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# NEW LEADER

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Founded by  
**Eugene V. Debs**

## DANZIG!

by John Powers

"THE battle continues!" wrote Hans Rheinländer, distinguished German Socialist, in his illuminating account of the internal political situation in Germany in The New Leader last week.

Yes, the battle continues! The time for the decisive general engagement has not yet arrived, and it is impossible to predict when it will come, but this week the Socialists won a magnificent tactical and moral victory on the periphery—in Danzig—where the Nazi party failed in a crucial election to win the two-thirds majority it required to impose a totalitarian rule upon the city.

Instead of their hoped-for 80 per cent the Nazis polled less than 60 per cent of the votes. The "victory parade" which they had prepared had to be cancelled, and while their hand continues to weigh heavily upon the city, which is under the supervision of the League of Nations, they have suffered an irreparable moral blow which is bound to have most important political repercussions in Germany and encourage the forces outside of Germany to resist the foreign ambitions of Hitlerism.

Danzig belongs to Germany's Irredenta. It is a German city in every sense of the word, and its separation from Germany was one of the glaring blunders of the Treaty of Versailles.

In any election to vote on whether the city should be returned to a free Germany the vote would be 95 percent in the affirmative, the rest of the population being Polish.

This was not, however, the issue in last week's election. Decried February 22 by the local Nazi government, upon orders from Berlin, the election had a two-fold purpose. With the Nazis in majority control of the Danzig legislature, their main purpose was amendment of the constitution to obtain a strangle-hold upon the community and suppress the opposition parties as effectively as they have been suppressed in Germany proper. For this the Nazis required a two-thirds majority. Such a majority was also intended—and this was the second purpose of the election—to supply the Nazis with a moral lever against Poland and the League of Nations on the issue of the return of Danzig to Germany.

### MORAL BLOW TO HITLER

Despite the whirlwind campaign waged by the Nazis, with all the accompaniment and accoutrements of Nazi political conquest, including participation by their biggest "guns," Göring, Goebbels, Streicher, Dr. Rust, Hess and others, and the assistance of an army of propagandists, the Nazis failed to attain their objective. Neither the old slogans, and catchwords, nor the terrorization of the electorate, nor the appeals of the "Führer" from Berlin, sufficed to move the requisite portion of the population to support of Hitler. The result was definitely a moral blow to the Hitler regime and all it stands for.

Although the Nazis gained 30,000 votes, the election demonstrated that the Nazi spell is broken, that Hitlerism has lost its old glamor and appeal and that some 95,000 voters had the courage to cast their ballots against Hitler as compared with 139,000 for him. Had the Nazis not been in control of the police and of other instruments of political terrorism it is safe to assume that they would not have registered any gains and probably would have lost votes.

### RECORD OF THE VOTE

THE SOCIALISTS POLLED 38,015 VOTES AS AGAINST 37,882 IN MAY, 1933, DESPITE THE FEARFUL NAZI TERROR, WHILE THE COMMUNISTS RECEIVED 7,990 AS COMPARED WITH 14,566 LAST YEAR. THIS IS A GOOD COMMENTARY ON THE REPEATED ASSERTIONS OF THE ENEMIES OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, BOTH ON THE RIGHT AND ON THE LEFT, THAT THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS ARE "FINISHED," THAT THEY HAVE LOST THE CONFIDENCE OF THE GERMAN WORKERS. THE DANZIG ELECTION CONFIRMS HANS RHEINLÄNDER'S REPORT OF THE SPLENDID LOYALTY WHICH THE RANK AND FILE OF THE GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY CONTINUES TO GIVE THE PARTY.

The Danzig election, cables the correspondent of the New York Times on the scene, "has thrown the National Socialists into confusion, brought joy to their opponents and created a profound impression in international circles in this free city."

"Some were already inclined to liken 'the battle of Danzig' not to Waterloo, but to the Battle of Moscow, which marked the turn of the Napoleonic tide," the correspondent adds. "It was believed inevitable that this failure would have important repercussions on both Germany and Europe. For, as seen from here, the Danzig vote has been a body blow to the totalitarian pretensions of the National Socialist Party."

"The nightmare of constitutional change has been lifted," writes the Danzig 'Volkstimme,' Socialist organ. "The gate into the future is open again."

Summarizing his story of the election, John Elliott, correspondent of the Herald Tribune, cabled from Danzig:

"COMPETENT NON-GERMAN OBSERVERS IN THIS CITY EXPRESSED THE BELIEF THAT IF THE ELECTIONS HAD BEEN CONDUCTED IN A FAIR MANNER, AS IN SOME DEMOCRATIC STATE, THE NAZIS WOULD HAVE LOST THEIR MAJORITY IN THE DIET."

Coming in the midst of preparations for the Stresa conference, at which a program of action with respect to Hitler Germany's war preparations is to be discussed, the Danzig election must be regarded as a severe blow to Hitler's foreign policy and his sabre rattling. It will encourage all those forces in Europe, governmental, political and labor, which have a deep interest in curbing Hitler's ambitions.

In this connection, the German Social Democracy has made clear its position in the striking manifesto of its executive committee published exclusively in last week's New Leader. That manifesto warned Europe that there can be no peace with Hitler, that any treaties concluded with his government would be scraps of paper, that only the overthrow of the Hitler regime can make secure the peace of Europe.

In an article commenting on that manifesto the "Neuer Vorwärts," official organ of the German Socialists, now published in Karlsbad, and smuggled by the thousands into Germany, declares:

"It is a delusion to believe that any military concessions made to the Hitler regime will appease the system's will to aggression. The 'dynamic principle' which guides Hitler Germany embodies unrestrained demand for power and the avarice of its will to armament. The stronger she becomes the less will she be inclined to be moved by the spirit of peace. Concessions (to Hitler) would mean capitulation to war."

"It would be self-deception to believe that such a regime can be brought into harmony with a collective understanding for peace. THERE CAN BE NO GUARANTEE AGAINST AND NO CONTROL OF GERMAN REARMAMENT. THERE IS BUT ONE GUARANTEE AGAINST AN ATTACK BY SUCH A REGIME—ITS DESTRUCTION."

## Rubber Workers Set for Big Fight

### 30,000 Cleaners Vote Walkout; Army of Dressmakers Are Idle; Big Cloakmakers' Strike Looms

#### Dress Stoppage Of 15,000 Halts 400 Plants

#### Union Leaders Charge That Chiseling by Employers Threatens Return of Sweatshop Conditions.

MORE than 15,000 dressmakers in New York shops have quit work without, however, leaving the establishments, in a stoppage designed to force readjustment of work prices. The stoppage was ordered by the Joint Board of the Dressmakers' Union after failure of negotiations with the employers to agree on prices. The union instructed its members in the shops affected not to leave their posts but to refuse to work until an adjustment had been made.

Of the 102,000 dressmakers under the jurisdiction of the Joint Board only those working in the \$4.75 line are affected. The union points out that collections of close to \$250,000 from the employers for various violations of the union agreement during the past year indicates widespread "chiseling."

The shops in which the stoppage went into effect are in New York City, Philadelphia, Connecticut and New Jersey, engaged in manufacturing what is termed "the \$4.75 dress line." A similar stoppage is to take place in shops manufacturing dresses selling for \$3.75. The workers affected include operators and finishers.

Julius Hochman, general manager of the Dressmakers' Joint Board, who directed the stoppage with Luigi Antonini, manager of the Italian Dressmakers' Local, affiliated with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, said he ordered the cessation of work "when it became evident that chiseling on piece work rates fixed in the union's agreement with the National Dress Manufacturers' Association was increasing and no agreement could be reached."

"Our agreement calls for payment to operators of 90 cents an hour," Hochman said. "Little by little there has been chiseling until now operators in some shops receive only 80 cents an hour."

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#### Socialists and Communists in Danish Elections

In the recent elections for the Danish rural councils, noted in these columns three weeks ago, the Socialists made substantial gains, constituting, as always, the main bulwark against fascism and especially the attempt of the Nazis to overthrow democracy.

A comparison between the Socialist vote and that polled by the Communists is interesting. The total vote for the Socialist candidates in the rural districts was 145,717. The Communists were able to assemble exactly 821 for their candidates!

#### Turner Vote May Reach 150,000 in Wisconsin

#### Socialist Judicial Candidate Polls Record Socialist Vote of All Time

MILWAUKEE.—Glenn P. Turner, Socialist candidate for the State Supreme Court, polled a record vote in the election April 2nd, according to incomplete returns.

With 739 precincts missing—mostly in the rural sections where the vote is relatively light—Turner polled 105,457 to 173,674 for Geo. B. Nelson, incumbent, supported by the Democrats, Republicans and Progressives. Turner's total vote, when the returns are all in, is likely to reach 135,000 to 150,000, the largest state-wide vote ever polled by a Socialist candidate. Turner carried Kenosha County 9,200 to 7,500.

Nelson an appointee of the reactionary Republican Governor Kohler, received the full support of the LaFollette Progressive party, much to the surprise of the entire state, as well as of the two old parties.

The vote for Norman Thomas for President in 1932 was 53,379; the highest state-wide Socialist

## Tie-Up in Cleaning and Dyeing Industry Ordered in Drive on Chain Stores

### April 23 Set for Walk-out—Union and Retailers Combine to Save Industry from Chaos—Demand Stabilization, and Wage and Hour Improvements.

WHAT may prove one of the bitterest and hardest fought strikes in this city in a long time will go into effect April 23, when 30,000 dyers and cleaners, including 10,000 workers in wholesale dyeing and cleaning plants and 20,000 small retail store proprietors, will begin a stoppage of the industry in the determination to compel improvements of existing wages, price and working conditions.

Announcement of the strike decision was made this week by Joseph Efrat, general manager of the Cleaners' and Dyers' Union, which will direct the struggle. A committee of 50 has been set up to make all the necessary arrangements.

The strike will be directed primarily against chain stores who in recent months have been beating down wages, cutting prices and destroying all working standards to a degree which has brought complete chaos in the industry.

Affected by the strike will be some forty wholesale plants doing work for chain store and retail cleaning and dyeing establishments. Eight of the wholesale plants are operated directly by the chain stores.

According to Mr. Efrat, the cleaning and dyeing industry provided a fair living for about 30,000 families up until about two years ago, when the existing cut-throat competition and wage-slashing began. With the coming of the NRA

and adoption of a code for the industry there was hope of improvement, but the chain store competition and the ensuing situation shattered these hopes. The abolition of the industry's code several months ago, when all service codes were abandoned, brought the industry to a state of chaos.

Mr. Efrat said: "This coming fight will be not only to win better conditions for the men in the wholesale plants, but also to stabilize the industry as a whole. The interests of the workers and the retailers, who are in reality poor workers themselves, are identical in this fight. Thousands of them have pledged the union their support and active cooperation, realizing that only in such a policy is there any hope for the industry at all. When the strike goes into effect, we will paralyze the entire industry so that the chain store plants will be forced to comply with the general welfare or get out of business."

The demands of the union call for a \$30 weekly minimum, a 36-hour week and a guarantee of wage payments. According to Mr. Efrat, many wholesale plants have not been paying wages regularly, which is an illustration of the conditions prevailing in the industry. Present earnings of workers range from \$8 to \$17 a week. Abolition of the speed-up is also demanded by the union.

#### Stand of Jobbers Portends Battle in Cloak Trade

#### Code and Collective Agreements Threatened by Employers in Negotiations Begun Here.

A STRIKE of 30,000 workers in the ladies' garment industry after the expiration of existing agreements June 1 appeared probable as a result of developments during the week, which point clearly to a determination on the part of large sections of the employers to destroy the prevailing structure of labor relations in the industry.

The garment industry, like most needle trades, is one of the few fields in which labor has profited by the NRA, due largely to the pressure which the strong International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has been able to exert in influencing the provisions of the industry's code, forcing satisfactory collective agreements with the three employers' associations functioning in the industry, and implementing the code with these agreements.

In the past few months, however, the employers, particularly the jobbers organized in the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association, have been waging a campaign for emasculation of both the code and the collective agreements. The campaign of the jobbers is directed primarily against the provisions under which they have been made responsible for the maintenance of wage and working standards and which limit the number of contractors they may employ.

In the old days there was no

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vote ever cast in Wisconsin was in 1920 when Eugene V. Debs received 85,041 votes for President.

