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NEW LEADER

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WITH WHICH IS
COMBINED
**The American
Appeal**
Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

Nazis Drag All Europe to the Brink of War!

A. F. of L. Leads Fight for Thirty Hour Week

Drastic Cut in Work Week Vital First Step For Workers' Welfare

ENACTMENT of the 30-hour week bill now before Congress as the only way of putting the 11,000,000 unemployed men and women back to work is demanded by the American Federation of Labor as an essential feature of labor's recovery program.

"This appalling number of unemployed means not only that industry is suffering a loss in demand for goods which it cannot afford to be without, but that the morale of these people is suffering irreparable deterioration," the Federation declares. "Furthermore, the expenditure of public funds has reached staggering proportions."

While insisting that adequate relief must be given the unemployed, the Federation maintains that only by providing jobs can the unemployment problem be solved. As the most direct step to this end the Federation is fighting for a reduction in the work-week so as to increase the demand for labor, while insisting that purchasing power be enhanced by a rise in the wage scale.

In a study just made available the economists of the Federation point out that "hours of work have not been reduced in proportion to increased productivity for workers," and that an economic system "cannot function properly when vast numbers of workers, thrown out of work through increased efficiencies, are severed from the industrial system of which they have been, and must be, a part."

"Our experience under NRA codes has clearly established the fact that the 40-hour week is far too long to effect reemployment," the authors of the study point out. "In answer to the argument that the 30-hour week is not practical because of the prohibitive cost increases which would result, it is not necessary for us to look beyond the decreasing proportion which the labor dollar represents of the value of product, the drastic reductions in total costs which are affected under our present system with increases in production, and to the recent earnings of industry which should go directly toward the immediate stimulation of the consumers' market rather than to investors whose primary interest is in increased outlays for plant and equipment."

"We must restore some degree of economic balance and so long as increasing returns from industry are expended as a cost of capital and decreasing amounts are expended as the cost of labor, we can never expect to achieve such balance."

"If our problem is resolved to one of costs, we certainly must consider not only the slight influence of the 30-hour week which is a direct approach to the solution of our dilemma, but also the terrific cost of unemployment which, to a substantial degree, has gone unnoticed."

"Even in so-called prosperity, the economic cost of unemployment has been overpowering. Our loss of potential national income from 1920 to 1929 approximated \$27,000,000,000. This represents \$17,000,000,000 in wages and salary losses and \$10,000,000,000 of wealth which could have been created by the labor of these workers had they been employed."

"In 1934 alone, approximately \$2,500,000,000 of public funds went for relief. This figure does not take in consideration the loss in incomes of those who were at work or the national income which would have been created had all unemployed been at work at a fair living wage."

"In periods of curtailed industrial activity, wages have regularly been subjected to extensive reductions, which tendency alone has greatly amplified production declines."

"On the basis of facts which are available for 1933 and 1934, it can be definitely stated that increased expenditures for wages mean increased expenditures by wage-earners and a larger volume of

sales for industry, even for heavy industry. The importance of automobile demand on the production of the direct influence which is exerted upon heavy industries when wage-earners have increased funds with which to buy.

"The tragic effect of unemployment on industry cannot be denied. The tragic effect of continued unemployment upon millions of our population must not be underestimated. Every year during which these men and women remain without work makes the problem of their ultimate adjustment to a normal life more difficult. During the past four and one-half years a

(Continued on Page Three)

Hitler says the word. 500,000 men march through Berlin, the big guns are manned and the world trembles on the brink of war.



Versailles Treaty and Hatching of Nazi Eggs Threaten War!

SEVENTEEN years after the victorious statesmen effected the "peace of the world" the war drums again beat. Hitler proclaims a nation of conscripts, 500,000 goosestep through the streets of Berlin, and Great Britain, France and Italy draw closer together in anticipation of another conflict with Germany. Europe is again a powder magazine into which a burning brand may be hurled, and millions of human beings may soon begin another general massacre.

German conscription has altered the military map of Europe. Hitler has openly defied the Treaty of Versailles by officially announcing the air force which this treaty had forbidden and by the adoption of conscription which the treaty also forbids. This indicates that the Nazi chief is confident of the military power which has been secretly built since he overthrew the republic.

It was only a few weeks ago that a statement that Hitler had a large fleet of bombing planes was denounced as dirty anti-Nazi propaganda. With Hitler's possession of the rich industrial resources of the Saar and the sudden emergence of the Nazi military forces, all Europe is nervous with apprehension. Practically the same powers that were ranged against Germany in 1914 are ranged against her now. In other words, seventeen years after the world slaughter, the world confronts the same situation it did when the war broke out.

The Versailles Peace Treaty bears a big responsibility for this ghastly situation. It reduced the German people to vassals. The workers were mercilessly exploited to provide reparations for the Allied victors. The policy of sweating Germany revived nationalism and provided a situation that hatched Nazi eggs. Hitler's rise to power simply substituted his brutal dictatorship for the dictatorship of the Allied powers. The working class are the main victims of the two dictatorships.

Should a general war break out in Europe, it is likely to become another world war. In such an event Germany is likely to be crushed within a few months, as she is not likely to enlist any important allies. That would mean revolution in Germany, but the price paid will be a fearful one in human lives and treasure.

Norway Calls Socialist To Head its Government

Johann Nygaardsvold Is Third Socialist Premier in Three Scandinavian Countries

WITH the summoning to the premiership of Johann Nygaardsvold, Socialist president of the Norwegian Storting, Norway becomes the third of the three Scandinavian governments to be ruled by the Socialist Party.

The uneasy coalition that supported the Liberal Johann L. Mowinkel as prime minister since the Socialist election victories of October, 1933, at last broke down and Nygaardsvold was called upon to form a government.

The Mowinkel government fell when the Storting adopted a two per cent tax on all business transactions to finance unemployment relief and to liquidate municipal and state indebtedness.

The elections of 1933 resulted in the return of 69 Socialists, 31 Conservatives, 24 of the Liberal Left, 23 Agrarians, and three Independents. The previous Storting contained 47 Socialists, 44 Conservatives and Moderate Liberals, 34 Liberals and 25 Agrarians. The Socialist victory literally stunned the old parties, but since they lacked members of a clear majority, all opposition parties sank their differences to keep the Socialists out of office as long as they could.

This is the second Socialist government of Norway, the first having lasted twelve days. In January, 1928, following the elections of the previous fall that resulted in the election 59 Socialists to 90 Liberals, Moderates and Conservatives (and one Communist). Christian Hornsrud was called upon as leader of the largest group in Parliament to form a government. The Norwegian Socialists had not yet completely thrown off the Communist influence that had split their party less than a decade before, and they brought in a program that they knew could not be passed in the then make-up of the Storting. They were defeated and ousted in less than two weeks, and at the following election they lost 12 seats.

The party is today at the peak of its strength and influence, having apparently completely recovered from the Communist split that divided the workers for a while into three parties. The Socialists consented to withdrawal from the Labor and Socialist International when the Labor Party (which had been "captured" by the Communists, and that later split off again from the small Bolshevik section) reunited with them. Relations with the L.S.I., however, have been cordial, and there is every indication that they will shortly be reunited.

At a huge Socialist gathering in Copenhagen several weeks ago the leaders of the three Scandinavian Socialist movements pledged themselves to unity for freedom, democracy and Socialism. Nygaardsvold spoke at that meeting, saying:

skilled laborer, a former member of the Socialist Party of the United States and of the I.W.O. in the days before the war.

Socialists Retain Control of Stockholm

Municipal elections in Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, resulted in the continued control of the city by the Socialists, although the party suffered somewhat as a result of a terrific onslaught by the Conservatives.

On all hands it was conceded that the election would be something of a test of strength among the people for the thoroughgoing Socialist program of the Socialist government of the nation and every effort was bent to defeat them in the city. The drive was unsuccessful, although the Socialist majority is slightly less than before. Details are as yet lacking.

New Wave of Terror in Russia

AS we go to press, information is received of a new wave of terror against Socialists in Russia. Among those arrested are Lieber, famous leader of the "Bund" and the Social Democracy; Yezhor-Zederbaum, Concordia Zacharoff, and many others. The last two mentioned were signers of the famous telegram to the French Socialists and Communists urging a united front.

That appeal made a profound impression upon the French Socialists, and may have had a decisive effect in winning that party over to a united front. We are awaiting detailed information.

THREE SOCIALIST PREMIERS



TH. STAUNING
Premier of Denmark



JOHANN NYGAARDSVOLD
Premier of Norway



PER ALBIN HANSSON
Premier of Sweden

The New Leader Greets Its Readers in Its New Dress

WITH this issue The New Leader greets its readers in all parts of the country in its new make-up, its new dress and with many new and brilliant contributors.

Never has the Socialist and labor movement needed The New Leader as much as today; never have those who prepare and get out The New Leader worked so earnestly to produce a paper worthy of those whom it—and they—serve.

With turmoil in the world situation, with discontent rising in this country to greater heights every day—yes, every hour—and with more and more of the tortured masses looking eagerly to the Socialist movement for clarity and guidance The New Leader assumes the great task laid upon it with the feeling of responsibility the occasion demands.

The contents of this issue of The New Leader are only a foretaste of the feast of rich and valuable material the editors are preparing for the near future. More and more of the leading writers and thinkers of the Socialist movement here and abroad will be found in these pages.

In early issues we promise a remarkable article by IRVING B. ALTMAN analyzing the plans proposed by Huey P. Long and showing where they lead. Altmann is a trained economist, and he shows that even Huey was a sincere leader and not an irresponsible demagogue his plans could never succeed, and that the only way out of the morass that Huey has just discovered is by way of Socialism.

KARL KAUTSKY continues his brilliant series of articles that begins in this issue.

Here are some of the articles already prepared: DR. WILLIAM E. BOHN has written a brilliant, carefully thought-out, sanely reasoned and delightfully written article on "The Road to Power," an article especially needed these turbulent days.

PROFESSOR GEORGE W. HARTMANN of Pennsylvania State College has given us a valuable article on education that will appear shortly.

MARK STARR's article in this issue on Workers' Education will be followed shortly by other articles on the same general subject.

ALGERNON LEE, whose first contribution last week aroused such pleased interest, will continue his contributions each week, taking up the events of the day with the keen mind and brilliant style so characteristic of him.

In addition, there will be invaluable news of the Socialist and labor movements here and abroad that cannot be found anywhere else, book reviews, comment and discussion, and much other material.

We expect that each issue of The New Leader will be an improvement upon the previous issue. YOU CANNOT AFFORD TO MISS THE NEW LEADER.

But the cooperation and support of every reader is needed. Send in your subs and your friends and associates. DOUBLE THE CIRCULATION BY MAY DAY!

Jokers Found in Pension Bills in Connecticut

Socialist Vigilance Detects Plan to Emascuate Security Legislation in Legislature

By Abraham Knepler

HARTFORD.—An attempt to defeat old age pension legislation while seemingly supporting it appears to be the latest trick of the reactionaries. The Judiciary Committee of the Connecticut General Assembly has been doctoring the model bill proposed by the Old Age Security League, so that even the coroner would not recognize it when it is reported out of committee.

While all three parties, the Republican, Democratic, and Socialist, introduced similar old-age pension bills, drafted by the Old Age Security League, the Judiciary Committee, which has no Socialist members, has been taking off a little here and adding a little there, to get the proponents of the measure protesting and disagreeing among themselves. That would serve as the excuse for ditching the idea of an old-age pension act in this session.

Old-age pension advocates are on the alert, however, and have shown that while they are opposed to the changes in the bill they are not dividing their forces. One of the main objections to the altered bill is the provision for an old-age pension commission of five members, all of whom must be lawyers, who will receive a \$4,200 salary, while an applicant for a pension will have to prove that he is a virtual pauper before he can get anything. Another objection is the provision for a three-dollar head tax on the state between

21 and 65 in order to pay for the expenses of the pension system.

So vigorous has been the protest against the changes in the bill that the altered bill is being reconsidered in committee before the final version is presented to the legislature.

The Socialist state senators from Bridgeport appeared before the Judiciary Committee in support of a bill that would prohibit the state police or militia from entering a strike area "except on request of the head of the local government to the governor for such assistance, and in no case except upon the order of the governor."

John Egan, secretary of the Connecticut Federation of Labor, told the committee that the state police had been called out for strike duty on several occasions even before the local authorities had been called in. Representatives of the Manufacturers' Association opposed the bill.

Mayor Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport, representing the Socialist Party, was among those who urged ratification by Connecticut of the Federal Child Labor Amendment before the committee on federal relations. Although the demand for ratification received strong support from many organizations, including the Connecticut League for Ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, the Connecticut Federation of Labor, the League of Women Voters, and the Socialist Party, the chances of ratification are regarded as slim, even if the committee on federal relations should make a favorable report.

The Brand of Education the Workers Need

By Mark Starr

I. The Need and Aim

GRADE and high school education in the main makes workers better exploitable under modern conditions. Technical education enables workers to produce more, only to get less as a class. Natural science offers a split atom to workers who lack bread. Only real and independent workers' education based on a recognition of the class struggle and aiming to increase the efficiency of the organized workers to create a new social order is now worthy of serious attention by organized workers.

All this has often been said but never to so many eager ears as now. Workers' education faces new responsibilities in these exciting days of resurgent unionism. The urgency of the need demands mass education to supplement the intensive training given to the active minority in a residential labor college such as Brookwood and in the evening classes of the Rand School.

In making the raw recruits permanent and valuable soldiers in the labor army, education activity within the union thus assumes a

new importance. We do not need week-end conferences in orthodox universities to discuss the problem of how the workers will use their (as yet non-existent) undisturbed leisure, a problem which seems to worry some pseudo-leaders in workers' education, with their cat clubs and coin clubs and bridge classes for the poor dear workers. Workers' education does not aim to provide recreation and hobbies for individuals. It is not a soothing syrup but a call to more effective action based on understanding of social problems; such action is inevitably group action.

Now, workers' education (in contrast with technical education) more than ever must concentrate not on how to produce more but how to get more; it must make two dollars grow on the pay check where only one grew before. We are not seeking an extension of capitalist culture or a nebulous "sweetness and light" to give individual workers a means of escape or satisfy a yen for pointless knowledge.

"Art," Lenin once said in conversation with Clara Zetkin, "belongs to the people. It must with its widest stretching roots go out to the very thick of the broadest masses. It must combine the feelings, thoughts and will of the masses and uplift them." We work for the enrichment of a real working class culture. We confessedly aim to train for trade union service.

Weekly classes in trade union history, problems, tactics in organization and strikes; classes in work-shop economics, the study of NRA, the fascist and war dangers, trusts and machinery,

money, etc., from the workers' point of view; classes in parliamentary law and public speaking to help the workers to run their meetings and state their case much more effectively; classes in modern economic problems and current events to help the workers realize what is happening at home and abroad—these are the means used.

Unions should have teachers to ride circuits and give pep talks at union meetings. For unemployed groups, five or ten-day institutes on "Unemployment and Its Cure" are a profitable use of their enforced idleness. If the mountain will not come to Mahomet, then teachers must go to the trade unionists in their meetings; make educational talks at strike meetings and business meetings and teach the workers to sing some of the inspiring choruses from the union song book. Shows of labor plays and skits should supplement the class work and the meetings. A Labor movement that matters will march forward with its own new songs upon its lips; its own brave banners unfurled to the breeze.

New arts will bloom of loftier mould
And mightier music fill the skies.

Information will be lit up by the inspiration of solidarity. They who build society with their hands can best understand its problems with their brains.

To enlist recruits is one job; to make them reliable soldiers is another. Workers' education is vital to both. Youth will not respond to the old appeals—the stodge exhortations to pay dues and affilia-

tion fees. An arresting, inspirational appeal to labor ideals of solidarity and power is productive of more results. Then the raw unionist must be introduced bit by bit to the history of his union and of the whole movement.

We want our members to study the economic problems of our own and other industries in these days of regulated capitalism. Often un-informed members kick their union because they do not realize what handicaps the union is trying to buck in the general economic situation.

Sometimes sectional and craft jealousies creep in and create havoc unless the members appreciate the significance of organization on the basis of the entire industry, both now in the immediate struggles and in the future workers' control of industry. Although by referendum and convention vote the Hosiery Workers' Union, the I. L. G. W. U. and other unions have declared in favor of independent political action, we know we have still to educate the rank and file to an appreciation of its importance and possibilities.

Naturally too, education in the unions has its own problems. There is the matter of simple treatment. Polysyllables are out of place. Labels have to be avoided in the early stages of getting ideas across. Overstimulation by a too early atmosphere of radicalism is a danger. Trade union leaders, in the matter of approach, naturally do not welcome workers' education when it is championed as the means to replace them. No union will knowingly give free entry to spare-time Communist or near-

Communist college professors and roving intellectuals who think sub books as Louis Adamic's "Dynamite" to be the history of American Labor or paint idyllic and false pictures of the amorphous Knights of Labor of fifty years ago to show the degeneration alleged to be generally manifest in the present American Federation of Labor.

Uninformed and unsophisticated union members should not be subjected to proselytizing by any of the fifty-seven factional varieties

of self-styled revolutionary groups in the name of workers' education. A class should not become a mere caucus for anti-administration forces.

On the other hand, it should not be a yes-men chorus blind to defects in union structure or personnel of leadership. There is a middle ground in which rebel youth can season its fervor with knowledge of past experience and in which those engrossed in administrative

detail can lift their eyes from individual trees and look at the woods for a while. Farsighted trade union leaders will actively participate in workers' education. In the less troubled air of the classroom views can be exchanged upon trade union problems far more effectively than in convention debate when votes and jobs are at stake.

(Another article by Mark Starr on Workers' Education will appear in an early issue.)



Mark Starr

Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman

Our Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON was shocked by official announcement of Hitler's order to conscript half a million soldiers. Astounded diplomats admitted freely that the German move, and the blunt way in which it was done, might precipitate a serious crisis in Europe and possibly throughout the world.

Officially, at least, the scrapping of the Versailles Treaty is no concern of the United States Government. If Uncle Sam is to join others in protest against Hitler, the pretence will be the breaking of the German-American Treaty of 1921, which reserves to the United States "all the rights and advantages stipulated for the benefit of the United States in the Treaty of Versailles," notwithstanding the fact that such treaty has not been ratified by the United States.

Article II

And Article II of the separate treaty with Germany specifically stipulated that Part V, now repudiated, was included among those "rights and advantages." Thus on the face of it Hitler has breached the separate treaty with the United States as well as the Versailles treaty. A case would exist, therefore, for separate protest or for joining with other powers.

Whether such a step will be taken by the State Department is only to be surmised. Chances are the tendency here will be to let England, France and Italy take whatever initiative is to come in the wake of Germany's defiant move. The statements of those countries—the perpetrators of the unjust and impossible Versailles Treaty—have brought about this deplorable situation. Let them show the way out of it.

But while it is true that others must share responsibility, American officials feel that whatever justification there may be for Germany to rearm itself—after the hypocritical avowal of the others to reduce armaments failed—that justification cannot make it safe for the world to leave the peace of the world in the hands of Hitler and his firebrands.

A Showdown Coming

Some kind of a showdown must come soon. In the opinion of the War and Navy Departments the only thing uncertain is the date of the next war. Its inevitability is taken for granted by most military men, however cheerful the diplomats may profess to be. For those to whom historic precedents are important there is something grimly portentous in the fact that in 1913 Germany suddenly ordered her army increased and that France replied by extending her military service from two to three years. Now it is France's similar action in extending military service which is followed by Hitler's proclaiming of conscription which Part V expressly prohibited.

Few authorities here doubt that Nazi Germany will turn as fast as finances permit to naval expansion as well. And all those who glance at the famous maps, hung in every German schoolhouse by Herr Goebbels, deeply distrust the Hitler avowals of peaceful defensive aims. For those maps graphically en-

visage as parts of the Third Reich Schleswig, all of Holland, most of Belgium and Switzerland, parts of northern France, the whole of Austria, much of Czechoslovakia and approximately half of Poland. This is the same Herr Goebbels who was the medium for announcing to the world Hitler's new decree professing peace as its major motive.

At the present moment this overshadowed all other questions in Washington. Once more the specter of war in Europe brings up the troubled and unsettled question of American neutrality, and the fear that in case of a major conflict America will be unable to remain aloof.

The President Will Win

THIS week will probably see the final enactment of the Works-Relief Bill in substantially the form the President wants it. At the present writing this main recovery bill is still being taken over the jumps by Senators who are afflicted with economy complexes when it comes to helping the unemployed. They do not want to disturb the 880 millions of dollars earmarked for direct relief, but are anxious to slash the four billion contemplated to substitute work for relief. Senator Adams of Colorado would reduce it to two billion. Sen. Byrd of Virginia would cut it to one billion. As against them LaFollette wants to increase the appropriation to ten billions. Chances are it will neither be decreased nor increased, and by Thursday, after just two months' turbulent sojourn in the Senate, it will become law.

Another Threat to NRA

ANOTHER threat to NRA was advanced in the Senate yesterday when the Judiciary Committee reported favorably on the Black 30-hour week bill, imposing a five-day week and a six-hour day in industry.

The bill has the backing of the American Federation of Labor and is being put forward by labor organizations as a challenge to hesitancy in the Senate on re-enactment of NRA with its labor provisions.

