

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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A SLAVE CODE FOR THE WORKERS

Back of the Hearst Campaign Of Terror, Hate and Hysteria

By William M. Feigenbaum

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST is today engaged in three drives, all of them wholly vicious, wholly alarming, wholly dangerous to the best interests of the people.

One of them is his campaign against the "reds," that is, against radical opinions of all kinds, and persons and organizations advocating them.

The second, an outgrowth of the first, is his vicious campaign against teachers and college professors whose teaching does not conform to the narrowest and most idiotic nationalism, and against what he calls the "college reds." In its implications that campaign is similar to one he waged 26 years ago against teaching in the colleges that did not conform to the narrowest dogmatic theological standards. That is, today a professor or a student who holds a political or a social opinion more advanced than those of Tom Heflin or Ogden Mills is a "red" and should be lynched, while in 1909 a professor who taught anything in science not down to the standards set by the Tennessee legislature was branded an atheist and morally unfit to teach the youth.

Three Campaigns

The third is his chauvinism, his campaign against various races and for a colossal military establishment.

At least two of Hearst's terror campaigns, that against what he calls "reds" and that against freedom of thought in the colleges, are not only wicked—they are so profoundly idiotic that they would not stand up for one moment on their own merits. The dangerous chauvinism of which Hearst is the apostle is—alas!—not dependent upon him alone.

If an obscure individual standing by himself delivered himself of some of the opinions appearing regularly in the Hearst newspapers he would be laughed at as a harmless nut. But Hearst is not an individual standing by himself; when he thinks a reactionary thought it is promptly printed in newspapers that attract tens of millions of readers by their gutter sensationalism, and it at once assumes an importance far out of proportion to its intrinsic merit. Further, he is able to employ writers and artists to develop and build up those thoughts to become the center of a campaign.

Irresponsible for Hearst

That fact is the most significant—and dangerous—thing about Mr. Hearst . . . that and his irresponsibility. He owns newspapers in about 25 cities, each with a colossal circulation, and he is responsible to no one but himself, not even to a Board of Directors.

It is told of the late Lord Northcliffe, British newspaper baron, that he was once ordered by a doctor to go on a graham bread diet. It must have done his bowels good,

for Northcliffe thereupon turned his whole vast newspaper organization into a propaganda machine for graham bread. Reporters stopped toffs and toppers, counts and costers on street and in club asking them what they thought of graham bread as a steady diet. The campaign drove the country crazy, but after all it wasn't very

important. Hearst, with as much power over the collective mind of America as Northcliffe had over Britain, does not confine himself to harmless campaigns like opposition to the wearing of derby hats, which at one time briefly engaged his crusading energies. Like Northcliffe, he enters the field of public life. And he takes all sides of all questions, adding confusion to insanity.

For the man who is now carrying on an anti-"red" campaign is the same man who was himself damned as a violent anarchist in

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Judicial Fist Strikes Unionism, Wage Structure Is Threatened!

WHILE the organized workers at Washington fight to prevent the wage structure of the country from being undermined by the Administration's insistence upon a slave "subsistence" wage in public works relief; while Leo Wolman and Donald Richberg enlist in the service of the masters of capitalism and S. Clay Williams of the tobacco empire dominates the outrageous

tobacco code, Federal Judge Nields in Delaware has issued an injunction that Section 7A of the N.I.R.A. is "unconstitutional." This is the clause that was supposed to guarantee genuine union organization in industry!

This case grew out of the government's petition for an injunction against the notorious Weirton Steel Co. The issue was company unionism against labor unionism. For months this company has fostered its servile "unions" and workers have protested against the chicane and intimidation of company agents in the voting to determine whether the workers wanted a union of their own. A robed judge has handed down a company union decision, a fearful blow to the struggle for genuine unions and some measure of freedom for the working class.



Drawn by Arthur Fassberg of Rebel Arts

No, Mr. Woll, We're Not Against Social Revolution

LAST week Hearst's New York American carried a story regarding Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor having listed The New Leader and three Communist papers as being recommended for use in schools. The statement was made before a Congressional committee. We wired Mr. Woll regarding this story and received the following letter in reply:

Dear Mr. Oneal:

This will acknowledge receipt of your telegram of February 19 reading as follows: "This morning's New York American quotes you listing New Leader among the four revolutionary newspapers please wire collect by Western Union care New Leader statement confirming report."

In response be advised that the only reference I have made at any time regarding your publication was in a statement submitted recently to the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities in which I said: (Quoting from Page 38, Hearings of the Special Committee

on Un-American Activities, Dec. 17-18, 1934.)

"On page 2, under the head of 'Labor papers,' the first four recommended for use in the schools are:

"New Leader, 7 East Fifteenth Street, New York (Socialist).

"Labor Action, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York—American Workers Party (a schismatic Communist group).

"Workers' Age, 51 West Fourteenth Street, New York—Communist opposition, representing the Trotsky section of revolutionary Communism.

"One would be led to believe that was anti-Communist, but it merely represents the left wing of the party, represented by Trotsky.

"The Daily Worker, 50 East Thirteenth Street, New York—Communist. We thus find the Federal Government itself recommending that unemployed teachers use periodicals whose object, with the exception of the first mentioned, is to teach their

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The basic conflict ever present in industry between those who own and those who work goes up to a judicial tribunal and a solemn judge places a wreath upon the heads of the corporate masters. The company union receives a judicial blessing. Nothing is left of Section 7A unless this decision is reversed by a higher court. The Clayton Act of 1914, which many workers thought was the "Magna Charta" of labor, was in the next decade smashed by judicial blows. Section 7A, already weakened by reservations, interpretations and lack of enforcement, is now staggering under this judicial blow.

While the whole legal standing of the organized workers in the great industries is more than ever uncertain, even the wage structure is at stake in a battle at Washington. The issue is, whether the current wages paid in private industry shall be paid on Federal works projects. The Administration favors payment not of the prevailing wage but a "subsistence" wage. President Roosevelt declares that he will veto any measure requiring payment of the prevailing wage.

A subsistence wage in public employment will tend to reduce the general wage level throughout the United States. It will tend to press masses of workers to a lower economic level. Raising the standard of living is even essential to the revival of depressed industries owned by the big masters, but they are blind to their own interests!

If the workers lose on these two issues the company union fraud will be enthroned by the courts and the working masses will be pressed down to a starvation wage. The Labor and Socialist movement may face a crisis in this struggle. Close up ranks for any emergency that may occur!

Conscript and Cripple Labor, But Tenderly Care for Capital

AS though to serve as an appetizer for the company union decision in the Weirton Steel Company case, Eugene G. Grace, president of the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Company, a big section of the steel empire, was being questioned by a Senate committee investigating huge profits reaped during the World War. For many years a government suit has been pending against this company for

the recovery of eleven million dollars. The company is charged with having practiced a gross fraud, of offering false and fictitious explanations in estimating profits that were "grossly excessive."

His Grace, the Duke of Bethlehem, received a salary in the war years ranging from \$10,000 to \$12,000 and bonuses of three millions. The annual profits had jumped from \$6,000,000 before the war to \$48,000,000 after the war started. Did His Grace think these profits were unusually high? Well, the noble man of steel replied, "private industry should be aided and encouraged in time of war" and "should not be subject to conscription." To tax war profits 100 per cent would "cripple industry in time of war."

Very well. But what of the steel worker, he was asked, who went to war and lost 81 per cent of his income? The question apparently was not pressed by Chairman Nye, who merely asked what the attitude of stockholders would be if their profits were cut to 1 per cent. His Grace thought they would accept a "nominal return."

The steel baron does not want the steel industry conscripted or crippled, but he and his class would not object to the steel workers being conscripted and crippled in war! The class attitude towards big property and the lives of the workers never was more aptly put than it was when His Grace appeared before the Senate committee.

This striking incident occurred a day or two before a Federal judge with a steel case before him ruled that Section 7A of the Recovery Act is unconstitutional! Lowell's burning lines are recalled by these incidents in the Empire of Steel: "Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne."

The Curse of Clark Gable

By Gertrude Weil Klein

AS though the clothing industry isn't sick enough with its own headaches, comes along yet Clark Gable and puts on it altogether the evil eye. From all the girls whose hearts he makes flutter, Mr. Gable, you can bet you, knows; but from the tailor's bread and butter, does he know? No. Shah, I'm going telling you.

Today a clothing worker doesn't make clothes. He makes backs, or sleeves, he makes pockets, he sews clams, he stitches edges, he presses linings. He's a buttonhole carrier or a bottom feller. He bastes canvas; and so on for something like two hundred operations, sometimes, in one coat. And a man who makes sleeves can't make pockets. He can't because he doesn't know how. A clam sewer can't press clams and vice versa. A man who stitches edges can't make buttonholes. A buttonhole maker buttonholes. A buttonhole maker buttonholes. That's the Ford system, only I think the clothing industry started it before Ford.

G. W. Klein

At any rate, the clothing worker today in order to make a living must be able to work at top speed and turn out huge quantities of work. In order to do this, he is compelled to become adept at some single operation. After you sew the inside seam of a sleeve for fifteen or twenty years, it's almost as hard to learn to put a beeson on a pocket as it would be to put an automobile together. That is, you can probably learn to do it all right, but when it's busy no one has the time or will take the trouble to break you in, and when there's no work, of course there is no need for either pocketmakers or sleeve sewers. And assuming by some chance all the conditions are favorable, and a worker is

trained to perform an operation other than the one he is accustomed to, it will take him so long before he can acquire the necessary zip, pep, speed or elan, that his earnings will be practically nil for this whole period.

And then along comes Mr. Gable and puts on his manly form a suit with a shirred back, with balloon pockets, with all kinds of fancy pockets. And the pocketmakers and the backmakers, who are among the few mechanics left in the clothing industry, must revise their whole system of work. Not only must the pocketmaker and the backmaker slow down, but the whole shop has to slow down. Pocketmaking is one of the first operations on a garment. The back, also, must be made before it can go to the joiner and down the rest of the line. While the pocketmakers and backmakers are sweating over their fancy work, the rest of the shop walks around idle. The pocket and back makers who form about eight per cent of the people in the shops may have a full week's work and more—at the height of the season—and the rest of the people may make less than 30 hours. There are no backmakers or pocketmakers, particularly pocketmakers, to be had for love or money.

Employers try to snatch them from each other. In order to feed the rest of the shop, it would be necessary to permit the back and pocketmakers to work overtime. But there are very strict regulations in regard to overtime. How can an industry in which for over five months a year almost all the workers are unemployed, countenance overtime? How can a union, which is, along with the rest of the organized workingclass, demanding support of the 30-hour bill, petition the code authorities for overtime? Meanwhile, production in the shops has decreased about 50% and a whole industry suffers because Mr. Clark Gable started a new style in clothes for men.

ly true of Hoover; and already it is beginning to be true of Franklin D. Roosevelt, one of the shrewdest political observers ever to sit in the White House. Within the past month there has been a sickening feeling by a host of New Dealers that their leader had lost ground with the country at large.

Despite the favorable gold decision, despite definite business upturn, this feeling has increased. There are several reasons for their perturbation, among the most important being that the President is trying to straddle both the Right and the Left. Straddlers always run the risk of falling in between.

The Progressive group in Congress, once enthusiastic boosters for Roosevelt, now suffers varying degrees of disappointment, disillusionment and in some cases embitterment. They feel that their good friend has deserted them for the Tory Democrats and Big Business.

Tory Democrats Are Gloating

Tory Democratic leaders, on the other hand, gleefully announce that they have the President under control, but berate him more bitterly than any Republican when speaking privately.

Then, too, a lot of Senators and Representatives, both Republican and Democratic, always take delight in throwing rocks at the White House. Prior to this session they had not dared; Roosevelt was too popular. But now, having the World Court example before them, plus constant undercover criticism from alleged Democratic leaders, a lot of the more timid souls have decided that it is safe to come out and take a few pot-

shots themselves. All of which increases the downhill momentum.

Frankly, we cannot be elated. The bare and sad facts are that the number of unemployed is estimated at over eleven millions. About twenty million persons are dependent on relief. Many Administration agencies complain of fund shortages to continue with their work. The Public Works Administration, for instance, made it known that the \$150,000,000 available for housing and slum clearance had been reduced by allocating \$95,000,000 to continue the present relief set-up. Except where contracts actually are signed all projects are being held up. The social security program is being held up in the log-jam. If it is held up a little longer it may be too late to have it enacted at this session. That law depends greatly on enactments in state legislatures, of which almost one-half will adjourn in the next month or two and may not meet again for two years. The NRA will die on June 16th unless Congress extends its life before that time.

Maybe It's the Calm Before the Storm

This is no time for Congress and the President to remain at loggerheads. Action—quick and effective action is needed! Paul V. Betters, director of the U. S. Conference of Mayors, declared that unless work is made available "there will be a mobilization of unemployed in Washington that will make the Bonus Army look like a Boy Scout parade in comparison."

So, after all, the present cemetery-like tranquility in Washington may easily prove to be the proverbial calm before the storm!

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NEW LEADER

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



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Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman
Our Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON is at present experiencing an enforced vacation, a complete lull in legislative action, a sort of anti-climax to the head-on collision last week between the White House and the Senate which resulted in the temporary shelving of the \$4,880,000,000 public works and relief bill.

The inclusion in the bill of the McCarran prevailing wage amendment is credited by some to the efforts and influence of the American Federation of Labor, but most people credit it (or debit it, whichever you prefer) to the unholy union of the demagogue "Hoey" Long and the Old-Guard Republicans.

Resting at the Hyde Park Hideout

There is rumor that the President went to recruit his strength in his Hyde Park hide-out to come back to wave the "big stick" in order to drive recalcitrant lawmakers into line. Another rumor is that the lull will intentionally be prolonged to bring about a crystallization of public reaction as to whether the country wants a huge public works program on the terms prescribed by the President, or prefers, for the sake of doubtful economy, to continue on federal relief for the unemployed.

Just how the desire of the country will be ascertained is not

very clear. Usually it is judged by the number of letters that Congressmen and Senators get from the folks back home. This, however, depends largely on who can holler louder and spread the alarm faster.

What hurt Mr. Roosevelt was that his letter of personal appeal was read to the Senate just before the vote. It may now be denied, but that letter would not have been read had he known he was going to be defeated. It was submitted because he had erroneous private information about the expected result.

Another Slip-Up for the President

Somewhat the same slip-up occurred in the World Court fight. The President had no information that he was going to be licked until it was too late to do anything about it.

This matter was taken up inside the White House the day after the wage defeat. Some new arrangements are going to be made for the President to know more accurately how the Senate is lined up. There is some talk about leaders reporting to him twice a day on such important matters.

From a practical standpoint the defeat did not amount to much. Mr. Roosevelt will get the kind of a relief bill he wants after the

Senate gets through with it. The House will stand by him and force the Senate to retreat from the position it is now taking.

You may have noticed that the very day of the Senate defeat Speaker Byrns announced to the House that 10,000 jobs in the C.C.C. were going to be allotted to Representatives for distribution. That gravy bowl came in the nick of time.

Some Democrats in the House have been very much displeased at the way the Senators have been rebelling and getting in good with the labor vote. House Democratic members had to stand by the President and take their chances on incurring the wrath of labor.

It probably is a good thing for President Roosevelt to get away from Washington for a few days at this critical moment. Stock taking certainly is in order. Despite its heavy majorities in both Houses, the Administration has lost control of the situation. The tragic result is that Congress has been in session for two months and practically all its important legislation is still incubating in committees.

Probably the chief trouble of a President is that no one of his many friends and official or unofficial advisers ever seem to be willing to step up and tell him he is slipping. This was particular-

Now That the NRA Has Failed

Socialism Only Hope Left For Suffering Masses

By Harry W. Laidler

THE New Deal has passed through its honeymoon stage, and the nation is soon to celebrate the second anniversary of that unique alliance between government and business entered upon with the inauguration of President Roosevelt.

At that time there were many who felt that the regulated capitalism of the New Deal would bring about an era of security, equality of opportunity and abundance. Thousands who marched in the monster New Deal parades were of the opinion that the capitalist order, under the aegis of the New Deal, was about to reform and that the days of economic chaos were numbered.

In those days there were skeptics and doubters who were unconvinced. These doubters, including myself, a Socialist, maintained, indeed, that New Dealers were correct in their belief that the rugged individualistic philosophy of Herbert Hoover was outgrown; that the doctrine of rugged individualism was logical in those early decades of the Republic where the farmers' family made nearly everything it needed to keep it alive and when the blacksmith and shoemaker and other handicraft workers formed the basis of the village economy, but that it was outdated when 200 great national and international corporations own over half the wealth of the industrial corporations of the United States and monopoly and semi-monopoly exists in many of the great industries.

Skeptics and Doubters and Rugged Individualism

However, these same skeptics and doubters maintained that neither the rugged individualism of the Hooverites nor the regulated capitalism of the New Dealers would bring that security and social well-being the American people were beginning to demand, and that we must go forward to the social ownership of the principal industries of the country if we were to eliminate poverty and unemployment, dictatorship and war.

The developments of the past two years have indicated that these skeptics and doubters were correct. The New Deal has not led us and is not leading us to security and economic justice.

It has organized industry almost 100 per cent in trade associations and has given to many an association powers of price fixing and of production restriction such as they formerly were utterly unable to exercise. It has led to an increase of prices, in many cases permitting manufacturers to charge what would permit the inefficient concern to make a so-called reasonable profit and the efficient concern an unreasonably high profit.

It has, it is true, reduced child labor, although there are frequent violations and hundreds of thousands of children are still working in industrialized agriculture, in domestic service, in the newspaper and in other industries.

It has raised minimum wages, though the minimum has usually been too low to afford a good American life, and there has been nothing in the codes guaranteeing the raising of wages with the increase in the cost of living. Again many violations have been noted, and there has been bootlegging of labor, through the employment of men, women and children at indus-

trial home work at from \$2 to \$5 a week.

Under the New Deal, hours have been slightly reduced. Here, again, we find that thousands are not covered by any code, and in many lines workers are still toiling inhumanly long hours. We must realize, in dealing with hours of work, that, as a result of the increased use of machinery the average worker in a factory could produce in 1932 in 4½ to 5 hours a day as much as it took his predecessor in 1919 to produce in 8 hours a day.

The NRA has led to an increase in the ranks of organized labor, though company unions controlled by large corporations have grown at a faster rate than have the free unions, and the fight against unionization and collective bargaining is still a bitter one.

On the other hand, unemployment is still with us. The American Federation of Labor declared that, in November 1934, we still had a great army of 11,459,000 without jobs, an increase of over 400,000 over November 1933.

Industry is still limping along, having recovered only about ¼ of the losses sustained since 1929. The annual income of farmers is still about ½ of their 1920 income although about 40 per cent more than two years ago. The worker who had a job a year ago and has one today finds that the cost of living has advanced and that he isn't any better off than last year.

Industry Gets the Breaks Under NRA

Some progress has been made, but great powers have been granted to industry over the worker and consumer and the New Deal has shown no tendency to close the gap between America's capacity to produce and the capacity of the workers to buy the goods that are produced. In fact, while in 1933 the number of people getting an income of a million dollars or more more than doubled (from 20 to 46), those in the income brackets decreased. The new public works program of the President might help further in recovery, but will give work to only a part of the unemployed at low wages, and the social insurance program runs counter to that suggested by experts, inasmuch as it leaves the systems to the states, rather than the nation.

Even if, under the New Deal, we return to the normalcy of 1929, we will not have solved any of the big problems before the American people, for we will have left the present system of private monopoly and private ownership of vital industries intact.

The great struggle of the future will therefore be the struggle between regulated capitalism and a socialized industrial order wherein the chief and controlling industries of the country are publicly owned and democratically managed.

It was the noted sociologist of Columbia University, Professor Franklin H. Giddings, who said years ago that the greatest question before the American people is:

Shall the chief and controlling means of production in the United States, the natural resources, the public utilities, the great funds of loanable capital, and the key industries of the country be owned by a billionaire 400 who, by virtue of their ownership shall be able for all practical purposes to own a hundred or more millions of us ordinary human beings, or shall we ordinary human beings, in our collective capacity own the means



Dr. Harry W. Laidler

of production ourselves and proceed to work out the realities of a democratic republic.

