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NEW LEADER

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WITH WHICH IS
COMBINED

The American
Appeal

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

Gigantic Labor Struggle Looms as Workers Prepare For New Walkouts in Nation's Leading Industries

Five Socialists Enter New Government of Belgium

Emile Vandervelde Heads Delegation in the Van Zeeland Ministry—Socialists Win Great Victory in Blocking Bankers' Government—Henri De Man to Be Minister of Public Works.

LAST week we reported the entry of the Socialist Party into control of the government of Norway; today we report the entry of the powerful Socialist Party into partnership in the government of Belgium through the appointment of Emile Vandervelde, and four other Socialists to the new Van Zeeland ministry.

The Belgian Socialists have won their fight, details of which were printed in this paper last week, to oust the bankers' government headed by Premier Theunis, and to prevent another bankers' government, headed by either former Premier Henri Jaspar or the sinister Emil Francqui, from taking over control of the country. The blocking of such bankers' governments was a remarkable victory for the party, working in the closest cooperation with the unions.

The Socialist Ministers

The leaders of the three Belgian parties become Ministers without Portfolio, the Socialists being represented by their revered leader, Emile Vandervelde, who was for a short time Premier in the immediate post-war period. Comrade Vandervelde, affectionately known in his party as *le patron*, is one of the leading Socialists of the world and is Chairman of the Labor and Socialist International.

The other Socialist Ministers are Eugene Soudan, Justice; P. T. Spaak, Transport; Henri De Man, Public Works, and Achille De Lattre, Labor.

The new Belgian government, headed by Professor Paul Van Zeeland, in addition to the Socialists, contains three Liberals and six Catholics, besides the Premier, who is a Liberal, following approximately the complexion of the Chamber of Deputies, which contains 73 Socialists, 79 Catholics and 24 Liberals, besides 8 Flemish Nationalists and three Communists. In the Senate there are 70 Socialists, 76 Catholics and 28 Liberals.

Downfall of Bankers

The Socialist Party and the trade unions caused the downfall of the Theunis government by attacking its policy of slavish subservience to the bankers and callous disregard of the welfare of the masses. The Socialists continued to hold out against any and all proposed governments until Professor Van Zeeland was entrusted with the job of forming a government on what is roughly and somewhat inaccurately called a New Deal basis.

The Socialist party, in accepting five cabinet seats, assumes responsibility for the government as long as it seeks to reorganize the economic life of the country on the basis of human welfare. It will be a bulwark against any attempt to employ the powers of government in the interest of the bankers and industrialists.

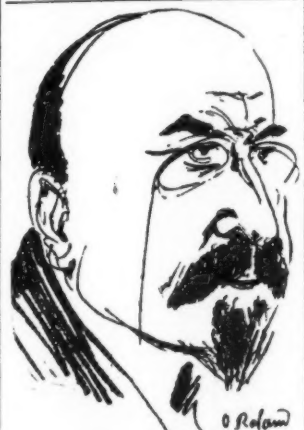
De Man's Plan

There is great significance in the fact that the new cabinet includes Henri De Man as Minister of Public Works. De Man is Vice-Chairman of the Socialist Party and is author of the famous Plan adopted by the party a year ago. The Plan is a detailed blueprint of the conversion of Belgium into a Socialist commonwealth through the political machinery of the state. Comrade De Man, for many years a professor in a German university, returned to Belgium after Hitler came into power and immediately began propaganda within the party for his Plan, which is now the program of the party.

It is significant that the highly important portfolios of Justice, Public Works, Labor and Transport are in Socialist hands.

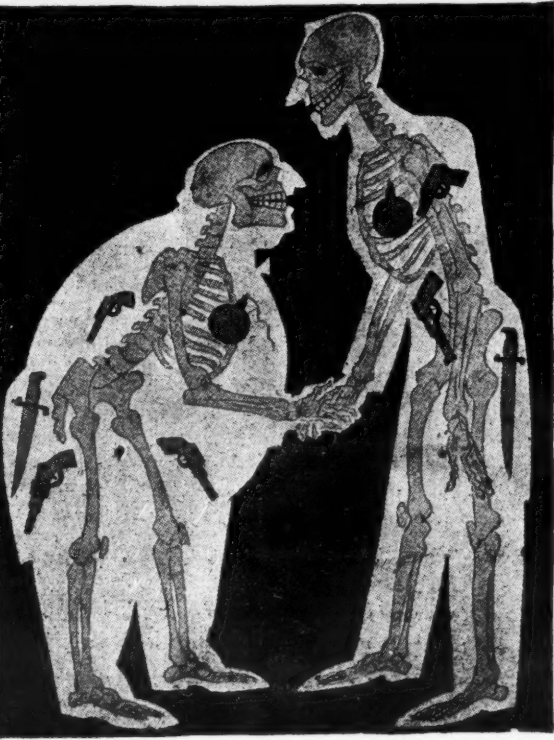
The Socialists, more powerful today in Belgium than ever before in their history, are likewise more aggressive and uncompromising than ever before. Backed 100 per cent by the mighty trade unions and the great cooperatives, they constitute the greatest single force in the life of that country. They are prepared at any time to take over full power and immediately begin to install their Plan, following an election victory.

They are steadfastly opposed to holding office for the sake of holding office. But they enter the present government on the understanding that they will be able to put their Socialist ideas into effect for immediate amelioration, and to lay the foundations for a Socialist state in the not far distant future.



Emile Vandervelde

The Diplomats Meet to Discuss Peace



Europe's Workers Prepare To Meet War Menace With Conquest of Power

WHILE in the United States labor is preparing for new historic battles which may before long move it into the field of independent political action, in Europe the workers are on the march. Fighting against the overwhelming odds of economic disintegration, unemployment and fascism, they are nevertheless holding the positions they retain and are resuming the offensive.

The gravest peril confronting Europe and the world is, of course, the possibility that Hitler's insane policies might lead to war. The Socialist and labor movements of the democratic countries, as well as those groaning under fascist tyranny, are taking that fact into consideration when they plan for the immediate and the not-so-immediate future.

No one can foretell with certainty what tomorrow may bring, but the battle continues with increasing hope in ultimate victory.

Only defeatists who cover their defeatism in pseudo-revolutionary criticism and give expression to it by fanning discord and disunity stand aside from the main stream of the movement in England, France, the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia.

Politically and psychologically the reorganization of the Belgian government with Socialist participation, reported elsewhere on this page, coming so soon upon the assumption of control in Norway by the Labor Party, is an event of no inconsiderable importance. With governments headed by Socialists in the three Scandinavian countries, and the entry of the Socialists into the Belgian cabinet, we now have a solid block of small nations, with a total population of nearly 21,000,000, in which democracy and Socialism play a leading, directing role. This is all to the good, both as a positive factor in Europe's grave international situation and as an additional balancing force against the weight of Hitlerism.

Coupled with the expected return of the British Labor Party to power, we may now look forward to the consolidation of the forces of democracy and labor in Western Europe, while those of fascism, struggling to maintain themselves against rising disillusionment and increasing economic difficulties generated by stupid and reactionary policies, are more and more being put on the defensive.

The growing mobilization and consolidation of anti-fascist political, economic and moral forces in defense of democracy and social

(Continued on Page Three)

Strikes in the Coal, Textile and Other Industries Impend as Unions Press Demands; Million Men on Move

By John Powers

WHILE outwardly organized labor has concluded a truce with the administration after a period of drifting apart between the A. F. of L. and the government, preparations are under way in many important industries for new historic battles in labor's struggle for emancipation. We have little confidence in the "truce," which promises to prove nothing more than a prelude to another series of bitter industrial conflicts in which labor will seek to obtain its just due, but which neither the government nor employers will grant without a fight. More and more it is becoming apparent that independent political

action, the mobilization of labor's political power in a party of its own, is the weapon which, together with organization on the economic field, labor must use in order to achieve its ends.

On the day when organized labor realizes this great truth, a new chapter in American history will begin.

Last week the administration made a feeble gesture in the direction of labor by granting it equal representation with industry on the National Industrial Recovery Board pending reorganization of the NRA by Congress. In addition to Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, labor will now also be represented by Philip Murray, vice-president of the United Mine Workers. On the other hand, Donald R. Richberg, director of the National Emergency Council, who has been so bitterly attacked for knifing labor on the question of collective bargaining and methods of representation in dealing with employers, is to be acting chairman of the NIRE while Congress struggles with the proposed NRA reorganization.

Mr. Richberg, it will be remembered, was attacked by John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. "Mr. Richberg sold labor down the river," Mr. Lewis told the committee while testifying in favor of the Wagner labor disputes act, which would outlaw the company-dominated union and make majority rule in the election of collective bargaining representatives a part of the law.

Nullifying Majority Rule

In justifying his indictment, Lewis said Richberg had confessed to the NRA Labor Advisory Board that he had written the executive order issued by President Roosevelt February 1, 1934, favoring the principle of majority rule in collective bargaining, but that three days later he made public an interpretation signed by himself and General Hugh S. Johnson, the then recovery administrator, nullifying majority rule by stating that minorities as well as individuals might bargain collectively.

Mr. Lewis declared that the Richberg-Johnson interpretation rendered futile the attempt of the National Labor Relations Board to apply the principle of majority rule in subsequent decisions and added impetus to the endeavor of industry to promote company unions designed to wreck genuine labor organization. He pointed out that "proportional representation" imposed upon the workers in the automobile industry was the direct outcome of Mr. Richberg's fallacious interpretation of Section 7A.

"I say that Mr. Richberg betrayed labor," Mr. Lewis charged.

And now the same Mr. Richberg is acting head of the National

Industrial Recovery Board, with little consolation for labor, it seems to us, in the fact that Mr. Murray will be there to help Mr. Hillman keep an eye on him. Mr. Richberg is a slippery individual.

While the administration is thus going through the motions of appeasing labor and labor is going through the motions of trying to patch up its rift with Mr. Roosevelt, unrest is mounting in the coal industry, among textile workers, in the automobile and rubber industries, among the seamen on the Pacific coast, in the cigarette and tobacco industry, among metal miners, needle trade workers, meat packers and shoe workers.

Labor Impatient

The government's own investigators and conciliators from the Department of Labor report a rapid diminution in the faith of organized workers in the honesty and efficacy of the regional labor boards and the government's labor policy. Demands for action are heard from many directions, and indications are that a new wave of strikes will soon be upon us. The rank and file of labor is getting more and more impatient in the face of the futility of governmental mediatory agencies and the relentless pressure of the problems of wages, hours and working conditions clamoring for adjustment.

Most prominent for the moment is the strike threat in the bituminous coal industry, where the agreement between the United Mine Workers and the operators expires within a few days. Negotiations for a new agreement have been under way since February 18, but the progress has been so slow that a stoppage of at least a month seems inevitable. Will 500,000 bituminous miners leave the pits at the end of the coming week? In some circles it is believed that only direct intervention by the President and the speeding up of negotiations in a manner that gives confidence to the miners can avert the walkout.

The Coal Code

The demands of the union are the six-hour day and five-day week as against the prevailing seven-hour day and five-day week. The union also demands wage increases. The operators in the Appalachian area, which produces 70 per cent of the nation's coal, offer renewal of the present agreement for another year, with virtually no alteration in the prevailing wage rates.

The situation in the bituminous coal industry as a whole has again assumed an ominous character. This is one of the few industries that has profited in efficiency, organization and work standards under NRA, thanks to the pressure which the powerful United Mine Workers of America has been able to exert.

Under the bituminous coal code, (Continued on Page Five)

Labor's Need of Own Party Shown by Fate of 7A

The following article gains increased importance from the fact that it was written by a man high in the councils of the Recovery Administration, whose identity cannot at this time be made public.—Editor.

THE Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board testifying recently before the Senate committee on behalf of the Wagner Labor Disputes Act, declared that Section 7A is "dead," that if the Wagner bill is not passed the National and Regional Labor Boards throughout the country "might just as well pack up and go home." This is undoubtedly true, but let us see how this situation has come to pass.

In the summer of 1933 there was great enthusiasm over NRA, and everywhere one heard the statement by prominent government officials that the NRA could only be "enforced by organized labor." Yet from the outset the government was reluctant and hesitant about testing the strength of Section 7A in the courts. Typical of the government attitude at that time was the failure

to take any aggressive action in the Weirton case, in the Fifth Avenue Coach case and in countless others at a time when public trust and confidence in the entire NRA program, including the new rights given to organized labor, were real and hopes high. Now that industry has rallied from the first shock of the depression it has united to defeat organized labor.

If the President had in those early days told the Department of Justice that he wanted Section 7A enforced, there can be no doubt that it would and could have been enforced even in its present form. But this the President did not do.

His hesitancy then and continued vacillation have resulted in a gradual but complete breakdown of the effectiveness of the labor boards throughout the country.

Gradually more emphasis was laid on "self-government by industry," and we had the spectacle of the industrial board set up under Textile Code Authority referring complaints back to the employer without any pretense at investigation or at protection of the identity of the complainant. Consequently numberless workers in textile mills were fired summarily because they dared to complain about wages or hours guaranteed them under the code. Organization of the workers in the United Textile Workers' Union grew apace, then came the great textile

strike of last fall. It was publicly recognized then even by the President that industry could not be left to govern itself, and therefore a separate Textile Labor Relations Board was established. But this, too, has crumbled. A great many workers have not been reinstated since the textile strike. Many of the leaders of the strike will never be reemployed.

Again the President dealt a blow at the very vitals of Section 7A when he imposed the Automobile Labor Board on that industry over the protest of the American Federation of Labor. In Tarrytown, N. Y., where a strike took place a year ago in the Chevrolet and Fisher Body plants, the leaders are still unemployed. They have journeyed to Detroit to lay their case before the Automobile Labor Board, but without satisfaction or, indeed, justice.

The Regional Labor Boards with their bipartisan set-up of employers on the one side and labor on the other have resulted in increasing class-consciousness, leaving the impartial chairman to decide upon cases. Too often these "impartial" chairmen, drawn from the group of lawyers or college professors in the community, have either been swayed by economic expediency or have been well-meaning liberals without any first-hand knowledge of the problems of labor organizations. They have sought to preserve

peace, sacrificing principle where that was necessary, or at least compromising with the law which they were supposed to enforce. In those rare instances where a local Regional Labor Board has been realistic and has taken its job of enforcing Section 7A seriously, there have been repercussions from Washington. The administration does not want Section 7A enforced. It never did want Section 7A taken seriously. It was merely a sop to labor, offered when the government needed the cooperation of all groups.

Unfortunately, hundreds of thousands of workers took Section 7A seriously, and have even expressed their belief saying, "The President told us to join a union"; they cannot understand why when they are fired for joining a union they stay fired.