Martin C. Baumann, elected to the Milwaukee school board, polled 35,256 votes to 34,998 for the highest Non-Partisan who failed of election. The vote for all Socialist candidates follows:

M. C. Baumann 35,256  
W. C. Kroening 32,202  
Elmer Krahn 27,993  
Mrs. F. E. Bean 27,215  
Mrs. Andrew J. Biemiller 25,670  
Glenn Turner 28,745 votes in Milwaukee city and 37,236 in the county.

The Socialists retained control of the school board of West Allis, a Milwaukee suburb.

SHEBOYGEN.—By the election of William Haack the Socialist Party doubled its representation in the Board of Aldermen. There are now two Socialists in that body. Four Socialist supervisors were re-elected.

#### MINE WORKERS' STRIKE TEMPORARILY AVERTED; AGREEMENT EXTENDED

WASHINGTON.—A compact by representatives of the United Mine Workers of America and bituminous coal operators to extend the agreement between the union and the operators and the NRA code provisions governing the industry until June 1 averted the threatened strike of around 400,000 soft coal miners on April 1.

During the period up to June 16 representatives of the United Mine Workers and the operators will continue negotiations to finalize an agreement acceptable to both sides.

Hour and Wage Demand Remains

The deadlock which threatened the strike on April 1, when the agreement expired, was caused by the refusal of the operators to grant the 30-hour week and certain wage-increases demanded by the miners. John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, declared the acceptance of the truce by the union did not indicate that the shorter work-week and higher pay demand had been withdrawn.

## All Labor Forces of Ohio Mobilize for Struggle

By Sidney Yellen  
(Special to The New Leader)

CLEVELAND.—With an upheaval of the workers in three rubber plants at Akron and an emergency convention of the Ohio State Federation of Labor meeting in Columbus last Sunday, organized workers of the state are on the march. In Akron both camps are preparing for a struggle. The management of the three plants has an army of private guards with ample provisions on hand to feed and house the scabs that have been recruited.

The members of the rubber unions have voted 9 to 1 in favor of a strike, and if Secretary of Labor Perkins, who arrives in Akron on Thursday, is not successful in her mediation a bitter struggle will begin. Over 30,000 workers are employed in the industry, and Coleman Claherty, president of the Rubber Workers' Union, and his local staff have urged the Governor to help avoid violence. The presence of the private guards and scabs is an irritation and a provocation for which the rubber companies are responsible.

President Claherty and his aids are organizing flying squadrons of pickets in preparation for the struggle, and he has declared that the open shop—a big stake in the struggle—will have an important effect on the steel, automobile and other big industries where the open shop and company unionism are maintained. F. J. Dillon, national organizer of the automobile unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., has also declared that the automobile workers may be called out in sympathy with the rubber workers.

The emergency convention of the Ohio State Federation of Labor is the second one of its kind in Ohio labor history. Local unions and central labor bodies were called into session to consider the grave problems that face the organized working class. The conference was initiated by the central bodies of Cleveland and Toledo to mobilize labor's power behind important labor measures pending in the State Legislature and to urge the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to call a nation-wide conference to line up the entire labor movement in support of the 30-hour week, the Wagner-Connelly labor disputes bill, and other important measures. The emergency conference has

adopted a sweeping program for legislative action and elected a committee of five to work with the Executive Board for the passage of the labor bills in the Ohio Legislature. The conference supported the Ohio Federation of Teachers' bill to set a minimum of \$1,000 as the annual salary, the teachers' tenure bill, and demands labor representation in the minimum wage division of the Ohio Department of Industrial Relations. A resolution for a 40-hour week for women in industry was adopted.

A lively discussion developed when the delegates found on the program two bills for unemployment insurance, one sponsored by the Cleveland Federation of Labor and the other by the State Executive Committee of the Ohio Federation of Labor. The Cleveland

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## Green Backs the Rubber Workers in Their Fight

By William Green  
President, American Federation of Labor

A strike of the employees of the large rubber manufacturing companies in Akron is imminent. The responsibility for any strike which may occur rests directly with the management of the rubber manufacturing corporations. It could be avoided and industrial cooperation with stabilization established through collective bargaining, if the management of the Goodyear, Goodrich and Firestone Tire and Rubber Companies would permit their employees to hold an election and determine for themselves the union to which they wish to belong, as ordered and directed by the National Labor Relations Board.

The National Labor Relations Board was created by Act of Congress. It is as much a government tribunal as are the courts created by Act of Congress. This Labor Board heard all the evidence presented in the appeal of the rubber workers for an election, including the testimony and arguments of the management of the rubber manufacturing companies in opposition thereto. The Board ordered, after a careful and comprehensive hearing, that Section 7-A of the National Recovery Act

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## 'Liberal' Newspapers Join the Bosses in 'Crack Down' on Clerks' Unions

### Retail Clerks Assailed by Employers, Communists and 'Liberals' When They Announce Drive to Organize the Big Stores.

As The New Leader goes to press we learn that the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association, with which Locals 107 and 717 are affiliated, has ordered an investigation of the charges against those locals. The New Leader welcomes this investigation and will support an impartial and objective inquiry into the conduct of these locals.

In the meantime we urge our readers to support the strikers and to combat their enemies within and without the labor movement who are seeking to disrupt them.

FOLLOWING their striking success in winning greatly improved working conditions in various retail clothing stores in New York, two retail clothing salespeople's unions find themselves the victims of a concerted attack by exploiting employers, "radical" writers on "liberal" newspapers, Hearst, Communists and others that has no parallel in local industrial history.

In the face of the victories for their workers the Retail Clothing Salesmen's Union and the Retail Cloak, Suit, Dress and Fur Salespeople's Union have won the curious united front that is cracking

down upon them assumes fantastic shape.

To add to the fantastic situation comes the fact that this attack follows immediately upon the announcement that the two unions are planning to organize the sweated and hideously exploited workers in the big department stores.

#### Crack-Down Begins

The attack upon the two unions, locals of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association of the A. F. of L., came with suddenness after the settlement of a long-drawn-out strike of the Office Workers' Union, a Communist affiliate, against Ohrbach's, a large low-priced women's clothing store on 14th Street. To that settlement and its humiliating terms we will return shortly.

The Retail Cloak, Suit, Dress and Fur Salespeople's Union, Local 107, had consistently refrained from calling a strike in Ohrbach's for union recognition during the long Communist-led strike in order not to confuse the public and to avoid the appearance of striking against workers on strike, although the two organizations appeal to different sets of workers in the store.

It was when the Communist-led strike was over that Local 107 called its strike for union conditions. And it was at that moment that the curious united front be-

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# Strike Movements Stir Basic Industries

## All Labor Forces of Ohio Mobilize for Struggle

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bill—the Duffy bill—would provide for unemployment indemnity for all unemployed domestic, farm, professional and casual workers for the entire period of unemployment. The Hunter-Hesse bill, sponsored by the Ohio Federation Executive, limits the benefit to 16 weeks in any calendar year and excludes domestic, farm and casual labor and makes eligible to compensation only those who would be able to pay to the insurance fund at least 26 weeks. The state will have no responsibility for the payment of indemnity, and when the fund proves insufficient the unemployed would have no other recourse than to charity. The conference endorsed the Hunter-Hesse bill.

Ora B. Chapman of Dayton resigned as president of the Federation, and William M. Morgan of Newark, member of the Mus-

### Abramowitsch in the Bronx Friday, April 12th

Raphael Abramowitsch, distinguished international Socialist and member of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International, will speak Friday night, April 12, at the Bronx Labor Center, 809 Westchester Avenue.

Comrade Abramowitsch's subject will be, "World Fascism, Russia and the War Danger." A large crowd is expected and comrades are advised to attend early to secure seats.

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The installation of the Joint Board and officers of the ladies' garment workers in Cleveland last week was more than an ordinary gathering; it was a demonstration of a well-disciplined labor army of about 3,000 men and women. It was a celebration of splendid victories and of struggles for the right of the workers to organize.

The celebration began with a mass meeting at which Dan Moley, the secretary of the Cleveland Federation of Labor, and the officers of the affiliated locals were

## Dress Stoppage of 15,000 Halts Four Hundred Shops

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celebrated every decent instinct of humanity. The manufacturers' association has proposed an investigation into shop conditions and chiseling. We know that is merely an evasion, because by the time the investigation got under way the season would be finished.

"Whole sections of the industry, and particularly the jobbers have been using everything from double and even triple sets of books to barefaced misrepresentation of price lines to put their fingers into the pay envelopes of the workers.

"Chiseling feeds itself on itself in the dress industry unless drastically checked. If the union did not take action from time to time, we would once again slip downhill to the sweatshop conditions that vi-

lated every decent instinct of humanity. The hall was filled with flowers sent by shops and locals of the Joint Board as a token of appreciation of the able leadership of Comrade Katovsky, the manager, and his staff of assistants—Friend, Salomon, De Jo- commo, and Carrie Gallagher.

Katovsky reviewed the struggles of the last two years, when a handful of devoted members of weakened locals of operators, cutters and pressers decided to organize the thousands of dress-makers in the silk and cotton dress industry. He called upon the old tried and trained members and the new members to stand ready for another drive to organize the entire cotton dress industry and the knit goods industry, and to help make Cleveland industries closed union shops.

Encouraged by the growing brazenness of employers in all industries in their assaults on union labor and the government's failure to enforce NRA codes and the collective bargaining provision of the National Industrial Recovery Act, employers in the garment industry are now openly making war against the whole NRA and union structure. The destruction of labor's citadel in the garment industry would be a most valuable asset to employers in all industries.

In line with its usual procedure the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association has made public a statement charging the union with "interference in management," which is the jobbers' way of saying that they do not like to be held responsible for wage and work standards and would like to return to the old game of setting hundreds of contractors competing with each other to the detriment of labor's interests and those of the industry as a whole.

On Monday representatives of the union met with officials of the jobbers' organization to discuss a

## Stand of Jobbers Portends Battle In Cloak Trade

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limit to the number of contractors to whom the jobbers farmed out their work on the auction block principle. This was the fundamental cause of the disintegration of wage and work standards, cut-throat competition in the industry, dislocation of employment periods, and the widespread unemployment even in good times.

Encouraged by the growing brazenness of employers in all industries in their assaults on union labor and the government's failure to enforce NRA codes and the collective bargaining provision of the National Industrial Recovery Act, employers in the garment industry are now openly making war against the whole NRA and union structure. The destruction of labor's citadel in the garment industry would be a most valuable asset to employers in all industries.

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On Monday representatives of the union met with officials of the jobbers' organization to discuss a

new agreement, but the conference broke up abruptly when the jobbers clumsily disclosed their hand and showed no indication of seeking an honest understanding.

The break came when the representatives of the jobbers' association declared that they would refuse to renew the agreement on the old terms.

In explaining the Union's position, Isidore Nagler, general manager of the Cloakmakers' Joint Board and a vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U., said:

### Nagler's Statement

"The spokesmen for the cloak jobbers' association came to this meeting with closed minds—not to negotiate sincerely an agreement, but to dictate terms that would repudiate the New Deal brought about in the cloak industry in 1933 and to reintroduce the Old Deal of sweatshop production and cut-throat methods. In fact, an hour before the conference opened, they issued an official public ultimatum in which they expressed in advance their unalterable stand with regard to the agreement even before the Union had an opportunity to present its proposals concerning changes in the agreement.

"After years of chaos in the cloak industry, created mainly by the fact that the jobber would have no responsibility for work conditions in his contracting shops and because he was permitted to foster an auction-block system of labor price-fixing among the contractors, the Union succeeded, in 1933, in placing upon the jobber the same responsibility for work conditions as assumed by every bona fide manufacturer in the industry. Since then, thanks principally to the limitation of contractors' clause, the coat and suit industry has undergone an astounding change for the better, in spite of adverse industrial conditions, insofar as uniformity of labor costs, equal treatment of the workers in the inside and the outside shops, and other work standards are concerned. As a matter of common fairness and justice to all of the factors in the industry, the jobber, under the collective agreement, at last admitted his true status as a direct employer of labor.

### Jobbers Hunker for Old Days

"It is apparent, however, that the jobbers are hunkering for the old days when they were able to undersell every legitimate manufacturing group in the industry because they were free from any direct obligations for labor costs. They believe they can force the Union to give up these two cherished gains of the 1933 contract, jobbers' responsibility and contractor limitation, which alone are responsible for the present relative stability in the coat and suit industry. The Union, however, will not yield an iota on this fundamental issue. The Union does not interfere in management, as the jobbers spuriously state, but the Union will not permit the jobbers' group in the industry to bring back into it the degradation, irresponsibility and misery which prevailed in it until 1933."

The Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association, the jobbers, with a membership of about 200, are es-

## As the New Leader Goes to Press Workers Act On a Wide Front

AS The New Leader goes to press things are humming in every sector of the labor field. Many of the battles being waged, or being prepared for, are noted in other columns of this issue, but it would take a far bigger paper than The New Leader just to list them all and give some few details. It's a pity, too, that we haven't the room.

The battle-lines are forming in rubber and automobiles; in textiles and in many sections of the garment industry; in the retail stores of New York and in the bake-shops . . .

The New Leader would like to give full details of every fight that workers are entering, for only in that way can a picture be painted of the United States in the third year of the New Deal.

AS The New Leader goes to press we learn that in Chicago the workers are bitterly fighting the appointment of Captain Gilbert as chief of police of that city by Mayor Kelly, "friend" of labor. Our Chicago comrades inform us that Gilbert, as head of the police force of the State's Attorney's office (district attorney to you), was long a relentless foe of labor. And now Mayor Kelly places him in charge of the city's police. Our Chicago comrades tell us that their answer to that insult will be the greatest May Day demonstration, in cooperation with large sections of the labor movement, they have ever staged.

AS The New Leader goes to press we learn that Bakers' Union Local 507 of New York is on strike against the Hascomb Baking Co. Chain; and meanwhile the N.B.C. strike is merrily going on. Remember . . . you really don't need a biscuit!

Secretary Cohen of the New York Cleaners and Dyers informs us that a city-wide strike is in prospect. Back them up if and when it comes.

FERA strikes are going on everywhere, and everywhere the Socialists are in the front line trenches of the battle.

Incidentally, we pass this information on; the Building Service Employees are busily engaged in consolidating their gains after recent industrial battles. They have had periods on WEVD, and a week or so ago they had a big and enthusiastic membership meeting at the Star Casino up in Harlem. They are not resting on their laurels. Let their energy be a lesson to you.

AS The New Leader goes to press we are handed a copy of the first issue of the fine paper of the International Pocketbook Workers' Union, with a front page spread declaring war against low wages. Their slogan is a 36-hour week, a \$30 code minimum for skilled workers, and security on the job. The union reports the appointment of J. T. Luckock as general organizer. Luckock was active in the industry as long ago as 1915 and 1916, even earlier. He will work in New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

The paper also reports a big 7-A victory against Resnick Bros. in New York and Holyoke, Mass. There is also a strong article, "A Company Union or Your Union?"

AS The New Leader goes to press we feel almost swamped with the vast amount of material we wish we had room to print . . . the electrical workers . . . the struggles in the coal fields and in the Deep South . . . the awakening of large sections of the labor movement . . . the demand for a 30-hour week. ALL OUT FOR A GREAT MAY DAY CELEBRATION FOR UNITY OF THE WORKERS AND FOR A LABOR PARTY!

Itimated to control, through their contracting shops, about 50% of the manufacture of coats and suits in the New York market.

### Negotiations to Begin

Negotiations are now to be begun with the Industrial Council of Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers, who operate the so-called "inside" shops, to be followed by conferences with the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers, the contractors' organization.

It remains to be seen how these two associations will now react. The Industrial Council, like the job-

bers, has also given indications of seeking modifications of existing agreements on a basis not satisfactory to the union. The contractors have thus far maintained an attitude of watchful waiting. The jobbers, however, remain the key to the situation. They have raised the old cry that union demands are forcing employers to leave the city and threaten a wholesale exodus.

The union is determined to hold its positions, however, knowing that what happens in New York will affect the garment industry in other cities and will have its repercussions on all other needle trades.

Every Socialist Party, in those countries whose Constitution permits the formation of coalition cabinets—which means everywhere democracy rules—will sooner or later be faced by the concrete problem: Shall we or shall we not take part in the government? It may be a government headed by a capitalist prime minister, or it may be one headed by a Socialist. In either case it is a matter for the Socialist Party to decide, shall they take part or shall they decline.

No question of political principle is involved for us. Our only principle is to do and dare for the advancement of labor's interests. If these rights are furthered by our taking part in a coalition with our worst political enemies as partners, we will do it. If we believe that the rights of labor are better served by our standing outside the government and allowing the capitalist's politicians to shoulder the whole responsibility for their own failures, we will do that. And nobody will be permitted to decide for us what we are to do!

In the case of Belgium, the Socialists decided to take part mainly because they saw the chance of introducing measures of economic betterment in the present lot of the workers, whose standard of living had been sinking to always lower levels under the reactionary regime of the Theunis government which preceded. It was a life-and-death matter to the proletarians, who compose the vast majority of the Belgian Socialist Party. Frightful housing conditions almost before the gates of the Royal Palace; miserable wages and high prices of all necessities; niggardly appropriations for public services; a crushing military establishment, and general disregard for the workers' elemental human rights had made life almost unbearable to the men, women and children of the working masses. Unemployment had assumed frightful proportions and nothing was being

done to combat it. Now our Belgian comrades are in a position to act with decision. All constructive work is slow by its nature and no millennium will be ushered in. But from the beginning our representatives in the cabinet will work for the amelioration of the workers' standards of living. A few cents added to the wages here, a few cents off the cost of milk there—and the proletarians will rally to their party as never before. "What will our bread cost next week?" is a far more pressing problem to the poverty-stricken working people in Antwerp and Brussels than endless debate on theories and tactics.

Every tiny economic gain will build up the morale, lead to the consolidation of efforts that make possible further and greater gains. And every step forward, whether won by the unions on the industrial field or by the party on the political field, will make possible the building up of a great war chest for the titanic struggles soon to come. Until now the building of a war chest has been almost impossible because of the universal and extreme poverty of the working class, from whom we draw our support.

It will also be a very good object-lesson to the workers not yet adherents of the Socialist Party to see how the Socialists discharge their duties in the cabinet, and how the Catholics and Liberals discharge theirs. Our comrades point out that they find no fault with the personal qualities of the members of the preceding government, but that they were totally unable to distinguish between the public welfare and the interests of the banks. Everybody in Belgium is now likely to learn that there is in fact a very great difference between public interests and private, and we can confidently say that with the inclusion of five members in the Van Zeeland government the Socialist Party of Belgium has reached a high point in its struggle for political power and the emancipation of the workers.

### DRRESSMAKERS SIT IDLE AT THEIR MACHINES



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# Rubber Workers Battle for Closed Shop

## Decency in Relief Urged By New York Socialists

THAT Mayor LaGuardia of New York should endeavor to obtain \$15,000,000 for relief for the next year over and above the amount now being appropriated by the city, and on the basis of the city pledge secure \$45,000,000 additional from the state and Federal government, was the demand of Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Chairman of the Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party of New York, in a letter to the Mayor.

Dr. Laidler backed the recommendations of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment Relief for more adequate relief for the citizens of the city. The Socialist Party's recommendations included:

1. That the food allowance for families on relief be immediately increased by at least from 10 to 20 per cent.
2. That rent allowance be increased (the average for a family for private agencies is \$5.80 a week as against \$2.25 in the Home Relief Bureau); that rent allowance be paid in cash; that minimum housing standards be established and that the equivalent of rent be paid to home owners so that they may maintain their homes.
3. That a regular appropriation be made for clothing for those on relief at least equal to that contained in the budgets of

the private agencies. Last year's appropriation by the city averaged \$16.20 for a family of five. Private agencies gave \$200 per family.

4. That allowance be made in the budget for ice; that an increasing amount be given for coal; that special appropriations be made for carfare, recreation, insurance, household expenditures, and adequate medical and dental treatment, bringing the budget to the average of the private agencies.

5. That every effort be made to increase the proportion of those on work relief and to coordinate the work projects of city, state and Federal governments.

In his letter Laidler said: "In behalf of the Socialist Party, may I urge that the City of New York carry out the recommendations of your Committee on Unemployment Relief and see to it that the more than 340,000 families of relief secure sufficient relief to maintain standards of health and decency."

"No one can read the admirably complete and accurate report of your committee without a sense of shame that such conditions are depicted in this report prevail in this, the richest city in the world."

After outlining the needs of the jobless and others in distress,

Laidler presents the party's 5-point program, and concludes:

"We realize that this means more money. We urge that you endeavor to secure for more adequate relief during the coming year \$60,000,000 in addition to the approximately \$240,000,000 now being paid out; that you endeavor to secure a promise from the city of \$15,000,000 a year or 1 1/4 million dollars a month more than is now being given by the city, and that you endeavor to secure, on the basis of this additional \$15,000,000 \$45,000,000 additional from the state and nation. This may not be easy, but it is imperative as a means of saving hundreds of thousands of our citizens from utter physical and mental demoralization. Of course, with this should go an attempt to cut waste to the minimum and do everything possible to increase the efficient operation of the relief machinery."

### MEETINGS OF TRADE UNION SOCIALISTS

FRIDAY, APRIL 12th

8:30 p.m.—Teachers. In cafeteria, 7 East 15th St., City. Addresses by Dr. Henry R. Linville and August Claessens. Important discussion.

SATURDAY, APRIL 13th

1:30 p.m.—Painters of Local 1011, at 7 East 15th St.

2:00 p.m.—Brotherhood of Painters and Paperhangers; Open forum, auspices Painters' Socialist League. Topic: "What Have Trade Unions Gained Under NRA Codes? What Can the Brotherhood of Painters Gain?"

Speakers: Philip Zausner of the District Council; Abraham Miller, Joint Board, A.C.W.A.; Charles Green, Code Observation Director, I.L.G.W.U.; William Karlin, Socialist labor attorney.

## Biggest MAY DAY Planned by N. Y. Organizations

At a meeting held in the People's House last Tuesday afternoon the Committee elected at the May Day Conference to draw up plans for the annual labor holiday covered many points and is well on its way to the largest May Day celebration in the history of the American working-class. The committee was enlarged by the addition of representatives of the American Workers' Party, the Communist Party (Opposition) and the Italian anti-fascist groups.

A sub-committee consisting of James O'Neal and Jack Altman of the Socialist Party, Aaron Levenstein of the Young People's Socialist League, Girolamo Valenti, editor of the Italian anti-fascist newspaper, *La Stampa Libera*, Will Herberg of Local 22 of the Dressmakers, and Sam Friedman of Rebel Arts, was chosen to draft the call to be broadcast to all unions and other labor groups inviting participation in the demonstration and to compose slogans.

It was decided that these slogans should fall under the following main heads: for a Workers' World, the Thirty-Hour Week and Unemployment and Social Insurance and Against Fascism and War.

Committees were also appointed on the subjects of art and posters, finance an appropriate letter head for the Conference, and publicity. Final plans for the route of the parade and the place of gathering at its end are still being negotiated. Full details will be announced shortly. Meanwhile, all party branches and unions should bend every effort to make sure that this will be the biggest May Day ever.

### This Is Fascism



Mussolini recruits babies for cannon fodder.

## Green Backs the Rubber Workers In Their Fight

By William Green

(Continued from Page One) which provides for collective bargaining, must be observed by the rubber manufacturing corporations and that an election should be held under the supervision of the Government.

The management of the rubber manufacturing companies defied the order of the National Labor Relations Board, refused to accept its decisions, flouted its authority and declared both by word and action that no elections of its employees would be permitted, as ordered by the Board, and that the Board itself would not be permitted to carry out its decision.

The employees of these rubber manufacturing corporations have utilized the instrumentalities of the Government in an effort to secure their rights and the free exercise of their rights, have won their case in the Government tribunals created by Act of Congress, have offered to abide by the decision of the National Labor Relations Board and have appealed to the management of the rubber manufacturing corporations to do likewise. The workers must now decide whether the decision of the National Labor Relations Board shall prevail, or whether they must make an unconditional surrender to the management of the rubber manufacturing corporations.

Apparently the United States Government can not force the rubber manufacturing companies to obey the decision of the National Labor Relations Board. That means that the rubber workers must do through a strike what the Government can not do for them—force the rubber manufacturing corporations to accept and abide by the decision of the National Labor Relations Board.