Americans have long prided themselves upon their ideals of democracy, and yet we are beginning to realize increasingly that democracy is impossible under a system of industrial autocracy. Abraham Lincoln said that America cannot long endure half free and half slave. It is also true that America cannot be at one and the same time a political democracy and an industrial feudalism. If we are to enjoy a real democracy we as a nation must control our own industrial life. That means public or social ownership of the principal means of production and distribution. America has long had a lofty ideal of equality of opportunity. Yet under a system of private monopoly, equality of opportunity has been an unrealizable dream.

What We Had in the Boom Days

In the boom days of 1929 we had in this country 360,000 families, constituting 1/10 of one per cent of the population, securing an income of \$75,000 or more a year. On the other scale of the ladder, there were between 11 and 12 million families, 42 per cent of our total family population, receiving an income of \$1,500 or less a year. This 1/10 of one per cent of the population secured a total income equal to that of the other 42 per cent. Under private ownership it is possible for men, women, and children to receive hundreds of thousands of dollars and millions of dollars not as a result of their intellectual or manual contributions to society, but as a result of the ownership of our natural resources, our public utilities, and our great industries. On the other hand, it is possible for millions of the nation's toilers to work from early until late and to secure as a result of their conscientious effort hardly enough to keep body and soul together. Only when the industries are owned by the community will the returns to the nation's workers bear a close relation with their ability and their industry.

Only then will genuine equality of opportunity prevail.

We Americans have long boasted of our industrial efficiency, and yet under our present industrial system we waste hundreds of millions and billions of dollars each year in competitive exploitation of our natural resources, in production of useless and anti-social goods, in our failure to utilize our machines, our factories, and the energy of our people. This is true during good times while during hard times many of our industries work at only 10 or 15 per cent of capacity. Only under social ownership will it be possible to utilize to the full all of our natural and human resources and produce and distribute these resources for the benefit of all.

The New Deal is an attempt

Struggle of the Future to Be for a Socialist World

not to bring all of our resources into use but to limit production in agriculture and in industry with the idea of increasing the price, structure, an increase which brings with it a decrease of purchasing power on the part of the masses.

How the New Deal Limits Production

Americans have long been engaged in the quest for security. Yet insecurity under rugged individualism and under the regulated capitalism of the New Deal has become greater as the years advance. With the settlement of the country, contraction of our foreign markets, the slower growth of our population, the ability of our mass industries to saturate the market with goods, the growing rigidity of our price structure under private monopoly and the constant increase of our debt structure and the increased inequality of wealth and income, our insecurity has been growing greater as the years go on. Social ownership would solve the problem of insecurity by bringing about a more equitable distribution of the products of industry and making possible social planning on a national and international scale.

I know that the New Deal is oftentimes referred to as an experiment in social planning. This, however, is not true.

Social economic planning presupposes the operation of all industry as a unified and coordinated whole, not merely the integration of activity in one industry. Planning in a single industry, as under the New Deal, may mean greater instability in another industry. Any plan in the steel industry for the limitation of production vitally affects the building industry, the automobile industry, the mining and other industries. No stability is possible unless planning is conducted on a national scale.

Finally, genuine planning on the part of society involves the ownership by society of the industry directed. An individual finds it difficult indeed to plan the day's work of an automobile or machine owned by some other individual. It is an easy matter to plan the tasks of property owned by himself. A community can prevent the owners of automobiles or of money or of factories from engaging in certain anti-social activities, but it is difficult for that community, unless it assumes dictatorial power, to direct affirmatively the use of things it does not own. The Rooseveltian New Deal left intact private ownership of basic industries, and, by that token, made social planning impossible. The possible exception lies in the T.V.A. experiment and the incipient housing and slum clearance experiments. There are likewise significant suggestions in the direction of national economic planning in the reports of the National Resource Board and the Mississippi Valley Committee.

When Capitalism Rules

The difficulty under capitalism is that the interest of the individual owner is at variance at many points with that of society. Since society does not own the factories, shops, farms, banks and investment resources of the country, any attempt at planning compels the use of the coercive powers of the state to prevent thousands of individual owners from doing things calculated to bring maximum profits to them, though scant returns to society as a whole. The result

is constant friction, waste and social conflict.

Under capitalism every step toward planning for the common good is achieved against the opposition of a thousand different interests in industry anxious for private gain. Under social ownership, the owner and planner are one and planning becomes the normal order of the day.

In Italy, with its "corporate State," where employers and workers are required to join trade associations and trade "unions" in their respective industries; where a council has been set up to supervise the industries of the state, there is the same kind of overproduction and lack of balance between production and the effective demand of the masses as elsewhere, and none of the problems of insecurity have been solved.

In Germany, where the organization of cartels within industries and between allied industries was permitted by law, the problem of genuine economic stability is as far from solution as ever. Here the state capitalistic structure built up by the industrialists did not lead to a socially planned economy.

The various types of councils organized for statistical and advisory purposes in a half dozen other European countries have not as yet pointed the way to a solution of our social problem.

A Socialist World

As contrasted with an unregulated capitalist system, and with planning under capitalism of the type of the New Deal, the Socialist seeks to make the community the owner of the principal industries of the country—the credit structure, the natural resources, the public utilities and the key industries, and to operate them not for private gain but for public service.

He would seek to administer these public industries as public corporations, not as departments of governments as in the case of the Post Office Department, but in a manner somewhat similar to the Port of New York Authority and the increasing number of government corporations here and abroad. He would seek to give to each public body as much autonomy as consistent with the social welfare, and eliminate red tape and regimentation to the minimum. He would endeavor to have each industry pay its way, and give of its surplus to the improvement of its equipment, and its personnel, and to the support of the educational, recreational, health and other services of the government. He would seek to work out a system of democratic control, whereby the consumers, the workers, the technicians and other groups interested in the proper development of the socially owned industry would have adequate representation on governing and advisory boards.

A Socialist society will not be a static society. It will be dynamic, ever changing, ever improving. But, with the elimination of the struggle between the owning group and the working group; with the transformation of the aim of industry from profit to human welfare, these problems of planning would be immensely simplified as compared with attempts at planning under our present competitive economic order. If we are to avoid increasing insecurity or increasing dictatorship, we must press forward to social planning in a cooperative social order.

The Workers Abroad

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

By William M. Feigenbaum

British "United Front," New Style

FOR the first time the British Communist Party received a fraternal delegate from the remnants of the I.L.P., in the person of the vivid James Maxton, M.P. When Maxton appeared the Communists went wild with enthusiasm and sang the International. The man who only a year ago was denounced as a "wrecker," as a "counter-revolutionary" and a "social fascist" was gathered to the collective Bolshevik bosom "as joyously as if he were Stalin himself," as one journalist put it.

The Communists, of course, have long hoped to gather the I.L.P. under their wing, and gradually to "liquidate" it. Up to now Maxton and A. Fenner Brockway, his principal associate, have held back, only entering "united fronts" and getting themselves vilified and slandered by the Communists for their pains. Their attempt to united all non-S.L.L. Socialist groups into a "Fourth International" which would serve as a "bridge" between the Socialists and Communists failed when the "Fourth International" movement dismally failed.

Maxton's appearance before the Communists, then, seemed to be the first step toward what the Communists had long hoped for. Maxton spoke "of a wider united front movement." Harry Pollitt, official Communist Party leader, declared: "Out of the present united front activities it will be possible at not far distant date to convene a joint conference of the I.L.P. and the Communist Party that will establish in this country a united Communist Party."

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America Gropes for Utopia

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By Julius Umansky

ADDING to the general clamor for attention are two new economic babies on America's doorstep, born just a year ago. One of them developed enough lung-power to make itself heard from California all the way to the White House. It is the Townsend Plan.

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Early Utopian



ALBERT BRISBANE
One of America's earliest Utopian Socialists

country's afflictions. An official pamphlet states that it "interferes in no way with our present form of government, profit system of business or change of specie in our economic set-up."

Just as in Bellamy's Nationalist Movement, and in Technocracy, a hands-off policy is maintained toward the profit system, for capitalism be the working class would talistic ire must not be aroused. And so any plan which does not propose to eliminate the profit system is in reality attempting to perpetuate the very difficulties which it purports to solve! Such a measure to soothe the pleas of the aged is not greatly different from the familiar illustration of a harassed parent dangling a rattle before a howling infant, while the true cause of the commotion is an open diaper-pin. The rattle merely adds to the general confusion.

The Utopian Society of America, Inc., on the other hand, recognizes the source of the evil and proposes to do away with the profit system. It believes in balancing production with maximum consumption needs. It visualizes a cooperative state and takes into account the technological impact and the need of money to be used for purchase rather than for circulation or speculation. At any rate, that is what Eugene Reed, founder and chairman of the Board of Directors, wrote. Upon further examination, it is found that the Utopian Society is an adulterated radicalism in medicine man's clothes.

His principles in short are: 1. To guarantee employment and a deserving income; 2. to eliminate poverty; 3. to provide for the sick

and the aged; 4. to educate the young; 5. to maintain adequate defensive forces, "but condemn . . . the slaughter of our American manhood in disastrous wars" brought on by profit seekers.

In explaining the fifth point, Mr. Reed told the writer that the Utopian Society was "opposed to all war under this system." Well, let us hope they'll stick to it!

When Mr. Reed was questioned concerning the secrecy, ritual and mumbo-jumbo atmosphere surrounding the organization, he pointed out that Americans loved secret societies, and joined all sorts of animal lodges. Why not use similar means to educate them?

This "education" consists of going through five cycles, with symbolical titles applied to the member, who, of course, pays as he goes. The member receives a number, by which he is thereafter known.

Although discussion of economic problems is permitted, it must not question the foundations of the movement. Discussion leads to dissension, as the Utopian founders learned from watching the radical movement in America.

In the belief that the American was "fearful lest some neighbor might discover his plan and misunderstand," the founders substituted pseudo-discussion, and rapidly began to sprout all over the map. There is now a Utopian Society of America (East), Inc., with headquarters in New York City.

Significantly, nothing tinged with red appears in the Eastern membership blank. An abiding faith in the Constitution and its pliability is fervently expressed. The technique used by the Society in gaining followers is neatly summed up in Mr. Reed's phrase: "It is to you whatever you please to call it." That, in its true light, is an admission of the dangerous character of the Utopians. The movement will mold itself on the basis of expediency. It claims that it is not political but educational. Yet, while it may have admirable demands, its fatal defect is a lack of a well thought out program based upon logical principles.

Thus any political charlatan can come along and promise everything to secure Utopian support. The motive to action will be not a clearly defined philosophy, but the fleeting spell-binding powers of a demagogue. That is why the Utopian Society has been characterized as potentially fascist in nature. It has within it the seed of a movement that will be easily swayed by any persuasive appeal. This obvious peril can only be avoided by the existence of an organized working class, educated up to a point where it uses political and industrial action to secure the realization of its entire program. A mass which is organized emotionally and disorganized intellectually invites the wooing by an American Hitler.

Despite this criticism, the good in both plans should be recognized. The Townsend Plan emphasizes anew, what Socialists have advocated for a generation, that provision for the aged is a social obligation.

The Utopian Society demonstrates forcibly that the American people can be organized for the purpose of ending their troubles.

However, by prescribing medicines for diseases which they allow to continue, rather than preventing the diseases which would make the medicine unnecessary, both plans result in further befuddling the minds of America's groping millions.

(Another article in this series will appear next week.)

HEARST—ENEMY OF LABOR

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST—Public Enemy Number One—despite his loud professions of love for The Common People—is one of the bitterest foes of the workers. Read a remarkable and revealing article in next week's New Leader by EMILY N. BROWN, with facts hitherto unknown about this creature.

HARRY W. LAIDLER, distinguished economist and publicist, has another important economic study on Relief in next week's New Leader.

MARK STARR, director of education of the I.L.G.W.U., internationally noted expert on Workers' Education, writes a series of several articles for The New Leader.

Another Turn of the Screw

Herr Schuschnigg Travels to Paris and London Begging for Help, While at Home the Terror Continues

By Otto Bauer

THE Austrian Federal Chancellor is to visit London shortly, stopping in Paris on the way. Before he does so, it is the intention of the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs to visit Prague. Hitherto Austrian statesmen have visited only Rome and Budapest; now they want to pay visits to democratic governments as well.

It will strike many people as curious that, just at the time when preparations are being made for these visits, the fascist government of Austria should have set about a further and intensified persecution of the Socialists of Austria.

It is necessary to call the attention of the democratic countries to the following facts:

(1) Since the suppression of the Austrian Social Democratic Party and the free trade unions, of all Socialist newspapers and organizations, so that any expression of Socialist opinion is prohibited, there has come into being an illegal Socialist press and side by side with it an illegal trade union press, which are keeping the ideas of Socialism and free trade unionism alive among the Austrian working class and maintaining contact between the scattered members of the movement.

This illegal press has already been the object of brutal persecution by the Austrian government. Anyone found in possession of even a single copy of an illegal newspaper was kept under arrest, as a rule for six weeks. A person charged with having taken part in the distribution of an illegal newspaper was kept under arrest for five or six months. These sentences were inflicted by the police without any judicial proceedings. This persecution, however, proved unavailing; in spite of these police penalties the circulation of the illegal newspapers steadily increased. The government in consequence has now issued a new decree substantially increasing these penalties. Whereas under the former decree the police were authorized to impose penalties of up to six months' arrest, it is now provided that the police may inflict a penalty of up to one year's arrest, without any trial, on anyone taking part in the distribution of illegal newspapers. In addition, judicial proceedings may in future be instituted over and above the police penalty.

The mere distribution of a newspaper which advocates the overthrow of the fascist Constitution decreed on May 1, 1934, must be punished by the court as high treason, for which the judges are forbidden to inflict any less penalty than five years' penal servitude. Penal servitude for a minimum period of one year must also be imposed on anyone taking part in the distribution of a newspaper which advocates any disturbance of the public peace, contains any incitement against the government or spreads "disaffecting" rumors.

Henceforth, therefore, the mere participation in the distribution of an illegal newspaper may entail the infliction by the police of a penalty of one year's arrest and in addition sentence by a court to

imprisonment for at least one year and in many cases at least five years. Austria has thus brought itself into line with Hitler's Germany, where such penalties for the distribution of illegal literature have already been imposed.

(2) The Austrian government intends to carry through a series of trials of Socialists for high treason. I have already endeavored in an earlier article to call the attention of public opinion to the fact that the Austrian government intends in the near future to indict for high treason 24 Vienna working men, who had been leaders of local groups of the *Schutzbund*, and two Republican officers, Comrades Major Eisler and Captain Löw, although all these comrades had been arrested before Feb. 12, 1934, had therefore had taken no part in the February fighting, and have since then been continuously in prison, so that no charge can be brought against them save that they made preparations for the defense of the Constitution then in force against a fascist coup d'état. It has since been learned that the Austrian government is also thinking of bringing charges of high treason against Siehlgader, Burgomaster of the industrial town of Steyr, and Schrangl, member of the Parliament for Steyr.

(3) Mass arrests of Socialists have likewise begun to take place recently. A typical case was the

dissolution of the "Jadran" Club and the arrest of its members. The premises of this club, which is entirely non-political and organized purely for social purposes, were raided by the police, who arrested more than 90 members. That it was not because of any illegal activity that the arrests were effected is shown by the number arrested. The police themselves give as the reason for the closing down of the club and the arrest of its members that the club was a "meeting place for members of the suppressed Social Democratic Party." The members of the club were mainly Socialist students and intellectuals. The police announcement, therefore, means nothing less than that persons who used to belong to the Social Democratic Party are no longer allowed to meet for social recreation.

There is no need to cite further instances of the intensification of the persecution of Socialists in Austria. The only question that needs to be put is why the Austrian government should be intensifying its terrorism just now. It is not difficult to answer that question: the Austrian government is afraid. It knows that the overwhelming majority of the people is hostile to it and full of hatred for it. It resorts to intensified terrorism because it wants to spread fear; it wants to spread fear because it is itself afraid.



Otto Bauer

The New Leader Book Corner

By James Oneal

A NATION TERRORIZED. By Gerhart Seger. Chicago: Reilly and Lee. \$1.50.

THIS is a translation from the German of Comrade Seger's book relating the experiences of prisoners in the Oranienburg concentration camp, one of a number of living hells to which opponents of Hitler have been consigned. It is a moving narrative of human beings placed in the custody of sadist brutes, low creatures cast up by the Nazi delirium in Germany. Comrade Seger is on a lecture tour in this country and the book should be on sale at every meeting.

Seger, a former Socialist member few men who have escaped from the torture chambers of Hitler. Aside from the physical tortures which prisoners suffer, there is the continued mental distress due to knowledge that under "protective arrest" they never know whether they will be tortured to death, whether they will be released, or whether they will waste away and eventually be carted out a corpse. Some of the cruelties committed upon helpless men leave one almost sick with anger and abhorrence. Vivid portraits are drawn of some of the keepers of this hell, their revolting deeds and foul minds are bared. The author writes with surprising restraint considering the horrors which he shared with other prisoners and the book is all the more convincing because of this mood.

Just as revolting is the story he tells of some Communists. One incident of a number will suffice. At rollcall Leader Kruger announces that the "bloated Socialist leader Fritz Ebert" would soon arrive and that this keeper would know how to deal with this "Marxist dog." From the ranks of the Communist came loud cheers! "The Communists in question," writes Seger, "themselves victims of the

SA's chief sadist, standing in front of them, did not shrink from applauding the assassin of their own party colleagues when this Nazi promised to deal with a Socialist!" A Communist prisoner turns informer against a Jewish Socialist; the latter is brutally flogged by six Hitler beasts and is then confined for nine days in a dark cell! What a united front!

But get the book. Here is Hitler "culture," that "culture" which has revived the medieval axe in executions. The book can be obtained at the Rand School Book Store.

THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE NEW DEAL. By Benjamin Stolberg and Warren Jay Vinton. Harcourt Brace and Co. \$1.

IN 1931, a New York publisher brought out an impish little book entitled "Oh Yeah?" Here were to be found the wise sayings of the eminent leaders of capitalism—editors, bankers, capitalists, experts, Hoover, Coolidge, Mellon, and the rest, about the depression. "Prosperity" was just around the corner. Cheer up!

This little book by Stolberg and Vinton recalls "Oh Yeah?" In 85 pages of economic analysis and sardonic humor, peppered with striking epigrams, the authors pay their respects to the New Deal. The final comment which closes the book indicates its flavor. Of the Roosevelt program to plow under this and to destroy that they say: "There is nothing the New Deal has so far done that could not have been done better by an earthquake."

And what of labor? "The New Deal for labor has consisted largely in moving one speech forward and two steps backward."

After a critical review of the economic results of the New Deal they conclude that Big Ownership has picked the most juicy plums. They select the tobacco code as a leading example of the grotesque

Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

Questions and Answers

J. D., Brooklyn. You are right that the Socialist Party has a fine tradition of inner-party democracy, but you assume that this democracy requires that we should admit various types of Communists and allow them "freedom to urge their views in a democratic manner within the party." Otherwise, you say, we will "end up with a party boss and a bunch of yes-men, a la Stalin and his clique."

That is to say, you appear to believe the Socialist Party made a terrible mistake in 1919 when it parted company with the Communists within it; that we should atone for it by inviting the members of every Communist sect in the country to join the party and transform the party into an endless debating forum and fighting ring for all these Communist views. The fact is, such a policy is a perversion of democracy, not its fulfillment.

You assume that we should provide party branches, locals, committees, conventions, forums and publications for all views no matter how much these views may be in conflict with each other. If I hold a street meeting and a Communist insists that he must have my soapbox, I do not deny him democracy if I do not give it to him. If Socialists struggle for years to establish a paper and deny it to those holding Communist views we do not violate democracy.

This is not democracy; it insures the transformation of any organization that would follow this course into a continuous vendetta and the final destruction of the organization. It is not our duty to provide party branches, locals, halls, forums, committees, conventions and publications for Communists or any other non-Socialists; on the contrary, our only duty lies in defending their right to have such instruments of their own for expressing their views.