The policy of offering "sops" to labor continues. The much vaunted Social Security Program of the President, issued with many high-sounding and pious statements from Secretary Perkins and the President, is an attempt to sell the country a completely unrealistic program which will keep the masses hypnotized in the belief that the President is a friend of the workman, while at the same time he keeps the capitalist group secure in the belief and knowledge that he is not going to play the game of organized labor.

The workers must now face the facts. They cannot expect help from well-meaning "liberals" in the government at Washington. They get no real help from "liberals" who by and large are motivated by emotionalism, by unthinking acceptance of high-sounding phrases, who speak in large generalities of social welfare, but who completely lack a grasp of the fundamentals of the trade union movement, and who conveniently ignore the history of legislation which was designed to help labor.

Labor will accomplish little or nothing without strong organization. The codes themselves point to this conclusion. The only codes that provided more than a \$12 to \$4 minimum wage were those in industries in which labor was well organized long before the NRA, such as the garment trades and the printing trades. These are the industries in which there has been real enforcement of NRA wage and hour provisions.

Study a few of the strike settlements since the NRA. Only in those strikes where labor was well organized, had a war chest for strike benefits and could keep the workers out until their demands were met has there been any real settlement. The recent building service employees' strike in New York City was an example of this. In the garment center the building employees (Continued on Page Six)

Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

A Letter and Two Resolutions

WE have received a letter and two resolutions adopted by the Creek County Local of the Socialist Party in Oklahoma which has also been sent to each member of the National Executive Committee. The text of the letter is based upon dissent with the American Guardian using "its influence to direct the party into some third party camp" and it also declares that perhaps I am "in full accord with the fusion movement now under way." He disagrees with the Texas Socialist organization which, he declares, favors "cooperation with groups of farmers, workers and the middle class in setting up a mass party of the producers."

The two county resolutions may be summarized as follows: One opposes Socialist fusion "with, or support of, any third party group" and holds that the party must remain intact to carry on its fundamental educational work. It adds that if we do this "it will be possible to force through the administration of other parties in power the establishment of the Socialist society." It favors "slogans" and declares that the party must enforce "the interpretation of such slogans."

The second resolution relates to an experiment to be undertaken by the party in Creek County in a few localities. It will build "upon revolutionary slogans" but will take no part in political struggles. For organization purposes the resolution recommends "Production for Use Forum" as the title of unit organization in these localities. The forums will serve as discussion agencies for "all political faiths and issues" and for "protests against existing conditions" as well as demanding "better treatment." Out of these forums will come petitions "to law-making bodies, and even laws may be drafted for the action of legislative bodies, but the organization shall never dictate the vote of its members on election days."

Confusion and More Confusion

THIS is the substance of the letter and the two resolutions, and we shall deal with them frankly. We begin by saying that no one will question the sincerity of the authors of the documents. They are based upon an earnest desire to find a way out of the present party confusion, but the last sentence quoted above shows that these party members have landed in still worse confusion. These party members object to the dissipation of party energy in the effort to establish a third party and then expend energy in building these forums. Moreover, in establishing the forums they specifically provide for no unity of political action by their members. These members are to vote for any candidates of any political party that may appeal to them. In the effort to avoid confusion they remind us of Hegel's "out of nothing, through nothing, to nothing."

With this political futility is another form of action that leads to the same thing. One resolution is based upon the belief that other parties may be forced to establish a Socialist society. This ignores the class basis of political parties and assumes that a party representing persons, groups and classes having big or substantial stakes in capitalism can be induced to abolish it by pressure groups. There is nothing in the history of political and economic struggles to warrant this conclusion. To cultivate this belief is to confirm in the minds of millions of workers the belief that ultimately their emancipation from class exploitation will come from a party of capitalism. It is our duty to destroy this belief, not to foster it.

The Workers and Middle Classes

AS for the Texas resolution, its meaning is not in conflict with Socialist aims, although we believe that its text could have been improved. For example, we want a party that represents the wage workers and farmers and that will include these working masses as the basis of a political movement that will fight their battles, but the resolution should have read "working farmers" to distinguish these workers from the owners of large farms that exploit labor. While it is also necessary to win members of the middle class, as the rise of fascism in Europe has shown, it is necessary to define what elements of the middle class we have in mind.

The reason for this is that certain sections of the middle class are, as a rule, reactionary and they constitute a barren field for Socialist recruits. The lower sections of the middle class—the little shopkeepers and storekeepers, owner of a few acres of land and living on a low level of income, etc.—offer a field for Socialist education that is more favorable. They cannot recover their stakes in the old capitalism while the upper sections of the middle class live in this hope. As long as they have better incomes than those of their class on a low level, the upper sections of this class will, on the whole, remain conservative. The Texas resolution would have been more satisfactory had it drawn this distinction by saying the "lower middle class." No doubt, this is what Texas Socialists mean, and in this sense their resolution is in accord with modern Socialist thought.

Finally, the editor is asked whether he favors a "fusion movement." The answer is, No. Fusion implies trading with the enemy parties for some temporary gains. This is in general ruled out by all intelligent Socialists. He is ranged against fusion with such "reform" parties as the LaGuardia administration in New York City, which is already revealing cracks because of the diverse elements out of which it was constructed—Republicans, Democrats, independents, liberals, etc.

Fusion vs. Uniting the Working Masses

HOWEVER, while ruling out this fusion, there is another problem facing us which is not one of fusion with capitalist parties or the elements enumerated above, but of uniting the wage working class of the cities, the working farmers, and such elements of the lower middle classes as can be won for a working class party. If to obtain this unity it is necessary for the Socialist Party to participate in a political federation formed by the trade unions and organizations of working farmers, it will be the duty of the party to cooperate. The party should not assume a sectarian attitude by standing outside of such a federation and fighting it.

This means uniting the basic elements of the organized workers of the nation, not fusing with bourgeois parties or reform movements of disgruntled Republicans, Democrats, independents, liberals, etc. This view rules out the two ideas of the Creek County Local of maintaining the party as a sectarian group expecting some non-Socialist administration to usher in a Socialist society and the program of organizing debating forums with members voting for candidates representing differing parties and ideas.

We hope that we have made our position clear. Unless we work to get the vast laboring masses into a movement for independent political action for themselves, we will be on the wrong track. This is our basic task and to it we must give all our time and energy.

P. M. A. SPONSORS VICIOUS ANTI-LABOR LEGISLATION

CHICAGO. — The Progressive Miners of Illinois, a dual union to the United Mine Workers supported by some radicals, Communists and "left" Socialists a few years ago, is sponsoring a bill in the Illinois Legislature for the "settlement of labor disputes" which is one of the most reactionary measures ever introduced in a state legislature. If the bill passes it will place every trade union at the mercy of county Circuit Court judges and virtually Hitlerize the trade unions.

The Chicago Federation of Labor has denounced the bill in ringing resolutions as a "rotten attempt to destroy the entire labor movement of Illinois," adding that no local union affiliated with a national or international union could live one month under the terms of this bill.

Speaking to the Chicago Federa-

tion of Labor last week on this bill, Allan Haywood, a vice-president of the State Federation of Labor, in part said:

"Guided by an attorney whose reputation for fairness towards Labor is very questionable, Illinois politicians on behalf of Big Business are attempting to destroy the whole labor movement in their efforts to destroy the United Mine Workers of America, which organization has sent to every labor union a photostatic copy of the letterhead of the Progressive Trades and Labor Unions of America which is a part of the dual movement that has sought to supplant the United Mine Workers of America, and now seeks to supplant the American Federation of Labor."

"This bill was introduced in the senate by Senator Stutzie, who comes from a so-called Progressive

territory. In parts of the bill he turns over the affairs of the labor movement to circuit judges. He says this is not intended to make company unions. His plan is to hold elections in plants and which ever way the election goes, it is to hold good for two years."

If a plant should vote itself non-union, your organizer would not be allowed to go into that plant for two years. If this plan went into effect, every shop could have a union of its own—every barber shop, etc. This would take the labor movement back a hundred years or more."

"What kind of a condition would we have if this bill became a law in Illinois? The shop owner could run his shop with a strike-breaking crew and remove them to another shop, and the same is true of every factory and every mill and mine. This is the greatest open-shop attempt ever made in this country!"

The delegates were roused to a fury by the dastardly attempt to destroy the Illinois trade unions and will mobilize the whole labor movement of the state to defeat it. The Federation also sent a letter to the Governor declaring that he will be held responsible if the legislation passes.

The Demagogy and Fallacy of Huey Long

What About His "Redistribution" Plan?—By Irving B. Altman

THANKS to the present demagogy the American people are now consuming more economic opium than they have in generations before. The opium is smuggled into their minds under the false labels of EPIC, Old Age - Revolving - Pension - Plan, Social Justice, and Share-Our-Wealth. One sniff of the latter and every man becomes a king (and every woman a queen). In a previous article we took occasion to analyze the so-called Townsend Plan. Now let us direct our attention to the "Share-Our-Wealth" plan sponsored by the Louisiana Kingfish.

When we look at Townsend, Sinclair and Coughlin in the light of Senator Huey Pierce Long, they appear to be but innocent babes lost in the political woods. Huey is much smarter than the two California boys and the monetary expert of Royal Oak, Michigan. The Sinclair idea to steal the act from the Democrats and to patch up the broken down capitalist system by makeshift arrangements is more or less a localized affair. The Townsend Plan, as was inevitable, proved to be an economic mirage and is now gradually passing into history. Amen! Father Coughlin's attack on the International Bankers and his demand for monetary reform undoubtedly has given him a large following.

The typical American, particularly the Westerner, has always enjoyed listening to harangues directed against finance capitalism. The money question has been a pivotal one in American politics since the birth of the Republic. But money, like a physician's prescription, has always been a thing of mystery to our people. Coughlin's discourses are interesting but not stimulating, at least not in the political sense. Huey Long's stuff is far more appetizing. Here is a program you can set to music—Every Man a King.

The Long Program
You can find out what Huey proposes by reading a pamphlet prepared by himself and widely ballyhooed by himself. On page

one is the following statement of principles and platform:

1. To limit poverty by providing that every deserving family shall share in the wealth of America for not less than one-third of the average wealth, thereby to possess not less than \$5,000 free of debt.
2. To limit fortunes to such few millions as will allow the balance of the American people to share in the wealth and profits of the land.
3. Old-age pensions of \$30 per month to persons over sixty who do not earn as much as \$1,000 per year or who possess less than \$10,000 in cash or property, thereby to remove from the field of labor in times of unemployment those who have contributed their share to the public service.
4. To limit the hours of work to such an extent as to prevent overproduction and to give the workers of America some share in the recreations, conveniences, and luxuries of life.
5. To balance agricultural production with what can be sold and consumed according to the laws of God, which have never failed.
6. To care for the veterans of our wars.
7. Taxation to run the government to be supported, first, by reducing big fortunes from the top, thereby to improve the country and provide employment in public works whenever agricultural surplus is such as to render unnecessary, in whole or in part, any particular crop.

The average wealth of the United States (1923-1932) has been estimated to be around 240 billion dollars. The present estimated wealth is about 270 billion dollars. As a bookkeeping transaction it is possible to divide this wealth among the 27 million families, thus giving each family ten thousand

million families in the United States requiring an additional four thousand dollars to make up the minimum of five thousand dollars per family. This distribution of wealth disposes of 100 billion, and the remaining 65 billion, of the total of 165 billion to be derived from a capital levy and inheritance taxes, would provide college educations for the young and old age pensions to persons over sixty years.

Huey's Main Trouble
The main trouble with the Senator's plan is that under the capitalist system you cannot divide the wealth of the country. Capitalist organization of society does not permit a division of the wealth.

Just how can you go about dividing the corporate wealth of the nation? How can you divide up the U. S. Steel Corporation or the

other unions. Beyond running thirty one- or two-day institutes each year in the various states jointly with the orthodox universities, the Workers' Education Bureau has done all too little for workers' education since it expelled Brookwood and other live elements in 1929. (To the credit of The New Leader was its stand in opposition to this process.)

Recently the W.E.B., thanks to a grant received from the FERA, appointed four directors, one Pacific, one Western, one for the East and one liaison officer with the FERA program. Of late the W.E.B. has tried to assist the federal unions in New York and other cities to develop classes in trade union methods and tactics. Just recently, the Western regional director of the W.E.B., Dr. Paul L. Vogt, has been shifted to Detroit to give assistance in special education activity among the auto workers.

The American Federationist local reports indicate, however, a wide spread of workers' education under FERA auspices. The American Federation of Hosiery Workers and the I.L.G.W.U. give examples to

able number of "dangerous ideas" by classes and summer conferences on labor problems, etc.

The I.L.G.W.U. spring schedule 1935 showed 47 classes in social science topics; 38 classes in physical training; 24 classes in vocal and instrumental music, and 28 classes in English, literature, drama and public speaking. These are chiefly in Greater New York and do not include Chicago, St. Louis, Seattle and other centers. Add the classes of the Women's Trade Union League and the Workers' Circle, the Highlander Folk School, the Workers' Education Bureau, and the total seems tragically small to combat the potential dangers of fascism which thrives on economic ignorance.

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IRVING B. ALTMAN

IRVING B. ALTMAN, noted financial expert and writer and lecturer on economic subjects, is a former bank official; chairman of the Executive Board of the National Association for Credit Control, an organization of economists advocating the government ownership of banking; editor of The People's Money, a monthly publication dealing with money, banking, credit, debts, taxation and social and economic security programs; active member of many progressive and radical organizations. He is a life-long Socialist, and his writings on financial and economic subjects will continue to appear in these pages.

Huey figures there are 25 million families in the United States requiring an additional four thousand dollars to make up the minimum of five thousand dollars per family. This distribution of wealth disposes of 100 billion, and the remaining 65 billion, of the total of 165 billion to be derived from a capital levy and inheritance taxes, would provide college educations for the young and old age pensions to persons over sixty years.

Huey's Main Trouble
The main trouble with the Senator's plan is that under the capitalist system you cannot divide the wealth of the country. Capitalist organization of society does not permit a division of the wealth.

Just how can you go about dividing the corporate wealth of the nation? How can you divide up the U. S. Steel Corporation or the

other unions. Beyond running thirty one- or two-day institutes each year in the various states jointly with the orthodox universities, the Workers' Education Bureau has done all too little for workers' education since it expelled Brookwood and other live elements in 1929. (To the credit of The New Leader was its stand in opposition to this process.)

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Dictatorship of the Proletariat

From Utopianism to Realism. By *K. Kautsky*

By Karl Kautsky

KARL MARX was not the only one to speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This idea is much older than Marxism. It represents the oldest, most primitive form of a revolutionary Socialism which sought to emancipate the working people from exploitation and slavery not through peaceful socialistic settlements, colonies or mutual aid associations (another form of primitive Socialism) but by means of forcible seizure of power. This idea is related to the Jacobin reign of terror in the French Revolution.