### No Surrender

The question as to whether these private rubber manufacturing corporations are greater than the Government and its duly constituted agencies, is the real issue which must be determined. Labor must know whether corporations are more powerful than the Government. The time has arrived when the people of the nation should know and ought to know if corporations can only by compulsion obey decisions of governmental tribunals set up for the purpose of determining disputes arising out of Section 7-A of the National Recovery Act through strikes and industrial warfare.

Labor will not shrink from nor evade the discharge of its duty. Having won its case before the National Labor Relations Board it must not be denied the exercise of the rights granted it through this decision. The workers in Akron will strike for the enforcement of the decision. They will neither surrender nor compromise. The issue is one which is vital to American labor and in which the workers of the nation are tremendously interested. When the strike of the rubber workers in Akron occurs for the purpose of enforcing a decision of a Governmental tribunal, the entire American Labor Movement will rush and rally to their support. This support will be given to the rubber workers in Akron for as long a time as may be necessary in order to compel the management of the rubber manufacturing corporations to deal justly with them, to freely accord them the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to conform to the decisions of a tribunal created by the Government of the United States. Camp Tamiment at the special rate.

## BRIDGEPORT PLANS FOR SLUM CLEARANCE

By Abraham Knepler

BRIDGEPORT.—A slum clearance program will get under way in Bridgeport as soon as Federal funds for the project can be obtained, Mayor Jasper McLevy announces. Plans for this project have long been under consideration, but action has been delayed until passage of the Federal work relief bill.

The Socialist administration has been quietly gathering data, with the end in view of rehabilitating the East Side of Bridgeport, where the greater part of the workers of the city live in close and unsanitary quarters. Development of playgrounds and gardens is one of the features of the proposed program.

Extension of municipal bathing beach facilities is another move which the Socialist administration will attempt, to be completed before summer. Pleasure Beach, city-owned but privately operated for many years, will be taken over by the city in order to provide additional recreational opportunities. Several concessions will, for the time being, remain under private control, because of the costly litigation should the city seek to withdraw all private operation on the beach. It is planned to build municipal bathing houses to be used by the people at a nominal cost and provide an extensive free parking space. Eventually the administration intends to remove all semblance of private control of the beach's facilities.

Following Mayor McLevy's protest of the appointment of John G. Schwarz, Jr., unsuccessful Republican mayoralty candidate in 1933, as local FERA administrator, and the demand by the mayor for a federal investigation an assistant of Harry L. Hopkins, federal relief administrator, is making an investigation into the charges made by the Socialists of the local FERA commission. Meanwhile, although Schwarz continues to serve as relief FERA administrator, Mayor McLevy and Peter Brewster, Socialist director of public works and until now, labor representative on the FERA board, have both refused to continue serving on the board until Schwarz is removed.

## Economic and Social Institute Annual Event At Camp Tamiment

By George Field

Leaders in the labor world, prominent legislators and recognized experts in the field of economic and social problems, are joining as sponsors and speakers for the launching of the Tamiment Economic and Social Institute, scheduled for June 27, 28, 29 and 30. The 1935 sessions will be devoted to "Labor, Industry and Government." John T. Flynn, nationally prominent economist and author, has accepted the institute's invitation to act as chairman of the sponsoring committee, and Louis Waldman, well known labor attorney, and others will be chairmen at the sessions.

The tentative prospectus and program for the four days includes the following sub-topics: "America in the Face of Crisis," "Economic Recovery and the New Deal," "Labor and Industry," "Labor and Fascism," "Labor and Government." There are to be six general sessions, an afternoon for recreation, an evening dramatic program and concert.

Seldom has a project been launched with greater enthusiasm and higher hopes. B. Charney Vladeck, Adolph Held, Algernon Lee, Charles W. Ervin, and others are actively working on the plans, the full details of which are to be announced shortly. The committee in charge of arrangements authorizes the announcement that guests of

### New Leader Trade Union Conference April 24th

There will be an important Trade Union Conference for improved cooperation between The New Leader and the trade unions on Wednesday, April 24th. Details will be printed next week. For further information trade union secretaries should write to New Leader, 7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C.

the institute will be welcomed by of \$3.00 a day and \$1.50 registration fee for all the sessions.

The Rand School board made its decision to organize this institute during its meeting on April 1st. Eight days later the Camp Tamiment board gave its approval to the idea and made possible the use of this beautiful summer resort at Tamiment, Pennsylvania, for the first of these annual events.

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## Labor Will Get Its New Deal Before Long

By Francis J. Gorman  
Vice-President,  
United Textile Workers of America

I am expected to answer the question, "Must We Have a Textile Strike?" The industry has it in its power to make a strike unnecessary. The developments of the next three or four weeks will tell the story.

The governmental agencies, selected by the President at the time of the ending of the big strike last September, are now on the point of making their reports on the issues of hours and wages, the stretch-out and compliance with Section 7A.

We have been patient for six months, we realize that these studies take time, but when Congress disposes of the NRA legislation we should proceed immediately to an adjustment of conditions. If the industry takes the same position it did last September, there certainly will be another strike, and we have no information up to this point that they intend to change.

In our opinion, the Administration cannot permit the cloth textile industry to pursue its existing suicidal policy, the mills might try to defend wages, but the Government of the New Deal cannot condone or accept. We do not want another strike, but if we are forced to it the employers will receive one more lesson in labor solidarity, compiled with a determination to fight it through until decency and justice are

They can fire our members for joining the union. They can evict us from our homes and stop our relief, but they cannot stop the growing consciousness of men and women that they are struggling for the right against might. These penalties and sufferings heaped upon us will make us stronger in the cause. Labor will get its New Deal before long.

# Labor's Critics Criticized

Trade Union Organ Has Some Pointed Thing to Say to Neophytes and Swivel Chair Revolutionists

(In an article which deserves the characterization of fine revolutionary literature, the Bakers' Journal, one of the oldest and most respected labor organs in the United States, makes reply to those radical critics of the labor movement who would lead it from the broad highway of historical development into the blind alley of pseudo-revolutionary fulmination. The reply is written in the grand style and very best tradition of true Socialist thought. It speaks for itself and we take keen pleasure in presenting it to our readers.)

THERE is much talk in radical circles nowadays about the necessity of a "new, revolutionary labor policy." The old is finished and moribund, we are told—counter-revolutionary.

Added to this is the assertion that the trade union policies of the past, coupled with their various mutual aid activities, were almost vitiating, reformist in their effects.

Such tirades are not without impression upon workers ignorant of the history and substance of the labor movement, workers who heretofore had kept aloof from the trade unions and who have been led into the movement by the thousand as a result, in part, of the operation of the NRA.

To make clear to these thousands the dangers of such radically sounding phrases and to lift them to the level of schooled and clear-headed trade unionists is one of our most important immediate tasks.

Why were our trade union federations formed some fifty years ago? They were formed to facilitate the tasks of local labor organizations in raising wage scales and improving the working conditions of labor, to introduce more

method into the struggle, and thereby assure more stable and enduring successes in the future. Experience had shown that the efforts of local organizations, although not devoid of some successes, had been, on the whole, rather unproductive and inadequate, and that the unification of all forces under one organization would make possible greater and, above all, more lasting achievements.

### The Labor Struggle

To be sure, the trade union federations at first left much to be desired. Responsible for this were their weakness and the discussions that raged about the question of organization forms. Nevertheless, they continued to develop rapidly into fighting instruments. Those radical supermen who guided by emotion are inclined to sneer at this characterization should acquaint themselves with the history of the innumerable difficult, bitter struggles which the trade unions have waged against employers ever since they came into being. How else are we to characterize the many strikes, the countless wage movements, lockouts, struggles against blacklists and other punitive measures, the collective bargaining battles, the constant fight against employers and the powers of government for freedom of movement for the working class through the trade unions? All this was distinctly revolutionary in substance and meaning!

Some may perhaps shrug their shoulders while underestimating the resulting achievements. But there is hardly a labor organization that cannot point to incontrovertible evidence of effort that has resulted in higher wages, shorter hours, advancement of social legislation and improvement of sanitary conditions. Nevertheless, there are some who refuse to admit this. They are concerned so much with

the "ultimate aim" that they cannot perceive the day to day achievements if the trade unions as the essential prerequisites for the attainment of the final goal.

### The Critics

The very smallest successes in these difficult struggles are to be regarded as of revolutionary significance, successes that bring us nearer, step by step, to the final goal. Yes, even the most ridiculed mutual aid services established by the trade unions were revolutionary in their effects insofar as they mitigated misery, strengthened the fighting capacity of the workers, increased the numbers of those participating in the battle, enhanced the resistance power of the trade unions, and facilitated the chances of victory.

Yet, despite this wealth of experience there have always been critics in the ranks of labor who assailed the policies of the trade unions, policies which have repeatedly shown themselves justified in practice, and which remain always in process of development. It is significant, however, that the critics have never been able to strike permanent root, not even today, despite the fact that conditions for criticism have never been more favorable.

Never before have economic conditions been more pregnant with the generative elements of discontent. The NRA undertook to provide the workers of America with unrestrained freedom of action on the economic field, but strikes continue to grow in number, necessitated by the need of improving the fixed but miserable minimum wage scales. The NRA failed also to bring about what some had dreamed it would make possible, namely an immediate transition from the capitalist state to a Socialist society. Hence the widespread dissatisfaction, particularly

among newcomers in the labor movement, who have not yet perceived the complexity of the social, political and economic mainstays at work within our social structure.

A sudden, forcible transition from capitalism to Socialism is a utopian conception. Any such transition would entail grave injury to the social interest. The socialization of our economic and cultural life is possible only step by step. Those who assail the "erroneous" policies of the trade unions and demand the radicalization of trade union methods fail to realize this fact, or to perceive the difference between the immediately realizable and unrealizable.

It is this that leads some to substitute blind passion for planned movement. Hence, the efforts of neophytes and visionaries to make the movement serve the political purposes of the Communists. Hence, their efforts to undermine the old and tried policies of the trade unions, to which the organized labor movement owes its present great influence and power, and to substitute planlessness, unbridled adventurism and boundless passion for measured reason.

Only by following the old and tried methods of struggle, by adapting them to the wider scope of movement and action made possible by political liberty and newly acquired economic rights can the movement be advanced. It was the application of these very policies that made possible the development and power of the trade unions through decades of struggle and lifted the workers from a condition of helots to a mighty and influential factor in our economic life.

### Heroes of the Phrase

The secret of this success lies in the fact that there was system and method in the manner in which the trade unions pursued their struggle. The rich store of experi-

ence accumulated by the old trade union fighters stood the masses in good stead and made possible planned, ever greater and more enduring achievements.

And these policies we are now asked to abandon! Woe to the workers of America if they give ear to the heroes of the phrase who today so diligently seek to catch the limelight. To be sure, it is possible to achieve some passing successes even under a lack of plan and system. But this holds out no hope of any enduring progress. Only planned, constructive work, free of all rhetorical admixture, only clear-cut, purposeful trade union activity, founded upon the democratic principle, carries with it the assurance of permanent success.

Be on guard against those who seek to teach you "new" tactics! More than 6,000,000 American workers are today combined in trade unions, the trade unions of the American Federation of Labor and the railway brotherhoods. These unions have a great responsibility. To avert defeats and loss of ground already gained they must proceed in considered, thoughtful measure to their aims.

To the newcomers in the movement, however, we must say: study what the trade unions have accomplished through decades of effort and struggle! Try to acquire a clear understanding of what all this means, and substitute united action, firm conviction and the considered deed, possible only through unity, for uncontrolled emotion and ill-considered acts. Only thus will the old revolutionary spirit which always guided the labor movement continue to lead us to new conquests. Only in this manner can we guard against defeats and disappointments!

## "Horse Trade" Back of Calif. Conviction

SACRAMENTO, Cal.—A juror's sworn affidavit that an illegal "horse trade" in the jury room brought about the verdict convicting eight out of fourteen union organizers on criminal syndicalism charges, will be an argument for a new trial by defense attorneys appearing before the trial judge, Dal M. Lemmon, in the Superior Court.

The affidavit specifically impeaches the guilty verdict in the case of two of those convicted, Norman Mini and Caroline Decker, and is held by competent attorneys here to invalidate all the proceedings of the jury as coming under the head of improper methods of arriving at verdicts.

The affidavit is signed by Howard S. McIntire, together with three other jurors held out for 66 hours and 118 ballots after an eighteen-week trial which received international attention. McIntire is an accountant who worked 27 years in the State Adjutant-General's office and is a Past Master of the local Masonic lodge.