There must be loud roars of laughter in Communist groups at this naive conception of what is our Socialist duty. These groups already have the instruments we mention, but our correspondent insists that the Socialist Party should also place all its instruments at the disposal of these Communists! We know of one R. P. C. who frankly carried this idea to its logical conclusion. When asked if he would also admit Democrats, his answer was Yes so long as they were pledged to be guided by party constitutions and platforms! Let us also permit Tammanyites to "urge their views in a democratic manner" in the party! For that is the logical conclusion from the first idea.

Why not also open the party doors to the various religious sects that seek social redemption through a mystic Kingdom of God in which all economic strife will cease? The naive theory of "democracy" that is now current in some quarters cannot consistently exclude these sects should they apply for admission.

A movement with a philosophy and aim must have certain basic essentials to which its members must agree if it is not to be transformed into a madhouse. Within that range of essentials there is plenty of room for a variety of opinions, but outside of that range chaos and civil war are certain if persons are admitted who do not accept the basic essentials. The movement cannot even carry on the work to which it is pledged. It is compelled to turn all its attention to the inner and continuous deadly conflict of views. Democracy becomes impossible because feuds are nursed by this policy.

In no other country of the world will one find this queer idea offered as "democracy." It is immature, lacking in knowledge of what democracy really means.

This Job Too Big for Us

T. B., Newport, L. I. The job you would have this publication do is a big one and should be done with a series of pamphlets. You say that you passed through years of "infantile leftism" before you became a convinced democratic Socialist. That is the experience of others, but for us to attempt a history of Bolshevism would be too much for us to undertake. Arthur Rosenberg's "History of Bolshevism," reviewed in The New Leader several months ago, is a very good short history, and August Tyler's pamphlet on the "United Front" is very informative.

M. W., Michigan. One would have to be acquainted with all the details to give you more than a provisional answer to your question. If the candidate in question is no longer a member of the Communist Party, but is a strong supporter of it and its views, it is certain that as a candidate for public office he will make a Communist campaign. If some unions approve him as an independent candidate they are likely to regret it before the campaign is over. If he does not make a Communist campaign although accepting the C. P. position, then the candidate would prove to be an opportunist, believing one thing and advocating another. If the C. P. also endorses him—well, we decline to offer any advice. In general we will say that in this period of confusion the more directly we go to our job of building our own party and supporting our own candidates the more solid and reliable will the party become.

swindles that are possible under the NRA and the few pages devoted to it constitute a model of economic summarizing and interpretation. Readers who have followed the evolution of the tobacco code will agree that they have not exaggerated what has actually happened.

We suspect that our old friend Stolberg wrote most of the chapter on The Workers for here his old impatience with the slow-moving unions is manifest. His historical interpretation of the evolution of

American trade union ideology is informative, but he does not seem to have any confidence that the unions will vigorously assert their claims under the New Deal. Since the book appeared it is obvious that this fighting spirit is being asserted and asserted by some conservative officials in terms so bitter and aggressive that it is surprising to all who have watched the development of the struggle. The book is an excellent broadside which every reader will enjoy.

J. O.

The Workers Abroad

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

By William M. Feigenbaum

British "United Front," New Style

FOR the first time the British Communist Party received a fraternal delegate from the remnants of the I.L.P., in the person of the vivid James Maxton, M.P. When Maxton appeared the Communists went wild with enthusiasm and sang the International. The man who only a year ago was denounced as a "wrecker," as a "counter-revolutionary" and a "social fascist" was gathered to the collective Bolshevik bosom "as joyously as if he were Stalin himself," as one journalist put it.

The Communists, of course, have long hoped to gather the I.L.P. under their wing, and gradually to "liquidate" it. Up to now Maxton and A. Fenner Brockway, his principal associate, have held back, only entering "united fronts" and getting themselves vilified and slandered by the Communists for their pains. Their attempt to united all non-S.L.I. Socialist groups into a "Fourth International" which would serve as a "bridge" between the Socialists and Communists failed when the "Fourth International" movement dismally failed.

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One of America's earliest Utopian Socialists

country's afflictions. An official pamphlet states that it "interferes in no way with our present form of government, profit system of business or change of specie in our economic set-up."

Just as in Bellamy's Nationalist Movement, and in Technocracy, a hands-off policy is maintained toward the profit system, for capitalism be the working class would talistic ire must not be aroused. And so any plan which does not propose to eliminate the profit system is in reality attempting to perpetuate the very difficulties which it purports to solve! Such a measure to soothe the pleas of the aged is not greatly different from the familiar illustration of a harassed parent dangling a rattle before a howling infant, while the true cause of the commotion is an open diaper-pin. The rattle merely adds to the general confusion.

The Utopian Society of America, Inc., on the other hand, recognizes the source of the evil and proposes to do away with the profit system. It believes in balancing production with maximum consumption needs. It visualizes a cooperative state and takes into account the technological impact and the need of money to be used for purchase rather than for circulation or speculation. At any rate, that is what Eugene Reed, founder and chairman of the Board of Directors, wrote. Upon further examination, it is found that the Utopian Society is an adulterated radicalism in medicine man's clothes.

His principles in short are: 1. To guarantee employment and a deserving income; 2. to eliminate poverty; 3. to provide for the sick

HEARST—ENEMY OF LABOR

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST—Public Enemy Number One—despite his loud professions of love for The Common People—is one of the bitterest foes of the workers. Read a remarkable and revealing article in next week's New Leader by EMILY N. BROWN, with facts hitherto unknown about this creature.

HARRY W. LAIDLER, distinguished economist and publicist, has another important economic study on Relief in next week's New Leader.

MARK STARR, director of education of the I.L.G.W.U., internationally noted expert on Workers' Education, writes a series of several articles for The New Leader.

and the aged; 4. to educate the young; 5. to maintain adequate defensive forces, "but condemn . . . the slaughter of our American manhood in disastrous wars" brought on by profit seekers.

In explaining the fifth point, Mr. Reed told the writer that the Utopian Society was "opposed to all war under this system." Well, let us hope they'll stick to it!

When Mr. Reed was questioned concerning the secrecy, ritual and mumbo-jumbo atmosphere surrounding the organization, he pointed out that Americans loved secret societies, and joined all sorts of animal lodges. Why not use similar means to educate them?

This "education" consists of going through five cycles, with symbolical titles applied to the member, who, of course, pays as he goes. The member receives a number, by which he is thereafter known.

Although discussion of economic problems is permitted, it must not question the foundations of the movement. Discussion leads to dissension, as the Utopian founders learned from watching the radical movement in America.

In the belief that the American was "fearful lest some neighbor might discover his plan and misunderstand," the founders substituted pseudo-discussion, and rapidly began to sprout all over the map. There is now a Utopian Society of America (East), Inc., with headquarters in New York City.

Significantly, nothing tinged with red appears in the Eastern membership blank. An abiding faith in the Constitution and its pliability is fervently expressed. The technique used by the Society in gaining followers is neatly summed up in Mr. Reed's phrase: "It is to you whatever you please to call it." That, in its true light, is an admission of the dangerous character of the Utopians. The movement will mold itself on the basis of expediency. It claims that it is not political but educational. Yet, while it may have admirable demands, its fatal defect is a lack of a well thought out program based upon logical principles.

Thus any political charlatan can come along and promise everything to secure Utopian support. The motive to action will be not a clearly defined philosophy, but the fleeting spell-binding powers of a demagogue. That is why the Utopian Society has been characterized as potentially fascist in nature. It has within it the seed of a movement that will be easily swayed by any persuasive appeal. This obvious peril can only be avoided by the existence of an organized working class, educated up to a point where it uses political and industrial action to secure the realization of its entire program. A mass which is organized emotionally and disorganized intellectually invites the wooing by an American Hitler.

Despite this criticism, the good in both plans should be recognized. The Townsend Plan emphasizes anew, what Socialists have advocated for a generation, that provision for the aged is a social obligation.

The Utopian Society demonstrates forcibly that the American people can be organized for the purpose of ending their troubles.

However, by prescribing medicines for diseases which they allow to continue, rather than preventing the diseases which would make the medicine unnecessary, both plans result in further befuddling the minds of America's groping millions.

(Another article in this series will appear next week.)

Another Turn of the Screw

Herr Schuschnigg Travels to Paris and London Begging for Help, While at Home the Terror Continues

By Otto Bauer

THE Austrian Federal Chancellor is to visit London shortly, stopping in Paris on the way. Before he does so, it is the intention of the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs to visit Prague. Hitherto Austrian statesmen have visited only Rome and Budapest; now they want to pay visits to democratic governments as well.

It will strike many people as curious that, just at the time when preparations are being made for these visits, the fascist government of Austria should have set about a further and intensified persecution of the Socialists of Austria.

It is necessary to call the attention of the democratic countries to the following facts:

(1) Since the suppression of the Austrian Social Democratic Party and the free trade unions, of all Socialist newspapers and organizations, so that any expression of Socialist opinion is prohibited, there has come into being an illegal Socialist press and side by side with it an illegal trade union press, which are keeping the ideas of Socialism and free trade unionism alive among the Austrian working class and maintaining contact between the scattered members of the movement.

This illegal press has already been the object of brutal persecution by the Austrian government. Anyone found in possession of even a single copy of an illegal newspaper was kept under arrest, as a rule for six weeks. A person charged with having taken part in the distribution of an illegal newspaper was kept under arrest for five or six months. These sentences were inflicted by the police without any judicial proceedings. This persecution, however, proved unavailing; in spite of these police penalties the circulation of the illegal newspapers steadily increased. The government in consequence has now issued a new decree substantially increasing these penalties. Whereas under the former decree the police were authorized to impose penalties of up to six months' arrest, it is now provided that the police may inflict a penalty of up to one year's arrest, without any trial, on anyone taking part in the distribution of illegal newspapers. In addition, judicial proceedings may in future be instituted over and above the police penalty.

The mere distribution of a newspaper which advocates the overthrow of the fascist Constitution decreed on May 1, 1934, must be punished by the court as high treason, for which the judges are forbidden to inflict any less penalty than five years' penal servitude. Penal servitude for a minimum period of one year must also be imposed on anyone taking part in the distribution of a newspaper which advocates any disturbance of the public peace, contains any incitement against the government or spreads "disaffecting" rumors.

Henceforth, therefore, the mere participation in the distribution of an illegal newspaper may entail the infliction by the police of a penalty of one year's arrest and in addition sentence by a court to

imprisonment for at least one year and in many cases at least five years. Austria has thus brought itself into line with Hitler's Germany, where such penalties for the distribution of illegal literature have already been imposed.

(2) The Austrian government intends to carry through a series of trials of Socialists for high treason. I have already endeavored in an earlier article to call the attention of public opinion to the fact that the Austrian government intends in the near future to indict for high treason 24 Vienna working men, who had been leaders of local groups of the *Schutzbund*, and two Republican officers, Comrades Major Eifler and Captain Löw, although all these comrades had been arrested before Feb. 12, 1934, had therefore had taken no part in the February fighting, and have since then been continuously in prison, so that no charge can be brought against them save that they made preparations for the defense of the Constitution then in force against a fascist coup d'état. It has since been learned that the Austrian government is also thinking of bringing charges of high treason against Siehelskader, Burgomaster of the industrial town of Steyr, and Schrangl, member of the Parliament for Steyr.

(3) Mass arrests of Socialists have likewise begun to take place recently. A typical case was the

dissolution of the "Jadran" Club and the arrest of its members. The premises of this club, which is entirely non-political and organized purely for social purposes, were raided by the police, who arrested more than 90 members. That it was not because of any illegal activity that the arrests were effected is shown by the number arrested. The police themselves give as the reason for the closing down of the club and the arrest of its members that the club was a "meeting place for members of the suppressed Social Democratic Party." The members of the club were mainly Socialist students and intellectuals. The police announcement, therefore, means nothing less than that persons who used to belong to the Social Democratic Party are no longer allowed to of its members that the club was meet for social recreation.

There is no need to cite further instances of the intensification of the persecution of Socialists in Austria. The only question that needs to be put is why the Austrian government should be intensifying its terrorism just now. It is not difficult to answer that question: the Austrian government is afraid. It knows that the overwhelming majority of the people is hostile to it and full of hatred for it. It resorts to intensified terrorism because it wants to spread fear; it wants to spread fear because it is itself afraid.

The New Leader Book Corner

By James Oneal

A NATION TERRORIZED. By Gerhart Seger. Chicago: Reilly and Lee. \$1.50.

THIS is a translation from the German of Comrade Seger's book relating the experiences of prisoners in the Oranienburg concentration camp, one of a number of living hells to which opponents of Hitler have been consigned. It is a moving narrative of human beings placed in the custody of sadist brutes, low creatures cast up by the Nazi delirium in Germany. Comrade Seger is on a lecture tour in this country and the book should be on sale at every meeting.

Seger, a former Socialist member few men who have escaped from the torture chambers of Hitler. Aside from the physical tortures which prisoners suffer, there is the continued mental distress due to knowledge that under "protective arrest" they never know whether they will be tortured to death, whether they will be released, or whether they will waste away and eventually be carted out a corpse. Some of the cruelties committed upon helpless men leave one almost sick with anger and abhorrence. Vivid portraits are drawn of some of the keepers of this hell, their revolting deeds and foul minds are bared. The author writes with surprising restraint considering the horrors which he shared with other prisoners and the book is all the more convincing because of this mood.

Just as revolting is the story he tells of some Communists. One incident of a number will suffice. At rollcall Leader Kruger announces that the "bloated Socialist leader Fritz Ebert" would soon arrive and that this keeper would know how to deal with this "Marxist dog." From the ranks of the Communist came loud cheers! "The Communists in question," writes Seger, "themselves victims of the

SA's chief sadist, standing in front of them, did not shrink from applauding the assassin of their own party colleagues when this Nazi promised to deal with a Socialist!" A Communist prisoner turns informer against a Jewish Socialist; the latter is brutally flogged by six Hitler beasts and is then confined for nine days in a dark cell! What a united front!

But get the book. Here is Hitler "culture," that "culture" which has revived the medieval axe in executions. The book can be obtained at the Rand School Book Store.

THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE NEW DEAL. By Benjamin Stolberg and Warren Jay Vinton. Harcourt Brace and Co. \$1.

IN 1931, a New York publisher brought out an impish little book entitled "Oh Yeah?" Here were to be found the wise sayings of the eminent leaders of capitalism—editors, bankers, capitalists, experts. Hoover, Coolidge, Mellon, and the rest, about the depression. "Prosperity" was just around the corner. Cheer up!

This little book by Stolberg and Vinton recalls "Oh Yeah?" In 85 pages of economic analysis and sardonic humor, peppered with striking epigrams, the authors pay their respects to the New Deal. The final comment which closes the book indicates its flavor. Of the Roosevelt program to plow under this and to destroy that they say: "There is nothing the New Deal has so far done that could not have been done better by an earthquake."

And what of labor? "The New Deal for labor has consisted largely in moving one speech forward and two steps backward."

After a critical review of the economic results of the New Deal they conclude that Big Ownership has picked the most juicy plums. They select the tobacco code as a leading example of the grotesque

Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

Questions and Answers

J. D., Brooklyn. You are right that the Socialist Party has a fine tradition of inner-party democracy, but you assume that this democracy requires that we should admit various types of Communists and allow them "freedom to urge their views in a democratic manner within the party." Otherwise, you say, we will "end up with a party boss and a bunch of yes-men, a la Stalin and his clique."

That is to say, you appear to believe the Socialist Party made a terrible mistake in 1919 when it parted company with the Communists within it; that we should atone for it by inviting the members of every Communist sect in the country to join the party and transform the party into an endless debating forum and fighting ring for all these Communist views. The fact is, such a policy is a perversion of democracy, not its fulfillment.

You assume that we should provide party branches, locals, committees, conventions, forums and publications for all views no matter how much these views may be in conflict with each other. If I hold a street meeting and a Communist insists that he must have my soapbox, I do not deny him democracy if I do not give it to him. If Socialists struggle for years to establish a paper and deny it to those holding Communist views we do not violate democracy.

This is not democracy; it insures the transformation of any organization that would follow this course into a continuous vendetta and the final destruction of the organization. It is not our duty to provide party branches, locals, halls, forums, committees, conventions and publications for Communists or any other non-Socialists; on the contrary, our only duty lies in defending their right to have such instruments of their own for expressing their views.

There must be loud roars of laughter in Communist groups at this naive conception of what is our Socialist duty. These groups already have the instruments we mention, but our correspondent insists that the Socialist Party should also place all its instruments at the disposal of these Communists! We know of one R. P. C'er who frankly carried this idea to its logical conclusion. When asked if he would also admit Democrats, his answer was Yes so long as they were pledged to be guided by party constitutions and platforms! Let us also permit Tammanyites to "urge their views in a democratic manner" in the party! For that is the logical conclusion from the first idea.

Why not also open the party doors to the various religious sects that seek social redemption through a mystic Kingdom of God in which all economic strife will cease? The naive theory of "democracy" that is now current in some quarters cannot consistently exclude these sects should they apply for admission.

A movement with a philosophy and aim must have certain basic essentials to which its members must agree if it is not to be transformed into a madhouse. Within that range of essentials there is plenty of room for a variety of opinions, but outside of that range chaos and civil war are certain if persons are admitted who do not accept the basic essentials. The movement cannot even carry on the work to which it is pledged. It is compelled to turn all its attention to the inner and continuous deadly conflict of views. Democracy becomes impossible because feuds are nursed by this policy.

In no other country of the world will one find this queer idea offered as "democracy." It is immature, lacking in knowledge of what democracy really means.

This Job Too Big for Us

T. B., Newport, L. I. The job you would have this publication do is a big one and should be done with a series of pamphlets. You say that you passed through years of "infantile leftism" before you became a convinced democratic Socialist. That is the experience of others, but for us to attempt a history of Bolshevism would be too much for us to undertake. Arthur Rosenberg's "History of Bolshevism," reviewed in The New Leader several months ago, is a very good short history, and August Tyler's pamphlet on the "United Front" is very informative.

M. W., Michigan. One would have to be acquainted with all the details to give you more than a provisional answer to your question. If the candidate in question is no longer a member of the Communist Party, but is a strong supporter of it and its views, it is certain that as a candidate for public office he will make a Communist campaign. If some unions approve him as an independent candidate they are likely to regret it before the campaign is over. If he does not make a Communist campaign although accepting the C. P. position, then the candidate would prove to be an opportunist, believing one thing and advocating another. If the C. P. also endorses him—well, we decline to offer any advice. In general we will say that in this period of confusion the more directly we go to our job of building our own party and supporting our own candidates the more solid and reliable will the party become.

swindles that are possible under the NRA and the few pages devoted to it constitute a model of economic summarizing and interpretation. Readers who have followed the evolution of the tobacco code will agree that they have not exaggerated what has actually happened.

We suspect that our old friend Stolberg wrote most of the chapter on The Workers for here his old impatience with the slow-moving unions is manifest. His historical interpretation of the evolution of

American trade union ideology is informative, but he does not seem to have any confidence that the unions will vigorously assert their claims under the New Deal. Since the book appeared it is obvious that this fighting spirit is being asserted and asserted by some conservative officials in terms so bitter and aggressive that it is surprising to all who have watched the development of the struggle. The book is an excellent broadside which every reader will enjoy.

J. O.

Strong Ban on Child Labor in Connecticut

By Abraham Knepler

HARTFORD.—The three Socialist Senators cooperated in giving Connecticut what is considered one of the strongest anti-child labor laws in any state, but they withheld their support until they were assured that passage of the law would not be used as an argument to prevent ratification of the Child Labor Amendment to the Federal Constitution.

When they were assured that that was not the case they contributed to the law by adding amendments that considerably strengthened it. Now that it has passed the Senate and will undoubtedly pass the House, the Socialists will throw their energies back of the drive to ratify the Federal amendment.

The Senate has unanimously passed the bill prohibiting employment of persons under 16 generally and persons under 18 from employment in hazardous occupations.

With the passage of the bill in the lower House expected this week, Connecticut will become the fifth state in the country to have such a law.

ONE-HALF A CENT PROFIT FOR A YEAR

Quoted from letter received from a resident of Northwest Washington by Lena Morrow Lewis.

