

Official Organ
of the
SOCIALIST PARTY
of the States of
New York,
Pennsylvania,
Maryland and
West Virginia

NEW LEADER

Vol. XVIII—No. 14

In 2 Sections—Sec. 1

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, APRIL 6th, 1935

New York City Edition—PRICE FIVE CENTS

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

'No Peace with Hitler' German Socialists Warn in Stirring Manifesto to the World

UTW Demands Probe of Textile Industry by U.S.

Union Urges New Code, Charging Employers Have Wrecked Labor Sections of Present Instrument

By Our Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON.—Demand for Congressional action in dealing with the cotton textile industry, submission of an 8-point program including suggestions for reorganization of the whole industry and demand for imposition of a new code to replace the current code, which the union contends has been repudiated by the industry as far as its labor section is concerned, were all contained in a letter sent to the President, to all Cabinet members, to all members of the House and Senate and to the chairmen of the Textile and National Labor Relations Boards by the United Textile Workers of America.

Correct Evils Quickly

Francis J. Gorman, first vice-president, signed the letter which does not convey "any threat of immediate strike," but declares that one must come unless the evils of the industry are corrected quickly.

As the union's letter went out, representatives of striking workers in the Callaway mills of Georgia testified as to low wage conditions which recently forced the walkout. Workers said that after the new Bedeaux "stretch-out" system was installed the scale dropped from \$13 to \$7 per week for various types of work.

The letter in full, follows:

"Because of the present desperate plight of American textile workers this letter is addressed to you and to every member of the Cabinet and of Congress, as well as to the Chairmen of the National Labor Relations Board and the Textile Labor Relations Board.

The Curtailment Order

"The curtailment order of the National Industrial Recovery Board under which production will be reduced 25 per cent during the coming three months, has created a condition which violates every principle of the Recovery Program.

"This order will cut production 25 per cent.

"It will cut wages 25 per cent, reducing the present average wage from about \$12 per week to about \$8 per week.

"It will reduce employment that much or more.

"The futility of this move as a cure is proven by the fact that a similar program last fall led to a nation-wide strike and an entire month of almost complete stoppage, with the evil recurring within five months.

"The United Textile Workers of America have offered management every possible kind of co-operation. The union offered to join in a program of economy and market expansion. Its offers have been ignored.

A Strike May Come

"This condition cannot continue. We have proposed a complete shutdown for one month as preferable, the month to be used in joint study to find a permanent operating program.

"We have proposed government subsidies to retire obsolete machinery and thus permanently reduce production capacity.

"But management, haughty and autocratic, defies the Recovery Act and defies the union.

"I am not conveying any threat of immediate strike, but I know that if these conditions continue a strike must come at a not far distant date.

"It is perfectly clear to me that the next strike, when it comes, will be much more bitter than the last and that it will not end until one side or the other is completely

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Hitler is preparing to make war, and the organized German Social Democracy is mobilizing the masses against Hitlerism.

And This Is Why We Went to War

Something to Remember on the Anniversary of Our Entry Into the War to Make the World Safe for Democracy

Cablegram sent by Walter Hines Page, American Ambassador to Great Britain, to President Wilson March 5, 1917. A month later we were in the war.

ENGLAND cannot continue her present large purchases in the United States without shipments of gold to pay for them and she cannot maintain large shipments of gold. . . . The almost immediate danger therefore is that Franco-American exchange will be so disturbed that orders by all the allied governments will be reduced to the lowest minimum and there will be almost a cessation of trans-Atlantic trade. This, of course, cause a panic in the United States. . . .

If we should go to war with Germany, ALL THE MONEY WOULD BE KEPT IN OUR COUNTRY, TRADE WOULD BE CONTINUED AND ENLARGED UNTIL THE WAR ENDS, AND AFTER THE WAR EUROPE WOULD CONTINUE TO BUY FOOD AND WOULD BUY FROM US ALSO AN ENORMOUS SUPPLY OF

THINGS TO RE-EQUIP HER PEACE INDUSTRIES. WE SHOULD THUS REAP THE PROFIT OF AN UNINTERRUPTED, PERHAPS AN ENLARGING TRADE, OVER A NUMBER OF YEARS AND WE SHOULD HOLD THEIR SECURITIES IN PAYMENT.

I think the pressure of this approaching crisis has gone beyond the ability of the Morgan financial agency for the British and French governments. The need is becoming too great and urgent for any private agency to meet, for every such agency has to encounter the jealousy of rivals and of sections.

PERHAPS OUR GOING TO WAR IS THE ONLY WAY IN WHICH OUR PRESENT PREEMINENT TRADE POSITION CAN BE MAINTAINED AND A PANIC AVERTED.

IMPORTANT SOCIALIST VICTORIES IN DANISH ELECTION CONTESTS

With a total gain of 41 seats in various provincial councils, the Socialists of Denmark won an important victory in recent local elections.

The Left Agrarians lost 40 seats and the Democrats 18, while the Socialists gained 41 and the Conservatives 5.

The German sections in North Schleswig, returned to Denmark by plebiscite following the close of the World War, were allotted six seats in the new provincial council. The Nazis named their own ticket everywhere, but they elected only one candidate in each of three districts.

With the intense Nazi propaganda in the border sections, and the terrific drive of Conservatives, Communists and Nazis against the Social Democratic government of Denmark, it is of the highest importance that the lines in that country are being sharply drawn. Social Democracy alone is the bulwark against dictatorship, both Bolshevik and fascist.

Martin B. Baumann Elected To Milwaukee School Board

MILWAUKEE.—Martin B. Baumann, Socialist, was re-elected to the Milwaukee school board at Tuesday's election. The board will thus have four Socialists in a total membership of 15.

Early returns indicate a good vote throughout the state for Glenn Turner, candidate for Supreme Court Judge.

Mrs. Harold Steele was elected to the West Allis School Board and Armin B. Piepenhagen was re-elected to the Common Council in Wauwatosa.

Socialist Senator Wins Buenos Aires In Big Landslide

The Argentine Socialist Party won a remarkable and important victory in the election for a national Senator from the Federal capital, according to a New York Times wireless. The Socialist Senator Alfredo Palacios, was re-elected by 179,619 to 30,339 for the candidate representing the coalition of parties backing President Agustin Justo.

The election proved the Independent Socialist Party, a split-off from the official Socialist Party, has practically ceased to exist. It is represented in the Cabinet by Finance Minister Federico Pinedo and Agriculture Minister Luis Duhaio. The election is interpreted as a repudiation for Senator Pinedo's financial and taxation measures.

Socialist Ministry of Norway Is Announced

Johann Nygaardsvold, the new Socialist Premier of Norway, has announced the personnel of his cabinet. Nygaardsvold himself, in addition to the premiership, assumes the Ministry of Labor.

The other Socialist ministers are: Koht, Foreign Affairs; Indebø, Finance; Madson, Commerce; Vergsvik, Social Welfare; Hjeltnet, Culture; Monsen, Defense; Ystgaard, Agriculture, and Lie, Justice.

The motive that prompts us in the publication of this paper is to educate the working masses in a constructive political program that will enable us to establish a more secure and orderly state of society.

COUGHLIN A FOE OF UNION LABOR AND A SCAB EMPLOYER

HOT shot was poured into Father Coughlin, Huey Long and Hugh S. Johnson in a report by the Methodist Federation for Social Service, which charged that the three represent fascist trends. It is pointed out that the Louisiana dictator's state is a cesspool of poverty with no modern labor legislation, and Coughlin's anti-labor record is bared.

"Coughlin's office workers get less than a living wage," the report asserted. "He put up his church buildings with non-union labor, which he paid at a rate 40 per cent below the union scale. He has his printing done in a non-union shop."

"The International Typographical Union and the Cleveland Federation of Labor have openly denounced him for his non-union policy. And the A. F. of L. once appointed a committee to interview him on this matter. But he would not see the committee."

"During the automobile strike last spring he spoke sympathetically of company unions. Recently he has said: 'Strikes and lockouts are absolutely unnecessary.' He advocates 'giving real power to the Department of Labor, letting it take over the functions of collective bargaining,' thus supplanting the A. F. of L."

"The sort of unions he has in mind are shop committees or councils—but controlled and regulated by the State. This practice in Italy and Germany has delivered labor bound and gagged into the hands of the employer."

Party Executive Declares Only Collapse of Third Reich Can Prevent Catastrophe; Calls the People at Home to Revolution

By John Powers

FROM its seat in Prague the Executive Committee of the German Social Democratic Party has issued a ringing manifesto warning the world that there can be no peace with Hitler, that any

treaties concluded with his government will prove mere scraps of paper.

The German Socialists accuse Hitler of plotting to carry his methods of murder and violence across the frontiers. They demand that the nations give sup-

port to the heroic fighters in Germany, who are working for the overthrow of the Hitler regime, and warn that the very fate of Europe is bound with the success of these efforts.

"The road to peace lies over the destruction of the existing despotism," the Socialist manifesto declares. "There is no other."

A copy of the manifesto, which may well prove historic, has just reached this country, together with authoritative information on the Hitler government's war preparations and the internal political situation in Germany, which will be found in another column.

The text of the manifesto follows:

"Hitler has proclaimed the re-establishment of universal military service. Duped by the propaganda of the radio and the coordinated press, masses give him their applause. Millions of those who think stand aside in the silence that has been imposed upon them.

Regime Cries to Heaven

"The German Social Democracy has always fought for understanding among the peoples and equal rights for Germany. The evacuation of the occupied territories five years in advance of treaty provision, the recognition of Germany as an equal in the League of Nations, reduction and final cancellation of reparations were the results of the policy inaugurated and consistently supported by the German Social Democracy. This was the very policy that had been fanatically opposed by Hitler.

"With Hitler came the inauguration of a policy of political adventure and force. To deflect the attention of the people from the loss of their rights, the bankruptcy of National Socialist economy, and the sinking corruption of the regime that cries to heaven, the powers of the Third Reich require the fanning of nationalist instincts, the false glitter of patriotic parades, of military pomp. To make secure their booty they now play with war.

"Now Hitler says, speaking of the early years of the Republic, in his manifesto of March 16:

Hitler's Foreign Policy
"The German people, through its governments as well as its parties, had been guided by ideas which correspond fully to the democratic-pacifist principles of the League of Nations and its founders."

"Hitler forgot to add that the champions of these ideals have been murdered in his Reich or driven into strange lands by his assassin hands. A man who wages such barbarous war against the friends of peace among his own people will seek in vain to convince the world of his love of peace. What he seeks is nothing else than to apply the methods of violence he uses at home in the domain of foreign policy.

Smash the Despotism

"But Hitler has forgotten one other thing. Universal military service is a child of the French Revolution. The Rights of Man are its essential corollary. Military service without liberty is slavery. Military service without the right of the people to determine war and peace is forced labor for the existing despotism. Against it we raise the cry for equal rights and liberty: freedom of the individual, of science, of press, of political and religious opinion, of assembly and organization, and restoration of the social rights of the workers. The battle for these rights cannot end otherwise than in the smashing of the despotism.

"The world must finally realize what is at stake. It is senseless to conclude treaties with a power which tramples all the laws of humanity under its feet. But it is false and unjust to hold the whole German people responsible for a

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Forces of Opposition Rising in Germany As Discontent with Hitler Grows

Social Democracy, Backed by the Fine Loyalty of Rank and File, Is Gathering Hosts for Overthrow of Fascist Rule.

(The following article, written for The New Leader by one of the most distinguished representatives of the German Social Democracy now abroad, presents a clear, objective picture of the internal situation in Germany. The facts given are based upon confidential reports direct from Germany. While refraining from arousing exaggerated hopes or creating illusions as to the immediate possibilities, the article is distinctly encouraging as showing the rise of an opposition movement in Germany and the gathering of revolutionary forces, led by the Social Democracy, which will ultimately, in one way or another, do away with the Hitler regime. The signature of the author is a pseudonym. For obvious reasons we cannot reveal his name.)

By Hans Rheinlaender

AS he recalled, a few weeks after Hitler's blood purge of June 30 there was an election in Germany in which Hitler sought to prove that the people were behind him. It is not necessary to speak of the manner in which elections are conducted in Germany since the Nazis took possession of the country and compel every voter to run a gauntlet of uniformed hoodlums lining the approaches to the polling places, clear to the voting booths themselves.

Despite this slavery, only 72.1 per cent of those entitled to vote in Berlin and 71.5 per cent in Hamburg cast their ballots for the dictator in the election August 19, 1934.

In the country districts it would have been easy for the Nazis to count from 10 to 20 per cent more votes than those actually registered.

The effects of the blood purge upon the Nazi battalions were varied. At any rate, most of them felt the restraint of fear lest there be a repetition of the mass murder. But since then there has been a marked change in the situation. The opposition in the country is growing. And what is more important, it is organizing.

On the basis of reliable information from all parts of Germany we now have a clear picture of the situation.

First, there are to be noted among the opposition elements monarchists of various groups, the Stahlhelm, remnants of the Young German Order, and the Black Front. These are groups who have contacts with the army, the big landed interests and heavy industry.

Then there is the opposition of the Evangelical [Protestant] and Catholic churches, of which the first represents a distinct manifestation of the conservative opposition against the regime, while the second supports itself upon its Catholic labor and youth organizations.

Then come the fighting groups of the Social Democrats and Communists, as well as various Socialist splinter groups.

The divisions in the opposition's

ranks are not its only weakness. Large portions of it are still organizationally quite weak. This applies particularly to the Communists, despite the fact that the regime continues to shout loudest about he Communists in order to keep alive the Communist bogey as propaganda for support of the regime. The Communists conduct their illegal activities in ruthless and senseless manner. As their activities continue, increasing numbers of the most active workers, those with the greatest capacity for leadership, fill the jails. The policy of the Communists is showing itself to be more and more a senseless and inexcusable waste of the workers' resources. This cannot possibly lead to anything good.

The so-called Black Front of Otto Strasser, who resides in Prague, represents a Nazi group which seeks to lay emphasis upon its pseudo-Socialism. Incidentally, we may mention that several months ago an intimate associate of Otto Strasser calmly took a trip to Berlin, where he betrayed all the secrets of his friends and the organization.

The church groups and the opposition groups of the Right are politically weak because fundamentally they are fighting not against the system as a whole but for concessions. The opposition groups of the middle classes can still best be characterized as being governed by "fear of chaos." The chaos they believe would ensue upon Hitler's fall. In general, it may be said that this fear constitutes the negative mass basis of the Hitler regime at present.

The Social Democracy occupies a separate position among the forces of the opposition. Before the counter-revolution it constituted the largest and strongest single party, with the best organization and the best trained staff of workers and lieutenants. That organization was broken up by the Nazis. But the human beings who comprised it have not disappeared, even though thousands have been killed, dragged into concentration camps, or driven from the country. The great bulk of the membership is still there. The marvelous loyalty to the party which the rank and file continues to display constitutes the firm basis of our illegal, underground activities.

At the beginning our underground work suffered under the immediate psychologic disadvantages generated by the debacle. A period of impassioned self-criticism ensued. But in increasing measure do the comrades in Germany now turn their gaze from the past to the future. The discussion on democracy versus dictatorship, which only a few months ago received so much attention, is also beginning to abate. The people as a whole are now passing through a period of practical education as they view the horrible tragedy of the nation. The lessons of experience have not remained without effect upon the objectives which the Socialists have set for themselves. The real ruling elements behind the Hitler regime's facade are now being perceived, and the immediate question before us is how

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Hope of Educators Lies in Socialism

By George W. Hartmann
School of Education, Pennsylvania
State College

FEW people realize that more than a million persons in the United States are engaged in the business of teaching. The Census of 1930 listed 1,105,921 teachers, and while that number has undoubtedly declined during the last five years, it must be supplemented by the recent graduates of normal schools and teachers' colleges who are legally qualified to teach (as shown by the possession of some kind of State Certificate) but who find themselves unemployed because of economic conditions.

There must also be at least a half-million housewives who taught for some years before marriage, and thousands of men who were once teachers and have now shifted to other occupations. It is consequently correct to hold that almost two million American adults are, or have been, intimately associated with the operation of our educational plant.



G.W. Hartmann

The existence of this large body of literate (if not always intelligent!) citizens, most of whom live without participation in the radical or labor movement, constitutes a distinct challenge to the Socialist forces of the country. We have no way of knowing what proportion of teachers have already been won to the Socialist viewpoint, although it is probably safe to say that it is as large as, if not larger, than the ratio of Socialist sympathizers in other fields, even including organized labor. It is also probable that the relative number of advocates of Socialism increases as one goes up the educational ladder from elementary school to university.

To a certain extent, there is something flattering about this fact, for it would seem to indicate that the better-trained educational workers arrive naturally at a Socialist position. But it is also mildly disconcerting, for it lends some support to the charge that the Socialist movement is a head without a body, i.e., over-weighted with the intelligentsia. The answer to this charge, of course, is to push the work of enlightenment among the rank-and-file of classroom teachers.

Teachers Combat Fascism

The year 1935 is more favorable to such an endeavor than most past years have been. In the first place, the American Federation of Teachers (affiliated with the A. F. of L., and as integral a part of it as the United Mine Workers) has shown a steady and gratifying in-

Dr. George W. Hartmann

WE are glad to introduce Professor Hartmann to our readers with the accompanying article. Dr. Hartmann, who holds the degree of Ph.D. from Columbia, has been Professor of Educational Psychology at Pennsylvania State College since his 24th year. He is known throughout the educational world as a leader in his field, and is the author of many specialized studies. He is a member of the Teachers' Union, and in 1934 he was Socialist candidate for Congress in the 23rd Pennsylvania District.

crease during the last decade. Until most teachers recognized the limitations of the old-line educational associations with their narrow social horizon, and established a more militant organization based upon the unity of all workers of hand and brain, it was futile to expect any strong Socialist leanings from the mass of the profession. Secondly, there has recently been established a brilliant and effective periodical, The Social Frontier, whose editorial policy commits it to an endeavor to persuade the teachers of America to align themselves with the forces of collectivism. While not actively endorsing the Socialist program or that of any other existing left-wing group, it is a powerful influence for good in combating the dangers of fascism and in preparing the ground for the coming of a planned economy of plenty.

It would be folly to assume that the bulk of teachers today are sponsoring a progressive outlook on national affairs, and most of those who timidly raise a voice of protest against insufferable conditions have not advanced beyond the stage where they know that something is wrong but are ignorant of the cause or the possible remedy. Nevertheless, the forces of pedagogical conservatism are on the defensive, and the wise Socialist worker will do well to emphasize the following facts to his teacher friends:

Insecurity of Teachers

The average teacher's salary (taking the country as a whole) is less than the minimum wage set for unskilled labor in various NRA codes. (Now, what do you say about maintaining professional standards?) Most teachers have suffered severe reductions in pay (which weren't very fancy in the first place) or have undergone the humiliation of not being paid at all for months at a time. What does this mean in terms of economic security, long one of the big arguments for entering a "steady" but relatively ill-paid occupation?

The Federal Office of Education estimates that three million children of school age are not receiving any schooling. But we

are able to build more battle-ships than ever before!

Since the typical school teacher comes from a family of modest socio-economic status, she has had to contribute to the support of relatives temporarily or permanently deprived of the means of self-support. The common phrase, "Tax the poor to support the poor," acquires new meaning in this light.

Insecurity of tenure has been emphasized by wholesale dismissals authorized by lay boards of education dominated by reactionary business interests. Even the best scientific expert or most distinguished university professor now knows that he belongs to the category of "hired men."

At least 100,000 teachers are unemployed, and this fact is held as a club over the heads of those who seek "preferment," to use the lingo of the go-getting administrator. Promotion in either rank or salary has practically ceased all along the line for even the most competent and mature individuals.

On the positive side, more and more teachers are beginning to realize

1. It is a farce to speak of democracy in education as long as one gifted lad is denied the benefits of a training which his duller associates can purchase if their parents have the necessary cash;

2. War and the preparation for war involve a rejection of

every cultural value which the race has slowly acquired;

3. Big Business implicitly rejects all the ideals which a genuinely modern educational system represents;

4. The extraction of square root and the conjugation of Latin verbs cannot be most effectively handled by undernourished youngsters;

5. Reward is not in proportion to ability or services rendered. If that were so, Andy Mellon must be several thousand times as talented as Einstein or Diego Rivera.