"Crude Levelers"

It was Francois ("Gracchus") Babeuf who after the overthrow of Robespierre sought to rally the remnants of the Montagnards to combat the rising capitalist regime and to supplant it with a Socialism of "crude leveling" (Marx). He organized "The Conspiracy of the Equals," which set before itself the task of overthrowing the capitalist government by means of an uprising of the propertyless and putting a Communist regime in its

place. Such a regime was to bring about complete democracy, but not immediately. Experience has shown that the workers permitted themselves to be led by the nose by men of property and education.

The conspirators feared that through democracy the poor, ignorant people would once more fall victim to the influences. For this reason a dictatorship was to be established by means of a popular revolution. Freedom of the press was to be abolished, and no publications were to be tolerated "which contradict the sacred principles of equality and the sovereignty of the people," the steering committee, of course, being empowered to determine what was in contradiction with these principles. There were to be popular elections, but only after equality had been thoroughly established.

This was intended to be a dictatorship for "the transition period between the capitalist and Communist society." It was to be a proletarian dictatorship, but not the dictatorship of the proletariat, since the proletariat was as yet too ignorant and unable to defend its own interests. It was to be a dictatorship of "little fathers" and spokesmen of the proletariat. The recently coined expression "an educational dictatorship" (*Erziehungs-*

diktatur) fits very well this form of government.

The dictatorship of Babeuf was not designed to be a political state emanating from democracy, the offspring of an adequate, high level of proletarian development, but a form of government which, in view of the backwardness of the proletariat, would seek at "all costs to defend the interests of the workers, ruthlessly and in most extreme manner possible. It emanated from the conviction that democracy as a means of emancipation of the workers must fail because the proletariat itself had failed, because it was incapable of emancipating itself.

Conspiracy of Equals

The "Conspiracy of Equals" was uncovered, and Babeuf was executed (1797). But his conception of the dictatorship of spokesmen of the proletariat as the sole instrument for the realization of Socialism did not die with him. It was the product of certain specific conditions. Capitalist production left the masses of the working people no escape from their misery other than a transition to a Socialistic mode of production. Only the power of the state could cope with capital. But under the rule of capital the proletariat found itself immersed in such misery that

it lacked the capacity to achieve and to hold political power.

Wherever such conditions have existed and an opportunity arose, or appeared to exist, for the overthrow of the prevailing regime by insurrection, the idea of such a dictatorship made itself manifest, taking its root from the backwardness and helplessness of the proletariat, not from any high degree of the proletariat's intellectual and moral power and independence.

When the labor movement began to develop in France after the revolution of July, 1830, the workers turned to the same problem of how to put an immediate end to their misery. Most of them agreed that they had nothing to expect from the bourgeoisie. They wanted to bring about Socialism immediately, by means of their own efforts.

The July revolution stimulated in the workers of Paris the belief in the power of the barricade. This led to a revival of Babeuf's idea in Blanquism.

But not all Socialists were Blanquistly inclined. Some affiliated themselves with Louis Blanc, who believed fervently in the democratic republic. Were not the poor and disinherited a great majority of the nation? All that was necessary was to provide them with universal, free and equal suffrage, a sovereign parliament and complete freedom of press and organization, and no power in the state could stem their march to Socialism. Louis Blanc failed to perceive, however, that this achievement required a highly developed proletariat, for the development of which there had been little impetus before 1848.

Proudhon's Ideas

Proudhon was opposed to both these tendencies. He perceived that under the then existing conditions the proletariat could not achieve victory through democracy, but he feared no less the dictatorship of a Socialist minority ruling through an all-powerful state apparatus. He, too, considered the proletariat as he found it, rather than as it became, incapable of influencing the policy might become. He regarded it as of the state and to master it, and yet he felt that the emancipation of the workers could be accomplished only by the workers themselves. To make this possible he sought to simplify the problem. The proletarians, he argued, could not pursue an independent state policy of their own; on the other hand they could master the problems of the individual communities. He thus sought to arrive at Socialism by dissolution of the state into a network of sovereign communities.

Marx's Ideas

These, in brief, were the various tendencies dominant among Socialists when Marx began to think as a Socialist. He had never been in doubt as to the hopelessness of bourgeois-philanthropic utopianism. The only Socialism he took seriously was the Socialism emanating from the labor movement. Very soon, however, he perceived also the inadequacy of the three tendencies outlined above. He perceived this inadequacy in the fact that the adherents of each of these tendencies sought to bring about Socialism with the proletariat as they found it, a task that was obviously impossible.

ously unrealizable.

The utopians and Blanquists likewise realized the inability of the proletariat to bring about Socialism. They saw the need of educating the proletariat to this task, but this education was to be undertaken by leaders superior to and standing above the proletariat. Only with the realization of Socialism was it to become possible for the working people to rise to a higher level of development, and thus learn how to govern themselves democratically. The expression "true democracy is possible only under complete Socialism" is not a new revelation but a primitive, pre-Marxian conception.

The Leader Principle

Marx perceived the weakness of this form of education of the proletariat by educators self-appointed to the role of *Führers*, or lifted to dominance and absolute power over itself by an ignorant proletariat through insurrection or in some other way. This would mean making the emancipation of the proletariat dependent upon historical accidents, quite improbable accidents. For, as a general rule, it was not to be expected that a few Socialist conspirators, supported by a weak, ignorant proletariat, could attain that absolute power necessary for the expropriation of capital, to say nothing of coping with the difficulties of Socialist construction.

Marx perceived that the education required by the proletariat could be made secure not upon abnormal circumstances but only as it developed from a phenomenon characteristic of all capitalist states, a phenomenon inexorable in its force and powerful in its effects. This phenomenon was the class contradiction between capital and labor, the class struggle arising inevitably from this contradiction. This class struggle was an incontrovertible fact, regardless of its characterization by liberals and fascists as a Marxian "invention."

Marx did not invent it. He did not demand it. He merely registered its existence and pointed out its inherent, inescapable consequences. And as one of these consequences he emphasized the education of the proletariat to democracy and Socialism, which cannot prosper without democracy.

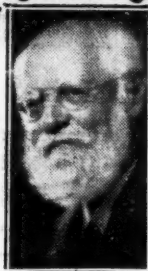
Democracy as Well as Socialism

The class interests of the proletariat require democracy no less than Socialism. The proletariat can attain to the former sooner than to the latter, for other working classes, such as artisans and peasants, as well as many intellectuals, are equally interested in the development of democracy. In the struggle for democracy and its immediate class interests, necessitating social reforms, the proletariat is lifted from primitive barbarism to higher forms. The consequences of these struggles create a more fertile ground upon which the enlightened proletariat, acting in organized masses, continues to develop its powers by means of free action and movement, thus lifting its development to the highest possible degree and rendering itself capable of pursuing successfully the struggle for the final aims of Socialism.

This conception we owe to Marx. (To be continued)

The Workers Abroad

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



Spanish Socialists Due for Comeback

THE labor and Socialist movement in Spain is beginning to recover rapidly from the defeat of the heroic but unsuccessful armed uprising of last October. An important milestone in the process of recovery and reconstruction will be the coming municipal elections.

It will be remembered that four years ago the success of the Socialist and republican parties in similar elections led to the abdication of the king and the downfall of the monarchy. Today, the situation is, of course, quite different. The republic survives, but the conservative parties are in the saddle.

The October uprising weakened the Socialist Party's organization. Many Socialists were arrested, their press suppressed and most organizations dissolved. There are still some 20,000 workers in prisons and concentration camps, most of them members of the Socialist trade unions. But the morale of the workers is by no means broken. The main bodies of the trade unions are again functioning normally. On the industrial field the unions have suffered virtually no loss in membership, but the organizations of agricultural workers have had to record considerable losses. Unemployment is very serious.

The Socialists have resumed publication of their most important newspapers and are now concentrating their energies upon rebuilding the party and making it once more an instrument of action.

The results of the coming municipal elections will, it is declared, depend upon the attitude of the Syndicalists. Heretofore, the Syndicalists have refrained from participating in the political struggle, but more recently many of them have altered their attitude. They are beginning to realize that the gains made by the conservatives and monarchists in the last parliamentary elections are to be ascribed in large part to the failure of large numbers of workers to take part in the balloting. Thus many seats were lost to the enemy. This, in turn, was a factor in the unfortunate developments of last October.

Should the Syndicalists and many thousands of other workers join with the Socialists in the coming electoral struggle, it is certain that the Socialist and left parties will register material gains and thus alter markedly the present political set-up.

At any rate, the Socialist and labor movement in Spain is definitely on the ascendant once more. It will be a painful process to rebuild the movement to the position which it occupied before the October uprising, but there is no reason to doubt that the task will be successfully accomplished.

Developments in Spain, coupled with the beginnings of a new Socialist and labor movement in some of the fascist countries, together with the consistent advance being made by labor in countries where liberty continues to prevail, are encouraging factors which should hearten all those who are inclined to feel unduly pessimistic.

There is no reason for uncontrolled optimism, but there is every reason to feel confident.

(Continued from Page One)

advancement, is something that should hearten us all in the belief that ultimately decency, civilization and the ideals of the labor movement will prevail.

Labor Assumes the Offensive

While in the democratic countries labor is thus assuming a more and more aggressive attitude, extending its political influence and control and curbing the forces of reaction, in fascist countries it is binding its wounds, reconstructing its ideological and organizational positions, and paving the road for a revival of a mass movement.

Hitler's defiance of Europe in abrogating the military clauses of the Versailles Treaty and announcing re-establishment of conscription has thrown the world into fear of a new conflagration. We are inclined to believe, however, that Hitler's move is to be interpreted more as a measure of internal policy than as an immediate threat to the peace of Europe. All information reaching us from Germany indicates a substantial diminution in the prestige of the Hitler regime. It was necessary to whip up nationalist sentiment by a gesture which, while extremely perilous potentially, does not mean that Europe will be on the march tomorrow.

In the opinion of informed Socialists the key to the situation is in Soviet Russia. Will Moscow cease to base its policy solely upon alliances and pacts of non-aggression with bourgeois governments while it continues to make war upon the Socialist parties and trade union organizations of the world? Will it cease its war upon the Russian people themselves? Will it return to democratic ways of government and make possible a coalition of all democratic, Socialist and revolutionary forces both within and outside of Russia, in order that fascism may be confronted with a united front of all these elements, against which it cannot possibly prevail?

Key to Unity in Moscow

The road to such a united front lies through Moscow. Will the Communist dictatorship continue to be animated by misguided motives of self-preservation and follow blindly the policy which may well lead to its own destruction, the destruction and dismemberment of Russia in the event of war, and the advance of fascism in Europe, or will it finally bethink itself and realize that only in the unity of the international labor movement lies salvation? Such unity must begin at home if it is to have any basis outside of Russia.

On this point, alas, we have little of an encouraging nature to report. Instead of opening the prisons and abandoning the concentration camps filled with workers and peasants, the Soviet Government has embarked upon a new campaign of terror. Even those Socialists who from Russia gave approval to the united front in France have been arrested and sent into exile. Communists who do not approve the policies of the Stalin dictatorship are being jailed and exiled by the score. It would seem as if the Stalin clique was bent on leaving nothing undone to weaken the foundations of the Soviet regime itself and undermine the forces so essential to the defense of Russia and the international labor movement.

We confess, we have little hope of a change of heart in Moscow. A reading of the Soviet press will convince anyone who is honestly seeking the truth that the Communist dictatorship is not inclined to let up in its attacks upon the organized Socialist and labor movement outside of Russia, while crushing all efforts at initiative and independent creative activity on the part of the Russian masses. With painful similarity the situation recalls that which existed in Russia on the eve of the revolution. Then, too, the government in power had but two roads open to it: the road of freedom and peace with the people, and the old road of isolation from the people. It preferred to follow the old road, with results that are now a part of history.

Will the Communist dictatorship in this grave hour of danger for revolutionary Russia and labor throughout the world choose the proper path or will it persist in traveling along the line which may lead to another debacle?

In Russia, as everywhere else, labor can conquer only in the name of freedom and true Socialism. With this slogan on their banners the workers are unconquerable, however serious may be the defeats they have suffered here and there.

In Western Europe labor is consolidating its numbers, galvanizing its organizations, and preparing to take the offensive. What is needed to make an impregnable line of defense and attack against Hitlerism in Central Europe is cooperation and unity with the millions of workers and peasants of Russia. The Stalin dictatorship continues to bar the road to such unity. It alone must bear the responsibility for what may follow.

But whatever happens, whether labor must continue to fight its battle on two fronts, against fascism on one side and Communist attacks on the other, we are confident that in the democratic countries it will fight, with intelligence, statesmanship and increasing determination.

In this alone is now our hope.

force that compelled victory. That is something to know.

CERTAIN gentlemen, some of them undoubtedly sincere, want to have us believe that war profiteering will be stopped and all will be lovely when next we fight if everything, including humanity, is commandeered by government and all "frozen" when war starts.

The idea of "drafting" industry sounds good, but it isn't so good. That way lies the enslavement of men, the smashing of unions. If we do not have a care we shall have no civilian life, if and when there is another war. And if civilian life disappears, it may never be regained. At least not without an effort as costly as war itself, and probably more so. Think twice—at least; and be not deceived.

From Far and Near Readers Cheer The New Leader in Its New Form

AND what did you think of The New Leader in its new form last week? Everybody seemed to like it, and despite the fact that we printed 5,000 more than our usual run, the edition was quickly sold out and there isn't a copy available anywhere.

The Pittsburgh Socialists, for example, took one look at the new form and promptly wired increasing their very large bundle order by 40 per cent. And from Friday morning on there has been a steady stream of comrades coming into this office with warm compliments for The New Leader in its new form. In addition, every mail has brought letters of warm and enthusiastic praise.

Here is what some of our readers have written, selected at random out of a vast number of letters all in the same vein:

Ben Lichtenberg, New York, writes: The New Leader in its new format is swell. Keep it up!

Mark Starr, New York: I like your new paper in its extended form.

Sonia Teitelman, Pennsylvania: This week's issue is great. Keep it up. We'll help.

Jim Liveton, Oregon: The New Leader is getting better all the time.

George W. Kuhlman, Ohio: Hope I will be able to get you thousands of subs. Have been out of work for a long time, but will always have the price of a Socialist paper.

J. T. Brillhart, West Va.: I would rather go hungry than do without The New Leader.

George Field, New York: Hurrah and three cheers! This is a newspaper to be proud of. The contents were excellent and the make-up hit a new high for Socialist newspapers. Count me in as a real booster wherever I go.

A rare treat is in store for readers of future issues. Next week, for example, will mark the 18th anniversary of America's entry into the World War, and the occasion will be marked with a remarkable article by H. N. BRAILSFORD, noted British publicist.