McIntire's affidavit was given voluntarily to the defense in order, he stated, "to get a new trial for innocent people." Immediately after the verdict he sought out Attorney Albert Goldman of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, which is defending Norman Mini. McIntire shed tears of regret for having, as he termed it, "surrendered." Next day he met Jack Warnick, acquitted defendant, and Norman Mini's father and Herbert Solow of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, to whom he told the same story. Two days after the verdict McIntire sought out Solow and Warnick, declared he wished to undo his action, and swore out the statement which he gave to attorney Goldman.

Later, Eight of the defendants were given prison sentences of one to fourteen years each after a motion for a new trial was denied. A stay of execution of the sentence has been granted.

## 'Liberal' Sheets Join Bosses In 'Crackdown' on Unions

(Continued from Page One)

tween employers, Communists and "liberal" newspapers and "radical" writers began.

A week ago Friday, Communists stood at the curb in front of Ohrbach's store picketing the A. F. of L. pickets, shouting: "There is no strike at Ohrbach's; Ohrbach's has settled with the union."

A day later the New York Post, an alleged "liberal" paper that loudly professes its friendliness to labor, carried an editorial vehemently denouncing the union for its picketing, which in an enlarged form now appears in Ohrbach's window. Five days after that the Post and the New York World-Telegram, another "liberal" paper, began their crack-down campaign against the two locals. The two "liberal" papers were joined in the campaign by Hearst's Evening Journal and by the Daily Worker.

The stories in the three papers give every evidence of collusion, as will be pointed out. From the first day they began to appear there was a curious parallel among them; on Thursday all three papers denounced the unions for one alleged crime; on Friday the three papers moved on to another terrain; on Saturday all three discovered something else, as they did on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. Such things are not coincidences.

### Inspired Stories

There is reason to believe that the stories were inspired by what in newspaperdom is known as the "front office." It is reported that the crack-down began when the Retail Clothing Salesmen's Union, Local 717, called a strike on John David, a large chain of men's clothing stores, and that the David stores and the management of Ohrbach's, large advertisers both, ordered the New York dailies to start the campaign to wipe out the two salesmen's unions. Later, it is reported, they were joined by the powerful Fifth Avenue Association, an organization of the big department stores. At least, so it is believed in well informed quarters.

It is interesting to note that both "liberal" papers have carried signed stories from the beginning of the campaign, the World-Telegram, a Scripps-Howard paper, having its stories signed by Frederick E. Woltman, the Post by Edward Levinson. Woltman is said to be a Trotskyite, while Levinson has been a prominent member of the so-called "militant" caucus of the local Socialist Party. Charges have been brought against Levinson in Local New York for "conduct unbecoming a Socialist."

### Collusion—or What?

Everything in the whole series of articles points to mutual preparation and collusion. Everything in the articles points to the conclusion that the writers were not interested in finding the union's answers to charges made against them by their enemies.

For example, the Levinson articles repeatedly referred to the "fact" that Hyman Nemser, coun-

sel for both locals and manager of Local 717, was expelled from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for "racketeering." It is a fact that Nemser was expelled. It is not true that the charge was racketeering, as any reporter seeking the truth could have found out by making a telephone call. The charge against Nemser was organizing a dual union.

Another example: On Thursday both Levinson and Woltman as well as the Evening Journal discovered that Nat Levine, business manager of Local 107, had proposed to an employer named Goodovitch that he cut wages \$10 a week in order that a union campaign of organization might result in restoration of the wage cut, to the credit of the union. All three writers failed to mention that that was the allegation of Goodovitch in an application for an injunction, that the union denied the statement in a counter-allegation, and that Supreme Court Justice William T. Collins, with both affidavits before him, promptly denied the application. The story is told in the papers as though the reporters had dug up the facts simultaneously; internal evidence indicates that the employer's affidavits were shown to them at the same time and without questioning the union as to their correctness they both printed the allegation.

The two unions have been organizing the underpaid and overworked retail salespeople in New York for several years. Their success has been striking. With some variations, here are the union conditions that have been won:

### Big Gains Won

All stores and chains of stores that signed up with one or another of the unions have granted a closed union shop, with union conditions of sanitation, wash rooms, rest periods, etc.

Local 107, covering cloak, suit and dress stores, mainly women's apparel, won for its women and girl members a minimum wage of \$20 a week, plus commissions. The former non-union wage was \$12 to \$15 a week.

The men have won a minimum wage of \$35 to \$37.50 per week, plus commissions. Formerly the men earned only commissions of 5%, or \$25 to \$30 a week.

In addition to substantially increased wages and decent shop conditions the union has won for the clerks a working week of 48 hours, plus a guarantee of ten months employment each year—something hitherto unheard of in the trade—and one week's vacation each year with full pay.

Hours used to be almost unlimited; 66 to 72 were not unusual, and in rush times sometimes the clerks had to work 80 hours a week.

Local 717, the retail salesmen of men's clothing, have won a minimum of \$36 a week, plus commissions. Wages under non-union conditions were \$20 to \$25. The hours are now fixed at 48 per week as compared to 66 to 70 in ordinary times and 80 in rush periods. In addition there are sanitary condi-



A Mass Demonstration of Striking Workers

tions and the ten months' guarantee and one week's vacation that go with full union recognition.

The union dues are \$4 a month, by no means high as compared to other unions, and required to build the necessary funds to carry on the organizing campaigns and to take care of strikers and unemployed. The very printers on the "liberal" newspapers who set type on the stories by the "radical" reporters deploring the "high" dues themselves pay dues to their union of about \$20 a month.

**Gains Won by Hard Fighting**

These gains were won by hard fighting. Strikes have been called in every part of the city, pickets have been assaulted and often arrested. Injunctions have been secured and legal battles have been waged. In many cases the battles have not been pretty fights, with charges and counter-charges of violence.

The unions have always preferred to deal with chains of retail stores, or with organizations of retailers, for agreements with large organizations have been easier to gain and easier to enforce than with little individual stores. This has always been union practice, a practice the "radical" writers on the "liberal" sheets now make to appear a hideous malpractice, for both of them (together with the Hearst writer) discovered in time for their Friday papers that the unions were engaged in organizing employers!

The curious parallels between the stories in three newspapers published in buildings miles apart and written by reporters supposedly engaged in digging up material independently of each other is shown by the following analysis of only a part of four day's stories:

### Thursday, April 4

World - Telegram (Woltman): Unions force merchants to sign up clerks for dues. Story of Goodovitch (mentioned above). "High" dues. Clerks not consulted on strikes. Union's by-laws can't be found.

Post (Levinson): Unions demand pay raises just to cover dues. Clerks not consulted in calling strikes. Union's by-laws can't be found. Goodovitch story.

Journal (unsigned): "Dues collecting racket rather than an honest attempt to help the worker," one store owner (unnamed) said. Strikes called without consulting clerks. Goodovitch story.

### Friday, April 5

World - Telegram (Woltman): Ladies' shops forced to join association by union. Picketing has "worked havoc" with business of stores.

Post (Levinson): Union organizes store employers, too. Union primarily interested in collecting \$1 dues. (This is the usual anti-union slander of all labor-haters.) Journal: Merchants charge that pickets ruin trade unless shops join apparel group.

### Saturday, April 6

World - Telegram (Woltman): Allegations of stench-bomb violence; stores ruined by pickets; pickets are outsiders.

Post (Levinson): Allegations of stench-bomb violence; stores are ruined by pickets.

Journal: Allegations of violence.

### Monday, April 7

All papers report that President Green is investigating conditions in the two locals with a view of revoking their charters.

These facts are sufficient to prove that the campaign against the unions that have won such striking gains for their members started from one source, that it is no mere coincidence that three newspapers began at exactly the same moment to assail organiza-

## U.H.T. Welcomes Inquiry Into Retail Clerks' Unions

The United Hebrew Trades, with which the two locals of the Retail Clerks' International, Nos. 107 and 717, are affiliated, unanimously voted at its last executive meeting to cooperate with the A. F. of L. in its investigation of charges against the locals made in various capitalist newspapers, and at the same time urged the working masses of New York to support the struggle of the retail clerks for union conditions while withholding condemnation of the officials of the unions pending the conclusion of the investigation.

The statement of the U.H.T., signed by Secretary Morris C. Feinstein, follows:

"At the last meeting of the Executive Board of the U.H.T., a committee appeared from Locals 107 and 717 and declared that because of their strike activities several of the local capitalist newspapers started a terrific attack upon the unions and their leaders. "As those attacks have hampered the work of the unions and threw slanderous suspicions upon the leaders of the two unions, they sent a telegram to President William Green of the A. F. of L. demanding an investigation of their activities, and they are ready to withdraw themselves if the investigation should find against them.

"President Green informed the unions that he has ordered the Retail Clerks' International to conduct such an investigation of the two locals.

"The committee also demanded that the U.H.T. make its own investigation. The United Hebrew Trades decided to assist the investigation of the A. F. of L. and of the Retail Clerks' International in every way possible. In the meantime during the investigation the U.H.T. will support both locals in all of their battles, as in the past.

"The U.H.T. recognizes that both locals are entitled to every

possible aid from the working class movement until they are cleared by the investigation conducted by the A. F. of L.

"The U.H.T. calls upon the masses of sympathizers and friends of the labor movement to aid them in their struggle and to draw a line between the accusations against the officials and the hundreds of members of the unions. The U.H.T. asks the public to withhold their verdict against the members of both unions until the official investigation by the labor movement publishes its findings."

### Pay No Attention

(From the Wisconsin Leader)

OUR Communist friends seem to have launched another program of misrepresentation throughout the state. Several Socialist branches have been approached lately with "united front" propositions.

The story has been spread that the Rhinelander branch of the Socialist Party was ready to accept this offer.

Such is not the truth. The Rhinelander Socialists told the Communists that if they thought such a proposition would advance the interests of the workers they would go for it in a minute, but turned down the offer.

In taking this position the Rhinelander branch is simply following out the line laid down by the national and state committees of the party.

Bitter experience has shown us all too often that Communists are interested in the united front only as a disruptive maneuver.

Hence the ruling of the national and state committees that there is to be no united front between Socialists and Communists.

Pay no attention to their propositions!

## You Pay Your Money and You Take Your Choice

The death of Adolph S. Ochs, owner of the New York Times, has invoked comment throughout the world. Two statements that appeared on Wednesday, one in the Daily Worker and the other in the New York Times, are illuminating.

From the Communist organ: "Like Hearst, Ochs was a bitter enemy of the Soviet Union, the Workers' Fatherland."

From the New York Times: Special cable from Moscow: "Karl Radek, famous Soviet journalist and member of the editorial board of the Izvestia, the government newspaper, said today that the death of Adolph S. Ochs was a 'blow to all journalists, no matter from what point of view they wrote.'"

## Woodsworth at Buffalo May Day Celebration

BUFFALO. — Eight organizations will cooperate in the celebration of May Day this year—the Socialist Party, Proletarian Party of Buffalo, Young Poale-Zionist League, Labor-Zionist Association, City Committee of the Workmen's Circle, and three branches of the Workmen's Circle.

A mass meeting is to be held in Orioles Hall, 558 Genesee St., at which the drive for the 30-hour week will be emphasized.

The principal speaker will be J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., Chairman of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada. The Central Labor Council of Buffalo has been invited to send a speaker, and there will be an anti-fascist speaker on the program.

Norman Heppel is secretary of the arrangements committee which is meeting at party headquarters every Thursday evening.



## General Membership Meeting of Local New York, Friday, April 19th

THE City Executive Committee of Local New York of the Socialist Party on Wednesday night decided to hold a meeting of party members in the Rand School Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street, Manhattan, Friday, April 19th, at 8.30 p. m. Only party members will be admitted and members must show their membership cards at the door.

The meeting is called to discuss party problems and issues in New York. Speakers will be chosen to lead the discussion and there will be discussion from the floor.

### A. F. of L. to Work With Workers' Alliance On Present Wage Scales

Plans for cooperation between the American Federation of Labor and the Workers' Alliance of America were announced as "on the way" by David Lasser, chairman of the Workers' Alliance, following conference last week at Washington with William Green, President of the A. F. of L.

In an interview, at which Frank Trager, chairman of the People's Unemployment League of Maryland, a member of the national executive board of the Workers' Alliance, also took part, the question of wages, hours of labor and conditions of employment on public works and public relief projects was discussed, and methods by which union standards might be maintained in the new works program.