THE outlook for our berry crop does not look good this year, either. Plenty of markets, no price. What a tragedy to thousands! The New Deal has done us no good at all. The berries which were handled under the Code left absolutely nothing for the producer.

We shipped 2½ tons of berries and lost money on them. Hundreds of producers shipped a large crop of berries last summer. The price was 2½ cents; 1½ cent went for picking, that left ½ cent per pound for the whole year's work—plowing, gasoline for car to take the product to the market and so forth.

While this large crop of berries was being shipped, the dealers making a profit, the producers in most instances went on relief. Doesn't this sound like madness?

Lots of productive land will soon lie idle because it is too hopeless to go on year after year with hard work and no financial results at all. Personally I love to see tons of big red berries in my field. I dread to have C. take the plants out. It takes years to have a good field, but it is meaningless effort if only the dealers make the money.

There is every indication now that we shall have a sales tax in Washington. The proposal to repeal the anti-Syndicalist law was defeated. There are several bills before the legislatures now that show a decisive trend toward centralization of power in a small group in Olympia (the state capital). The question of taxing the people some more is the most important one of all. If the sales tax goes through as proposed, everything except hay and feed and gasoline, which already has a 5 cent per gallon tax, will be taxed. No wonder it is nicknamed the poor man's tax.

Pennsylvania

Pittsburgh.—Comrades and sympathizers are invited to participate in reading and discussion of "The Case for Socialism" as a regular feature of the Debs Branch meetings, 122 Ninth St., 3 p.m., second and fourth Sundays of each month. A course in public speaking will follow later.

How the United Front Split The Workers Everywhere

THE organization committee of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has turned down an invitation of the Communist Party for joint action in the auto and steel industries to build "powerful unions capable of meeting the situation." The C. P. has again changed its union policy for one of building cells in the trade unions although it has not abandoned the few paper unions which it inherited from the period of organizing rival unions.

In rejecting the Communist offer the Socialist committee recalls that the Communist "were very recently fighting" the Iron and Steel workers "through a dual organization known as the Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union" and that they had "characterized the entire American Federation of Labor as little better than a company union."

The Socialist answer also notes the Communist request to aid in building up the Auto Workers' Union, a vassal of the C. P., and declares, "We thought that even the Communist Party had abandoned this bankrupt dual organization which it had so long dominated. We read in the Daily Worker of Dec. 25, that this union had been dissolved and that the former members had been advised to join the United Automobile Workers of America," affiliated with the A. F. of L.

The C. P. policy toward the unions is thus shown to be one of a half-way station between building secret cells in the unions and organizing dual unions to fight existing unions.

Last December a long typewritten document that would make a large pamphlet in print was circulated among a number of the trade union commissioners. This document reveals their activities

in detail, especially in western Pennsylvania. An innocents' paper called the "Coal Digger," circulated among the miners, is their baby.

In the criminal syndicalism trial in California the Communist Party has played not only its usual role in a "united front" by destroying it, but the trial itself has revealed the twisted soul of Communism.

The testimony of M. Harris, a stool pigeon who had been in the Communist Party, was featured. This gentleman, who soon after joining the C. P. was made secretary to the section organizer with access to all party records, is connected with the Associated Farmers (i. e. mortgage-holding banks), the Industrial Association of San Francisco and the State Criminal Identification Bureau.

The prosecution also introduced a statement made in August to the District Attorney by Norman Mini who declared himself a member of the Communist Party and a believer in the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. The statement has been known ever since the Sacramento papers headlined it in August. Mini was a member of the C. P. as late as December when he left it to join the Workers' Party.

Prosecutor McAllister offered Mini's statement as a "confession." Attorney Goldman immediately objected, pointing out that the defendant is ready to stipulate that he belonged to the C. P. and believed in what he understood to be its doctrines, but that he could not

"confess" these things since they are not crimes. The judge blandly admitted the statement as a "confession."

The Communist Party, which knows that Mini has repeatedly refused offers of immunity, has joined the prosecution in characterizing Mini's statement as a "confession," adding that Mini is a "stool pigeon."

Immediately after the statement was read to the jury, many of the defendants, led by Caroline Decker, Pat Chambers and Nora Conklin, rushed up to Mini to inform him that the statement was a "flop" as far as damaging the case was concerned. All expressed readiness to sign a statement expressing solidarity with Mini and denouncing the prosecution for calling this document a confession.

Sam Darcy, district organizer of the C. P., however, ordered everybody to withhold signature. Despite this, Jack Warnick issued a statement defending Mini and denouncing the slander campaign against him. Warnick was bailed out by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense after the International Labor Defense, a Communist Innocents' Club, had let all defendants except one rot in jail for six months.

The C. P. is now trying to center attention on a crusade against Norman Mini. A similar attack is planned against Jack Warnick. The Non-Partisan Labor Defense is active, although laboring under great disadvantages due to the slander campaign of the Hearst press on the one hand and the Communist press on the other against Mini. The Socialist Party state secretary has sent out a statement accusing the C. P. of disrupting the united front and appealing to all branches to contribute to the N.P.L.D. Sacramento fund.



Two "Musts" for Every Socialist

1. Build the SOCIALIST PARTY
2. MAKE THE NEW LEADER A MASS PAPER

A Few Comments From Our Readers:

- F. A. HERRIMAN, Michigan:** By way of appreciation, let me say I think The New Leader is not only good but improving with each issue.
- E. DRESSLER, Illinois:** Have taken The New Leader in the past year and find it a wonderful paper to keep informed about the progress of the Socialist movement.
- R. C. SIMONSON, New York:** The New Leader is a source of excellent information, and I find it very helpful and interesting. I really look forward to it every week.
- E. E. MALLETT, Tennessee:** My subscription has expired. I assure you that I cannot part with a dollar but I surely cannot be without The New Leader.
- N. MOTYE, New Jersey:** I would certainly miss The New Leader if I fail to receive it each week.
- A. FROBERG, Michigan:** I can no longer afford to miss copies of your most loyal Socialist paper during this period of labor unrest and political confusion.

Just a few of the countless expressions of appreciation of The New Leader.

25¢ for a trial subscription for 3 months

BUILD THE NEW LEADER

\$1.00 for 52 issues of The New Leader

N. Y. Socialists Protest New 'Red' Law

THE Socialist Party of New York, through Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Chairman of the New York City Public Affairs Committee, has voiced its protest against the proposed Ostertag bill for excluding from the ballot parties that advocate ideas not agreeable to him. Dr. Laidler wrote to the Assembly Judiciary Committee as follows:

"In behalf of the New York City Socialist Party, devoted to orderly social change, may I urge that you refuse your approval to Mr. Ostertag's bill amending the election law, a bill calculated to exclude from the ballot political parties which advocate sedition, etc.

"The bill smacks of that old and discredited Sedition Law of 1798, which, in the guise of crushing sedition, led to the arrest and conviction of many so-called Republican-Democrats, as they would be called today, for opposing the Federalists of that period. You will recall that under this act one man was indicted for demanding an appeal of the act, and that the law called down the wrath of Jefferson and Madison, led to the ousting of the Federalist part and to determining for all lovers of liberty to fight to the very limit every further attempt to restrict freedom of speech, assembly and the press.

"If such a bill as that suggested by Assemblyman Ostertag was ever passed it would inevitably be used not only against Communists but against all opponents of those in power, and would be utilized as an instrument to crush all attempts to criticize in any fundamental way the evils of our day.

"The refusal of the State to permit any political group to express itself through the peaceful means of the ballot would have but one effect—that of augmenting those forces that believe that little can be accomplished through peaceful political means."

Only Cowards Will Be Intimidated by Hearst

CHARLES A. BEARD, Dean of American historians, delivered a masterly address against William Randolph Hearst before a thousand educators at the sixty-fifth annual convention of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association in Atlantic City this week. The delegates rose and applauded for several minutes. The following fine paragraph concluded the address:

There is not a cesspool of vice and crime which Hearst has not raked and exploited for money-making purposes. No person with intellectual honesty or moral integrity will touch him with a ten-foot pole for any purpose or to gain any end. Unless those who represent American scholarship, science and the right of a free people to discuss public questions freely stand together against his insidious influences he will assassinate them individually by every method known to yellow journalism — only cowards can be intimidated by Hearst.

TO W. R. HEARST

Readin' an ritin' an rithmetic
Are all should be taught in our schools.
Lest some of our children should turn slightly pink;
'Twere better they all should be fools.
W 103

LABOR NEWS

As the New Leader Goes To Press: Last Minute News and Comments

Nields and Cotillo—Two Daniels Come to Judgment; Butler and the Butlers; Miss Perkins on the Bust, and Other Matters

AS THE NEW LEADER goes to press trade union sentiment is busy deploring judicial action and labor is busy girding up its loins for the court and organizational fights which are soon to come. The deploring is equally divided between Judge John P. Nield's single-handed decapitation of NRA and Justice Cotillo's astounding discovery that while salesclerks may be people, they are a different kind of people from ordinary workers, and therefore must not be annoyed by union agitation.

The long-contested Weirton firm case ended, for the moment, with Judge Nield's decision that famous, moot, much-debated Section 7-A of the NRA is unconstitutional and void insofar as it applies to the steel company, its business and its 14,000 employees. Important is the judge's further ruling that neither the "general welfare recital in the preamble to the constitution of the United States" nor yet the "welfare clause in Article One, Section One" confers on Congress the power to enact Section 7-A. To cap the climax, the court maintains that the company-organized and bottle-fed company union at the Weirton plant "in all respects complies with Section 7-A," even if that section be legal!

Labor is getting busy right away seeing to it that an appeal is pressed to the Circuit Court of Appeals and thence to the Supreme Court if necessary. Everybody is anxious to know whether the 2,400 lines of industry operating under codes of greater or less value to the workers have been walking in a dream, or what. . . . Meanwhile labor organization goes on. . . .

THE strike of Butler grocery chain store employees rolls merrily on, with the Park Avenue home of the millionaire grocery "king" getting a combined visit from pickets of the bakery workers' and the chain stores hands' unions. Butler's, not content with trying to keep its own workers slaves, also sells NBC products despite the boycott instituted by decent grocery stores against that firm. So Park Ave. butlers saw 35 members of the Inside Bakery Workers' Union and the Chain Store Employees' and Executives' Ass'n, plus a number of Yipsel aides, march back and forth Wednesday morning before James Butler's home, carrying placards announcing to all and sundry that this superior James is unfair to labor and underpays his workers. The strike called last Saturday for union recognition, improved working conditions and higher pay has been steadily growing. The mail strike vote being taken of the employees of Daniel Reeves, Inc., another big grocery chain, is now being tabulated, according to Martin C. Kyne, president of the union.

AND THE NEW LEADER goes to press, the peace agreement for the garment building service employees in the garment district is being signed, and the much postponed strike—that might have been one of the bitterest and bloodiest New York ever saw—seems to have been averted for good—for a while. The union now will turn its attention to the Wall Street district. The 5,000 buildings which would have been affected get off strikeless, thanks to a peace pact calling for higher wages, 48-hour week, time and a half for overtime, and other concessions.

FACING the threat of the Brooklyn local of the Brotherhood of Utility Employees that it will strike, with the support of the Manhattan and Queens locals, if six discharged union men are not reinstated by the Brooklyn Edison Co., the labor board special panel completed the taking of testimony in the case. . . . The Socialist Party nationally is pushing its organization of housewives' boycotts against NBC products, and the local labor committees are following suit. . . . Conditions in the Hitler German Labor Service camps are reaching new lows of hunger and humiliation, letters reveal. Victorious Spanish fascism is beginning to pay off its debts to Spanish industrialism, with the abolition of the 44-hour week won by the metal workers after years of struggle. . . . The Austro-Fascist leaders are giving up hope that the workers, used to years of Socialist leadership, will become reconciled to the "new state." Socialist labor organization and agitation continues unabated, underground.

"IT is time for the people of this nation to take inventory of where our vaunted industrial supremacy is leading us," President William Green of the A. F. of L. said over the national broadcasting system. "Splendid industrial organizations, great profit making concerns, built up at a cost of human happiness and human lives, can not and must not be maintained!"

MARK STARR, national educational director of the I.L.G.W.U., slashed vigorously at "Lying Educators" in his broadcast over WEVD—the fourth of a series of talks sponsored Tuesdays at 10 p.m. by Arise, Socialist and labor cultural monthly, under the general topic of "The Intellectual Faces the World." All hands out for the symposium Friday night, March 8, at Debs Auditorium, when Arise presents Anita Block, Eugene Lyons, John Sloan and Comrade Starr, with Dr. William Bok as chairman.

AT long last, Governor Lehman, another of those "peerless friends of labor," has come through, thanks to the overwhelming pressure of labor organizations, liberals, progressives, etc. Now that the child labor amendment ratification bill seems headed for the discard in this glorious Empire State, he asks its passage. He was too busy to apply

(Continued on Page Ten)

Farm Union Head



PRESIDENT STUTZ of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (right) stands with a union comrade in front of his Arkansas home after his release from jail. (He was sent there for union activity.) It's in this struggle of the sharecroppers that Ward Rodgers, Socialist, was convicted of "anarchy," and Powers Hapgood and Howard Kester, S. P. national organizers, were kidnapped and beaten up. The vice-president of the union and two other sharecroppers are in New York now.

Meetings of Socialist Trade Union Leagues

Friday, March 1—8 p.m.—Local 338, Retail Dairy, Grocery and Fruit Clerks, Room 408, People's House, 7 East 15th St., New York.

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

2 p.m.—Socialist Party members of Local 17, I.L.G.W.U., in Room 408, People's House.

4 p.m.—Socialist Party members of Furriers' Union in Room 408, People's House.

Thursday, March 7—8 p.m.—Building Service Employees, Room 408, People's House.

Trade Union Gatherings

Friday, March 1—9:30 p.m.—Woodcarvers and Molders Union, Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St. Educational meeting. Speaker, G. A. Gerber. Topic, "Fascism."

Sunday, March 3—2 p.m.—Anti-injunction meeting, Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn. Protest against injunctions issued by Wise Coe Company against Y.P.S.L. and Shoe Salesmen's Union. Speakers, Samuel Null, William Gomberg, Murray Baron, Jack Altman, Aaron Levenstein and others.

An appeal is made to all unorganized edition bookbinders in open and company union shops to help organize themselves by joining and getting others to join Local 25, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, which is now undertaking an organizing campaign of all edition shops in the city. Further information as to how you can help improve conditions in the industry can be obtained at union headquarters, 63 Park Row, room 302.



Labor Pushes Attack on Slave Wage Rate; Auto Union Battle Ahead

Administration Stalls for Time as Pressure Heightens on Prevailing Wage Advocates; Labor Girds for NRA-Weirton Struggle

By Special Correspondent

WASHINGTON.—With a victory by a slim margin to its credit in the Senate on the prevailing rate of wages issue in the work relief bill, organized labor has decided to stand firmly in support of passage of the bill with the McCarran prevailing wage amendment.

Following Judge Nield's decision, ruling Section 7-A null and void, labor leaders are conferring here on speedy action for legislative pressure, judicial appeal and union organizational advance.

Decision to continue support of the prevailing rate of wages provision was taken in the face of a tremendous outpouring of ballyhoo by Administration supporters, urging public repudiation of the Senate approval of the McCarran amendment.

Over-riding White House wishes, the Senate voted 44 to 43 on February 21 for payment of prevailing rate of wages on work relief projects. The vote was a victory for labor, which carried the fight for prevailing wages to the Senate membership, after losing in the Senate Appropriations Committee, which had approved the McCarran amendment and then rejected it under Administration pressure.

President Stalling

Since the Senate action, administration forces have resorted to a policy of deliberate delay to give the president time to regain control over rebellious House and Senate members. The move of the administration accentuates the rift between labor and the administration, though labor is carefully avoiding any direct criticism of President Roosevelt. But labor attacks on his policies and agencies continue, in private and in public.

Delay on the work relief bill was accomplished by putting it in cold storage—in the hands of the Senate Appropriations Committee. Before this appears in print, the bill may be forced out of committee by action of independent Republicans who are reported at this writing to be planning an attempt to get the measure back to the Senate through a motion to discharge the appropriations committee from further consideration of measure. But in the meanwhile, the ranks of Senators favoring payment of prevailing rates of wages appear to be standing firm despite what the administration says is a deluge of protest against their support of the McCarran amendment.

Under Heavy Pressure

A canvass just taken of Senators who voted for the amendment indicates that none has as yet forsaken the idea that the best means of furthering business and industrial recovery is to restore the buying power of the workers. And these Senators indicate that they still hold to the belief that Federal relief projects should set an example in upholding living wage standards. Whether they will continue to stand firm remains to be seen. It is certain they are under heavy pressure to change face.

The administration's hesitancy to send the work relief bill with the prevailing wage amendment immediately to joint conference of the House and Senate is understood to be based on the fear that the House may concur with the Senate in enactment of the bill as amended by the upper chamber. There is a strong body of opinion in the House that feels that striking out of the prevailing wage provision would establish a dangerous precedent toward drastic reduction

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Unemployed Mobilizing in Capital for Convention

JUST prior to leaving New York for the national convention of unemployed groups in Washington this weekend, David Lasser, chairman, and Paul Rasmussen, secretary of the provisional national committee, pledged the support of their membership and sympathizers to the works relief bill at prevailing trade union wages. Promising to mobilize 100,000 unemployed in Washington to demand work at union wages if the United States Conference of Mayors gives the word, the committee leaders telegraphed Daniel Hoan, president of the conference, their promise to support the mayor's public statement that they would mobilize supporters of the works bill in Washington. Hoan is Socialist mayor of Milwaukee and a member of the party's N.E.C.

The Provisional National Committee is composed of unemployed organizations in 24 states with a membership of 450,000 unemployed and relief workers. Meanwhile, from these states hundreds of delegates are converging on the national capital—on foot, hitch-hiking, in trucks and vans and riding the blinders.

At the same time, Comrade Lasser in a letter to Senator Carter Glass, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, requested a hearing for the provisional national committee for Monday.

"If the works bill is killed," the letter to Senator Glass said in part, "or is passed with simply a starvation wage, it will cause a feeling of desperation to sweep the ranks of millions of unemployed. To hold out the promise of work and then to snatch it away from the unemployed is to trifle with millions of people who have gone through untold suffering in the last five years."

"The time has come for the government, if it is to be a government of the people, to take the lead in raising instead of lowering the wage standards of the American people."

The letter added that the "unemployed cannot and will not continue to subsist indefinitely on the miserable dole that is now their lot. The overwhelming sentiment of the American people is that the works bill be passed and that trade union wages be paid."

The Editor Comments

IN this, his last column of editor's comments, the Labor Editor of THE NEW LEADER wishes to clear off a few old debts. One is to express surprise that members of Actors' Equity, an A. F. of L. union, should have been so unmindful of the debt of loyalty and of solidarity they owe to their own union, and through it to the workingclass, as to get mixed up in a Communist "union" mess. Arrested for "picketing" Ohrbach's—I put quotation marks around the word picketing because the brief shows the actors staged on 14th Street, to the tune of cheering friends and smiling cops, bears so little relations to the grim, dangerous, relentless, harrowing business of real pickets menaced by company thugs, evictions, militia, tear gas, etc.—the troupers had the satisfaction of knowing that the show hadn't gone on and the money had to be returned to the audience. Their excuse was that "they were interested in helping the workers"—as though the workers are helped by building dual (usually called scab) unions run by Communists for the sake of their party and not of the workers. And as though there weren't plenty of work for them to do helping real unions win real strikes—like the biscuit workers' and the dozens of others they could have found out about!

Incidentally, let no one think this paragraph is an indictment of the organization producing the show they acted in. The theater had nothing to do with the romantic adventure on the 14th Street barricades of its actors—nice boys and girls who got their knowledge of the labor movement from the so-called "Daily Worker."