PROFESSOR JOHN DEWEY pays his respects to William Randolph Hearst in a brilliant analysis of the power Hearst wields through his newspapers.

KARL KAUTSKY continues his highly important articles on "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

RAPHAEL ABRAMOWITZ will have a brilliant article on the present crisis in Europe.

MARK STARR continues his articles on Workers' Education.

Other writers whose work will appear in forthcoming issues are WILLIAM E. BOHN, J. C. RICH, EMILY N. BROWN, PROF. GEORGE W. HARTMANN of Penn State, and many others.

YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO MISS THE NEW LEADER!

Greet Spring WITH \$100 STYLE FOR \$18.75

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Crawford offers smarter patterns, the finest woolsens (this country produces), more hand tailoring, superior trimmings and greater variety of styles. Never before did \$18.75 buy so much clothing value. We expect to win thousands of new friends with our Spring line and to strengthen our old friendships as never before. ONE LOOK WILL TELL YOU MORE THAN A THOUSAND WORDS. Come in today, see what Crawford means by \$100 Style for \$18.75.

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JAMAICA: 168-05 Jamaica Ave., Cor. 168th St.; At the end of the "L", Jamaica, L.I.

JERSEY CITY: 4 Journal Square; 317 Central Ave., Cor. Griffith St.

ALL STORES OPEN EVENINGS

So They Want to Stop All War Profiteering

By Chester M. Wright

JESSE JONES—the modern Jesse, not the original—announces that the R.F.C. will have to take over business concerns that default on their loans.

If they don't pay up, the government will take 'em over and run 'em.

Chairman Jones says the government doesn't want to be all cluttered up with business concerns, but if it has to make them over in order to collect its money, then the government will do just that.

Surely this is most unorthodox. It will, if it comes to pass—and some of it probably will—be a most puzzling situation.

There will be a new angle to the question of whether or not the government should keep out of business. The question may well be, how can it get out? And if so, what then?

OF course, all this was on the cards when the government started to loan money to business. If the government didn't loan the money, a lot of business would be busted.

If it did loan money, it was, or should have been, clear that there would be those who couldn't repay.

To be sure, this is a tragedy only to those who are unable to adjust their minds to new conditions, but to them it is all pretty terrible.

However, the situation is not one wholly or even very largely pre-empted by the loans which the R.F.C. has made. It was precipitated by the methods of business itself.

In other years business houses were "saved" by loans made by such banks as that of Mr. Morgan, and those that couldn't pay were under the necessity of forfeiting to Mr. Morgan.

As between forfeiting to Mr. Morgan and to Uncle Sam, why should we get the jitters when Uncle Sam takes the jackpot?

AS these lines are written, a labor veteran lies on a sickbed in a Washington hospital.

Andrew Furuseth, who has come about as near doing his duty as he saw it as any man ever did, at 81 has been forced to stop work.

Illness has not been in this man's life. Who knows the day when he has been absent from the battle lines? He has been a man of iron and of iron purpose.

There are thousands who will want to wish a wish across the miles for the recovery of this heroic figure, gaunt, ascetic, indomitable.

Andrew Furuseth has seen history made because of his perseverance and his righteous assault upon injustice. His record is again the proof that wrongs can be righted and the force of right, in and of itself, is actually a force in the affairs of men. He never had any millions at his back. But his brain and his heart drove a

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 30th, 1935

A number of our readers noticed what appeared to be the dropping of the union label at the top of the editorial column last week. This is due to the fact that on some issues the label was distinct and on others not. The New Leader continues to be printed in the same one hundred per cent union plant where it has been published for years.

THE COMPANY UNION UNMASKED

A LLEGED spokesmen for company unions in the steel industry before the Senate Committee on Education in Washington were compelled to admit the slave role they play. They declared that company union plans had been approved by an overwhelming majority of the workers. This appeared to be unions of "their own choosing." Democracy in action.

Under examination, however, these spokesmen admitted that the steel companies paid their expenses to Washington or that they expected to be paid by the companies when they returned home. They admitted that they were paid by the corporations for the time they spent in serving the company unions. In a number of instances they asserted that the drafts of company union plans were made from material furnished by corporations. Asked if any grievances they submitted to a corporation were not satisfactorily adjusted by a final appeal, would they strike, they answered, Yes. Would they have any funds to carry on a strike, they were asked. "No sir," was the answer. "Every man is then on his own initiative."

That is to say, the company union is floated by corporation funds, its officials are hirelings of the company, and it is impossible for its members to carry on a strike. Each slave acts for himself when the bosses turn thumbs down on any demand. If all the facts were known, it probably would also reveal that the spokesmen of the company unions are spies of private detective agencies, for few intelligent workers would consent to play the despicable role these "spokesmen" do. The sycophant is one by-product of the production of steel.

NEW YORK'S JOBLESS INFERNO

A GHASTLY situation is revealed in New York City by the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment Relief. The number of the jobless is estimated at a million, about the same as in March one year ago, but families are exhausting their reserves and more human beings are being thrown upon the relief agencies. About 660,000 families, 37 per cent of the city's population, have unemployed wage workers. It is also estimated that 2,500,000 people are affected in some way because of the loss of family income.

Just as hideous is the fact that meager as the relief was in 1932, families are receiving less this year. More than half of the unemployed are between twenty and forty years old, the younger generation whom capitalism has transformed into outcasts on the threshold of a mature life.

THE BURLESQUE LIBERAL

THE intellectual who has broken into the magazines, who has found a publisher of his manuscript, or who is still buried in one of the cultural monasteries known as a university and has never met the working class face to face, must find a fad. He usually finds it today in some form of Bolshevism.

He wants to be "red" but is always in terror because when he has found his heaven he learns that there is something more "red." He reads the New Republic and there he gets a thrill. Is not the New Republic "liberal" enough to flirt with Bolshevism? It is. So does he.

It is rare that one of this type ever awakens to the burlesque role he plays in life. Robert E. Sherwood, in his play "The Petrified Forest," presents one in Alan Squier, an idle vagabond, who has discovered how empty he is. Squier is speaking to Gabby Maple, a woman in charge of an Arizona filling station:

Squier: "The trouble with me is, I belong to a vanishing race. I'm one of the intellectuals."

Gabby: "That means that you've got brains. I can see you have."

Squier: "Yes—brains without purpose. Noise without sound. Shape without substance."

Enough said!

"I AM OPPOSED TO ALL FORMS OF VIOLENCE"

By Eugene V. Debs

In 1912 the Socialist Party was faced with a controversy over the issue of political action versus direct action. Eugene V. Debs, then the party's candidate for President, issued the following unequivocal statement of his stand on the issue.

I AM opposed to all forms of violence, and that is why I am opposed to capitalism. I am opposed to sabotage and "direct action."

"I have not a bit of use for the 'propaganda of the deed.' These are the tactics of anarchist individuals and not of Socialist collectivists."

"My chief objection to all these measures is that they do violence to the class psychology of the workers, and cannot be successfully inculcated as a mass doctrine. To the extent that the working class has power based on class-consciousness, force is unnecessary; to the extent that power is lacking, force can only result in harm."

Behind the Scenes in Washington



By Benjamin Meiman

Our Washington Correspondent

THE captain has left the ship. Monday President Roosevelt left Washington for a much needed vacation. This may be interpreted that no important legislation is expected in the next couple of weeks. Just before the President took the train for Jacksonville he received a timely communication from the Civil Liberties Union, signed by 26 attorneys, professors and writers, warning against "the drive by reactionary interests to restrict the civil liberties of the American people."

The communication charged that "commercial, so-called patriotic and military forces are urging a united campaign to enact a Federal sedition law and to bring back into the Department of Justice the Federal secret police force which marked two former regimes."

This warning was timely, for only last week Secretary of Commerce Roper, while uncorking a blast against the many demagogues and mob-artists, said: "Free speech, practiced by selfish demagogues, can distort facts to suit particular arguments and become deadly destructive."

This statement appears to be fairly harmless and is, no doubt, true. On edge after five years of continual depression, the people are ripe for fanciful promises of irresponsible rabble-rousers. There is always the possibility that the unrest stimulated by continued unemployment and accentuated by garrulous agitators may culminate in riots or even more serious disorder.

But it might be wiser for Mr. Roper to go one step deeper in his search for causes. It is not free speech which gives those demagogues their opportunity, nor would its suppression eliminate their influence. Demagoguery flourishes because a proportion of the population, denied the chance of making an honest livelihood for such a long time, falls easy victims to utopian propaganda.

The "Hokey" Longs, the Father Coughlins, the Doctor Townsends and the many other quacks are depression products. A social system that produces depressions produces also such dangerous demagogues. To curb free speech to get rid of these demagogues is like killing the dog to get rid of the fleas. The best thing to do is to let the Longs and the Coughlins talk themselves to death.

The Legislative Situation

THE Administration emerges victor from the determined attack upon its legislative leadership in the relief legislation. Organized labor, compromise strategists, inflationists, and those who sought to hold relief spending to a single year rather than a two-years' program were swept aside in the Senate tests upon the public works and relief appropriation of \$4,880,000,000. After being def-

nately restricted by the Senate to relief and work relief, and with some general "ear-marking" of the huge fund, the program still corresponds in its major outlines to the bill which the House passed some six weeks ago.

The prevailing wage hurdle was cleared by a compromise binding the President to pay prevailing wages upon public buildings undertaken under the program, and leaves to his discretionary authority to adjust work-relief wages in the event there should be an attempt anywhere to lower wage levels in private employment by reason of the "security wage" paid on public work relief projects.

New Deal's New Leftward Swing

IN the invitation of the three labor leaders to the White House, William Green, John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman, bringing them together with "Coordinator" Richberg, the appointment of Mine Worker Philip Murray to the NRA Board, inside political observers see a very definite swing to the left again on the part of the Roosevelt Administration.

With the Work-Relief bill out of the way, the legislative tracks have been cleared for the NRA, the Wagner labor bill, the Black 30-hour bill, social insurance and other labor legislation.

The NRA dispute finds the White House under pressure from three major sources: Big business, little business, and labor. Last week's shift, which put Donald R. Richberg at the head of the National Industrial Recovery Board, also added Philip Murray to the United Mine Workers to the Board. Back of that maneuver insiders detect the handiwork of Frank C. Walker, unobtrusive New York theatre operator. Walker was the 1933 executive secretary of the first of Roosevelt's several New Deal coordinating agencies, the National Executive Council. He returned to his theatres but still does part-time work for the President.

With the promise of increased labor representation on NIRA and assurance that collective bargaining guarantees would be reinforced, Walker persuaded organized labor to take another chance on Richberg. John L. Lewis, president of the Mine Workers, who called Richberg a "turn-coat" and a "traitor to labor," sat in at a conference with Walker and Richberg, and departed apparently satisfied. Equally satisfied seemed William Green and Sidney Hillman when they were photographed together with Richberg after they left the White House. So it would seem that some definite promises for concessions to labor were made by the "little father."

Different Outlook on Labor Front

LAST Monday, in his most militant statement since the textile strike last May, Francis J. Gorman, vice-president of the United Textile Workers' Union,

A Real Labor Party Must Grow; It Cannot Be Made to Order

By Algernon Lee

WHAT hope is there of a Labor party being formed in this country? That question is being asked these days wherever Socialists come together. Another question usually goes with it: What can we (the Socialist Party) do to create a Labor Party? But sometimes it takes another form: What can we do to create a third party?

That third variant is rather curious. Of course, ours is already the third party—a pretty bad third, it must be admitted. It might be in order to consider how to make it a close third, and then second, and then first. But that is not the meaning of those who talk for a third party. What they have in mind is the notion of pooling our strength with that of other minority groups, regardless of class, in the hope of thus mustering a large number of supporters for a joint ticket, on a platform broad enough to contain some planks acceptable to each of its heterogeneous elements. In this connection "third party" does not mean Labor party or Socialist party.

The sooner we dismiss this idea, the better for all concerned. It has not even the merit of being practicable. Parties just aren't built that way. And if it were practicable, it would still be precisely the sort of thing that Socialists ought not to do.

But now to the first question: What prospect is there for the rise of a real Labor party in the United States? That this is being asked, and wishfully asked, is in itself a good sign. It indicates that we are again beginning to get rid of the sectarian way of thinking and feeling which has so largely dominated American Socialism throughout the greater part of its history. We are beginning to understand that, as Frederick Engels pointed out us almost fifty years ago, the movement is more important than the program—or rather, that the movement is the basic thing, that if it is a vital and substantial working-class movement it will develop such a program as it needs.

It would be rash to predict the formation of a genuine Labor party on a national scale by 1936. It is not impossible. A great deal of thinking has been going on in the ranks of Organized Labor within the last five or six years, and especially within the last two or three—not among the higher officials alone, but among the men and women in the shops and in the local unions, and thence up to the top. One may say of American social developments what Secretary Lansing said of President Wilson's decisions—that they are "seldom prompt, but always sudden." Our masses are not easily provoked to action, but when their inertia is once overcome, they sometimes act with surprising speed and vigor. A few more experiences with the Roosevelt administration, such as Organized Labor has already had on the thirty-hour issue and on the affair of the automobile industry and now on the prevailing wage question—a few more such rebuffs, not to call them betrayals, and independent political action might come with a rush. It is idle to speculate as to just when this will happen. What we can safely say is that the trend is in this direction. If not nationally, at least in various localities, Organized Labor is likely to enter the political field in earnest before long; and a few successful local Labor parties may be the prelude to a great movement.

Can't Be Forced From Above

NO such development will be or can be forced upon the rank and file of Organized Labor from above. There are many who believe that the bulk of the union members are like sheep, who follow the

charged New England mills with "clear and deliberate violation" of the executive order creating work assignment boards in the silk textile industry.

Railway labor is marshalling its forces for a showdown fight on wage reductions expected to be formally proposed in the next few

bell-wether wherever he goes. That just isn't so. They follow their leaders quietly enough—too tamely, some would say—so long as they are led along old beaten tracks or along more or less new ones in a direction which in a general way they approve. But let the leaders overestimate their influence, let them try to commit the movement to a course for which the minds of the masses are not prepared, and they suddenly cease to be leaders, because the masses cease to follow. Unless and until a very large part of the rank and file actively desires independent political action, it would be futile for the high officers of the international unions and of the American Federation of Labor to decree the formation of a Labor party.

They are not going to make any such venture. And they ought not to. Not only would they jeopardize their own leadership, but their political failure would jeopardize the prestige and even the solidarity of the trade union movement.

It is all right for our party to appoint committees to "explore the situation." If only exploration is meant, only the getting of pertinent information, it can do no harm and may do much good. The danger is that, without intending it, we may encourage another idea, which some of our comrades certainly have in mind—the idea that we, the Socialist Party, can and should actively promote the formation of a Labor party without waiting till the mass of the organized workers are ready to do it.