At the conclusion, Mr. Green announced that he would send a letter to all central labor bodies and state federations of labor of the A. F. of L., urging the closest cooperation with the units of the Workers' Alliance on the above questions. Credentials will be sent by the Workers' Alliance to its local groups as an identification to the A. F. of L. bodies.

This conference follows the sending of a telegram by Mr. Green to the national convention of the Workers' Alliance in Washington last month, stating that he would urge cooperation to "preserve and maintain wage standards, hours and conditions of employment upon public works and public relief projects."

The Workers' Alliance is a national union of unemployed and relief workers with some 450,000 members in 26 states. Its national headquarters are Room 609, Commerce Building, Milwaukee, Wis., and the national secretary is Paul A. Rasmussen.

A proposal by the Workers' Alliance that a joint campaign be started with the A. F. of L. to organize 3,500,000 relief workers to be employed in the new works program, met with favorable response by President Green, said Lasser. This proposal will be placed before the executive council at its next meeting.

### SPY BREAKS DOWN FACING SOCIALISTS IN AUSTRIAN TRIAL

VIENNA.—The clerical fascist government has received a shock in its prosecution of 21 leaders of the Socialist Defense Corps for their part in the fight against fascism a year ago last February. The Socialists are charged with high treason and the prosecution relied mainly on the police spy, Korbel, who was arrested a few days before the fighting, together with the accused.

When called upon to testify against the Socialist leaders, Korbel turned pale and stammered in the presence of the men he had betrayed. He said it was not true there had been any question of revolution, but plans for armed resistance, if they had existed, had always been coupled with the proviso that this was only to be offered against a government that violated the Constitution.

He retracted his previous declarations about the guilt of the individuals accused and asserted he could not say whether or not they had attended the January conference at which the methods for dealing with the Heimwehr to overthrow the republic were discussed.

The judge ordered the accused to stand up one by one and each man he had betrayed looked Korbel between the eyes while the man stammered something about "an automobile accident," concussion, loss of memory. Efforts by the judge and the State's attorney to hold him to his former voluminous accusations were of no avail.

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## Lawyers Explain Rights of Citizens in Political Propaganda in New York City

By the Socialist Lawyers' Ass'n.

IN New York City, persons distributing political literature are often harassed, interfered with and annoyed by policemen. The police want distributors that hand out handbills, leaflets, etc., to constitute a violation of law. Frequently, arrests made or summonses issued.

Generally, the conduct of the police in interfering with well defined civil rights is based upon Chapter 22, Section 15, of the Ordinances of the City of New York which provides that "no person shall throw, cast or distribute . . . any handbill, circular . . . in or upon any street or public place. . . ."

The Appellate Court considering this ordinance in the case of People vs. Johnson, et al., 117 Misc. 133, 191 N. Y. Supp. 750, held that it applies to commercial literature only and not literature of a political nature. In the language of the court:

"... the defendants were well within their rights in distributing the circulars in question. . . . I hold that the ordinance in question was never intended to prevent the lawful distribution of anything other than commercial and business matter. It would be a dangerous and un-American thing to sustain an interpretation of a city ordinance which would prohibit the free distribution by a body of citizens of a pamphlet setting forth their views. . . ."

To hold otherwise would be contrary to Article 1, Section 8, of the Constitution of the State of New York which provides that: "Every citizen may freely speak, write and publish his sentiments on all subjects, . . . and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press."

Arrests have also been made of persons distributing non-commercial literature on the ground that such conduct constitutes disorderly conduct tending to a breach of the peace under that very broad subdivision 2 of Section 222 of the Penal Law, to wit: "Acts in such a way as to annoy, disturb, interfere with, obstruct or be offensive to others."

The contention has been made that such distribution molests pedestrians. This position, however, is not supported by our courts. The Appellate Court in the case of People vs. Black, et al., 135 Misc. 841, 241 N. Y. Supp. 756, holds that such distribution, orderly otherwise, does not constitute disorderly conduct.

These cases make it clear that the conduct of the police in interfering with the distribution of political literature is in defiance of the law. There is one notable exception—an ordinance (Chapter 17, Section 13, of the Ordinances of the City of New York) which prohibits the distribution of "all

circulars within any park or park street.

The conduct of these policemen must not be permitted to go unchecked since civil liberties and constitutional guarantees would come to depend upon the whim and caprice of the antagonistic patrolman.

"They (the police) seem to imagine that because they are police officials they are free from all constitutional restraint. . . . The limitations which restrain the action of kings and governors

are but ropes of sand to a New York policeman." Fairmont Athletic Club vs. Bingham, 61 Misc. 419.

The courts, the legislature and the Constitution of the State of New York have established the right of persons to distribute political literature. An occasional arrest may be made, but a conviction will never be sustained by our higher courts. Use this effective weapon for education, agitation and propaganda undaunted by illegal police action.

## MAY DAY CELEBRATIONS ARRANGED IN BIG CITIES

Socialists of the United States have been requested by the party's national committee to center their May Day demonstrations around agitation for the 30-hour week, with no reduction in pay.

May Day itself was originated in 1886 by the American Federation of Labor, who called demonstrations for that day for the 8-hour day.

Cooperation of Socialists and trade unionists has been previously reported from Cleveland and Philadelphia. Additional reports:

CAMDEN, N. J.—Six trade unions, all local organizations of the unemployed and the Socialist Party, are joining in this year's South Jersey May Day demonstrations. A committee has been appointed to contact other A. F. of

L. groups to ask their participation.

MILWAUKEE.—The local Trades Council has unanimously accepted an invitation from the Socialist Party to take part in a joint May Day rally. The Workers' Committee will also participate.

KANSAS CITY, Kans.—The local May Day rally will be joined by about twenty-five trade union locals.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Fifty-five delegates, representing the Workers' Circle, the Unemployment League, the Central Trades and Labor Council and the Socialist Party met here Friday to begin plans for May Day activities here.

A special meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Council will be held Thursday to guide the 30-hour week demonstration.

## CIGAR MAKERS FIGHT SAN ANTONIO BOSSES

By William Plampin

SAN ANTONIO, Tex.—Under the courageous leadership of Mrs. W. H. Ernst, Cigar makers' Union Local 346 is on strike against intolerable working conditions at the Finck Cigar Co.

This strike is an aftermath of a more or less spontaneous strike against similar conditions in August 1933, when the union was organized. At that time there was a device in the factory designed to keep the atmosphere damp for the tobacco; but in reality it was a shower and the girls had to use umbrellas. Constant moisture caused a lot of sickness. The company was also short-weighting the girls.

This strike was partially won. Sanitary conditions were improved and the weighing system changed, but Finck refused to reinstate Mrs. Ernst and others active in the strike. The Labor Board took away

his Blue Eagle last September for failure to reemploy the union leaders. Since then, he has refused and ignored all attempts to the workers to discuss anything.

The specific demands of the union are: Recognition of the union, reduction of the bad cigar penalty, and reinstatement of workers discharged for union activity. This all-girl union is handicapped by lack of money, but they are going at it with a fine spirit and solidarity with support from the general public they will make the Finck Cigar Co. a decent place to work in. They are going to stick it out till they win.

Socialists of San Antonio are active in the strike in many ways. Non-union pickets are not allowed and we are not quite strong enough to start a fight on the issue. Many cigar stands are returning Finck cigars or taking them off their counters.

## PATIENCE THAT LEADS TO STARVATION IS NO VIRTUE — McMAHON

Shortened Hours in Mill Operation, He Asserts, Mean 25 Per Cent Cut in Pay

"What the curtailment order for the cotton textile industry means is a 30-hour week with a 25 per cent cut in pay and if that is justice for the textile workers then we ask the Recovery Board to explain it," said the United Textile Workers of America in a statement issued by President Thomas F. McMahon, denouncing as an "outrage" the official order of National Industrial Relations Board for a three-months period of curtailment.

"Once again labor is penalized for having been too efficient and productive, while an industry that is altogether heartless in its dealing with labor refuses to set forth any program to prevent these periods of recurring curtailment and wage-slashing."

"We call attention to the fact that there was a curtailment last fall prior to the national strike, added to which the strike almost completely stopped all production for four weeks. If curtailment is a remedy, then why did not that curtailment effect the cure? In five months the disease has come back upon us and again our people face the misery of a slash of one-fourth off of their already miserably inadequate wages."

**Basis for Order Unsound**  
"Let us ask the board how long they think textile workers can or will stand such treatment and such fruitless efforts to 'cure' what is so wrong in the industry that nothing short of drastic and properly conceived efforts ever will effect a cure."

"Let us say that not for many months has an official order been based upon stranger promises or contained stranger language. We are told curtailment is needed because of 'inadequate consumer demand,' so that if the public doesn't buy enough we must quit our jobs. The mills say they cannot maintain the 'increased wage scales' unless they can now shut down a

part of their operations to stop production. That looks to us like inverted economics. The whole thing is a crazy quilt."

### Workers Ask Hearing

"More than that, whereas it has been the general understanding since the Winant Board made its report last fall that there would be an open hearing for the whole industry before NRA, this latest order today tells us we may have a hearing 'if' small delegations from both sides make it appear 'desirable.' We hesitate to say it, but to us this looks like a breach of faith somewhere."

"This speculative discussion of a hearing is contained in a resolution by NIRA accompanying the order. As a counter to that proposition we are filing formal request for an open hearing. We want the whole truth to come forth and in public and nothing less will satisfy us."

"We ask reopening of the entire code and we agree that if this is not done then we shall be satisfied to have the President impose a code as he did in the cotton garment industry."

"We have reached a point where something better than quick doctoring has got to be done about this industry whose workers are on the mudsills of our economic structure. The kind of patience that leads to starvation has no virtue of which textile workers are aware."


### Patternmakers Launch Organization Drive In New York City

A mass meeting of the Dress Patternmakers' Union, Local 31, I.L.G.W.U., April 2nd, at the Hotel Delano, 108 West 43rd Street, New York City, launched a campaign for the organization of the trade.

An invitation was extended to all dress patternmakers in New York City to join. The meeting was exceptionally well attended. The speakers were the local's officers and August Claessens, who stressed the need for union; Matthew M. Levy, the demands of the union, and Phillip Kapp on the cooperation of the Joint Board and the other crafts of the industry.

The result was a large number of new members.

## Lectures and Forums ATTENTION, CONNECTICUT



**HARTFORD  
WOMEN'S CLUB**  
April 16th, 17th, 18th  
187 Broad Street, Hartford, Conn.  
2 to 10:30 P. M.

Soviet epic talkie with English titles

**"CHAPAYEV"** Write to The New Leader about blocks of cut role tickets.

**The Department of  
Social Philosophy  
of Cooper Union**  
(Formerly People's Institute)  
IN THE GREAT HALL  
5th Street and Astor Place  
At 8 o'clock Admission free

Friday, April 12th—  
**EVERETT DEAN MARTIN**  
"Do Americans Want Communism?"

Sunday, April 14th—  
**Professor HOUSTON PETERSON**  
"Historical Theory: The Modes Of Revival."

Tuesday, April 16th—  
**NATHANIEL PEPPER**  
"Education and the Changing Civilization."

**Labor Drama Festival**  
Plays by and for Workers  
Presented jointly by Rebel Arts - Young Circle League - Brookwood Labor College Players - International Ladies' garment Workers' Dramatic Groups  
THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH, 66 W. 12 St., N. Y. C.  
A different program for each performance.  
Saturday, April 29, 8:30 p.m.  
Sunday, April 30, 2:30 p.m. & 8:30 p.m.  
Tickets: Three shows 41¢ single shows 10¢; (reserved seats single shows 75¢; Hand School Bookshop (7 E. 15th St.)

**INGERSOLL FORUM**  
SUNDAYS 8 P. M.—Admission 25 cents  
PYTHIAN TEMPLE, 135 W. 70th Street  
April 14th—  
"The Marxian Approach To Sex"  
Questions and Discussion

### Arkansas Tightens "Sedition" Law

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—The Arkansas House has passed a bill "to prescribe punishment for circulating seditious literature" by a vote of 63 to 22. The measure, if accepted by the state Senate, will prevent the circulation of papers, cartoons or printed matter designed to attack the government.

Expressing alarm over present conditions among tenants in eastern Arkansas, Ivy Crawford of Mississippi county urged adoption of the bill during debate. His comment on tenant conditions follows organization in Poinsett, Mississippi and Crittenden counties of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, members of which have been recently involved in several disturbances.

