues, and bring harmony."

Originally the tour was to be in December 26; then came postponement and postponement and just a few days ago, announcement that my tour was cancelled, leaving me with a loss of several hundred dollars through giving up the capitalist job within my grasp. Could a "souless corporation" do better?

To add to injury, my standing in the party is discredited by the reason given in the national office Press Service, when it is stated, "The proposed tour by the National Office of Geo. H. Goebel is cancelled because of lack of response."

The answer to that is, that with Comrade Senior's consent I had written secretaries of all the states I was to tour, as to my coming. To date eight state secretaries have replied, ALL welcoming me, and saying they would arrange meetings for the tour. I have assigned them by the N. O. to tour

use me ten days, another wished three weeks instead of five days; Montana desired thirty days instead of the four allotted, etc. In short, there were at least 45 to 60 days actually in sight, and the latter half of the tour with months still to arrange.

The real reason for the cancellation is shown in statements being privately circulated as to my position on the Detroit Declaration and other party matters, and which ethically have nothing to do with my work as National Organizer unless Comrades Thomas and Hoan, having an opposite position, disqualifies thousands for comradeship and service.

I was the first National Organizer in every state and Alaska, touring many of them repeatedly, under EVERY national secretary up to our present incumbent. Never was a complaint made to the National Office as to my having indulged in factional activities. On the contrary, I was the organizer almost invariably chosen by the N. O. for difficult internal party situations in various states as most likely to heal the wounds and bring together the warring groups. I might add with pride: Let any other member or organizer show as many new members, locals organized, subs taken for papers, etc. as myself.

I intend to have no extended controversy over the treatment given me, nor will I be a party to making Comrade Senior the goat—BUT I do call on comrades everywhere to protest against the group best represented by Felix of Philadelphia who, when at the close of the all-day attempt of all groups at Boston to help the N. E. C. bring harmony, thrust his hand at the harmony, thrust his hand at the N.E.C., and told them "you are not here to bring unity or harmony. The only question before you is whether you have guts enough to do what those who elected you at Detroit expect you to do."

If it can't be stopped any other way, comrades, let's have a referendum to the effect that half of all dues received in the national office shall be set aside for straight propaganda and organizing work, this money and those working under it to be absolutely under direction of a committee of two each of the left and right, with an impartial chairman like Maurer.

## CALIFORNIA CONVENTION

SAN FRANCISCO.—The California Socialist convention meets in Bakersfield today and tomorrow, with the membership in the state at a low ebb. Deflections to the right in support of Epic plans, Townsend old age pension program, Utopian societies, and turns to the left because of Communist maneuvers have served to bring the party to its present condition.

The State Executive Committee has adopted an agenda for convention consideration, of which the following are some of the items:

That the State Executive Committee issue a call for a convention of all parties and groups that are democratically organized, opposed to capitalism, stressing production for use, to organize in this state a political party along the lines of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada. In case of adoption of this program, the N.E.C. will be asked to approve.

That we work out a "Commonwealth Plan" for the state including such measures as housing, public milk distribution, state banking, socialized medicine, socialized taxation, advocating their consideration, stressing measures having the best chance to win and using all means of publicity to convert the citizens to these ideas.

That we have no united front with the Communists.

That united fronts with the Communists be authorized when a sufficient number of other groups are also accredited representatives who are fully aware that the Communists are a part of the united front, provided in each case approval is secured from a special committee of the S.E.C.

That we withdraw from the Socialist Party of the U.S.A. pending a change of the Declaration of Principles, so as not to endanger us under the California Criminal Syndicalism Law.

Plans for reorganizing the state, the question of re-admitting members who deserted the party in order to support Upton Sinclair, special work among farmers, and the issuing of a monthly propaganda paper.

## MISSOURI MOVEMENT IS CARRYING ON

By Martin B. Lechner

MAPLEWOOD, Mo.—The Missouri movement, while suffering slightly from inroads on its membership by various advocates of panaceas, is carrying on courageously. The mass meeting for Tony Sender was the kind that sends you home full of resolve for new endeavor. The hall was filled to overflowing, union labor cooperated, the crowd was enthusiastic, and we should learn a great deal from the experiences of Comrade Sender.

A splendid piece of work was accomplished in St. Louis and St. Louis County by the organization of some 420 white-collar workers employed on F.E.R.A. projects. The chairmen of both city and county organizations are red card members. The county organization has already elected the writer as its delegate to the Washington convention of unemployed, and we hope to secure one or more delegates from the St. Louis organization.

The Missouri State Secretary, Geo. Duemler, was recently employed by the government to make a survey of the shoe industry in Missouri, and Duemler's report to the Department of Labor should convince anybody that the NRA was the most ingenious device invented by capitalism to beat down wages and worsen working conditions, especially where the speed-up is concerned. Factories are moved from St. Louis to small communities, where factory owners receive cooperation from the Chamber of Commerce in violating hours and wage provisions of the codes, and where local constabulary is used to prevent all attempts to organize the workers. Such is the outcome of Roosevelt reformism!