Rediscovering Socialism

The significant thing about these conclusions is that they embody a re-discovery of old truths which

were known to Socialists a generation or two ago. Perhaps even more important from the standpoint of the immediate predicament in which educators find themselves is the fact that neither Republican nor Democratic officials ever utter a word about these vital matters—only the Socialist proclaims the earnestness of these issues and the imperative need for their solution. Get the teachers to examine the respective platforms and see for themselves!

Finally, all educational philosophers acknowledge that the establishment of desirable social attitudes is as significant a pedagogical objective as the imparting

of information or the development of specialized skill.

Who will be the truly Educated Man of the Future—the Republican teacher who knows her "Ode to a Grecian Urn" by heart and yet tacitly approves of slum tenements; the democratic teacher who admires Walter Pater's prose and yet remains silent when National Guardsmen shoot strikers trying to protest their standard of living; or the Socialist teacher, who not only loves the Good, the True and the Beautiful, but seeks to make them realities for all the children of men?

To ask this question is to answer it.

Solidarity Is a Good Word And It's Not Overworked

By Chester M. Wright

IN the interesting game of watching turns to the right and turns to the left, we seem to be at a point where the governmental path again turns back to the left, away from the previous swing toward conservatism, or toward business—you name it.

It is all most interesting and also it is all dictated by what seem to be the necessities of politics. But it would be more heartening to the masses of the people if there were a solid policy that didn't bend first one way and then the other.

However, out of all the turnings that have come up to this hour, labor's position is stronger than ever and its convictions are written more firmly into governmental policy.

Labor has been a pretty good diplomat, too. Around the world the war drums are rolling. Sooner or later they will grow more commanding and then armies will go hammering toward each other.

There doesn't seem to be any chance that war can be avoided. It all seems very foolish and worse than that. It seems very criminal. But there hasn't been very much refining of national nature or of ground to pieces at Versailles.

There has not been much change. Versailles seems not only to have left things no better, but actually to have made some things a great deal worse.

And so, all nations are rushing to gather strength. In a world that clamors for war like some crazy monster, for one to remain weak would be for one to invite annihilation without a struggle and nobody likes that.

So each takes the position of being the one that must arm because the others do and, of a truth, all

are in about the same dangerous boat.

Watchman, what of the night—it's an old cry. Change it a bit and ask the watchman what about the codes and NRA.

A powerful cabal is organized to defeat NRA. About that there is no mistake.

It probably will not come much into the open, but it is there and the dagger is unsheathed for dirty work in the dark.

Those who want NRA to continue aren't very well organized for the job, thinking, perhaps, that it isn't necessary.

If the big Wall Street gang is as strong as it thinks it is, then organized effort will be surely and sorely needed among those who want NRA in a decent form, to prevent a recurrence of jungle competition.

Mostly it seems that humanity staggers along, like a drunken man, escaping fatality by absurd antics which take it from under the wheels in the nick of time.

Today organized labor wields a more powerful influence in national affairs than ever.

But the big money boys are ganging up to attack wages just the same.

It is possible to be strong in one place, not so strong in another. Labor needs to be strong in almost every place to check the drive against wage rates.

Political influence probably will NOT be used against wage rates now, but economic influence, possessed by the same men who

U.T.W. Demands Probe of Textile Industry

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beaten. That is the spirit that is in the hearts of textile workers everywhere. The feeling is one, if I may speak plainly, of being battered and betrayed.

"The textile mill managements have openly repudiated their own code, and especially have they flouted the basic provision of the code contained in the citation of Section 7-A of the National Industrial Recovery Act. So that, as between employers and employees in the textile industry there is no code under the National Recovery Administration.

"Perhaps there has been no intention of it, but promises made when the last strike was ended have not been fulfilled. We are not met and dealt with in frankness. There seems a good deal of feeling that the union is a transient thing. Employers send their questions through the Recovery Board, as if they were ghostly persons talking at a distance to other ghostly persons through a medium. We are tired of that.

"We propose:

"1—A thorough and merciless investigation of this industry, its capital structure and its methods of operation and of selling.

"2—Compulsory elimination of obsolete machinery.

"3—A 30-hour week.

"4—Drastically increased rates of pay, elimination of the North-South differential and a restoration of the differentials between minimum rates and skilled rates to their pre-code ratio.

"5—Imposition of a new code, with labor sitting in equal numbers with employers on the Code Authority and all subordinate boards.

"6—A joint government-labor-management study of marketing and market extension.

"7—Mandatory recognition of the union wherever the union can show a majority in membership by secret ballot or by union books.

"8—Immediate action by the Department of Justice to punish those who violate Textile Labor Relations Board orders or National Labor Relations Board orders.

"Since there seems no power outside of Congress able to bring order into the chaotic house of the vandals and autocrats of the cotton textile industry, we now propose and demand Congressional action."

New Leader Scholarships at Rand School Institute

THE second annual Rand School Institute, booked for the week from June 23rd to June 30th and which will give an opportunity to many out-of-town Socialists and trade unionists to become acquainted with New York and Camp Tamiment, is receiving the wholehearted and enthusiastic cooperation of The New Leader.

Indeed, The New Leader is co-operating to the extent of providing a large number of scholarships to out-of-town workers, who will come to New York for a week of study and pleasure.

The Institute will follow the general lines of last year's successful gathering of young workers in the movement, but it is promised that 1935 will far surpass 1934 in content and arrangements.

When the students, gathered from every part of the country, come together in New York on June 23rd they will be greeted with a dinner and the all-important get-together at which they will become acquainted with each other and their teachers. There will follow five days of intensive instruction, details of which will be made public later.

On Friday the entire student body will be taken by bus to beautiful Camp Tamiment, and there they will enjoy that idyllic vacation resort for workers. They will also have an opportunity to visit Unity nearby, the summer home of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

It is estimated that each student will be able to cover all expenses, tuition as well as board, for between \$20 and \$25 for the week, including the Tamiment trip. The New Leader, eager to aid in making the Institute a success and thus to contribute to sound Socialist education, makes the following offer:

For new subscriptions to The New Leader totaling \$60 there will

be a premium of \$20 toward expenses of the student.

For \$30 in subscriptions the contribution will be \$12.50.

In either case the Rand School will add free tuition.

For details address inquiries AT ONCE to The New Leader, 7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C.

Plan Bronze Tablet to Honor Victor L. Berger

MILWAUKEE. — There is a move afoot to place a bronze tablet to Victor L. Berger on the site of the old publication and editorial office of the Social Democratic Herald one West State Street, between 6th and 7th Streets. The location in question was known as 614 State Street and consisted of a two-story frame building, with a cavernous basement, where he had his newspaper press, one of the old type.

The Social Democratic Herald, predecessor to the daily Milwaukee Leader, was one of the greatest Socialist weeklies ever published in this country.

Pittsburgh Jewish Branch Marks 32nd Anniversary

PITTSBURGH. — The Jewish Branch, pioneer Socialist Party organization in Western Pennsylvania, will celebrate its 32nd anniversary with a dinner Sunday evening, April 6, at the Socialist Center, 1862 Center Ave.

During the 32 years of active service in the labor and Socialist movement, the Jewish Branch has assisted in the organization of the Workmen's Circle and the Jewish trade unions, as well as in the organization of the English-speaking party branches.

What Our Readers Throughout the Nation Think of the NEW New Leader...

THE NEW LEADER in its new uniform looks GREAT: it reads even BETTER.

James H. Maurer, Reading, Pa.

THE NEW LEADER is greatly improved in its new set-up.

Robert A. Hoffman, Buffalo, N. Y.

Congratulations on the new format—it's great.

Abe Belaky, Philadelphia, Pa.

THE NEW LEADER is so good I always pass it along.

J. B. Fuller, Sacramento, Calif.

A thousand others have told us that

We Are Doing Our Share to Build the Labor and Socialist Movement in America Are You?

Do you want the truth about LABOR'S bitter battles for decent conditions?

Do you want REAL news of the WORKER'S fight for existence?

Do you want the stirring story of Socialist activity throughout the world, expertly written by men who are in intimate contact with the radical movement?

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DAILY SPECIALS FOR WEEK BEGINNING APRIL 8th PURE CANDIES

MONDAY, APRIL 8TH	TUESDAY, APRIL 9TH	WEDNESDAY, APRIL 10TH
Frosted Lemon Fruit Drops 40¢ Value—full pound 17¢	Fifth Avenue Assorted Chocolates 40¢ Value—full pound 19¢	Chocolate Covered Whipped Creams 40¢ Value—full pound 17¢
Milk Chocolate Cordial 60¢ Value—full pound 29¢	Chocolate Covered Honey Comb Chips 60¢ Value—full pound 29¢	Home Made Black Walnut Nougat Slices 60¢ Value—full pound 29¢
Chocolate Covered Hard and Chewy Centers 70¢ Value—full pound 39¢	Milk Chocolate Roasted Almonds 70¢ Value—full pound 39¢	Milk Chocolate Favorites 70¢ Value—full pound 39¢
Home Made Cashew Nut Cake 40¢ Value 24¢	Home Made Maple Nut Cake 40¢ Value 24¢	Home Made Chocolate Angel Cake 40¢ Value 24¢
THURSDAY, APRIL 11TH	FRIDAY, APRIL 12TH	SATURDAY AND SUNDAY APRIL 13TH AND 14TH
Tutti Frutti Coconut Cream Kisses 40¢ Value—full pound 17¢	Jersey Cream Wrapped Caramels 50¢ Value—full pound 19¢	Assorted Cream Mint Wafers 40¢ Value—full pound 17¢
Milk Chocolate Cashew Nut Clusters 60¢ Value—full pound 29¢	Brazil Nut Butter Crunch 60¢ Value—full pound 29¢	Double Dipped Assorted Chocolates 60¢ Value—full pound 29¢
Chataine Assorted Chocolates 70¢ Value—full pound 39¢	High Grade Assorted Chocolates 70¢ Value—full pound 39¢	Home Made Assortment 70¢ Value—full pound 39¢
Old Fashion Raisin Cinnamon Bun 40¢ Value 24¢	Home Made Shady Lane Layer Cake 50¢ Value 29¢	Home Made Chocolate Fudge Cake 40¢ Value 24¢

AT THE FOUNTAINS

MONDAY, APRIL 8TH	TUESDAY, APRIL 9TH	WEDNESDAY, APRIL 10TH
Virginia Ham Sandwich and Coffee regular 25¢ 15¢	Sliced Chicken Sandwich regular 20¢ 15¢	Cream Cheese and Jelly Sandwich and Coffee regular 25¢ 15¢
Chocolate Sundae regular 15¢ 10¢	Caramel Sundae regular 15¢ 10¢	Pineapple Sundae regular 15¢ 10¢
Strawberry Ice Cream Soda regular 15¢ 10¢	Chocolate Ice Cream Soda regular 15¢ 10¢	Coffee Ice Cream Soda regular 15¢ 10¢
SPECIAL SANDWICH: Chicken Salad—Tomato—Lettuce—Mayonnaise regular 30¢ 20¢	SPECIAL SANDWICH: Virginia Ham—Tomato—Lettuce—Pickle—Mayonnaise regular 30¢ 20¢	SPECIAL SANDWICH: Tuna Fish Salad—Sliced Egg—Tomato—Lettuce—Mayonnaise regular 35¢ 20¢
THURSDAY, APRIL 11TH	FRIDAY, APRIL 12TH	SATURDAY AND SUNDAY APRIL 13TH AND 14TH
Deviled Ham and Swiss Cheese Sandwich and Coffee regular 25¢ 15¢	Tuna Fish Sandwich and Coffee regular 25¢ 15¢	Chicken Salad Sandwich and Coffee regular 25¢ 15¢
Maple Walnut Sundae regular 20¢ 10¢	Chocolate Marshmallow Sundae regular 20¢ 10¢	Hot Fudge Sundae regular 15¢ 10¢
Pineapple Ice Cream Soda regular 15¢ 10¢	Chocolate Ice Cream Soda regular 15¢ 10¢	Coffee Ice Cream Soda regular 15¢ 10¢
SPECIAL SANDWICH: Virginia Ham—Swiss Cheese—Pickle—Lettuce—Mayonnaise regular 30¢ 20¢	SPECIAL SANDWICH: Deviled Ham and Swiss Cheese—Tomato—Lettuce—Mayonnaise regular 30¢ 20¢	SPECIAL SANDWICH: Sliced Chicken—Tomato—Lettuce—Mayonnaise regular 40¢ 25¢
		Pint Left Ice Cream regular 25¢ 10¢
		1 Tin Chocolate Fudge Sauce regular 10¢ 27¢

186 STORES—One Near You

DRIVE FOR MAY DAY CELEBRATION GETS UNDER WAY

TO all Socialist and labor organizations:—On March 28th a successful conference on May Day Celebration was held at the People's House in which over 300 delegates took part, representing Socialist, labor and fraternal organizations.

We determined to have a monster parade. We expect over 100,000 workers to march; to express their protest against the evils of exploitation and unemployment; and to demand the 30-hour day, unemployment and social insurance, old age pension and other vital labor measures.

You must immediately establish your own organization's machinery for a successful May Day parade of your unit.

1. Call a conference of your members.
 2. See that your workers stop at least a half day.
 3. Elect proper committees.
 4. Prepare banners, slogans, costumes, etc.
 5. If in any way possible, arrange a pageant.
 6. Arrange for a band of music.
- Keep us informed of your program. We will publish in the press details of our work of organization. You, however, must begin today to plan your organization's participation. We can organize the whole parade, but YOU must organize your own unit.

Where the parade will begin and end, the list of speakers, the type of concert, etc.—these details are being worked out by an Executive Committee. But YOU begin today and keep in touch with us.

You can telephone to me on any afternoon—ALgonquin 4,2620. Write us at 7 East 15th Street. Let us know how many you expect in the march, etc.

Henry Fruchter, Secretary.

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Canada's CCF Is Ready For Election Campaign

By Squire Blockshaw

Montreal. THE Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, Canada's Socialist Party, both leaders and rank and file members, are determined to make the forthcoming Federal elections in Canada, a test of public opinion on the question of Reform or Reconstruction. The C.C.F. leaders believe the time has gone for tinkering and patching. They believe this crazy and obsolete system cannot be repaired, and further that it is not worth repairing.

Premier Bennett, after spending five years boasting that "Our system is fundamentally sound," has dismayed his supporters by admitting in his radio speeches that it has failed, and that some of the consequences are "rotten." The promises that if he is given power he will reform it. We have heard death-bed repentances before. Therefore the C.C.F. is going to submit to the Canadian electorate the question, "Do you want a patched-up capitalism, or do you want a new cooperative commonwealth?"

Canadian C.C.F. leaders realize that capitalist reforms have had little beneficial effects on capitalism in Europe, where the second-hand reform schemes Premier Bennett proposes to introduce in Canada have been in operation for 25 years.

Canadian Socialists realize that nothing less than a program leading to reconstruction of the social order will meet the desperate needs of the lower and middle classes, hence their 1935 election program emphasizes the transformation of the profit system into a cooperative commonwealth. New Deals and Bennett reforms merely prolong the agony. The C.C.F. is making a clean-cut issue between their reforms and the C.C.F.

During the days of so-called prosperity, Canada's statesmen spent their time chanting the

praises of the capitalist system and chirping about the inexhaustible natural resources of the country. They were, in fact, about as farsighted as the grasshopper that hopped and whistled in the sunshine in the belief that it would always be summer. The winter of depression found them with no provision for tiding them over until better times.

Premier Bennett's reforms have now been examined, found hopelessly antiquated, and utterly inadequate to meet the present-day needs. Bennett has copied the British unemployed act which is about 25 years old. He fails to realize that he must think in terms of 1935 conditions, not those of 1911. The act insures only the best risks in industry, and leaves out those occupations needing it most, while more than 1,000,000 unemployed have been entirely ignored, in spite of the fact they will never work again so long as this idiotic industrial system survives.

The "reforms" include a legal 48-hour working week, at a time when one-third of the workers have been unemployed for three or four years, and most of the others working at reduced hours. If the number of hours worked in Canada during the last four years were divided equally among the total number of workers, both employed and unemployed, the average per worker per week would not average 24 hours.

The time has arrived in Canada to submit a full Socialist program to the electorate and waste no more time discussing measures for this and plans for that, all designed to give the ruling clique, which has made their competitive hog-sty a morass of graft and corruption, another chance to regain the confidence of their all-too-willing dupes the workers. The C.C.F. has adopted a program leading to a complete reconstruction of industry on co-operative lines. In short, a co-operative commonwealth.

The C.C.F. alternatives to Bennett's pseudo reforms are:

1. Finance. Socialization of all financial institutions.
2. Agriculture. a. A living income for the farmer as the first charge on his product. b. Statutory reduction of farm debts. c. The forbidding of foreclosures and evictions. d. Encouragement of producer's and consumer's co-operatives. e. Socialization of packing and processing plants.
3. Labor and Social Services. a. A large-scale program of public works, housing, etc. financed by public credit. b. A national minimum wage which will give a standard of living commensurate with present-day wealth producing potentialities. c. Encouragement and legal protection of Trade Unions, which will have an effective voice in the management of industry. d. National non-contributory social insurance providing adequate payments for unemployment, sickness, accident, old age, and death. e. A socialized health service. f. A six-hour day and a five-day week, to be increased or decreased according to social needs. g. Abolition of relief camps.

MARYLAND TO HONOR DR. S. M. NEISTADT AT BANQUET

Twenty-five years of incessant and fruitful activity in the Socialist and labor movement will be commemorated on Sunday, April 14th, when the Socialist Party and a large section of the labor movement of Baltimore unite to honor Dr. Samuel M. Neistadt, state secretary of the Maryland Socialist Party.

The dinner will be held at the Workers' Circle Lyceum, 1029 E. Baltimore Street.

Among the organizations participating in the dinner are the Socialist Party of Baltimore, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union, the District Committee of the Workers' Circle, the Ladies' Clubs of the Workers' Circle, the Jewish Socialist Verband, and others. Morris L. Polin is chairman of the arrangements committee.

FERA Seeks to Club McLevy Administration

Socialists Expose Clumsy Political Trick — Block Bridgeport Armory

By Abraham Knepler

BRIDGEPORT. — A charge that FERA policies in Bridgeport were "a determined effort to build up a political organization that can have no other function than that of trying to thwart the policies of the administration," were made by Socialist Mayor Jasper McLevy in a letter to Miss Eleanor H. Little, state FERA administrator, protesting the appointment by Miss Little and the state FERA commission of John G. Schwarz, Jr., as local FERA administrator.

Schwarz was the unsuccessful Republican mayoralty candidate in 1933, and has been the recipient of a large part of the local business of supplying materials for FERA projects.

Since the inception of the CWA and FERA relief programs, those in control of the Bridgeport FERA program have been building a powerful double machine to fight and sabotage the Socialist administration. The FERA commission has not only not coordinated its program with that of the local relief department, but has constantly obstructed the local administration in various ingenious ways, to place onus upon the Socialists.

The manner in which supplies were purchased has also served to increase the city relief budget tremendously. The intent, of course, in increasing expenditures is to increase the tax rate, and to cause the small taxpayers to become enraged at the Socialist administration.

Instead, however, the citizens have apparently "caught on" to that strategy and are enthusiastically supporting the mayor in his objections to the appointment of Schwarz, and they are backing him in his announced intention of demanding that the federal government make an investigation into the activities of the FERA administration in Connecticut and Bridgeport.

At a Common Council meeting Monday night the Socialist aldermen defeated a democratic proposal that the Council petition the state legislature to appropriate money for the erection of a new state armory in Bridgeport. Socialists have already appeared be-

fore the armory. Mayor McLevy warned that he would veto such a proposal if it passed the Board of Aldermen.

During the arguments on the proposal, Mayor McLevy said, "If the Socialist legislators cannot bring back more to the City of Bridgeport this year than the Democrats brought back in the ten years they were in the Legislature, I hope that the people will not continue us in office."

This Is What Social Workers Call a "Case History"

Mrs. Catherine Setack of 38 Morton street made an application for Home Relief on March 7th. On Wednesday, March 20th, a H.R.B. investigator called, found Mrs. Setack living in a basement, six feet below the street level, the ceiling falling down in the bedroom, dampness exuding from the walls and rats overrunning the place.