The Relief Administration came in for discussion before the Senate Finance Committee and before the Senate Labor Committee. At the same time Secretary Perkins declared that she did not "think there is the slightest likelihood that NRA will not be continued."

Before the Labor Committee, John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, accused Donald R. Richberg of encouraging violation of Labor Board decisions in his interpretations of Section 7-A of the Recovery Act. Richberg, New Deal coordinator, joined the "war of the air waves" last night in an appeal to the country to stand with the "Progressives" against the onslaught of the "Old Guard" and the "Destroyers."

While he mentioned no names, it appeared that a part of his attack was directed at Huey P. Long, Father Coughlin and Gen. Johnson. The People's Lobby asked the American Federation of Labor to sponsor a legislative program "socialization of basic industries" to offset the defeat of the pro-

ving wage amendment to the Work-Relief bill.

President William Green issued a 10-point "bill of rights" for labor as follows:

1. Enactment of the 30-hour week.
2. College education for workers' "unusual" children.
3. A social security system providing unemployment benefits, old-age pensions and health insurance.

Business Is Better, Say the Charts, And There You Are

By Chester M. Wright

CHARTS and rows of figures seem to indicate that business is getting better and that next year will see a rather sizable growth of improvement.

It is all very puzzling. Automobiles are booming along, steel is doing very well and textiles are better than textile management justifies.

Forecasts of those who are professional forecasters are for gains running through the next two or three years, on to 1940, which, in terms of weekly pay envelopes, is a long stretch ahead.

The figures seem to be all right. They have been put together with great care and as the result of much study.

It is to be hoped that they are not full of blow-holes.

Very few who read these words are likely to be readers of Fortune, the big magazine that sells for a dollar a copy.

But Fortune, this month, prints pictures that show the distribution of wealth and of poverty.

This magazine, which carries in colors the advertising of the fabulously profitable non-union cigarette industry, shows that poverty is almost the rule in American life. To be "wealthy" is to be the rare exception. Wealth is concentrated in a very few hands.

The reviving state of business looks very much like the old racket of taking a few handfuls of people out of the abject poverty line and lifting them temporarily just a trifle above that line, where they will hover in uncertainty until with another smash they go down again.

Meanwhile the greatest battle to break the strength of organized labor is getting under way. The greatest battle ever staged, in all probability.

And a great many unions find it impossible to believe that such a thing can be, in view of Section 7A and the rest of the Roosevelt legislative grist.

But 7A hasn't much longer to live and there is no assurance that the Wagner Industrial Disputes Bill will be enacted into law. Surely it will not be unless there is an overwhelming clamor for its enactment.

And just at this moment there isn't any assurance that there will be any law to supplant NRA when it dies by statutory limitation in just a few weeks.

There has been a notable and saddening sagging downward and backward. But one thing is sure: Governmental activities have already given private business a new grip and business, like a lady just out of the gutter mud, is in

the act of passing on, nose thumbed haughtily at the rescuer.

4. A financial and credit system for financing all industrial enterprises.
5. Abolition of child labor.
6. Abolition of company unions.
7. Equitable distribution of the earnings of industry through collective bargaining.
8. Development of a national labor political movement.
9. Strikes are necessary.
10. High inheritance taxes to redistribute swollen fortunes.

So be it. But no, so be it not. There has been too much ferment for all things to settle back as they were, with power flowing through the same old hands of the same old gang.

A certain process of change has set in and that process is going on. There may be—there will be—fumbling and halting and it may be a decade before the world can see clearly what the change has been.

But the tight little group that could twist a nation's economic forces around its fingers and shovel a nation's wealth into its pockets will not be in the same place when that change has been accomplished.

As a matter of fact, just what happens to that little group depends in large part on how stubbornly that little group resists the change that is in the hearts of the people.

Another "Anti-Sedition" Bill Passed

ATLANTA, Ga.—An Anti-Sedition Bill, making it a crime to speak, write or otherwise encourage sentiment intended to undermine democratic governments, has been passed by the Georgia House.

The penalty is one to ten years in prison. Possession of five copies of "seditious" literature is accepted as evidence that the possessor is circulating it. News articles, cartoons, pictures and other visible means of exciting sedition are barred.

TWO ARMIES

VISUALIZE the draft army which the United States assembled for the World War. Multiply that seemingly endless tide of olive drab uniforms by seven, says the United States News.

Federal relief rolls have topped the twenty-million mark to set a record of 20,500,000 individuals on the dole. The number of men drafted in the United States for the World War was 2,783,000.

The relief list now carries 5,000,000 families averaging four persons to the group, in addition to 775,000 individuals. The cost of supplying this great share of the population with food and clothing has reached \$5,000,000 a day. Federal Relief Administrator Harry Hopkins said last week that he had only \$20,000,000 on hand to care for one-sixth of the nation after March 15.

EMMA ADLER DIES

Word has just been received of the death in Zurich of Emma Adler, widow of Dr. Victor Adler, founder of the Austrian Socialist movement and of the democratic Austrian republic, and mother of Friedrich Adler, secretary of the Labor and Socialist International.

Mrs. Adler was a sister of two noted Socialists, one of them Heinrich Braun, the other Adolf Braun, who was for many years editor of the Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung and later Socialist deputy in the German Reichstag. She herself was a brilliant writer and a devoted Socialist worker, and for many years she was editor of the children's page of the Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung (Workingwomen's Newspaper). In addition she was author of a noted book, "Women in the French Revolution."

Emma Adler was the closest comrade and co-worker of her great husband until the time of his lamented death in the moment of his great victory a day or two after he told Kaiser Karl in Schönbrunn that the monarchy was dead and the Republic had been born. In recent years she had been very ill and had lived with her distinguished son in Zurich.

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DAILY SPECIALS

FOR WEEK BEGINNING MARCH 25th

PURE CANDIES

MONDAY, MARCH 25TH	TUESDAY, MARCH 26TH	WEDNESDAY, MARCH 27TH
Old Time Licorice Non-pareils 40¢ Value—full pound 15¢	Assorted Gloss Hard Candy 40¢ Value—full pound 17¢	Old Fashion Molasses Assortment 40¢ Value—full pound 17¢
Pineapple Coconut Cream Kisses 40¢ Value—full pound 17¢	Cream Mint Wafers 40¢ Value—full pound 17¢	Tutti Frutti Coconut Cream Kisses 40¢ Value—full pound 17¢
Old Dutch Style Chocolates 40¢ Value—full pound 19¢	Chocolate Honey Comb Chips 50¢ Value—full pound 24¢	Chocolate Covered Peppermints 40¢ Value—full pound 17¢
Milk Chocolate Silverettes and Wafers 40¢ Value—full pound 19¢	Chocolate Pan Fudge 40¢ Value—full pound 19¢	Fifth Avenue Assorted Chocolates 50¢ Value—full pound 19¢
Home Made Coconut Marshmallow Cake 40¢ Value 19¢	Home Made Pecan Honey Bun 40¢ Value 19¢	Home Made Chocolate Angel Cake 40¢ Value 19¢
THURSDAY, MARCH 28TH	FRIDAY, MARCH 29TH	SATURDAY AND SUNDAY MARCH 30TH AND 31ST
Pure Old Fashioned Gum Drops 40¢ Value—full pound 15¢	Old Time Pure Hard Candy 40¢ Value—full pound 17¢	Assorted Cream Wafers 40¢ Value—full pound 17¢
Lemon Coconut Brittle 40¢ Value—full pound 19¢	Chocolate and Vanilla Coconut Cream Kisses 40¢ Value—full pound 17¢	Chocolate Covered Coconut Royals 40¢ Value—full pound 19¢
Chocolate Covered Raisin Clusters 40¢ Value—full pound 17¢	Milk Chocolate Cashew Clusters 60¢ Value—full pound 29¢	Milk Chocolate Cream Caramels 50¢ Value—full pound 24¢
Double Dipped Assorted Chocolates 60¢ Value—full pound 27¢	Chocolate Covered Italian Creams 40¢ Value—full pound 19¢	Home Made Assortment 70¢ Value—full pound 34¢
Home Made Cherry Pie 40¢ Value 19¢	Famous Dundee Cake 40¢ Value 19¢	Home Made Chocolate Fudge Cake 40¢ Value 19¢

AT THE FOUNTAINS

MONDAY, MARCH 25TH	TUESDAY, MARCH 26TH	WEDNESDAY, MARCH 27TH
Deviled Ham and Swiss Cheese Sandwich and Coffee regular 25¢ 15¢	Sliced Chicken Sandwich regular 20¢ 15¢	Cream Cheese and Jelly Sandwich and Coffee regular 25¢ 15¢
Pineapple Sundae regular 15¢ 10¢	Hot Fudge Sundae regular 15¢ 10¢	Caramel Sundae regular 15¢ 10¢
Buttered Toast with Tea or Coffee regular 20¢ 10¢	Pie a la Mode regular 20¢ 10¢	Dundee Cake and Ice Cream regular 20¢ 10¢
Chocolate Ice Cream Soda regular 15¢ 10¢	Strawberry Ice Cream Soda regular 15¢ 10¢	Coffee Ice Cream Soda regular 15¢ 10¢
THURSDAY, MARCH 28TH	FRIDAY, MARCH 29TH	SATURDAY AND SUNDAY MARCH 30TH AND 31ST
Chicken Salad Sandwich and Coffee regular 25¢ 15¢	Tuna Fish Sandwich and Coffee regular 25¢ 15¢	Ham and Tomato Sandwich and Coffee regular 25¢ 15¢
Maple Walnut Sundae regular 15¢ 10¢	Chocolate Sundae regular 15¢ 10¢	Caramel Sundae regular 15¢ 10¢
Dundee Cake and Coffee regular 20¢ 10¢	Buttered Toast with Tea or Coffee regular 20¢ 10¢	Hot Fudge Dundee Cake regular 20¢ 10¢
Chocolate Ice Cream Soda regular 15¢ 10¢	Pineapple Ice Cream Soda regular 15¢ 10¢	Coffee Ice Cream Soda regular 15¢ 10¢
		Pint Left Ice Cream 1 1/2 lbs. Chocolate Fudge Sauce regular 10¢ 27¢

186 STORES—One Near You

Organizing Chinese Garment Workers in San Francisco

By Jennie Matyas
Organizer, I. L. G. W. U.

SAN FRANCISCO.—Our Chinese Branch is fighting against huge odds—Chinese "discipline" and rigid enslavement of tongue rule. Fee, our organizer, is endeavoring to recruit new members, especially among those who until now appeared to be unapproachable.

We have, at last, succeeded in persuading two of our Chinese members to make out a statement on code chiseling in their factories for Mr. Pruder of the local Cotton Garment Code Authority. Through these statements we may now be able to check up on other violations, and a check or two in pay collected from their employers might loosen some of the other frightfully silent Chinese workers.

\$12.56 for 144 Hours

One of the workers testified that he received \$12.56 for 144 hours of work. Another, working on overalls, makes on the average \$3.50 a week, out of which \$1.50 is deducted for board. In many of the overall shops where men are employed they have a system whereby the employer supplies the lunch and dinner to the workers at \$1.50 per week. The workers sleep at home but for the rest they live in the shops. They eat there, work there, play Mah Jongg there—and

just try and get them! When the patrol committee comes in, after work hours, all is quiet on the Chinese front! Not a soul working—all are playing Mah Jongg. When work stops and play begins, however, is anybody's guess.

Workers' "Homes"

When the worker becomes tired and is about ready to fall off to sleep—about midnight or one or two in the morning—he goes to his home to sleep. Home! A single room, about the size of one of our small bedrooms, with half a dozen bunks arranged in tiers—like the cheapest berths on board the cheapest ships. And even in these crowded bunk rooms there are children, and frequently machines where home-work is done.

The Chinese situation, of course, is a serious menace to the entire local market. Our employers are watching Chinatown with eager eyes. Little by little, Chinatown is beginning to encroach on the better garments, and that's something which we should watch with keen attention.



Philadelphia Unions and Socialists Join for May Day Celebration

By Abe Belsky
Executive Secretary, Socialist Party of Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA.—The organized labor movement of Philadelphia, at a conference Thursday, March 14, created a joint committee of trade unions, Workmen's Circle branches and Socialist Party locals to fight vigorously for the adoption of a national and state 30-hour week bill, and for the elimination of company unions. The conference made plans to wage an effective campaign for this legislation through educational programs, literature, posters and with a mass outdoor demonstration on May 1.

One hundred delegates, representing the Central Labor Union and its affiliate unions, Workmen's Circle branches and Socialist Party locals met at the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union Center to discuss plans.

Adolph Hirschberg, president of the Central Labor Union, presided. In a brief address he outlined the purposes of the conference as follows: "This conference of organized labor, Socialist Party and Workmen's Circle branches was called by the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia and vicinity for the specific purpose of setting up of joint machinery for the carrying

on of a vigorous campaign for the adoption of a 30-hour week and the elimination of the company union." The need for every local to get behind the drive was then stressed. Frank Burch, secretary-treasurer of the Central Labor Union, and Abe Belsky, organizer of the Socialist Party, were appointed co-secretaries.

Theatre Party for Butcher Workers' Branch

The Butcher Workers' Branch of the Socialist Party will hold its first theatre party at the Second Avenue Theatre on Monday evening, March 25.

The purpose is to raise funds to carry on an extensive organization program and to prepare funds for the printing and distribution of literature.

A substantial part of the success of raising funds for the branch is due to Mr. Sachs and Mr. P. Schneider of the Second Avenue Theatre, who have contributed \$600 worth of theatre tickets.

The committee in charge of the distribution and sale of the tickets are Joseph Belsky, Isidore Leff, Ben Levine, Nathan Teitelbaum, Jack Brandes, Abraham Hagler and Milton Fineman.

A Resolutions Committee of seven with Warner D. Curry, vice-president of the C.L.U. and of the Photo-Engravers' Union, as chairman, included Joseph Schwartz, chairman of the Socialist Party, and David Braginsky, chairman of the Socialist Party Labor Committee.

The conference voted to be known as "Organized Labor's Committee for State and National Legislation for the 30-Hour Week and Against Company Unions."

Resolutions pledging vigorous support for the fight in favor of Senator Wagner's Labor Disputes Bill and Darlington Hoopes' 30-Hour Week Bill were unanimously adopted.

Delegates were urged to report back to their local groups the sentiment expressed at the conference for the calling of a complete stoppage on May 1.

After the conference the executive committee of fifteen held a short session. The committee went on record in favor of holding an outdoor mass demonstration May 1. An Action Committee of three, consisting of Lewis Hines, representative of the A. F. of L., Frank Burch and Abe Belsky, was appointed to take care of all plans.

The next session will be held Thursday, March 28.

Pres. Green Warns Congress If Trades Disputes Bill Fails

WASHINGTON.—Speaking before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, President Green of the American Federation of Labor warned that the workers would not remain patient much longer if the Wagner Trade Disputes Bill is not soon enacted. Industrial strikes on an extensive scale are likely unless labor gets more legislative results from Congress.

Green described in detail the methods under which Section 7A, the collective-bargaining provision of the Recovery Act, had been evaded by employers. He asserted that unions had been organized under the ostensible protection of the Recovery Act only to be broken up by employers through the formation of company unions, discharge of union members, removal of plants to other towns, failure to hire union men after lay-offs and the introduction of espionage systems.

The union leader pictured the A. F. of L. as a safety valve which had for two years kept the dis-

content of workers within bounds. "There is growing in the masses of the American people a bitter resentment at the position in which they find themselves and a deep conviction that only their own economic strength will avail them in their struggle against the injustices and the inequalities under which they work," said Mr. Green. "We must face the consequences of a deliberate destruction of that faith."

He said the employers of the nation had been "banding together and compelling workers to accept their terms by use of armed force."

"Where deprivation and injustice prevail over a period of time, men and women rebel to secure their rights," he declared.

Green pleaded that nothing be permitted to stand in the way of adoption of the Wagner bill, for "we must face the fact that we are only at the beginning of a series of strikes which will upset the entire industrial life of our nation if we continue to deny to workers their rights."

A. F. of L. Leads Fight For Thirty Hour Week

(Continued from Page One)

large portion of our population has been sinking further and further into hopelessness and despair.

"The 30-hour week is the practical solution which we recommend for the economic dilemma in which we now find ourselves. Increased employment and increased earnings mean a greater market for the products of industry and, therefore, a substantial immediate improvement in the health of our industry. The short work-week not only partially offsets increased efficiencies, but establishes standards of leisure time in which the wage earners of the country may learn to live that type of life to which every American citizen is entitled. The only sound solution is the re-absorption of all able men and women in private industry."

We Socialists agree with these conclusions insofar as they represent a well grounded immediate demand for the alleviation of the grave unemployment problem, but we have no illusions about the ability or willingness of capitalism to cope with unemployment in a fundamental manner.

As long as production is run for profit rather than for use, as long as industry is so organized that its primary purpose is to accumulate profits for the few rather than serve the interest of the commun-

ity, there can be no real solution of the problem.

Unemployment can be alleviated to the extent to which organized labor, supported by other elements of the community vitally interested in the maintenance of economic balance, unite to exercise sufficient pressure upon industry and government. The real solution will come only when organized labor and all the toiling elements of the population combine for a fundamental readjustment of the prevailing social order.

Such a readjustment requires the social ownership and democratic management of all the social means of production, and scientific economic planning designed to balance production and consumption, to increase the productivity of our economic machine, and to make available to all who work with brain and brawn the products of industry and agriculture.

And this means the abolition of capitalism, with its exploitation, its inhuman disregard of the lives of the people, its hit and miss manner of economic organization, and its concentration upon the production of profits for those who own industry rather than supplying the products of industry for those who actually run it and make its very existence possible.

Williamsburg Dances on March 30th

The 13th and 19th A. D. Socialist Party of Kings has arranged a concert and dance to be held in the large ballroom of the Amalgamated Temple, 15 Arion Place, near Broadway and Myrtle Ave., Brooklyn, Saturday, March 30.

One of the features will be a dance revue conducted by Mildred Fox, director of dancing at Camp Eden and the Workmen's Circle schools. Mrs. Fox will also conduct community dancing on the floor.

Many have been thrilled by the splendid classical-revues conducted by Comrade Fox, and on this occasion Mrs. Fox will put on one of her best dance revues.

In addition the program will include Jewish stage and radio stars, a seven-piece band of music and the Rebel Arts Chorus. The most prominent Socialists in New York City have promised to attend.

RISEMAN POLLS BIG VOTE IN DETROIT

DETROIT.—Harry Riseman, prominent Socialist attorney and closely associated with the labor movement, polled 11,514 votes in the recent primaries as candidate for school inspector. The vote was 18 per cent of the total.

The primaries were supposed to be non-partisan, but Riseman ran on a Socialist platform and made it clear in all his meetings and publicity that he sought votes only as such.

Features of the Week on (1200 Kc.) WEVD (381 M)

Sun., Mar. 24—10 a.m.—Forward Hour; 12 Noon—Palestinian Music; 8 p.m.—Don Carlos, "Port Philosophique"; 8:15—Jack Salmon, baritone; 8:30—Edith Friedman, piano; 8:45—Bridge School of the Air, talk.
Mon., Mar. 25—8 a.m.—"Starting the Day Right," with Jacob S. List; 3:30 p.m.—String Ensemble; 5:30—Italian Musicale.
Tues., Mar. 26—8 p.m.—Talk, League for Nations Association; 8:15—Charlotte Tonhazy, violin; 8:30—Cecil Burrows, baritone; 8:45—University of the Air; 10—Rebel Arts Review, talk; 10:15—"The Three Debs," vocal trio; 10:30—"Paris in New York," music.
Wed., Mar. 27—8:30 p.m.—"The Old Music Shop," sketch with music; 10—Gotham Male Quartet; 10:15—"The National Labor Scene," University of the Air; 10:30—Ruth Neze, soprano; Metropolitan String Ensemble.
Thurs., Mar. 28—8:15 p.m.—Irish Blackbirds Orchestra; 8:30—"The Virginians," vocal quartet; 8:45—Royal Dutch Traviata, Hendrik deLeeuw; 10—"The Building Service Hour," talk, music; 10:30—Newspaper Guild on the Air, talks; 10:45—Harold Krull and Harold Forbes, two-voice team.
Fri., Mar. 29—8:30 p.m.—Sigmund Spaeth, "The Talent Detective"; 10—League for Industrial Democracy, Presentation; 10:15—Washington Series, talks by United States Senators, University of the Air; 10:30—Medical Hour; 10:45—Raymond Shannon, baritone.
Sat., Mar. 30—6 p.m.—Jewish Events Week; 8—Lazar Fried, songs; 8:15—Theatre Union, sketch; 8:30—Metropolitan String Ensemble; 10—Come Grand Opera.

Party Notes

Connecticut
State Secretary Arnold E. Freese broadcast Wednesday, March 27, at 6:45, over WICR. His subject will be "The Double Machine Gun Be Smashed."

New Jersey
Paterson. Lena Morrow Lewis of San Francisco will speak for Local Paterson March 23 at 8:30 at the Workmen's Circle Labor Lyceum, Carroll St., corner of 12th Ave. Subject: "Personal Reminiscences of Eugene V. Debs." The movie film of Debs will be shown.