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## Modigliani Speaks in Buffalo, February 24th

BUFFALO.—An anti-fascist rally will be held Sunday, Feb. 24th, at 2.30, at Eagles' Auditorium, Pearl and Tupper Streets, under the joint auspices of the Socialist Party, the Workmen's Circle, trade unions, fraternal and church groups. G. E. Modigliani will be the main speaker.

## NEW YORK

State Referendum.—State Secretary Merrill announces that with considerably less than a third of the good-standing and qualified party membership voting in the referendum on the State Constitution, all proposed amendments were carried by majorities ranging from 62 to 1,047.

Auburn.—The local cooperated with the League of Women Voters, Parent-Teachers Association, and Ministerial Association in a meeting held here last Monday evening to protest against the failure of the Legislature to ratify the Child Labor Amendment. Mrs. B. C. Mead presided.

Binghamton.—A dinner is to be arranged for Ellen Wilkinson of Great Britain in connection with her address here for the Civic Educational Forum. It was reported that in a Baptist church conference held at Johnson City recently about a third of the delegates were favorable to Socialism.



# World Struggles in Pictures

Even the children are picketing. Left: this child is telling a New York Home Relief Bureau what's on his mind. At right: when New York was tied up by the big elevator-men's strike. Here are some of the pickets. Below, left:



Dr. Townsend tells a Senate committee about his plan. (See Townsend's and Norman Thomas' articles on p. 3.) Dr. Townsend is standing at the extreme right. Among the Senators present are Pat Harrison, James Couzens and Henry Keyes. Below, right: Paris remembers the dead of last year. Riots Feb. 6, when the gendarmes sought to club the Parisians into silence—an impossible task, Parisians being what they are.



## WISCONSIN HOUSE GETS FULL SOCIALIST PROGRAM

MADISON, Wis.—A complete Socialist legislative program has been presented to the Wisconsin state legislature.

The Socialist members of the Assembly listed more than twenty bills and resolutions by title for subsequent drafting and introduction. The measures will now pass through the legislative reference library where, in conference between Socialist legislators and legal draftsmen, the legislative and statutory details of the measures will be worked out.

Among the measures contemplated are extension of state insurance to cover accidents, liberalization of labor legislation, and measures of benefit to farmers.

### Municipal Milk Distribution

Arthur Koegel, Milwaukee Socialist, introduced a bill into the State Assembly which would make legal the distribution of milk by municipalities. "This business of having a considerable difference between what the consumer pays for milk and what the farmer gets can only be stopped by having government agencies take over the milk distribution," Koegel declared.

## SOCIALIST SWEDEN TAKES PROFITS OUT OF ARMAMENTS

WHILE the Nye Committee is investigating and millions of people in all countries are deploing the avarice and greed of the munitions makers, one country is acting.

The government of Sweden has taken definite action, introducing a bill in the Riksdag providing for the establishment of control of production of all war material in Sweden, beginning July 1, by the Ministry of Commerce. Thereafter the production of arms will be possible only under special license from the government.

The bill also contains stipulations aiming at limiting the possibilities for the existence of foreign interests in the Swedish arms industry. If it is passed, the government will be authorized to prescribe that no one may act as an agent for arms concerns without a government license.

Sweden's government is in the hands of the Social Democratic Party. Need more be said?

Employees of school board administrations under the teachers' retirement fund was made by Assemblyman Ed Kiefer, Milwaukee Socialist, who introduced a bill to that effect.

## CANADIAN PARLIAMENT HEARS DEBATE ON SOCIALISM

OTTAWA.—The House of Commons again became a forum for a discussion of Socialism when J. S. Woodsworth, Socialist leader, presented and defended his annual motion for the substitution of Socialism for Capitalism.

Woodsworth followed the lead of the late J. Keir Hardie, founder of the British Labor Party, who introduced a similar resolution in the British Parliament in 1895, and after speaking twenty minutes won two votes for it. Twenty-eight years later Philip Snowden introduced a similar resolution and it then secured 154 votes after a brilliant debate participated in by all the men who a year later formed the government.

Woodsworth's resolution, similar to the motion of previous years, read: "That, in the opinion of this House, since the capitalist system in failing to function in the interests of the great majority of the people of Canada, it should be superseded by a cooperative commonwealth in which the profit motive would be subordinated to that of public service and ruthless competition replaced by collective ownership under democratic control."

## THE CONSTITUTION IS DEAD, WEEPS JUSTICE McREYNOLDS

(Continued from Page Two)

cannot be set aside; or 2. The court has arrogated to itself for the first time the function of deciding, not upon the law and the Constitution, BUT UPON THE SUBSTANCE OF LEGISLATION, deciding not whether it is constitutional but whether (in their judgment) it is wise.

McReynolds, Butler, Sutherland and VanDevanter are right: the Constitution (of John Marshall and Roger Brooks Taney) is gone.