When the investigator called, the woman had been a day and a half without food. The gas and electricity were turned off and she had no fuel for heating. The investigator told Mrs. Setack that perhaps he would be back in a day or so.

On Thursday, March 21, Henry Rourke, vice-chairman of Local No. 10 of the Workers' Unemployed Union, went with Mrs. Setack to the Emergency Home Relief Bureau at 201 Elizabeth street and interviewed Mr. Kutner, administrator of the Bureau at 11 A. M. Mr. Kutner said he would see what he could do. Mr. Rourke as representative of the Workers' Unemployed Union refused to take that as an answer but was told the interview was ended.

The fight was continued with a phone call to Arthur McNulty, Assistant Administrator of the Emergency Relief Division, 902 Broadway, and through Mr. Kutner's subordinates at the Elizabeth street bureau. At 5:15 P. M., after an all-day fight, during which Mrs. Setack had nothing to eat, as she had not for the previous two days, an emergency food order was finally granted her.

This is one of many similar cases fought by the Workers' Unemployed Union at Home Relief Bureaus throughout the city.

SOCIALIST PARTY AND UNIONS JOIN IN ANTI-WAR RALLY

"LABOR can crush war" is the slogan of the New York anti-war mass meeting to be held Sunday, 8 p. m., at Mecca Temple, 123 West 55th Street, under the joint auspices of many labor unions, the Socialist Party and peace and educational organizations, who have come together in the Workers' Conference Against Fascism and War.

An intensive campaign among Socialist Party branches as well as of trade union membership to bring out a large crowd indicates an enthusiastic gathering of workers against the forces of war and oppression.

Speakers will be Norman Thomas, Abr. Lefkowitz of the Teachers' Union, Julius Hochmann and Luigi Antonini, vice-presidents of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Joseph Schlossberg, general secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Frank Crosswaith, Negro orator; Rabbi Sidney Goldstein, Free Synagogue, and B. Charney Vlodek of the Jewish Daily Forward.

Participating organizations are: Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Dress Joint Board, L.L.G.W.U.; Pocket-book Workers' Union, Young Circle League, New York Urban League, Pullman Porters' Union, New York Lithographers' Union, Industrial Workers of the World, Workmen's Circle, Socialist Party, Young People's Socialist League; League for Industrial Democracy, War Resisters' League, Teachers' Union. Doors will be open at 7:15 p. m.

Shoe Workers Strike Against Champion Shoe Company

For the second time within the past two months, the Stitchdown department of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Local 693, are on strike against the Champion Shoe Co. of 104 Bleecker St. The present walkout is the result of the company's refusal to recognize the workers in the welt department and those in the stitchdown branch of the industry went out in sympathy.

According to General Organizer Tesoro, who is in charge of the strike, it is 100 per cent effective and production is at a standstill.

German Socialists Call for Ceaseless War on Hitlerism

(Continued from Page One)

the criminal regime under which the best portion of the people suffer most. Several million German men and women have expressed their devotion to the ideals of democracy and Socialism even in the terror-dominated elections of March 5, 1933, after the Reichstag fire, by voting for the Social Democracy. Hundreds of thousands are engaged today in heroic battle against the jailers and executioners of the brown police state.

"The world must finally understand that its own fate is inextricably bound with the fate of these brave fighters. Either they will be victorious or Europe will go down in flames and mass murder.

"The road to peace lies over the destruction of the existing despotism.

"There is no other."

Coupled with this manifesto The New Leader has received the fol-

TIDE OF OPPOSITION RISING IN GERMANY

(Continued from Page One)

to utilize the traditional forces of the army and civil service for our purposes.

Increasing numbers of people are beginning to realize that the fascist regime must be done away with. Coupled with this is the fact that the regime itself is passing through an inner readjustment, due to the growing influence within the "totalitarian" state of the army, civil service and industry. This is gradually altering the political set-up, while the forces of revolutionary resistance are becoming increasingly apparent.

The immediate task of the Socialist opposition is to obtain greater freedom of movement for the workers. The sudden downfall of the present regime is not to be expected, although discontent over the prevailing system of lawlessness, brutality and stupidity is mounting rapidly. The government's new financial measures, providing for an "internal loan," the amount of which is to be determined by the "Führer," has caused even the mildest of citizens to shake their heads. This is bound to manifest itself in wider measure when the government begins to rob the savings banks, which is what the "internal loan" really means.

The destruction of the fascist pest will unfortunately have to proceed by stages. The immediate task is to loosen the chains, to shake off the pressure, to enlarge the available scope for action. The battle continues!

lowing authoritative report of the Hitler government's military preparations. The report, which is from a Socialist source, comes direct from Germany. It follows:

"The number of men already prepared for military duty in Germany is now much greater than is generally assumed. Those who were in the last war and who are subject to military service at once, or in accordance with the new conscription law, are to be counted by the million.

"Equally large is the number of new elements who since the war have become subject to military service and have secretly been trained for this purpose. There is not a single young man in Germany who is permitted to take any examination or can find a job without having passed through some considerable measure of military training. No worker can hope to get a job who has not spent at least one year in a labor camp where military training is given. Germany is again in the position of being able to put into the field a greater number of men trained for war than any other country.

"The old armories are all available. New barracks are being built in large numbers. There are plenty of large guns, as well as machine guns and other instruments of murder, to say nothing of the efficiency and scope of the chemical war industry. This means that there are huge supplies of poison gas. The number of aeroplanes is beyond any calculation. There are scores of new aviation fields and underground hangars in all parts of the Reich. All branches of the army are being rapidly motorized.

"The Nazi government has always counted particularly upon the passivity of England. Hence its calm and brazen aggressiveness. It Germany today had to face only France and Belgium, she would be in a position to realize without much difficulty all the ambitious schemes outlined in Hitler's 'My Struggle.'

"By the Versailles Treaty, Germany was to maintain an army of only 100,000 men. Under the democratic republic the Allied states saw to it that not another man was permitted.

"Today the Reichswehr has as many officers and non-commissioned officers alone, for in the course of 15 years it has trained no less than 250,000 men. Added to these are the SA and SS organization, the Stahlhelm, the labor camp military forces (the so-called Free Labor Service), the older students of higher educational institutions, the students in other schools, and hundreds of thousands

of members of so-called sports organizations.

"On August 1, 1914, Germany had available, in round figures, 10,000,000 soldiers of various classifications. Today her population is about as large as it was in 1914, despite the great losses in lives suffered in the last war.

"The mass murder can, therefore, begin. The Third Reich is ready."

Events of the past fortnight, however, seem to indicate that those forces in Europe who can resist the aggressions of the Hitler regime are in motion. By taking a firm stand of the kind demanded by the Executive Committee of the German Social Democracy, these forces, including the great labor movement in the democratic countries, must convince the Hitler government that any attempts on its part to unleash another blood-bath will not be profitable, but extremely perilous for those responsible. That is what the manifesto of the German Socialists seeks to impress upon the world. There can be no doubt that upon the extent to which the nations give heed to the warning of the German Socialists depends the fate of Europe.

Firm cooperation between England, France and Soviet Russia, backed by the Socialists and trade unions of those countries, may yet compel Hitler to desist. He must be made to understand that Europe will not stand idly by and permit him to carry German fascism and its ambitions across the frontiers.

That the Socialists of Europe understand this is evident from the fact that even the smaller nations, like Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Switzerland, are hastening to strengthen their defenses against Hitlerism. In all but one of these nations the Socialists are in control of the government; in the fourth they exercise a powerful influence. They are ready to help smash Hitler, whose most immediate and principal object is to destroy and dismember Soviet Russia and impose the domination of German fascism upon the rest of Europe.

The slogan of all anti-fascist forces must be:

"They shall not pass!"

Published every Saturday by The New Leader Publishing Association, 7 E. 15th St., New York City. Tel. ALgonquin 4-4622. Entered as Second Class Matter, January 19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York, under the act of March 3, 1925.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: 1 Year, New York City Edition...\$2.00 1 Year, National Edition...\$1.00 1 Year to Foreign Countries...\$2.50 1 Year to Canada...\$2.00

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ALL STORES OPEN EVENINGS

OTHER CRAWFORD STORES IN BOSTON AND PHILADELPHIA

Textile Workers Launch Sound Truck for Propaganda Campaign

By Our Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON.—Enlisting in organization work the most modern forms of transmitting the spoken word, the United Textile Workers of America dedicated a sound truck here to be used in spreading labor's message in textile centers throughout the nation.

Dedication of the truck took

other era in trade union history,"

he said. Thomas F. McMahon, president of the United Textile Workers, said, "This truck is a symbol and weapon. It is a symbol of our determination to fight eternally and a weapon against ignorance. We shall use it as much."

Paul R. Christopher, United Textile Workers' organizer and president of the North Carolina State Federation of Labor, spoke for the

ditions of work."

Vice-President Gorman brought the ceremonies to a close with formal dedication for the United Textile Workers.

"I look upon this truck with much affection," he said. "I could look with a great deal more affection upon fifty more like it. I hope the day may not be far distant when we can have in our service many such instruments. I hope we can make more use of the radio.

Textile Workers' Sound Truck Dedicated



Sound truck of the United Textile Workers with the Gompers Memorial in the background. Labor executives standing by the truck are, left to right: John P. Frey, President, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.; Paul R. Christopher, President, North Carolina State Federation of Labor; William F. Kelly, Second Vice-President, United Textile Workers; Frank Morrison, Secretary A. F. of L., for President William Green; Francis J. Gorman, First Vice-President, United Textile Workers.

place before the Gompers Memorial, with many leading trade union executives in the capital present.

"This is part of our answer to those who are trying to smash the union executives in the capital to nothing," said Francis J. Gorman, vice-president of the United Textile Workers, dedicating the truck in behalf of his union.

Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, dedicated the truck to act as spokesman for him and the Federation, dedicating the truck in behalf of the A. F. of L. "The addition of modern mechanical equipment to the work of labor organization programs and methods, seems to mark a beginning of an-

southern textile workers, saying, "Until there is placed under the textile industry a solid floor of decent living conditions for its workers, there can be no peace for the industry. For so long as the mill bosses are permitted to do as they please in the fixing of wage rates, stretchout and other working conditions, there can be no peace among the mill owners."

"This sound truck carries this message to the textile industry. To the workers it carries the message of the law which guarantees the right to organize their own unions, and to bargain collectively with their employers and arrive at mutual understanding and agreements concerning wages, hours and con-

I hope we can build our labor party to greater effectiveness. We need to make more noise. We need a bigger voice. The opposition has every kind of modern facility for extending its voice.

"The electrical extension of the human voice is a modern marvel. I think we have been too slow to seize opportunities. The sound truck and the radio and the remote address system are practical and we ought to use all of them more freely.

"Labor ought to have a dozen radio stations, instead of two. It ought to have whole fleets of trucks. The hour has struck when we must either go places or go to pieces. I know and you know that we shall go places."

Labor's Anti-Fascist Drive Expanding Its Activities

The activities of the Chest for the Liberation of Workers of Europe are continually expanding, reports Dr. Harry Lee Franklin, executive secretary. Answers of labor organizations through the country to the calls sent out by the office, William Green, and other officers of the chest have been extremely satisfactory. Labor Chest committees are being organized in many places.

Considerable impetus to the Labor Chest drive under the chairmanship of Matthew Woll had been given by the \$5,000 contribution of the United Mine Workers of America. John L. Lewis, president of the U. M. W., is a member of the Chest committee and has been conspicuous in furthering organized labor's fight against fascism.

A mass protest meeting against the new military policies of fascist Germany will be held on April 10, at the Hippodrome, New York, under the auspices of the Labor Chest and other anti-fascist organizations. Prominent labor speakers will characterize the recent military decisions of Hitler Germany as a threat to world peace.

Meetings of Trade Union Socialists

Friday, April 5th
7 p. m.—Button and Novelty Workers, Room 408, 7 East 15th St.

Saturday, April 6th
2 p. m.—Furriers, 7 E. 15th St.
3 p. m.—Painters, 7 E. 15th St.

Friday, April 12th
8:30 p. m.—Teachers, in cafeteria, 7 E. 15th St. Address by representative of Teachers' Union and by August Claessens.

Saturday, April 13
1:30 p. m.—Painters, Local No. 1011, 7 E. 15th St.

2:00 p. m.—Brotherhood of Painters; Open Forum. Topic: "What Trade Unions Have Gained Under the NRA."

Speakers connected with Code Authority, the I.L.G.W.U., and Brotherhood of Painters, will open the discussion. Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th St., N. Y. C.

Cook County Socialists and Labor Organize for May Day

CHICAGO.—Chicago Socialists, in cooperation with the Pocketbook Workers' Unions, Chicago Joint Board of the I.L.G.W.U., Chicago Federation of S.N.P.J. Lodges, City Central Committee of the Workmen's Circle, Chicago Workers' Committee, and Federation of Jewish Trade Unions, Poale Zion, and Chicago Labor Youth Council, have set up a committee and broadcast a call to all Chicago labor for a May Day Conference.

Every local of the A. F. of L., the railway unions, and sympathetic labor fraternal Chicago labor is being appealed to to give support for a genuine mass demonstration for the 30-hour week and against the rising tide of reaction which is headed up in the Hearst red-scare campaign and at least eight reactionary amendments to the present election laws, which would bar radical parties, in the opinion of the present election officers from the ballot.

German Labor Rejects Communist Offers

PRAGUE, Czechoslovakia.—German Communists are trying to use the coming workers' council elections in Germany as a maneuver to split the ranks of the workers stoutly resisting fascist suppression. According to a report forwarded by the trade union and Socialist underground representatives in Germany to the Executive Committee of the German Social Democratic Party in Prague, the Communists propose the establishment of factory committees composed of an equal number of Socialists and Communists, united delegate lists, a united call to action, and united factory meetings.

Considering the tremendous dangers of the illegal struggle against dictatorship, it is generally realized that the Communist offers have no value whatsoever, and are simply designed to split the workers into new warring factions. The Social Democrats as well as the trade union leadership in declining the Communist offers, describe the Communist proposal as fundamentally opposed to the interests and necessities of a genuine German labor movement.

Rinne Is Principal Speaker at Mitchell Day Celebration

RIMERSBURG, Pa.—David Rinne of Pittsburgh, member of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, was the main speaker at the Mitchell Day mass meeting, held by three locals of the United Mine Workers of America. The president of the Rimersburg local presided. Toni Battila, District Board member, also spoke.

After congratulating the miners on the growth of their organization, Rinne pointed out the advantages secured by the miners through their industrial union and declared that labor today must think in terms of independent political action in order to safeguard and extend their economic achievements.

The mass meeting was preceded by a parade in which several thousand miners, their wives and children participated.

Socialist Party branch members, who are also members of the U. M. W. of A., took an active part in the parade and the meeting.



Waldman Urges Lehman to Force Child Labor Action

WITH the State Legislature getting ready to adjourn, an appeal was addressed to Governor Lehman on Wednesday by Louis Waldman, State Chairman of the Socialist Party, in which the Governor was urged to make a final appeal to the State Legislature to ratify the Child Labor Amendment and pass the Quinn Anti-Injunction Bill and the Byrne Unemployment Insurance Bill.

Waldman, who appeared at hearings held on these measures before the Legislative Committee, spoke in the name of numerous trade unions and the Socialist Party of

ON THE LINE

By Gertrude Weil Klein

HOW does it feel to be a picket for the first time in your life? And especially if you're a girl; what do you think about as you walk up and down in front of the



G. W. Klein

I walked in to the strike headquarters and found a group of girls who were going organized under the banner of the Ladies' Neckwear Workers' Union, just at the "changing of the guards"—the English girls will know what I mean—and so we got talking about pickets and picket lines. These girls had never been in a strike before and it was all strange to them. Of course, some of the bosses had explained about unions to them. Unions were just a racket, the bosses said, but it's not so easy to sell that line any more, not even to girls who are used to listening to the boss.

Of course, there are picket lines and picket lines. There are picket lines of painters who would rather picket than paint, and writers who are about to have books published, and other members of the literati to whom a picket line is a rather special kind of not unpleasurable excitement. In fact, among the Communists picketing has become a profession. Its what a lot of them are unemployed at. But to an honest-to-goodness picket, especially the girl picket, walking up and down for hours in front of the shop where she used to slave, is hardly a pleasure.

Practically all the girls I spoke to said the first time they walked out on the "line," they only prayed that no one came along who knew them. Even the bright-eyed English girl, Betty Goldberg, who has learned after only a few days of striking that a "girl has to have guts" was embarrassed the first time she went out on the line. And fiery Clara Scheched, who can't be kept off the line now, took her first walk with her head turned the other way. "You feel queer; people stop and look at you," said quiet Sarah Cohen. But all the girls agreed that after the first few days they didn't mind at all.

Now they got together in the strike headquarters and tell each other their experiences with chisel-bosses; one shop had been working overtime right along; but had never been paid overtime rates, in spite of the NRA rules; and another boss paid his workers \$10 a week and by the time they were raised to \$12 he would lay them off and rehire them under different names at \$10, again.

And one incident told by Mrs. Anna Pandolfo who worked for one firm thirty years. She designed samples for them which over and over again were successful sellers, and for which the firm never paid her anything extra, though this was not her regular work. Mrs.

Eyes of Steel Workers Are Now Focussed on Washington, D. C.

By Emil Limbach

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—For the moment, the eyes of thousands of steel workers are on Washington. The steel corporations have reduced Section 7-A to a mere sham by the organization of company fostered "representation" schemes and by continuing their time-honored policy of intimidation.

A delegation of employees from the Jones and Laughlin Steel Works at Aliquippa, members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of America, appeared before the Senate Education and Labor Committee, conducting hearings on the Wagner Bill, and declared that employees were forced to vote for the Employees' Representation Plan. For months the Amalgamated was unable even to obtain a meeting hall. They claim that 5,900 of the 6,500 employees want their collective bargaining done by the Amalgamated. They contradicted previous testimony that 90% of the Aliquippa workers were for the company union.

President Michael F. Tighe of the Amalgamated, said, "Claiming that an overwhelming majority of the 400,000 workers in the steel industry as willing and happy workers under the company union

Pandolfo went out with the rest of the workers because she realized that there was no such thing as a reward for long and faithful service; the only reward to be gained was by sticking in the fight with the rest of the workers. Her own daughter received no consideration, even though her mother had worked so long and well for the firm.

And then there's the story told by Millie Fiorello who is the last word in chic as the French say. When a young man stopped her on the picket line and asked her whether she wasn't ashamed of what she was doing, she told him plainly, if not too politely, that the only thing she was ashamed of was earning only \$10 a week. \$10 a week to take home to a mother and six younger children. "If I'd robbed or murdered somebody I'd be ashamed, but I'm darn proud of what I'm doing," Millie said. And the cop who came over to see what it was all about told her she was right.

The Flower and Feather Workers' Union started with thirteen members, but thirteen is a lucky number according to the following hardworking officers and staff: Jean Peters who takes care of all the nerve-racking detail work in the strike headquarters, Ratkoff, generalissimo of the strike, Sinigalli his first lieutenant, and "little Caesar" Polikoff who is the chief outside man. Our own Joe Tuvim is the manager.

It is still possible to force the Child Labor Bill out of the Rules Committee. It means a lot of work and agitation, but it must be done. The least you can do is write your own Assemblyman and Senator urging their support.

Communists Picket Against Pickets of A. F. of L. Union

SOMETHING new in labor struggles was revealed last Friday when the Communist Party made a new contribution to the technique of what they call fighting for the welfare of the working class.

While pickets bearing banners announcing that Orbach's a large low-priced women's clothing store on 14th Street, New York, refused to employ members of the American Federation of Labor were parading up and down in front of the store, three leather-lunged Communists stood at the curbstone shouting: "There is no strike in Orbach's. Read the Daily Worker. Mr. Orbach has settled with the union. There is no strike in Orbach's."

Another was shouting: "This is a racketeer picket line. This is the American Fakery of Labor. There is no strike in Orbach's!"

The amazing spectacle attracted enormous attention, and passers-by commenting bitterly on the new wrinkle in picketing against pickets. Workers shouted at the anti-picket pickets: "So you sold out, did you? How much did Or-

bach pay you to sell out?" After half an hour or so of such attention the Communists ceased their counter-picketing and contented themselves with shouting their journalistic wares.