Another debt: For a long time I've been intending to do what the Paterson comrades have asked me to. I went out to a meeting of comrades there and spoke for an hour and a half on "Progressive Trends in American Labor." I found out then that what they were actually interested in was the discussion of what has come to be known as the "Vigorito matter." They insist that THE NEW LEADER statement that the Union Leader Vigorito is a "notorious Fascist" is not substantiated by the facts. His membership in a club which is pro-fascist does not warrant such a characterization, especially since he has repudiated all fascist associations or tendencies, they claim. With this claim I must agree and must withdraw the statement, although I must repeat that it was printed on what seemed unimpeachable authority.

WITH this issue, Samuel H. Friedman resigns his post as Labor Editor of THE NEW LEADER.

Sacramento Defense Opens

SACRAMENTO, Cal. — Following the sudden closing of the prosecutor's case in the seventh week of the trial of 17 union organizers on charges of criminal syndicalism, the defense opened its case by putting Norman Mini on the stand. Questions put to him by Albert Goldman, Socialist and labor lawyer retained by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense as defense counsel for Mini, and a grueling four-hour cross-examination by the state prosecutor, provided Mini with the opportunity to expound in the Superior Court of his native county the principles in which he believes and to give the lie to the slander campaign being conducted against him by both the Hearst and Communist press.

SAN FRANCISCO. — Marjorie Kipp, state secretary of the Socialist Party of California, has issued a circular letter to the members of the Socialist Party of California, explaining the relation of the Socialist Party to the Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial of the 17 organizers.

In dealing with the failure of the attempt to build a united defense movement the state secretary says:

"Conferences began several weeks ago in San Francisco resulting in the setting up of unified defense machinery including the Socialist Party, Workers Party of the U. S., Communist Party, American Civil Liberties Union, Non-Partisan Labor Defense, International Labor Defense and several unions. An agreement was reached covering plans for a mass meeting, a publicity campaign fund, the barring from court of factional issues, the calling of a broad supporting conference.

"The Communist Party-controlled delegates, however, after repeated breaches of faith, and despite concessions made by the other groups for the sake of unity, deliberately smashed the unified defense in spite of unity appeals by George P. Hedley of the American Civil Liberties Union, and two of the ILD defendants who were present.

"A policy frankly designed to bar cooperation of any delegate unwilling to accept Communist Party orders was laid down in an ultimatum. Thereupon the Communist Party-controlled delegates

called for 'a united front under the leadership of the Communist Party and the International Labor Defense'."

Joint efforts for the defense of the Sacramento defendants are being continued by the Socialist Party, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense and other organizations.

Elevator Strike

Everybody rides the cars in the Long shafts reaching high;
Each shaft pointing to the stars
Vagrant in the sky.
Anybody pause to ponder
That the cars are run by men,
Oft entombed for weary hours,
Rarely seeing stars or sun?

Soon the 'waited word is given!
They leave their posts, the riders walk—

Reinforced by pickets, placard,
Inform the people of New York:
Know one reason for our strife—
Eager, we, for our share of life!

Harry Kavech.

Labor Fights Cotillo Anti-Picket Rule

"The decision of Supreme Court Judge Cotillo enjoining the Retail Cloak, Suit, Dress and Fur Salespeople's Union, Local 107, A.F.ofL., from picketing the R. A. Fried & Co. store is the most outrageous ruling effecting labor ever made," Hyman Nemer, counsel for the union, declared today. Comrade Nemer continues:

"Cotillo definitely states that salespeople have no right to organize, in spite of the fact that, with all its defects, Section 7-A allows all workers to organize into unions.

"As a proposition of law, the judge is absolutely wrong, for the courts of this state have consistently upheld the rights of all classes of workers to unionize. As a proposition of fact, the decision is based on obvious fallacy. If the rendering of services by a worker prevents him from joining an organization of his own choosing for the mutual protection of his and his fellow workers' interest, then most labor unions in this country would have to dissolve. This is a blow to the organized labor movement of the country. The department stores will rejoice.

"But the decision will rally all labor unions to fight to the utmost for a reversal because of the dangerous precedent that it seeks to establish.

"The Retail Clerks' International Protective Association, with which Local 107 is affiliated, has been in existence for over 40 years. Over 10,000 salespeople in this city are organized with closed shop agreements in retail clothing, retail cloak, suit, dresses, furs, retail food, retail hats and haberdashery, retail drug clerks, etc.

"The theory that the closed shop will affect the initiative and the service of an employee is too ridiculous to elaborate upon. Suffice it to say that not a single barber, waiter or other employee whose stock in trade is service lost any of his efficiency or service merely by joining a labor union. To say that a closed shop would destroy the initiative of a girl who earns from \$10 to \$12 a week is harking back to the pioneer days of all labor organizations. That argument was advanced then and got nowhere and its use now is a throwback to those primitive days.

"The union is certainly going to appeal this case to the highest court. We will continue the fight against R. A. Fried to the best of our ability and we will broaden the fight against other elements of the industry responsible for low

Uniform Makers Sign

AFTER several conferences between the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, represented by Co-Managers Louis Hollander and Joseph Catalanotti and the staff of the custom tailoring branch, and the Uniform Manufacturers Association, the agreement between the union and the association was renewed.

In addition to the usual stipulations set forth in the previous agreement, minimum wage rates for all classes of workers—a provision which the Amalgamated is trying to establish throughout the clothing industry—were also agreed upon.

Louis Waldman, counsel to the New York Joint Board, negotiated the agreement.

D'Andrea Bros., one of the largest and most important high-grade custom tailoring firms in New York, has signed an agreement with the N. Y. Joint Board of the A.C.W.A. The agreement calls for union recognition, collective bargaining, a 36-hour week and an increase in wages to the people.

This shop was unionized as a result of the drive now being conducted by the custom branch of the Joint Board to unionize the high-class establishments on Fifth Avenue.

Auto Union Battle Ahead

(Continued from Page Seven)

of wage rates, both in private employment and in the Federal government service.

Bosses Rally Propaganda

Hence the administration forces are stalling for time in an attempt to impress Congress with a flood of propaganda which is expected to roll in from the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the Liberty League, the Economy League, the National Association of Manufacturers and other organizations opposing the McCarran amendment.

Labor's determination to continue support of the amendment was expressed by unanimous vote of union heads and representatives at American Federation of Labor headquarters here. The labor heads are determined to yield nothing. They have come to the unanimous conclusion that the amendment should be insisted on and that it should be placed in the bill.

"The basis for the conclusion that this amendment should go in the work relief bill," one said, "was the fact that the wage structure of the country must be upheld in order to maintain the economic structure. Their decision was that there could be no compromise. Whenever anything is done which starts to tear down the wage structure, there is no telling where it will stop."

wages and the terrible conditions of virtual slavery that we are attempting to remedy."

Louis Waldman, as state chairman of the Socialist Party and counsel for many trade unions, protested to legislative leaders against the decision, which he called "judicial legislation in a most aggravated form." He urged immediate enactment of the anti-injunction bill now before the legislative, but embodying the changes previously suggested by the Socialist Party.

A 20-fold increase in letters and telegrams since the Senate vote indicates the country is becoming aware of the vital importance of the amendment.

"Payment of prevailing wages will mean employment of more men, although perhaps a shorter length of time, and will put money in circulation quickly," one spokesman said. "The hope of the administration that the country would rush to the support of the president in his opposition to the amendment has not materialized. Most messages on the work relief bill are favorable to the amendment."

Auto Board Denounced

While devoting its chief attention the last few days to the legislative situation, the A.F.ofL. has not slackened its campaign against the Automobile Labor Board. President Green denounced the board, in sharp terms while on his speaking tour of the automobile industry centers and reiterated his attack before the House Labor Committee on a flying trip back to Washington to urge equal representation for labor on NRA administrative agencies. Green appeared before the committee in support of the proposed bill for equal representation of labor on government administrative bodies.

One of labor's greatest desires is equal representation with industry on NRA code authorities and other NRA administrative bodies and agencies, Green declared. He said the Automobile Labor Board and urged development of an economic system which will provide work for all.

The A.F.ofL. head said that labor desired a board in the automobile industry similar in make-up to that working under the steel code.

No Favorable Decision!

The auto board never has ordered a man reinstated, nor has it made any decision favorable to labor, Green said.

"We'll stand a good deal, but when we see the set-up is completely against us we're through," he said. "We're through with the Automobile Labor Board."

Green testified that out of 549 NRA codes labor was represented on only 52 or slightly less than 10 per cent.

"We believe that had labor been brought into the picture in a more complete way and been given a proper voice, a substantial degree of success would have come from the NRA," Green said.

Principal problems of code authorities, he said, concerned labor. For this reason particularly, he said, labor should "have at least equal representation with industry."

Duty of Government

Green told the committee that the first function of government "is to develop an economic policy which will give gainful employment to all and allow all persons to enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

When private industry cannot

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WHEN STRIKERS USE NATURE'S ARTILLERY



Rubber workers, striking against the Ohio Rubber Co. at Ashtabula, Ohio, laid down a barrage of snowballs when the truck shown above tried to run food for scabs into the plant.

Local 22 Opens Varied Program Of Education

AN extensive and many-sided program, including scores of classes, lectures, sports and athletic groups, musical and cultural activities of all sorts, was launched by the educational department of Dressmakers Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., for its third season last week. The success of the union's educational work last year, in the course of which thousands of dressmakers were drawn into the various activities, encouraged the educational department to plan on large scale.

Local 22's program compliments the growing educational, cultural and recreational activities the I.L.G.W.U. nationally under the educational department.

Local 22's Central School, situated at union headquarters, continues on the same evenings as before—Mondays and Wednesdays. The 15 classes include history and problems of the American labor movement, the social history of American literature, unionism, the history of the Jewish labor movement, psychology, science, economics, Marxism, etc. A new course deals with the history of the Jewish labor movement.

Eight union schools have also opened in the various parts of the city, Bronx, Harlem, Spanish Harlem, Williamsburg, Brownsville, East New York, Boro Park and Coney Island. In these schools courses are given in unionism, social science, American history and English, totalling over 30 classes on Mondays and Wednesdays, with a staff of competent instructors.

Expanding even more rapidly is the program of social, cultural, sports and recreational activities offered free. Twenty-five groups include 12 gym, swimming and other athletic groups, four mandolin orchestras and classes, three choruses, three dancing classes, a brass band, a dramatic group, etc. The interest aroused by these activities among the dressmakers is great.

For the first time the educational department has arranged lectures in Yiddish. The lectures take place in the union auditorium, Room 408, 232 West 40th St.

Lately a new departure in the educational program was made in the form of free Saturday morning tours and excursions of union members under the direction of David M. Rossi to museums, exhibitions and other points of interest in the city. Once a month such an affair is arranged for the children of union members.

An energetic campaign was undertaken to enroll thousands of dressmakers in the various phases of the union's educational activity. For information all dressmakers

KNOCKOUT SHOULD BE ANSWER TO LOCKOUT



REBEL ARTS PUPPETEERS STAGED SHOWS ALONG BROADWAY, URGING HOUSEWIVES AND EVERYBODY ELSE TO HELP THE WORKERS WIN THE STRIKE.

Challenge to Economic Order Sounded by Montana Labor

By Ida Crouch Hazlett

HELENA, Mont.—The recent 37th annual convention of the Montana State Federation of Labor showed that the old stand-pat attitude of many workers is crumbling before the NRA burlesque. James D. Graham, member of the Socialist Party N.E.C. and for four years president of the State Federation, has received congratulations all over the country for his contribution toward the fine progressive policy of Montana labor. The decisions of the convention were of this type.

One resolution related to the suffrage of people on relief. It cited that a democratic form of government must be maintained at

are urged to get in touch with the educational director, Will Herberg, at union headquarters.

A stirring appeal for favorable action on the child labor amendment now before the State Assembly was addressed to William C. McCreery, chairman of the Assembly Judiciary Committee, by Local 22.

The message of the organization sharply condemns the "evasive action" of the Senate Judiciary Committee in shelving the matter and preventing it from coming to a vote. It urges the legislators to "heed the voice of organized labor and of the masses of the people" and endorse the amendment banning child labor.

all cost; pointed out various reactionary groups, such as the National Association of Manufacturers, the Economic Council of New York State and the labor-hating Chicago Tribune, that have gone on record as favoring restriction of the suffrage and disclosed that in many localities, particularly New Hampshire, such disfranchisement has already taken place; referred to the fact that in the southern states, through poll taxes and other measures, both legal and illegal, millions of workers and farmers, white and Negro, are prevented from exercising their right of voting. The resolution was adopted in vigorous language, and every law condemned which tends to rob the workers of their citizenship.

The state eight-hour laws, which are being flagrantly violated, brought forth a heated discussion, and a committee was appointed to discuss protest to the attorney general.

For Socialized Hospital

Another resolution provided that the State Federation obtain information respecting the opportunity for the establishment of socialized hospital and medical services in Montana through the enactment of a state law. As Montana is a mining state, it can readily be seen what such a law will mean to the victims of many accidents.

Still another resolution was a ringing protest against the manufacture of munitions of war for private profit—the incentive of forming wars; and instructed the federation to do everything possible to have the federal government take over and operate all factories for the manufacture of arms and munitions of war.

One resolution dwelt on our abundant natural resources and equipment for the satisfaction of every human requirement. It declared that America's economic plight is clearly an outgrowth of monopolistic control and exploitation.

"All profits from economic activities are directed into the hands of the exploiters and have thereby destroyed the values of all owners who are not associated with the extortion system," the resolution stated. "The general welfare of the American people requires the extirpation of the roots from which monopoly, exploitation and greed emanate; to the end that adversity, mental anguish, uncertainty, dis-

quietude, poverty, repression and oppression may be placed beyond the power of organized groups of men to create. The losses of the American people are measured in scores of billions—they were enjoyed by the beneficiaries, the organized exploiters. The conduct of these exploiters may be accepted as a challenge to the American people to assert themselves and protect their rights, powers and privileges by banishing the character of political and economic control that has wrecked the country. No argument is necessary to support the statement that the government cannot continually disburse billions of dollars without hope of return of either principal or interest."

Then there is the statement that the Federal constitution provides for the redress of grievances, quotations from the Declaration of Independence, the general welfare provision of the constitution and a statement of the necessity of providing work.

For Public Ownership

A sweeping demand for public ownership and operation of public utilities follows, with an argument on the public function of such utilities. The demand is made for the construction anew of all public utility property by the United States government; and this is the crux of the proposed Recovery Act. It would be well that this demand should be circulated in pamphlet form to show what American labor is demanding. A state whose chief labor body can put out such an instrument as this cannot long be immune to the call for a reconstruction of government in the interest of the workers.

The report of the education committee is equally as interesting and important, but time and space will not permit giving it the attention it deserves. Workers' education is stressed, the letter of William Green on the subject is given and also that of Paul L. Vogt, regional director of the Workers' Education Bureau.

The big Fort Peck government project, the huge dam that will take years to finish, had been the object of considerable consideration by the state federation. Abuses of wage scales and classifications have invoked protests and attempts by the special committee on this project to bring about the elimination of wrongs suffered by the workers, who are victims of wage

Phila. Partyites Working With Labor Council

PHILADELPHIA.—Establishing close friendly relations with the organized labor movement in Philadelphia, the labor committee of the Socialist Party here, under the chairmanship of David Braginsky, secretary of the United Hebrew Trades, has arranged a number of joint projects with the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia.

The C.L.U. and its numerous trade union affiliates is to hold an anti-fascist mass meeting with Gerhart Seger and G. E. Modigliani as the speakers, in co-operation with the Socialist Party. The meeting will be held March 2 at the Labor Educational Centre, 415 S. 19th St. The Musicians Union is donating the services of 15 musicians for the occasion. Adolph Hirschberg, recently again elected president of the Central Labor Union, will preside. A representative of Local Philadelphia will also speak.

Joint May Day Demonstration

In line with the A.F.ofL. campaign for the 30-hour week and the abolition of company unions, the C.L.U. and the S.P. labor committee have held a number of preliminary meetings, and have made plans for calling a city wide conference of trade unions, labor and fraternal organizations. It is proposed to start a vigorous and extensive agitational and legislative campaign with a large mass demonstration of all organized labor on May 1 as the pivotal point. This cooperation with organized labor will be the stepping stone for effective work in building a powerful labor and Socialist movement in this city.

Every Socialist Party member and sympathizer has been recruited to support the biscuit workers' strike. The women of the party are participating in the NBC boycott campaign. Food and money are being collected daily. A number of party and Yipsel members are picketing stores continuing to display Uneeda products. The labor committee is in daily touch with the strike committee.

As part of committee activity, Lewis Hines, A.F.ofL. Eastern representative, spoke before the party membership recently on the "Relationship of the A.F.ofL. and the S.P."

Song Riles Statie; Mill Picket Held

STAFFORD, Conn.—August Pizani, a picket at the Cyril Johnson Woolen Mill, where a strike has been going on for more than six weeks, was arrested on a charge of breach of peace for singing a song the words of which accuse the state police of trying to break up the picket line. Presence of the state police in Stafford has roused great resentment amongst the workers, who are on strike in protest against the hiring of scabs by the company.

Following a protest by the Socialist members of the general assembly and other labor leaders, Governor Cross sent Joseph Tone, Commissioner of Labor, to Stafford Springs to investigate. The Socialists were quoted as having told the governor that the "state police are openly and flagrantly on the side of the mill owners."

chiseling never before inflicted on the workers in Montana, were rife. Formal protests were made to the chief engineers, President Graham securing the presence of a large number of union officers and representatives.

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Conn. Socialists Block Machine Gun Purchase

BRIDGEPORT.—Strikers and innocent bystanders being mown down by police sub-machine guns for the accommodation of the bosses—this was the scene pictured by City Clerk Fred Schwartzkopf and Mayor Jasper McLevy as they fought strenuously against the purchase of a sub-machine gun for the Police Department when they appeared before a sub-committee of the Board of Apportionment and Taxation to protest the appropriation of money for the gun.

The appropriation was allowed, but the Socialists will carry the fight to the floor of the Police

Board meeting, when that body takes up the matter in April, the time when the new budget takes effect. If the Police Board should pass the measure, City Clerk Schwartzkopf, who is also president of the Board of Public Purchases, intends to use his office on the purchasing board to block the purchase.

It appears unlikely that the move to defeat the purchase the machine gun will reach that stage, however, for the two Socialist police commissioners will vote against the purchase, a tie vote is the best the machine-gun advocates will be able to command. Mayor McLevy would then be able to break the tie.

As the Paper Goes to Press

(Continued from Page Seven)

pressure when pressure was the thing to apply. Now it looks as though the 36 states needed to ratify won't be gotten this year.

THE First Workers' Dramatic Festival, sponsored by four workers' cultural bodies, will present three sessions of one-act plays, with choral and dance interludes, at the New School for Social Research. The participating organizations, which will form the nucleus of a real and permanent labor cultural organization, are the ILGWU, the Young Circle League, Brookwood Labor College and Rebel Arts. The dates are April 20 (Saturday night) and April 21 (Sunday afternoon and night.) So keep THOSE dates open, all you labor groups!

THE Rebel Song Book, edited by the modest editor of this section, is out, and can be bought—cheaply in small and large quantities—at the Rand Book Shop, 7 East 15th Street. Blushingly the editor admits that it's the finest book of its kind extant, and that no Socialist branch, Yipsel circle, union local, labor college, unemployed group, or workers' organization anywhere can afford to be without it!

A REAL labor event—since we seem to be stressing cultural activities today—will be the opening of "The Black Pit," Albert Maltz' new play to be produced by the Theatre Union, March 20 at the Civic Repertory Theatre. Union locals and party branches will want to take benefits for this great drama of a coal mining community—the best play the Theatre Union has ever put on and one that will undoubtedly make theatrical history.

SECRETARY OF LABOR PERKINS, the finest secretary of labor since Perkins, unveiled a couple of busts in the new Labor Department building the other day—late Mother Jones, militant miners' wife and miners' leader, and Andrew Furuseth, president since 1908 of the International Seamen's Union. The papers say she paid them tribute as she placed the busts on exhibition. The workers say they pay tribute all the time, to the system that Miss Perkins adorns. Miss Perkins, they add, herself proved to be a great bust from labor's point of view.