Passaic. Branch One is happy to announce the opening of its own headquarters in the former Post Office Building, 201 Washington Place. Housewarming to take place April 3, with entertainment and refreshments.

Business meeting Friday, Mar. 22, at 8. Vipsels meet each Wednesday at 8, and Brookwood Labor College Extension Class each Tuesday at 8.

Forums will be conducted on 2nd and 4th Friday in each month, first one to be on April 5.

New York State

State Executive Committee. There was a full attendance at the State Executive Committee meeting in People's House, New York, last Sunday afternoon. While the meeting has been called primarily to receive appeals and complaints, no complaints appeared before the committee. Most of the meeting was devoted to consideration of the answer to be made to the N.E.C. in Connecticut with a motion adopted on the initiative of Coolidge of Massachusetts. Voted to convene State Executive Committee at 11 a.m., Sunday, March 31, and the annual meeting of the State Committee at 12 noon the same day.

Binghamton. The local plans to make a thorough canvass for membership of enrolled voters as soon as the list is received.

Weitchester County. The local has voted to accept the United Socialist Drive quota allocated to it by the state office, and has assigned a quota to each of the five branches in the county.

State Constitution. The State Secretary announces that he hopes to have mimeographed copies of the amended Party State Constitution available shortly. He calls attention to the democratic features of this constitution in respect to referendums and recalls, and the many resources which it gives the membership against arbitrary action on the part of governing committees of the party.

Tri-County. Meeting at Salamanca with John Cooper of Olean as chairman planned energetic work in all sections of the territory. Organization booming.

Rebel Arts Puppeteers on Tour for N.B.C. Strikers

The Rebel Arts Puppeteers, accompanied by Samuel H. Friedman, is making a highly successful tour of a number of eastern industrial cities on behalf of the National Biscuit Company strikers.

The puppet show gives a play telling why workers should not buy N.B.C. products while the strike is on, and why the strikers should be supported. It was so successful along Broadway in New York that there was an insistent demand that it take to the road.

Shows are given for N.B.C. strike groups, party locals, unions and unemployed groups and strike groups. Shows have been given or are scheduled in Philadelphia, York, Pa., Reading, Baltimore, Washington, Hopewell, Chapel Hill, N. C., and possibly Atlanta. At Chapel Hill, Comrade Friedman will speak for the University of North Carolina Drama Festival on behalf of the Theatre Union.

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NEW LEADER

A Socialist Party Publication Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement.

* JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

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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SATURDAY, MARCH 23rd, 1935

THE CRUSHED REVOLT IN CUBA

WITH the suspension of the Constitution and civilians on trial before summary courts-martial in Cuba, the general strike of the workers has ended in disaster. The workers had the support of many civilians, including a powerful student organization which had been an important factor in driving the dictator, Machado, from the island a year ago. Headquarters of many unions have been occupied and union leaders have been jailed or are in exile. For the present the labor movement in Cuba appears to have suffered complete collapse.

Whatever the justification of the working masses may have been, and they had many, the fact remains that a general strike with thousands of workers in arms has been defeated by the government. It was a case of "confusion and chaos" which some utopians in our own Socialist Party think provides a promising road to power. This chaos had been accumulating for many months and action began at its crest.

In proportion to the population the whole movement in Cuba is as strong as in this country and, perhaps, stronger. The students are reported as having a large quantity of rifles, machine guns and ammunition, and quite a number of public employees joined the strike. So it appears that the workers did not lack numbers, economic pressure and even arms in their strike. And yet the movement is wrecked and it will be years recovering from the disaster.

The theoreticians of insurrection may well study this situation at our very doorstep. The government had all the advantage in the struggle. It possessed the most extensive arms in the hands of disciplined police and soldiers. It controlled the radio and despite a "pirate station" used by the strikers the government also had a big advantage in radio communication.

Perhaps the strikers lacked one of our Napoleons who solve such problems with a thesis. Perhaps a little hot air would have brought defeat to the government. But why continue?

The workers fought with courage and desperation and they lost. They were successful against Machado last year, but only because a great majority of the population was with them. We pay our tribute to those who display such courage, but we also know that without a majority, without thorough education of a majority, the masses who venture upon armed mass action invite the destruction of the whole labor movement.

PLOWING UNDER WORKERS AND WEALTH

SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE WALLACE seeks what he calls "national unity" in achieving an "economy of abundance." He is a careful speaker and writer, but however cautious one may be in discussing the depression in terms of continuing a profiteering system he has a difficult job.

Mr. Wallace rightly points out that the kings of industry "had withdrawn from production thousands of acres of factories and plowed millions of workers out into the streets" and there was no public clamor against them exercising this power. There were complaints, of course, but no assertion that such great power should not be used against millions of workers.

Mr. Wallace then declares that condemnation was reserved for farm representatives "who dared to suggest that we had more wheat and cotton, for which an effective foreign demand no longer existed, than the people of this country could use even at depression prices."

So the masters of industry plowed millions of workers into the streets and farmers were induced to plow under wheat and cotton. Mr. Wallace thinks that the first plowing justifies the second one. We think that both forms of plowing are absurd and would be unnecessary under an intelligent system of production and distribution. The farmers are not at fault, however, as they are caught in the system and cannot help themselves.

Now let us turn to the statement that more cotton and wheat was produced than "the people of this country could use even at depression prices." That sentence does not present the problem at all. It confuses the problem. The confusion is due to the use of the word "use." Millions of people can use wheat and cotton and their by-products, but they cannot buy them. If Mr. Wallace had said that they cannot buy even at depression prices he would have told the whole truth. Millions are able to use things which they cannot buy because they have no incomes. They must buy first before they can use. We live under a system of purchase and sale, and this is the essence of capitalist production.

Because we have this system, Mr. Wallace's hope of advancing "from a system of denied plenty to a system of balanced abundance" cannot be realized. That ideal can only be realized when the whole profiteering motive is plowed under and human beings begin to produce wealth for their own enjoyment. And that is Socialism.

Slave Conditions Prevail In Ohio Onion Fields

By Special Correspondent

AN investigation of the working and living conditions in the onion fields of Ohio by the U. S. Department of Labor, the Department of Agriculture, and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration revealed living conditions that recall the life of slaves before the Civil War and a wage as low as \$250 per year, about the cost of keeping a Negro slave in that period.

A prevailing wage rate of 12½ cents per hour, poor working conditions, and a low standard of living were disclosed. The onion fields in Ohio are scattered over approximately 21,000 acres of marsh land in Hardin County. It is estimated that from four to five hundred families, with more than 1,000 agricultural laborers, depend upon this land for their livelihood. Records were obtained for 195 of these families, representing 468 workers.

More than half of the 177 families reporting earned less than \$250 in the year from September 1933 to 1934. The income did not come in regularly each month but it averaged approximately \$21 per month. Eight out of every 10 families made less than \$500, or an average of \$42 per month. These figures include cash income from all sources other than relief. A number of the families investigated had additional incomes in kind; some had gardens and canned a few vegetables; others owned a cow; and 109 families were furnished homes. Few of the families interviewed could live on their incomes. Three out of every four were on relief.

Four large growers control about one-third of the 21,000 acres of marsh land in Hardin County. Prior to 1929 the average annual income from onions grown on the marsh was estimated at \$1,000,000. Since 1929 the owners claimed losses.

Incomes of the onion workers are low because of the low average hourly wage of 12½ cents and because of the short period of employment. Of the 451 onion workers who reported the total number of days they were employed during the year, almost one-half had less than 26 days of work. Six out of every 10 worked less than 51 days; 7 out of every 10 were employed less than 3 months.

In order to supplement the family income many children worked in the onion fields during the busy season. Of the 433 workers whose age was determined 1 out of every 10 was under 14 years of age, and 2 out of every 10 were under 16 years of age.

In a few months the cycle of onion cultivation is complete. The soil is plowed, harrowed, rolled, and fertilized. Then the seeds are planted in rows or beds. In June the growing plant is cultivated by wheel or hand hoeing and hand weeding. By the end of September the bulbs are harvested and cured.

Hand weeding is the most arduous task of all. As an agricultural worker describes it, "You crawl on your hands and knees, straddling the middle row of onions, and pull weeds out of three rows. The land is hot; it blisters your knees, and burns your hands. Some people put pads on their knees, but the pads get hot, shift around, and rub you."

The demand for labor is great— from June to September, large

numbers of workers, children, and adults then being drawn into the fields. But even during this brief period the work is not steady. It is customary to concentrate the weeding and harvesting operations during a few days in any particular week. The hours of work during these days are long, however, ranging from 12 to 13 hours.

Before the depression, many agricultural workers left the Ohio onion fields after harvesting and worked elsewhere. During the past few years, however, these workers have been unable to find jobs elsewhere and have remained on the marsh throughout the year. They live in houses which were built for summer use only. The typical home of an onion worker in Ohio is a rough wooden shack, unplastered and with cracks between the boards. The tin roof offers little protection against snow and frost in the winter. It is exceedingly hot in the summer.

Food consumption, clothing, and medical care are correspondingly inadequate. Food is deficient in amount and variety. During the summer some fresh vegetables, milk, and meat are available. In winter the workers subsist on beans, potatoes, oleomargarine and small quantities of milk. Several of the interviewed were barefoot and possessed no shoes. Children are frequently kept from going to school because they lack shoes and clothing. There is no prenatal care for women on the marsh. Of the 195 families interviewed, 64 reported no medical service, 185 no hospitalization, and 153 no dental service. "They visit a dentist only when in great pain."

The death rate from tuberculosis in Hardin County is three times that of a normal rural community. Long hours spent on mucky soil, crowded living conditions, and malnutrition were given as reasons for the tuberculosis rate.

In June 1934, 650 onion workers in Hardin County organized the Agricultural Labor Union of Ohio Workers and were granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor. The union demanded an 8-hour day and wages of 25 cents per hour, but the growers refused to recognize the organization and, when a strike was called, declined to accept the services of a conciliator from the United States Department of Labor. Growers imported workers from the outside who, despite serious clashes with strikers during the summer, harvested most of the onion crop. Prevailing wages, after the strike was called, rose from 12½ to 15 cents per hour; but there was no agreement with the union, and the strike has not been called off.

Cook County Organizes Labor Committee for 1935

CHICAGO.—The Cook County Labor Committee has organized for 1935. Samuel Laderman of the Pocketbook Workers' Union has been elected chairman, and Leonard Axelrod of Local 5 of the I.L.G.W.U. has been chosen secretary. Other members of the committee include Joseph Goldman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, George Koop of the Typographical Union, Joseph Maladra and Harold Rasmussen of the Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin

Now as Ever, Vigilance Is the Price of Liberty

By Algernon Lee

THANKS to Senator Wagner, Senator LaFollette, and a few others who changed sides, President Roosevelt is to have his way with the public works relief project. The United States Government is to become a labor-skinner paying wages of \$50 a month or even less. The President's good friend Senator Robinson is quoted as saying that wages on relief works will average \$50, which means that many will get less. All sweatshop bosses are pleased. Who shall blame them for beating down wage standards, when "the greatest president this country has ever had" sets the example?

Fifty dollars a month figures out Algernon Lee to \$11.54 a week. That is not a decent subsistence wage, even for a single man. For the head of a family it is a starvation wage. Uncle Sam paying \$11.54 a week—is it not a thing to blush for? Franklin D. Roosevelt is directly responsible—Franklin D. Roosevelt, who, no doubt, always means well, but who apparently never thinks twice about the consequences of what he's taken into his head to do. Yet more deeply responsible are Robert F. Wagner and Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., who have not even the poor excuse of being temperamentally light-minded. But in the last analysis millions of workmen ought to blame themselves. They might have put enough real labor men into Congress to prevent this disgrace.

The fight for the prevailing wage rule will have to be fought all over again. And the fight for the legal thirty-hour week will have to go on. The moment of defeat is not a time for taking things easy. It is a time for setting the teeth and fighting harder yet.

And while the actual wage-workers continue the struggle on these two great political issues, their women folk in the home have another struggle to take up.

Women Take Up Food Price Issue

THERE is nothing romantic about grocers' and butchers' bill—nothing to stir the soul of an up-to-date super-revolutionary. But many a workingman's wife feels a thrill of terror, as each week she has to pay a little more money for a little less goods than she did the week before. Her children are none too well fed now, and her heart sinks at the thought that if this goes on she will have to cut down their daily portions of meat, of milk, of the fresh vegetables and fruit that their growing bodies need. She is not thinking of actual hunger—not yet, anyhow. But she knows that underfed children are likely to grow up with bad teeth, poor digestion, flabby muscles and weak lungs, with low vitality and less than normal resistance to disease. Our Socialist housewives in New York have this in mind.

These women do not get much fun out of criticizing the German Social Democrats or sneering at the American Federation of Labor. The assurance that "we do not intend to be deceived by the bogus democracy of bourgeois parliamentarianism," and the promise that if and when capitalism collapses somebody or other will set up a minority dictatorship, leaves them quite cold. They do not survey the class struggle from empyrean heights. They are right down in the thick of it.

A hundred and fifty such women (no college professors nor sky-pilots among them) met in the People's House the other night to launch a campaign against rising food prices. They have started something, and they mean to finish it. "Gradualness" is no bogey for them, provided it goes in the right direction. They have set out to arouse and organize hundreds of other working-class housewives, and then thousands and then tens of thou-

Workers, Attorney Joseph Jacobs and Mordecai Shulman, George Meade of the Firemen and Engine-men, E. Rossi of the Bread Drivers' League, Vernon Runge of the Musicians' Union, Sarah Rozner of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and Morris Seskind.

Socialists Battle Brutal Reaction in Uruguay

By Ben Lichtenberg

EL SOL, the official weekly organ of the Uruguayan Socialist Party, has just made its re-appearance after having been suppressed by the police of Montevideo for six weeks. In the interim the party issued a 4-page tabloid-sized paper called *Boletín Socialista*. Commenting on the suppression, Comrade Emilio Frugoni, editor-in-chief, wrote in the latter publication: "The most outstanding symbol of the political era through which the country is passing is the censorship of the press, from which one gets a concise picture of the retrogression in the civil life of the republic, brought about by the coup d'état which occasioned this regime and which we do not characterize, in order to save adjectives and to avoid further police retribution."

The suppression, according to the Chief of Police, was due to an article in the first issue of last December entitled "We and the Traditional Parties—Before the Reactionary Dictatorship," containing expressions "abusive" of public authorities, and was based on a presidential decree of November 28th.

The first issue of *El Sol* since the lifting of the ban contains the following statement in bold face type across the top of the first page: "After having been suppressed for six weeks under the press censorship arbitrarily exercised by the Chief of Police by virtue of the extraordinary measures of November 28th, *El Sol* reappears, while those measures are still effective, their unjustified continuation give the stamp of permanence and normalcy to the state of siege in which we have been living, with brief intermissions, since the March coup. We again appear to fight for the rights and liberties of the people and for Socialist ideas and ideals, saddened but not discouraged by the picture of the present national policy under which the citizens suffer

sands. They mean to make the voice of the tenants heard on the street and in the press and on the air, at City Hall and in the state Capitol and in the White House.

All honor to them!—but no, let's rather say: More power to them! They are not looking for honors. They are looking for results. And they are depending upon themselves and their kind to get results. That is the spirit that wins.

And This, Too, Is Class Struggle

THE evil of profiteering on food and other necessities, like the evil of wage cutting, is of course, rooted in the very nature of capitalism. So long as private profit is the ruling motive in industry and trade, the working people will be doubly exploited—in the sale of their labor power, and in buying back a part of their products. But it does not follow that nothing can be done about it so long as capitalism exists. The capitalists strive to reduce wages and to raise prices; the workers strive to raise wages and bring prices down. To what extent the workers are exploited, in the shop and in the market, depends on the relative strength of the two opposing classes. This class struggle has been going on for generations. The workers have won victories and they have suffered defeats. On the whole, they have gained much more than they have lost. And, besides, the immediate prize of a better livelihood, through the experience of struggle they gain the strength for struggles yet to come.

That is an added reason why our Socialist women, especially those who are housewives not themselves working directly for wages, should take up this fight against food profiteering with all the energy and all the practical good sense they possess. It is a question of getting enough to eat which is the very basis of all life. It is at the same time a question of educating the masses of home-keeping women, most of whom are as yet far more narrow in their ways of thinking, far less aware of their own class interests, than are women who work outside the home. Their influence upon their husbands and their children has often been reactionary. But let them take part in a great organized movement for one common purpose which they understand, and their psychology will change. They will become a powerful force on the progressive and democratic side all along the line.

Democracy Is Ours to Use

DEMOCRACY is worth what we make it worth. For three hundred years brave men and women who now sleep in forgotten graves—craftsmen and peasants in earlier days, wage-workers and working farmers more lately, with a few recruits from the more fortunate classes... have dared and toiled and suffered to win some measure of democracy, bit by bit, for themselves and for future generations. Many have died on the gallows or before the firing squad. Many more have fallen on battle-fields and barricades. More still have lived their humble lives in poverty and neglect. Their efforts and their sacrifices have given us such democracy as we have. Again, that heritage is worth to us what we make it worth. Whoever belittles it helps to undermine it. Whoever sneers at it aids its enemies, the enemies of the working class. When the lackeys of capitalism tell us that present day democracy is worthless and futile, they are doing the work they are paid to do. When professed friends of the working class brand it as bogus they are serving the capitalists gratis. The effect is the same, whatever the motive.

But we need not be too much alarmed. They will fail. The great mass of the workers in the mines and factories, the great mass of the women in working-class homes, do not pay much attention to the so-called "intellectuals." They live face-to-face with the realities of workaday life. They are learning, slowly but surely learning, to use the liberties that their forefathers have won and to win more and more. Our place is with them. In them is our hope.



THE GREAT PUBLISHER: "Hello! Hello! What's this?—Circulation going down? Pull out the old red-scare file and give it all its worth!"

Bronx Dressmakers Frolic

The Bronx branch of Local 89, the Italian Dressmakers' Union of the I.L.G.W.U., will frolic at its second annual dance, Saturday, March 23, at the Bronx Winter Garden, Washington near Tremont Avenues, New York City. Special music and the sprightly gaiety for which our Italian Dressmakers' Union is noted make this dance one worth attending.



Socialist and Trade Union Women Organize To Fight The Rising Cost of Necessities of Life

THE Women's Conference Against the High Cost of Living, called by the Women's Committee of the Socialist Party, was held at the Rand School building with fifty organized groups represented by 113 delegates. There were sixteen Workmen's Circle women's branches and clubs, eleven party branches, four women's afternoon clubs, four unions, three Socialist consumers' leagues, two women's union label clubs from the Bronx and Brownsville, while the remainder were organizations including the Women's Trade Union League, Housewives' Leagues, Mothers' Clubs and Women's Progressive League of the Bronx.

Julia Primoff, Secretary of the Women's Committee of the Socialist Party, opened the meeting and presented the temporary Chairman, Esther Friedman, who was later unanimously elected permanent Chairman; Mrs. Kroll of the Socialist Consumers' League was chosen Vice-Chairman, and Julia Primoff Secretary.

In her opening remarks, the chairman briefly surveyed the present scene of social conflicts, contradictions and tragedies. The Federal Government is handing out dimes to 1,457,811, while public works are still in the talking stage. Side by side with this increasing misery of the wage-earning families, business is said to be steadily improving as indicated by some spectacular increases in profit to leading corporations.

The NRA Research Planning Division shows how this spreading of misery for the workers and concentration of wealth for the owners is done. In December, 1934, production was 33 per cent below 1926; payrolls 40 per cent below 1926, but dividends and interest were 50 per cent higher than in 1926. Profits in 1934 had more than doubled over 1933.

These great dividends alongside of increasing dimes in a large measure due to the ploy-under program of President Roosevelt, causing an increase in food costs from 15 to 30 per cent over last year,

with a promise by Secretary Wallace that dairy products, which by nature should be cheaper this and next month, will be dearer by 6 per cent. Meats, we are told, will go up 22 to 30 per cent very shortly. We are furthermore told, foods must go up higher in order to help the farmer. To halt the farmer by cutting dividends would be an unthinkable sacrifice to Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wallace.

Women, mothers and housewives must organize their forces to check this greed and inhumanity of starving the poor to feed the starving so that more wealth shall flow into the useless lives of the Barbara Huttons and Doris Dukes.

Mrs. Friedman's address was received with warm acclaim.

Miss Helen Baker, representing the Harlem Housewives' League,

made a plea for a broad program pertaining to immediate amelioration, so that all groups of women who feel the affliction of high food prices may be spurred on to take active part in this campaign against the high cost of living.

Lillian Weissman, chairman of the Women's Union Label Club of the Bronx, expressed appreciation of the initiative taken by the Women's Committee of the Socialist Party in calling the conference. In simple, direct and forceful language she declared it was high time the women got together and fought with all their might against the disintegration of their homes and families through failure to give employment and to boosting the prices of merest necessities.

Algernon Lee, chairman of the City Executive Committee of the

Socialist Party of New York, extended the greetings of the Socialist Party. He told the delegates that they had power in their hands and if well organized they could abrogate that shameful "pious-under" program of Roosevelt which aims at deliberately destroying man's and nature's bounty to create scarcity and to boost prices to create profits for stock and bondholders.