We have seen a political revolution of the profoundest importance. It remains to be seen, however, whether it is in the direction of popular sovereignty, or of further and hitherto unheard of encroachments upon popular sovereignty by the Supreme Court. I suspect the answer lies in the hands of the masses, and will be decided by the way they vote in the future.

voted to the debate and the Canadian newspapers gave the arguments of both sides in great detail. Woodsworth considers that the propaganda value of the annual debate is priceless.

Ham Fish has had another spell in Congress. He insists that high office-holding Democrats have contributed funds to the Communist

## CHAMBER OF COMMERCE WOULD GAG ALL OPPOSITION

(Continued from Page One)

use about the form of government is not polite it might cost you twenty years in prison. If you were "abusive" in arguing with a member of the Chamber that the form of government should be changed to make the Cabinet responsible to Congress instead of to the President, you could be dragged before a judicial tribunal for the terrible offense!

Is it any surprise that the Chamber wants such a "broad" act? Opinions are one thing, actions another. A jobless man may think of taking a loaf of bread to appease his hunger, but he cannot be haled into court unless action follows thinking.

The Chamber seeks other "broad" amendments to other laws regarding the mails, immigration, deportation, naturalization and a special espionage section in the Department of Justice. These suggestions are all in the legislative hopper at Washington.

Party organizations, trade unions and our readers should send protests to Congressmen and Senators against these proposals. If enacted into law they would shackle our press and gag all whose opinions are not rubber-stamped by the Chamber of Commerce.



# Support Labor's Insurance Bill

By Herbert M. Merrill  
State Secretary, Socialist Party

WHILE a Socialist economic order might give every citizen the same return in goods and services when unemployed as when working, a Socialist would be foolish to expect either his State Legislature or the Federal Government to accept such a principle under capitalism. The Lundeen Unemployment Insurance bill has as much chance in Congress as the Townsend Old Age Pension Plan, and Congress would as soon vote to do away the capitalist system in toto as to adopt such a measure.

If we want unemployment insurance before Socialism comes, manifestly we should back measures which existing legislative bodies might be induced to adopt under pressure of popular demand. Such is the plan of unemployment insurance drafted by the American Federation of Labor.

This plan is represented by the so-called Byrne-Killgrew bill pending in our State Legislature. Of

**Byrne Bill is Not Perfect, But It's the Best We Can Get With Only Democrats and Republicans at Albany**

course, this bill has grave defects from the Socialist standpoint, but Labor will be mighty lucky to get even this bill passed in 1935, and it behooves every good Socialist to get squarely behind organized labor in demanding its enactment before the State Legislature adjourns.

Miss Frieda S. Miller, who is Director of the Division of Women in Industry of the State Labor Department, in a recent radio address under the auspices of the League of Women Voters, set forth the considerations which in her opinion governed a practical scheme of unemployment insurance. She declared it should help the man or woman who has lost a job to "maintain some purchasing power" while seeking employment; provide "funds wherewith to finance that primary objective"; safeguard the worker and fund by putting the unemployed worker in a job wherever possible. She indi-

cated that an amount equal to 3% of payrolls was absolutely essential to provide such benefits as the Byrne-Killgrew bill proposes to give. The Wagner federal bill proposes to reduce that rate after two years. The state bill also provides for standards of benefits, duration of payments, etc., not contained in the federal bill.

Needless to say, the Associated Industries and other organized employers of our state will fight for a lower assessment on their payrolls. They will try to induce the Legislature to postpone action until the Byrne-Killgrew bill is amended to provide for lower standards. But this bill of the State Federation of Labor is the very least that Labor should expect in 1935. The workers of our state have waited far too long for Unemployment Insurance. And Mark Daly of Associated Industries and other mouthpieces of exploitation have cried out "Postpone! Postpone!" far too long to

be heeded any longer even by old party legislators—that is, if the workers organize and exert proper pressure upon Albany.

Every worker in the state should write and tell his or her Senator and Assemblyman that nothing less than Organized Labor's Unemployment Insurance bill must pass this year.

I for one keenly sympathize with those who feel that capitalism, which is responsible for industrial crises and widespread unemployment, should pay full wages to those whom it deprives of a livelihood. I also sympathize with those who think that \$200 per month is not too much for an old age pension. But I am not so impracticable as to expect a bunch of Democrats and Republicans, either in Albany or Washington, to vote the abolition of capitalism in 1935.

tives, and civic bodies.

"Elect two delegates NOW to represent your organization at the conference AGAINST THE HIGH COST OF LIVING. Send in the names at once to Esther Friedman, 7 East 15th St."

## NEW BRANCH IN WEST BRONX

The Upper 8th A. D., Bronx, organized by County Organizer Irving M. Knobloch, was granted a charter by the City Executive Committee on the strength of its fine activity since last October. Its membership is constantly increasing, and it holds successful lectures every Tuesday at its headquarters, 3230 Bainbridge Ave. Attendance is good.