SIXTEEN of the 65 arrested striking truck drivers in Fargo, N. D., members of General Drivers' Local 173 (A. F. of L.) have been found guilty of rioting after a trial reeking with vigilante atmosphere and framed testimony. . . . Unemployed are "rioting" as far away as Mostaganem, Algeria, against their failure to receive relief satisfaction at town hall. . . . Prominent educators are all het up about the methods of social teaching. Shall we teach, they wonder, that this capitalist system is hopeless and should be replaced by a Socialist world, or shall we teach that this capitalist system is hopeless?

THE courts have been busy discharging the pickets whom the police have been busy arresting in front of Ohrbach's, 14th Street retail apparel store, where the Communist Office Workers' Union is carrying on a strike. Pickets have been mostly college boys, actors and unemployed seamen who belonged to the Communist marine workers' union. . . . The American boycott against Nazi products, backed by the Socialist Party, the American Federation of Labor, and other organizations (but not by the Communists or their stooge group, the American League Against War and Fascism) has been so effective that Germany is trying to cry quits. . . . Eugene G. Grace, "master steelmaker" (financial extortionist in the steel industry to you), fresh from the exposure of millions in bonuses to him and his associates, "deplores the soldiers' demands for a bonus as unfortunate." Tribune headlines reveal. . . . The bill before the State Assembly regulating fee-splitting employment agencies is "vicious and confiscatory," experts agree. The owners and lawyers for the commercial agencies are the experts.

THE Women's Bureau has spilt the secret of why textile bosses are fighting so desperately to continue homework. An investigation into conditions in the candlework bedspreads industry in Georgia disclosed "appalling exploitation of women who are struggling pathetically in their homes to eke out a bare livelihood. At the end of their year's work, they find that their earnings have been about one-twelfth those of their lowest-paid factory sisters."

A BOYCOTT of labor throughout the U. S. against the Kohler Co. of Kohler, Wis., manufacturers—in case you don't see the highly colored ads in the magazines—of very high class bathroom fixtures "like in the movies," is urged by the Wisconsin Federation of Labor "for the same reasons that we boycott German products." Kohler is the "progressive" former governor of the state who gave his workers a model town and was so surprised they wanted a union instead that he had a couple shot during the strike that followed their demand. And, O yes, the Kohler firm was one of the many condemned by the labor relations board for violating the NRA. So what?, the firm asked. Nothing, was the tacit answer.

THREE share-croppers, two white, one Negro—the latter vice-president of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union—are in New York to raise funds to carry on the fight for share-cropper organization and for the release of Ward Rodgers, 24-year-old Socialist organizer of the union. Norman Thomas, the L.L.D., and the Committee for the Release of Ward Rodgers, are sponsoring the trip. The share-croppers will appear before unions, etc., to make their plea. Their final appearance will be on Thursday night, March 21, at a mass meeting in Ethical Culture Society Hall. So keep that date open.

LABOR PUSHES ATTACK

(Continued from Page Eight)

give employment to workers, he said, it is the duty of the government to provide some form of relief or employment to keep them occupied.

The hearing ended with an attack by Green upon Donald R. Richberg. He said that Richberg, when counsel for the rail unions, had been known as a radical who had to be kept tied down in order

to keep his leftward tendencies from running rampant. Now, Green said, he has become a representative of industry in the recovery administration.

He charged that blame for the automobile code's unfairness to labor could be attributed directly to rulings by Richberg, and said that his ruling authorizing proportional representation for collective bargaining was one of the worst blows

CROSSWAITH TO BE HONORED AT DINNER ON MARCH 3rd

Frank R. Crosswaith, trade union official and leading Socialist of Harlem, will be honored at a dinner March 3rd, at the Park Palace, 110th St. and 5th Ave., in recognition of his 20 years of service to the Socialist and labor movements.

Crosswaith is one of the leading Socialist orators in the United States, an official of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and a frequent contributor to the columns of The New Leader. Noah A. C. Walter, Secretary Crosswaith Dinner Committee, 2005 Seventh Ave., will receive reservations for the dinner. Julius Hochman, Manager of the Dressmakers' Joint Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, is chairman of the dinner committee and will master the ceremonies.

The speakers will be, in addition to Crosswaith, James Oneal, editor of The New Leader; B. C. Vladeck, general manager, Jewish Daily Forward; David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and Vice-President of the A. F. of L.; William Collins, New York representative of the A. F. of L.; A. Philip Randolph, President of the Pullman Porters' Union; August Claessens, of the Labor Committee of the Socialist Party; Morris Feinstein, Secretary of the United Hebrew Trades, and James Bambrick, President of the Building Service Employees' Union.

DAIRY DRIVERS SIGN UP IN WOOD

INWOOD FARMS, INC., a milk distributing firm in Harrison, has just signed a closed shop agreement with the Milk Wagon Drivers and Dairy Employees Union of Westchester County, according to Thomas F. Murphy, secretary-treasurer of the union, with headquarters in Mount Vernon. Inwood Farms is a subsidiary of the Dairyman's League.

The section in the contract providing that only union members shall be employed by the company was incorporated when the union was able to show that 95 per cent were members of the union. Mr. Murphy and Leonard Bright, business manager, who negotiated the agreement for the union, were given a vote of thanks by the men involved.

labor had received.

Auto Trouble Seen

Though President Green minimized strike talk during his tour of automobile centers and insisted at Detroit that no strike was planned, ominous indications of trouble were reported following his return to Washington. Meeting at Detroit, the National Council of United Automobile Workers warned in a letter to Green that automobile workers will refuse to work under conditions now prevailing in the industry. The council is composed of representatives of 107 unions.

The letter was formal confirmation of the selection of Green to discuss organized labor's grievances with representatives of the manufacturers.

Three factors contribute to present conditions, the council stated. The letter listed:

- 1—Conspiracy by employers to destroy organized labor unions.
- 2—Discrimination, coercion and intimidation of workers and maintenance of espionage systems to spy on organized labor.
- 3—Forcing of employees into company-controlled unions and subordination of the Automobile Labor Board to activities of the company unions.

Montana Labor Challenges

(Continued from Page Nine)

representatives at the hearings at Glasgow. The only hope for relief is through congressional investigation and action.

Graham's Report Rouses

The report of President Graham was the most thought-stimulating feature of the proceedings. He attacked the administration of relief as doing everything in its power to break down the standard of wages and working conditions. This in turn has broken down the resistance of the unions and lowered the morale of the membership for a few dollars' worth of groceries. Credit is given to the administration for some improvement, but a committee, which urged Governor Cooney to appoint labor representation on the State Relief Commission, found the governor readily consenting but not making any such appointment.

President Graham openly accuses the head of the department of mathematics of the State University, on the state relief commission, of attacking the wage scale of the workers. There was a battle with this Dr. Lennes and finally Harry Hopkins requested him to resign. The offending professor is a rich man, deriving \$25,000 a year from royalties on books. Other instances have come up, and Graham makes the observation that "it appears that most of those connected with the State University have little

sympathy with the workers."

A strenuous effort has been made to reach an agreement between the State Board of Education and the building trades of Montana relative to the wages to be paid on the construction of buildings authorized by the board and financed by the PWA. The scale of wages presented by organized labor will be paid in the construction of all buildings contracted for by the State Board of Education, it was finally decided. There is much more continued fighting in regard to school construction, and the Montana State Federation of Labor has proved that it was awake to the interests of manual labor in the school system as much as the intellectuals are to high pay for their own labor. Graham states that "the faculty of the State University appears to be made up of fossils and reactionaries." The instances given are so full of interest and life that one wants to record them all.

This report must be read to be appreciated. Comrade Graham is in the unique position that he is able to show what can be done for the benefit of the workers by those who understand the economic factors that motivate the class struggle. Those who wish more exact information than this writer has been able to give may communicate with Comrade Graham at Helena, Mo.

Mill Hand

"No, ma'am, I never got to go to school.
There was a raft of young-un-
there at home,
In that old cabin up on Hickory
Creek,
But nary a school on all the moun-
tain side,
So none of us has ever got to go . . .
Yes, ma'am, I'd awful like to go to
school,
For I ain't had no schooling much
at all.
Seems like if I could get to go to
school
I'd maybe see some sense in goin'
on
Or even fix some way to help at
home.
But now seems like I can't make
head or tail
Of anything, I get so awful tired
Seems like with schooling I'd learn
how to live."

Party Aids Strike

Active assistance is being given to the Butler and the N. B. C. strikes by the local labor committee of the party and the industrial committee of the Y.P.S.L. in the conduct and routine work of the strike, picketing, outdoor meetings, distribution of circulars and speakers at strike meetings. Valuable aid is also given by Local 338 (Retail Grocery Clerks Union) and by the Teamsters Union. A boycott is being conducted against both the Butler and National Biscuit firms simultaneously and party branches and Yipsel circles are rendering good service.

could all them girls in the tobacco mill
Learn something, too, and maybe
get a chance?"

H. W. S. in "Concerning
Workers Education."

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 Hatab, Manager; L. A. Barkinsky, Sec'y-Treas.

CAP MAKERS UNION, Local No. 1, Tel., Orchard 4-9880.—Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Ave., New York City.

CLOAK, DRESS, DRIVERS' & HELPERS' UNION, Local 162, I.L.G.W.U., Affiliated with A. F. of L. 131 West 33rd St., Clitterling 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, 21 West 15th St., New York, N. Y. Phone Tompkins Square 6-5400. L. Hollender, J. Catalanotti, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

AMALGAMATED FUR WORKERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union, Office and headquarters, 949 W. 10th Ave., Brooklyn; Stagg 2-0798. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice-President, Stephen Tobasco; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Helb.

JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAISTMAKERS' UNION—Offices: 232 West 40th St., N.Y.C. Tel., Longacre 5-6190. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening; Joint Board meets every Wed-

nesday evening in the Council Room at 218 W. 40th St. Julius Hochman, Gen. Mgr.; Philip Kapp, Sec'y-Treas.

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

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, I.L.G.W.U., Office, 60 West 35th St.; Phone, Wla. 7-8011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union. Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmund Perlmutter, Mgr.-Sec'y; Louis Stober, 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, 36 W. 37th St.; phone, Wisconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 o'clock. Manager, N. Spector; Secretary-Treas., Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodos.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 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 4-8485.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 63 of I.L.G.W.U., 873 Broadway, New York City. Telephone, Algonquin 4-1861. S. Shore, Manager.

Pittsburgh Thomas Meeting a Hint To Socialist Locals Everywhere

THE Pittsburgh Socialists are planning what is expected to be the greatest mass meeting and rally for Socialism ever held in that city for non-campaign time when Norman Thomas speaks Thursday, April 4th, at the Schenley High School, Center Avenue and Bigelow Boulevard. The meeting will be under the auspices of the Socialist Party organization.

The meeting is held on a plan that may well be adopted by locals and branches in every part of the country.

Every purchaser of a ticket for the meeting automatically becomes a subscriber to The New Leader.

Those who attend who are already subscribers will have the opportunity to place some other person, promising material for Socialist education, upon the mailing list of The New Leader.

Those purchasing 25 cent tickets will get The New Leader for three months.

Those purchasing 50 cent tickets will get The New Leader for six months.

Those purchasing dollar tickets will get The New Leader for a year.

Those who sell 10 yearly sub-admission cards WILL RECEIVE AS A BONUS A FREE COPY OF NORMAN THOMAS' BOOK, "HUMAN EXPLOITATION."

Locals and branches in any part of the country alert and enterprising enough to follow the example of the Pittsburgh Socialists can do a fine job of propaganda for Socialism, and can make a substantial profit for their own party work. The New Leader will be glad to cooperate and offer the services of nationally-known speakers for meetings of that kind.

Write The New Leader, 7 East 15th Street, New York City, at once.

Fund Drive Rally Builds New Interest in Socialism

CINCINNATI.—Cincinnati's all-time record for attendance at Socialist meeting was broken in United Socialist Drive rally at which Norman Thomas, Daniel W. Loan and Maynard C. Krueger spoke. Forty-two people signed application cards; 195 signed "interest" cards.

Previous to the evening meeting, Loan and Thomas spoke on a special luncheon program that was broadcast over WFBE. The proceeds of the Cincinnati meetings—s well as those held over the week-end in Kentucky, Washington, D. C., Indiana, Missouri, Iowa, California and other states—will be used to carry on the Socialist party's work, 40% is to be used for local activities, 20% for state organizations, and 40% for nationwide work.

A bulletin issued from the drive's national headquarters inaugurates the 1935 "Barometer" showing latest returns in the drive. A substantial payment from Milwaukee effects the confidence of Socialists here that the Annual Socialist Bazaar on March 7, 8, 9 and 10 will be an even greater success than last year and places Milwaukee well in the lead among local cities in the race for a seat on the

REBEL ARTS IN NEW HOME

WITH Rebel Arts settled in its new national headquarters at 44 East 21st St., New York, Executive Director Samuel H. Friedman announces that new plans for expansion and development of the cultural activities of the Socialist movement are being vigorously pushed not only in New York City but throughout the country. The strenuous work of preparation, in which he was assisted by an energetic and resourceful promotion committee headed by Mary Hunter and including Bruno Fischer, Gertrude Weil Klein, Helen Fischandler, Al Rosenblum and Mary Hough, will culminate Saturday night, March 9th, in a housewarming at Rebel Arts' new home.

The Rebel Arts Dramatic Group recently gave a performance at Elizabeth, N. J., before 500 Socialist sympathizers. The group is now casting for a play requiring a large male cast. All interested call at 44 East 21st St., N. Y. C.

1935 fund drive's "Red Special." By exceeding their drive quotas, locals South Bend, Ind., and Elmhurst, Ill., have already boarded the "Red Special."

To Matthew Woll

(Continued from Page One)

readers how to destroy our Government by force and violence."

Certainly there is no reason or cause why I should classify your publication as "revolutionary" in character, evidently implying it was revolutionary in that it sought to overthrow the present order by violence or other illegal methods or means.

You will note that neither by direct allegation, innuendo, or otherwise did I in any way classify the character of your publication.

Trusting the foregoing will answer your inquiry satisfactorily and regretting any statement of mine should have led to any sort of misunderstanding involving your publication, I am, with kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Matthew Woll.

Of this explanation by Mr. Woll we desire to say that The New Leader considers itself a revolutionary paper but not in the utopian Communist sense. The New Leader seeks to educate the masses to the need of the abolition of capitalism, not for the establishment of Bolshevism but for the establishment of social, industrial, political and cultural democracy. Bolshevism seeks a establish a

slave state through which Bolsheviks will rule the whole laboring masses. That is not revolution but reaction. It would revert to the old despotic states where serf and slave were required to obey the decrees of ruling cliques.

Then we must dissent with a policy of seeking government as an ally of the labor movement in coping with a faction within it, however malicious or unscrupulous that faction may be. The labor movement should deal with its own fanatics and misfits. The same government to whom Mr. Woll appeals has throughout labor history often used its powers against the trade unions. Ludlow, Couer d'Alene, Pana, Lawrence, Cripple Creek and hundreds of other labor battlefields, to say nothing of the use of troops and federal injunctions against the organized workers, should teach us not to invite government to act in any fight we may have within the labor movement.

Neither should any person in the labor movement play the role of informer. The citation of the four papers to a Congressional committee on "Un-American Activities" certainly does not comply with the high ethics that should be observed in the movement.

CALIFORNIA REJECTS UNITED FRONT BID

SAN FRANCISCO.—The state convention of the Socialist party, held at Bakersfield over the week-end, emphatically rejected the bid of the Communist party for a united front. That was the outstanding action of the convention, and it follows the breaking of the united front by the Communists in the Sacramento cases.

The convention also voted for a state-owned party propaganda paper.

The newly elected state executive committee consists of Ralph W. Henderson, chairman; Milen Dempster, Allen Clark, Sam S. White, Clarence Rust, Comrade Sands, Gardiner Wells, Jacob Levitt and Millie Goldberg for the Y.P.S.L. Marjorie Kipp is state secretary.



The Bialystoker Branch 121 W.C. of Paterson, N. J., has invited the sons and daughters of its members to participate in an informal social and dance Friday, March 1, at the new Paterson Lyceum, Carol St. and 12th Ave. This is the first step in the organization of a YCLA Branch in Paterson. Sidney Q. Cohen, temporary New Jersey organizer, will speak.

2nd ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF BR. 1049

Branch 1049 and its parent branch are celebrating a joint anniversary with a concert and dance at Forward Hall on Sunday, March 3rd, at 2:30 P. M. After the concert dance music will be furnished by Toby Woods and his orchestra.

CALENDAR OF THE WEEK

Sat., March 2nd, Cosmos Dance at the Young Circle League Center, 3 West 16th St., 8:30 P. M.

Mon., March 4th, Brooklyn Action Conference at Socialist Party headquarters, 269 Utica Avenue, Brooklyn, 8:30 P. M.

Tuesday, March 5th, Joint meeting of the City Committee and City Youth Committee, Forward Building, 8:15 P. M.

Wednesday, March 6th, Discussion Group, led by Gus Tyler, at Young Circle League Center, 3 W. 16th St., N. Y. C. 8:30 P. M.

ANTI-HEARST CAMPAIGN

The campaign against William Randolph Hearst's vicious labor-baiting is gaining momentum in the Young Circle League. Protest meetings are being held in many parts of the country. Bulletin has been sent out by the National Office calling for an intensification of the campaign and urging boycott of the Hearst press.

In New York City the clubs are particularly active—especially the Intermediates, who are circulating petitions of protest among the various clubs and calling upon their members to refuse to read the Hearst papers. The campaign is being led by the Triangle Club.

THE WARD RODGERS CASE

On January 15th, Ward Rodgers, a young FERA teacher and Socialist, active in the organization of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, was arrested while presiding at a meeting of the sharecroppers and charged with "Criminal anarchy" and "calling a Negro 'nigger'." A picked jury immediately sentenced him to six months' imprisonment and \$500 fine. The case has been appealed.

The Workmen's Circle is supporting the appeal and the Young Circle Clubs should help. Send all funds through the National Office, 175 East Broadway, N. Y. C.

INTERMEDIATES ACTIVE ON LABOR FRONT

The response of the Intermediate Clubs to the call of the Jewish Labor Committee in support of the Labor Chest has been exceedingly good. Already the following clubs have arranged for affairs, the proceeds will go to the fight against fascism: The Solists, Pharisees, Boro Park, Valiants, Liberals and Caravans.

The Labor Chest Committee held an Entertainment and Dance last Saturday at the Young Circle Cen-

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For further information apply to Main Office, William Spuhr, National Secretary, or to the Financial Secretaries of the Branches.

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A class in Socialism is being organized for interested Intermediates.

The latest report on membership in the Intermediate Section shows an increase from 275 to 437 from Sept. 1934 to Feb. 1935. Nearly every club has shown remarkable activity in increasing membership and activity.

The Lassalle Young Circle Club won the annual Basketball Tournament by defeating the Caravans in a close game, 15-10, at the Y.C.-L.A. gym.

Arise Symposium Friday, March 8th

On March 8th, at Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th St., ARISE will present a symposium on "The Intellectual at the Crossroads." Among the speakers will be Anita C. Block, playreader for the Theatre Guild and member of the faculty of the New School for Social Research; Eugene Lyons, formerly U. P. correspondent in Soviet Russia; John Sloan, president of the Society of Independent Artists, and Mark Starr, I.L.G.-W.U. educational director. Dr. Wm. Bohn will be chairman.

ARISE broadcasts over WEVD every Tuesday at 10 p. m.

New York State

State Executive Committee.—The State Executive Committee will meet at People's House, New York, Sunday, March 3.

Unemployment Insurance Hearing.—The Socialist Party will be represented at the hearing on the Byrne-Killgrew Unemployment Insurance Bill at the State Capitol, Albany, on Wednesday, Mar. 6.

Buffalo.—The local has put on a drive for its headquarters' sustaining fund. It claims the finest local headquarters in the state.

The Forum committee announces two meetings at Socialist headquarters, 483 Main St. On Monday evening, March 11, Jack Britt Gaerity, organizer of Local Rochester, will speak on "Socialism, a Genuine New Deal." Monday evening, March 18, Gustave A. Strebel of Syracuse, general organizer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, will speak on "A Labor Party."