The Resolutions Committee brought in an omnibus resolution containing a general criticism of the Federal, state and municipal governments in their attitudes and policies as well as a tentative program of action to combat these attitudes and policies.

The conference adopted the program, but instructed the Resolutions Committee to draw up sep-

arate resolutions, one calling for the building of a city-owned power plant to provide the service to the people of New York at cost, the other on taxation and relief, calling for tax release on goods generally bought by wage-earning families and that the need for more adequate relief to the needy be met from progressive sales tax on luxuries and from incomes in the higher brackets.

A Continuation Committee of 15 was elected to whip into shape the activities program, and also to persist in demanding an interview with the Mayor until he grants it. The conference is determined to present to the Mayor their grievances and their program of adequate relief.

The Continuation Committee met Saturday. The second session of the Women's Conference Against the High Cost of Living is called to convene Saturday, March 30th, 2 P. M., at the Rand School to act upon the program of campaign activities and upon the resolutions in City-owned Power and Taxation and Relief.

What an Enlightened People Can Do for Real Education

By Herman Kobbe

BEFORE the days of public schools, the schools and universities were designed to give a gentleman's education to sons of the privileged classes. The aim was to impart a culture that would distinguish the elite from the common herd.

The public schools had a more democratic ideal. They sought rather to give to all boys and girls, regardless of class-privilege, a preparation for work and life. So far so good; but, unfortunately, they inherited from the old upper-class educational system a great load of prejudices and superstitions in favor of purely intellectual standards. Thus two conflicting tendencies came into play: the old classical ideas inherited from the snobbish education of the past, and a more utilitarian trend which aimed at direct preparation for a job.

Now jobs—good jobs especially—were always scarce; and it followed that there was a tremendous

push in the direction of keen competitive cramming for exams; and this because the yardstick of success in education—how do the boys and girls from our school stand in their college board exams? The old intellectual snobbism became a relentless intellectual race to beat the other kids to it for a place in college or a job in business.

This entire tendency to make out of education a competitive intellectual race is false pedagogy and in direct conflict with the actual bodily and mental needs of the young. Children are by nature creatures of emotion and intuition; and it is only after puberty has been reached that great physical changes lead to the blossoming of the intellect.

It is a completely vicious and mistaken idea to attempt to awaken intellectual activity in a child before the brain and nervous system have reached the corresponding degree of maturity. Untold harm has been done, and is still being done daily, by schools whose main object seems to be to stimulate their charges to premature intellectual efforts in preparation for exams and jobs.

Every child has the right to a healthy and natural development of his emotional nature; and if this development is checked or interfered with seriously, very dangerous results will follow.

The continuous repression of the emotions forced on unfortunate school children by the old-fashioned regime of discipline, intellectual drilling and punishment for failure, has its after-effect in various neurotic conditions in adult life. Unhappy and maladjusted grown-ups are always persons whose emotional growth during the tender years of childhood was in some way thwarted or led into a blind by-path. The educational system, with its insistence on intellectual

competition and examinations, is mainly responsible for these sad results.

The essential ingredients of a sound education for the young are simple food, fresh air, healthy exercise, some form of handicraft, music and painting for self-expression, languages and friendly intercourse with other children and grown-ups, and an acquaintance with nature, especially animals. Familiarity with the animal world is especially necessary for city children of a nervous type. During all of childhood and adolescence everything should be done to make the boy or girl happy, and to give them a sense of security.

It is only the individual who is inwardly happy and secure who

I.L.G.W.U. Plans Study of Cooperative Movement

THE Educational Division of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has announced a conference on "Defending the Worker as a Consumer" to be held in New York City, April 6. Dr. Colston Warner, Professor of Economics at Amherst College, will outline the possibilities of "Consumer Protection Under Capitalism." E. R. Bowen, general secretary of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., is scheduled to address the conference on "Saving the Worker by Cooperative Distribution." Charles E. Senniger, representing the New York Trade Union Label League, will contrast the "Blue Eagle and Trade Union Labels," and E. J. Lever, president of Cooperative Distributors, will point out "Practical First Steps in Organizing Workers' Purchasing Power."

In announcing the conference, Mark Starr, educational director of the union, said: "With prices soaring more than ever—with the cost of living of 34.2 per cent above that of two years ago, according to official reckoning—workers are realizing that it is not so much what we earn as what our wages will buy that is important. What comeback has the worker to this as well as to his usual exploitation by the advertising racket and adulterated foods? What pressure can the workers bring as consumers to reinforce the strike method? Is it only European workers who can build powerful cooperatives to assist their union? The conference on 'Defending the Worker as a Consumer' will deal specifically with these questions."

Hitlerism Means War

By Gerhard Seger

The vast air-fleet and poison gas preparations in Germany are matters of European and international concern. In the last analysis, Hitlerism means war—that is, when the military preparations are completed in order to achieve German territorial expansion along the lines laid down in Nazi writings.

A Protest and Regret

To the Editors of The New Leader: The members and directors of the Group Theatre, representing the entire Group, protest the publication in The New Leader on March 16 of the article entitled, "Workers Stink," and written by Gertrude Weil Klein. Since the play, "Waiting for Lefty," has been justly characterized on all fronts—by critics and audiences—as one of the finest working class plays ever presented in America, and since the particular virulent tone of the article clearly slanders both the author and the actors engaged in the production, we ask that a repudiation of the article referred to, together with its author, be printed in The New Leader at the earliest possible time. If the publication of such an insult both to our organization and to the working class with which the play deals and for whom it has played represents more than an editorial oversight, that a statement be forthcoming from the editors of The New Leader clarifying its policy with regard to this revolutionary working class play.

The article in question, due to the illness of the editor, was not seen by him in proof, otherwise it would not have appeared. We regret its appearance and consider the above protest justified, although we do not agree with its heat.

Editor.

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New Series by Claessens Starts This Sunday in Midwood Section

A NEW lecture series, to be delivered on five successive Sunday evenings, will start Sunday night, March 24th, at 9 P. M. sharp, at the Flatbush Culture Center, 1719 Avenue P, Brooklyn, under the auspices of the Midwood Branch of the party.

The lectures will be on the general subject, "Our National Heritage; A Survey of Biological Fact, Theory and Fiction." Comrade Claessens will present the results of far-reaching studies in a field hitherto largely neglected by Socialist speakers, and treated in the typical Claessens' method, the series will be of immense educational value to Socialists and non-Socialists alike.

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 22nd

Brooklyn
Francis Brousseau—"Religion and Social Change," 2nd A.D., 364 Sutter Ave.
Elias Tarkenton—"Hitlerism 2,000 Years Ago," Josephus and Opperman," by Feuchtwanger, Sheepshead Bay Branch, 2661 Ave. N.

Sunday, March 24th

Manhattan
Gertrude Weil Klein—"Labor Movement: Why It Is—What It Is," 4th A.D., 393 Grand St.

Monday, March 25th

Manhattan
B. C. Viudek—"How to Make a Practical Socialist Movement," Upper West Side Branch, 100 W. 72nd St.
Discussion Led by Ida Fox—"History of Socialism From World War to the Present Day," Chelsea Branch, 28 W. 31st St.

Brooklyn

21st A.D. will attend the Tony Sender meeting in a body, lecture by Nathan Fine postponed.

Tuesday, March 26th

Manhattan
Dr. Wm. E. Bohn—"Corporate State," Yorkville 11th-15th-16th A.D., 211 East 84th St.

Bronx

Bela Low—"Dictatorship of the Proletariat," Democratic, Bronx Labor Center, 3rd-4th-5th A.D., 809 Westchester Ave.

Dr. Simon Berlin—"Immoralities of the Capitalist System," 8th A.D., Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves.

Upper 8th A.D., 320 Bainbridge Ave., near 205th St.

Brooklyn

G. A. Gerber—"History of the Labor Socialist Movement in the U.S.," 10th A.D., 9618 Bay Parkway.

Carl Chepur—"Literature of Social Revolt," 18th A.D., Branch 1, 269 Ulica Ave.

Queens

Jean Jacques Corneil—"British Labor Movement," Astoria Branch, 3622 Steinway Ave.

Wednesday, March 27th

Brooklyn

David Kaplan—"Causes of War Socialism and Democracy," 19th-20th A.D., 113 Humboldt St., corner McKibbins St.

Queens

G. A. Gerber—"Roosevelt's Security Program," Rockaway Branch, 81-12 Rockaway Blvd.

Friday, March 29th

Manhattan

S. Romaldi—"My Trip Through the U.S. with Modigliani," 8th A.D., 226 E. 10th St.

Brooklyn

Dr. Wm. E. Bohn—"The Road to Power in the U.S.A.," Sheepshead Bay Branch, 2661 Ave. N.

Mark Starr—"Educating For a New Social Order," 22nd A.D., 861 Sutter Ave.

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The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

Kreutzberg at the Guild

Frances Hawkins is fortunate in having on her list two of the most vibrant personalities and significant dancers in America today, Martha Graham (seen earlier this season) and Harald Kreutzberg last Sunday, and next, at the Guild Theatre). Although neither of these artists makes any concession to popular taste, Kreutzberg's work is less weighted with the brooding spirit of the mystery and awe of life; he less directly transfers his intelligence into dance than uses it as an instrument in the creation of the movements. More often, too (if we may judge by the first program), Kreutzberg gives us simply, or merely, or pure dancing; no intellectual or even emotional interpretation of the music, but direct flow in it rhythm and mood, a sort of dance accompaniment. Some of his dances (the Spanish pair, the Hungarian, and more) are impressions, attempts to capture the way the thing is usually done—more conventionalized than the work of our miming dancers, but still with exaggerated sentimentality or grotesquerie sprung into satire. Yet in these moods his grace and technical command and artist integrity are unquestioned; and in his more serious numbers (Songs of Death, Jester's Dance from "Don Quixote," etc.), with his effective mask-like face and shorn head, he achieves a truly moving power. Yet, if we consider the tragic will implicit in Martha Graham's work, it becomes clear that Harald Kreutzberg's realm (when he does not leap into mischief or fantasy) is that in which Maeterlinck moves to his muted measures of sorrow.

Annual Concert for Benefit Of Rand School

The annual concert of the Women's Committee of the Rand School for the benefit of the school, promises to be a great success. The original list of artists has been reinforced by several additional outstanding artists, Kirsten Flagstad, Grace Divine, Paul Althouse, Helen Jepson, Thalia Sabanieva, and Leon Rother.

The two tiers of boxes will be occupied not by the usual bankers and industrialists but by joint boards and locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the Joint Council of Painters, several locals of the Pressmen's Union, the Lithographers, Teamsters, all of the miscellaneous locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Jewelry Workers, Retail Salesmen's Union and many others. Never before has the labor movement backed a Rand School affair with so much enthusiasm. Socialists and friends of the Rand School will have one more grand reunion before the end of the season.

Unusual Children Films and Mexican Exhibit at New School March 30th

"Dassan," a film picturing the customs, habits, antics, etc. of an entire colony of penguins, will be featured by Saturday, March 30th, at the New School for Social Research, 66 West 12th Street, from 11 a. m. to 4 p. m. continuous.

In addition to "Dassan" there will be "Babes in the Woods," a Walt Disney Silly Symphony; "Jumping Giants," a Sportlight reel; "Mexico Today," which shows the Mayan ruins and modern Mexico; and a Charlie Chaplin comedy. In connection with the showing of "Mexico Today" there will be an exhibit in the lobby of the New School of many unusual specimens of Mexican handicraft, as well as the toys that the Mexican children play with.

The Junior Film Society has been fortunate in obtaining this exhibit through the courtesy of the Mexican Trading Post, 13 East 8th Street, New York City.

MUSIC

PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY

JANSSEN, Conductor
AT CARNEGIE HALL
Sunday Afternoon at 3:00
Rach. Barber, Schumann, Beethoven

TOSCANINI, Conductor

Thurs. Eve. at 8:45; Fri. At. at 2:30
Next Sunday Afternoon at 2:30
BRAHMS CYCLE V
Saturday Evening at 8:45
BEETHOVEN—BRAHMS
Arthur Judson, Mgr. (Symphony)

TEMPEST IN A BAY

"POINT VALAINE." By Noel Coward. At the Ethel Barrymore.

Any play by Noel Coward, with Lynn Fontanne, Alfred Lunt and Osgood Perkins, calls for detailed consideration. Santa Claus Coward has been generous in many moods, and has bestowed many goodly gifts upon playgoers. In "Point Valaine" he has had his little trick. Arnold Bennett once wrote a book, "The Pretty Lady," intended as a subtle travesty upon the best sellers of the day; but all but by the most literate the book was taken seriously, and became a best seller. The same fate earlier befell Jane Austen's "Northanger Abbey," a book poking fun at the hockers that won a wide sale as a shocker. Now Mr. Coward presents his travesty of the polite "Rain" sort of melodrama; and behold, it is taken seriously as a straight melodrama.

The plot indicates something of the mood. A successful author (isn't there too often an author!) stands by, watching. A widow (husband lost in the war) has turned the family mansion, on an island in a vague equatorial spot, into a successful hostelry. She has, for seven years more or less, been the mistress of her Russian headwaiter, not because she loves him, but because she has needs he can conveniently (and as we presume pleasantly) satisfy. Then, lo! a young aviator escapes from the jungle and fever into her heart. The headwaiter spoils the jolly rendezvous, then in contrite love cuts his (own) wrist and throws his (own) carcass to the sharks. And the proprietress must seek a new headwaiter.

This amiable melodrama is acted in a subtle spirit of travesty by the starred assemblage. Lynn Fontanne, from the beginning, caresses

"Moscow Laughs" Has Film Premiere at the Cameo

After an eight-week run in Paris, Russia's newest screen success "Moscow Laughs" is at the Cameo Theatre. Directed by Gregory Alexandrov, co-director with Sergie Eisenstein in "Ten Days That Shook the World," "Moscow Laughs" is the Soviet's first "jazz comedy." It gained first prize in the recent World Cinema Festival of 1935 at Moscow. Alexandrov himself was awarded for his fine work on this film the coveted Order of the Red Star.

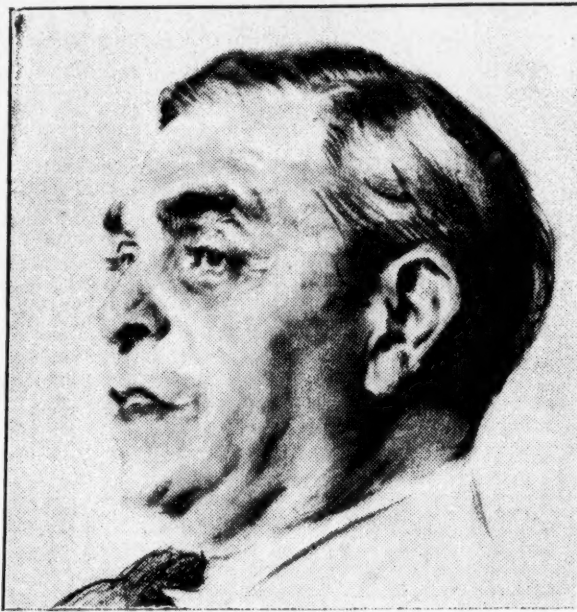
"Whole Town's Talking" Continues at Fox Brooklyn

Zac Freedman, managing director of the Fabian Fox Brooklyn Theatre, is said to produce a lavish stage show to accompany the screen presentation of "The Whole Town's Talking," which stars Edward G. Robinson.

Both the picture and stage show will be held over a second week starting today.

Each syllable ere it leaves her mouth, as though it bears a sweet and profound significance; so carefully does she ooze her emphasis through the preliminary moods that the culminating anti-climax is neatly drained of potency. Alfred Lunt, who, save for his one "big" wrist-slashing scene, works almost entirely in pantomime, stalks like a scowling Nemesis upon the scene, and postures and stares so that, fifteen years ago, he'd have worn drooping mustaches and been joyously hissed on entering. Osgood Perkins gives not quite the delicate shade of understatement to bring out the satire in his role; but beside him Louis Hayward as the young aviator—the one major part which is played "straight"—stands out as the staunch young hero, ever gallant though nature and evil women front him with insuperable odds. A delightful device of Mr. Coward; it's too bad that Broadway seems to take it seriously. Perhaps that's

The Producer of "The Bishop Misbehaves"



Above you see John Golden, as drawn by James Montgomery Flagg, whose current production starring Walter Connolly moves Monday to the Golden Theatre.

At Broadway Trans-Lux

The Broadway and 49th Street Trans-Lux Theatre in Manhattan, for the week beginning Saturday, March 23, is playing a Grantland Rice Sportlight, "King of the Everglades," in which they bag and kill a panther after it has wreaked destruction on domestic and wild animals; the color cartoon, "An Elephant Never Forgets," and Merton Downey in a short musical comedy that serves as a romantic background for his Irish ballads.

Barbara Stanwyck at Roxy

Barbara Stanwyck, in her newest Warner Bros. picture, "The Woman in Red," with Gene Raymond, is the new film attraction at the Roxy Theatre starting today.

This new Stanwyck film, directed by Robert Florey, was adapted by Mary McCall, Jr., and Peter Milne from Wallace Irwin's novel "North Shore." The cast, in addition to Miss Stanwyck and Gene Raymond, includes Genevieve Tobin, John Edwards, Philip Reed, Dorothy Treacher and Brandon Hurst.

Two New Films at Brooklyn Strand

"While the Patient Slept," the second of a series of twelve Clue Club productions by Warner Bros. Pictures, with Aline MacMahon, Guy Kibbee, Allen Jenkins, Lyle Talbot and Patricia Ellis in the cast, heads the double feature program at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre this week. The second feature is "Straight From the Heart," with Mary Astor.

MUSIC HALL
SHOW PLACE OF THE NATION
SHIRLEY TEMPLE
LIONEL BARRYMORE
in "THE LITTLE COLONEL"
ON STAGE: Escudero, Spain's greatest dancer, in "El Amor Brujo" (The Phantom Lover), with big cast and Symphony Orch.
Popular Prices
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BARBARA STANWYCK

in "THE WOMAN IN RED"
with GENE RAYMOND

★ PLUS STAGE SHOW ★
PAPPY, ZEKE, EZRA
with ELTON BRITT
THE OLYMPIC ACES
GAE FOSTER GIRLS - Freddy Mack
ANY DAY!
25c to 2 P. M.
35c to 7 P. M.
ANY SEAT!
SHOW PLACE OF THE NATION

ROXY
12th Ave & 50th St
SHOW PLACE OF THE NATION

ALL THIS WEEK

KAY FRANCIS
WARREN WILLIAMS
GEORGE BRENT
in "LIVING ON VELVET"

ON THE STAGE
TIC TOC GIRLS
AL NORMAN
DONATELLO BROS.
and Cadmer
and other RKO Acts

PALACE Broadway at 47th St

★ ★ ★ — Daily News

Gary COOPER in Anna STEN
"The WEDDING NIGHT"

with RALPH BELLAMY — HELEN VINSON
Directed by KING VIDOR Released through United Artists

RIVOLI Broadway at 49th Street

Soviet Russia's First Great Screen Triumph in Jazz Comedy!

MOSCOW LAUGHS
Directed by Gregory Alexandrov
co-director with Sergei Eisenstein
CAMEO—42nd St. East of Broadway

11th Record Breaking Week!

CHAPAYEV
"THE RED COMMANDER"
Greatest of All Soviet Films
(English Dialogue Titles)
ACME—14th Street Union Square

Claude Rains in

THE MYSTERY OF EDWIN DROOD
A Universal Picture with
DOUGLAS MONTCOMERY, HEATHER ANGEL, DAVID MANNERS

RIALTO Broadway and 42nd St. / 25c to 2 P. M.

Fabian's

FOX 2nd Big Week
EDWARD G. ROBINSON
"THE WHOLE TOWN'S TALKING" ★★ 1/2 ★ — News
Columbia Picture
Plus Usual Big Fox Stage Show
25c
1057 W. 42nd St.

Frank Parker in Person at Albee—McLaglen and Lowe on Screen

Frank Parker, Jack Benny's radio playmate, is appearing in person on the vaudeville show being presented at the RKO-Albee in conjunction with the showing of Edmund Lowe and Victor McLaglen in the "Great Hotel Murder."

Charles "Slim" Timblin, the blackface funster with his Dark Town Capers; Paul Tisen and his violin playing to the dancing of Luis and Goby, and Bob Ripa, the well-known boy juggler, are all on the stage show supporting Frank Parker.

"Naughty Marietta" Has Premiere at Capitol

"Naughty Marietta" — Victor Herbert's famous comic opera, starring Jeanette MacDonald and Nelson Eddy—will have its first New York showing on the Capitol Theatre's screen today.

The original song hits from "Naughty Marietta" have been retained — including "Ah! Sweet Mystery of Life," "I'm Falling in Love With Someone," "Italian Street Song" and "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp."

An elaborate cast in support of the stars—Miss MacDonald and Mr. Eddy—includes Frank Morgan, Edward Brophy, Mary Doran, Akim Tamiroff, Cecilia Parker, and others of note. W. S. Van Dyke directed for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.

Double Bill to Consist of "Waiting for Lefty" and "Till the Day I Die"

The opening of The Group Theatre's new production, a double bill consisting of two short plays, "Waiting for Lefty," and "Till the Day I Die," is scheduled for Tuesday evening, March 26th, at the Longacre Theatre.