The situation arose out of a 12-weeks' strike of a Communist dual union against Orbach's, that had been played up by the entire Communist and "innocents'" publicity machinery as though it were the only labor struggle in the United States. Actors from "left" theatre companies deserted their theatres and left audiences vainly waiting for the curtain to rise in order to picket Orbach's. Intellectuals left their salons and lecture halls to march up and down in front of Orbach's. But the moment the Retail Clothing Salesmen's Union of the A. F. of L. undertook to organize the store and win union conditions, the Communist dual organization hastily "settled." The terms they admitted accepting include wage increases of 7 to 10 per cent on shockingly low wages. Nothing is said even

plan, they, the employers, refuse to put to a test every decision rendered by the National Steel Labor Board, for an election in their plants under the supervision of said board.

"Ordinarily, where the party has from 85 to 90% majority and the question of determining which party shall be the bargaining agency, one would think that a test should not only be welcomed, but should be installed upon by the group claiming such a vast preponderance of workers. To object to such an action would naturally arouse suspicion that there was lacking confidence in those whom they claimed were so happy under the company union plan, or that their claims of 90% of the workers would not stand the test. Which is it?"

In addition to their organization problems made more difficult by the steel industry's improved financial position, chiefly the result of the NRA, labor faces a new threat, increasing mechanization. Since the depression began, the joint researches of the engineers of a group of American steel companies have developed a new and revolutionary process by which steel is made. Mesta Machine Company has just completed a continuous

hot strip mill for Youngstown Sheet and Tube. Jones and Laughlin have placed with McIntosh-Hemphill a contract for an electric blooming mill to cost \$4,500,000. Bethlehem Steel is spending 12 to 15 millions for new equipment. United States Steel is likewise expending millions.

The implications of these new processes are startling. Once operating successfully, it will mean the elimination of ingot-casting, soaking-pits, break-down mills and blooming mills. It will lead to the elimination of thousands of men now necessary for the steel industry expects to produce a much cheaper product with greatly reduced manpower.

Thus is labor flanked on both sides and its right to work and to organize is challenged. The opportunity to exercise a secret ballot in a plant election, as shown by the Weirton experience, may mean nothing. Employers have too many forms of pressure at their disposal. Unless company unions are declared illegal and unionization protected by law, the steel corporations will not fear "free" elections. Labor in steel is beginning to realize the vast importance of political power.

Unions and Party Join in Defense Organization

A CONFERENCE for the organization of a Labor Defense, held March 15th in the I.L.G.W.U. Building in New York, successfully laid the basis for a permanent organization. August Claessens opened the conference, stating the history and aims of the provisional Socialist Committee for the Promotion of a Labor Defense, and read the credentials for 70 delegates representing 30 labor organizations. Matthew M. Levy was elected chairman and August Claessens secretary.

A general discussion followed in which many suggestions were offered. Novack and Rorty of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense appeared in behalf of their organization and were given a hearing. The proposals offered by them were referred to the new committee for consideration.

The conference closed its discussion with the unanimous adoption of a motion that it agree with the general plan of the organization of a Labor Defense and that a committee be elected to work out plans, scope and policies, and that its report should be submitted to the next and larger conference in the near future.

The members of the committee are Morris Feinstein and Sol Polakoff of the United Hebrew Trades; Abraham Miller of the Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.; A. Samuels, C. S. Zimmerman, Murray Gross, Frank Crosswaith of the I.L.G.W.U.; S. Wolchock of the Retail Clerks' Union, Local 338; Murray Baron of the Suit

in their own announcements of union recognition or about taking strikers back. The "settlement" was made just in time to permit them to engage in the counter-picketing.

In all the spotted career of the Communists in the New York labor movement nothing like that had ever been seen. A number of members of the A. F. of L. union were arrested, including Hyman Nemser, but the Communists' solidarity was with Employer Orbach.

They're Only Useful Workers



So they have to find homes in abandoned box cars in the richest nation on earth.

Case and Bag Makers' Union; Mary Fox of the L.I.D.; Irwin Nussbaum of the Socialist Lawyers' Association; Matthew M. Levy, Robert Delson, A. C. Weinfeld and August Claessens of the Socialist Party; Ben Fischer of the Y.P.S.L.

GLASS WORKERS UNION THANK SOCIALISTS FOR AID IN THEIR STRIKE

PITTSBURGH.—Creighton Local, Federation of Flat Glass Workers of America, has communicated to the Pittsburgh local their appreciation of the service rendered to them by the party during their recent strike.

The letter, signed by President Ferdinand A. Bindel, enclosed a generous contribution to the party's Organization Fund.

President Bindel wrote, "I hereby wish to thank you in behalf of our organization for the splendid aid and advice which you gave us in our recent strike."

"I realize there still remains a lot of work that must be done, especially along the lines of workers' education, without which the trade union movement is hopelessly lost, and, no doubt, we will have to call on your organization for help in this respect."

4,000 workers, producing glass for the automobile industry, were involved in the recent successful strike against the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company, a ninety-five million dollar corporation.

Since the settlement of the strike the union, led by energetic officers mostly new in trade union work, has shown marked growth and influence.

The private ownership of capital was for several hundred years an historical necessity. Now the collective ownership of capital is becoming an historical necessity. Such is the trend of time.

All Out to Anti-War Meeting at Mecca Temple, Sunday Evening, April 8th

Problems of Education That a Great Municipality Must Face

By Herman Kobbe

SOME snails and other primitive animals combine both sexes in one individual. Higher up in the scale of evolution the body of every individual assumes the shape of either one sex or the other, but the bi-sexual character remains; and in psychology one can plainly distinguish "male" and "female" traits in every normal person.

These traits are due to the fact that our brain and nervous system has inherited from the male and female ancestors some of the characteristics of both.

We may say a child has inherited "his father's teeth" and "his mother's hair," but actually he has inherited in every part of his body flesh, bones, sinews, nerves and glands which are a compound of what both his parents have given him. The proportions of the mixture appear to vary, but the fact of complete bi-sexuality is incontrovertible.

Each one of us is part man, part woman, and in our acts this bi-sexual nature manifests itself by the so-called extraverted (male)

traits, and the introverted (female) traits. When a human being of either sex is driving a car, playing tennis, hunting game in Africa, traveling around the world, working a typewriter or rushing through a business deal, they are said to be "extraverted." When we plan a house, compose a sonata, nurse an invalid, write a psychological novel or work out a piece of colored embroidery, we are said to be "introverted."

Extraversion consists in doing something positive and active that goes out from ourselves; and it is male in us that makes such actions possible. Introversion consists in planning and inwardly creating something, and it is the female in us that enables us to do this.

Each must have been a well-developed all-around human: he raised an enormous family of children (extraversion) and composed a library full of music in the grand manner (introversion). Byrd appears to be another well-rounded personality: he can prepare his plans with patience for months in advance (introversion) and then face the privations of an Arctic winter in person and alone (extraversion).

In a less conspicuous way I know

a number of such well-rounded individuals, who are able to meet all the daily contingencies of life, thanks to the fact that they can change from introversion to extraversion at a moment's notice. Their male and female sides being equally well developed and in good running order, they can sit down and think and plan, or jump up and do and accomplish, as occasion requires, and with equal chance of success.

On the other hand, I know a much larger number of persons who are more unequally developed. Some can think and plan, but can never execute; others can expend tremendous energy, but misuse it because they are never able to think out in advance what they are going to do with it. Both types—the one-sided introvert and the one-sided extravert—are at a serious disadvantage in life.

When a person is completely "stalled" on one side of his nature, the case may be serious. A man whose male or extraverted reactions are entirely dormant or non-existent—can only work, think and live like a woman. He lacks "punch," dresses in a "fancy" way, feels strong emotional reactions only in the presence of other men, and is indifferent to women. A woman, likewise, may have her female (introverted) side inherited; and she will smoke, wear mannish clothes, do good executive work, and feel emotion only in the presence of other women.

A man who can only extravert is in an unfavorable situation; a man who can only introvert is even worse off. A woman who can only introvert is unfavorably situated; one who can only extravert is just as badly off as the completely introverted man.

It is a question of the utmost importance how it is possible for a man or a woman to have one whole side of their nature put on ice that way. How does it happen, and what can be done to avoid or prevent it? The system of restraints, disciplines, and punishments in schools and homes is a chief factor in causing the inhibition of the extraverted or the introverted side in a boy or a girl; and it is this causal relationship between discipline and the inhibition of one side of our nature, that I am going to discuss in the next article of this series. The subject is one that every parent and every person having anything to do with the public schools should take into careful consideration.

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Women Hold Second Conference on High Cost of Living

THE second conference of the League Against the High Cost of Living was held Saturday at the Rand School. Despite the large delegation and the enthusiasm, a great deal of work was accomplished.

The following ten-point program was adopted, with a special resolution on electric rates:

1. The city income tax, so long as relief is necessary. Family incomes of \$3,000 and less shall be released. That the tax rate be made progressively higher upward of \$5,000 incomes. 2. Modification of the sales tax, eliminating tax on such goods generally bought by families receiving incomes of \$2,000 and less. Increase the sales tax progressively on luxuries, such as high-grade cars, homes, jewelry, apparel, pleasures, servants, pets, etc. 3. Immediate reduction of gas and electric rates, down to the level approximating charges under public ownership. Establishment of city-owned power plants and distribution to all the people at cost. 4. Establishment of public markets to eliminate the expensive and useless food gamblers—the middlemen. 5. Immediate steps to establish milk distribution service as a social service utility. 6. Increased appropriations for medical attention and lunches in the public schools. 7. To take slum clearance and construction projects out of the talking stage and speedily as possible put men to work building needed houses, hospitals, schools, parks, sanatoria, etc., at not less than prevailing wages. 8. To oppose unreasonably high proposals to increase the subway fares. 9. Encourage and support workers in their struggle for higher wages, shorter hours and the right to organize in unions of their own. 10. To restore all wage cuts the city has imposed upon its employees of salaries below \$2,000 a year.

Borough Park Branch in Novel Entertainment and Dance

Saturday evening, April 13th, the Borough Park Branch of the Socialist Party will hold its annual entertainment and dance at the Labor Lyceum, 1377-42nd Street, Brooklyn. A popular dance band will provide the music, but the interesting feature of the evening is a rather novel program of entertainment.

The branch has seized upon the popularity of amateur hours on the radio and will present a typical local talent night as the feature of the program. The Theatre of Prolet will offer an interesting one-act play.

They Look Like \$50, But They Cost Far Less

There was a time when the names of New York's swankiest eating and drinking rendezvous, and men's clothes selling at \$18.75, were not to be mentioned in the same breath. But today, as a result of a single make of \$18.75 men's clothes, a surprising number of bankers, lawyers, doctors, successful business men, men about town and others who go in for fine clothes, may be found in the best places in garments that definitely fit the surroundings but which cost the wearers only \$18.75.

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Brownsville Bazaar Is On With Three More Days to Go

The bazaar of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn, opened last Wednesday night in grand style. Comrades from all over the city were on hand to help at the booths, buy bargains, meet old friends, and put over the occasion in a manner which the old labor institution only can.

The entertainment is being arranged to suit each evening. Wednesday was Brownsville Night. Entertainers, who appear on the World Clothing Exchange hour over WEVD, were the main attraction. Thursday night was Reunion Night, with old-timers on hand for reviving old friendships and talking over the past. A special feature for Brownsville housewives was arranged by the Cooperative Bakery, with a large number of large-sized loaves for auctioning. Friday night will be "International Night," with members of I.L.G.W.U. locals as special guests, and a special program of workers' songs.

Saturday night: — "Socialist—Young Socialist—and Unemployed Union Night," will be one of the liveliest evenings. Sunday: the bazaar will open at 3 P. M.

Each evening a vacation at a labor camp will be given as a door prize to the holder of the lucky ticket holder. The Unity House prize will be awarded Friday, the Camp Tamiment vacation Saturday, and the Workers' Circle vacation Sunday.

Abramowitsch Meeting in Bronx Labor Center

Raphael Abramowitsch, member of the executive of the Labor Socialist International and one of the leaders of world Socialist thought, will speak at a mass meeting in the Bronx Labor Center, 809 Westchester Avenue, April 12th.

Comrade Abramowitsch's subject will be "International Fascism, Soviet Russia and the War Danger." There will be a nominal admission charge of 25 cents.

On Tuesday, April 8, Comrade Abramowitsch speaks at Irving Plaza Hall, 15th Street and Irving Place, at a general party meeting of all local members of the Jewish Verband.

Spanish Solidarity Ball Saturday, April 13

The Spanish branch of the Socialist Party will hold an International Solidarity Ball at the Hotel Delano, 108 West 43rd Street, on Saturday, April 13th, at 8 p. m. The proceeds will be devoted to the relief of the 30,000 Socialists and trade unionists now held in jails by the clerico-fascist government in Spain.

Among noted singers who have promised cooperation are J. Reyes Martin, tenor; Eva Garcia, Idell Aroustam, Guiseppe Rodella, Eva Shirley, and Ana Blitzer. Janet Gross, pianist, and Leo Strockoff, violinist, will also participate. Last, but no means least, will be a performance by Escudero, the great Spanish dancer, and his group of dancing girls. The Spanish comrades will appreciate the cooperation of party members in making this affair a success. The comrades in Spain are in dire need of help.



ABRAHAM AXELRAD

Socialists will be grieved to learn of the death last week of Abraham Axelrad, a veteran Socialist, one of the founders of the Jewish Daily Forward and an active worker in the Socialist Party since its founding.

Comrade Axelrad, a member of the 18th A.D., Kings, died of a cerebral hemorrhage after a brief illness. Only a few days before his death he expressed deep concern over the state of the party and fervently hoped that the party's unity would be maintained. Comrade Axelrad is survived by his son, Jacob Axelrad, one of the party's leading lecturers, writers and campaigners, his widow, Mrs. Celia Axelrad, and four other sons.

Memorial for Jaffee

A memorial meeting will be held Sunday, April 7th, in honor of the memory of Henry Jaffee, late member of the Brighton Branch of the party, who died recently.

The meeting will be held at 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., at 8 p. m.

Lectures and Forums

ANTI-WAR MASS MEETING

Sunday, April 7th, at 8:15 p. m.

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Capitalism," led by Robert Tilove at the new center.
3. Marxian, Branch 107, Youth Rally at Hotel McAlpin.
4. 2300-10th Ave. of YCLA Drama Group at new center.
5. 8200—Fifteenth of Intermediate Drama Group at new center.
Monday evening—Meeting of the Manhattan Organizational Council at the new center.
Tuesday evening—Meeting of Brooklyn Organizational Council at 563 E. 96th St., Brooklyn.
Wednesday night at the new center—symphonic poems, folk songs, followed by tea and cake.
Thursday evening—Game night at the new center—Ping Pong and Bridge Tournaments, Chess and Checkers.
Saturday evening—Dedication and official opening ceremonies for the new center. Concert artists, dramatic sketches presented by talented YCLA Drama Group, and prominent speakers.

Party Progress

Manhattan
Chelsea, Branch meets Monday, April 8, 8:30 P. M. in the studios of W. D. Hotel Claridge, 160 W. 44th St. To be followed at 9:30 by a discussion in which every member is expected to take part on the subject "Why I am a Member of the Socialist Party."

4th A.D. Branch meets Tuesday, April 9, 8:30 p.m. at headquarters, 293 Grand St. We resumed canvas of enrolled voters Sunday. Many comrades found many prospects. Extraordinarily received a copy of The New Leader. The comrades are wholeheartedly behind our drive for new members. The New Leader. They have a challenge to all branches to New York to beat us. Our mass meeting Sunday, April 7th, at 8:15 p.m. will be held at one of the largest public schools in the night-school shortly. The comrades are working on the arrangements. We expect to make it a gigantic demonstration.
18th A.D. Branch will hold a Spring Festival and Dance on Saturday, April 13, Good music, refreshments and entertainment.
The educational committee has completed arrangements for a series of four lectures, Speakers and topics: Algonquin League, "Early Marx and the Early Socialists"; Bela Low, "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific"; Louis Kahn, "The History of Socialism in the United States"; Feigenbaum, "The Road to Power." Lectures will be held at branch meetings each Thursday night at headquarters, 2905 7th Ave.

Lower 6th A.D. Branch meeting in new headquarters at 1638 E. 172nd St. on Tuesday, April 9.
7th A.D. Branch meeting Tuesday, April 9, at 8:30 p.m., 289 E. 89th St.
Kings
Midwood, Branch meeting Monday, April 8, at 8:30 p.m., at Flatbush Cultural Center, 17th Ave. P. All members are urged to attend.

WOMEN'S COMM. ACTIVITIES
Saturday, April 6th—1 p.m.—Executive Committee, 7 E. 15th St., 3 p.m.—Constitution Committee of the Women's Conference Against the High Cost of Living will meet to plan the campaign meetings, 2 o'clock at the City Hall demonstration, 3 decide on petitions for 25,000 signatures, endorsing the Ten-Point Program adopted by the Conference and to be presented to the mayor, I devise ways and means, 5 elect an emergency committee.
Practical Problems Class
Monday, April 8th—1:30 p.m.—Band School, Subject, "Imperialism." Guest speaker, Nathan Peller.
Tuesday, April 9th—1:30 p.m.—Amalgamated Houses, Subject, "Germany and the Versailles Treaty."
Wednesday, April 10th—1:30 p.m.—Jensonsburg, 221 Bay Parkway, Subject, "Germany and the Versailles Treaty."
Thursday, April 11th—2:30 p.m.—Brownsville, 32 Livonia Ave., Subject, "Germany and the Versailles Treaty."
Public Speaking
Monday, April 8th—3 p.m.—Rand School, Subject, "National and Social Revolution."
Tuesday, April 9th—1:30 p.m.—Rand School, Subject, "Tragedy of Waste."
Wednesday, April 10th—3:30 p.m.—1719 Ave. P., Midwood.

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BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS, TUCKERS, STITCHERS and PLEATERS' UNION, Local 60, I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St. Phone ALgonquin 4-3637-3638. Executive Board meets every Tuesday night in the office of the Union, 7 E. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; I. A. Barkinsky, Sec'y-Treas.

CAP MAKERS' UNION, Local No. 1, Tel. Orchard 4-9800—Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 135 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 23rd St., Chickering 4-3681—Saul Metz, Manager.

CORSET AND BRASSIERE WORKERS' UNION, Local 32, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 3 West 10th Street, New York City. Abraham Snyder, Manager.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, New York Joint Board, 31 West 13th St., New York City. Phone TOMpkins Square 6-5400. L. Hollender, J. Catalanotti, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union, Office and headquarters, 915 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn; STAG 2-7088. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice-President, Stephen Tobasco; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Heib.

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THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, I.L.G.W.U. Office, 61 West 35th St.; Phone, WIs. 7-8011 Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmund Perlmutter, Mgr.-Sec'y; Louis Stolberg, Asst. Mgr.; Maurice W. Jacobs, Sec'y to Exec. Board; Nathan Superstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.

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

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New Leader Readers — Please Patronize Our Advertisers!

Let Socialists Recognize and Use the Power of the Drama

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

A CHALLENGE TO YOU

It is sometimes hard to be fair. In the face of tricky unfairness, there is temptation to swing defiantly back. Just after I had written the comment on Communist plays for last week's issue, my attention was called to a Daily Worker article, belaboring The New Leader for not publishing a letter about the Odets play, "Waiting for Lefty." Under what compulsion is a paper, to publish every angry word sent to it? The New Leader is a weekly, crowded, cramped; this letter was two pages of single-spaced typing; yet by implication we were deceitful villains for not giving it our columns—from which too much of our own material must be excluded. For a moment I had a natural impulse to change my civil words. But I recognized that falsehood and abuse, even, do not change merit and truth. And there is no denying that the dramatization of life, of the social situation, can be more fully stressed in the Socialist movement, that the power of the drama, as a social weapon, is all too sadly neglected, left to the two extremes of violence, to the fascist and the Communist dictatorship groups.

The theatre (with its stepson, the cinema), is perhaps, even more than the school—for it goes on throughout life—a force for education. What are we permitting it to teach? What use are Socialists making of the opportunities the theatre affords?