Comrade Knobloch and Mrs. Knobloch transferred from the lower 8th A. D. to the new branch to help in the work.

The officers are: Irving M. Knobloch, organizer; Mary Simpson, financial secretary; Harriet Goldsmith, recording secretary; Cecil Simpson, treasurer.

The members are busy canvassing enrolled voters every night and distributing literature every Sunday morning. Comrade Knobloch promises that this new branch will outgrow the other branches he organized in the lower 6th A. D. and the lower 8th A. D., which meets in Burnside Manor. A challenge is sent to all branches to match this newcomer in increase.

### LATE GREETINGS

Long Live the only Labor and Socialist Paper—The New Leader

Hebrew American Union

No. 83 — I. T. U.

142 Henry Street

OUR HEARTIEST GREETINGS TO THE NEW LEADER

Furriers' Joint Council of New York

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Let those who have seen it, speak for "SEQUOIA"

JIM TULLY... "No picture in years has given me the same emotional quality which I derived from 'Sequoia'. I often get discouraged about films... 'Sequoia' renewed my faith."

**SEQUOIA**  
A New Screen Experience!

HUGH WALPOLE...

"It is a splendid picture. It thrilled me tremendously... direction was fine... photography hauntingly beautiful."



**SEQUOIA**  
Never A Picture Like This!

LOUELLA PARSONS...

"It has been a long time since I have been as thrilled with any picture."

**SEQUOIA**  
Unique in Screen History!

ZANE GREY...

"Not only the best outdoor picture I have ever seen, but for me the greatest picture of the last decade."



**SEQUOIA**  
2 Years in Production!

W. S. VAN DYKE...

Director of "Trader Horn"  
"In my opinion 'Sequoia' is one of the finest pictures I have ever seen."

**SEQUOIA**  
Expect The Extraordinary!

MAJOR EDWARD BOWES...

"'Sequoia' is a worthy successor to 'David Copperfield' and a picture that will give you a unique experience in theatre-going. See it by all means."



On the CAPITOL Stage

CASINO DE PAREE REVUE

featuring

MILTON BERLE

CHILTON & THOMAS • CARDINI

Complete Cast of 55

Coming Soon—Another BIG M-G-M HIT!

AmHARDING-Robt. MONTGOMERY

in "BIOGRAPHY of a

BACHELOR GIRL"

(Based on the stage hit "Biography")

Bronx County Committee Notice

First meeting of new Bronx County Committee, Thursday, February 28, 8:30 P. M., at 800 Westchester Avenue.



Norman Dorfman, Y.C.L.A. City Director, on Tour

Norman Dorfman, Y.C.L.A. City Director, has been sent by the National Youth Committee on an extended tour. He will meet with the various clubs, intensify and organize membership drives and strengthen existing branches, and turn prospective into accredited branches. In addition, he will contact the W.C. branches, to stimulate the organization of new Youth clubs.

Dorfman has already touched Cleveland, Akron, Lorain and Toledo. The rest of his itinerary follows: Feb. 22-23, Detroit; 24-28, Chicago; March 1, Milwaukee; 2, Indiana; 5, Memphis; 7, Chattanooga; 8, Atlanta; 9-10, Birmingham; 13-14, Norfolk.

Remaining dates are tentative. Jeannette Handelman, Dorfman's wife, will accompany him. During his absence, Ethel Schachner will assume his place in the Y.C.L.A. office.

League Preparations for the Convention

The Y.C.L.A. has already begun preparations for the coming Workmen's Circle convention in May. The National Office has planned to convene all Y.C.L.A. delegates in a special conference a day before the convention. Fuller details about the convention and conference will be given in later issues.

Among the League Centers

Philadelphia is taking advantage of the holiday offered by Washington's Birthday to launch activities in its new center. A gala celebration has been planned, to include a concert and dance and the featured presentation of Phil Stevenson's "God's in His Heaven"; also a mass recitation by the New York Drama Group.

In Chicago, the new center on the Northwest Side is nearing completion and will open soon.

In New York, announcement has been made that four senior clubs will soon be installed as accredited branches. Among these are the Neo-Prometheans on Feb. 24th, the Debs on March 9th, and the Mithleshul Alumni on March 16th. Branch 2884 was installed last Sunday evening with all ceremony. —And the long-awaited center at 11-15 Union Square opens with all due ceremonies on March 15th.

## National Biscuit Co. Strike Activity

After hearing a report from the striking workers of the National Biscuit Co., the N.E.C. of the Workmen's Circle endorsed the walkout and sent out an appeal to the branches to aid the strikers and boycott the products of the company for the duration of the strike. In line with this appeal, the Y.C.L.A., as in previous strikes, sent out a Labor Bulletin outlining a definite program whereby League clubs may help the strikers.