No doubt, we could do this if we tried—that is, we could find a local union here and there, a central body here and there, an insurgent group here and there, perhaps even an international union or two, which could be induced to follow our lead. We could then go through all the motions of establishing a Labor party on a nation-wide scale. But it would not be a Labor party in any worthwhile sense of the word. It would not embody the thought and will of the masses of organized workers. It would be a thing of shreds and patches, not a vital organic body. It might cost more votes than the Socialist Party itself could otherwise have won, but there is no assurance that it would do even that.

Pretty certainly it would not attain any such vast strength as would enable it to speak with authority as the political organ of the American Labor movement. Nor on the other hand would it have the cohesive force which, spite of all our internal disagreements, gives our relatively small Socialist Party an influence out of all proportion to its numerical strength.

The Socialist Party would pay dear for any such false step. And Organized Labor would not thank us for associating its name with such a fiasco.

Nor Steered From Without

AS little as the creation of a Labor party worthy of the name can be imposed from above, no more can it be engineered from outside. Whether soon or late, it can come only as the spontaneous act of at least a very large part of the organized workers themselves, acting through their international unions and their great federations. When it comes, we must be in it if there is a place for us, and with it if there is not. And if we have not tried too hard to take credit for bringing it into existence, our co-operation will be the more warmly welcomed.

Meanwhile, must we only stand and wait? Can we do nothing to hasten a development which we so rightly desire? Of course we can. We can redouble our efforts to reach the wage-working masses with our straight and frank Socialist propaganda. We can interpret to them the events and issues of the day as we understand them. We can help them to think out their own problems. The better we do that, the sooner will a sufficient number of the rank and file of Organized Labor pass the word up to their leaders that they are ready for a Labor party.

wage, now \$5 in the North and \$4.60 in the South, and a cut in their work week from 35 to 30 hours under new contracts to take effect April 1. The operators offer renewal of present wages and hours for one year. Unless new contracts are signed by next Sunday night, John L. Lewis, mine union president, asserted the miners would strike. Martin Ryan called a strike for April 1 in the Western Pennsylvania soft-coal mines.

Mayor LaGuardia one said: "It is hard to sing the Star Spangled Banner on an empty stomach." As long as stomachs remain empty, there will be trouble somewhere.

The New Leader Book Corner

By James Oneal

WAS EUROPE A SUCCESS? By Joseph Wood Krutch, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc.

THIS small book of 88 pages is symptomatic of a present trend among American liberals. For years a large section of the tribe has assumed an attitude of sentimental sissies toward Russian Bolshevism. No parlor gathering was complete without one raving over the "experiment" while on the art and literature fronts one could find a "Marxian" commander for every five recruits. Bolshevism became a fad among the liberals. Want to be a "radical" or know how it feels to be a "red"? Say your piece for Bolshevism and have a thrill. That was the mood.

This book is a sober reaction to this trend and Stalin's "blood purge" has also contributed something toward enlightenment of the parlor Bolsheviks. One does not have to agree with everything said by Krutch to concede that he has written a powerful broadside against Bolshevist "science" and ideology. He succeeds in showing that the parlor Bolshevik has two compartments in his head, one stored with views favoring Bolshevism and the other with views that cannot be reconciled with it. The conflict between the two is ever present and the result is the sissy.

One unfortunate aspect of certain sections of the book is that the author concludes that Marx was a fatalist of "secular predestination." Any person acquainted with Bolshevik writings can understand why a writer can come

to this conclusion; but Marx was fundamentally an evolutionist, holding that the law of change is universal. While the human will is also limited by the material environment, it is not a prisoner of it. On the contrary, the conscious will of the masses must be awakened and organized to effect needed changes in society and Marx devoted much of his life to this work. Bolshevism makes robots of human beings; Marxism makes them active and conscious forces of social transformation, the character of the transformation being determined by the historic stage which society has reached.

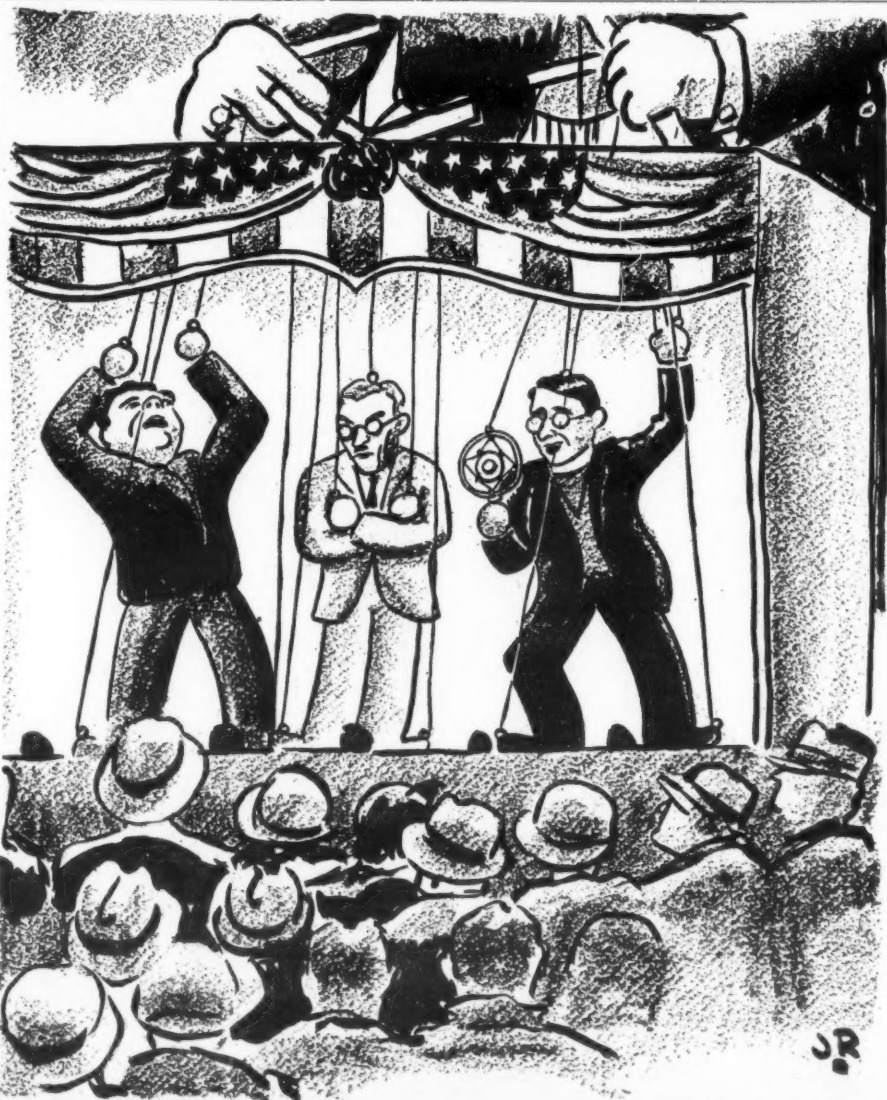
In the Christian Fascist State of Holy Austria

WIENER-NEUSTADT, Austria.—Helene Maier, 35 years old, an unmarried housemaid, was sentenced to two months' imprisonment because her baby froze to death in her arms while she trudged the streets seeking a haven of refuge.

Shocked by the birth of the child, Helene's employers had turned her out. Her parents refused to admit her and the child to her own home.

In the bitter cold, clutching the baby close to her, she walked several miles to the home of her grandmother. The baby was dead when she arrived.

Helene was to have been taken before a summary court, charged with infanticide, punishable by death, but the state revised the charge to "an offense against the security of life."



The Long-Townsend-Coughlin puppeteers put on a touching show entitled "Redistribute the Wealth to the Aged at the Little Flower."... Sponsored by... (who do you think?)

N. E. C. at Buffalo Confronted By Party Paralysis and Does Little Constructive Work

THE National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, meeting in Buffalo March 22-24, was charged with tense feeling. Members of other states came to look on this crucial session. "Militants" of New York City were out in force expecting to fall heir to the state organization as a gift of the N. E. C. Deep cleavages of opinion appeared in the committee and the schism extended to the audience. It was also obvious that the paralysis of party life in some cities and states had reached the N. E. C. as its sessions were almost wholly taken up with the inner party conflicts.

The main issues before the N. E. C. were the status of three states, New York, Indiana and Oregon; The New Leader and Communism; especially the Revolutionary Policy Committee. Secretary Senior's report showed an increase of about 2,400 members in 1934 over 1933, but nearly 1,000 of the 2,400 came from New York State, where the disputed Declaration of Principles was opposed, and about 500 more came from Pennsylvania and Connecticut, two other states that opposed the Declaration in the referendum.

James D. Graham of Montana reported on Oregon, which withdrew from the party last year. He declared that the Oregon Socialists would not be "hitched" to the national organization because of the anti-syndicalist law in that state and that the Declaration of Principles had "put a damper" on the young folk of Montana. He favored an amendment to the national constitution that would permit a referendum on the Declaration within six months after its adoption. This was defeated. Thomas favored no action on Oregon as it is "friendly," and Graham as to further represent the N. E. C. on this case.

Former Charter Revocations
Secretary Senior reported the events leading to the suspension of the Indiana charter and reviewed the revocations of the charters of seven foreign language federations in 1919 and of three states, claiming that these actions justified the procedure in the Indiana case.

Onal challenged this assumption, declaring that there was no parallel between the Indiana case and the cases in 1919. He said that in the 1919 cases action was taken against organizations that had adopted Bolshevik programs. They were actions already completed. The Massachusetts case also showed that the documentary evidence was not in the hands of the N. E. C. and a motion by Onal and Shipplaff had directed that the national secretary obtain such evidence, "if any," before any action was taken.

The Indiana case was one of a pending referendum and that Secretary Senior had knowledge of it even in December and made no effort to bring it to the attention of the N. E. C. Onal added that the N. E. C., having the power to grant charters, certainly had the right to revoke them, but in exercising the right it is required to act in accord with the procedure outlined in the constitution.

The Henry organization in Indiana did not send a representative to the Buffalo meeting because it believed that it would be useless, but the N. E. C. faction was represented. Alex Gale to whom Onal had referred in The New Leader, convinced Onal that the references were erroneous and Onal stated that he would gladly run a letter from Comrade Gale in The New Leader.

Chairman Rogers of the N. E. C. group in Indiana also presented his faction's views and Onal asked him if he had not been in and out of the party for many years and that two years ago he had been a Republican watcher in Indianapolis. Rogers denied this. Pressed further by Onal he admitted it, saying that he and some relatives were hard pressed and needed the money. His denial and admission did not enhance his prestige before the comrades.

Hapgood asked Onal what difference there was between Rogers and Judge Panken accepting a judgeship in New York. Onal answered that Judge Panken had acted in accord with the national and state constitutions and had received letters of congratulation from Norman Thomas, Clarence Senior, Paul Porter and a number of militants in New York. Hapgood did not press the matter further. Of course, the Indiana charter was given to the Rogers organization.

Onal Motion Defeated
Hoan appeared to be impressed by the argument against the procedure taken in Indiana and offered a motion prescribing future procedure in such cases. Onal opposed by declaring that the Hoan motion enlarged the powers of the N. E. C. and this could not be done by the N. E. C. (A copy of the Hoan motion did not come into the hands of The New Leader.) Onal offered the following substitute:

"Resolved, that whenever the N. E. C. learns that a referendum is proposed or in progress which provides for secession from the Socialist Party, the National Secretary shall immediately inform the state officials that the proposal or referendum should be withdrawn pending a conference with a sub-committee of the N. E. C. representing varying views on the proposal or referendum. Should the conference fail to accomplish its purpose, the N. E. C. shall take such action as may be deemed necessary."

Basic Issues at Stake
The Onal substitute was rejected and the Hoan motion adopted. The report of Devere Allen on the R. P. C. sustained the views of New York on this organization of insurrectionists by declaring that "advocacy of armed insurrection or similar methods shall be deemed incompatible with membership in the Socialist Party of the United States."

In the discussion of the report which prohibits advocacy of armed insurrection in publications Hapgood contended that in the name of democracy party members should be free to advocate it and make converts. Daniel and Coolidge agreed to this.

Onal then declared that this presents a basic cleavage of views

in the party, a conflict between Socialist and Bolshevik trends of thought, and that this cleavage is back of all the disputes. He read from the pamphlet of Albert Goldman of Chicago, a Communist for years, who declared that he had not changed his principles in joining the Socialist Party. Goldman is admitted in Chicago but would be excluded in New York, Onal said, and New Jersey is a refuge state for Communists who cannot join in New York. This conflict will run through all the states and split the convention of 1936 if it is not settled, said Onal.

Julius Gerber and Algernon Lee were present as observers when the case of New York State came up. (The position of the state organization was printed in last week's New Leader.) The state challenged the jurisdiction and the procedure of the N. E. C. and Lee stated that he was not there to add anything to the challenge. When the N. E. C. presented accusations in regular order instead of demanding that the state "show cause" the state organization would be ready to face its accusers.

Jack Altman was recognized as representing the militants of New York City. He presented a long and scurrilous document of accusations which required an hour and forty minutes to read and argue. He was entirely out of order as Local New York was not before the N. E. C. Onal denounced the Altman document as a tissue of half-truths and direct falsehoods that would take an equal amount of time to answer. Gus Tyler and Aaron Levenstein also had the floor for the New York City Yipsels. Hapgood later revealed that Tyler had questioned whether the N. E. C. "had the guts" to go through with the job of revoking the state charter. Hapgood, Daniel and Coolidge were ready to revoke but the other militants of the committee got cold feet when Hoan and Graham declared that a referendum would certainly follow any drastic action.

The Hoan Compromise
The result was the compromise document of nine points which Hoan wrote in the hope of bringing about harmony in New York. (This document appears in this issue.) Thomas stated that he was ready to take action against The New Leader but would await the outcome of this compromise. The militant states of New Jersey, Ohio, Oklahoma, Michigan and Massachusetts had taken action in favor of revoking the New York State charter, which did not surprise anybody.

New York State has more members than these four states combined. The net gain in new members of these four states combined is only 420 while New York increased its membership by 983. The militant "activists" have a poor showing compared with the Old Guard. Ohio actually lost 84 members.

Hapgood wanted to press the case against The New Leader and give the N. E. C. blessing to the militant organ in New York but he could not get action because of the compromise. Hapgood also gave notice that he would bring up the case of the Buffalo insurrectionists

if the State Committee of New York does not act satisfactorily to them in the matter of their appeal. This implies that an effort will be made to force these Communists upon local Buffalo although the N. E. C. has no power to do so. Daniel took the same position that Hapgood did.

The New York State Committee meets in New York City Sunday and will take up the compromise adopted by the N. E. C. One thing is certain; New York Socialists will not compromise with Bolshevik elements and ideas and they have the support of the working class elements of the party in all the states.