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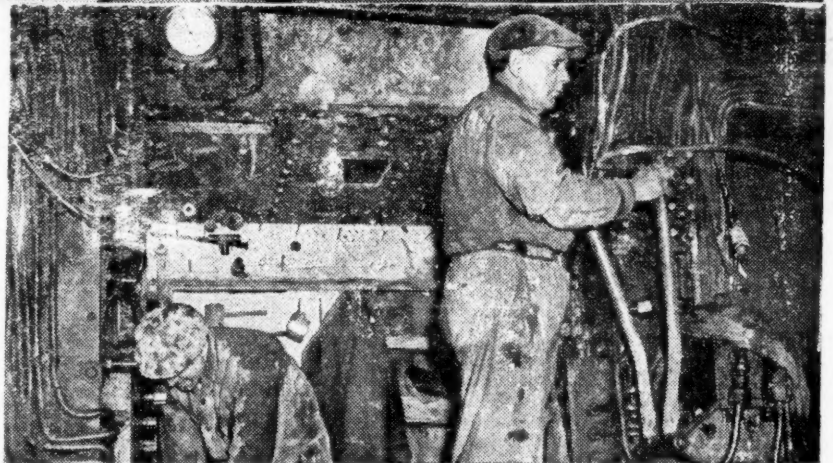
During February Organizer Baumann organized two new branches in the Lovejoy and Elliott Council districts, and secured 28 new party members.

Allegheny, Cattaraugus and Chautauque Counties will hold a tri-county rally at McCann's Hall in Salamanca on Mar. 16. Social events start promptly at 10 a.m., followed by a basket lunch at 1 p.m. An important business meeting will be held at 2:30 p.m. and every member in the tri-county and all party members and their families are invited.

World Struggles in Pictures



Arkansas Thinks They're Dangerous. Above, at right, is a scene in Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas, with Lucien Koch, young director, teaching. The college is a co-operative enterprise where the students and teachers earn their keep and study things not taught in the conventional schools, but the heresy-hunters of that brave state consider them a menace. Left, strikers at Wiloughby, Ill., driven back by tear-gas bombs set off by deputy sheriff and company guards. Below, at right, unseen and unsung toilers at work under the Hudson River, under fearful air pressure, risking life and health to build a new automobile tunnel. At left, behold the Friend of the Peep! William Randolph Hearst, head and front of the most vicious hate campaign in our history.



Back of Hearst Campaign of Terror and Hysteria

(Continued from Page One)

his earlier years. The man who denounced Tammany Hall in the most extravagant terms, even depicting its leader, Charles F. Murphy, in daily cartoons in prison stripes, was a year later the candidate for governor of that same Tammany. The man who was on occasion anti-capitalist on many other occasions—in his present campaign, for example—has been almost insanely hysterical against others who are consistently anti-capitalist.

For and Against Everything

Hearst has been for everything and against everything within the range of public life. He was once so bitterly anti-Al Smith that when in 1922 he sought a place on the same ticket with Smith the latter said, "That — of a — said so-and-so about me and I won't have anything to do with him"; within two months all Hearst papers were displaying a letter thanking Hearst for aid in reelecting Smith!

In his younger days Hearst was almost consistently "radical," as well as chauvinistic. Actually he was a sensation-monger, seeking circulation for his papers by any means.

His father was United States Senator George A. Hearst, one of the enormously wealthy California pioneers. He himself, sent to Harvard, lived on the exclusive "gold coast" and was expelled in his junior year for hell-raising. Back in San Francisco, he asked his father to buy him a moribund and dying local newspaper, the Examiner, and his father was glad to comply, hoping that after blowing in a few hundred thousand dollars on his fling Willie would settle down. But Willie surprised every-

body by developing hitherto unsuspected newspaper talents, and instead of losing money the paper gained an enormous circulation and actually made money. He virtually invented modern yellow journalism in his conduct of the Examiner.

Then Willie longed for other worlds to conquer. He came to New York in the middle '90's to compete on his own ground with Joseph Pulitzer, high priest of highly successful sensational journalism. He bought the dying Morning Journal from Albert Pulitzer and quickly made it the most screamingly sensational success in the country. In 1896 he established the Evening Journal, and did battle with the Morning and Evening World for the support of a newly-created sensation-loving reading public. The story of Hearst journalism in those days, with its Yellow Kid and other insane features, is exciting and in a sense sad, for it showed that journalistic vulgarity and depravity paid huge dividends in vast circulation.

Hearst's work in helping to bring about the Spanish-American War purely for circulation is told in detail in Walter J. Mills' book "The Martial Spirit."

For Circulation Only

But there was another side to Editor Hearst. He wanted circulation, and under the influence of Arthur Brisbane — whom he lured from Pulitzer by an amazing contract—he began a definite appeal to the radical element in New York. Brisbane is the son of Albert Brisbane, early American Utopian Socialist and is suspected of privately being a Socialist. There came the amazing editorials in the Journal, "Socialist, except for the name," countless people used to say. They were so radical

that many people seriously suggested that Hearst was simply trying to create a receptive state of mind for open Socialist propaganda.

But that sort of radicalism was inextricably intermingled with newspaper sensationalism, and it is doubtful what built up the vast circulation of the Hearst papers, radical editorials or yellow sensationalism. And even the radicalism was muddled, irresponsible and half-baked; for example, the verse by the late Ambrose Bierce after the assassination in 1901 of Governor William Goebel of Kentucky: *The bullet that laid Goebel to rest Cannot be found in all the West. Good reason; it is speeding here To lay McKinley on his bier.*

"Anarchist" Hearst

Nobody knows just what that verse meant; possibly it was just irresponsibility plus hatred of the smug McKinley. But when MacKinley was laid on his bier there was a wave of hysteria against Hearst almost as vicious as the hysteria Hearst is trying to create against "reds" today. For a long time newsdealers dared not openly display the Journal for fear of "patriotic" violence; it was about that time he took refuge in "patriotism" and changed the name of his morning paper to the American.

Then came service in Congress, Hearst's attempt to win the Presidential nomination, and his campaign for Mayor of New York on a platform compounded of half-baked quasi-Socialism and bitter antagonism to Tammany Hall that swept the city and that required all the ingenuity of Tammany arithmetic to keep Hearst out of City Hall. And a year later

he was candidate of the same Tammany and the same Murphy for Governor!

There is no room here to do more than mention his savage hatred for the Mexican revolution that unseated Porfirio Diaz; more on that score will appear in future issues. (One day his papers carried in lieu of the regular cartoon a map of Mexico with a caption inviting Americans to study it, for it would shortly become part of the United States!) Professing love for the workers, he has been the most brutal of employers both on his newspapers and in mines owned by his family in the West. Professing love for peace, he is and always has been the most blatant militarist.

At one and the same time his papers backed Big Bill Thompson in Chicago and the comical John F. Hyland in New York; Hyland's main virtue was that New York maintained the five-cent fare, while in Chicago, with a seven and eight cent fare, the Hearst papers were silent on what in New York they said was the only municipal issue. In Chicago Hearst's papers were pro-Negro, for Big Bill Thompson had built up a powerful Negro machine; in Atlanta the Hearst papers were strongly Jim Crow. In some cities Hearst was Republican, in other Democratic.

Wild Fury

For a long time Hearst sought to gain political office and consequent influence. Apparently he has a psychological compulsion to justify himself to the memory of his father, who got to the United States Senate. Apparently he must be a power behind the throne if he cannot sit on it himself. He tried to be Mayor, Governor, President; he succeeded only in getting

to Congress, where his four-year service was wholly colorless. He was the power behind the pathetic Hyland; he tried to be the power behind Smith and failed. He was a welcome supporter of the puny Coolidge. Now he is 72, and he cannot live forever. His present wild fury against the "reds" is equal only to the fury of the "patriots" against him when he was a "red." It may well be his last fling, his last attempt to cut a figure.

Here is a picture of the career of a man with a vast amount of money, considerable ability and absolutely no scruples. Anything for circulation, even if he degraded journalism to the gutter; anything to have his influence felt, even at the cost of the betrayal of the ideals he once professed. Those whom he led in a gallant battle against Tammany were betrayed a year later into the Tammany camp. Those whom his paid writers taught a sort of radicalism found him wildly damning that same radicalism as bloody treason. His papers "for people who think" are found conducting a campaign of hysteria and hatred against teachers and professors, students and plain citizens who dare to do their own thinking.

This Is Hearst

That is Hearst—a shabby, irresponsible intellectual adventurer, at the end of a long and colorful life seeking to tear down one of the few real things America has contributed—intellectual freedom and an opportunity, at least, for persons of intellectual integrity to function freely.

Let the world know him as he is; let the world hold him in the contempt he deserves. Let the world understand the meaning of his present campaign.

Legislator Demonstrates Way to Kid the Public

By T. W. Davis

THE trickiness of old party politicians in putting off the working people who come to them with demands for action on labor questions is illustrated by the action of Rockland County's member of the New York Assembly, Laurens Morgan Hamilton, in covering up his opposition to the Child Labor Amendment. Strong representations were sent to Mr. Hamilton asking for support of the amendment, although it's too much to expect that a nephew of J. P. Morgan, great-great-grandson of Alexander Hamilton and an unemployed graduate of exclusive Groton School, would ever have any particular liking for such a measure.

Mr. Hamilton didn't have the nerve to say he is for Child Labor, so he introduces a new amendment in Albany allowing Congress to set up model legislation on child labor control, but leaving the actual adoption of legislation and enforcement to the States as at present. The twenty-four ratifications already secured for the present amendment he would throw away for his worthless and meaningless substitute.

Mr. Hamilton thus satisfies those who objected to the first one!

He'll not get away with it if the organized forces of labor in Rockland County led by the Socialist Party spill the beans for him—as they intend to.

LEGISLATIVE BOOTLICKERS

BOSTON.—The State Senate has killed ratification of the child labor amendment by a unanimous vote! Last week the House overwhelmingly defeated the amendment.

Not since the days when big capital of Massachusetts formed a united front with slave owners in opposing anti-slavery agitation, has there been such a legislature of reactionary bootlickers.

Party Notes

WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

UNIT MEETINGS

Friday, March 1—9 p.m., Sholem Aleichem Unit at Unser Club Rooms, 615 E. 1st St. and Sedgwick Ave. Speaker, Henry Fruchter.

Saturday, March 2—1 p.m., Women's Executive Committee meeting, 7 E. 15th St., room 408.

Tuesday, March 5—2 p.m., Bronxville Unit, home of Sarah Rutes, 849 Linden Blvd., Brooklyn. Speaker, Lena Morrow Lewis. Subject, "Women's Contribution to Progress."

Wednesday, March 6—1 p.m., Midwood-Brighton Unit, luncheon and symposium on "The World Court," 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., Brooklyn.

Thursday, March 7—2 p.m., Bensonhurst Unit, 6618 Bay Parkway. Speaker, Lena Morrow Lewis.

PRACTICAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS

Classes meet

Monday, March 4—1:30 p.m., Rand School, "Unemployment Insurance." Guest speaker, Gus Tyler.

Tuesday, March 5—1:30 p.m., Amalgamated House, Sedgwick Ave. and Van Cortlandt Park South, "Unemployment Insurance."

Wednesday, March 6—1:30 p.m., Bensonhurst Class, 6618 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn, "Unemployment Insurance."

Thursday, March 7—2:30 p.m., Bronxville Class, 92 Livonia Ave., "Unemployment Insurance."

CLASS IN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REVOLUTIONS

Tuesday, March 5—1:30 p.m., at the Rand School.

Every student of these afternoon classes may attend the public speaking class held at the Rand School on Mondays at 3 p.m.

MANHATTAN

12th A. D. Regular branch meeting Tuesday, March 5, at 206 East 18th St., 8:30 p.m.

BRONX

5th A. D. Card party March 3 at 9 p.m., Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Ave., Techevov's "Boor" will be shown.

KINGS

Bensonhurst Branch. Branches are requested not to arrange anything for Saturday, May 11, as the Bensonhurst Branch will hold dance at Jewish Community House on Bay Parkway.

Midwood Branch holds bridge party Friday, Mar. 1, at Kingsway Mansion, Ave. P and East 16th St.

District Council No. 1. Concert, dance and movie Sunday, March 10, 8 p.m., at the Bronxville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St. The movie, "Ten Days That Shook the World." Admission, including concert and dance, 25 cents.

Better Housing for the Workers Of a Crowded Metropolis

By Herman Kobbe

THE housing conditions in almost every city in the United States are a direct menace to health and public morals. The impression prevails among many people that bad housing exists only in the larger cities. This is a wrong impression: in most of the smaller towns—and even in many villages—housing standards are even lower than in New York or Philadelphia for the reason that these smaller towns and villages seldom have any adequate building regulations, and landlords intent on profit are permitted to put up flimsy, unsanitary firetraps.

In many cases undesirable land along railroads or river fronts will be crowded with dark and dangerous shacks, while a few hundred yards away will be wide streets or open land, where the same population could perfectly well be housed without a single dark room.

In no department of life has capitalism failed more dismally than in housing to supply mankind with the rudimentary comforts or necessities.

In New York City alone there are over half a million living in antiquated tenement houses in which ventilation and sanitation

are impossible, and up to this date the city has announced no comprehensive scheme for getting rid of them and rehousing the displaced population in decent homes.

The bad housing in New York does not consist exclusively of old-law tenements. Every dark room is bad housing, and there are dark rooms in all grades of apartment houses, including many of the newest and most expensive. Landlordism, I repeat, has failed all along the line.

A Socialist city administration in almost any American municipality will be faced by the urgent necessity of constructing modern, comfortable, healthy apartment houses for the workers and all poorer tenants. These will have to be built in advance of any effective renting demand—as a matter of social foresight. Duly when a hundred or a thousand such dwellings have been finished will it be possible to vacate a like number of undesirable apartments in old houses. Unless the new houses are built first, the displaced population will have no place to go.

It's a bad plan for a city to rely on private business to put up public housing. It is the function of the city itself to test, buy and store the materials; to build the houses and to rent them to the cooperative

tenant societies which will be responsible for their upkeep. It is, however, not advisable for the city to undertake the design of the houses. Design is an art, and art is always an individual matter. Individual architects must design the houses in order that they may have artistic quality, for without this they had better not be built at all. The whole object of the houses is to raise the standard of living of the workers—not to lower it; and a house without artistic quality is a failure.

The best method of selecting the designers for the houses is to put all architects judged to be competent on a list, and invite them in turn to design the houses—or parts of the larger houses—and submit the designs offered to a permanent city art commission for selection of the best and elimination of unsatisfactory designs. City engineers should attend to all details of construction and equipment, which will be highly standardized for economy and efficiency.

The best, most extensive and most artistic housing for the workers has been done by the Socialist administration in Vienna; and all students of the subject should familiarize themselves with the splendid results achieved there in the course of fifteen years of tireless effort.

Austrian Labor Regains Old Strength

VIENNA.—The real sentiment prevailing in the ranks of Austrian labor is shown in the following confidential order issued by the Austrian Department for Public Security. The order deals with the reorganization of the free (Socialist) trade unions, and says in part:

"We have repeatedly called attention to the fact that the illegal Marxist party organizations are bending every effort to gain the factory workers. They are trying hard to reorganize the dissolved trade unions. . . According to a confidential report submitted to the police department, the reorganization of the free trade unions is proceeding at a rapid and highly successful pace. Members' dues are already regularly collected, and dues stamps are given out. The above report estimates the number of workers belonging to the illegal trade union movement at 300,000. . . The railroad workers occupy first place. . . The authorities are instructed to carefully watch all developments in the factories, and to immediately report their observations, especially as regards the free trade unions."

Other police orders urge the use of "politically trustworthy people" as spies in the factories. Railroad police have received stringent orders to watch all travelers in order to stop the constant flow of illegal literature. Unemployment in Vienna is constantly increasing and has reached a total of 130,000.

YOUTH AND AGE

Robert Dale Owen, son of the famous utopian Socialist Robert Owen, at the age of seventy wrote his autobiography. Considering his mistakes and misjudgments in the days of his youth he wrote this fine passage:

"I have often wondered how far my after-life might have been affected by the judicious advice of some cool-headed, dispassionate friend; one who, while sharing many of my aspirations, would have brought the chastening experience of a long life to mould and give wise direction to them; what, for example, the result

AMERICAN SOCIALIST SOCIETY MEETS

The American Socialist Society, which is the body that maintains and conducts the Rand School of Social Science, held its annual meeting at 7 East 15th Street last Friday evening. Encouraging reports were received on the year's work, showing a continued improvement in the school's financial position and an increase of about 15 per cent in the number of students, as compared with the year 1933-34.

Julius Gerber, Louis P. Goldberg, Adolph Held, Dr. S. Ingerman, Ben Josephson, Mrs. Bertha Mailey and David Rubinow were re-elected to the Board of Directors. The new members elected are Mrs. Florence Bowers, Marx Lewis, Alexander Kahn, and an eleventh member is being chosen by the teaching staff.

Red Falcons on the March

NEW JERSEY

Garfield.—The Red Falcons of Garfield, a newly organized group of 25 boys and girls, last week made a trip to the Museum of Science and Industry in New York. This is only one of the few trips that this group has scheduled for this season. These youngsters are all children of trade union members and already through the influence of the Falcons helped distribute leaflets for the handkerchief workers' strike.

Elizabeth.—Last week the Tom Mooney Flight in Elizabeth held a most inspiring charter party. They presented an anti-war play and clearly explained why they call themselves the Tom Mooney Flight.

Passaic.—Passaic reports the organization of 20 girls into an active flight. They already applied for a charter and are planning a charter party.

Roselle.—We are glad to say that our German comrades have finally recognized our movement and are helping us to organize a group in Roselle. In the past week they sent us a letter asking for 30 application cards.

Camden.—With the aid of the Jewish Socialist Verband, the Falcons were able to establish two groups in Camden.

Newark.—The center of Socialist activity in New Jersey can only report the existence of one little flight. This is pure negligence on the part of the party and the Yipsels. We hope that this will act as a brace.

would have been if the Robert Dale Owen of seventy could have become the counsellor of the Robert Dale Owen of twenty-five; talking over that eager youth's ideas of reform with him; dissecting his views of life here and his doubts of life hereafter; correcting his crudities and calling in question his hasty conclusions."

International Women's Day on March 10th

This is the preliminary notice of the annual celebration of International Women's Day by the Women's Unit of the Socialist Party.

This year the celebration will be held March 10th at the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street, and a grand program is promised.

The Women's Committee always puts up an exceptional entertainment. This year International Women's Day will have added significance for the women and for the Socialist Party in Greater New York.

It will be the occasion for the opening of the campaign against the High Cost of Living, which the Women's Committee has already begun to lay plans for and which plans will be presented to the Women's Conference Against the High Cost of Living Thursday evening, March 14th, at the Rand School, 7 East 15th St.

A Practical Problems class began Feb. 25th at the Rand School. Session begin at 1:30 p. m. and will be followed by the public speaking hour.

BRONX LABOR CENTER ACTIVITIES

By Mike Levenstein

The Bronx Labor Center is getting its educational activities under way for the coming season. We hope to add more courses as soon as instructors are available. We are forced to depend upon our own comrades up here, but we are determined to hunt out the best material.

Aaron Levenstein is conducting a class for Ypsels on "Elements of Socialism" in the "Know Your Socialism" drive. This class meets Monday nights at 8:30.

Registration takes place every evening between 8:30 and 9:30 in the office of the Center at 809 Westchester Ave., and will continue for one week after classes start. A few scholarships are also available. Comrades who wish to apply should get in touch with Mike Levenstein.

The Gym Class for men and women meets every Wednesday at 8:30 sharp. A special instructor conducts the apparatus work for the women. This group will form the first unit of the Workers' Sport League of America in our borough.

A special Jiu Jitsu Group is in the process of formation. Comrades who are interested should communicate with Fritz Eigner at the Labor Center on Gym Night or write to him in care of the Center.

inal. It should be outlawed.

The Child Labor Amendment to the Federal Constitution would give power to abolish it.

Now look at the record this week:

This week the Senate Judiciary Committee of the New York State Legislature, Democratic, has killed the measure. The Texas State Senate, Democratic, also defeated it.