The bill provides for punishment for encouraging "any person to commit an overt act with a view of bringing the government into public hatred or contempt."

"Sedition" under the bill will be a felony. Those convicted will be imprisoned for from five to twenty years.

### LECTURE CALENDAR

(All lectures begin at 8:30 p.m. unless otherwise stated. Lectures listed below are under the auspices of Education Committee of Socialist Party.)

**SUNDAY, APRIL 14**  
Manhattan  
John Lewine—"Socialism and the American Tradition," 6th A.D., 95 Ave. B, Brooklyn  
August Claessens—"Our Social Heritage: The Acceleration of Intellectual Progress," Fourth in a series of five Sunday night lectures on Heredity and Environment, Audubon, Midwood Branch. Lectures start promptly at 8 p.m. Admission free. Lecture in the spacious auditorium of the newly opened Flatbush Cultural Center, 1719 Ave. P.

**MONDAY, APRIL 15**  
Manhattan  
Dr. Simon Barish—"Immoralities of the Capitalist System," Chelsea Branch, WEED Studio.  
Bronx  
Wm. M. Feigenbaum—"Workers Abroad," Amalgamated Cooperative Branch, 81 Van Cortlandt Park South.

Brooklyn  
Wm. Karlin—"Can There Be a United Front?" 1-11th A.D., 211 So. 4th Street.  
Dr. Jos. Slavik—"Socialized Medicine," 21st A.D., Golby Academy, 2301 Snyder Avenue.  
Julius Umansky—"Socialism and War," 6th A.D., 167 Tompkins Ave.

**TUESDAY, APRIL 16**  
Bronx  
David L. Ashe—"Labor and the Law," 789 Elmside Place, 7th A. D.  
Louis P. Goldner—"Functions of Socialists in Trade Unions," Bronx Labor Center 3-4-5, 800 Westchester Ave.

Queens  
Melos Most—"The Nature of Fascism," Jamaica Branch, 9218 New York Blvd.  
**WEDNESDAY, APRIL 17**  
Manhattan  
Max Nelson—"G. A. Gerber - Francis Brown - Forum," "Buffet N. E. C. Meeting," Morningstar Heights Branch, 609 West 125th St. For party members only. Admission by red card.

**THURSDAY, APRIL 18**  
Manhattan  
Bela Low—"Socialism, Utopia and Scientific," 19-21st A.D., 2002 Seventh Ave.

### Party Notes

**New York City**  
Women's Conference Against High Cost of Living. The continuation committee met Saturday, April 6. Arrangements made for circulation of 5,000 petitions beginning week of April 15. Tentative plans for raising funds discussed. May 14 at 11 a.m. is the time set for the mass demonstration in front of the City Hall. Readers of The New Leader understand the importance of this demonstration.

**Practical Problems Class.** Sunday, April 15, 1:30 p.m., Rand School. Subject: "Munitions Investigation." Guest speaker: Eleanor Brammon. Tuesday, April 16, 1:30 p.m., Amalgamated House, Bronx. Subject: "Munitions Investigation." Wednesday and Thursday no classes on account of Easter holidays.

### MANHATTAN

4th A.D. Sunday forums are growing in popularity. Many applications for membership have been received in the past week as a result. We also received 25 subscriptions for The New Leader. We are thankful to E. Minkoff for the splendid talk he delivered last week. The canvass of enrolled Socialist voters brought several prospects for membership. The New Leader widely distributed. With the aid of the Jewish Downtown Branch, we are attempting to organize

a live Forum group. Branch Executive Committee will meet at headquarters next Tuesday evening at 8:30. Plans for the May 1st demonstration will be considered. Local trade union, fraternal and social organizations will be invited for discussions regarding participation. Printed reports of the detailed activities of our branch during the last year will be mailed to sympathizers and comrades for propaganda purposes.

**BRONX**  
Lower 6th A.D. Branch meeting Tuesday, April 16, at 1028 East 172nd Street.

### KINGS

Flatbush Cultural Center held its housewarming banquet on April 6 at 1719 Ave. P. About 125 attended. The Educational Committee of which Mrs. Weiss is the director, has instituted a Tuesday evening educational program. On April 16, Langdon Post will speak on the Housing Situation. On April 23, Irma Kittenbach, formerly with the Committee of Economic Security of Washington, D. C., will speak on Social Insurance in the U. S. The Midwood Branch has reorganized its activity since moving to new headquarters. August Claessens spoke to an audience of 100 at 1719 last Sunday evening. Watch The New Leader for further announcements. Women's Unit, Midwood-Brighton Branch, holding its meetings at Flatbush Cultural Center, 1719 Ave. P. on Wednesday at 2:30 p.m. is still conducting a class led by Esther Friedman on Stuart Chase's "The Tragedy of Waste." In addition, Mrs. Augusta Solomon is conducting a class on Parliamentary procedure. This class starts at 1:30. The Unit is helping the Service Men's strike at Brighton Beach. A collection was made for the strikers and food is being contributed continually. A mass meeting is planned for the Centre in conjunction with the large conference on the High Cost of Living. New Leader subscribers are being solicited. For further action read The New Leader.

**QUEENS**  
Asteris Branch meeting will be held at the headquarters on Tuesday, April 16, 8:30 p.m. Samuel DeWitt will be the speaker.

## Thousands of Well-Dressed Men to Greet Palm Sunday Wearing Crawford Clothes

Because New York's largest clothing chain—the Crawford Clothing Company—is offering the greatest values in its entire history, thousands of men have made their way to the firm's many retail stores, seeking the \$18.75 clothes which have been valued by their industry at \$40, \$50 and \$60.

The ranks of well-dressed men who filled the Crawford stores



were swelled by those who are now getting ready for Palm Sunday, the day of days for parading new clothes.  
On 5th Avenue, on Atlantic City's boardwalk, on Chestnut St. in Philadelphia—wherever smart men gather along the eastern seaboard, Crawford Custom Quality Clothes will be very much in evidence. (Adv.)

**DR. A. SHUYER**  
Optometrist  
31 Union Sq., Corner 16th St. W.  
Algonquin 4-7550  
Eyes examined—Glasses fitted  
For the past 20 years at 172nd St.  
and Washington Ave.  
Dr. Shuyer has examined the eyes  
of over 40,000 persons.

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6516 Bay Parkway Opposite Sea Beach Sta., Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Large Assortment of Passover  
WINES, BRANDY and SLIVOVITZ  
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strictly kosher for Pesach  
FREE DELIVERY BENSONHURST 6-4646

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**ADAM HATS**  
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Bay Parkway, Cor. 67th Street  
"THE UNION STORE WITH THE UNION HAT"

Fulfill Your Easter Requirements at...  
**SPECTORS DEPT. STORE** 6720 Bay Parkway  
Between 67th and 68th Streets. BROOKLYN  
BEACHVIEW 2-8999  
Complete outfits for Infants, growing Girls and Boys  
FOR LADIES! The newest in Spring accessories to match any outfit.  
Special attention given to stout children.—Our policy is to undersell.

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for a full line of  
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For the Miss, Junior, and Woman.  
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# Katharine Cornell's New Play Makes Potent Plea For Peace

## The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

### THE GLORY IS IN LIVING

"FLOWERS OF THE FOREST," by John van Druten. Katharine Cornell at the Martin Beck.

It seems so unreal as to be laughable; yet it is all so pitifully, so damnably true. No sane person could really have meant, could really have said, such things; yet they were spoken and felt by otherwise kindly, otherwise good, otherwise normal folk. It is the ones who refuse to believe the spiritual lie, it is the ones who still see clearly in time of war, that are abnormal.

Everyone's a pacifist—while there is peace. But—as the young consumptive in "Flowers of the Forest" passionately cries, in all the fervor of an eager soul straining through a disease-doomed body—it's only when we say, not merely that war is unwise, futile; but that it's wrong, that it's as evil as disease; it's only when we set no monuments to its heroes or poems to its glory, that lasting peace may come.

This lad's earnestness sets the woman thinking, and in Act II we watch the old scenes, the idealistic hatred of 1914, and the disillusioned doggedness two years later. We see the poet afire with the glory that has spread its wings over the days; the venerable English vicar and his pious wife uttering words about the enemy that were then on everybody's lips, but seem today either ludicrous or blasphemous; and we watch the intensity with which the loyal daughter of her land breaks her engagement because her soldier boy is so lukewarm a patriot (she uses the term "traitor") as to suggest that the enemy soldiers are also having a tough time. And even the fineness in the poet and his fiancée is smashed in the ugly juggernaut of war.

Twenty years later, what is the picture? "The glory is in living" cry the passionate few. But how many, seeing that, shall refuse to heed the many tones of the trumpet of war? That "traitor" of 1914 died fighting; he saw the truth, but went nonetheless to do his "horrid duty." The bolder, harder, more glorious duty of refusing to fight he could not attain.

Although the objections to war are entirely on the ground of its horror and its spiritual debasement, without any reference to the greed and rampant grasping of commercialism behind the wars, "Flowers of the Forest" is a stirring plea for peace. It is not this, however, in the bold sense of a sermon; for it clearly limns the natures of several souls, and their struggles with life (the war, for many more than those killed in it, absorbed life), and in an almost eerie movement the drama moves toward—though it can no more than suggest—a spiritual justification of living.

The acting is of the finest this season has flowered. Katharine Cornell's inevitable rightness is met brilliantly by Margalo Gilmore as the sister who sees her patriotic (and divine) duty; and

Burgess Meredith and Moffat Johnston stand but slightly above more sterling performers than we have space to mention, in a vivid play that brings home the futility and the pity, yet the sure result of war, its only calculable consequence: "The Flowers of the Forest, that fought aye the foremost, the prime of our land, lie cauld in the clay."

### Bijou Theatre Continues Successful Run With all Animated Cartoon Programs

The Bijou Theatre, which is running an all-animated comic cartoon program, had a preview of Burt Gillette's latest "Rainbow Parade" colored cartoon entitled "Spinning Mice" yesterday. This new series of cartoons is being produced by the use of a new color process remarkable for its fidelity, and will soon be shown at the theatre.

Mary Elizabeth Forbes, "Thirty Years in the Theatre," is now Mickey Mouse's leading lady at the Bijou. Miss Forbes was John Drew's lead in "Trelawney of the Wells" and spent four years with Belasco's company of the "Boomerang." Miss Forbes has

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### Escudero and Others at Solidarity Ball Tonight

Vicente Escudero, the famous Spanish interpretive dancer, together with Carmita and the famous guitarist Villarrino, will appear at the Solidarity Ball to be held Saturday night, April 13, at the Hotel Delano, 108 West 43rd Street. Labor and Socialist groups, as well as sympathizers with the aims of the committee to raise funds to help the thousands of victims of the clerico-fascist reaction in Spain, are agog with excitement and praise for the program which has been arranged for the occasion.

Vicente Escudero, who has just ended a most successful run at the Radio City Music Hall, will be the outstanding number on the program. He volunteered his services for this event because of his great sympathy with and interest in the workers languishing in jail and the thousands of orphans of the Asturias Commune, postponing his pending trip to Los Angeles in order to be in New York on April 13th and participate in the Solidarity Ball program.

charge of the children that attend the cartoon program and specializes in birthday parties. Mothers may leave their children with her at the theatre while they shop or lunch with friends. Quite an idea, don't you think?

Dolores. Other preeminent features are Mlle. Gillette, who leaps from the dome of the big top to a trapeze far below and on to an incredible finale; a startling new squadron of sixty free running horses in extraordinary maneuvers; the famous Pallenberg Bears; a Saharan novelty caravan of acrobatic camels and Arabs; America, who whirls on tiptoe on a flying trapeze; the famous Loyal-Repen-skis, the renowned Rieffenachs and the great Walters, troupes of bareback riding stars; the Wallendas, world celebrated daredevils on the dome-high tightwires, in breath-taking new feats; the Comets, flying-return aerial marvels, and Hugo and Mario Zaccchini, the human projectiles, fired in the same instant from a giant repeating cannon across the vast upper reaches of the Garden.