## The Call of Youth

In the new issue of the Call of Youth is an interview with Sholem Asch, who comments on several phases of Jewish life in Europe and Palestine. Among the other features is a satirical analysis of Huey Long; an article on the Utopian Society and its confused program of pseudo-Socialism; a mass-poem, dedicated to the Austrian martyrs, by Ernst Toller, translated from the German by Mark Schweid; a short story with a labor content; reviews, drawings, and general news of Y.C.L.A. and W.C. activity.

## Abraham Epstein At Rand School

The second semester of the women's afternoon section of the Rand School will start with a bang Monday afternoon, February 25th, at 1:30. The first session may take on the proportions of a mass-meeting, for the first lecturer will be Dr. Abraham Epstein, Secretary of the American Association for Old Age Security and author of several volumes on various forms of social insurance.

This will mark the beginning of a symposium course in "Practical Politics." Esther Friedman will be in charge of the entire course and she wants it understood that this is a continuation of her course in Socialism. But the subject will be approached from the point of view of twelve practical problems, and each problem will be treated by an expert.

Following is the program: "Social Insurance," Abraham Epstein; "Unemployment Insurance," August Tyler; "Socialized Medicine," Dr. Joseph Slavak; "The Thirty-Hour Week," Joseph Schlossberg; "Housing," Helen Alfred; "Public Utilities," Ben Haskel; "Imperialism," Nathaniel Peffer; "Munitions Investigations," Eleanor Brannon; "Fascism and Labor," Siegfried Lipschitz; "The NRA and Collective Bargaining," Gertrude Weil Klein; "Municipal Socialism," William Morris Feigenbaum; "The International Socialist Movement," James Oneal.



# A Flood of Fun and Beauty with Fresnay In "Noah"

## The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

### RAINY SEASON

"RAIN." By John Colton and Clemence Randolph, from the story by Somerset Maugham. Revival with Tallulah Bankhead. At the Music Box.

Boldly Tallulah Bankhead, by a similarity of setting and costume, puts forth her Sadie Thompson in challenge to the memory of Jean Eagles. And, considering the swiftly changing times, she comes well out of the contrast. It is in today's mood that she be a somewhat coarser, bolder, more flaunting creature than a dozen years ago; and this Tallulah makes her, drawing nonetheless all the pathos, as well as all the power, out of the role. A cast which, save for two figures (a too stiff minister and a wooden doctor's wife), helps catch the play at full flood, enables us to judge what time has left.

Basic passions change little, and patterns pass with their social system; those of "Rain" still exist. The missionary whose work stifles (and at last, vainly) his lust is typical of all who by suppressing a natural desire build its distortion and their ruin. Nor is Joe Horn, retreated from an industrial civilization to the comparative peace of the South Seas (disturbed by the play's passions) uninteresting as a sample of the wreckage that runs from, instead of trying to change, the social state that has

ruined him. And even the economic implications of Sadie's scarlet life are made sufficiently clear—and the insidious power of church pressure on social ways (as now evident in the fight against child labor!); all of which combine to make a powerful melodrama almost a social document.

### "Right to Live" on Albee Screen. — Big Stage Show Includes Famous Names

Considered the best combination stage and screen show since the dawn of the New Year is on tap at the RKO-Albee with W. Somerset Maugham's "The Right to Live," starring Josephine Hutchinson and George Brent, and a vaudeville bill of exceptional and seldom seen "in person" stars.

Julia Sanderson and Frank Crumit, together with Rosco Ates, stuttering comic of the screen, split the headline honors. Besides these the Albee vaudeville program boasts of another pair of merry-makers, Barto and Mann.

JOSEPH M. SCHENCK presents

MAURICE CHEVALIER

### "FOLIES BERGERE"

A Carryl F. Zanuck production with

ANN SOUTHERN  
MERLE OBERON

United Artists RIVOLI B'way 49th St.

MUSIC HALL

SHOW PLACE OF THE NATION

Janet GAYNOR

Warner BAXTER

in "ONE MORE SPRING"

A Fox Picture

"Bluebird of Happiness"

Leontide "Fantasy" and "Collegiate" by Kay Swift and

On the Stage—

A. Silverman with big

cast: "Puccini" by

Symphony Orchestra,

under the direction

of Erno Rapee.

Popular

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### Broadway Trans-Lux Offers Interesting and Varied Short Subjects

Beginning today, March 2, for the entire week, the Trans-Lux Theatre at Broadway and 49th Street, in addition to one-half hour of the latest newsreel news of the world, is featuring a film in natural color of brilliant undersea coral growths, the deadly sea anemones and weird gangster-fish of the South Seas, "Beneath Coral Seas"; Richard Himber and his orchestra, with Vera Van and the Eton Boys in a new musical comedy short; "Happy Butterfly," a cartoon, and "Monkey Shines," a short subject in which a chimpanzee is the leading man, a pathetic tale of a young man alone in New York City.