"Waiting for Lefty" and "Till the Day I Die" are the work of Clifford Odets, whose "Awake and Sing!" at the Belasco Theatre is already ranked high among the season's most successful dramas. It is necessary, of course, to mention that the two forthcoming plays are neither of them full-length dramas; but neither are they in the one-act play or curtain-raiser class, and their subject matter and the notice which "Waiting for Lefty" has already aroused entitle them to the same consideration as full-length plays.

Odets' third play, "Till the Day I Die," which will be the companion piece to "Waiting for Lefty," deals with the fate of two brothers, both victims of the Nazi regime in Germany. The entire group company, with the exception of the cast of "Awake and Sing!" will appear in the new production, to wit: Alexander Kirkland, Margaret Barker, William Challee, Lewis Leverett, Russell Collins, Walter Coy, Bob Lewis, Ruth Nelson, Paula Miller, Dorothy Patten, Herbert Ratner, Elia Kazan, and Eunice Stoddard. B. F.

A SINGING ROMANCE THAT'S BREATHTAKING!
W. S. Van Dyke (Trader Horn, Thin Man) now produces a surprisingly different kind of a musical...a stirring, singing spectacle...a gay, exciting romantic adventure of young love in old New Orleans you must not miss!

JEANETTE MACDONALD-EDDY
in VICTOR HERBERT'S
Naughty MARIETTA
with FRANK MORGAN
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture
Produced by Burt Sternberg
ON THE STAGE
HELENE DENIZON
American Odeon Review
FLORENCE & ALVAREZ
International Dancing Stars
BONNER & NEWMAN
32-DANNY DARE GIRLS-32
CAPITOL GRAND ORCH.
Don Albert, Conducting

CAPITOL Broadway & 51st St.
Major Edward Bowes, Managing Director

ALL THIS WEEK

Edmund LOWE
Victor McLAGLEN
in "THE GREAT HOTEL MURDER"

—RKO VAUDEVILLE—
FRANK PARKER
CHARLES (Slim) TIMBLIN
PAUL TISEN
BOB RIPA
and other RKO Acts

ALBEE Albee Square
BROOKLYN

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 Algonquin 4-4622 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th Street, New York.

2ND BIG WEEK • WARNER BROS. "GOLD DIGGERS OF 1935"
THE GREAT SUCCESSOR TO "GOLD DIGGERS OF 1933" — ALL NEW — ALL DIFFERENT — ALL STAR
DICK POWELL • GLORIA STUART • ADOLPHE MENJOU • STRAND 25c
ALICE BRADY — GLENDA FARRELL — HUGH HERBERT — FRANK McHUGH — JOE CAWTHORN — Broadway and 47th Street — to 1 P. M.
ROGER PRYOR • GUY KIBBEE
in "STRAIGHT from the HEART"—in "WHILE the PATIENT SLEPT"
BROOKLYN STRAND 25c
Fulton & Rockwell — Midnite Show Sat. — To 6 P. M. Weekdays

German Socialists Rebuild Forces

Behind the Facade of the Coordinated Nazi State the Workers Are Beginning to Return To Their Old Socialist Organization,—Therein Lies the Hope of World Peace and Civilization

[The flood of news from Germany in the past week dealt mainly with the proclamation of the re-establishment of conscription, and the march of the war-like spirit. These developments are of far greater significance for Europe. Far from being symptoms of strength they are obviously manifestations of weakness: the regime is seeking salvation from internal disintegration and growing popular disillusionment in military parades and a foreign diversion.]

Of far greater potential importance is what is happening in the depths of the German social structure, the revival of an opposition movement and the gathering of forces which eventually will destroy the dictatorship and bring about the restoration of liberty, culture and civilization. The following article from the pen of one of Germany's leading Socialist publicists and leaders casts an illuminating light upon the situation.

By Friedrich Stampfer

Former Socialist member of the Reichstag and editor of Neue Vorworte

GERMANY is on the move!

Only a year ago the world marvelled at the breath-taking speed with which German fascism established itself in power and consolidated its position. But that was mere illusion. The movement which began with the fall of the government, headed by the Socialist Hermann Müller in 1930, continued to advance toward undiscoverable objectives.

Gradually much of what has happened and is happening begins to clarify itself. Ever clearer one discerns the contours of a new authoritarian state in which generals, big bureaucrats and big capitalists share the power. The conflict of these elements with the Hitler party has begun, but it has by no means been concluded. All indications are that the cries of "Heil Hitler," which are becoming ever weaker, will end with the complete emasculation of the party's power. The Führer decides, but his well-known divinity bears the characteristic of the good God himself, namely that he takes into account the factor of the strongest battalions. With immeasurable disillusionment the small business men and peasants begin to discover that their alleged savior rules by the grace of big capital. Party discontent increases in the measure in which all the former loud-mouthed promises of pseudo-Socialist and nationalist character are revealed to be nothing but pure humbug. All authoritative information reaching us from Germany indicates clearly that discontent and silent revolt are on the ascendancy.

For the moment the struggle is still between the victorious party and the old leaders of capitalist society. The Socialist labor movement has not yet entered the fray. But the time when it will be called upon to intervene may be approaching. What will be its position when that moment arrives?

In the spring of 1933, all appeared to be lost. Party and trade unions, cultural and sport organizations, with their millions of members, disappeared from the surface. But did they actually cease to exist?

The Awakening Begins

On this point, too, all the news reaching us from Germany, from all parts of the Reich, is all the more remarkable because those from whom the information comes have no contact with each other, and, indeed, can have no contact. They assure us that on the day when the pressure is removed the movement will be back again where it was on the day when it disappeared.

A year ago all the news was in the opposite direction. The movement appeared dead. Of the old leaders some lost their nerve and capitulated. Others, who maintained a more dignified attitude, believed that all attempts at revival would be futile for a long time to come. Subjectively, they were right, at that time; for an illegal movement the identity of whose leaders is known to every policeman is an anomaly. Men who had gained standing and respect by their former labors could not for this very reason be utilized for the type of work that was now required. All they could do would be to bring danger upon others.

The work of reconstruction—the rebuilding of the necessary advance organization in preparation for the revival of a mass movement—is the work of unknown comrades, whose memory will some day be honored as is that of the unknown soldier.

Since a central directing organization no longer existed or could not be established, it was necessary to leave everything for the time being to the initiative of individuals. Groups of various kinds sprang from the earth. In some instances they were separated geographically, in others by differ-

ences of opinion. They consisted almost exclusively of courageous young people, who were naturally inclined in the direction of extreme radicalism and spoke ill of the old leaders. Much time was lost in discussions, and the question was even raised whether the Social De-

mocracy should continue under its old name, or whether it would be wiser to liquidate it in favor of a new party.

These were matters that played a part in the narrow circles of an active youth that was left behind or which came forward after the

debacle. Meanwhile, however, the movement in other directions did not stand still. The party, which had been given up for lost by the most active fighters, ready for self-sacrifice, was again discovered by the masses.

It is well nigh grotesque: while

some comrades could not find enough stones to hurl on the grave of the Social Democracy, the police and the courts became increasingly busy ferreting out the sources of the phrase that began to circulate in many variations among the people: "It was better under the Social Democrats!"

Slogans began to be whispered about. But the above quoted expression was not among them. Old Social Democrats did not venture to utter it under the circumstances in which they found themselves. No, those who uttered it were not old "lions", but plain observers among the people.

Socialists to the Fore

At the same time another change came to be observed. The old Social Democratic functionaries in government institutions and shop councils were at first looked upon from across one's shoulder. Furtively people slunk away from them. But gradually there was a let-up in this attitude. In a few months the situation was quite different. In the shops, in the residential quarters the Socialist functionary is now once more a respected and sought-after personality.

Thus two currents advanced to meet each other. The first came from the party itself. As a reaction against exaggerated hopes that had been cruelly shattered there arose feelings of despair which for the time being found expression in repudiation. The other current came from the broad masses of the people, those masses who still continue to believe Hitler when he says that only "Marxists" had been in power in the past fourteen years, but who now find that the Marxists had done their work better than the brown shirts of today. From the masses now flows a warm stream of confidence into the cold atmosphere of the old party organization.

Consolidation Required

Socialist groups could not, of course, emerge from the limited confines of their spheres of activity. But now we find the party itself—not as a mass organization, as yet, but in the form of isolated groups—stepping into the foreground. This requires consolidation. Hence the cry is now being raised: the various groups must not fight the party and the party must not fight the groups. They must unite into one and form a common front. Factional currents are being strongly condemned. No problem of leadership, of principle or tactics appears important enough to be permitted to imperil the underground work by sowing disunion and discord. As regards the problem of leadership, a successful effort appears to be under way to solve it in the spirit of a fundamental readjustment, in which obsolete conceptions no longer play as great a part as some old leaders now abroad imagine.

These are developments worthy of notice, even though there is no certainty that they will make themselves felt on a large scale in the immediate future. When this is likely to come depends upon the outcome of the struggle for power now in progress within the existing regime. But on the day when the people will awaken from the dream of barbarism and intoxication with phrases, they will demand liberty, humanity and a practical readjustment of their political and economic being.

And on that day a new, rejuvenated, fighting Social Democracy will be there to answer the people's call and give them what they want.

SOCIALISTS TOP THE VOTE IN MILWAUKEE

MILWAUKEE.—Socialist candidates for the School Board stood at the head of the poll in the primary last week, scoring an emphatic success in a listless off-year election. Five school commissioners are to be elected and the ten highest in the primary are to face the voters in the final election on April 2.

All five of the Socialists on the slate won nominations, the two highest on the list being party members. The vote for the successful Socialist candidates follows:

Elmer H. Baumann	12,870
Martin C. Baumann	12,233
Wm. C. Kroening	10,576
Mrs. A. E. Bean	9,230
Mrs. A. J. Biemiller	8,899

The total vote for all five Socialists was 53,817, while the five non-Socialist primary survivors totaled 41,679. The Socialists ran first, second, fourth, sixth and seventh on the list.

Elmer Baumann and William C. Kroening are incumbents running for re-election, and Martin Baumann has likewise served as Socialist school commissioner in the past. The Baumanns are not related.

In Wauwatosa, a Milwaukee suburb, A. G. Piepenhagen, Socialist Councilman, ran far ahead of his nearest competitor in the

The Workers Abroad

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

The Belgian Crisis

IN fascist countries the Social Democracy is slowly, painfully and at the price of great and heroic sacrifices rebuilding labor's shattered organizations in preparation for resuming the offensive against the oppressors. This is especially true of Germany and Austria. (In this connection we call the reader's attention to Friedrich Stampfer's article elsewhere in this issue.) The day may not be far removed when from the scattered groups now being reconstructed in Germany and Austria will rise a new mass movement of the Social Democracy and free trade unions with the slogan: "We are back!"

But in countries where the democratic order has been preserved—and these still include the most advanced civilized nations—the social conflict is no less impressive. In such countries labor is pressing forward for the solution of immediate problems of grave import and difficulty and the preservation of the liberties so essential to the pursuance of the struggle both as regards immediate and larger aims.

One of the most dramatic situations of this type is now to be found in Belgium, where reactionary capitalism and clericalism are seeking to deprive labor of precious gains obtained in decades of battle.

On February 21, a special conference of the Belgian Labor Party was held in Brussels. It will be remembered that the Belgian government unexpectedly prohibited a great demonstration against the reduction in unemployment relief, which was to have been held in Brussels on February 24. This edict was considered by the conference as one of a chain of developments symptomatic of the government's policy. Participating in the conference were also members of the executive committee of the Belgian Trade Union Federation. (No important decisions affecting the interests of labor are ever taken by Socialist parties in Europe without consultation with the representatives of organized labor. In nearly all countries where Socialism has become a powerful force, the political parties of labor and the trade unions are but two parts of one and the same movement.)

Many Grave Problems

Like the labor movement in all countries fighting against the social, economic and psychological ravages of the depression, the movement in Belgium has had to contend with many grave problems. The economic condition of the country is extremely serious. There has been little reduction in unemployment and the suffering of the masses has been enhanced rather than diminished. The present government, consisting of conservative capitalist parties, is trying to fight the depression at the expense of the working masses. Immediately upon assuming office it began a campaign for reactionary revision of social and labor legislation adopted by previous governments under pressure from the Socialists and trade unions. This campaign has met with firm resistance on the part of the Socialist-led workers.

The consequence of this resistance was the setting up by the government of a National Labor Commission to consider the situation, on which the Socialists were represented. The commission failed to accomplish any tangible results, however, and to show that labor was ready to defend with all means available any encroachments upon its rights and achievements, the proposed demonstration of February 24 was organized. More than 200,000 unemployed from all sections of the country were to participate. The purpose of the demonstration was to compel the government to withdraw its proposals or to resign.

At first the government gave permission for the demonstration, but it soon changed its mind. The consequence was a wave of bitter resentment among the workers and the demand in some labor circles for a 24-hour general strike of protest. In parliament the Socialist deputies assailed the government's action and demanded its resignation. The conservative majority behind the government gave it a vote of confidence, however, whereupon the Belgian Labor Party summoned the conference in Brussels to consider the next steps.

More than 600 delegates attended. Vandervelde, the party leader, presented an exhaustive report on the situation. The proposal for a 24-hour general strike was rejected by a vote of 481,538 to 581,512, with 23,019 abstaining, principally because of the position of the representatives of the railway unions, the unions of public utility employees and other important mass organizations, who did not consider the strike proposal feasible in the existing economic situation.

Program of Action

By overwhelming majority the conference then adopted the following program of action:

1. Immediate dissolution of the present parliament as no longer expressive of the will of the people, to be followed by new elections.
2. Steps to be taken by the executive committee of the party to force such elections in various districts, pending dissolution of parliament, as a means of demonstrating the true character of public opinion.
3. Immediate resignation from the National Labor Commission of the representatives of the Belgian Labor Party and trade unions.
4. Intensification of the campaign for putting into effect the "Labor Plan" of economic reconstruction, developed some time ago, and for the conquest of political power.
5. Introduction in parliament of a legislative program in line with this campaign as the first step toward realization of the Plan, which aims at a fundamental readjustment of the nation's economic life on the principle of economic balance and social control.
6. Immediate creation by the general executive committee of the party and trade unions of "A Committee of Defense" with instructions to prepare all necessary means for the defense of liberty and the rights of labor.

On March 13, parliament extended the emergency powers granted to the government for another three months by the slim majority of 30 to 83. The reply of the Socialists was the resignation of one of their members for Brussels, in line with the action of the conference of February 21, to force a local parliamentary contest. This is to be held soon. Should the results show an increased Socialist vote, other deputies of the Belgian Labor Party will resign similarly, individually or in mass, to compel a general election.

In the meanwhile, the "Committee of Defense" is being set up and the masses prepared for any action that may prove feasible and necessary.

It is expected that in the coming electoral contests the left wing liberals will support the Socialist candidates.

At this writing the cabinet has resigned, and the political situation is still in the air. The Socialist opposition has done its work. "The Cabinet in the presence of unjust and systematic attacks by the opposition, which even suspected the personality of the ministers and deliberately undermined the confidence indispensable for the work of national restoration, has no alternative other than to resign," said the official government statement in announcing the resignation.

We need not take seriously the allusion to the "unjust and systematic attacks by the opposition." The dominant figure in the government was Emil Francqui, who as minister of finance was the agent of the all-powerful Société Générale Bank, the dominant financial power which has run Belgium since the war and chief representative of the interests who have insisted on pursuing a drastic policy of devaluation regardless of consequences to the masses of the people.

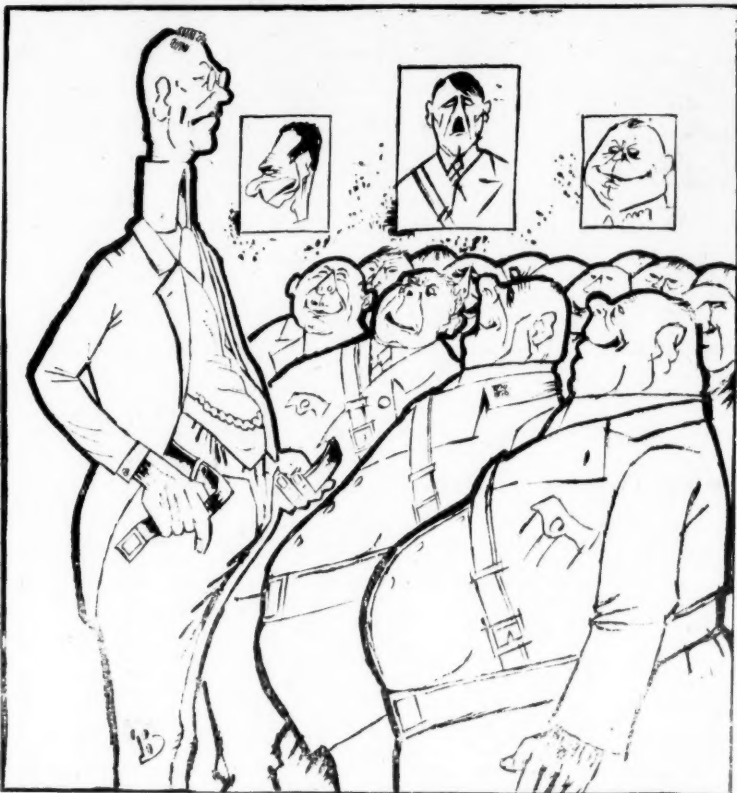
The government's resignation is the result principally of the pressure from the Socialists and trade unions. The developments will follow each other so quickly now that it would be foolish to try to predict their exact course.

Bakunin Bombasts

Insurrectionist bombasts reared their utopian heads in the First International. Anarcho-Communism sponsored by Michael Bakunin brought paralysis into the First International and destroyed it. Robert Hunter in his "Violence and the Labor Movement" describes what happened:

"From the congress at Basel in 1869 to the conference at The Hague in 1872, little was done by the International to realize its great aim of organizing politically the working class of Europe. It had been completely sidetracked, and all the energies of its leading spirits were wasted in controversy and in the various struggles of the factions to control the organization. Nearly every local conference was a scene of dissension; many of the branches were dissolved." And since the Detroit convention—what?

THEIR SACRIFICE FOR THE FATHERLAND



Dr. SCHACHT (economic dictator of Germany): Now, Gentlemen, that Germany under our Great Leader is about to take its place in the sun we must all pull our belts a little tighter.

What Is the Dictatorship Of the Proletariat?

Marx and Engels Meant the Democratic Republic When They Spoke of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

By Karl Kautsky

THE expression "dictatorship of the proletariat" has been widely used in the past fifteen years by many who are obviously confused as to its meaning. Most people assume that it connotes a political aim the meaning of which is self-evident and requires no explanation. Unfortunately this is not so.

The expression comes from Marx. In 1875, in his Critique of the Gotha Program, he wrote:

"Between the capitalist and Communist society lies the period of change of one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period in which the state can be nothing else than a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

Unfortunately, Marx failed to elucidate this momentous expression. He used it in a private letter to the executive committee of the Eisenach party, assuming the committee would understand what the dictatorship of the proletariat was without further comment. That this expression in no way signified either repudiation of democracy or a demand for absolute power in the state is quite clear from the one fact alone that in the very same letter Marx characterized the democratic republic as the form of government in which "the class struggle is to be fought out," saying:

"Freedom consists in the transformation of the state from an organ dominant over society into an organ subordinate to society. And today, too, the various existing forms of state are free or not free in the measure in which they circumscribe 'the freedom of the state'."

The View of Engels

Engels, at a later date, spoke in like manner. In 1891, the executive committee of the German Social Democratic Party, having formulated the draft of a new program, submitted it to him for his opinion. Engels expressed his criticism in a long monograph (published in the Neue Zeit, Vol. XX). Among other things he wrote:

"If anything is certain it is that our party and the working class can triumph only under the form of the democratic republic. This is precisely the specific form for the dictatorship of the proletariat."

And, indeed, it was the demo-

We Marxists have always approved this conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Upon it, for example, is based my own work, "Parliamentarism and Democracy" (first published in 1893). Speaking of the British workers in that book I said: "The British working class need only emancipate itself from Liberal thought in order to transform the all-powerful British Parliament into an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Rosa Luxemburg's View

Even Rosa Luxemburg, who was close to the Bolsheviks and fought so insistently for the dictatorship of the proletariat, held to the end of her days to the conviction that such a dictatorship must be founded upon democracy. In "The Russian Revolution" she wrote: "To be sure, every democratic institution has its faults and limitations, which it has in common with all human institutions. But the remedy discovered by Lenin and Trotsky, the abolition of democracy, is worse than the evil it is supposed to cure, for it shuts off the lifeline from which can come the cure for all the inadequacies of social institutions."

The idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat proclaimed by Marx and Engels, and accepted by their disciples, does not therefore constitute in any way a repudiation of the idea of democracy. On the contrary, it goes hand in hand with the demand for the abolition of the bureaucratic-military state apparatus, and not the strengthening of its absolute power.

In 1891 Engels concluded his preface to the new edition of Marx's "Civil War in France" with the following words:

"The German philistines have of late again fallen into wholesome fear of the expression 'dictatorship of the proletariat.' Very well, gentlemen, do you wish to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the dictatorship of the proletariat."