So far as any fruitful action for education and organization, there was none at the Buffalo meeting and there isn't likely to be any until the party members know what road they are to travel, the road to an intelligent working class party or one of romantic pseudo-Communism.

Hoan's Compromise Resolution

The following document is the Hoan compromise adopted by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party at its recent meeting in Buffalo. This document will be considered by the State Committee of New York next Sunday.

To the State Committee of New York, the State Executive Committee of New York, and the New York City Local.

Dear Comrades:—
Having in mind the paralyzing effect which factional contest always has within the ranks of the Socialist Party organization, and responding to a desire which we believe is general throughout the party, that the factional differences should cease so that we may take advantage of the tremendous opportunities now presented for rapidly building our party; believing that the two groups in New York State can find a common ground of unity if they so desire—the National Executive Committee insists that harmony must prevail.

Unless working unity is achieved the National Executive Committee will be compelled to take whatever measures are necessary.

We submit the following proposals as a minimum basis upon which a working agreement may be achieved:

1. The adherence to the resolutions of the N. E. C., providing the ineligibility of advocates of communism and violence in the party.
2. That the State Committee of New York prepare and issue a statement setting forth its view that, while holding to the right of Socialists to advocate changes in the Declaration of Principles, the same be accepted as the duly and legally adopted Declaration of Principles as provided for in the national constitution.
3. That the local, state and national constitutions shall be rigidly enforced.

Million Workingmen May Soon Strike

(Continued from Page One)

which became effective in October, 1933, the mine operators have been permitted to fix minimum coal prices under government supervision. In the last few months, however, price cutting and cut-throat competition of the type which in the past had brought the industry to the verge of ruin have again begun to manifest themselves. Today the old mad race for business is again in full swing. The competition for renewal of delivery contracts, which expire April 1, recalls all the beauties of the destructive competition of the past. As a result the entire code and wage structure of the industry is seriously threatened, and the union is once more compelled to intervene to stave off the deluge. Such is the inevitable play of the forces of "rugged individualism."

As one means of checkmating threatened revival of chaos in the industry, the United Mine Workers is supporting the Guffey coal stabilization bill, making coal a public utility subject to government regulation. The race is now between adoption of this bill and more effective union control, on one side, and chaos on the other.

In the automobile industry the showdown between genuine unionism and the company brand must come sooner or later. At the present writing the likelihood of a strike appears to have been diminished, but in informed circles the opinion is that, in the not too distant future, the union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in

key plants producing automobile parts and accessories will move into action and cripple production in a dramatic showdown.

Worthless Conferences
The A. F. of L. unions in the industry are for the moment biding their time. They have not forgotten the unfair elections conducted under the auspices of the Automobile Labor Board and have not in any way relented in their attacks on the board. The position of Labor is that what has been taking place under the aegis of the Automobile Labor Board has not been collective bargaining but worthless and meaningless collective conferences. The showdown in the automobile industry is inevitable.

This applies to all mass-production industries, where the big battle between capital and labor in America must be fought out. It is an irrepressible conflict, the ultimate issue of which will determine the fate of industrial democracy and freedom in America.

Let us hope that the American Federation of Labor will rise to the occasion and meet this problem fearlessly and effectively. It is no exaggeration to say that upon its ability to cope with the problem of organization in the mass industries depends the very life of the A. F. of L.

We feel confident that eventually the unions immediately concerned will sink their jurisdictional differences, and inspired by the vision of a greater and mightier labor movement will work in harmony and cooperation for the conquest of that citadel of American capitalism which are the mass production industries.

Rubber and Textiles

One of the most dramatic struggles expected this spring is that in the rubber plants of Akron, Cleveland and other mid-western cities. Many thousands of workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are ready to enter the fray. In this as in other industries the issue is the fundamental right of the workers to independent organization. The issue will never be settled until it is settled right, by which we mean the extermination of company unionism and recognition of the bona fide organizations of labor.

Even more dramatic in its potentialities is the prospect of another general strike in the textile industry before many more weeks are over. The nation has not yet forgotten the magnificent demonstration of the textile workers of last year, when 500,000 men and women struck in unison against the feudal conditions prevailing. That was a virgin movement, launched by grim necessity despite inadequate preparation. Nevertheless, it thrilled the hearts of all workers attuned to the grandeur of labor's struggle for freedom and social justice. The conclusion of the strike was in reality an armistice, wisely agreed to by the leaders of the United Textile

Pittsburgh Jobless' Beat Injunction Against Them

By George F. Griffiths
Special Correspondent

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The Unemployed Citizens' League of Allegheny County has defeated the attempt of George P. Mills, local relief director, to obtain an injunction to restrain the League from activities in behalf of the unemployed. This is the first instance on record where injunction proceedings against organized unemployed has been resorted to.

The League found that Director Mills, apparently with the consent of State Director of Relief Johnson, applied for the injunction without the authorization of the State Relief Board, in whose name the application was filed. The State Relief Board is comprised of Governor Earle, Lieut.-Governor Kennedy, Auditor-General Baldwin, State Treasurer Waters, and Speaker of the House Wilson G. Sarig.

The League's investigation also disclosed that "New Deal" Governor Earle was apparently in sympathy with this move. Governor Earle, it will be remembered, is the same George Earle the Third, former United States Minister to Austria, who praised the conduct of the "Christian" Leader Dollfuss in slaughtering the Vienna workers.

In reply to a communication from the Unemployed Citizens' League, Governor Earle stated that in view of the fact that the unemployed have been besieging one of the units of the Allegheny County Relief Board for more than 55 days, an injunction was necessary in order to prevent a repetition of this situation, and indicated that the request for the injunction was made in behalf of the local relief board and not in behalf of the State Emergency Relief Board, as stated by the local director, George P. Mills.

That the action of Director Mills in behalf of the State Emergency Relief Board was not authorized was indicated by replies received from a majority of the members of the board, stating that they knew nothing of the proceedings.

Lieut.-Governor Thomas Kennedy, a member of the Board and secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, says that he knew nothing about this matter and that it was never referred to the State Emergency Relief Board. "Personally," he writes, "I am not in favor of any such injunction."

Another member of the Board, Speaker of the House Wilson G. Sarig, to date did not see fit to reply to the communication of the Unemployed Citizens' League. The injunction proceeding was the result of a 55 day and night siege conducted by the Allegheny

County Unemployed Citizens' League at the Penn-Butler Unit. A hearing for a temporary injunction was held March 8, Attorney Jacob Margolis acting in behalf of the unemployed. On a technicality the court refused the temporary injunction and set the date for a hearing on a permanent injunction. Prior to this hearing, the Director of Relief withdrew his case and informed Margolis that the Relief Board would place a competent person, with authority to adjust complaints in the Penn-Butler Unit. This was the very thing for which the League conducted the siege.

Pennsylvania Jobless Reach 1,722,872

The Pennsylvania State Emergency Relief Board report indicates a steady increase in relief rolls. 1,722,872 persons were on the rolls during the week of March 16, which was 1,752 more than the preceding week. In the week of March 9 an increase of 1,177 persons was noted.

During the week of March 16 there were 14,741 families applying for relief. The families supported on direct relief was 403,066, and the direct expenditure was \$2,878,418.25. Work relief costs were \$688,838.22 and supported 51,532 families, giving employment to 22,977 persons.

For Hoopes' Anti-Eviction Bill

Socialist Party branches in Pennsylvania have been called upon by the State Committee to launch a drive to force the Anti-Eviction Bill out of the Senate Judiciary General Committee, to which it was referred after passing the House with a vote of 117 to 75. The bill was introduced by Socialist Representative Darlington Hoopes and provides a definite method for the staying of evictions, and will also greatly reduce the number of such actions.

Even though the Judiciary General Committee is headed by the Grundy leader in the Senate, there is reason to believe that concentrated pressure on the committee will result in bringing the bill to the floor of the Senate.

Party branches have been advised to solicit the support of the trade unions and other labor organizations, to form committees to call on the members of the Senate and demand their active support of the bill. The members of the Judiciary General Committee are:

Messrs. Buckman (Chairman), Langhorne, Salus, Philadelphia; Staudenmeier, Allentown; Eady, Somerset; Aron, Philadelphia; Norton, Berks; Woodward, Philadelphia; McCleure, Chester; Geider, Forest City; Shogan, Philadelphia; Oviatt, Wellsboro; Reed, Dauphin; Howell, Scranton; Mallory, Blair; Sordani, Kingston; Clark, West Chester; Batchelor, Monaca; Baumer, Johnstown; Huffman, Stroudsburg; McGinnis, Pottsville; Salsburg, Harrisburg; Rice, Adams; Rupp, Allentown; Bonisher (ex-officio).

Hudson County Refuses to Have Charter Revoked

REFUSING to be bound by a decision of the New Jersey State Committee to suspend their charter, the membership of Local Hudson County, at a meeting Monday night at 256 Central avenue, Jersey City, filed a demand for the return of their books and records in a communication signed by Mrs. Katherine Smithouser, Secretary.

The Local was deemed to have forfeited its charter for declining to participate in a drive for the New Jersey state paper, the New View, with the view of converting it from a monthly to a weekly.

The Local's reply to the state committee follows:

"There have been presented to Mrs. Katherine Smithouser, Secretary of Local Hudson County, and to Robert Leemans, Treasurer of Local Hudson County, letters signed by Eric Ross, State Secretary, the strike organization.

The union now charges that the report of the Winant board covering certain readjustments has not been respected. In fact, its recommendations have not been lived up to and in many instances flagrantly ignored. The stretch-out system has been extended in many places, while many workers who had been most active in last year's strike have not been reinstated. Perhaps Mr. George A. Sloane and his friends among the mill owners will soon learn that the workers mean business.

The Conflict Grows
Strikes of tobacco workers are threatened in Durham and Winston, Salem, N. C., and in Chicago. In Hannibal, Mo., shoe workers are on strike.

There are strikes of meat-packers in Sioux City, Iowa, and cotton dress workers in Chicago.

One of the most notable battles may develop, before many weeks are over, in the needle trades of New York and other cities, where negotiations for new agreements are pending.

Such, in brief, is the picture. With increasing emphasis does the conflict between capital and labor, which is the center of humanity's struggle upward, develop over an ever larger front.

There is no greater problem before American Socialists than to make their influence felt wisely and constructively in the progress of the historic battle.

tary, informing these officers of Local Hudson County that the State Committee has suspended the charter of the Hudson County Committee, and directing them to turn over to the State Committee all property of the Local in their possession. The State Committee has also sent to all members of Local Hudson County a communication informing them of this suspension of the Hudson County Committee charter and directing all Hudson County branches to send delegates to the next meeting of the State Committee to be held in Bayonne on Sunday, April 14, to show cause why the charter should not be revoked.

"The only charge mentioned in these communications in non-cooperation by the County Committee in the New View Drive. Local Hudson County, in membership meeting assembled at 256 Central Avenue, Jersey City, on March 25th has decided that refusal to endorse a rally does not constitute violation of the platform or principles of the Socialist Party; and as no other charges have been preferred, the Local considers the action of the State Committee irregular and illegal, and therefore not binding on the Local or any of its branches, officers or members, and has decided that no branch shall send any delegates to the State Committee meeting in Bayonne on April 14th.

"Local Hudson County demands that the State Committee present definite and specific charges of violation by the County Committee of the platform and/or principles of the Socialist Party, or else rescind its motion 'suspending the charter of the Hudson County Committee' and so notify the Local Secretary, the secretaries of the Hudson County Branches, and the Party press.

"Local Hudson County further demands that the State Committee return at once to the possession of the Local the minute book, letters and all other papers, documents and property that were turned over to the sub-committee of the State Committee by the Local Secretary.

"Local Hudson County also expresses hereby its confidence in its officers and in its County Committee, and directs them to continue to function as usual; and it further directs and empowers them to take such action as in their judgment may become necessary to protect the best interests of Local Hudson County and of the Socialist movement in Hudson County.

"Fraternally
"K. Smithouser, Secretary.
"Local Hudson County, Socialist Party of N. J."

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NEW HAVEN LITTLE THEATRE
Lincoln Avenue — 1 to 11 P.M.
April 12th, 13th, 14th
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April 16th, 17th, 18th
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Party Notes

Colorado
By Paul S. McCormick, State Sec'y
Local Denver, Branch 2, has initiated a state referendum repudiating the move of the National Executive Committee to seek to unite with farmer and labor organizations in a Farmer-Labor party. Another referendum would define the duties of party membership to repudiate activity within Township Plan organizations, while a third would place the seal of official office on the actions of the national office in the Indiana case.

Pennsylvania
Pittsburgh, David Williams, American Federation of Labor representative in the Pittsburgh district, will speak before the Labor Problems Forum Sunday eve, April 7, on "Labor Board Decisions."

Connecticut
Norwich Enters Full Ticket For June Elections. For the first time in the history of Norwich the Socialist Party will have a full city ticket entered for the June city election. The party at a meeting at Socialist headquarters endorsed candidates: Harold S. Littlejohn was chairman of the meeting and Maurice Goodblatt clerk. The candidates endorsed are: For alderman, Fred Holdsworth and Albert Borden; for councilmen, E. K. George, Aaron Goldblatt and Abraham Phillips; for city treasurer, Harold Littlejohn; for city clerk, Carl Johnson; for tax collector, Benjamin Harding; for water commissioner, Stanley C. Izbiak; for city sheriffs, Horace Boardman and Harry Lowman.

New Haven
The famous talkie "Chapayev" will be shown under the auspices of Local New Haven at the New Haven Little Theatre April 12, 13 and 14, from 1 to 11 p.m. Here is the opportunity for the local to put some funds in its treasury.

Hartford
"Chapayev" will be shown April 12, 13 and 14 at the Hartford Women's Club, 187 Broad St., from 2 to 10:30 p.m. The proceeds will go to the local Socialist organization.

New York State
State Committee. The State Committee of Fifteen will hold its semi-annual meeting Sunday, March 31, at 7 East 15th St., New York City, at noon. The State Executive Committee will meet in executive session at 11 a.m. State Secretary Merrill requests those desiring to file appeals or complaints with the State Executive Committee to put same in writing

Features of the Week on WEVD (1280 Mc.)