### Now Playing

GEORGE CAROLE

RAFT - LOMBARD

IN

### 'RUMBA'

A Paramount Picture with  
Lynne OVERMAN - Monroe OWSELY  
IRIS ADRIAN - GAIL PATRICK

MARGO  
on Screen and  
IN PERSON

Extra! XAVIER CUGAT  
The King of Rumba and His Music

N. Y. PARAMOUNT  
TIMES SQUARE

ALL THIS WEEK

### "The GOOD FAIRY"

MARGARET SULLAVAN  
HERBERT MARSHALL  
FRANK MORGAN

ON THE STAGE

CHARLES (Slim) TIMBLIN

CARL SHAW

STAN KAUANAUGH

and other RKO Acts

R 8 0 PALACE B'way & 47 St.

Fabian's

FOX

FLATBUSH at NEVINS

2nd BIG WEEK

SALLY RAND

in Person in Both Her Bubble & Fan Dances—New Stage Show

Now on Lee Tracy, Sally Eilers

Screen Jimmy Durante in "CARNIVAL"

25c  
105 P.M.  
W. K. O'NEALS

### MOSCOW ART PLAYERS

Tomorrow at 8:15, First Time in America—

"STRANGE CHILD" a Soviet farce by Shkvarkin

also Tuesday, Wednesday (Mat. & Eve.) and Saturday Evening

"MARRIAGE" a comedy by Gogol: Thurs., Fri., Sat. Mat.

MAJESTIC THEA. EVENINGS incl. Sun. at 8:15. 75c - \$1.10 - \$1.65

\$2.20 (incl. tax). MATINEES Wed. and Sat. 4th St. W. of W'way—Ch. 4-3141 at 2:15. 55c - 75c - \$1.10 - \$1.65 (incl. tax).

### "The Wandering Jew" to Stay Indefinitely at the Clinton Theatre

"The Wandering Jew," in which Conrad Veidt plays the title role, is now playing at the Clinton Theatre, where it will stay indefinitely. The picture is an elaborate animation of the famous legend, and the doomed wanderer appears in four different incarnations, extending from the days of early Jerusalem to the latter period of the Spanish Inquisition.

### "Night Life of the Gods" Opens at the Roxy

"Night Life of the Gods," Universal's long-awaited screen version of Thorne Smith's celebrated novel of the same name, opens today at the Roxy Theatre as the featured film.

The large cast includes Alan Mowbray, Peggy Shannon, Florine McKinney, Richard Carle, Wesley Barry, Gilbert Emery, William Boyd, Henry Armetta, Irene Ware and Robert Warwick.

### Loew's Parade of Stars!

Loew's METROPOLITAN  
TODAY! — BROOKLYN SEES IT AT THE SAME TIME AS BROADWAY  
**SEQUOIA**  
PRONOUNCED SEE-QUO-YAH!  
The sweetest, strangest love story ever unfolded before you! They said it couldn't be done — yet Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer has accomplished the seemingly impossible. You'll have to see "Sequoia" to believe it!  
On: ALEX HYDE and MILDRED RITA RIO  
Stage: VERA VON and LASH

Loew's STATE  
TODAY! ON BOTH SCREENS  
**VAUDEVILLE**  
GEO. GIVOT Radio's Greek Ambassador  
DANNY DARE DANCERS with TERRY LAWLER and Jean Harlow  
RUSSELL MARCONI & JERRY & J. JANSLEY  
EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION C. B. S. Presents GERTRUDE NIESEN

Loew's PARADISE  
TODAY! ON BOTH SCREENS  
**VAUDEVILLE**  
BUSTER LUCILLE  
WEST and PAGE  
PAPPY, ZEKE & EZRA with ELLTON  
Radio's Wee Wee Wee Wee  
DON COSTELLO and their "LITTLE MEN & WOMEN"  
MAE USHER & CAPT. WILLIE MAUS

DAVID COPPERFIELD  
Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's PICTURIZATION of CHARLES DICKENS' CLASSIC ROMANCE  
with W. C. FIELDS - EDNA MAY OLIVER - LIONEL BARRYMORE  
FREDDIE BARTHOLOMEW - MAUREEN O'SULLIVAN - 65 STARS

DAVID COPPERFIELD also showing at LOEW'S  
ORPHEUM VALENCIA LEXINGTON  
8th Street & 3rd Ave. 72nd St. 83rd Street 175th Street  
ROSS & EDWARDS STAGE REVISIT

The Most Discussed Picture of the Year!

### CONRAD VEIDT and Cast of Thousands in "The Wandering Jew"

The Man Who Could Not Die

NOW PLAYING CLINTON THEATRE  
CONTINUOUS 80 CLINTON ST.

### "THE RIGHT TO LIVE"

ALL THIS WEEK  
Starring JOSEPHINE HUTCHINSON GEORGE BRENT  
A Warner Bros. Picture  
RKO VAUDEVILLE  
SANDERSON and CRUMMIT  
ROSCO ATEs  
BARTO and MANN  
and other RKO Acts

R 8 0 ALBEE Albee Square BROOKLYN

7th Capacity Week!!