But Marx characterized the Paris Commune of 1871 as an attempt "no longer, as heretofore, to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but to destroy it, and this was the prerequisite for every true revolution of the people on the continent." (Letter to Kugelmann.)

The destruction of this type of state machine was, in truth, the only thing the Paris Commune undertook to achieve. It did not live long enough to embark upon any Socialist measures.

The maintenance of a strong bureaucratic-military state machine constitutes, however, the prerequisite of any dictatorship as a

political order. Its destruction signifies complete anarchy or complete democracy, but never dictatorship. For Marx and Engels the all-important aim in the destruction of the centralized state apparatus was solely the establishment of democracy.

What Marx Meant

The conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat as propounded by our two great masters denotes, therefore, not the establishment of a form of government specifically distinct from and opposed to democracy, but a political state which under certain conditions develops in democratic republics and which constitutes the prerequisite for the "transition of the capitalist into the Communist society," a transition which cannot be achieved without the intervention of the democratic state.

Marx and Engels never explained why they characterized this condition as a "dictatorship," although it was to spring from democracy. I assume they used the expression to denote a strong government.

The propertied classes will resist with all their might when they will find themselves threatened by the transition from the capitalist to a social (Socialist) mode of production. To break their resistance a strong government will be required, strong in initiative, fearless and energetic, a government possessing the attributes commonly ascribed to "dictatorship," but possessing also great knowledge and experience, as well as all-embracing foresight.

At the same time, however, we cannot under any circumstances relinquish the essential need of the greatest possible freedom of movement and action for the working classes, for it is only such freedom that makes possible their organization and constructive activity, so indispensable to the solution of their difficult task of regulating production to the greatest possible advantage of their own class and the whole of society.

The transition from a capitalist to a Socialist society will, therefore, become fully possible only when the proletariat is so numerous, so highly developed, so well organized that its political representative, the Socialist Party, will have obtained the support of the absolute majority of the population, and with this a majority in the government of city, state and nation. Such a majority will then be in a position to form a government so impregnable to the resistance of the capitalists and their minions that it will be possible to characterize it as a dictatorship of the proletariat.

(To Be Continued)

Two Trends in International Socialism

What "Right" and "Left" Mean - - - by Henry Edwards

THE Socialist movement, in every European country where democracy prevails, is organized as a labor party. It bears this name in England, Belgium and Norway, while in other places it is known as a Social Democratic or Socialist Party. There are some intrinsic differences, but whatever their distinguishing features, due in each case to specific local conditions, all these bodies—most of them an important factor in the political life of the nation of which they are a part—are basically and primarily parties of Labor with the trade unions for their mainstay.

How soon the United States will be ripe for a powerful organization of a similar nature is a question which must, for the present, be left unanswered. Deep-seated political habits rooted in exceptional economic and historical conditions set this country apart from the rest of the civilized world in this respect, a fact of which the anomalous backwardness of the American Socialist movement is an eloquent illustration. For, indeed, even the catastrophic economic depression of recent years has so far failed to bring the native working class nearer to our way of thinking. While the middle class has apparently become more susceptible to our criticism of the capitalist system lately, our propaganda is being also more sym-

metically received by organized labor. Socialist parties, backed by organized labor, are today in the very center of the political stage in England, France, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Denmark and Norway.

In the last three named nations the Socialist parties control the governments.

It should be borne in mind that the days when Socialist influence in Europe was restricted to working people are over. It now takes in a goodly portion of the peasant population and of the lower middle class, including a generous representation of the professions. And if it fails to do so directly, through winning over vast numbers of voters among these elements, it achieves the same result by way of parliamentary coalitions with parties representing farmers or liberal-minded citizens of the urban population. While the working class still forms the backbone of the Socialist movement, narrow proletarian class-pride and the political isolation from which it was inseparable is practically a thing of the past. This is true of every country in which the Socialist movement has become a great political power, excepting those cultured nations whose liberties have been crushed by the iron hand of a fascist usurper.

The British Labor Party is not inclined to form coalitions with the Liberal Party; nor less than ever before. But then it has absorbed enormous numbers of votes that were formerly cast for that party, and indeed, it long ago replaced it as the second party in the nation. The Socialist movement of Europe has long since awakened to the fact that the working class is far

from constituting a majority of the population. The theory that the middle class is doomed to obliteration has been definitely scrapped. True, the "left wing" of the movement is still clinging to this outworn bit of dogma; but then, barring France, where unique events have of late forced the Socialist Party into a unique position, that wing is a negligible quantity.

The difference between the two "wings" is a difference between a platform of democratic Socialism cherishing free speech, free assembly and a system of genuine voting, untrammelled and unterrorized, on one side, and succumbing to the influence of the Bolshevik "ideology" with all the horrors of the so-called "dictatorship of the proletariat" which it implies, on the other. It is a difference between civilized liberty and a ruthless despotism of the Dark Ages. The Socialist trend that will make no terms with Communism is still the greatest power among the people of Europe. Its followers dedicate their lives to a cause which values liberty of action as the most precious heritage of cultured humanity.

Socialists have ever championed that cause and Social Democrats cannot see why one should betray it because the Bolsheviks happened to capture the government of Russia as the result of a revolution which took place while Lenin was in Zurich and Trotsky in New York, and with which their followers at home had little to do.

"Left wingers" persist in characterizing the democracy of countries like the United States or England as *bourgeois*. The truth is that the epithet as applied in this sense is far more bogus than the political liberties which one enjoys

in this country. It has been invented for political effect and there is no more sincerity to it than there is to the catch phraseology of a business advertisement. To be sure, perfect social and economic justice will be impossible until public ownership of the means of production is added to the civil liberties enjoyed by the citizen of a modern democracy; yet to brand these liberties as a sham is like pretending to deny that half a loaf is better than no bread at all.

It is this sort of soap-box rhetoric which forms the line of demarcation between Socialism and Bolshevism.

The Socialist International at its congresses and conferences is made up of delegates representing both trends under consideration; but an overwhelming majority of its membership come from countries where the movement has achieved real consequence, and these, with the exception indicated above, are distinctly of the tendency incorrectly and inaccurately called "right." As for the minority, it largely represents countries where Socialism is not yet a power to be reckoned with, or the unhappy countries where it has been put in concentration camps.

It can safely be said that the anti-Bolshevik element of our International consists very largely of delegates from countries where the movement is powerful and in a flourishing condition, while the comrades who are under some degree of Communist influence have, in most cases, no tangible movement back of them. The delegates of the "right" represent achievement and responsibility. They cannot afford to indulge in phrase-mongery. The other comrades represent abstract ideas rather than concrete values and

clear-cut responsibilities. The distinction between the two trends is thus one between realism and romanticism.

An exception must be made for comrades representing Germany since the advent of Hitler. These delegates to the International are members of the *Vorstand* (Executive Committee) of the German Social Democratic Party, now located in Prague, and is in regular communication with the active underground activities of their native land. The *Vorstand* is as outspokenly "right" today as it was before the Nazis took possession of Germany and throttled their liberties, a point of view by which they mirror the mental attitude of the great majority of comrades at home.

The situation is somewhat different in the case of the Austrian leaders now carrying on their work from another Czechoslovak center. In the Socialist uprising in Vienna and the provinces, in February, 1934, they fought among the bravest. All glory to them and to the other heroes and martyrs of that inspiring episode! And yet the circumstances which brought it about and the events that came in its wake indicate the views of Socialists who constitute the majority of the International and with whom the valiant group now leading the Austrian movement from Czechoslovakia are not in complete agreement.

Some months ago, when the "united front" proposal came up at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Socialist International, all delegations representing substantial movements, with one exception, voted against it. The exception was the French comrades. They were joined by a number of delegates representing

small movements or such as have been crushed under foot by some dictator. The delegates of the German *Vorstand* cast their votes with the majority who remained adamant in opposition.

The upshot was a resolution leaving each country to its own devices.

The Socialist Party of France has generally been known as one with "revolutionary" or "left" leanings. It has been invariably opposed to a policy of parliamentary coalition with any of the bourgeois parties, not excepting the one professing and largely practicing a program of political liberalism. This, however, was a mere matter of form, for it has quite frequently entered a kind of emergency understanding with that party for the purpose of fighting some reactionary measure. Moreover, it has regularly entered an arrangement with the same bourgeois organization (the party of Herriot) calculated to combine their votes for such candidates nominated by either of the two parties who had the best chance to win in a second election.

Now, if it is legitimate for "revolutionary" Socialists to form an "unholy alliance" with bourgeois groups on election day, why should it be regarded as a violation of "revolutionary" principle when one indulges in a formal "coalition" at the Chamber of Deputies to combat fascism and reaction?

The extraordinary position of the French Socialist Party originated in the disturbances which broke out in Paris in February, 1934. They produced an overwhelming impression. One was inclined perhaps to overrate their actual significance, but viewed in the light of the Hitler cataclysm

in Germany, French Socialists—and liberty-loving citizens generally—regarded them as a serious menace to French democracy. By a peculiar coincidence, Joseph Stalin found himself in a novel state of mind just then regarding the subject of a "united front" with the French Socialist Party. He was gravely alarmed by the fresh war clouds emanating from Japan and Hitlerized Germany at once, and he appreciated the importance of a military alliance with France more keenly than ever. He needed as many friends in the Chamber of Deputies as he could get, and one way in this direction was a "united front" with the French Socialists, an offer free from the subtleties with which overtures of the Comintern on the subject had been accompanied in the past. The new proposal had every mark not only of sincerity but of eagerness as well. It was no longer a mere pretext, a trick calculated to lure the Socialist rank and file away from their leaders. It meant business.

The offer was accepted and, as French Socialists are rapidly realizing, it is of far less advantage to their movement than it is to their partners. The Comintern's organization in France is using the "united front" to profit by it at the expense of the Socialist Party, and as leaders of the Communists diagnose the situation in some of their Russian publications, the leaders on the other side are sick of the bargain and a dissolution is imminent.

A similar "united front" proposition was made to Socialist parties of other countries where the Socialist movement is a real power. It was rejected in all these without exception.

Socialism Calls for the Zeal of Youth

But What We Need is Serious Devotion to An Idea, Not Reckless Romanticism

By Oda Olberg

To enlist the youth in the cause of Socialism and to hold its support is the great task of a Socialist Party.

Socialism as an idea has not failed. Never before have the truth and justification of its indictment of the present social order been so amply demonstrated as today. Had Socialism as such lost any of its power as an idea we would not find others stealing its name in order to set in motion opposition movements. Neither revolutionary urge nor orderly operation of the human mind have as yet developed a social ideal superior to or equal to Socialism.

Our Problem

Considered from this point of view, the competitive movements at work in the world are of secondary importance, because we are convinced that the elements our party loses to these movements are not such as were ever truly ours or part of us. Our problem, however, is precisely that of binding our followers to ourselves and making them truly our own. Only parenthetically will we point here to the fundamental difference between the "competition" of National "Socialism" and Communism. Just as there are caterpillars who imitate the color and design of the leaves on which they dwell and upon whose destruction they feed, so does National "Socialism" imitate in name and terminology the labor parties of our day that it seeks to destroy. National "Socialism" does not seek Socialism through different methods; it does not seek it at all.

The Direction of Youth
Communism, on the other hand—insofar as it is not concealed reaction, which is not a question that concerns us here—seeks to achieve Socialist ideals not as the will of mankind, in democratic forms, but as a matter of compulsion by a minority. The limitations of liberty within which it seeks to develop a Socialist economy destroy its very purpose, so that the method defers the aim—the Socialism of freedom.

But the question of the direction in which those prefer to turn who do not find the Social Democracy adequate is not important for us here. Important is the fact that there are today—and perhaps in growing numbers—thinking, aspiring and yearning human beings who find the Social Democracy inadequate. How is this to be explained, and who is responsible?

The effects of the depression, however painful, concern only in part the recruiting powers of our party. Is there any other party

which has succeeded in mastering the economic crisis?

Nor is the explanation of the fact that young elements whose revolutionary urge formerly led them instinctively to the Socialist parties now avoid them to be sought in the prevailing atmosphere of intellectual and spiritual crisis. It is to be sought elsewhere, in something neither outward nor transitory, in something for which the Socialist parties are not responsible—in their maturity. The Socialist parties are no longer buds that promise marvels. They have become every-day realities, human-all-too-human organisms, covered with the dust of struggle, subject to the imperative commands of our time, which can be defied only by that "which does not and never has existed". The time in which we live no longer offers any undiscovered islands to serve as refuge place for dream and yearning. That is why the Social Democracy cannot be for youth what it was when it itself was young.

Reality of Time

And precisely because they have drunk deeply of reality and time, the Socialist parties of all ad-

vanced countries have become like mighty trees, rooted deep in the ground and extending protection to so many under their thick upper foliage. All those who complain today because the Social Democracy has been unable to avert the colossal injustices of our time should remember what a tremendous responsibility for the lives and welfare of countless human beings, yes, for the very fate of nations, the Socialist parties now have. The action demanded by critics cannot come like acts of daring from above, like lightning from the clouds; it is conditioned by a thousand threads with other, already performed actions, upon which the toiling masses depend for their very existence. The Socialist parties are no longer kibitzers at the table of world history, but players who must play in real coin. The theoretical darning of the coffee house and pseudo-revolutionary drawing rooms marches gaily over corpses. A movement which for fifty years has labored to create better living conditions and better human beings must consider a hundred times before it ventures to gamble with what has

already been achieved, and the security of which has been entrusted to it by living, breathing human beings. The Socialist parties are responsible for the preservation of what they have won by struggle and labor. They are compelled to consider carefully before hurling these achievements to make a possible breach in the wall of class rule.

Life and Maturity

This inevitable result of life and maturity, this realization of ideas, which make ideas the prey of the flesh, but without which ideas can never triumph and become effective, influence today the recruiting power of the Socialist parties among the youth. Youth wants to swim against the tide. It is a tragic truth, but truth nevertheless, belonging to the irrational impermanence of life (that which cannot be grasped by pure reason), that men are tempted by danger, danger which adds zest to their lives, and which makes them prefer the little good for which they fight at their peril, to the greater good which they receive as a gift. There is too little danger, too little per-

secution today in belonging to a Socialist party. Here and there the Socialist parties are even the governing parties. And this tastes quite flat to our young men and women.

This attitude does honor to youth. But when it concludes therefrom that great tasks and ideals are no longer to be found in the Socialist parties and prefers to stand aside or to try other parties, we are compelled to point out that politics is not a place of tumult and should not be measured by the sensations it may offer. A party is a serious and responsible thing. And woe to the movement that seeks to shape itself to please youth's urge for adventure! For this there are sport, exploration, the seeking after records—all fields in which the adventurer gambles only with himself. To take such playful urges of youth into consideration would be reckless.

Youth must be told that its urge to opposition for the sake of opposition is more often a sign of a clinging egg shell than of maturity. We need not be much concerned with the type of youth that

is merely young and sheds its oppositionist attitude as a child does its first teeth. What we must seek is to capture those who defend ideas with youthful vigor, ideas to which they are ready to devote their lives; what we want is to attract serious men and women who battle for ideas and who do not merely wish to engage in exhibitionism. It is not the business of a political party to serve as a point of attraction for the play instincts of the young.

An Inner Urge

But do not make the mistake that in the Social Democracy there is no place for courage, sacrifice and daring. Every revolutionary movement requires a constant, fighting inner urge. It lives in a world it seeks to conquer and to which it must not, therefore, adapt itself. Quite automatically does the surrounding world demand adaptation. Systematically and with constant vigilance over his own self, the party member must do his work. Never to become dulled and weary, never to forget that we fight for a better order, which we must make alive in our own selves, never to keep silent in the

face of cowardice and crudity, to keep alive always the feeling of protest against the injustices and stupidities that surround us must be the guiding line of a Socialist.

Is this not quite sufficiently romantic for youth? Well, we cannot lead it into Gothic cathedrals to give it the thrill of awe before the divine. We cannot furnish it with lance and armor and lead it to knightly tournaments, but we can in this prosaic world give it tasks to do greater than Gothic cathedrals, tasks requiring greater courage than in the clang of arms. The task before us is to reorganize the economic and technical world in which we live on moral-human foundations, so that human beings may not only be warm and fed but also happy, proud and free.

Our Victory

This we have to achieve not against nature but against human stupidity, greed and heartlessness, forces which face us in manifold and varied armor, the armor of pseudo-science and holy war, of guns and daggers. Our movement has no thrills to offer, like the cinema. It demands serious and courageous men and women for whom membership in the party signifies an oath never to grow weary in small battles against stupidity and evil and to be prepared for the great one!

E. H. Baumann, Milwaukee School Trustee, Dies

MILWAUKEE.—Elmer H. Baumann, Socialist school trustee and former Socialist Assemblyman, died here almost immediately after his renomination for his school board post at last week's primaries. Comrade Baumann had polled the highest vote of all candidates at the primaries and it was considered that his re-election April 2nd was certain.

Elmer H. Baumann was 33, and he was elected Socialist Assemblyman at the age of 24. He was elected to the school board for the first time in 1929, and was completing a six-year term. Comrade Baumann was active equally in the labor and the Socialist movement, having served as business agent of the Electrical Workers' Union, and as delegate to the city central body and the State Federation of Labor. At the time of his death he was a member of the executive of the Brewers' Union. Comrade Baumann was popular as a man of genuine charm as well as of real ability.

Under the provisions of the election law a candidate to take Baumann's place on the ticket will be selected by County Organizer Herman O. Kent.

THE ORIGIN of PROPERTY

From Penguin Island --- By Anatole France

(In his book, "Penguin Island," Anatole France tells the story of a race of Penguins who had been transformed into semi-human creatures. The book is an ironic history of civilization.)

NOW one autumn morning, as the blessed Mael was walking in the valley of Clange in company with a monk of Yvern called Bulloch, he saw bands of fierce-looking men loaded with stones passing along the roads. At the same time he heard in all directions cries and complaints mounting up from the valley towards the tranquil sky.

And he said to Bulloch:

"Look towards Surelle, Bulloch, my son. In yonder pleasant valley a dozen men penguins are busy knocking each other down with the spades and picks that they might employ better in tilling the ground. The women, still more cruel than the men, are tearing their opponents' faces with their hands. Alas! Bulloch, my son, why are they murdering each other in this way?"

"From a spirit of fellowship, father, and through forethought for the future," answered Bulloch. "For man is essentially provident and sociable. Such is his character,

and it is impossible to imagine it apart from a certain appropriation of things. Those penguins whom you see are dividing the ground among themselves."

"Could they not divide it with less violence?" asked the aged man. "As they fight they exchange invectives and threats. I do not distinguish their words, but they are angry, judging from the tone."

Whilst the monk, Bulloch, was pronouncing these words a big penguin with a fair skin and red hair went down into the valley carrying a trunk of a tree upon his shoulders. He went up to a little penguin who was watering his vegetables in the heat of the sun, and shouted to him:

"Your field is mine!"

And having delivered himself of this stout utterance he brought down his club on the head of the little penguin, who fell dead upon the field that his own hands had tilled.

At this sight the holy Mael shuddered through his whole body and poured forth a flood of tears.

And in a voice stifled by horror and fear he addressed this prayer to heaven:

"O Lord, my God, O thou who didst receive young Abel's sacrifices; thou who didst curse Cain, avenge, O Lord, this innocent penguin sacrificed upon his own field and make the murderer feel the weight of thy arm. Is there a more odious crime, is there a

graver offense against thy justice, O Lord, than this murder and this robbery?"

"Take care, father," said Bulloch gently, "that what you call murder and robbery may not really be war and conquest, those sacred foundations of empires, those sources of all human virtues and all human greatness. Reflect, above all, that in blaming the big

penguin you are attacking property in its origin and at its source. I shall have no trouble in showing you how. To till the land is one thing, to possess it is another, and these two things must not be confused; as regards ownership the right of the first occupier is uncertain and badly founded. The right of conquest, on the other hand, rests on more solid foundations. It is the only right that receives respect since it is the only one that makes itself respected. The sole and proud origin of property is force. It is born and preserved by force. In that it is august and yields only to a greater force. This is why it is correct to say that he who possesses is noble.

And that big red man, when he knocked down a laborer to get possession of his field, founded at that moment a very noble house upon this earth. I congratulate him upon it."

Having thus spoken, Bulloch approached the big penguin, who was leaning upon his club as he stood in the blood-stained furrow:

"Lord Greatauk, drenched Prince," said he, bowing to the ground. "I come to pay you the homage due to the founder of legitimate power and hereditary wealth. The skull of the vile penguin you have overthrown will, buried in your field, attest forever the sacred rights of your posterity over this soil that you have ennobled. Blessed be your sons and your sons' sons! They shall be Greatauks, Dukes of Skull, and they shall rule over this island of Alca."

Then raising his voice and turning towards the holy Mael: "Bless Greatauk, father, for all power comes from God."

Mael remained silent and motionless, with his eyes raised towards heaven; he felt a painful uncertainty in judging the monk Bulloch's doctrine. It was, however, the doctrine destined to prevail in epochs of advanced civilization. Bulloch can be considered as the creator of civil law in Penguinia.

Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

THE CLASS STRUGGLE A Thriller in Three Acts

ACT I
TIME, January, 1932. Haim Kantorovitch discovered in the foreground with Vol. 1, No. 1, of the American Socialist Quarterly chasing McAlister Coleman who is cornered. Kantorovitch reads: "Let us hear the advice of still another Comrade, McAlister Coleman (quoting): 'Of this class struggle as taught by its more extreme propagandists, the worker may well remark: It's pretty but is it art? And just where does it get me? And recent experience has shown us that the only honest answer to this question is that it gets the worker more firmly in the clutches of the employer, splits his union to pieces, diminishes the sum total of production, over whose division he is supposed to be struggling and leaves him in the end with a notably thinned pay envelope'."

Kantorovitch, satirically, to Coleman: "Now you can see what a terrible and dangerous thing the class struggle is." (Curtain.)

ACT II
TIME, January 23, 1932. Coleman with copy of The New Leader chasing Kantorovitch who is cornered. Coleman reads from his column: "If in these days of storm and stress you could find a good safe tree to climb away from the wolf-teeth of creditors, installment collectors, reformers, prohibition agents, landlords and editors of the American Socialist Quarterly, wouldn't you stay up there?" Looks daggers at Kantorovitch. (Curtain.)

ACT III
TIME, March, 1935. Kiddie Kar Socialism announces a weekly organ. Militants assembled and with deep emotion read that Kantorovitch and Coleman will be contributors. The two sob in each other's arms as the United Front is effected while the audience sings, "The Vildest Sinner May Return." (Final Curtain.)

"Guiding" the Working Class

BEFORE us lies a circular of the "Yipsel Militant Steering Committee" of New York City which is signed by Phil Heller and Fannie Seidman. It declares that "the Socialist movement is facing an historic crisis, one which most likely will settle the question of whether the Socialist movement shall be a disciplined revolutionary movement or a compromising party of job-holders and their immediate followers in the various institutions of this country, incapable of giving guidance to the workers of America as will bring us Socialism in our time."

We regret that Phil Heller should give approval to such balderdash. However, with the present party psychosis anything is possible. If we have to disagree let us do so like civilized human beings, but the above quotation does not comply with this canon of conduct.

Here are two young Socialists ascribing pecuniary motives to those with whom they disagree. They assert that their opponents represent "job-holders and their immediate followers." This is dragging discussion into the gutter, the trick of those who do not feel quite sure of their own position. How often have we not read in the daily organ of the Slumunists that Oneal has again sold out the working class, that Bill Sykes has just received a wad of money from the boss, and so on.

With this descent to the gutter our readers will also find another aspect of this Thunder on the Left. Observe that Phil is thinking of "giving guidance to the workers of America." The phrase is not accidental. It is typical of liberals on the one hand and of the various Bolshevik sects on the other. The workers must be "guided" by those who make a profession of guiding. We guide a cow to the pasture and a dog to the kennel and there are those who would also "guide" the great masses because they think of the masses also in terms of animals. I would not accuse these youngsters of being conscious of this attitude. On the contrary, I do not think that they understand its implications, but the fact is that again and again the labor movement in this country has been wrecked by those who insisted on "guiding it."

I have never had the ambition to be a "guide." The real Socialist thinks not of guiding the labor movement but of serving it to the best of his ability and helping to awaken the organized workers to conscious and self-directed action for their own best interests. The "guide" thinks of the workers as children to be led, not human beings capable of guiding themselves. Haywood, DeLeon, Foster and others have played the role of "guides" and they only guided themselves into oblivion. Let others learn by this history.

Finally, there are those who are obsessed with problems of "revolutionary strategy," the "road to power," and what we are going to do after we have travelled to the end. The masses who are to be "guided" are thinking of other matters. They are thinking in terms of bread, clothing, jobs, rent, wages and hours and rightly so. Only those who think of helping them in these matters can hope to win the confidence of the working class. To the extent that we get away from the "guide" idea and find our place side by side in the fight of the workers against utter degradation will we be of service to the masses.

"Loyalists" Who Reorganize The Indiana Party

By James Oneal

OUR readers will be interested in the sort of "loyalists" the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has in Indiana. Our readers are already familiar with the fascist and strikebreaker Shults and others. These were the gentlemen who brought the original accusations against the Indiana comrades.

Charles Rogers, declared state chairman by the N.E.C. cabal, has for many years been in and out of the party. He did not face the storm during the World War. Rogers, after years of this in-and-out game, worked in the Indianapolis Republican primaries in the spring of 1932. Later in the year he was given another trial as a party member.

Forrest Rogers, declared state secretary-treasurer, also joined the party in 1932. He waded beyond his depth when he joined the party and is unable to define the difference between Socialism and Communism.

Two members of the N.E.C. state committee also joined the party in 1932, a third in 1930, and another in 1931.

All of these are typical of many of the "loyalists" in that state. They are members of recent years, except a few who dropped out during the World War and remained outside until the last two or three years.

One who is especially played up is Philip Reinbold of Terre Haute, "an old friend of 'Gene Debs.'" I also am an old friend of 'Gene Debs' and I was active for many years in building the party in Terre Haute and in Indiana. In

this work Philip Reinbold did nothing, and in the post-war period he has prevented the revival of the party in Terre Haute.

I have known Phil for many years, but no intimate friendships will divert me from my duty to the Socialist Party. So here is the story of Local Terre Haute:

A few years after we organized in Terre Haute in 1897 Reinbold left us to become a Democratic Alderman, and he remained out of the party for many years. When I left Terre Haute in 1915 we had a splendid party organization and Reinbold was not active. The local suffered as others suffered during the war and declined as others declined in the post-war period until only a handful remained.

In the past seven years I have stopped in Terre Haute several times and held good meetings, but I did not consult with Reinbold in holding them. He was incompetent. I arranged with a relative, who is not a party member but a sympathizer. Each time I talked with Reinbold and outlined plans to revive the local.

What has been the result? He has done nothing and even stands in the way of effective work of party building. Dr. Madge Patton Stevens, also "an old friend of 'Gene Debs,'" was eager to help. Reinbold discouraged her. Comrade Stevens was one who was with us at Atlanta in 1920 when 'Gene' was notified of his nomination for President.

How many party members are there in Terre Haute, the home of 'Gene Debs'? For years under the leadership of Reinbold there were about a half-dozen and they were kept together by Mrs. Miller, a devoted comrade, not by Reinbold.

Party Members Discuss Their Urgent Problems Before the N. E. C. Meeting

The N. Y. State Organization Challenges N. E. C. Authority

Charges That the Majority of the National Body Has Pursued a Policy That Has Wrecked the Party

To the National Executive Committee, Socialist Party of the United States, 549 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.

Comrades:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter advising of the following resolution by your Committee:

"That the New York State Executive Committee be ordered to appear in person or by proxy at the next meeting of the National Executive Committee to show cause why the New York charter should not be revoked and the state reorganized in view of the failure of the present organization to support the principles and obey the orders of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of the United States; in particular, the order requiring admission to the party of qualified persons at the age of eighteen."

The circumstances under which a state organization chartered by the National Executive Committee may be declared unorganized by the National Executive Committee are set forth in Article X, Section 6, of the National Constitution, which reads as follows:

"Sec. 6. Any state organization chartered by the National Executive Committee which does not send in a monthly report on the blank report form approved by the National Executive Committee for three (3) successive months, and minutes of State Executive Committee meetings regularly, may be declared unorganized by the National Executive Committee at a regular meeting of that committee after at least one month's notice has been given the State Executive Committee of the delinquent state."

The above is the only provision in the National Constitution dealing with the power of the National Executive Committee to declare a chartered and organized state unorganized.

A mere reading of the resolution and of the aforementioned Section 6 makes it unequivocally clear that the action of your Committee with respect to the New York State organization is utterly without constitutional authority.

The State Executive Committee objects to the notice served upon it on the following grounds:

1. As already indicated, there is no authority in the National Executive Committee to revoke a charter of the state organization on the grounds set forth in your resolution.
2. If the National Executive Committee has any charges to prefer against the State of New York it must do so in the manner provided by the National Constitution.
3. There is no power in the National Executive Committee, under the Constitution, to require any State Executive Committee "to show cause" why the charter should not be revoked and the state reorganized.

In our courts of justice, under a democracy which a majority of the members of your Committee have characterized as "bogus," a person or organization sought to be placed on trial must first be duly served with an adequate complaint. Your Committee, in its reckless zeal to read out of the party the New York State organization, has declined to meet even these elementary requirements, without which a trial would be a farce.

Moreover, by resorting to an "order to show cause" the majority of your Committee has already convicted the state organization. By this method, the state organization is first adjudged to be guilty and then called upon to prove its innocence. This practice is unprecedented in the history of our party. Your course is not only without

Finally, illness in her family made it impossible for her to be active.

Reinbold was left to keep the half-dozen together and to build up the local. The result? The average membership in Terre Haute, based upon dues stamps and exempt stamps for ten months, is ONE, and I doubt whether Reinbold is that one!

It is shameful that in the home of 'Gene Debs' there is no party organization. A comrade really inspired with party work can in a few months build a good local in Terre Haute. Reinbold not only discouraged Dr. Stevens but he has also been an ally of Powers Hapgood against State Secretary Henry.

The more one goes into this Indiana affair the more fantastic and disgraceful it becomes. Unless a receivership of competent Socialists with training, experience and high ideals succeeds the present incompetent, meddling and factional majority of the N.E.C., there is little hope of the party taking advantage of its fine opportunities.

constitutional warrant, but it reveals the lengths to which your Committee is prepared to go to complete the disruption of the Socialist Party.

We are under no illusion as to the purpose behind the resolution. It is but another step in the warfare precipitated in the party as a result of the adoption of the Declaration of Principles at the Detroit convention last summer. The confusion and disintegration which has characterized our party since that convention is the inexorable consequence of the policies and tactics of your Committee. These policies and tactics have already led to the withdrawal from the national organization of one state—Oregon; the suspension of another—Indiana; to general paralysis in the party organization throughout the nation. These policies and tactics have finally brought the National Executive Committee to the pass in which it now finds itself.

The New York State organization is opposed to those doctrines in the Declaration of Principles which tend to commit the party to a communistic program. It is opposed to permitting party members, singly or in organized groups, to advocate a program of armed insurrection which would tend to promote fascism in the United States, and would mean the destruction of the Socialist Party, to say nothing of the organized labor movement. We do not intend to be bludgeoned into accepting into the party in New York State applicants for membership coming from Communist or Communist splinter organizations, and having for their avowed purpose the colonization of the party so as to drive out all who are committed to the time-honored policy of seeking the establishment of Socialism by peaceful, orderly and democratic means.

We are unalterably opposed to

Why the YPSL of New York Was Taken Over by the Local

YPSL Executive Committee Boycotts New Leader and Defies the Party—Local New York Takes Charge of New York YPSL

FOR some time the YPSL of New York, instead of fulfilling its proper function of being a training ground for future party members, has been engaged primarily in internal party struggles and in attempting to shape party policies. The educational and organizational work which is its real function became paralyzed. The situation was looked upon with much apprehension by the New York party organization, and also by many New York Yipsels.

In waging their factional fight against the local and state committees of New York in behalf of the Militant-Communist alliance, those in control of the YPSL recently began to make it a practice of appealing to the National Executive Committee of the party any matter concerning the YPSL on which they disagreed with decisions of the local and state organizations, maintaining that meanwhile their own action was to stand. Thus they claim the right for one Harold Draper, an avowed Communist, to remain a member of the YPSL, pending appeal to the N. E. C. from the New York local and state decisions denying him admittance to party membership, while knowing that the N. E. C. has no power or right to force a member upon local New York. This procedure deliberately ignores the constitution and by-laws, in effect sabotages decisions of the local and makes the necessary cooperation between the local and YPSL organizations impossible.

The New York party organization remained more than lenient and tolerant, hoping against hope that eventually reason would prevail and that our young comrades, many of whom are merely misguided tools of disruptive older members, would come to their senses. This week, however, the factional struggle of the New York YPSL went beyond all bounds and left the local no alternative other than to step in.

At a meeting March 13th the YPSL Executive Committee adopted a statement which is in effect a boycott of The New Leader, the official organ of local New York and the state organization. A decision to withdraw this support had already been taken at the preceding meeting a week before, but was omitted from the abridged minutes sent to the YPSL Circles. Thus, an injurious document was widely distributed, without first giving an opportunity to the rank and file to consider such a momentous step. The action was a flagrant breach of party discipline and calculated solely to intensify the factional struggle. The YPSL Executive Committee certainly knew that it would precipitate a crisis and that local New York

turning the Socialist Party in the direction of Communism. Your action is not only a challenge to the Socialists of our state, the large majority of whom have remained faithful to the principles and tactics of democratic Socialism upon which our party has been founded, but to the Socialists of the nation as well.

The New York State organization is one of the oldest, best organized and most influential in the Union. Its straight party vote in the past campaign ran over 150,000. In 1932, it furnished 20 per cent of the total national vote. It has given to our party some of its most illustrious writers, speakers and leaders. It has been for years the principal source of revenue for the National Office and for national campaigns.

It is and has been closely identified for over a generation with large sections of the organized labor movement, with which it has worked and whose confidence and respect it has earned. Its institutions are among the largest and most important in the country.

Should your threat to revoke our charter be executed, you will not only have disrupted the one state organization which, above all others, has been the mainstay of our party in all the years of its trials and difficulties, but you will have carried the fight into every state of the Union.

It is significant that some of the elements responsible for this motion, and who are so recklessly proceeding to the destruction of the New York State organization, have themselves lacked the capacity to create any organized Socialist strength in the states from which they come. In Chicago, home of the National Office and the second largest city in the country, these elements have not even been able to place a municipal ticket in the field.

Let there be no mistake about it. The effects of the revocation of the New York State charter will not be confined to the State of New York. They will spread across the continent and leave in their wake the wreckage of a party many of us have given the best years of our lives to build.

Fraternally yours,
State Executive Committee,
Socialist Party of New York.

could not stand idly by; but that evidently did not in the least deter it.

The Executive Committee of local New York, at its meeting on March 13th, when, in accordance with the rules, the names of three candidates for YPSL offices were submitted to it for approval, disapproved of two who admitted that they had voted for The New Leader statement, and instructed the YPSL to postpone elections to permit nominations to be reopened. It also elected a sub-committee, consisting of Algernon Lee, Bela Low and Adrian Gambet, to investigate the YPSL situation. The YPSL Executive Committee, at a meeting the following day, decided to disregard these instructions and sent out a letter with a statement ordering the elections to proceed, with the two names that had not been approved as the only candidates on the ballot, the third candidate having meanwhile withdrawn. This action was an open and intolerable defiance of the New York party organization.

Still the sub-committee, although fully justified in recommending immediate drastic steps, hoped that those in control of the YPSL organization might yet recognize the imminent danger of their action. It therefore recommended to give the YPSL one week's time to cancel the elections and reopen nominations; to rescind the statement regarding The New Leader, and to drop the Communist Harold Draper from membership. The sub-committee also recommended that if these conditions were not complied with by March 25, local New York would take charge of the YPSL and proceed to reorganize it. The Executive Committee adopted these recommendations at its meeting of March 18 and gave its sub-committee full power to act.

Ten minutes later, without heeding the appeal, without giving the matter any further consideration, evidently anxious to hasten a break, the YPSL Executive Committee handed a letter to Algernon Lee, categorically refusing all demands and stating that its action was final.

Under the circumstances there was nothing left for the sub-committee to do but to take possession of the office which had been given the YPSL. Steps will be taken for the reorganization of the YPSL, and every young Socialist who shows his loyalty to the party organization by repudiating The New Leader statement and the YPSL Executive Committee's action regarding elections will remain a member, regardless of theoretical or tactical differences. A sound and healthy YPSL must and will be built up. The Youth movement is the movement of our future, and it will receive every consideration. That local New York is forced to go through the most unpleasant process of reorganization of the YPSL is solely the fault of those who have decided on these provocative acts in carrying on a factional warfare,

New Leader Remains Loyal To Genuine Socialist Ideals

Board of Directors Replies to Summons of the National Executive Committee With a Challenge

THE NEW LEADER Board has received notice of a motion made by Norman Thomas in the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party which reads as follows:

"That the Board of Directors of The New Leader be asked to appear before the N.E.C. at its Buffalo meeting on Saturday afternoon to show cause why its standing as an accredited paper should not be taken from it in view of its recent activities and the change in The New Leader Association constitution."

The New Leader protests against motions to "show cause." It is a procedure unknown to democratic organizations but is typical of capitalist party machines and oligarchies in general. This practice directed against state organizations and party institutions means an executive dictatorship which the party members will certainly repudiate.

The New Leader cannot expect to get a fair and impartial hearing from the N.E.C. The New Leader has ample proof that there exists an organized conspiracy on the part of some members of the N.E.C. to discredit and destroy The New Leader.

At its meeting at Reading, Pa., in July, 1933, The New Leader was condemned by the N.E.C. on flimsy charges brought by a New York militant branch, and The New Leader Board was not even accorded the privilege of defending itself. Moreover, when at a subsequent meeting in Chicago The New Leader Board sent a special representative to present its case the N.E.C. refused to listen to him.

To prove further that there exists an organized conspiracy on the part of some members of the N.E.C., we wish to record the following fact: Norman Thomas, prior to the passage of his motion by the N.E.C., had already anticipated the result. In a letter to the Pittsburgh comrades, Thomas stated that he would not appear at a party meeting there for The New Leader where he was scheduled to speak unless he was permitted to make an appeal for the "Socialist Call." The "Socialist Call" has not yet been issued. The N.E.C. has not considered giving recognition to the "Socialist Call," but evidently Thomas anticipates the decision of the N.E.C.

In the official party bulletin of March 15th, the National Office already publicizes the fact that the "Socialist Call" will soon appear in New York. The National Office apparently is also an accomplice in the conspiracy to discredit and damage The New Leader.

This is done in spite of the fact that The New Leader was the only party paper that gave representation in its columns to all shades of opinion in the party. There is not a single party paper that has been as fair to all factions since the party controversies started. The exponents of the left wing have always found a place in the columns of The New Leader.

The factional attitude of the N.E.C. is also evident by contrasting its attitude towards The New Leader with that towards the American Guardian. The Guardian has approved election of candidates on capitalist tickets, including Upton Sinclair in California, and has again and again violated party principles, but the N.E.C. has never suggested any action against that publication.

It is obviously useless to state additional facts knowing in advance that those members of the N.E.C. interested in destroying The New Leader are not concerned with the facts.

We emphatically deny, however, that The New Leader has violated any Socialist principles by adopting a set of by-laws at the last meeting of the Association. The by-laws provide that The New Leader takes for its guide the policies and principles of the Socialist Party which is affiliated with the L.S.I. The N.E.C. should "show cause" why this is wrong.

The New Leader also by resolution supports the Socialist Party. However, it will not support the Socialist Party if it becomes a Communist organization. We in turn ask the N.E.C., if they will support the party if it is captured by Communist elements. The New Leader answers this question without equivocation and it is also necessary for each member of the N.E.C. to answer it so that the party membership will know where each of you stand.

We declare that the present crisis in the Socialist Party places the N.E.C. on trial before the party and party members. It is not enough for you to ask the state organizations and party institutions where they stand; IT IS EQUALLY NECESSARY FOR YOU TO

instead of pursuing those activities for which the YPSL was created.

GIVE A CLEAR AND DEFINITE ANSWER.

It is your body that adopted a vague "invitation" to unattached radicals to join the party. It was your body that permitted Norman Thomas, the author of the motion against The New Leader, to "interpret" that invitation to include Communists of various splinter groups.

You must admit that the Socialist Party cannot throw open its doors to Communists without inviting the danger of the party becoming a Communist organization. We support the Socialist Party. Your actions have endangered the very existence of the Socialist Party.

Where do you stand, anyway? The party members want to know. They want to know whether you intend to continue to use your power to encourage the Communist elements already in the party and to keep the doors open for more to enter.

We have given you a frank answer. We hope that you will also give an answer as frank and unequivocal as ours.

BRITISH LABOR PARTY SCORES ANOTHER BIG GAIN

THE British Labor Party continues its irresistible forward march. In its latest bye-election contest, held to fill a vacancy for the Norwood constituency in South London, the Socialists scored a favorable turnover of 17,888 votes since the last election.

Mrs. Barbara Ayrton Gould polled 12,799 for the Labor Party to 16,147 for the successful Tory and 2,698 for Richard Findlay, a former fascist, who ran as an opposition Tory supported by the amusing Churchills, father and son, on a platform damning the government for not being Tory enough for them.

At the last election, in a straight contest between the Conservatives and Labor, the vote was 30,851 to 7,217 for Labor. There is, therefore, a Socialist gain of 5,582 and a decline in the combined reactionary vote of 12,006. This vote marks an all-time high for the Labor Party in that district. No wonder Labor is anxious for a General Election and the Government an appeal to the people!

European Gymnasts to Visit American Workers' Olympics

By Laddie Janik
PRAGUE, Czechoslovakia. — In response to the large participation of American labor gymnasts at the Third Labor Olympic Games held here last summer, the Czechoslovak Labor Gymnastic Association has voted to send a group of twenty or more athletes to tour America in 1936.

This picked squad of men and women, the cream of an organization of 200,000 members—in a country of 15,000,000 population—will appear in several important centers of labor sports activity, including New York, Bridgeport, Reading, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Louis.