WHAT CAN YOU ANSWER? It is the hope of a number of those who regret the waste of the powers of the theatre, at some time soon to call a conference, to consider in what ways we may more effectively make of the theatre a social force, without the bias of capitalist or Communist dogmatism and bigotry; in frank and full dramatic revelation of existing conditions, and in joint action through the theatre toward co-operation aid that spirit of alert and active intelligence which points the way to a socialized society. Indeed, it is only the pressure of civil dissension that has delayed such action.

As a preliminary to this conference, we are seeking a roll call of potential power, in the field of the drama. We want, according to the classes below, name, address (of individuals and groups) and brief indication of what you have done and are willing to do.

SEND IN YOUR DATA

I Professionals: Workers in the theatre or the motion pictures and allied arts (producers, actors, dramatists, designers, stage-hands, etc.) who are interested in the theatre, in all the "public arts," as a social force, who might be asked for advice, and might ultimately aid in the establishment of a professional theatre embodying the point of view here presented.

II Amateurs: Members of present or past groups, in any capacity, ready to cooperate, perhaps by continuing the activity of present groups or joining these in a league of associated little theatres, interchanging ideas and plays and experiences, or by joining in some larger enterprise, such as the establishment of a professional theatre, or the organization of a great city-wide pageant, which might be carried into other communities of the land.

III Others Interested: Persons without experience, but who feel the value and the need of this expression, of the dramatic avenue of social and Socialist consciousness, and who are ready to cooperate, as workers or audience-builders, in the various phases of the enterprise and the organized movement.

SEND IN YOUR NAME to the Dramatic Editor of The New Leader, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

WOMEN'S WORDS

"THE DOMINANT SEX." By Michael Egan. At the Cort. Many a play that's a hit on one side of the ocean is of more doubt-

MUSIC

PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY

TOSCANINI, Conductor
AT CARNEGIE HALL
This Afternoon at 3:00
LAST CONCERT OF BRAHMS CYCLE

JANSSEN, Conductor
Thurs. Eve. at 8:45; Fri. Aft. at 2:30
Mozart, Weber, Stravinsky, Mendelssohn

Saturday Evening at 8:45
W. F. Bach, Loeffler, Liszt, Mendelssohn
Arthur Judson, Mgr.

ful popularity on the other; and "The Dominant Sex" seems to have grown talkative on its ocean journey. There are in the play, which is a picture of the old and apparently eternal struggle of the sexes, even in love—many moments of delight, especially when A. E. Matthews is onstage; but these are intercepted and delayed by long stretches of dialogue, in which the family quarrel is aired before us until—like the family wash—it grows threatening and a bit brown at the edges. Dick and Angela have tried trial marriage—that is, after a few other sex-trials; they have found it a success, and therefore have legally married—much to their landlord's joy. But the battle is not over. There are important decisions to make; who is to make them? Shall they have a baby? Shall Dick keep his work by himself, or sell out to the company? Shall they live in the city or go back to the farm Dick loves? We feel, somehow, that Dick is the less practical creature; his farm is a dream out of boyhood, on which he will probably develop a terrible mess of financial troubles, however his vegetables grow; his idea about promoting his motor alone, in opposition to the big company's, is obviously less intelligent than his wife's. Yet she is presented as a bad woman (in this sense all women are bad!) unscrupulously using every device in her power to dominate her man; and the lesson is driven home by another pair the author presents, a couple of whom the woman is decidedly distasteful, but who rules the roost until hubby quite justifiably flies away; and the audience is therefore supposed to rejoice when Dick is in control at the end and wife gives every indication (not to him, but he happily overhears) of her intention to submit. Mr. Egan's theme, therefore, seems to be that the husband—whether wiser than the wife, or merely more stubborn—should be the boss.

Helen Chandler makes the role of Angela less unpleasant than might otherwise be the case; and her recent marriage to Bramwell Fletcher makes his playing of the husband's role more than usually effective—in the irony of the struggle for mastery. But, though he has the smaller role of the henpecked husband, it is A. E. Matthews we wait to see, and it is he who brings breath of life into a play of walking arguments. And walking arguments—however interesting their theme—can hardly hold. Fortunately, the company gives the play a power that compels the audience's attention.

The Producer of "Personal Appearance"



Stella Adler

Brock Pemberton's comedy smash at the Henry Miller's Theatre is still one of the big hits in town, and will, no doubt, continue its run throughout the summer months.

"Roberta" in Brooklyn Screen Premiere of Albee
Starring Irene Dunne, Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers. RKO Albee Theatre brings to Brooklyn a picturization of "Roberta," the musical play which has been making theatrical history on the stage. Irene Dunne sings. A large and versatile cast of favorites headed by Randolph Scott, Helen Westley, Victor Varconi, Claire Dodd and Luis Alberni supports the three stars of "Roberta."

The accompanying vaudeville show at the Albee is headlined by Al Norman, one of Broadway's best-known dancing comics. "The Mainstreeters" featuring Zeb Carver, Ez Newsome and the "Original One Man Band" featuring Zeb Carver, Ez Newsome and the "Original One Man Band"; Henri Gine, Ruth DeQuincey and Basil Lewis, the eccentric dancing trio and the Dick Wong Troupe of Canton wonder workers are also prominent on the stage entertainment.

Jack Holt on Fox Brooklyn Screen—Fashion Show Appears on Stage
Jack Holt is seen on the screen at Fabian's Fox Brooklyn Theatre this week in "Unwelcome Stranger," Columbia's newest comedy-drama, in which Mr. Holt starts his nineteenth year as a star in pictures.

Phil Rosen directed; the cast included Ralph Morgan, Bradley Page, Frankie Darro, Mary MacLaren, Claudel Kaye, Don Chapman, and Sam McDaniel. Managing Director, Zac Freedman, of the Fox has arranged Namm's Easter Parade of Fashions, and George Givot, billed as "The Greek Ambassador of Good Will," for the stage part of this program.

Harry Moses Presents 100th Performance of "Old Maid"

Judith Anderson and Helen Menken gave their one-hundredth performance in "The Old Maid" last Monday evening at the Empire Theatre. Opening on January 7th, this Zoe Akins-Edith Wharton play developed, after a somewhat hesitant start, into one of the established successes of the season. It seems to be the outstanding matinee attraction of the year and Harry Moses, the producer, is already announcing a special Memorial Day afternoon performance by means of large placards outside the theatre.



In The Group Theatre's Production of "Awake and Sing" at the Belasco.

Overmatter—Leader—27
Fowler and Tamara Sail
Fowler and Tamara who are famous for their terpsichorean exploits in capitals of the world, sail today for South American ports where they fill concert engagements. Returning north, they expect to give a series of dance recitals on their first visit to Mexico City, showing for the first time their Mystic Persian and Modern-istic dances. They have just closed a successful season, appearing at Radio City Music Hall and a lengthy stay at the St. Moritz Continental Grill Room.

Stars in "The Petrified Forest" at the Broadhurst Theatre



Leslie Howard, star of the stage and screen, continues to attract capacity audiences to the Broadhurst Theatre these days and nights, where he is appearing in the R. E. Sherwood play, "The Petrified Forest"

"Chapayev" Coming to Connecticut
Direct from its twelfth week run on Broadway, the new Soviet talkie film "Chapayev" will be on exhibition in New Haven, Hartford and Bridgeport. In New Haven on April 12, 13, 14 it will be presented at the Little Theatre by the New Haven Cinema Guild which is sponsored by Prof. Ellsworth Huntington of the Department of Applied Psychology, Prof. Jerome Davis, Mr. and Mrs. Jack Crawford, Arthur Meizner and others. "Chapayev" will have its New Haven premiere on Friday night, the twelfth, at 7 P. M.

On the 16, 17, 18 of April "Chapayev" will be shown at the Hartford Women's Club, 187 Broad St. "Chapayev" has been hailed by Eisenstein, Pudovkin and Dovzhenko as being "greater than Potemkin." Organizations wishing blocks of cut-rate tickets may write to the New Leader business department.

"Flowers of the Forest" to Open Monday

Katharine Cornell will present John van Druten's drama, "Flowers of the Forest," for the first time in New York City on Monday night, April 8th, in the Martin Beck Theatre. Auriol Lee directed the play under the supervision of Guthrie McClintic. Jo Mielziner designed the settings. The cast is composed of these players: Margalo Gillmore, Hugh Williams, Charles Waldron, Moffat Johnston, Burgess Meredith, Brenda Forbes, John Emery, Leslie Bingham, Alice Belmont, Cliffe, Arthur Chatterton, and Katharine Cornell.

"It Happened in New York" Roxy's New Film Fare

"It Happened in New York," the new Universal romantic comedy with Lyle Talbot, Heather Angel, Gertrude Michael, and Hugh O'Connell, opens today at the Roxy Theatre. Adapted from the original story by Ward Morehouse, New York columnist, and Jean Dalrymple, this story concerns the romantic adventures of a taxi cab driver upon whom a celebrated screen star bestows her unwelcome affections. The film was directed by Alan Crosland and the screen adaptation is by Rian James and Seton I. Miller.

New Double Feature Bill at Brooklyn Strand

The newest team of friendly enemies to come to the screen is that of Walter C. Kelly, The Virginia Judge, and Andy Clyde, the popular comedian, featured together in "McFadden's Flats" at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre as part of a double feature program. The second feature is "I'll Love You Always," with Nancy Carroll and George Murphy.

GOOD BAL-
CONY SEATS
50c \$1.00
\$1.50 \$2.00

"HILARIOUS"
Lockridge—Sun

"A
Knockout"
Subel—Mirror

3 MEN ON A HORSE

PLAYHOUSE
Eve. 8:45 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:45

"HITS THE MARK!—VIVID, MUSCULAR"—Anderson, Eve, Journal
THEATRE UNION'S New Dramatic Success—By ALBERT MALTZ

BLACK PIT

"A Moving Play—brilliantly credible acting."—Hammond, Herald-Tribune
CIVIC REPERTORY THEATRE, 14th Street & 6th Avenue
Eves. 8:15—Mats. WEDNESDAYS & SATURDAYS 2:45—Prices 30c to \$1.50, No Tax
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THEATRE PARTIES CALL Watkins 9-2650

THE GROUP THEATRE presents
A NEW HIT BY THE AUTHOR OF "WAITING FOR LEFTY"
"AWAKE and SING!"
by CLIFFORD ODETS
at the
BELASCO THEATRE 14th STREET, East of Broadway
Evens. 8:40

Group Theatre presents
Waiting for Lefty
and
Till the Day I Die
by CLIFFORD ODETS
LONGACRE THEATRE, West 4th St.
Eves. 8:30—\$1.65 to 40c
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For Theatre Party Benefits, Call Helen Thompson, PEnn. 6-7234, or write The Group Theatre, 246 W. 44th St.

Another Great Show!
On the Stage
GEORGE GIVOT
Namm's Fashion Parade
June Ardell—Others

On the Screen
JACK HOLT
"UNWELCOME STRANGER"

25c
TODAY
W. 44th St.

GREATER THAN
"HELL DIVERS!"

Entertainment that zooms to the heavens on the wings of romance! The Champ sprouts wings in this, his funniest, most lovable role!

Wallace Beery
WEST POINT OF THE AIR

A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture with
Robert Young - Maureen O'Sullivan
CAPITOL
B'way & 51st St. Major Edward Bowes, Managing Director

— 3rd BIG WEEK! —
Soviet Russia's First Great Screen Triumph in Jazz Comedy!
MOSCOW LAUGHS
Directed by Gregory Alexandrov
codirector with Sergei Eisenstein
CAMEO—42nd St. East of B'way

2 Soviet Films
"SONG OF HAPPINESS"
"BIBIBIDJAN"
EPIC OF RUSSIAN JEWS
(English Dialogue Titles)
ACME—14th Street Square

"IT HAPPENED IN NEW YORK"
with
Lyle TALBOT - Heather ANGEL
Gertrude Michael - Hugh O'Connell

PLUS STAGE SHOW
SALIC PUPPETS
SENATOR MURPHY
FERRY CORWEY
GAE FOSTER GIRLS - Freddy Mack
ROXY ANY DAY!
25c to 2 P. M.
35c to 7 P. M.
17th Ave. & 58th St. ANY SEAT!
SHOW VALUE OF THE NATION

MUSIC HALL
SHOW PLACE OF THE NATION
WILL ROGERS
in
Life Begins at 40
On Stage—"LA VALSE"
huge scenic spectacle to music by Ravel and musical by Ray Quinade by Ray Swift Silverman, with Jan Peerce.

2nd BIG WEEK
"ROBERTA"
with
IRENE DUNNE
FRED ASTAIRE
GINGER ROGERS
ON THE STAGE
EDDIE PEABODY
O'DONNELL and BLAIR
BARTELL and HURST
and other RKO Acts
PALACE B'way & 47th St.

2nd BIG WEEK
"ROBERTA"
with
IRENE DUNNE
FRED ASTAIRE
GINGER ROGERS
— RKO VAUDEVILLE —
AL NORMAN
GINA, DeQUINCEY and LEWIS
DICK MOY TROUPE
and other RKO Acts
ALBEE Albee Square BROOKLYN

THEATRE PARTIES
Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of THE NEW LEADER. Phone ALgonquin 4-4622 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th Street, New York.

CAN A DEAD MAN COME BACK TO LIFE TO KILL OR LOVE?
THE MOST CURIOUS CASE THAT EVER CONFRONTED THE SCREEN'S MOST FASCINATING SLEUTH, PERRY MASON!
WARREN WILLIAM • MARGARET LINDSAY "THE CASE OF THE CURIOUS BRIDE"
WARNER BROS. MASTER MYSTERY — THE CLUE CLUB SELECTION FOR APRIL — STRAND — Broadway & 47th Street — 25c to 1 P. M. Weekdays

RICHARD CROMWELL • NANCY CARROLL
in "McFADDEN'S FLATS" in "I'LL LOVE YOU ALWAYS"
BROOKLYN STRAND 25c
Fulton & Rockwell — Midnite Show Sat. — To 6 P. M. Weekdays

Hearst is a Menace to Education

And a Menace to Education is a Menace to the Future of America

by Prof. John Dewey

By John Dewey

WILLIAM R. HEARST owns twenty-nine newspapers in seventeen of the largest cities of the United States. They have a circulation of at least ten millions, which means they are read by many, many more. He controls eight film and news services. He has in this country in addition six magazines, two of them with circulations well over a million each.

Such extensive enterprises mean wealth and capital. And Mr. Hearst has at least as much more capital invested in mines and land, in this country and in Mexico, Cuba and Peru. His estate in California comprises at least four hundred square miles. Such vast enterprises mean, of course, large banking affiliations.

That concentrated capital has to be reckoned with in this country goes without saying. When this capital controls a large part of the country, the way it is used ceases to be a private concern. The newspapers of the country are affected with a public interest, and the way Mr. Hearst uses his newspapers is a matter of utmost public concern. The part he played in fomenting the Spanish-American war, when his control of the agencies of publicity was far short of what it is now, is a reminder of his great power.

I propose to speak for a few moments on the way he is using his power in one respect, namely, with reference to education. And I want to begin by saying that the public schools of the country owe the Hearst papers a debt for what they have done for the schools in the past by way of active support.

In more than one city he has come to the aid of the schools and the teachers when they were threatened by drives coming from organizations of wealthy taxpayers.

The "Red" Scare

At present, however, Mr. Hearst

is using his powerful influence to create and maintain a red scare, and as part of the campaign he is engaged in a most serious attack upon freedom of thought and teaching in the high schools and colleges of the country. Every

teacher who permits free discussion of economic issues in his classes is assailed as one engaging in endeavoring to overthrow American institutions and in trying to substitute for them an un-American form of Bolshevism. Some time ago, I saw in a box on the first page of one of his papers a statement made by a judge in Toledo that ninety per cent of the college teachers of the country were engaged in teaching communism in their classes. I quote this instance as showing the length of misrepresentation to which Mr. Hearst is willing to descend.

But Mr. Hearst is not content with what has already happened in lopping off many kinds of educational service, in dismissal of teachers who join the ranks of the unemployed, in reduction of salaries and closing of schools. He must also do all he can to make the readers of his papers think that the schools are engaged in a campaign to overthrow American institutions.

What is back of this? Did his interview with Mr. Hitler lead him to believe that this move was the best way to get a fascist control of education in this country, with complete subservience of teachers and students to Mr. Hearst's own economic interests? Let us make no mistake. Mr. Hearst's menace to education is not confined to the teachers he singles out for attack. It is an assault upon the ability of the whole American people to arrive at an intelligent knowledge of actual conditions and the causes that produce them. It is an attack upon the power of the American people to develop in an orderly and intelligent way the measures and policies that will bring about economic restoration and prevent

the recurrence of the present situation.

This is not the whole of Mr. Hearst's menace to education. As far as he is able he is undermining the confidence of the public in educational institutions. The depression has hit the schools and the teaching body hard enough. But Mr. Hearst is not content with what has already happened in lopping off many kinds of educational service, in dismissal of teachers who join the ranks of the unemployed, in reduction of salaries and closing of schools. He must also do all he can to make the readers of his papers think that the schools are engaged in a campaign to overthrow American institutions.

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Creating Unenlightenment

Just as far as Mr. Hearst succeeds in preventing in a single class room a fair and honest dis-

The New Leader Book Corner

By Charles Solomon

THE STATE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE. By Harold J. Laski. 299 pp. The Viking Press. \$3.

THE essential postulates of this book have long been truisms to students of the classics in Socialism. In it Prof. Laski makes his closest approach to Marxism. He studies the state from the angle of the class struggle and historical materialism, arriving at the conclusion that it is and always has been a supreme coercive authority employed by a ruling class to preserve the particular complex of class relationships of which it is the prime beneficiary. It is the executive committee of the ruling class.

The author brings the changes on his thesis—the immutably coercive and class character of the state—because "We have moved into one of those critical epochs in history where we have to define the fundamental objective of social policy." In such circumstances "it is the first duty of political philosophy to examine the character of the state in its actuality.... The state must be revealed "as the

guardian of the class relations which deprive us of the richer civilization that might be ours." To make this revelation decisive, Prof. Laski is convinced, will be a long and arduous task.

Prof. Laski's view of the state leads him inexorably to what he regards as the "central problem" of our time. Can the transition from capitalism to Socialism be accomplished peacefully in a democratic community? Laski contends that all the available historical evidence compels a contrary answer. Capitalism yields its outer works, but never—at least not voluntarily—its inner citadel. At the same time there is no doubt in Prof. Laski's mind that in democratic countries, "where the members of a state enjoy fundamental political rights," it is the duty of the citizen to exhaust all the means placed at his disposal by the constitution of the state before resorting to revolution, for "the gains inherent in the technique of constitutionalism are profounder, even though they are more slow, than those which are implicit in the revolutionary alternative."

"Capitalist democracy" affords

a united working class the opportunity to take the offensive. Once overthrown, this power lies in the hands of its opponents. "It therefore becomes essential for any party which is seeking to transform the economic foundations of the state to maintain as long as it can a constitutional order which permits it openly to recruit its strength."

Attempts at the "unconstitutional conquest" of the state through insurrection and the general strike are foredoomed to failure while the army remains loyal and while the normal governmental machinery operates.

Prof. Laski insists upon the importance of the "fullest possible exploration of constitutional opportunities" offered by such countries as Great Britain and the United States. "It is the inescapable necessity of any revolutionary strategy that hopes for success to be able to count on the support of the masses," he writes. "This support is absent in both England and America. It is not absent, as the proponents of revolution are inclined to argue, because of the cowardice of non-revolutionary Socialists. It is absent because the historic experience of these countries has not produced the conditions and, therefore, the psychology, which successful revolution

requires." The picture he paints is not an encouraging one to the advocates of "revolution."

The United Front comes in for consideration from Prof. Laski who has no illusions regarding that Communist device. He holds that working class unity is impossible without abandonment of the theory of social fascism.

Notwithstanding all this, there is much in the book to give aid and comfort to the Communists and the advocates of "revolution" in general. From his discussion of the Russian Revolution it would not be difficult to spell out approval of proletarian dictatorship although elsewhere Laski states proletarian dictatorship is not a necessary stage. The author adopts in toto the criticism of the German Social Democracy one encounters in the literature of communism. Yet towards the end of his book (p. 287) he argues in a way that seems to provide an effective answer to his own criticism.