### CHAPAYEV

"THE RED COMMANDER"

"Vigorous, richly humorous, and genuinely heroic... a distinguished screen offering." — Richard Watts, Jr., Herald Tribune.

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

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

## NEW YORK'S GREATEST THRILL • RUDY VALLEE • "SWEET"

Warner Bros. Greatest Musical with Ann Dvorak, Helen Morgan, Frank & Milt Britton's Band, Ned Sparks, Allen Jenkins, Alice White, Connecticut Yankee



# Miss Bankhead: A Storm of Good Acting In "Rain"

## WATER-ARK AND HEAVEN-ARC

"NOAH". By Arthur Wilmurt, from the French of André Obey. At the Longacre.

"The Green Pastures" tells the Bible story as it might seem to the simple Negro; "Noah" tells the tale of the great Flood as it might seem to a pious but earthly farmer, aware of life's joys and its disillusion, hopeful for happiness but in its lack still hopeful. And into this romping movement, with Noah almost sole actor surrounded by a responsive or rebelling chorus, through this swift modern slang and this piety so simple as to seem almost burlesque, there breathes the quiet spirit of true poetry, of a daring and successful fantasy, of a rich imagination and an illuminating mind.

The first of the play gives the foolery scope; only the fears of the savage at wizard-Noah and at the first drops of rain, reflect the seriousness of the flood that is about to destroy all but one chosen family of mankind. But how many have been keen enough to recognize that this family's bitter test is not the forty days of rain, but the agonizing days of sunshine before first glimpse of land. Then the sons of Noah lose faith, and the patriarch prefers converse with the beasts to such thoughts as come with sight of his fretful, suspicious, impious children—until even his wife almost loses faith in God and in Noah. The distress increases, after the first joy in the land-sight, when the three sons (black, yellow, white), after a vain struggle to hold the peak of Ararat, set variously forth to establish the opposing races of

men; and lonely Noah, in simple trust, turns in his isolation to his God, and simply, in the nightfall of his being, accepts the token of the rainbow.

More implications than here is space to give, point from the olden tale to lie today, as in the sympathetic and superlatively competent Pierre Fresnay, the old patriarch bears his burden. M. Fresnay created the role in Paris, and infuses into the part a mixture of naïveté and shrewdness, a sincerity and vigor, that lifts the poetry of the play to a lofty level, amid the dancing and the fun, and helps make "Noah" a unique event in the theatre. J. T. S.

## "Four's a Crowd" — Well Received

On Sunday, Feb. 10, a farce comedy entitled "Four's a Crowd," adapted from the Russian of Valentine Katayev by Howard Newman, was presented at the Jewish Community House in Brooklyn and was well received.

The cast included Sonia Jaffe, of "Merrily We Roll Along"; man, of Station WJZ, and Howard Newman, of the Dwight Deere Wiman offices; also a cast of thirty

## "De Lawd" Comes Back to Broadway



Richard B. Harrison, 70-year-old actor who portrays "De Lawd" in man, of Station WJZ, and Howard Newman, of the Dwight Deere Wiman offices; also a cast of thirty

## "Sequoia" at Capitol

Postponed several times owing to the record-breaking engagement of "David Copperfield"—"Sequoia" (pronounced See-quo-yah) is scheduled for release on the Capitol's screen for the week beginning today.

Started nearly two years ago in the wildest section of the High Sierras included in the confines of the Sequoia National Park, the picture presented almost insurmountable production difficulties.

A friendship between a mountain lion and a deer, never believed possible by most naturalists, provides a basis for the "animal drama" that required months of tireless effort and literally thousands of feet of film.

Into the drama is woven a wholesome love story between Jean Parker, as a naturalist's daughter and Russell Hardie, a National

Park forest ranger. Others in the cast are Samuel S. Hinds, Paul Hurst, Ben Hall, Willie Fung and Harry Loew, Jr. Chester Franklin directed for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.

THE GROUP THEATRE presents  
A NEW PLAY BY  
THE AUTHOR OF  
"WAITING FOR LEFTY"

## "AWAKE and SING!"

by CLIFFORD ODETS

at the  
BELASCO THEATRE

44th St., East of B'way—B'RY. 9-5100  
Eves. 8:40—MATS. THURS. & SAT.

"One of the most straightforward, driving plays of the season."  
HERMAN SHULMAN presents

—Brooks Atkinson, Times

## The Children's Hour

By LILLIAN HELLMAN

MAXINE ELLIOTT'S THEATRE WEST 39th STREET  
Evenings 8:30—50c to \$3. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40—50c to \$2

GILBERT MILLER & LESLIE HOWARD in association with  
ARTHUR HOPKINS present

## LESLIE HOWARD in THE PETRIFIED FOREST

by ROBERT SHERWOOD

BROADHURST THEA. W. 44th St. L.A.C. 4-1515. Eves. 8:45  
Matinees Wednesday and Saturday 2:45