The central occasion for the visit will be the First American Labor Olympics in Cleveland in July, 1936. Czech sports organizations have taken the initiative in organizing these games, but the invitation will include all non-Communist labor sports groups in America.

The executive committee of the Labor Sports International has sent out invitations to other European workers' gymnastic groups, asking that the organizations of other countries follow the Czech lead in sending delegations.

Record Throngs Enjoy Socialist Bazaar

MILWAUKEE. — The annual Socialist bazaar which closed here Sunday night drew a crowd of 139,000 persons.

The largest auditorium in the city was jammed to capacity throughout the four days of the bazaar. On the opening night 35,000 persons attended.

The bazaar was organized to raise funds for the national United Socialist Drive, build up the local Socialist press, and place more party organizers in the state. Preliminary estimates indicate a net profit of \$25,000. Last year a much smaller bazaar cleared \$17,000.

Al Benson, former sheriff of Milwaukee and present state secretary, organized the bazaar. He was assisted by 500 volunteer workers.

Modigliani Tour Stirs Masses of Italian Workers Against Fascism

By S. Romualdi

THE recently completed nationwide speaking tour of Comrade G. E. Modigliani, under the auspices of the I.L.G.W.U., did much toward drawing the Italian labor movement into the forefront of the anti-fascist struggle. We have had in the past several instances of local unions joining in the attempt to counteract the fascist influence in our Italian colonies; but this time it was a large-scale enterprise, with the labor forces taking the lead and bringing the struggles to far-away localities where never before an opponent of Mussolini had had the opportunity to speak for the Italian labor and Socialist movement in the face of poisonous fascist propaganda.

After spending December in the large cities of the Atlantic seaboard, where Italian elements are so numerous and do represent a conspicuous part in the needle trade unions, Comrade Modigliani started this trip that took him as far as Seattle, San Francisco, and other Pacific Coast cities. It was nothing short of a triumphal march with workers of many nationalities (in some localities the Italians were in the minority) flocking to hear the message of that lovable and inspiring apostle of Italian Socialism, and learn from him the lessons of the Italian tragedy.

For Modigliani did not confine himself to an exposition of the chronological events leading to the collapse of that mighty labor movement and the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, but he endeavored to disclose the reasons which had made possible such an overturn.

The necessity of having—no matter how—the forces of government on our side when the crucial phase of the struggle come about, was masterfully illustrated by Modigliani, who reminded his audiences that he vainly fought within the Italian party for the acceptance of this fact.

"If we leave the Government in the exclusive hands of those who are prone to favor the establishment of a dictatorship, democratic guarantees will not last long." And so he went forth with the conclusion, amid the ever-increasing enthusiasm of his audiences, that in America if we want to preserve our democratic institutions the working class must enter the political field under the colors of a labor party.

The agents of Mussolini in America, known in official language as "Royal Consuls of His Majesty the King of Italy," lost many hours of sleep trying to figure out the best policy to carry out the order of their Duce to obstruct the success of the propaganda tour of his most powerful opponent.

In the East, where the anti-fascists have for years successfully met the black shirt forces, and where the I.L.G.W.U., the Amalgamated, the Textile Workers, and similar unions can muster an imposing array of strength, no attempts were made to interfere with our meetings. Among the overflowing audiences which heard Modigliani in Boston, Providence, New Haven, Union City, Passaic, Paterson, Baltimore and other places there were some agents sent to report; but how disappointing must have been their reports, as all these meetings, including those arranged by the Amalgamated in small villages such as Hammononton and Vineland, N. J., were highly successful from every viewpoint, even the financial.

In Washington, D. C., a small contingent of waiters, cooks, and doormen of the Italian Embassy made an attempt to disturb the meeting. Too bad they quickly changed their minds and so departed.

N. B. C. Uses Lovely Woman As Come-On to Break Boycott

STUNG in its most vital part—its balance sheet—by the war of organized labor, the Socialists and their supporters in the general public against its strike-breaking policy, the National Biscuit Company has started a counter-offensive in the shape of a series of alluring advertisements in the daily papers telling the world that the life of the N.B.C. worker is, in effect, a long, rapturous dream of bliss and that the bakers almost literally lie on a bed of roses.

The appearance of the large advertisements, illustrated with the picture of a young woman beautiful enough to be a come-on for a new brand of cigarette or for an old blend of whiskey, is striking evidence that the strike and the boycott have struck home. Several weeks ago housewives unwilling to purchase scab goods, and who declined N.B.C. products in retail chain stores, were met with a glib line of patter by the clerks (who appeared to have memorized what they were saying), to the effect that conditions in the N.B.C. bakeries were just splendid and that the strike was the work of "outside agitators."

Apparently that line didn't work,

prived—many notables present at the meeting, including Frank Morrison, Secretary of the A. F. of L., and Santiago Iglesias, resident commissioner of Puerto Rico in Congress, of an amusing spectacle. Successful meetings in Pittsburgh, Chicago and Milwaukee equalled those held in the East. There also a large number of unions took the lead in arranging the meetings and wanted them held under their auspices.

The real battles started on the Pacific Coast. The Italian Consul of Seattle, disturbed that for the first time an Italian anti-fascist speaker had dared to invade his domain, lost his temper and forced a committee of the Sons of Italy to cancel a reception planned in honor of Modigliani, sent his lackeys scurrying around the Italian section to take down the posters and even dared to call on the telephone the secretary of the arrangements committee to protest his interference with the peace of the Italian colony! The same consul, when informed that the Columbus Record of Portland—an Italian weekly published by an American citizen—had carried an announcement of the Modigliani meeting, bulldozed the poor fellow to the point that he destroyed a

whole issue of his paper, already in the hands of the mailer, reset the front page and reprinted the issue with no mention of course, of the impending meeting. Naturally, we had such wide publicity in the local newspapers that the meeting was attended by many more Italians than we could have possibly reached with the publicity in the Columbus Record. The Portland Oregonian, in a front page story, was able to prove the existence of such interference with the right of free speech on the part of the Italian consul of Seattle.

Minor interference took place also in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Denver, but there again labor unions sponsored the Modigliani meetings, and the interference could do nothing to prevent their success. In San Francisco, even a radio station was placed at our disposal and so Modigliani was able to broadcast his message of labor emancipation to the thousands of Italian workers and farmers scattered in the fertile valleys of that state, which resembles so much the valleys of sunny Italy.

(Next week Comrade Romualdi tells how the efforts of the notorious Vice-Consul Ugarelli to block the Modigliani meeting in Detroit were thwarted.)

Company Union Betrays Telegraphers

By our Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON.—The company union of the Western Union Telegraph Company has betrayed the workers' interests by advocating a cut in wages and an increase in hours over those accepted by

COMPANY UNION



F. G. Benton
President, Western Union Company Union

the telegraph companies under the proposed telegraph code. The action of the company union has exposed it as a wage cutter and is a good illustration of how company union work for the employees—first, last and all the time.

On January 31, after nearly two years of stalling, the Western Union and the Postal Telegraph finally agreed to submit a revised code. It provided for a 40-hour week with approximately 45 hours' pay. Included in the proposal were other clauses not acceptable to labor, but labor on the whole considered it a long step forward.

On February 16, the Western Union announced that its company union, the Association of Western Union Employees, had "agreed" to a 43-hour week with 43 hours' pay, and, therefore, the Western Union was now proposing those amendments to the first proposal. Postal is understood to have refused to join with this backward step, and is standing pat on 40 hours with 45 hours' pay, although Postal is the weaker of the two companies financially.

Frank B. Powers, international president of the Commercial Tele-

graphers' Union of North America, sent the following telegram to President Roosevelt, Secretary of Labor Perkins and Sidney Hillman:

"As representative Postal and Western Union employees affiliated with or designating Commercial Telegraphers' Union as spokesman I vigorously protest proposed telegraph code providing for 43 hours with equivalent reduction in earnings. Company union conspiring with Western Union to betray workers by agreeing that employees accept equivalent reduction earnings. Company union proposal will reduce earnings already scandalously low. Average hours now 45, hence reemployment will be nil. Urge administration not delay further in imposing decent code on this defiant industry. If this travesty to be seriously considered respectfully request legitimate representative of employees be heard."

"The company union is only playing true to form," Powers said, "and no one but the uninformed is at all surprised at this betrayal of commercial telegraph employees."

Sees End of Fake Union

"I predict that this attempt to cut wages and lower the already deplorable wage condition of telegraph workers will bring about the early death of this company union."

"We testified at a hearing before the Federal Communications Commission in December that this company union had been initiated by the Western Union Telegraph Company, and that the delegates to the first convention were paid their salaries and expenses. We also testified that the first constitution

Chester M. Wright Pictures Labor Scene in Broadcasts

WASHINGTON.—Beginning a regular weekly broadcast to be known as "The Labor Scene This Week" and which will be under his direction, Chester M. Wright, editor of International Labor News and head of Chester M. Wright and Associates, Wednesday night introduced Chairman Francis Biddle of the National Labor Relations Board and centered attention on the Wagner Bills over radio stations WEVD, New York and WOL, Washington.

The program each week will originate as a WEVD program and to that station goes all credit for the idea and its execution.

Each week Mr. Wright will review the outstanding events in the labor field and will then present a star speaker who will deal with the one outstanding issue of the hour. It is expected that other stations will join in carrying out this program.

Legislator Urges Tax on Labor-Displacing Machines

DENVER.—A federal or state tax on machinery introduced as a substitute for the labor of working men and women was urged by Assemblyman McDonald of Pueblo, a veteran member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, in a talk before the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly. Mr. McDonald stressed the fact that, although the introduction of the dial system in the telephone industry displaced thousands of women workers, there has been no reduction in telephone rates. He also said there was no reduction in street railway fares when the one-man street cars were introduced and no reduction in the price of thousands of other commodities in the production of which employers have installed machinery to take the place of labor.

MARTIAL LAW TWICE IN TWO DAYS

SIOUX FALLS, S. D.—Remaining in the plant until chased out by National Guard, sitting on the railroad siding to prevent movement of trains, the workers in the Morrell packing plant have at last expressed their indignation at slave-like conditions by striking. Although sabotaged by a number of scabs and company men, the strike is a strong one, supported by local unemployed and members of farm organizations. Sioux Falls is the headquarters of the Farmers' Emergency Relief Conference.

Petitioned by sheriffs, Chamber of Commerce, and other conservatives and strikebreakers, Governor Berry first gave a mobilization order that sent soldiers against the men in the plant, succeeding in ousting them, but the Governor said he did not mean military action in this case. He had issued the order because he had been told that "thousands of dollars' worth of meat was spoiling."

But March 13th the National Guard from seven South Dakota cities marched again, not including Sioux Falls, where many of the strikers are themselves National Guardsmen. The conservative press is playing up the influx of "agitators" from outside the state, and the fact that a number of scabs have been prevented from going to work by the strikers.

Three Big Months in the Party's Highly Important Labor Committee

By August Claessens

THE trade union contact work of a large Socialist Party local is a busy, interesting and fruitful variety of activities. In New York this work is directed by the City Executive Committee. The active duties are performed by the chairman and secretary of the Labor Committee, a sub-committee of the City Executive Committee. During the last three years this department has risen to a position of great importance in party activities.

The foundation and policy for the Labor Committee were laid during the terms of three remarkably able and clear-headed chairmen, Samuel E. Beardsley, Louis Hendin and Julius Gerber, and the vast amount of routine work was ably done by Joseph Tuvin, Abe Belsky and Jack Altman, who served as secretaries under them. Thanks to these comrades, the Labor Committee has achieved high standing in the party and has established excellent relations between the party and the trade unions. I considered myself signally honored when three months ago I was elected chairman and secretary of the Labor Committee. I am now happy to render a brief report of things done and the promise of greater accomplishments just ahead of us.

The duties of the Labor Department can be divided into three inter-related phases: Contact work with officials and individual members of trade unions; the direct service to trade unions in organization, educational and strike activities; and last but not least, important, the organization of Socialist Leagues within labor organizations and the frequent conferences of trade union Socialists.

Services Rendered

During the day a steady stream of visitors consumes many hours in a great variety of requests. Among these visitors are trade union officials seeking aid and advice; the writing of a leaflet or a set of by-laws, legal service, raising funds, obtaining contacts with other unions, finding a manager or an organizer—these are among some of the requests in the run of an average day. Then there are the garden variety of complaints by members of unions with grievances, real and fancied, most of which are usually settled by a "phone call or a letter to an official of a union. Sometimes more serious cases involving discrimination and persecution come in, and these matters are often troublesome and difficult to do much about.

A large portion of our time and energies is devoted to assisting trade unions and unorganized workers in organization work. During the last three months we have given considerable service to the cafeteria, hotel and culinary trades, the N.B.C. bakers, laundry workers, building service employees, dental mechanics, taxi drivers and other unorganized workers. Considerable help has been given to the organization drive among the Retail Clerks' Union, particularly the Butler and Reeves chain grocery clerks. Hardly a meeting is held without Henry Jager or myself as speakers, and along with the assistance of the Y.P.S.L. our efforts have received the finest appreciation.

Grateful letters from Brother Bambrick testify to the invaluable

New Rubber Strike Threat As Bosses Break Word

WILLOUGHBY, O.—Failure of the Ohio Rubber Company to observe its part of the agreement that concluded the rubber strike here last week, makes a new walk-out likely, according to Leonard Duncan, chairman of the last strike.

Duncan, who is also the local Socialist secretary, predicts widespread strikes in the rubber industry if the employers continue to discriminate against union members. He charges that the rubber companies have acquired large stocks of tear gas and ammunition for the purpose of breaking strikes by violence.

After an eleven-day strike, marked by mass picketing, the Ohio Rubber Company agreed to recognize the United Rubber Workers' Union, Local No. 18284. It has failed to re-employ all strikers, as agreed, and has placed scabs in preferred positions.

Twenty-two workers were arrested, and one, Mrs. Betty Springer, was fined \$25 and sentenced to 30 days in jail for allegedly breaking a headlight of the sheriff's automobile.

Joseph Scheppeler, a son-in-law of William Green, A. F. of L. president, is attorney for the union.

The Cleveland Rebel Arts, Socialist cultural organization, presented a series of skits at the union meeting, March 17th. Robert Dullea, Socialist state secretary, and Margaret Dullea, have been aiding the rubber union's organization campaign.

aid rendered by a large number of party members and Yipsels in the Building Service Employees' organization drive. As in the past this continuous service to trade unions has made a good reputation for the party and has brought the labor movement closer to us.

Help in Strikes

The Labor Department immediately informs every union on the call of a strike of its willingness to help, and while sometimes we are coldly received by a conservative leadership, we nevertheless prove our good faith and eventually our aid is accepted. Our City Office has given aid in practically every recent strike. Again, special mention must be made of the active industrial section of the Y.P.S.L., the Jewish Socialist Verband, and our Women's units. Among the party branches that have also given splendid help in recent strikes are the Brooklyn Downtown, the Brighton Beach, the Harlem and Bronx branches.

In the tremendously important increase in educational work undertaken by a number of trade unions and the necessity of bringing the substance of labor philosophy, history and idealism to the hordes of newly organized workers, Socialist speakers and teachers are much in demand. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Educational Department has recently made great demands upon us. A battery of Socialist teachers, among them Crosswaith, Jager, Tyler and myself, have toured circuits of locals in New York City; in Newark, South River, West New York, Passaic, New Jersey; in Mt. Vernon, Yonkers and Port Chester, N. Y.; and in Stamford, Bridgeport and New Haven, Conn.

We have also assisted in the educational activities of the Building Service Union, the Radio Workers and Wood Carvers, and other unions. While the purely political program of Socialism cannot be stressed at these meetings, we do, however, get our message across in the interpretation of capitalism, the class struggle and the limitations of trade unionism. Thousands are addressed weekly by our speakers, and any one of these meetings is worth a score of the usual campaign meetings. Here we also do reach workers, men and women, whom we could not possibly contact elsewhere.

Finally, I must describe another phase of our work, and this is by far our most fruitful achievement. Under the chairmanship of Louis Hendin there were organized the Socialist Trade Union Leagues within a number of trade unions. This was an extremely delicate venture, and because of the Communist exploits and damage in this field the Socialist plan met with hostility and suspicion within the party and among the trade unions.

Would this venture foster the formation of organized groups and cliques in the unions? Would it add one more "club" to the confusion of "clubs" in some unions? Would the Leagues work for the election of Socialist officials regardless of ability and bring in outside influence upon internal union affairs? In a word, were we going to imitate the stupidities of the Communists and share their dubious glories?

League Experiment

Resentment against such a policy on our part would have led to serious reactions. After all, no trade union will countenance direction by any outside body any more than our party would like to have its members instructed on internal party matters by union officials. Here, then, arose a series of provoking questions.

Our party and its Labor Department must these inquiries successfully. Leagues have been and will be organized within unions where their function is understood and

appreciated. In other unions, and for sufficient reasons, they have not been attempted. Nevertheless, we do call meetings of Socialists of every union where we have members, and to all intents and purposes these gatherings do practically the same work as the formally organized Leagues.

The aims and purposes in these frequent gatherings of trade union Socialists are fourfold:

First—To increase Socialist membership and propaganda among the rank and file of the union.

Second—By doing so we also aim to achieve a better understanding of the philosophy and program of the labor movement and develop a finer idealism and spirit of service among the membership. An increasing alertness and understanding of trade union duties is the best safeguard against the apathy and indifference of a rank and file that makes possible so many evils in a trade union.

Third—The increase of Socialists and Socialist sentiment in a union leads to a better relationship between that union and its affiliated locals and their national or international bodies, and it is the Socialists in the union who must arouse the feeling of solidarity for workers everywhere and in every struggle.

Fourth—These Socialist Leagues also concern themselves with the conduct of their union, its officials and its problems. Socialists can at least be responsible for the conduct of Socialists in their union. They must work for a clean and democratic organization, an honest and efficient officialdom and an aggressive, class-conscious and militant policy. To attain these ends and to overcome the many obstacles in the road, we sometimes find a division of opinion among Socialists themselves in the same union. There are Utopian souls who yearn for a "definite labor policy" and a "rigid discipline" to govern such cases. They forget that policies do not make conditions as often as conditions create policies. And that a rigid discipline is possible only under a dictatorship. In a democratic movement we get an infinitely better efficiency by persuasion, tact and understanding rather than by compulsion.

Unionists Join Party

During the last three months frequent meetings have been held with our members in Locals 10, 17, 22 of the I.L.G.W.U.; Local 338, Grocery Clerks; Local 25, A.C.W.A., and with our members in the Teachers, Musicians, Motion Picture Operators, Boot and Shoe, Butchers, Furriers, Painters, Milliners, Building Service Employees, and some smaller unions. To achieve our best aims, it becomes obvious at these meetings that our effectiveness and influence depend upon a larger party membership in these unions, and it is surely heartening to report that the Labor Department is now the best recruiting instrument for an increased party membership.

And as these hundreds of trade unionists come into our party they will bring in that proletarian base and average working-class sense so refreshingly different from the pseudo-revolutionary nonsense that is cursing us at the present moment. Through this influx of trade unionists into the Socialist Party in industrial centers we will become more truly a Labor party and furnish an excellent basis for a larger Labor Party if such an organization may be formed in the near future.

And lastly, this more wholesome relation between us and the unions will also eventually break down the barriers that have too long separated us, and must in time establish that intimate contact and fraternal cooperation that characterizes the powerful Socialist movement in every country but our own.

UNION DIRECTORY

BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS, TUCKERS, STITCHERS AND PLEATERS' UNION, Local 66, I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St. Phone ALgonquin 4-3601. Executive Board meets every Tuesday night in the office of the Union. L. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; I. A. Barkinsky, Sec'y/Treas.

CAP MAKERS UNION, Local No. 1, Tel. Orchard 4-8860.—Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Ave., New York City.

CLOAK, DRESS, DRIVERS' & HELPERS' UNION, Local 102, I.L.G.W.U., Affiliated with A. F. of L., 131 West 33rd St., Clifton 4-3831.—Saul Metz, Manager.

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

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

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union, 99 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn; STAG 2-0798. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice-President, Stephen Tobasco; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Heib.

JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAIST-MAKERS' UNION.—Offices: 232 West 40th St., N.Y.C. Tel. Longacre 5-3100. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening; Joint Board meets every Wednesday evening in the Council Room at 218 W. 40th St. Julius Hochman, Gen. Mgr.; Philip Kapp, Sec'y/Treas.

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

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, I.L.G.W.U., Office, 60 West 35th St.; Phone, WI 7-6011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmund Perlmutter, Mgr.; Sec'y, Louis Stolberg, Asst. Mgr.; Maurice W. Jacobs, Sec'y to Exec. Board; Nathan Saperstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24, Cloth Hat Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, Downtown office, 640 Broadway; phone, SPring 7-4545; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St.; phone, WI 7-3276. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 o'clock. Manager, N. Spector; Secretary, O'Connell; Treasurer, J. H. Goldberg; A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodas.

UNITED NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone, ALgonquin 4-7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every 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 4-5483.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 62 of I.L.G.W.U., 875 Broadway, New York City. Telephone, ALgonquin 4-1851. S. Shore, Manager.