Prof. Laski's book, while persuasive and eloquent, suffers from redundancy.

LABOR UNDER HITLER

The Chest for Liberation of Workers in Europe, an organization launched by the 1934 convention of the American Federation

of Labor, has done one more good piece of work by bringing out a 32-page pamphlet entitled "Labor Under Hitler." This little pamphlet is packed with carefully verified facts and figures, showing what the German labor movement was in the years before Hitler, and how Nazi "Coordination" has broken and plundered it, setting up in its place the so-called Labor Front, which is nothing more nor less than a government agency for policing the wage-working masses in the interest of the employers. Our street speakers and other party workers should get the pamphlet. While no price is set upon it, they will perhaps feel that a dime or more should accompany the request for a copy, to help continue the work. The publication address is 3 West 16th Street, New York.

Policy Toward "Innocents" Vindicated by Events

MILWAUKEE.—The policy of the Socialist Party in refusing to cooperate with Communist "Innocents" in anti-fascist work is further justified by the action of the British Labor Party. The Milwaukee Leader, local Socialist daily, comments editorially as follows:

AGAIN

A little over a year ago Lord Marley, whip for the British Labor Party in the House of Lords, visited Milwaukee under the auspices of the Relief Committee for the Victims of German Fascism.

The Socialist Party refused to have anything to do with the meeting, claiming that the organization sponsoring it was a Communist "innocent club" and more interested in raising funds for Communist propaganda than in relief work.

At the time certain elements in liberal and radical circles bitterly denounced the Socialists for this action.

Hence news just received from England is of more than ordinary interest.

At its last annual convention the British Labor Party declared that membership in the above committee is not compatible with membership in the Labor Party.

Lord Marley has just sent his resignation to the Relief Committee for the Victims of German Fascism.

And so again the soundness of the policy of local Socialists is vindicated.

Capitalism is the most terrible scourge of humanity; it fattens on the misery of the poor, the degradation of the worker and the brutalizing toil of his wife and children. Just as capitalism grows, so grows pauperism, that mill-stone around the neck of civilization, the revolting cruelties of our factory system, the squalor of great cities, and the presence of deep seated poverty by the gates of enormous wealth.—Karl Marx.

the recurrence of the present situation.

A Tragic Race

Before the depression Mr. H. G. Wells said that we are engaged in a race between education and catastrophe. Mr. Wells certainly did not mean just schooling by education, and neither do I when I say that Mr. Hearst is a menace to education. He has become a menace to the political and economic education of the American people.

He is thus doing what he can to produce a victory for catastrophe. The American people are faced with a choice between change by peaceful and orderly means or a change by chaos and into chaos.

To make the first choice, we must have inquiry and free discussion. In blocking that method, Mr. Hearst is actively encouraging chaos. Apparently his motto is that of the Bourbon king: "After me the deluge." He is doing more than playing with fire; he is engaged in social arson in starting the flames of prejudice, intolerance, class hatred, and ignorance whose result is violence and war.

Mr. Hearst's attack upon public education is, I repeat, not a private matter. I am not concerned with Hearst's personality or his motives. A menace to education is a menace to the future of this country.

The Workers Abroad

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

French Party Congress June 9-12

THE National Council of the French Socialist Party, at its recent meeting in Pré-Saint-Gervais, Paris, voted to summon the 32nd Ordinary Conference of the party in Mulhouse, June 9th to 12th. At that session vital problems will be settled, mainly those dealing with the United Front with the Communists. (Dr. Judith Greenfield, in this issue, during the past year.)

The Council listened to a report by Marius Dubois, delegate from the Oran Federation, on conditions in North Africa, and unanimously adopted a resolution calling attention to the severity of the economic crisis there, denouncing oppressive measures taken by the authorities, and assuring the workers of North Africa, without regard to race, color, or religion, of the complete solidarity of all French workers.

Pierre Renaudel Dies

IT is a sad duty to announce the death of Pierre Renaudel, long one of the most brilliant and devoted of the leaders of French Socialism. Comrade Renaudel died virtually in exile from his country and his party; he had gone to Majorca for his health, and he was unhappy over the state of affairs of his party.

Comrade Renaudel was in the past year one of the leaders of the so-called Neo-Socialists who broke away from the party with a considerable section of the party's parliamentary delegation a year or so ago. The leaders of that secession were Marquet and Deat, younger men, and they supported the Doumergue government that followed the riots of February 6th last year; Marquet, indeed, receiving the Portfolio of non-cooperation with Left governments headed by Herriot, Chautemps, Laval and Daladier, which the Socialists, nevertheless, kept in support from the Right of the Chamber, with consequent concessions to them in reactionary legislation.

In November the Neo-Socialists, who called themselves French Socialist Party, Union of Jean Jaures, applied for admission to the Labor and Socialist International, but were rejected. It was at about that time that Marquet lost his seat in the Cabinet when Flandin succeeded Doumergue. It is known that Renaudel was supremely unhappy over the party situation and kept the cables from his Mediterranean retreat burning with demands that Deat and Marquet cease collaboration with the class enemies.

When the history of French Socialism is finally written in its proper perspective the name of Renaudel will be found in a prominent place as that of a great idealist and a devoted Socialist, orator, editor, party executive and brilliant parliamentarian, respected even by those with whom he differed and finally broke after a lifetime of noble and selfless association.

A Year of Labor Government in London

A YEAR after taking over control of affairs in London, the Labor Party can look back not only to a year of magnificent work in the metropolis of the British Empire but also to 21 years of participation in the affairs of the capital.

For the London Labor Party is of age. Twenty-one years ago the control of the city by "Moderates" and "Municipal Reformers," the names assumed by Tories and Liberals in local affairs, for a quarter of a century, indeed, Socialists had participated in the work of the Ramsay MacDonald and others having been elected to the London County Council (the city's governing body), where they did notable work along certain lines. But in 1914 for the time the Labor Party "Coming-of-Age."

Herbert Morrison, leader of the Labor Party in the London County Council, known as the "Prime Minister of London," writes of the past year and the past 21 years, as follows:

"We shall look back on our troubled earlier history when the place. But we shall also have a great deal to rejoice about; we shall have much to be proud of; we shall celebrate the wonderful achievements in our reviews of the 21 years, 1914-1935. Not only shall we be but an empty thing. We shall have the much greater satisfaction of rejoicing in the evolution of a labor and socialist movement which has shouldered vast responsibilities in the local government of millions of people."

"In 1914 there was hardly a Labor Party at all on the London County Council; there was not a single Labor Borough Council; nor Metropolitan Borough Councils only between 40 and 50 were Labor only between 20 and 30 were Labor Guardians."

"Today we have a Labor majority on the London County Council, the greatest of the world's municipalities, after 27 solid years of Tory rule, preceded by 18 years of Liberal rule. Not only do we possess that majority, but it was a majority won by steady fighting, and not by a fluke."

"And the achievements of this majority have made the London County Council famous and respected throughout the country, and indeed throughout the world."

"Labor has majorities on 15 out of the 28 Metropolitan Borough Councils, and it is near a majority on two other Borough Councils. It is in a majority on the Metropolitan Boroughs' Standing Joint Committee, and it has material representation on the many special authorities for special purposes which function in the Greater London."

"Round the County of London there are Labor majorities on two out of three of the County Borough Councils and on quite a number size are at work on the other local authorities surrounding the County of London."

"It is almost certain that we should have held a majority on most of the Metropolitan Boards of Guardians had they continued to exist; the actual position is better than this, for we control the London County Council, which is the Public Assistance Authority for the whole of the Administrative County of London."

"In 1929 we won a majority of the London parliamentary seats, and we are as certain as we can be about anything in politics that a majority of the London M.P.s in the next Parliament will be Labor members."

A report of the concrete work of the past year will appear here shortly.

Party Conference in Danzig

A SPECIAL conference of the Social Democratic Party of the Free City of Danzig was held March 3rd to take decisions with regard to the forthcoming election to the Diet, and to draw up plans for the election campaign.

The struggle for the maintenance of the Danzig Constitution, which has been successfully carried on by the Social Democratic Party for the last two years, will reach its climax in the election campaign. It is not the form of the Constitution which is a stake but its content in the face of Nazi terror and violence.



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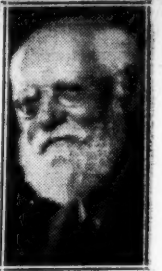
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The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Reformists and Revolutionists Yesterday and Today . . . by K. Kautsky



By Karl Kautsky

III

MARKISM frankly admitted that the road to Socialism was longer than pre-Marxism Socialists had pictured it. For the latter regarded the proletariat as it was, whereas Marx looked beyond the immediate situation, drawing his conceptions from the perspective of historical development, which could not be envisaged by observation of the immediate moment.

It was first necessary to grasp the meaning and nature of the historic process. This, in turn, required the overcoming of pre-Marxian modes of thinking before the Marxian ideas could establish themselves in the labor movement. In 1889, with the establishment of the Second International, the Marxian conception became dominant. The increasing dominance of this conception coincided with the consistent development of the Socialist and labor movement in all industrially advanced countries. This continued without interruption until the World War.

The war ended with the collapse of the great military monarchies. It killed off many educated Social Democrats, leaving a large portion of the working class youth without an opportunity for Socialist education and enlightenment through older and more experienced comrades. It roused the passions of the rest of the working class masses who heretofore had remained backward and indifferent, without any of the knowledge of economics which Marxists had placed at the disposal of the more intelligent elements of the working class in decades of hard effort and education.

New Elements After the War

The new elements who entered the labor movement after the war were devoid also of any party tradition, which in the absence of more sound education may serve as a valuable guiding force. This was created the soil for a revival of pre-Marxian Socialist conceptions.

This recrudescence of primitive Socialist ideas found powerful stimulus in the example of Russia, where the war had brought about complete dissolution of the old military and state organization, and with it the collapse of the entire Czarist order. The ensuing general anarchy ended in the establishment of a new despotism. But this despotism was set up by revolutionists with a Socialist program. Before embarking on their "experiment," they had believed, in common with all Marxists, that in view of the backwardness and weakness of the Russian proletariat the immediate goal of the Russian Revolution could not extend beyond the objectives of a democratic bourgeois revolution, which, while unable to give the workers Socialism, would bring about the establishment of democracy—the political framework within which the struggle for Socialism could be continued.

But once in power the revolutionists in question conceived themselves capable of establishing Socialism at one fell swoop in a country of illiterate peasants and backward workers, by the methods of a ruthless dictatorship. What the Blanquists had yearned for, but never attained, came to realization in Russia through Socialists who came to believe that Blanquism was, indeed, that true Marxism which the Social Democrats had falsified. This idea found many followers also outside of Russia, among Communists.

Social Democrats and Dictatorship

Social Democrats themselves did not adopt a united stand with respect to the dictatorship in Russia. Some rejected dictatorship under any circumstances. Others believed that Blanquism was genuine Marxism for Russia but not for the highly developed countries. Both agreed that for the last mentioned countries dictatorship was quite unacceptable. This was particularly true in Germany.

The coming of Hitler to power brought a change in this position. What Lenin was unable to accomplish Hitler did: he moved some Social Democrats to despair of democracy and to regard the Russian method of dictatorship as the road to Socialism.

Before we embark upon a criticism of the new dictatorial tendency in our party [a tendency which is rapidly abating, however, Tr.], it is necessary, first, to make quite clear its purpose. Otherwise we shall run the danger of misunderstandings, which can lead only to bitterness without achieving the clarity that is so essential.

Before and After Hitler Falls

First, we must distinguish sharply between the tasks placed before us by the struggle against Hitlerism and those which will present

themselves after Hitlerism is overcome.

The methods of struggle against the fascist dictatorship cannot for the moment be clearly determined. [The reader must keep in mind that these articles were written shortly after the coming of Hitler into power. Tr.] Modern dictatorship are such a new phenomenon, something never before seen in world history, that the methods of overcoming them must likewise be expected to assume quite new forms, never before discussed. In this connection we shall yet learn much from experience.

The struggle against fascism absolutely requires illegal, secret organizations. Insofar as these organizations do not serve a purely propaganda purpose but seek to prepare armed uprisings against the dictatorship, they become conspiracies. These, in turn, like wars and civil wars, require that the leaders be vested with dictatorial powers. This is certainly to be deplored, but must not keep us from utilizing any effective measures against fascism, even though they require the application of the dictatorial, undemocratic principle.

To Restore Democracy

On this point there is no difference of opinion in our party. What does divide us is the political purpose we are to set ourselves in the struggle against fascism: is it to be the reestablishment of democracy or the substitution of a "Marxist" dictatorship for the Hitler dictatorship?

These are two different questions. We must distinguish clearly between them. One may easily admit that democratic methods are

not applicable in the struggle against Hitler, in fact impossible, and yet make the aim of our fight the restoration of democracy. Much confusion has resulted from the fact that in the discussion of this question the two points of view have not been clearly defined. Some take the position that democracy, having failed where fascism is in power it must fail also where fascism has been kept from power.

It is self-evident that we cannot fight with the weapons of democracy where such weapons are not available. Some now make the distinction between democratic and revolutionary methods. Some of us are pictured as insisting upon democratic methods and others upon revolutionary methods. The latter are characterized as imple-

ing insurrection and the general strike. But this juxtaposition of democratic methods and others is no less erroneous than that of reformists and revolutionists. Our aim is Socialist and revolutionary. Whether we fight for it reformistically or in a revolutionary manner depends not upon our thinking processes, but assumes practical significance only as we view our tactics from the standpoint of a given situation in the state, society and existing class relationships, which we cannot determine at will. This is what determines whether we resort to democratic or "revolutionary" methods of action.

Under the conditions that prevailed in the countries of Continental Europe during the last century, conditions that were characterized by the absence of that measure of democracy essential to

the freedom of movement required by the masses, it was the democrats who were the revolutionists, for they were the ones who fought for democracy with revolutionary methods, because none other were available. At that time the conceptions of democrats and revolutionists were identical.

Where Democracy Rules

But it would be ridiculous, with this past period in mind, to consider ourselves obliged to preach a violent political overthrow in countries where the democratic republic has been attained.

There are comrades who believe that even under a democratic order we should utilize the methods of "revolution," insurrection or the general strike, because, in their opinion, such methods will lead to Socialism more quickly than the

casting of ballots, and that in the final analysis our opponents in the democratic states will yield only to insurrection and the general strike.

In rejecting democracy they go so far as to believe that a Socialist minority could achieve power by force in a democratic state. And, finally, they assert that we cannot hope to attain an electoral majority even in countries where the proletariat represents the greatest numbers as long as our opponents retain control over the economic and intellectual instruments of power.

Who Holds the Power?

To this we reply: To be sure, the power at the disposal of our opponents, the economic dependence of the workers, the influence of the press and the stealing of elections can be brought into play by our opponents even under democracy. But a Socialist Party which is unable, regardless of these obstacles, to obtain the support of a majority of the people in a democracy will find it even more impossible to obtain such a majority by the use of armed force or the general strike. For in the latter instance the weapons at the disposal of our opponents will prove even more effective than under the form of democratic struggle. The road of force and violence requires even greater sacrifices from the proletariat than the road of democracy.

On the other hand, the use of force and violence requires the support of a much greater majority of the people if we are to win. A majority of 51 per cent will not suffice.

In a situation in which force is pitted against force, the power at the disposal of the ruling classes comes much more into play than under democracy. To master that power we would require the support of an overwhelming majority of the people. The superiority of numbers is the sole decisive weapon on the proletariat can command in any great, decisive contests. To be sure, many workers have not infrequently achieved victory on the barricades or in general strikes, but only when they fought for objectives which were dear not only to the proletariat but to the great mass of the people as a whole, roused to enthusiasm and sport.

For Democratic Objectives

Such objectives were always democratic objectives. Yet, this alone did not suffice to assure victory in the contest of arms. Such victory required also the weakening of the support accorded to the existing regime by its army and bureaucracy.

Such was the case in the July revolution in Paris (1830), as well as in the uprisings of February and March, 1848, and, later, in the general strike in Russia of 1905 and in Germany in 1920.

Both insurrection and general strike have proven quite useless, however, when they were utilized by a minority of the people in efforts to overthrow not a morally bankrupt government but a government supported by a majority of the people. The forcible overthrow of a government possessing not only the power of the state but also the support of a majority of the people is unthinkable. And, as we have already pointed out, any attempt to assert ourselves successfully by force requires not only a majority but an overwhelming majority.

Moreover, the road of force requires greater sacrifices than the road of democracy. It is much easier to prevail upon a person to vote Socialist than it is to move him to give up his job or his life.

The Shortest and Surest Road

Force is, therefore, not a method by which a working class party can advance in a democracy or achieve results that cannot be achieved by democratic methods. Democracy is the shortest, surest and least costly road to Socialism, just as it is the best instrument for the development of the political and social prerequisites for Socialism. Democracy and Socialism are inextricably combined.

The big exploiters are not unconscious of this fact. Hence, their hatred of democracy and their efforts to destroy it wherever they can. These efforts gain in intensity and violence in proportion as democracy has facilitated the rise of the proletariat. Is this any reason for Socialists to minimize the value of democracy? What, for the moment, may appear as the weakness of democracy is in reality the weakness of the proletariat. A working class which has not the power to defend democracy, until such time as the relationship of class forces change, is certainly least capable to assert itself against the exploiters by force. Where democracy has been lost, it is our first and most important task to regain it.

Our chances of success with this as our aim are much greater than if we set ourselves the purpose of establishing another minority dictatorship.

(To be continued)

The United Front in France

Socialist Party Is Threatened as Communists Seek to Capture Its Membership While Conspiring for Dictatorship with Aid of Fascists—Fascism Is the Only Beneficiary

by Dr. Judith Greenfeld, Paris

The following article by a prominent Socialist in Paris reveals with tragic clarity the effects of the "united front" upon the French Socialist Party. What the author says should be a lesson to our own party, in which elements would place us in a similar position have, for the moment, unfortunately obtained a foothold. France is the only country where the Socialists have entered into a "united front" with the Communists. In England, Scandinavia, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Czechoslovakia, etc., the Socialists will have nothing to do with the "united front," not only because the Communists represent a negligible quantity, but because they are convinced that to make a common front with elements representing the ideas and policies of Communism would only facilitate disorganization within the Socialist ranks and play into the hands of fascism. The experience in France has amply confirmed the soundness of this position.

By Dr. Judith Greenfeld

THE Socialists have been so aroused by the latest maneuvers of the Communists that the party's Central Committee found it necessary to call a special meeting on March 3rd to discuss the results and perspectives of the united front.

What concerned committee members particularly was the tone assumed by the Communists, as reflected in their central organ, *Cahiers du Bolchevisme*, where the purposes of the united front are quite clearly formulated as follows:

"Our principal task is to bring over the Socialist masses into the Communist Party for the establishment of a Soviet regime. This aim, like victory over fascism, cannot be attained by means of a united front with the Socialist Party, but only through fighting it. From this it follows that the Communists, by means of the united front, must gain domination over the majority of the workers and liquidate the influence of the Socialists upon the masses."

In this manner do the Communists seek, as their first objective, not the liquidation of the fascists but of the Socialists. And this they seek to attain under the guise of fraternization in the united front. The kiss of Judas.

And, indeed, delegates at the meeting of the Central Committee painted a most somber picture of the many and varied maneuvers to which the Communists resort "to liquidate the influence of the Socialists upon the masses." As an example, it was pointed out that the Communists forbid their followers to attend "united front" meetings with the Socialists, in order that they may not listen to Socialist speakers, while subjecting the Socialist masses to the most intense Communist propaganda.

Communists Seek Fascist Aid

In addition, the Communists try in every way possible to sow discord between the Socialists and trade unions, who have rejected any united front with the Communists, by cunning and dangerous maneuvers, and, finally, the Communists seek to carry confusion and disorganization into the ranks of the Socialist youth. To achieve this particular objective they have even gone so far as to raise the slogan of "a united national front of the Socialist, Communist and fascist youth," namely, a united front with the notorious *Jeunesse Patriote* and *Solidarité Française*, which embrace most of the young elements of French fascism. In support of this "united front"

the Communists are waging an intense propaganda, to the great horror of the Socialist Youth organization, which refuses to reconcile itself to such a cynical policy.