In Nevada the State Assembly approved the amendment, and in Wyoming joint resolution was adopted and sent to the Governor. Texas and New York shake hands with the capitalist exploiter living on the labor of children!

TRADE UNIONS ENDORSE RAND SCHOOL CONCERT

The big annual benefit of the Rand School of Social Science, a brilliant concert at the Metropolitan Opera House, Sunday evening, March 24th, was endorsed by the United Hebrew Trades at its regular meeting, Monday evening, February 18th.

The concert is further supported by a Trade Union Committee, chairman Morris Feinstein, Secretary of the United Hebrew Trades; and composed of leading unionists including David Dubinsky, President of the I.L.G.W.U.; Joseph Schlossberg, Secretary-Treasurer of the A.D.W.A.; Abraham Miller, Manager of the Joint Board of the A.C.W.A.; I. Nagler, General Manager of the Joint Board of Cloakmakers; Julius Hochman, General Manager of the Joint Board of Dressmakers, and many other groups and individual locals.

This is the fourth annual Metropolitan Concert conducted by the Women's Committee of the Rand School, whose enthusiastic efforts are given to insure a brilliant success. Mrs. Abraham Lehman and Mrs. Ida B. Karlin are the co-operating chairmen.

The program includes Lily Pons, Nino Martini, Gladys Swarthout, Richard Bonelli, Emanuel List and the Metropolitan Orchestra. Tickets are being handled at the Concert Headquarters, 7 E. 15th St.

SHAKE HANDS WITH THE EXPLOITERS!

For more than a century children of the working class have been plundered by owners of industry. For child labor to continue in this age is little short of criminal.

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"Awake and Sing" The Song of the People's Triumph

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

ARISE AND SHINE!

"AWAKE AND SING." By Clifford Odets. The Group Theatre at the Belasco.

That mixture of tragedy and comedy, of sordid struggling and idealistic aim, of mean emotions and intensity, which slum life excellently illustrates, is admirably transferred to the stage in the Group Theatre's offering of a play by one of its members. "Awake and Sing" shows the family of the Bergers in the Bronx: grandfather a disciple of Marx whose idealism has left him stranded but still hopeful for the world; his daughter Bessie, whom a bitter struggle against poverty has drained of all considerations save the practical, and her kindly failure of a husband; his bachelor son Morty, who also defines success in terms of the greenback, and thinks his father's ideals a sign of second childhood; and Bessie's children, Hennie and Ralph, each eager for some joy in life, each forced by slum poverty to abortive attempts at fulfillment. Add to these the cynical friend, who lost a leg in the army, lost also his faith, his trust in life; and the submissive Sam whom Hennie is bullied into marrying when the father of the prospective child disappears; add a swiftly moving stir of talk and an accuracy in capturing these different figures, at once individual and like so many of our neighbors—and you find in "Awake and Sing" the material for a "slice of life" that is in its truth a strong indictment of our social system.

How grandpa Berger sacrifices himself for the cause, for the hopes of the future; how Hennie clutches desperately at happiness, while Ralph rises about his personal desires to a social impulse and determination that rouse even the cynical Moe; and the tragedy of all this to poor conventional Bessie, who has slaved all her life for her children's respectability:—these make a vivid, a memorable picture

of life as most of our city families must live it.

The sincerity of the Group's work ensures their plays excellent presentation. In an apartment that rings true, by Boris Aronson, they live with a poignancy that makes it hard to pick a favorite: Morris Carnovsky as Grandpa Jacob, with understanding but

without force; Stella Adler as the boss of the house, Bessie, all nervous energy and will-power, but unable to bring a new vision to the time's new ways; J. E. Bromberg as the money-making Morty, complacent in his rise from worker to capitalist, but out of early memories fierce when his security is challenged; Luther Adler as the cynic whom life has thwarted; and the rest. There is an old saying (best known in the French, who often give us the word instead of the deed—though they too can flame to action): "If youth but

knew; if age but could!" But one of the things age knows is that even youth's power is futile unless united; and this lesson young Ralph learns when out of Isaiah he repeats his grandfather's cry,

as a challenge to youth to join together, to "Awake and Sing" songs of work and songs of battle in the one great war, against poverty and human injustice; for a new, a truly social world.

"FOLIES BERGERE"

IS FAST AND FRENCHY AND OFFERS EVERYTHING THE TITLE SUGGESTS" SAYS THE AMERICAN... "CHEVALIER EXCELLENT" SAYS TIMES... "RHYTHM OF THE RAIN" LAVISH... "STRAW HAT" NUMBER OPULENT" SAYS JOURNAL... "OBERON AND SOTHERN EXQUISITE" — MIRROR

UNITED ARTISTS RIVOLI BROADWAY at 49th St.

"... AND IN HER DIARY SHE TELLS EVERYTHING ABOUT EVERY MAN SHE EVER KNEW... IF IT'S EVER PUBLISHED IT WILL RUIN BUNNY'S CHANCES FOR THE SENATE... DON'T TELL A SOUL..."



BIOGRAPHY of a BACHELOR GIRL

ANN HARDING
ROBERT MONTGOMERY

A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture

ON THE STAGE
BOB HOPE
JACK POWELL
GORDON, REED & KING
ENRICA and NOVELLO

Others

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FRIDAY, MARCH 1st
10 A.M. to 3 P.M.—POTEMKIN
3 to 6:30 P.M.—STORM OVER ASIA
6:30-11:30 P.M.—End of St. Petersburg
OLD AND NEW

SATURDAY, MARCH 2nd
10 A.M. to 3 P.M.—ROAD TO LIFE
3 to 6:30 P.M.—IVAN THE TERRIBLE
6:30-11:30 P.M.—MOTHER
3 Songs about LENIN

ADMISSION—25c to 1 P.M.; 35c to closing. — Sat. after 6 P.M., 50c.

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8th Capacity Week!!

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HANS LANGE, Conductor

AT CARNEGIE HALL

This Afternoon at 3:00
Soloist: REMO BOLOGNINI, Violinist
Program Commemorating the 250th Anniversary of the Birth of J. S. Bach

TOSCANINI, Conductor

Thurs. Eve. at 8:15 Fri. Aft. at 2:30
Next Sunday Afternoon at 3:00
BRAHMS: "A GERMAN REQUIEM"
with the Schola Cantorum Chorus
(Hugh Ross, Conductor) and
RETHERG, Soprano—SCHUBERT, Baritone

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Starting to Tomorrow
PEGGY HEALY
New Radio Sensation
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"The GOOD FAIRY"
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EXTRA!
"MAN OF ARAN"
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The Year's Outstanding Picture!

She's a beautiful blonde... gold-digger who "trims" a millionaire and... shares a romantic husband out of the phone book.

GEORGE ARLISS in "THE IRON DUKE"
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FLATBUSH at NEVINS
Meet the fighting Schoolmarm!
MAY ROBSON in
"GRAND OLD GIRL"
25c
SCINTILLATING FOX REVUE
AND BIG VAUDEVILLE BILL

ALL THIS WEEK
Leslie HOWARD
Merle OBERON
in
"THE SCARLET PIMPERNEL"
—RKO VAUDEVILLE—
BUSTER SHAVER
CASS - MACK - OWEN - TOPSY
RADIO RUBES
and other RKO Acts
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THEATRE PARTIES
Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of THE NEW LEADER Phone Aigonquin 4-4622 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager, New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th Street, New York.

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G. B. S. Brings Mock Doomsday—To the Guild—

REFORMER SHAW

"THE SIMPLETON OF THE UNEXPECTED ISLES." By George Bernard Shaw. Fifth play of the seventeenth Guild season. At the Guild.

The world premiere of Shaw's latest work seems to have both baffled and bored the Broadway critics, who came to the theatre expecting the usual Shaw, but who should have been ready for a surprise, as the playwright is Shaw, as "the unexpected isles are the whole world." For in the "The Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles" the venerable smasher of conventional idols begins with a mixture of realism and fantasy, in an Eastern world where the primitives are the wise ones and the Christians are referred to as the heathen. There, two of the wiser folk, and four Westerners, unite in a six-fold (matrimonial) attempt to produce a better world; they succeed only in producing four children, beautiful but—as the event proves—useless. For the parents (erring in this, though we must blame Shaw, for he says it's the best they could find, and he doesn't even picture them seeking!) mate the two girls with the simpleton, a clergyman set down on the land by pirates he has bored; and they prove sterile. When the Eastern woman, wisest of the lot, considers ruling the Empire, the four children prove to be servile as well, bowing before her and crying, "Obedience is free."

dom from the intolerable fatigue of thought." So it is only fair that the angel makes them disappear.

The angel, coming on Judgment Day, informs them that this day marks, not the doom of the earth, but the end of its childhood and the start of its mature existence. "Judge not, that ye be not judged," Shaw reminds us, means in the Biblical sense "Punish not"; the angel is come to "value" men, and they must justify their lives, or disappear. And we hear that the four children have had no hold on earth because they've never earned their living; and the symbolism begins to grow, for these four who (along with many mediocre humans) must vanish before a mature world are now labeled "Love, Pride, Heroism, Empire"—Shaw's four horsemen. Nor can we quarrel, for by love he means the "blind" passion that (as Plato also knew) begets the ways of reason and prevents true judgment, proper evaluation.

All this is presented with a mixture of fantasy and foolery, and jibing at Shaw's friendly enemies,

A New M. G. M. Starlet Brightens the Movie Heavens



Above you see beautiful Louise Henry, daughter of a distinguished New York surgeon, who forges ahead with each new film role. Currently she is appearing over the Loew circuit in the new Van Dine thriller, "Casino Murder Case." Her next featured role is in the film version of "Order, Please!"

the English, and some personal friends among the English. Acted by Nazimova, Romney Brent and a goodly group more, this builds to a sort of sociological hodge-podge, a perhaps too fanciful

"The Whole Town's Talking" Stars Robinson at the Music Hall—Colorful Stage Show

"The Whole Town's Talking," the new Columbia comedy drama in which Edward G. Robinson has his first comedy characterization on the screen, is current at the Radio City Music Hall.

Based on a story by W. R. Burnett, who wrote Robinson's biggest hit, "Little Caesar," the film was adapted by J. Swerling and Robert Riskin. Among Riskin's recent hits are such successes as "It Happened One Night," "Lady for a Day" and "Broadway Bill."

"The Whole Town's Talking" was directed by John Ford, and Robinson's supporting cast includes Jean Arthur, Arthur Byron, Wallace Ford, Arthur Hohl, Donald Meek, Etienne Girardot, J. Farrell MacDonald and John Wray.

On the Music Hall stage will be "Highlights," a cavalcade of love songs, devised by Leonidoff in six scenes. Appearing in it will be Ann Roselle, former Metropolitan

Opera soprano; Robert Weede, baritone; the Corps de Ballet, Rockettes, Glee Club and Symphony Orchestra, directed by Erno Rapee.

Oliver-Gleason at Roxy's
"Murder on a Honeymoon," the new RKO-Radio comedy murder mystery starring Edna May Oliver and James Gleason, opens today at the Roxy Theatre

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

"AWAKE and SING!"

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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, MARCH 1st

Manhattan
Vincenzo Vaciera—"Socialism in Italy," 8th A.D., 226 E. 10th St.
Brooklyn
B. C. Vladeck—"Socialism and the Labor Movement," Brighton Beach Branch, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave.
Emily Fine—"Thirty Hour Week," Sheepshead Bay Branch, 2011 Ave. X.
Elias Tartak—"Hitlerism 2000 Years Ago and Today," 22nd A.D., Br. 1, 864 Sutter Ave.
Dr. Jos. Slavov—"Socialized Medicine," 4th-11th A.D., 241 South 4th St.

SUNDAY, MARCH 3rd

Manhattan
G. A. Gerber—"Boosevelt's Social Security Program," 4th A.D., 393 Grand St.
August Claessens—"Social Attitudes," 6th A.D., 95 Ave. B (last of series).
Brooklyn
Lou Hay—"Class in Elements in Socialism," District Council No. 1, Kings, 269 Utica Ave., 8 p.m.
August Claessens—"Class in Socialism," 16th A.D., 6618 Bay Parkway, 3 p.m.
MONDAY, MARCH 4th
Manhattan
William Gomberg—"Introduction to Socialism," Washington Heights Branch, 1942 St. Nicholas Ave., near 150th St. (last of a series).
Brooklyn
George H. Gebel—"What Socialism Has to Offer," Amalgamated Cooperative Branch, 84 Van Cortlandt Park South.
Queens
Lena Morrow Lewis—"Use Motives vs. Profit Motives," 10th-11th A.D., 295 Gates Ave.

TUESDAY, MARCH 5th

Manhattan
Karl M. Chworowsky—"Literature of Social Revolt," 7th A.D., 789 Elmore Pl.
Brooklyn
Jacob J. Bernstein—"Dictatorship and Democracy," Lower 6th A.D., 1137 Ward Avenue.
Queens
August Claessens—"Socialist Views on NRA," 18th A.D., Br. 2, 814 Utica Ave.
Alex Kahn—"Socialism and Democracy," 18th A.D., Br. 1, 269 Utica Ave.
G. A. Gerber—"History of the Labor Movement in the U. S.," 16th A.D., 6618 Bay Parkway (last of a series).
William Gomberg—"Theory and Practice of Socialism," Jewish 2nd A.D., 579 Dumont Ave. (series of lectures by same speaker on same subject).

William M. Feigenbaum—"The British Labor Movement," Jamaica Branch, 9218 New York Blvd.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6th

Brooklyn
Jean Jacques Coroneil—"Fundamentals of Socialism," 19th and 20th A.D., 113 Humboldt St., cor. McKibbin St. (several series by same speaker on alternate weeks).

Queens
Bela Low—"Socialist Movement of Russia," Rockaway Branch, 81-12 Rockaway Blvd., Hummer Station.

THURSDAY, MARCH 7th

Brooklyn
Esther Friedman—"Current Events," District Council No. 1, 92 Livonia Ave., 2 p.m.

LECTURES

ELMER BROWN and ROY HUDSON on "Fascism and the Trade Unions" Friday, March 8th, at 8 p.m., Labor Temple, 242 E. 14th St.—Adm. 10c

The Department of Social Philosophy of Cooper Union

(Formerly People's Institute) IN THE GREAT HALL, 8th Street and Astor Place At 8 o'clock Admission free

Friday, March 1st—
EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
"Thomas Hobbes—A Realistic View of Government"

Sunday, March 3rd—
PROFESSOR IRWIN EDMAN
"The Materials of Social Faith"

Tuesday, March 5th—
PROF. FREDERICK BARRY
"Is Economics a Science?"

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DR. SIDNEY S. TEDESCHE
"The Jews and the New Germany"

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August Tyler—"Sketch of American Socialism," Midwood Branch, Kingsway Mansion, Ave. P and 16th St. (series of lectures by same speaker).

FRIDAY, MARCH 8th

Manhattan
Nathan Fine—"Socialism in the U.S.," 8th A.D., 226 East 10th St.

Brooklyn
Dr. Wm. Leavitt—"Social Psychology," Brighton Beach Branch, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave.

Karl M. Chworowsky—"Poetry of Social Revolt," Sheepshead Bay Branch, 2011 Ave. X.

Benjamin Rosenblatt—"Walt Whitman's Message to the Workers," 22nd A.D., Br. 1, 864 Sutter Ave.

Bronx Labor Center Ball

An ambitious plan of Spring social activities has been announced by the Board of Directors of the Bronx Labor Centre.

On March 23rd, the second annual Ball of the Labor Centre will be held in the form of a "Hofbrau Dance" with genuine Tyrolean waiters and real beer. On May 2nd, 3rd and 4th a Bazaar with city-wide cooperation has been planned. Friendly organizations are requested to avoid conflicts.

LECTURE NOTES

Professor John Dewey will speak on "What is a Liberal?" at the Sunday meeting of the Society for Ethical Culture, Mar. 3, 2 W. 60th St., 11 a.m.

Dr. Edwin M. Borchard, professor of International Law at Yale University, counsel for the United States and for foreign governments in international arbitrations and representative of the United States in international conferences, will speak at the meeting of the Society for Ethical Culture, Sunday, Mar. 17, at 11 a.m., 2 W. 60th St., on "Are We on the Road to International Peace?"

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"Tobacco Road" Keeps Playing on and on

In attaining the 550th attendance mark Monday, March 4th, at the Forrest Theatre, "Tobacco Road," the stirring Southern drama penned by Jack Kirkland from the original works of Erskine Caldwell, will have established a post depression precedent, for since the fatal days of 1929, the fortnight and monthly rod has been used in gauging longevity, rather than the hitherto "Abie's Irish Rose" measuring stick. Consequently, it is no wonder that all eyes on the horizon are focused on the angling marathon runner as he nears the second year tape—especially the Hollywood moguls and scout who from all outward appearances, see a golden formula in the name of Jeeter Lester, now piloted by Mr. James Bell. His two able predecessors have been lured to "den" that golden hills. Both Henry Hull and James Barton won coveted contracts for their superb work in the principal role.

The cast, as well, has been fortunate in that five hundred and fifty consecutive performances are not to be sneezed at, not in this day and age. Outside of the wanderlust Jeeters and the twenty-two-year-old girl who portrays the grandmother role in addition to serving as understudy, the cast is the same as the day when "Tobacco Road" made its gallant debut.

The players include Sam Byrd, Margaret Wycherley, Ruth Hunter, Fred Herriek, Ashley Cooper, Maude Odell, Renee Rehan, Lamar King and Edwin Walter.

Leslie Howard on Albee Screen—New Stage Show

"The Scarlet Pimpernel," now at the RKO Albee, is the latest production of Alexander Korda, who gave us "The Private Life of Henry VIII," "Catherine the Great" and "The Private Life of Don Juan." It is accompanied by a new vaudeville bill including Cass Mack, Owen & Topsy, Hukum comics; the Radio Rubes, funny on the air, funnier in person and the Harmony Co-Eds, a baker's dozen of singing California sweeties.

Famous Russian Films at 28th Street Theatre

"Potemkin," "Mother," "Ten Days That Shook the World," "Road to Life," "Three Songs About Lenin," "Storm Over Asia," all are considered important films.

On Friday, March 1, and Saturday, March 2, all the above Russian masterpieces will be shown in a continuous performance at the Fifth Ave. Theatre, 28th St. and Broadway.

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

Sun.—11 a.m., Forward Hour; 12 noon, Palestinian sketch with music; 1:45 p.m., Lola Monti-Gorsey, soprano; 8, Don Carlos, "Post Philosophical"; 8:30, Edith Friedman, piano; 10, Symposium.

Mon.—8 a.m., "Starting the Day Right," Jacob S. List; 3:30 p.m., String Ensemble; 5:30, Italian Musicale.

Tues.—8:20 p.m., Charlotte Fontana; 8:30, Cecil Barrows, baritone; 8:45, "Economic Planning: Society in the Making," University of the Air; 10, Rebel Arts Review; 10:15, The Three Debs, vocal trio; 10:30, "Paris in New York," music.

Wed.—8:30 p.m., "The Old Music Shop"; 10, Metropolitan String Ensemble; 10:15, "Education for a New Social Order," University of the Air; 10:30, Concert Hour.

Thurs.—8:15 p.m., Irish Blackbirds Orchestra; 8:30, The Virginians, vocal quartet; 8:45, "Psychoanalysis Today," Dr. Sander Leland, University of the Air; 10, Hendrik De Leeuw, Royal Dutch Travelogue; 10:15, "Newspaper Guild," "The Air"; 10:30, Eleanor Kane, soprano; 10:45, Harold Kroff and Harold Forbes, 2 piano team.

Fri.—8:15 p.m., University of the Air, "Art and Society," Thomas Benton; 8:30, Sigmund Spaeth, "The Talent Detective"; 10, League for Industrial Democracy Presentation; 10:15, Moira MacMahon, soprano, Kathleen Barrett; 10:45, Raymond Shannon, baritone.

Sat.—6:00 p.m., "Jewish Events of the Week"; 6:15, "A Mother's Sacrifice," featuring Jennie Moscovitz; 8, Metropolitan String Ensemble; 10, Seth Low College Inter-Collegiate Symposium; 10:30, Lucille Griffa, pianist.