Sun., Mar. 30—11 a.m.—Forward Hour; 12 noon—Palestinian Music; 1 p.m.—Jewish Folk Songs; 2—Poet Philosopher; Don Carlos; 3:15—Jack Salzman, baritone; 3:30—Edith Friedman, piano; 4—Debate—"Shall We Have Immediate Currency Stabilization?" Affirmative, Dr. John L. Knudson and A. W. May; Negative, Dr. Jack Winkler and E. H. Collins.
Mon., April 1—8 a.m.—"Startling the Day Right," with Jacob S. List; 3:30 p.m.—String Ensemble; 5:30—Italian Music.
Tues., April 2—8 p.m.—A. D. Jones, baritone; 8:15—Royal Dutch Travelers; "Workers' Education"; 8:15—Charlotte Tomazay, violinist; 8:45—R. V. Kallenbach, next in "Radio"; 10—Rebel Arts Review, talk; 10:15—"The Three Debs," vocal trio; 10:30—"Paris in New York," music.
Wed., April 3—8:30 p.m.—"The Old Music Shop," sketch with music; 10—Gotham Male Quartet; 10:15—"The National Labor Scene"; 10:30—Ruth Neza, soprano; string quartet.
Thurs., April 4—8:15 p.m.—Irish Blackbirds Orchestra; 8:30—"The Virginians," vocal quartet; 8:45—Royal Dutch Travelers; Hendrick de Leeuw; 10—"The Building Service Hour," talks, music; 10:20—Newspaper Guild on the Air; 10:45—Forbes and Kroll, 2-piano team.
Fri., April 5—3:30 p.m.—Metropolitan String Ensemble; 8:30—Sigmund Sparth, "The Talent Detective"; 10:15—Washington Ensemble, talks by U. S. Senator; 10:45—Raymond Shannon, baritone.
Sat., April 6—10 a.m.—Voice of Local 89, Italian Variety Show; 6 p.m.—"Jewish Music of the New World"; 8—Lazar Frenkel, songs; 8:30—Metropolitan String Ensemble; 10—Hippodrome Grand Opera

Garment Workers Will Not Forget Lessons of Triangle Fire

by Fannia M. Cohn
Vice-President,
Inter'l Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

THE scope of the contribution women have made to the building of our International has yet to be evaluated. Among them are victims and martyrs. Who can forget the waismakers' general strike of 1909, the Uprising of the Twenty Thousand, of whom 80 per cent were women, mostly young girls?

The idealism, endurance and fearlessness displayed by these young women was one of the greatest events in the struggle for freedom of the labor movement, because they realized that there cannot be political freedom without economic power. The magnificent struggle of these 20,000 was the surprise of friend and foe; while fighting for improvement in their immediate conditions they were fired by the dream that it was possible to build a new world free from exploitation and poverty. They refused to accept conditions as they were because what had mainly attracted them to this continent was a vision of a new world and they did not believe that America had no more to offer them than sweatshop and industrial autocracy.

But the determination of these women, while it impressed even the employers, did not overwhelm them. While their moral victory and its significance inspired the "great revolt," the memorable 1910 general strike of the New York cloakmakers, the waismakers, did not at that time succeed in organizing a strong union in the industry, because greed was determined not to make concessions to the workers.

Trapped by Flames!
The waismakers therefore paid their terrible price in the Triangle tragedy of March 25, 1911. Who can forget that beautiful spring morning, when from a clear sky came the cries of hundreds of workers trapped in a sweatshop surrounded by flames! They rushed to the door only to find it locked because of the fear of the employers of union organizers. The firemen and breathless men and women stood by helplessly, and witnessed the heart-rending scene as human beings seeking to escape the flames leaped from the windows only to find their death on the cement pavements far below.

There was witnessed a ruthless struggle between labor and capital, with a sweatshop as the battleground. When the smoke cleared 146 victims, many of them still in their teens, were lying dead on the sidewalks or burned beyond recognition in the debris of the Triangle factory.

The waismakers know that had the strike in the Triangle factory been won and the union recognized the tragedy would not have happened, as the union would have compelled the employers to comply with the factory laws and keep the doors of the fire escapes open.

These tens of thousands of dressmakers, cloakmakers and other members of our International who followed the procession of mourning then resolved that these 146 unprotected human beings, sacrificed to greed and industrial autocracy, should not have perished in vain. These who followed the burned and maimed bodies knew there was only one way to prevent the repetition of such tragedies—that is a union strong enough to defend the workers in their daily struggles and to protect their very lives.

Keeping the Faith
The waismakers and dressmakers, members of our then Local 25 under the leadership of our International, together with the workers in our other industries, kept their faith. In 1933, New York witnessed an unforgettable scene. Our women workers, wrapper-makers, children's dressmakers, whitegoods workers, dressmakers and waismakers deserted their sweatshops in a general strike as a challenge to the employers that they would never return until their International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was recognized. Such recognition was to them a question of life and death, as it was the only guarantee to the tens of thousands that improved conditions, when exacted from the employers, would be enforced and with it a measure of safety and industrial democracy in the shop.

These strikes permanently established local unions in these trades and of course in our dress and waist industry in New York City. Since then every forward move, every gain in the improvement of conditions has been fought for by our International step by step. In each case the first demand was union recognition. They knew from bitter experience that no sooner was the strike over and the workers back at their machines than they would lose their newly won conditions unless they were a strong union, recognized by the employers, to protect them.

The dressmakers' union has had its ups and downs. Many a time, due to economic and international conditions, its position has been weakened. Especially has this been true during the present industrial

depression when hundreds of thousands in our industry slaved under the most degrading and humiliating conditions, with no control of hours and wages; no place to go for the redress of grievances. But during this most trying period we never forgot our resolve—that conditions which produced the Triangle fire, one of the symbols of the sweatshop, must be wiped out.

The Best Memorial
Our International, with its wide-awake leadership, with its spirit of youth and vigor, never forgot its historic tradition of progressivism and militancy. At the first opportunity, therefore, in 1933, members of our union with experience and ability were drafted as organizers who invaded every part of the country and by spoken and written word encouraged the workers to join the army of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and hence of the entire labor movement in its fight against sweatshop conditions and inhuman treatment.

Now our International is the protector and inspiration of hundreds of thousands of workers and their families throughout the land. Our

position in our industry and in our economic and social life has been re-established, better wages and hours gained and a measure of leisure attained.

Our International, through its Educational Department with its many years of experience, its far-seeing and constructive program, is giving our members a new meaning of life and of their position as workers and citizens. Everywhere our members and their families are singing the dressmakers' Song of Victory—and the song of hope and purpose the Anthem of our I.L.G.W.U.

The best memorial for the Triangle victims and to our martyrs who have sacrificed their health and in many instances their very lives to the building of our union and its inspiring tradition is a further resolve to increase our efforts to see the workers more strongly united in both the economic and political fields, and further to develop our workers' education movement to help in creating a new environment that will lend itself to fundamental political, economic and social changes.

Now That 7A Is Dead Labor Sees Need of Party

(Continued from Page One)

were not only strongly organized, but they had the full support of the workers in the garment trades. The garment center strike was settled with a closed shop agreement and substantial wage increases. But what happened when the strike was extended to the apartment house and general office building areas? The workers were not well organized, there were no workers who would strike in sympathy, and the strike-breaking tactics of Mayor LaGuardia in ordering police and fire departments to stand by to run the elevators resulted in settlements by an arbitration agreement which grants so little that no one can call the struggle worth while.

In the textile strike state troops and capitalist-controlled governors broke the strike of workers who were new recruits to the union and had insufficient money to withstand prolonged unemployment. When the textile barons refused to keep their plants closed after the union had offered to arbitrate all issues, the much-heralded liberal Governor John G. Winant of New Hampshire was afraid to ask the mill owners to keep their plants closed until a settlement could be effected, despite the fact that only a short time previously these same mill owners had asked the government to order every mill shut down to reduce inventories and allow the owners to keep up the high consumer prices. The government did order the mills closed for three weeks for this purpose, but the chairman of the Textile Board appointed by the President could not or did not ask—let alone order—the mills closed for three days to avoid unnecessary loss of life among the strikers who were victims of armed troops and guards.

The Wagner bill, although it will go far toward strengthening the powers of the National Labor Relations Board and its subsidiary regional boards, will not redeem the present situation unless constant pressure is exerted by organized labor.

In this connection labor must think of its experience in the past. Labor looked to the Clayton Act with confidence as an aid to labor. The law quickly became a dead letter. The courts continued to issue injunctions in labor disputes and to throttle labor unions. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act specifically exempted labor from its application, yet by court decision after decision it has been a powerful weapon to defeat and destroy labor. The result of the Wagner bill will be no different unless labor is prepared to enforce it by more thorough and efficient organization.

Many years ago Prof. Charles A. Beard declared that a law is no stronger than the public opinion behind it. We have seen this repeatedly borne out in the Prohibition Law, in local labor laws, and in the courts. Courts are responsive in the last analysis to public opinion. But labor has failed to create the organization and the public opinion which alone can compel the enforcement of laws designed to protect the rights of labor.

Without aggressive action and a renewed effort and determination to recruit more workers to the ranks of those already organized labor cannot look forward to much progress in the future. Petty jealousies and outworn conceptions must be forgotten in the face of the emergency. Labor has its back to the wall and must fight unitedly against the specious liberalism at Washington and the concerted efforts now under way from various directions to destroy it. And the fight must be not only to increase the numbers of those banded together in trade unions and enhance the effectiveness of the trade

union organizations but must take the form of independent political action as well.

The hopes raised by the Roosevelt administration have proven again what was always a fact—namely, that labor has nothing to expect from the old capitalist parties; that what it gets as its just due it must fight for.

The Socialist Party points the way. It calls for the organization of labor in a party of its own, dominated by the workers and led by men who know the labor movement and its needs not from reading books but from bitter experience and reality. In other countries where labor has formed its own parties its position is much stronger than it is in the United States. In some of these countries labor is at the head of the government. In Great Britain the Labor Party is again pressing forward for control of the state, and the day is not far distant when it will be in control and run the nation for the interests of all the people who toil.

It is time that American labor took this experience to heart and began to organize a political party of its own, in cooperation with farmers and all other toiling elements of the community. Together with these elements, labor comprises a majority of the nation. By using the political weapon instead of leaving it in the hands of its enemies to be used against it, labor can achieve its own emancipation and the liberation of the whole nation from greed, poverty and exploitation.

On the day when the workers of America grasp this lesson they will begin to build their own political party and strike out upon the road to power, power not merely for themselves but for all the people who work with brain and brawn and upon whose labor the very existence of this nation depends.

And with this power we will build a new, a better and truly free America.

Fascist Intrigue Could Not Halt Modigliani in Detroit

By S. Romualdi

(Concluded)

The major battle against fascist interference was fought and won in Detroit. There Vice-Consul Ungarelli, well known to the U. S. State Department, and to the House Committee investigating un-American activities, sent a letter to the Board of Education protesting the concession of the Eastern High School auditorium to the Detroit Labor Conference against Fascism for the Modigliani meeting. He threatened to appeal to the "Superior Authority and the State Department" against this "unfriendly" action to a country maintaining diplomatic relations with the United States. The timid souls of the Board of Education, by a majority vote, rescinded the concession of the auditorium three days before the date of the meeting. Comrade Larry Davidow, labor attorney and guiding spirit of the Detroit Labor Conference against Fascism, immediately asked for an injunction against the Board of Education. The case was argued in court, but the judge, while expressing a private opinion in favor of the concession of the Auditorium, could not deny the right of the Board of Education to rescind the concession.

The Italian fascists of Detroit were jubilant, but our comrades were quick in securing another hall—the Deutsches Haus—and with

"ANDY" FURUSETH, 81, OLDEST LABOR LEADER, STILL FIGHTING

"Andy" Furuseth, oldest international president of any labor organization in the world, is recovering in a Washington hospital from a serious abdominal operation performed last Saturday.

The grand old Viking passed his eighty-first birthday in the hospital, four days before he went on the operating table.

Furuseth has been head of the International Seamen's Union of America since 1908, and a delegate from that organization to A. F. of L. conventions since 1893.

A doughy fighter, he directed the Seamen's part of the Pacific Coast waterfront strike last summer from a hospital bed in San Francisco, suffering from the same ailment which finally necessitated an operation.

Communist Disrupters Warned in San Diego

SAN DIEGO, Cal.—Recent activities of a small group of Communists here were strongly condemned by delegates to the San Diego County Federated Trades and Labor Council.

"We believe in free speech," O. C. Heitman, president of the council, said. "We believe in the right of every man or woman to have any political, economic or religious belief he or she chooses. We are not interfering with those who believe in or advocate Communism or any other political theory. That is their own business."

"But when members of the Communist Party or any of its affiliated organizations, seek to join the union in the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of disrupting and destroying our unions, then it is our business."

"We have the right to and we will protect our unions by eliminating any such disruptive influences."

"This group, hostile to the American Federation of Labor, has recently received written orders from the Communist national headquarters to 'try to get in the local unions wherever possible.'"

Samuel Shore Sails to Study Puerto Rico Working Conditions

Samuel Shore, manager of White Goods Workers' Local 62, of the I.L.G.W.U., and labor member of the Neglee and Silk Underwear Code Authority, accompanied by Jonas Reiner, also a code authority member, has sailed for Puerto Rico to investigate, on behalf of the authority, the effects of introduction of machinery into the Puerto Rican underwear industry.

Until recently, the island product was largely handmade, but machines are being rapidly introduced even into the hill homes of the natives.

The inquiry will concern itself with the following questions: How many machines have actually been introduced into both the homes and the factories? How many machines have been shipped within the past six months? How many island workers are organized in unions?

Meetings of Trade Union Socialists

Saturday, March 30
1:30 p.m.—Local 25, A.C.W., at 7 East 15th St., N. Y. C.
Monday, April 1
6:00 p.m.—Furriers in Rand School Cafeteria, 7 E. 15th St.

Labor Excoriates Unholy Alliance In California's Paradise

By our Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON.—Bitter ex-coriation of the unholy alliance of employers and California state authorities that resulted in the murder of two men in the recent Imperial Valley strike of fruit and vegetable workers is contained in an account of the trouble by Joseph M. Casey, general organizer of the American Federation of Labor in Southern California.

Anger over the brutal suppression of the strike swept California labor and was reflected in strongly worded resolutions adopted by the Los Angeles Central Labor Council.

Casey's account of the Imperial Valley strike was made at the request of the Long Beach, Cal., Central Labor Council. He was in the valley during the strike, led by the Fruit and Vegetable Workers' Local Union No. 18211, an A. F. of L. affiliate. Casey said:

"For several years back the unconscionable public officials, goaded on by lawless absentee land-

lords, have successfully defied federal and state intervention.

"The program of infamy pursued in the Imperial Valley ranges from scurrilous insulting attacks upon the person of the President of the United States to the savage and unmentionable exploitation of alien Mexicans.

"No authority, no laws and no rights that conflict with the dastardly code of the 'powers that be' in 'Imperial Valley'—as they love to call it—are permitted an existence.

"With this confronting them it is easy to conceive what terrific odds a group of migratory fruit and vegetable workers faced in the prosecution of a strike for their just deserts.

Workers Organized

"Each year in early winter thousands of vegetable workers migrate to Imperial Valley to process and pack a lettuce crop that normally comprises about 15,000 car loads.