In an article entitled "The Tribulations of Our Socialist Youth," *Le Populaire*, chief Socialist organ, asks the following questions: "Is it not true that the Communists seek to establish a national front with the fascists in order to destroy the well established and active organization of the Socialist Youth, of which they are envious? On the other hand, do not the leaders of the U.S.S.R., frightened by Hitler, seek to conclude a military alliance with France in order to drag us into war? Do they want us to go to war under the flag of a national front and the banners of the patriotic fascist youth? We will not subject ourselves to such a dangerous maneuver."

In similar vein were the utterances of Paul Faure, secretary of the French Socialist Party, before the Central Committee, while Riviere, another prominent member of the committee, declared that "the recruiting of new members by the Socialist Party has become more difficult because the demagogic propaganda of the Communists has a greater influence upon the masses than the speeches of Socialists."

United Front Helps Communists

"Thus by going into the united front we have strengthened the chances of the Communists," Riviere declared.

According to Canrelli, another member of the Central Committee, "there is great confusion among many Socialists, for they fail to see the difference between the Communists and Socialists."

The united front has also given rise to a Communist movement in the provinces, where there was no such movement before.

Naturally, all this serves to encourage the Communists, especially since within the Socialist Party

itself there has arisen an extreme left wing, whose elements differ little from the Communists. The leader of these elements, Zyromski, frankly demands "union with Stalin." To his opponents at the meeting of the Central Committee he said quite openly: "The Communists are closer to me than you."

While Zyromski demands "union with Stalin," Pivert, another leader of the Left, inclines more toward the Trotskyists. Thus we have both Communist wings doing good business within the hospitable fold of the French Socialist Party.

The Communists having declined to conclude a united front with the Trotskyists, the latter have joined the Socialist Party, where they function as a separate group and are conducting an energetic propaganda. It is interesting to note that they publish a paper, *La Verite*, with the following trade

What Engels Thought of Left-Wing Infantism

"New Problems and Old Illusions" is the title of a striking article in next week's issue, by "Social Democrat," dealing with the views of Frederick Engels, Marx' chief collaborator.

RAPHAEL ABRAMOWITSH has a timely and instructive article on the Danger of War.

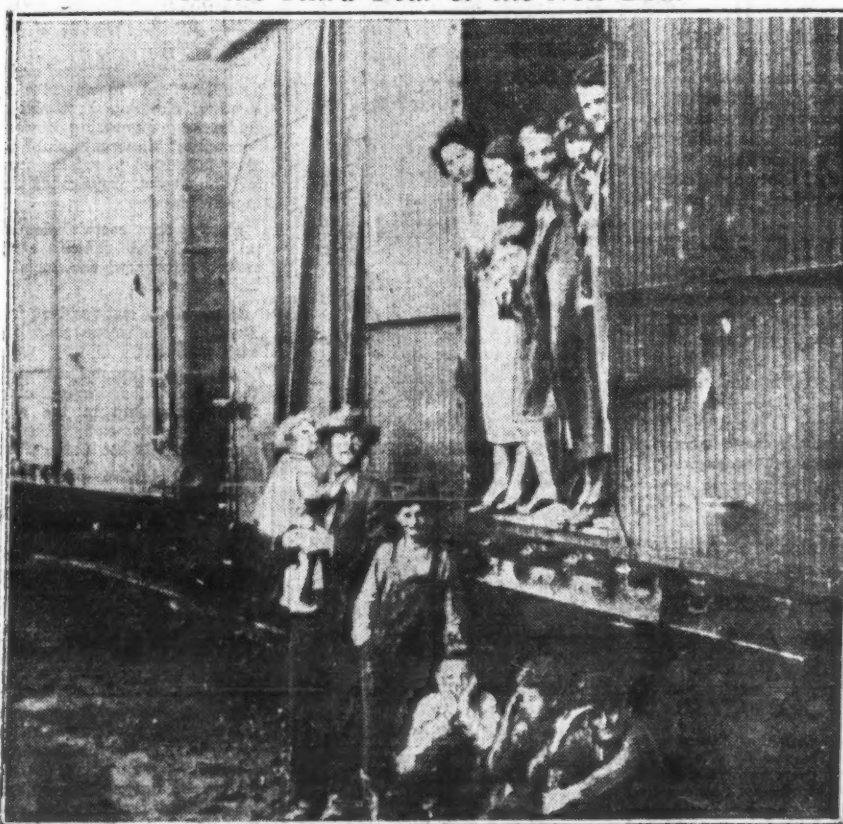
WILLIAM E. BOHN has a brilliant article on "The Road to Power in America."

MARK STARR continues his articles on Workers' Education.

KARL KAUTSKY continues his thought-provoking articles on The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. And many others.

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Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

The Indecision of the N.E.C.

THE Buffalo meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party still leaves the issue of Communism in the party unsettled. It condemned the advocacy of armed insurrection in the party but not Communist philosophy and principles. The Allen report on the Revolutionary Policy Committee condemned "advocacy of armed insurrection or similar methods" as being "incompatible with membership in the Socialist Party of the United States." This action on this phase of Bolshevism concedes the position of New York Socialists but it does not settle the whole issue of Bolshevism in the party.

The Allen report, by the way, is in error when it states that armed insurrection "is condemned even by the Communist Party." Insurrection does not appear in its programs but it does in its general literature. American Bolsheviks learned by their underground experience that they could not become an "open party" and at the same time place armed insurrection in their programs, but it still appears in their literature.

That the issue is not settled even on insurrection is evident by Haggood's statement that if the Buffalo insurrectionists do not receive satisfaction in their appeal to the New York State Committee, he will bring their case before the N.E.C. This means that the party should tolerate insurrectionists, providing they do not put their views in print. What about their personal agitation for it in party circles?

Haggood declared his belief that this agitation should be permitted, and his view was shared by Daniel. I asked Comrade Allen whether his report implied that the insurrectionists now in the party should remain and others be admitted and his answer was, Yes. Let us consider the logic of this situation.

The Allen and Hoan Resolutions

ASSUME that Communists of any type in the party abandon agitation in party circles for armed insurrection, would this settle the bitter conflict within the party? Certainly not. The struggle of Socialism vs. Bolshevism will continue with its paralyzing effect upon all party activities, and if it does not split the states before the end of the year it will split the national convention in 1936. The two antagonistic philosophies simply cannot be reconciled irrespective of whether advocacy of insurrection is or is not dropped. The basic cleavage of opinions will remain and they cannot be compromised. We might just as well frankly face this issue now and meet it in the open. The longer it drifts the more acute it will become.

The Allen report does not settle the issue, but the first point in the Hoan resolution regarding the conflict in New York State goes beyond the Allen report. That section reads:

"The adherence to the resolutions of the N.E.C., providing the ineligibility of advocates of Communism and violence in the party." This is for New York.

Here there is a departure from the Allen report in that it rules out "Communism AND violence" in New York, while the Allen report merely rules out violence, not Communism, in the other states. Communists who agree to keep quiet about armed insurrection may appeal to the Allen report as a justification for their retaining membership in the Socialist Party, while we in New York who oppose them can cite the Hoan resolution as a reason for excluding Communists.

Instead of establishing clarity at Buffalo the N.E.C. created more confusion. However, New York Socialists will not be confused in their action against Communists in the party or those who seek to join it; Communists will not be tolerated, and in taking this course we will be fighting the battle of the party members in all the states who want a party of the working class freed of the crackpots standing at the threshold of the party's door.

Conflicts and Confusion

FEW instances will show the confusion that is still rampant. At Buffalo, when Herman Hahn and William Chamberlain acted as spokesmen of the insurrectionists, Hahn declared that the paragraph in the Declaration of Principles referring to action in a period of "chaos and confusion" justified his support of armed insurrection. Chamberlain declared that he and his group were Communists with a small "c." That is to say, they accept Communist philosophy and principles, not Socialist philosophy and principles. Could the conflict in the party be more clearly stated than Hahn and Chamberlain have put it? Certainly not.

There is the pamphlet published in Chicago by Albert Goldman, with an approving introduction by Arthur G. McDowell, and evidently circulated with the sanction of Local Cook County. Goldman was for years active in Communist organizations and was then admitted to the Socialist Party. Has he changed his views? He has not. Speaking for himself and others like him he writes:

"Does joining the Socialist Party mean that we have renounced our principles? Decidedly not. For myself, I can say that I still adhere to the principles of revolutionary Marxism as generally interpreted and developed by Lenin and Trotsky."

The Socialists may well ask, Do we accept the "revolutionary Marxism" of Lenin and Trotsky? Our answer is that Lenin and Trotsky have made a burlesque of Marxism. Goldman declares in this same pamphlet that he expects to see splits in the Socialist Party. So do we if this continues, because there can be no reconciliation between Lenin-Trotsky Marxists and Socialist Marxists.

As I said at Buffalo, Goldman is admitted in Chicago and he would be excluded in New York, while New Jersey also accepts Communists whom we have rejected in New York. Thus two types of state organizations are forming in the Socialist Party, one admitting Communists and the other rejecting them. The party member who cannot see with Goldman that this ultimately means splits is blind. In New York City the militants fight for the admission of Communists and we oppose their admission. We have had Trotskyists before us in New York who admitted that they would expel all who disagreed with them if they obtained control or, failing in that, would split the party by taking a big majority over to the Trotsky group. Does any party member want any better evidence of the need of a clear-cut decision on the issue of Socialism vs. Bolshevism in the party?

Some other states do not face this peril as we do in New York and therefore tolerate a waiting and indecisive policy. Wisconsin historically belongs to the Socialist section, but as it does not face the peril in that state it follows the policy of indecision, nationally. This means dead sea fruit on a national scale in the end. The party cannot become half Bolshevik and half Socialist without every state eventually becoming involved in suicidal strife. New York knows its duty to the movement as a whole, and other states should also act in accord with this duty before action to prevent a catastrophe is too late. Our future lies with the organized working class, not with the "left" sickness that flirts with Bolshevism in any form.

Y.P.S.L. Nat'l Convention In Pittsburgh July 19

PITTSBURGH.—The Young Peoples' Socialist League will hold their national convention in Pittsburgh July 19, 20 and 21. The sessions will be held at the Socialist Lyceum and will begin with a public meeting Friday night, July 19. A committee of Local Young

Peoples Socialist League and Party members are in charge of arrangements. The cooperation of several trade unions and the Workmen's Circle has also been secured.

The convention is expected to be one of the largest held by the Young Socialists in recent years.

The local committee in charge of the convention has its headquarters at the Socialist Party office, 122 19th Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Winnie-the-Red Wants a Revolution

But She Isn't Quite Certain Just What Sort of a Revolution She Would Like to Have

By J. C. Rich

IT was only a birthday card and if it hadn't been for St. Patrick's day I might not have remembered to send it to her. I should have regretted the oversight, for I like Winnie, whose earnestness and sincerity have not stifled the charming impulsiveness of her eighteen years.

"All Fifth Avenue is on the march," I wrote, "to celebrate the achievement of your eighteenth birthday, and may your fields ever grow green."

That was neat and gracious, I thought, but one can never tell about Winnie. Back came that postal card like a check too optimistically issued. It carried a notation in red pencil reminiscent of teacher's markings on your best efforts in English A. "With revolutionary greetings," it read, squelching this reactionary who had neglected his revolutionary greetings to anyone so militant as Winnie.

She visited us that evening and her purpose was clear. It was no mere breach of radical etiquette that I had committed. My whole "ideology," she explained, needed revamping, and her violence was as overwhelming as it was flattering. It was plain that she was engaged in a crusade to rehabilitate her ideology. One should never forget the revolution, she insisted. "What revolution?" I asked.

This was not a fair question, for it caught her unprepared, but ever quick on the draw she shot back: "Don't evade the issue. You know very well what revolution. That's the trouble with you right-wingers—always taking the revolution for granted, letting others prepare for it."

"I don't take anything for granted," I responded, "and I am not trying to evade any issues. I really want to know what revolution. Shall I greet you with the Hitler revolution or with that of Mussolini? Or how would you like the one that deposed the Czar?" Winnie brightened and nodded her head affirmatively.

"Very well then," I was malicious enough to mock her. "Heil Kerensky!"

Poor Winnie! The very mention of Kerensky was enough to set her teeth on edge as I very well knew it would. History had marked its sequences in convenient order for the eighteen-year-old's sympathies. It was painfully inconsiderate of Kerensky to have preceded the Bolshevik revolution in the Russian revolution. However, I tried to cheer her up with the remark that there had been a pretty good revolution in 1776 as well.

"Yeh," she answered, and came as near to jeering as is possible for a pretty and altogether engaging young lady. "The Red, White and Blue, and My Country, Right or Wrong. First in war, first in peace, and Hearsie in the hearts of his countrymen."

She relished the wisecrack, and I'm afraid I was becoming a little annoyed.

"That's not the point at all, and you know it," I said. "I merely want you to be more discriminating about your revolutions. I am trying to suggest that if I must greet you on your birthday with a revolutionary sentiment, you ought to specify what revolution. Now don't tell me that you would sponsor only idealistic revolutions, for they are all idealistic; at least they pretend to be. There was the recent putsch in Greece, for instance. Even that carried the banner of idealism. The secessionists of the South in 1861 proclaimed the ideal of states' rights, and many brave Americans offered their lives in sacrifice to the cause of slavery. Why, even Hitler preaches nothing but idealism while fair ladies bare their necks to the gentleman with the axe and clouds of barbarism roll out of the medieval past to enshroud civilization."

"One can become most cynical about ideals and aspirations in view of all that happened in the recent past," I continued, "but I hope you won't permit that sort of sophistication to curdle your warm young soul. I only ask that you keep your eyes clear and your head straight about these things. I know that the word 'revolution' has an engaging sound in many ears and revolutionary phrases are spouted indiscriminately at our gatherings. But, after all, revolution is not an end in itself. It is merely a means to an end. Usually it is a desperate means and should be adopted only as a last resort when all other efforts are exhausted."

"Now, you know that Socialists have not shrunk from revolutions when the issue was set. Russia and Austria and Spain will tell you

that. The fact that experts in tactics may disapprove of the strategy displayed in these engagements does not detract from the courage and devotion that these embattled Socialists demonstrated. Their martyrdom will ever glow warm in the hearts of liberty-loving mankind, but these martyrs did not precipitate revolutions for the sake of revolutions. In every case the course of events forced it on them."

Winnie, I noticed, was becoming impatient and here she interrupted me to say:

"Yes, but if only they had done so in time! Why wait till the enemy gets good and ready before you start your revolution? Grasp the opportunity while you have the power and fight for your cause, as soon or later you will have to do."

"Good girl, Winnie!" I exclaimed. "That's the spirit. Except this: when you have the power, you don't need a revolution. It's your opponent that plots revolutions and insurrections then. Besides, in organized society and against established governments with all the modern weapons at their command one needs not only the will to revolution but the physical force to match their force. One cannot meet machine guns with brickbats, and a barricade of cobble stones is a poor shelter from howitzers and bombing planes. If, in addition, your own forces are divided and those from whom you should expect support actually give aid and comfort to the enemy, why then your cause is hopeless."

"That's it exactly," Winnie was quick to interpose her argument. "If the workers had been united in Germany, Hitler would not be where he is now. If there had been a united front between the Communists and Socialists, the Nazis never would have won. But with that terrible lesson before you, you are still against the united front."

"You wrong me, lady," I protested. "I am not against a united front. On the contrary, I am all for it. But if you refer to the united front as proposed by the Communists, I am against a fraud and a delusion. The lesson of Germany taught us one thing, and that is that the Communists would rather unite with the Nazis—and they did; at least, they voted with them when the vote was important—rather than with the Socialists."

"Nevertheless, I want to see Socialists and Communists, unite and fight."

It was a familiar slogan, and Winnie repeated it in sing-song fashion. She was leaving and I cried after her:

"You didn't get that right. What it actually means is 'Communists and Socialists, unite to fight'—fight each other, of course."

"Yours for the Revolution," was the parting shot as she closed the door, this young and contrary Winnie the Red.

McLevy and Prof. Hartmann at Pittsburgh Meeting for New Leader

PITTSBURGH.—Jasper McLevy, Socialist Mayor of Bridgeport, and Dr. George W. Hartmann, Professor in Pennsylvania State College and an active member of the Socialist Party, will speak at the Schenley High School Auditorium, Tuesday, April 23rd, under the auspices of the Socialist Party of Allegheny County.

The plans are to give a three months' subscription to The New Leader with each 25c admission ticket. It is expected that at least 1,000 additional subscribers to The New Leader, the official paper of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania, will be secured through that one meeting.

Party branches, individual members and friendly organizations are urged to secure tickets immediately at the Party Office, 122-9th Street, Pittsburgh.

N. Y. Prepares to Reply to N.E.C. Nine Points

THE New York State Committee of the Socialist Party at its meeting in the People's House last Sunday elected two committees, one to draft an answer to the document adopted by the National Executive Committee with reference to New York State (printed here last week) and the other to draft a reply to the long attack by the local militant faction.

The committee to answer the N.E.C. communication consists of U. Solomon, Louis Waldman, Julius Gerber, James Oneal and Chas. Solomon. The second committee consists of Julius Gerber, U. Solomon and G. A. Gerber.

Comrades Umansky, Mygatt, Hughan, Crosswaith and Bohn appeared in the interest of the unity of the party. Oneal stated that this was the view of the State Committee but that the appeal should be addressed to the militants who had been an organized and disciplined faction for years, a faction cutting across all party lines, creating extra agencies for action within the party, and encouraged by Norman Thomas.

Raphael Abramowitch of the executive of the Labor and Socialist International was invited to address the meeting. Comrade Abramowitch declared that preservation of the unity of the party was important and this met the hearty approval of the committee. He emphasized that he spoke as an individual, not as a representative of the L.S.I.

Party Notes

Pennsylvania

Pittsburgh. The Dramatic Group of the Homewood Branch announces that they are available for entertainments before party branches, trade unions and labor fraternal organizations. Their program consists of one-act labor plays and songs. They have already appeared before several trade unions, among them the Cretion local of the American Federation of Flat Glass Workers, and were everywhere well received. Those wishing to secure their services should communicate with Stewart Way, Socialist Party, 122 Ninth Street, Pittsburgh.

New Jersey

Passaic. Branch One of the Y.P.S.L. celebrate the opening of new headquarters at 201 Washington Pl. Friday, April 5, at 8:30.

Brookwood. Labor College Chautauque and Dance Friday evening, April 12th, at Polish People's House.

May Day Conference meeting April 8th, at 7 P.M. at 167 Jefferson St.

Next open forum of Branch Friday, April 19th, at 8:30, in new headquarters.

Newark. Thursday, April 11th, Aug.

HEARING ON SEDITION BILL REPEALER

HARRISBURG.—A public hearing on the Sedition Act Repealer, House Bill No. 104, introduced by Darlington Hoopes, Socialist member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, will be held by the Committee on Judiciary General, Tuesday, April 9th, at 2 p.m.

The bill is coming up for a hearing in spite of the opposition of many conservative groups, after President John Phillips of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, who will appear in behalf of the Repeal Bill, indicated to every member of the Committee on Judiciary General that organized labor wants the Sedition Act repealed.

The Flynn Sedition Act was passed in 1919 and is considered one of the most drastic in the country. It provides penalties for "Any writing, publication, printing, cut, cartoon, utterance or conduct, either individually or in connection or combination with any other person or persons, which tends to incite or encourage any person or persons to commit any overt act, with a view to bringing the government of this state, or of the United States, into hatred or contempt."

Violation of the act is punishable with a fine, or imprisonment not exceeding 20 years, or both.

Members of labor unions and Socialist Party and labor fraternal organizations are urged to write or call upon Chairman Eugene Caputo, 21 Merchant St., Ambridge, Pa., demanding favorable action.

Chesens, speaks on "Two Years Under Roosevelt" at Hawthorne Ave. School, Clinton Place and Hawthorne Ave. Geo. H. Goshel, chairman. Auspices, South Side Branch.

Central High School, Norman Thomas on "Witch Doctors of 1935."