THE THEATRE GUILD presents

(For the first time on any stage) BERNARD SHAW'S new play

## "THE SIMPLETON OF THE UNEXPECTED ISLES"

with NAZIMOVA and ROMNEY BRENT

GUILD THEATRE West of Broadway  
52nd STREET

THE THEATRE GUILD presents

(in association with Charles B. Cochran) for a limited engagement

## ELISABETH BERGNER

## in ESCAPE ME NEVER

By MARGARET KENNEDY

SHUBERT THEATRE 44th STREET, West of Broadway  
Matinees Thursday & Saturday

THE THEATRE GUILD presents

S. N. BEHRMAN'S play

## RAIN FROM HEAVEN

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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, February 22

**Brooklyn**  
Dr. Siegfried Lipschitz—"Germany Under the Nazi Dictatorship." 22nd A. D., Branch 1, 864 Sutter Ave.  
Eleanor Bramson—"Socialism and Peace." 4th-11th A.D.s, 241 South 4th St.

## Sunday, February 24

**Manhattan**  
G. A. Gerber—"Fundamentals of Socialism." 4th A. D., 393 Grand St.  
August Claessens—"Social Attitudes." 6th A. D., 95 Ave. B (several lectures by same speaker).  
**Brooklyn**  
August Claessens—Class in Socialism. 3 p.m. 16th A. D., 6618 Bay Parkway.

## Monday, February 25

**Manhattan**  
Leo Somlo—"Revolutionary Socialism: Two Hungarian Revolutions." Upper West Side Branch, 100 West 72nd St. (open to members only).  
Discussion led by Ida Fox—"Period of Civil War (U. S. History of Socialism)." Chelsea Branch, 28 West 31st St.

**Bronx**  
A. G. Alexeff—"The Rise and Fall of the Communist International." Upper 6th A. D., Pol-Park Palace, Lydig and White Plains Ave.

**Brooklyn**  
Karl M. Chworowsky—"Literature of Social Revolt." 21st A. D., Colby Acad-

emy, 2361 Snyder Ave.  
George Baron—"Summary and Discussion of the Week's News." 22nd A. D., Branch 1, 864 Sutter Ave.

## Tuesday, February 26

**Manhattan**  
Marx Lewis—"Socialist Party Problems." 4th A. D., 393 Grand St. (open to party members only).  
David Ashe—"Social Security." Yorkville 11th-15th-16th A. D.s, 241 E. 84th St.

**Bronx**  
Jaco Bernstein and Benjamin Rattner will lead a discussion on "Dictatorship vs. Democracy." Lower 8th A. D., Burnside Manor, Burnside Ave., corner Harrison Ave.

Irving Knobloch—"City Planning." Upper 8th A. D., 3230 Bainbridge Ave., near 265th St.

**Brooklyn**  
G. A. Gerber—"History of the Labor Movement in the United States." 16th A. D., 6618 Bay Parkway (last of a series of lectures by the same speaker).

Wm. M. Feigenbaum—"Workers Abroad." 18th A. D., Branch 1, 269 Utica Ave.

Wm. Gombert—"Theory and Practice." Jewish Branch, 2nd A. D., 579 Dumont Ave. (several lectures on the same subject by the same speaker).

## Wednesday, February 27

**Brooklyn**  
Theodore Shapiro—"Socialism and the Middle Class." Boro Park Branch, Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 42nd St. and 11th Ave.

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1) Overture—William Tell—Poe and Peas-

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2) Typical Spanish dances—By Ueneda and Granadina

3) Gipsy Dances—Garne Lopez, accompanied by the internationally known guitarist, Antonio Lopez

4) Mexican Dances—By Eva Garcia

5) Carmen Ramirez (La Montezita) in classical Spanish Dances

6) Grand Opera—Martha—Nino Ruisi, famous bass from the Chicago Opera Co.; Miss Robinson, soprano; Giacomo Giacalone, tenor, well known at WEVD, and others.

At 10 p.m., sharp the dance will start and will continue until 2 a.m.

The dances will be accompanied by two orchestras. One will take care of Russian, German, Slavish, Italian, Spanish, Hungarian and Finnish dances, and one for American dances.

Admission is only 40c, and the tickets can be bought in advance at the Committee headquarters, Room 303, 91 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., or at any I.W.W. hall in New York or Brooklyn.

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## Read Editorial on Page Two

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"Thomas More and the Dream of Utopia"

Sunday, Feb. 24th—

PROFESSOR IRWIN EDMAN

"The Grounds of Social Faith"

Tuesday, Feb. 26th—

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"Science Versus the Business Man and Politician"

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## Unit Meetings

Wednesday, February 27, 2 p.m., Midwood-Brighton Unit, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave. Unit symposium on World Court.  
Thursday, February 28, 2 p.m., Bensonhurst Unit, 6618 Bay Parkway, Lena Morrow Lewis, speaker.

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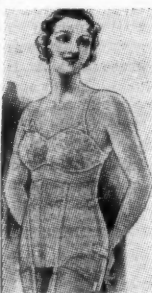
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