"For the first time in the history of the valley, December of 1934, found these fruit and vegetable workers fairly well organized under the banner of the Fruit and

Vegetable Workers' Local Union No. 18211 of the American Federation of Labor.

"This organization had succeeded in establishing decent wages and humane working conditions throughout California with the exception, of course, of the Imperial Valley.

"Without proposing a single drastic change, the officers of the union, as far back as December 15, 1934, asked to meet representatives of the Shipper-Growers, as the employers are known, and were repeatedly stalled off.

"Personal interviews were sought, letters were forwarded, but all to absolutely no avail. Finally, on February 3, 1935, the union drafted an agreement embodying the rates of pay and working conditions prevalent in the lettuce industry.

"An order was voted to strike any Shipper-Grower who, after reasonable time to negotiate, failed to meet with the union's demands.

The American Cesspool
"By February 12, 1935, eight Shipper-Growers signed the union agreement and about 52 held out. At 3 P. M. on this date about 1,500 shed workers walked off their jobs in Imperial Valley.

"The orderly manner in which the walkout was conducted and the systematic and highly effective program of peaceful picketing that was followed, brought about a type of opposition possible only in this cesspool of America.

"A crew of irresponsible and unknown morons was prevailed upon to break the strike with the law-enforcing bodies arming them with pick handles, pistols and deputies' badges. This unnecessary and promiscuous deputizing of non-resident strike-breakers finally resulted in the uncalculated and cold-blooded murder of two striking pickets.

"Next we find the State of California shamefully aiding and abetting this land of terroristic vigilantism and fascism by sending in police from the state highway patrol.

"The attitude of these 'co-sacks' was so bitterly biased that union strikers were hunted from the public streets like dogs.

"What a sad commentary on our vaunted American civilization that such a lawless area is permitted to exist—yes! not only permitted but actually assisted by the taxes of millions of Californians."

Hosiery Workers Protest Bosses' "Black List"

HIGH POINT, N. C.—A bitter protest against the "Black List" enforced by southern hosiery and textile employers has been filed with the National Textile Labor Relations Board by Representative H. I. Adams of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers.

The Robbins Hosiery mill here not only refuses to reinstate employees according to the decision of the National Textile Labor Relations Board, but these discriminated Robbins workers are refused employment in any other mill in this area, Adams charges.

"The NRA is no longer in existence," is what the Robbins employees are told by the firm when seeking to be reinstated as per instructions of the Board," Adams writes. "The Robbins' firm not only defies the orders of the Textile Board but punishes the strikers and unionists by blacklist methods. "Must we stand by and see these workers starve because we and they thought Section 7-A meant what it said?" Adams asks in his letter to Washington authorities.

BOOST THE NEW LEADER!

Do two things, build the Socialist Party and get subs for The New Leader to help build it.

UNION DIRECTORY

BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS, 218 W. 40th St., Julius Hochman, Gen. Mgr.; Philip Kap, Sec'y-Treas.
BUCKERS, STITCHERS AND PLEATERS UNION, Local 66, 114 E. 17th St., Phone Algonquin 4-3657.
CAP MAKERS UNION, Local No. 1, Tel. Orchard 4-9860—Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Ave., New York City.
CLOAK, DRESS, DRIVERS & HELPERS UNION, Local 102, I.L.G.W.U., Affiliated with A. F. of L. 131 West 33rd St., Chickering 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 Temple Square 9-5400. J. Hollander, J. Catalano, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.
FUR DRESSERS UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union, Office and headquarters, 919 W. 10th St., Brooklyn; STAG 2-9788. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice-President, Stephen Tobasco; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Heib.
JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAISTMAKERS UNION—Office: 212 West 40th St., N.Y.C. Tel. Longacre 5-5108. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening; Joint Board meets every Wednesday evening.
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, 69 West 33rd St., Phone, WIder 7-9011. 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 Superstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.
MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, Downtown office, 640 Broadway; phone, Spring 7-4548; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St.; phone, WIdconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 o'clock. Manager, N. Spector; Secretary, Alex Rose; Organizers, J. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Exec. Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Rodos.
NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11014, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St., Phone, ALgonquin 4-7092. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottman, Secretary-Treasurer.
WAITERS' AND WAITRESSES' UNION, Local No. 1, A. F. of L. and U. I. T., 200-7th Ave., W. Lehman, Sec'y; Tel.: LACKawanna 4-5483.
WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 62 of I.L.G.W.U., 873 Broadway, New York City. Telephone, ALgonquin 4-1861. S. Shore, Manager.

"Not to Say 'What a World!' But to Change It"

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

DRIVING DRAMA

"TILL THE DAY I DIE" and "WAITING FOR LEFTY." Two plays by Clifford Odets. Group Theatre at the Longacre.

PROPAGANDA PLAYS?

It is impossible, in this column, to avoid comment on remarks that recently stirred heated comment, concerning Clifford Odets and the Group. Not having attended the playwright's baptism, I cannot say with what attitude toward workers he was born; but there is no question that a sincere concern in their problems and desire for their betterment animates the author of "Awake and Sing," "Till the Day I Die," and "Waiting for Lefty." The plays are communistic in their underlying philosophy, it is true. What then? We should expect an Englishman to write plays about England; a pacifist, of the horrors of war. Shall we cry out: "It's a Communist play, or a Communist play; damn it!" Socialists have been victims of such treatment, from both Communists and capitalists. Justice, truth, lie along another course.

It seems to me, remarked a New York school superintendent, "examining" a teacher during the World War, "it seems to me that you are giving a very feeble criticism of what amounts to a sedition article." The teacher (whose name is over this review) replied: "I feel that, in calling attention to the logical errors, I am covering the essentials." That feeling applies equally here. So far as the social philosophy of a play is concerned, we must ask: Are the premises sound? Does the conclusion logically follow? If so, whatever label the philosophy may have, there is no escaping its potency. Let us look at Odets' two new plays.

THE GERMAN SITUATION

"Till the Day I Die" is a stirring picture of Communist underground work in Berlin today. Save for some incidental moments in "Rain From Heaven," it is the most penetrating, as it is the strongest, study of various types affected by the Hitler regimentation: the megalomaniac leader, bullying yet afraid, consoling himself with the cry "I am lonely; Hitler is lonely; God is lonely"; the man who (as some weak Americans became hundred-percenters last they be labeled reds) turns Nazi in fear; and several types among those who are dogging the way to a better world. Even more interesting than the efforts of the Communists are the devices by which the Nazis, when they cannot beat a man to betray his comrades, try to make him seem a stool-pigeon, so that either way he is lost to the cause.

Before he shoots himself, the man who had tried to play Nazi, but could not stomach it, cries out: "Not the red front, but the united front!" The play gives a gruesome picture of Nazi cruelty; with its destructive presentation few will quarrel; constructively, it shows a devoted group risking—and giving—their lives to fight the injustice and the horrors of Fascism, and crying to the workers of the world to unite in defense of all that's dear. If there were as much sincerity in the world as gives substance to this play, that united front would be more than an impracticable dream!

THEATRE UNION BALL

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Exclusive of Admission

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AT CARNEGIE HALL
Sunday Afternoon at 3:00
BRAHMS CYCLE V

Wed. Eve. at 8:45; Fri. Aft. at 2:30
Next Sunday Afternoon at 3:00
Last Concert of Brahms Cycle
Arthur Judson, Mgr. (Stetson)

AN AMERICAN STRIKE

"Waiting for Lefty" strikes nearer home, and is even more powerful. It has its moments of exaggeration: the portrait of the desperate wife goading her husband to strike; the "yes-girl" secretary of the producer who, when her boss goes, bids the jobless actor read the Communist Manifesto; the fact that the stool-pigeon is exposed by his own brother. It is guilty of the frequent Communist playing into Fascist hands, in its picture of the labor leader as a capitalist rat (which may be true in individual instances, but destroys any general validity of the portrait). But there is grim reality in the sordid glimpses of the hackmen's lives, and irony that pricks deep in everyone's waiting for Lefty, who all the time is lying quietly behind the car barn, with a bullet through his head. Any application of a particular radical philosophy—of whatever "ism"—is irrelevant to the play, and mars its otherwise thoroughly gripping, dramatic presentation of the background of a strike.

The scenic effects in both plays are simple but extremely effective. The actors may be members of the regular "Group" company, but in the second play they seem taken right from taxi cab seats to play their parts. But we pay them the high compliment of not heeding them as we watch the dramas; and we reflect upon one of the theatre's most stimulating evenings, to feel that in such plays the social value of the drama is growing more nearly realized. Whatever the ideology of the players, their work is setting a brilliant example to all who are concerned with the theatre both as an art and as a social force, leading us (in Odets' words) "not to say 'What a world!' but to change it."

"THE THUNDERBOLT OF BROADWAY"—LITERARY DIGEST
HERMAN SHULJIN presents
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MAXINE ELLIOTT'S THEATRE WEST 39th STREET
Evenings 8:50—50c to \$3. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40—50c to \$2

"Theatre Union Hits the Mark with Black Pit."—Anderson, Eve. Journal
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ELISABETH BERGNER
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CROSBY GAIGE, Inc., presents
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The Musical Hit!
Production conceived and directed by HASSARD SHORT
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Book by Moss Hart—Music by Johann Strauss—Dances by Albertina Rasch
The CENTER THEATRE, 6th Ave. & 49th St.—Evenings at 8:30,
50c to \$3.30—Mats. Wed. & Sat. at 2:30,
50c Orchestra Seats Every Night at \$2.20

"Let's Live Tonight" at Brooklyn Strand

"Let's Live Tonight," produced by the makers of "One Night of Love," co-starring Lillian Harvey and Tullio Carminati, is at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre as part of the new double feature program. The accompanying feature is "Rocky Mountain Mystery," a Zane Grey story with Randolph Scott, Charles "Chic" Sale, Mrs. Leslie Carter, Ann Sheridan and Kathleen Burke.

Scene From "Chapayev"



The successful Russian film, which has scored so heavily at the Cameo and Acme theatres in New York, will open April 12th at the Little Theatre in New Haven, Connecticut

Nancy Carroll in "I'll Love You Always" at the Roxy
Nancy Carroll in her newest starring picture, "I'll Love You Always," opens today at the Roxy Theatre. Appearing opposite Miss Carroll is George Murphy, recently seen with her in "Jealousy." Others in the cast include Raymond Walburn, Jean Dixon, Arthur Hohl, Robert Allen, Harry Beresford and Paul Harvey.

At Palace, Albee and Other RKO Theatres



Ginger Rogers as she appears in the film version of the musical hit "Roberta"

Molly Picon in Person at Fox Brooklyn—"Living on Velvet" on Screen

Molly Picon, one of the best known yiddish stars of the day, and equally well known on the vaudeville stages of the country, will appear in person this week, headlining the stage show at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre. But recently returned from a successful European tour, Miss Picon will offer new songs, new gowns and new stories during her engagement at the Fox.

The Fox' new film attraction is "Living on Velvet" with Kay Francis, Warren Williams and George Brent.

SAMUEL GOLDWYN presents
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ANNA STEN
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Soviet Russia's First Great
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IN PERSON
and other Star Acts
TWO BIG HITS!!
25c
105 P.M.
W. KATZ

"Black Pit" Where Workers Drudge Their Weary Days

DARK DAYS

"BLACK PIT." By Albert Maltz. The Theatre Union at the Civic Repertory.

Those who want some idea of the terrible conditions in the coal mines can do no better than see Albert Maltz' new play down on Fourteenth Street. The news-reels have recently shown us families living in the coke-ovens referred to in the play; but the patch is little better, despite the genuine friendliness and humanity Mr. Maltz makes us feel among the workers. Throughout the play there beats upon us the grim recognition that the profit system means greed and cruelty and lies and wretchedness, that even united action in strikes means war, and that only the elimination of the basic cause, the capitalist system, will bring peace and fair dealing and good times for all.

All this is as a background to the story of Joe Kovarsky, miner. Framed for his part in a strike, Joe returns from three years in jail to find himself blacklisted, his wife afraid of the coming motherhood he sets upon her, his brother-in-law crippled and dependent upon the company's charity. Driven to desperation, Joe finds nothing to do save accept a job as the company's "friend"; he gradually weakens into the betraying ways of a stool-pigeon, and when the strike comes, must run away to save his sorry head.

True as this picture may be, everything in the theatre rebels against it. Not only does the audience (not to mention the workers onstage) want to see Joe refuse to betray his comrades; but all of Joe's own surroundings, his family, his history up to this point (he comes out of prison not subdued but seeking revenge) make us expect him to hold out with the workers, though he starve. In order to make his betrayal credible, therefore the author is forced to artificial contrivances and unreal

Tashamira at Guild
Tashamira, colorful dancer from Croatia, will be seen in a recital this Sunday evening at the Guild Theatre.

coincidences that bring the play from sound social study to the level of melodrama: the wife is scared because she saw her mother die of childbirth when a doctor might have saved her; the strike threatens just when she is expecting her child; the mine superintendent comes with his lure when the labor pains begin, and swears (by God and b'Jesus) he'll throw them out of their company house, baby 'n' all, unless Joe tells him the union organizer's name. And more. Alan Baxter's overacting in the part, and the somewhat stilted dialect of the miners' speech, do not lessen this melodramatic quality; although the lesser parts are generally well played, and make the effect natural and vivid, building a gruesome picture of the "black pit" that provides power for our system, built equally on the greeds and misery here potentially displayed. J. T. S.

SECOND WEEK FOR
Naughty Marietta
"SUPERLATIVES for 'Naughty Marietta'! It's the top. Madly enthusiastic audience applauded each song. The ovation has not been approached in recent movie memory. Jeanette MacDonald is thrice-crowned queen of song-stars... Eddy a thrilling thrush cast in the heroic mold."—Regina Crewe, N. Y. American

"Such love songs not heard since 'One Night of Love'. Would have delighted its composer... gayly romantic and rhapsodically
—Andre Sennwald, Times
"Handsomely produced it's charming and tuneful entertainment... Nelson Eddy sings brilliantly."
—Rose Pelwick, Journal
★ ★ ★ ½ ★ "A fitting tribute to the composer of the operetta. Eddy steals the spotlight with fine, full-powered voice."
—Kate Cameron, News
"A perfection of cinema light opera... Eddy a brilliant barytone... masculine, engaging and good looking... as charming as a screen operetta ever is likely to be!"
—Richard Watts, Jr., Herald-Trib.
"Those advance enthusiasts were justified. This handsome version should please even Victor Herbert himself. Eddy is a find; MacDonald is at the top!"
—Eileen Creelman, Sun
"An exquisite film, so rich musically and strong in story it makes the average movie seem tawdry. Great entertainment!"
—Bland Johanson, Mirror

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FLORENCE & ALVAREZ
BONNER & NEWMAN
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