Connecticut

Through a misunderstanding The New Leader announced in last week's issue that the showing of the film "Chapayev" was to be held under the auspices of the Socialist Party in New Haven and Hartford. In both cities the showing is under the direction of the Film Plate League and interested organizations are to sell blocks of tickets on a per centage basis.

Illinois

Chicago. Chicago trade unionists and Socialists will sponsor a May Day parade and demonstration. Efforts will be made to persuade the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Garment Workers to march their workers direct from union mass meetings in their own halls to the parade, 29 trade union, fraternal, unemployed, young people and labor political groups send 150 delegates to the May Day conference for a 1935 Chicago Labor Day, March 31st, at the Cermen's Hall, Samuel Laderman of the Pocket-

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book Workers' Union was selected chairman of the Chicago Federation of Labor. The next meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor will be Sunday, April 14th, and increased representation of trade unions and other labor bodies is expected over the first conference.

4,000 ATTEND SEGER MEETING
Nearly 4,000 people attended two anti-fascist mass meetings last week with Gerhart Seger as speaker. The large meeting was sponsored by the Chicago Federation of Labor directly at the Ashland Boulevard Auditorium Sunday Afternoon. President Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor opened the meeting in the name of the Federation, and pledged the solidarity of American labor with the workers under fascist tyranny in Europe. Local Cook County co-operated in the arrangement of the meeting.

The other meeting was sponsored by a group of German organizations under the leadership of the German branch. Funds were gathered at both meetings for the Ches for Liberation of Workers of Europe.

The 6th Congressional Branch is celebrating its 5th anniversary with banquet at the Petruska Gardens, 3035 W. 83rd Street, Sunday, April 14, at 6 P.M. All proceeds go toward our quota for the United Socialist Drive.

New York State
State Committee. The meeting of the State Committee in New York last Sunday was devoted almost exclusively to consideration of the National Executive Committee proposals for restoring unity and harmony in the organization, and committee of five was constituted to draft a reply to the same, reporting back to the State Committee or S.E.C. Twelve out of the fifteen voting members of the committee were present, as well as all members of the State Executive Committee. The latter committee deferred its meeting in order to give the State Committee more time.

May Day. The State Secretary has urged all locals, however small, to arrange meetings and demonstrations of some kind in celebration of May Day. Rockland County. Business meeting Thursday evening, April 11, at home of Carl H. Svensson, 140 W. 14th St., New York City. The local is nearing the half-way mark in raising the quota for the United So-

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Sun, April 7—11 a.m.—Forward Hour, music and sketches; 12 noon—Palestinian music; 8 p.m.—Edith Friedman, piano; 8:30—Hippodrome Grand Opera; 10—Debate, "Shall We Have Immediate Currency Stabilization?" Dr. John I. Kaundson, A. W. May, Dr. Max Winkler and E. H. Collins; 10:45—Don Carlos, "Poet Philosopher."

Mon, April 8—8 a.m.—"Starting the Day Right," Jacob S. List; 3:30 p.m.—String ensemble.
Tues, April 9—8:45 p.m.—University of the Air; "What Next for America?" Dr. Robert Arts Wiewer, talk; 9:15—"The Three Dels," vocal trio; 10:45—"Paris in New York."

Wed, April 10—8:30 p.m.—String ensemble; 10—Gotham Mass Quartet; 10:15—"The National Labor Scene," University of the Air; 10:30—Molra Macnamon, soprano.
Thurs, April 11—8:15 p.m.—Irish Blackbirds Orchestra; 8:30—"The Virgilians," vocal, quartet; 8:45—Royal Dutch Traveler, Teodrik de Leuw; 10—The Building Service Hour, talks and music; 10:45—Forbes and Kroll, two-piano team.

Fri, April 12—8 p.m.—Saskiavsky String Ensemble; 8:30—Stanford Speth, "The Talent Detective"; 10—League for Industrial Democracy Presentation; 10:15—University of the Air, Washington series, U. S. Senator Hendrick Shipstead; 10:30—Medical Hour, talk by Dr. Morris Greenberg; 10:45—Raymond Shannon, baritone.

Sat, April 13—10 a.m.—Voice of Local 80, Italian Variety Show; 6 p.m.—"Jaw-18th Events of Week"; 8—Lazar Fried, songs; 8:45—Metropolitan String Ensemble; 10—Hippodrome Grand Opera.

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NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor
WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

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

Published Every Saturday by The New Leader Publishing Association, 7 E. 15th St., New York City. Telephone No. ALgonquin 4-4622.

Entered as Second Class Matter, January 19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

1 Year, New York City Edition \$2.00 1 Year, Nat'l Edition \$1.00
1 Year to Foreign Countries \$5.00 1 Year to Canada, \$2.50

Vol. XVIII—No. 14

SATURDAY, APRIL 6th, 1935

THEORY AND MATERIAL NECESSITY

FOR many months we have noticed a curious contradiction in "leftward" organs. Perhaps it would be more correct to call them "nutward" organs, as they do not bring forward anything new. They recall the period of 1912, when the old was paraded as new not only in the labor and Socialist movement but outside of it. There was the "New Unionism" and "New Socialism," the advocates of which have completely disappeared. In capitalist politics there was the "New Nationalism" of Teddy Roosevelt, the "New Freedom" of Woodrow Wilson, and the "New Know-Nothingism" of the religious fundamentalists in politics. Each "new" idea harked back to something old.

The revival of the new today is "reformism" and "reformists." There was quite a literature on this twenty and thirty years ago, but today only the words are revived. The nutward trend it opposed to reformism and fights for reforms! This is the contradiction. In theory it is one thing, in practice another. In theory it lives in a vacuum above the struggles in society and demands the "revolution," but it is dragged out of the vacuum by the sheer force of material necessity in order to avoid complete isolation.

Old age and unemployment insurance, to take only two examples, are reforms and the nutward trend shrieks for them and yet it roars against "reformism" and "reformists." If one of this type were heaved into a city council or a state legislature, he would also have to fight for reforms that are of interest to the workers. If he did nothing but introduce resolutions demanding the "revolution," he would be regarded as a fool by the masses who elected him and he would not be returned in the next election.

He would also be faced with reactionary measures in such a body and be compelled to fight them. Whether he helped to defeat such measures or whether the measures he favored became law, he would not get the "revolution." Whatever success he would have in representing the masses, his successes would fall within the realm of reform and nothing else.

Living in a vacuum of theory, the nutward gentlemen may get away with demagoguery, but the moment they face practical responsibilities, material necessity will make fools of them if they do not fight for the reforms which in theory they reject.

A PROBLEM IN ARITHMETIC

FROM 1789 to 1913 the total federal appropriations were 24 billion dollars. For three years of the depression—1934-1936—the total appropriations are over 24 billions, the United States News points out. This represents nearly \$1,000 for each family in the United States or \$12 for every man, woman and child in the world!

If 24 billion dollars spent in three years cannot pull eleven million jobless men and women out of the pit, how many billions must be spent and how many years will it require for New Deals to provide new meals for the workers of the United States?

A LOW BABBITT LEVEL

ONE historian declares that the human mind is composed of three layers, the lowest being an inheritance from our savage ancestors. We would add one still lower, one belonging to the swine level of our animal ancestry. This type will be found in the author of a circular issued by the New York State Economic Council, Inc., on March 22. It declares that "one of the best arguments" against the Child Labor Amendment is contained in the letter of a girl of 15½ years, who wrote that her father is 65 years old and unable to work; that her parents are dependent upon her, and that there would be no family income until the child obtained a job.

That this collection of organized Babbitts should coolly send out such a statement simply shows how low the profit motive will drag human beings. They remind us of O. Henry's remark of the man who "only" burned down an orphan asylum in order to get the pennies of the children.

HITLER STRINGS THE BROWN SHIRTS

NEWS from Berlin shows that the last remnant of the Nazi revolution, the Brown Shirt Storm Troops, has almost disappeared. Hitler and his gangsters organized these mercenaries out of the despairing sections of the middle classes, uninformed workers and the criminal elements of the population. They were to be the Swiss Guard of the Nazi heaven and enjoy its fruits.

In June last year Hitler staged his blood purge of a number of the Storm Troop leaders. Since then the Brown Shirt uniform has practically disappeared and the Storm Troops have been succeeded by the Reichswehr army. Nazi rule has simply produced the old Junker-capitalist regime of the pre-war period with Hitler in the boots of Wilhelm. The Nazi revolution has placed the necks of its mass following in a noose.

EIGHTEEN YEARS AFTER



Eighteen years after America entered the war to end all wars, the monster of militarism looms as never before.

THE PROFITS OF WAR

	—Average Annual Profit—	
	4 Years Preceding War	During War
Scovill Manufacturing Co.	\$655,000	\$7,678,000
Niles Cement Powder	656,000	6,146,000
Atlas Powder Co.	485,000	2,374,000
Hercules Powder Co.	1,271,000	7,430,000
Republic Iron and Steel	4,177,000	17,548,000
International Merchant Marine	6,690,000	14,229,000
General Motors	6,954,000	21,700,000
American Smelting and Refining Co.	11,566,000	18,602,000
Utah Copper	5,776,000	21,622,000
Anaconda Copper	10,649,000	34,549,000
United States Steel	105,331,000	239,653,000
Bethlehem Steel	6,840,000	49,427,000
Du Pont	6,092,000	58,076,000

Behind the Scenes in Washington



By Benjamin Meiman
(Our Washington Correspondent)

ON many occasions recently the administration has threatened to discontinue relief and to shut up shop at CCC camps on account of relief funds being completely exhausted and that Congress will just have to put the work-relief bill through right away. But each time Congress didn't put the work-relief bill through right away the administration managed somehow to find a few million dollars tucked away in some stocking that could be pulled out to tide over the relief work a little longer.

Well, Monday came and Congress was in a worse mess than ever, with some of the works conferees threatening to quit in high indignation and further delay in prospect. But true to form, late in the day word reached congressional leaders that another chunk of money had been found lying around in some old corner—enough to meet relief drafts for a week or so longer.

That work-relief bill seems to be jinxed. A snag was hit again last Monday when the House by a vote of 249 to 110 sent the much-controverted bill hurtling back to conference again, on the strength of Secretary Ickes' and White House protests against the labor restriction. This was considered tantamount to instructing conferees to eliminate the Senate amendment which limits loans to states and municipalities on projects that will spend at least one-third of the loan as wages to workers. This is known as the "direct work" amendment, which Secretary Ickes claims will cripple his Public Works Administration.

Senator Glass declared the House "has yielded to the dictatorship" of a public executive. Taking the floor, he charged "there are some officials who not only want to administer but to legislate." Despite the fact that most Senate conferees voted against the bill, he said they fought vigorously for every Senate amendment. Glass made public a letter he wrote to Secretary Ickes, advising the Pub-

lic Works Administrator the best course would be to seek separate joint legislation, effecting the changes he favors, rather than hold up the conference report.

Ickes replied immediately, declaring himself "still of the opinion that the limiting language not only puts a premium upon waste and extravagance and reckless dissipation of public money; it practically requires that this money be so distributed."

There is some possibility that the Senate Conference Committee might decline to serve any longer, but as long as there is life there is hope. If we live long enough we may still see the \$4,880,000,000 bill become a law.

Supreme Court Gives Good Performance

IN one of the busiest days this term the Supreme Court handed down more than a score of opinions and rulings which profoundly affected recent legislation designed to alleviate the pressure of the depression and further defined civil and political rights.

Foremost were two granting new trials to Heywood Patterson and Clarence Norris in the Scottsboro case. It was the second time the tribunal had snatched the boys from the hangman. On the other hand, in another decision the court upheld the legality of barring Negroes from Texas Democratic primaries.

Outstanding in another field was an opinion holding constitutional the Railroad Reorganization Act of 1933 and upholding the validity of an injunction against the RFC restraining that agency from selling or disposing of collateral it held as security for loans to an insolvent railroad seeking a reorganization plan. This latter decision represented a major defeat for the government, whose counsel in arguing the case contended that the injunction had caused irreparable harm to the RFC. The government contended that if the injunction in this case were upheld the value of all collateral held by the RFC and PWA for railroad loans, aggregating about \$500,000,000, would be jeopardized.

U. S. Warns Europe on Trade Treaties

IN proclaiming the reciprocal trade agreement with Belgium, President Roosevelt sharply warned other countries that this Government will withdraw "most-favored nation" treatment where discrimination is practiced against American commerce. Specifically, the President served notice that the United States is considering denouncing treaties of agreements with Germany, Denmark, Italy and Portugal and its colonies, which now bind this country to extending to these nations the same benefits given Belgium.

At the same time, the Senate in a burst of speed ratified two treaties which had been gathering dust in committee for years—one for obligatory arbitration among nations of the Western Hemisphere; the other an international agreement on shipping.

Munitions Quizzers Submit Report

THE Munitions Committee informed the Senate in a preliminary report that it was in "substantial agreement" on a plan to eliminate war profits but would require more time to complete its inquiry into various phases of the arms business. The report, submitted by Chairman Nye, said the committee also had agreed upon a "principle to govern the export of munitions and contraband in case of a major war."

"The committee is emphatically convinced," it said, "that no bill which contains only general authorizations to the President to fix prices, or to commandeer industry or to arrange for priorities and licensing, is at all adequate to equalize the burdens and take the profits out of war."

Labor Measure Depends on Word from F. D. R.

THE Wagner Labor Relations bill, biggest question-mark of Congress, enters a new phase this week with the closing of committee hearings in both houses, and the start of committee deliberations about its final form.

Apparently enactment of the bill depends on whether President

A Bit of Our Party History Which Is Paralleled Today

By Algernon Lee

FORTY years ago, the Anarchists still played something of a role in this country. There were not very many of them, for neither here nor anywhere else had the doctrines of Bakunin and Kropotkin ever got much hold on the minds of wage workers in the great and growing industries. But though they were not numerous, their utterances and sometimes their actions were sufficiently spectacular to commend more public attention than did the words and deeds of the plodding and prosaic Socialists.

To the politically ignorant and indifferent sections of the population—a much larger proportion then than now—there was no real difference between Socialists and Anarchists. Under either name they were a bad lot, and ought to be suppressed. The editors, magazine writers, preachers, college professors, and other "molders of public opinion," with a few honorable exceptions, either shared this view or pretended to share it.

The Anarchists knew better. So did all well informed Socialists. There was no love lost between them and us. They took every opportunity to denounce us in print and on the platform. According to them, we were mere talkers, incapable of resolute action. We were misleading the workers by telling them that it was possible to improve their condition under capitalism, we were killing their revolutionary spirit by our stupid or corrupt reliance on "bourgeois parliamentarism." We were doing all we could to perpetuate the capitalist system.

Socialists and Anarchists

Naturally, we Socialists replied—and not always in the gentlest terms. Knowing that we were on the upgrade and they on the decline, we tried not to pay too much attention to them. But for us to ignore them altogether would have seemed to our public like a tacit confession that the Anarchist attacks were well founded. We could not permit that. At the very least, every Socialist paper had frequently to publish articles explaining that in principle and in practice Socialism and Anarchism were diametrically opposed. Besides this, we had to fight them continuously in the trade unions, where their influence always made for chaos and disruption.

From time to time, however, there came a truce—a one-sided truce, which was decidedly uncomfortable for us. When a Berkman or a Johann Most got into trouble with the law, we felt that, fundamentally as we disagreed with them, rightly as we considered them our irreconcilable enemies, yet we must do our part to save them from the vengeance of our other enemies, the capitalists and their henchmen. Such defense campaigns not only cost us much money and much time and energy, but it exposed us to public odium and, supported the general belief that we Socialists were only Anarchists in disguise. Yet the logic of the situation compelled us at such times to suspend or at least to tone down our controversy with them on questions of theory and tactics. It must be remarked that the Anarchists seldom felt any corresponding obligation toward us.

Between Anarchists and Socialists there could be no real peace; and for the former, persistent attack was a matter of self-preservation. All that they and we had in common was hostility to the existing social order. Our approach to the problem was different from theirs, our understanding of it was different, our ideal of future society was different, and it was

Roosevelt says the word. Labor leaders are hopeful he will, and the Senate and House Labor Committees are embarking on the difficult task of reframing the bill to suit as many of its advocates as possible.

Organized industry is bitter against the whole principle of setting up a quasi-judicial board with power to stop coercion by employers and to conduct worker elections for selection of collective-bargaining representatives under the majority-rule principle.

The other big battle ahead is whether the proposed new Labor Board is to be in the Labor Department. The present powerless board is under the Department, and Secretary Perkins wants this status continued. She does not, however, ask power to review the board's decisions.

A powerful body of opinion, including Chairman Biddle and former Chairman Garrison of the labor board, and Senator Wagner, are emphatic in contending that the board, to be effective, must be independent, like the ICC, the Federal Trade Commission and other such bodies. The A. F. of L. leaders, however, support Miss Perkins.

therefore out of the question for us to agree with them as to immediate aims or methods of action. The Anarchists knew this, and all thoroughgoing Socialists knew it.

Some Did Not See So Clearly

WE had among us, however, some who did not see so clearly. There was a fringe of Socialist sympathizers and new recruits, just outside the party or just inside it, most of them very well-meaning persons, but neither well-grounded in Socialist theory nor well-trained by experience in the class struggle. This is always more or less inconvenient, but there is no use regretting it, because it can't be helped. It is a condition that unavoidably accompanies the party's growth. Some of these near-Socialists linger in or with the party for a while and then fall away; some develop into faithful and effective comrades; and as they either leave the party or get assimilated by it, others take their places at the edge.

Among these, at the period of which I speak, there were many who thought the "Old Guard" of that time very narrow and intolerant, because of its attitude toward the Anarchists. Surely, they argued, the Anarchists have a right to their opinion, as we have a right to ours; why should we quarrel with them as to the manner in which capitalism is to be overthrown? Surely, you cannot deny that they are sincere and courageous, seeing how they stand up under obloquy and persecution; would it not be better to conciliate them? True, there are not many of them; but neither are we as numerous as we could wish; why not add their little to our little?

And then there were others who, while agreeing that we must keep ourselves apart from the Anarchists, did so for opportunistic reasons of their own, regretfully and even remorsefully, and soothed their regret and remorse by carping at the orthodox old-timers for treating it as a matter of principle.

Apologizing to Themselves

SOME of these were always apologizing to themselves for not being Anarchists. Of course, they said, Anarchism is much more advanced and radical than Socialism. We shall have to come to it sooner or later. The Anarchists are noble fellows, but they are ahead of their times. The people are not yet prepared to accept such truly revolutionary doctrine. We must feed them for a while with the half-truths of Socialism. We admire the uncompromising attitude of the Anarchists; but, after all, at this stage of the game, compromise is more practical.

Others took a somewhat different line. Insisting that there was no basic difference between the position of Marx and that of Bakunin, that in principle and purpose the two movements were identical, they gently lamented what they called the blundering of the Anarchists. Bakunin's phrase about the "evil passions of mankind" was a blunder, and so were his violent attacks on religion. Most's book, "Revolutionary Warfare," was a blunder. It was a blunder to stab the Empress Elisabeth to death. It was a blunder to throw a bomb in a crowded theater. It was a yet more stupid blunder for Anarchist spokesmen to excuse or glorify these deeds. If only the Anarchists would stop making blunders, how gladly we would fraternize!

Well, the views of the bigoted Old Guard prevailed. The lines were drawn between us and the Anarchists. And our party marched prospering—until Anarcho-Syndicalism arose, and again the lines had to be drawn.

It is all ancient history now. But it is true history. And if, throughout this article, you substitute "Communist" for "Anarchist," it becomes contemporary history—with the difference, perhaps, that the Communist attack has been more vicious and our Socialist response to it less sharp and clear.

Socialists Protest Defeat of Child Labor Amendment

HARTFORD.—The Senate has concurred with the House in defeating ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, by a vote of 20 to 13, despite the vigorous efforts of the three Socialist senators. In urging passage, Senator Secor declared that "when profits become destructive of the finer instincts and aspirations of humanity, then it becomes necessary to call a halt to this destruction through such instruments as a child labor amendment to the federal constitution."

Mayor Jasper McLevy, State Socialist Chairman Martin F. Plunkett, and other Socialist spokesmen appeared at a legislative hearing in Hartford last week in favor of bills that would facilitate the municipalization of public utilities, and that would create a special commission for the investigation of utility vote charges in the state.