### Helen Beverley



Who has the feminine lead in Ibsen's "A Doll's House," the current attraction at the Ibsen Theatre on Houston Street

### Shirley Temple on Albee Screen—New Stage Revue

Shirley Temple, the five-year-old screen miracle who was unknown a little over a year ago, and who now ranks among filmdom's ten outstanding personalities, co-starring with Lionel Barrymore at the RKO Albee Theatre in "The Little Colonel." RKO has added Benny Meroff and his big musical revue to the program. This stage presentation not only includes his N.B.C. Orchestra but an aggregation of talented boys and girls who make Meroff go at highspeed to rate top-billing.

### "Black Fury" Has Long Awaited Opening at the Strand Theatre—Film Stars Paul Muni in What Is Considered His Most Powerful Characterization

"Black Fury," starring Paul Muni with a supporting cast of thirty-five principals and hundreds of extras and bit-players, is now in its world premiere showing at the Strand Theatre. "Black Fury" comes to the screen of the Strand exactly as it was produced by First National, the New York Board of Censors having passed it without any elimination. The film has been banned completely in Chicago, and cannot be shown, so far at least, in the State of Maryland. "Black Fury" deals with a controversial subject, that of miners and mine operators in a private war and strike of their own. It is the first time, so far as is known, that a motion picture producer in America has dealt to such an extent with labor conditions and strife and has been hailed by previewers as one of 1935's most likely winners of the Award of the Motion

Picture Academy of Arts and Sciences.

The supporting cast in "Black Fury" is the largest ever employed at the First National studios and includes Karen Morley, William Gargan, Barton MacLane, Lulu Marshall, J. Carroll Nash, Willard Robertson, Vince Barnett, John Qualen, Selmer Jackson, Egon Brecher, June Eberling, Edith Fellows, Pedro Regan, and still others. The film was directed by Michael Curtiz from the screen

play by Abem Finkel and Carl Erickson. The original sources of "Black Fury" were "Jan Volkanik," a story by Judge M. A. Musmanno,

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# The Workers Abroad

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

### Twilight of the United Front in France

LAST week The New Leader published an illuminating article from Paris by Dr. Judith Greenfeld on the united front in France. This week we have received additional information from Victor Schiff, correspondent of the *Neuer Vorwärts* in Paris, confirming her picture of the situation, coupled with the news that the united front is on the rocks.

"Those who witnessed the honeymoon of the united front between the Socialists and Communists in France in the summer of last year," writes Comrade Schiff, "really believed that a new era had dawned for the European labor movement. I myself had shared this hope."

"But now," says Comrade Schiff, "it is becoming increasingly apparent that the honeymoon the two parties had spent in a state of free love is definitely over."

"Just as the union was about to be sealed by a regular marriage it became clear in the discussion on the question that both parties held quite different views on some fundamental problems of life," the correspondent adds. "They still continue to meet, but they have already begun to fight, and increasing bitterness is being evinced on both sides."

He goes on to narrate how last summer some Socialist leaders had actually believed that amalgamation of the two parties was but a question of a few weeks or months, at the most. To be sure, the trade union question presented some difficulties, but it was confidently expected that in the interest of unity the Communists would dissolve their dual unions, and thus eliminate what was considered the final obstacle.

More recently, however, it became clear that the Communists had no such intention. The consequence was that the negotiations between the General Confederation of Labor and the Communist trade unions were broken off. While the Socialists are experiencing increasing difficulties in recruiting new members as a result of the confusion with respect to the possibility of amalgamation with the Communists, the Communists continue their separate party activities with redoubled energy, particularly their efforts to propagandize the membership of the Socialist Party.

"The Communist leaders," writes Comrade Schiff, "have demonstrated that they do not want amalgamation, but consider the united front merely as an instrument wherewith to destroy the influence of the Socialists upon the masses."

As a consequence, the opposition to the united front among Socialist leaders, which heretofore had been confined to Frossard and Grumbach, "has grown immensely."

As Comrade Schiff puts it, what the Communists now seek is to bring about the secession of the Socialist Party from the Labor and Socialist International, in order the more easily to split the party.

The Socialists are now seeking a favorable opportunity to break off all further negotiations with the Communists, Comrade Schiff informs us. An important deterring factor are the communal elections to be held in May throughout the country. The Socialists fear that a definite break with the Communists at this time will hurt their chances, insofar as the Communists will return to their old policy of fighting the Socialists in the elections and thus promoting the victory of capitalist candidates.

"Should the break with the Communists come, as latest developments indicate," writes Comrade Schiff, "it is to be expected that at least a part of the Socialist left wing, particularly in Paris, will place unity with the Communists above loyalty to their own party."

Comrade Schiff concludes that in the opinion of many Socialists the united front experiment has served merely to help the fascist propaganda while carrying confusion into the ranks of the democratic elements in the political life of France.

"Whatever the end of the song may be," he says, "if it should lead to a split in the Socialist ranks the Communists will have achieved the purpose of their efforts."

### The United Front in Germany

IN the light of the experience presented by the united front in France and of their own experience with the Communists before the advent of Hitler and since, it is not surprising that the German Socialists have flatly turned down the proposals of the Communists for a repetition of the French misalliance. The time when the Communists in Germany should have cooperated with the Socialists was when Hitler was fighting for power. Instead, they had cooperated in every way with the fascists—in the Reichstag, in the provincial diets, in the unions, in the streets. This they did on the principle that the road to Communism in Germany lay through the destruction of the republic, the Social Democracy and the trade unions. To this principle they continue to cling. Those who read the correspondence of Hans Rheinländer in last week's New Leader will perceive another reason why the Socialists consider a united front with the Communists a liability rather than an asset.

### The Revival of the German Social Democracy

COMMUNISTS and parlor Bolsheviks everywhere have sought assiduously to spread the impression that the German Social Democracy is dead, and that only the Communists and their allies were conducting any serious work against the Hitler regime. We have before us a flat denial of this falsehood from a source which even our Communist friends and their apologists will admit is unimpeachable. From this source we learn that the German Social Democracy has actually succeeded in restoring its organizations throughout the country, that the so-called left wing opposition in the Social Democratic Party is not to be taken seriously, and that even the party's left wing elements are opposed to any united front with the Communists.

All this is set down in black and white in the principal official organ of the Communist International, the *Moscow Kommunistichesky International*.

This is what we read in the issue of this official journal of Feb. 20, from the pen of Wilhelm Pieck, one of the leaders of the German Communists:

"As a result of the events of June 30th (Hitler's blood purge) the Social Democracy has succeeded in strengthening itself throughout the country and in establishing contacts with the Social Democratic groups and organizations. The Social Democracy is now about to create a central network of its organizations. Despite our efforts to establish free trade-unions, a number of reformist unions have already been set up." (By which our Communist friends mean Socialist trade-unions.)

Pieck makes the complaint that, as a consequence, Socialist workers who previously had been inclined to be friendly towards the Communist efforts have now withdrawn.

"The Communist Party has failed to utilize properly the favorable situation for a united front which developed after June 30th. Partly responsible for this is the fact that the Communists had failed to utilize properly the situation after June 30th. As a result, the Social Democracy has again begun to wield an influence over the masses and has restored its organizational contacts throughout the country."

Pieck says that "we must not exaggerate our influence over the Social Democratic workers. Such an exaggeration is to be frequently noted in the Communist press. The Communists still have before them the serious struggle for control of the masses, for the liberation of Social Democratic influence, and the problem of drawing the masses into the revolutionary struggle."

The admission of the Communist leader that the Social Democracy retains control over the masses and that the Communists still have the task before them of destroying this control is interesting.

Pieck then goes on to tell why the Social Democrats, of both the right and left wings, are opposed to a united front with the Communists.

He says: "The Social Democrats have more than once declared that such a united front would alienate the masses of workers, peasants and middle-classes from the Social Democracy and would make more difficult its task of regaining control over them."

(Continued on Page Nine)

# The Road to Power in America

By William E. Bohn

While Seeking the Road to Chicago One Does Not Use a Baedeker Of Berlin,—And the Way to Socialism Here Must Be Based on American Traditions, History and Conditions, Not on Germany's or Russia's.

ONE would search Baedeker's Germany for the road to Chicago. And—just possibly—it may be useful to seek the road to power in the United States outside the maps drawn by Europe's professional revolutionists. Every revolution—every fracas that looked like a revolution—has been a curse to the thinkers of the next generation. The Russian events of 1917 have placed a moratorium on thought in many an agitated head. If the Communists were the only ones bent on forcing America into a Russian mold the harm would be slight. But the thing is not unknown among Socialists, and it runs like a fever among the intellectuals. They are like the British generals marching red-coats in solid formation against American Indians. The theories were all right, but the soldiers got killed.

A commander bent on the conquest of a territory should know the military science gleaned from world-wide and centuries-old experience. But his chief attention will be given to the territory before him and to the psychology, organization, and equipment of the inhabitants. The Socialist Party is operating in a little country known as the United States of America, bounded on the north by Canada, on the south by Mexico and the Gulf, on east and west by fairly wide oceans. The purpose of this party is to influence the inhabitants of this territory toward the Socialist way of living, the co-operative, democratic way.

Human society is a complex organization—so the task is a difficult one. But the elements of it are all here in this territory, and it is here that they must be studied.

### Wrecks of History

A group of rational beings trying to bring about a change would begin with a survey. An adequate description of this terrain would be encyclopedic. It would cover geography, industrial and political organization, national and regional psychology, the whole inherited and developed pattern of life. It would not stop with the present. It would have to answer all sorts of questions: How have these people acted in the past? How are they acting now? What are the tendencies in the organizational patterns which represent their various interests? Obviously any party, any movement, any society can become influential only by working along with normal life currents. History is strewn with the wrecks of groups which tried to work against the current.

In a short article one can set down only a few rough notions of the sort of thing which an American Socialist should take into account. The choice is influenced by my impatience with thinking based on Russian and German experience. We are constantly being told that we must do so-and-so because it worked in Russia or that we must not do the other thing because it failed in Germany. The evidence is not all in either for Russia or for Germany. But that is not my point here. What will happen in America during the next century depends on what is in America now. And here are a few items about this country which professional revolutionists find so uninteresting.

### The American Pattern

1. The United States is a part of British civilization. The whole pattern of our life is the same as that of the other British peoples. It is true that we have here millions of descendants of African, Asiatic and continental European nations. The blood that flows in their veins has nothing to do with the case. A Harlem Negro is as much British in his political reactions as a descendant of Alfred the Great. These things are not matters of blood. They are matters of psychological conditioning.

The people who made the pattern of our life were developing individualistic capitalism, standing up against the landed aristocracy, fighting for parliamentary rights during centuries while the people of France, Germany and Russia were still serfs. This was in England, but the history of England is our history. The fight against Charles I, the struggle for parliamentary control in the 17th and 18th centuries, the gradual development of modern industry, the early struggles for the right of labor to organize—all of these are a part of our heritage. They helped make us what we are. What we call the American Revolution was merely an afterglow of the English revolution. The long period of small business enterprise gave opportunity for the growth of individualism. The gradual development of machine industry gave time for psychological adjustment. The struggle for the right to organize early in the 19th century and the gradual conquest of political franchise by the working class gave training which is a part of our way of living. These conquests were gradual, but by no means always peaceful. Thousands of people have died in England and America to win the right to vote, to organize, to strike, to speak.

On the continent of Europe—especially in Germany and Russia—such struggles began only recently, and the masses of the population have never been deeply affected by them.

### A Big Difference

The great difference between England and America have not been caused by admixture of bloods. They have been wrought by differences in environment. Chief among these has been the frontier. And the influence of the frontier has been, chiefly, to deepen what were already characteristic traits—individualism, democracy, sense of equality. On the frontier a man fought his own fight against natural enemies, or joined with his neighbors to oppose them co-operatively. The chief residuum is a feeling of individual independence. From the frontier, too, we have a tendency to violence, to a disregard of law and order. This tendency, however, has not broken the ancient political pattern. We go to ridiculous lengths in the expectation that all wrongs can be righted by political means.

2. This country is characterized, more than any other, by large-scale industry. Its productive system, spread over a vast territory, is woven into interdependent national units so that the disorganization of one would cause suffering among millions of widely separated persons. Single industries employ hundreds of thousands of workers. A population which has an individualistic and democratic tradition is being industrially regimented to such an extent that the maintenance of individual values is powerfully threatened. More than any other population on earth this one has gradually adapted itself to the reactions required by modern machine industry.

As a make-weight against this fact, however, we have the conviction that wrongs done by industrial power can be righted by appeal to political power. From the time of Andrew Jackson, through the period of the elder LaFollette, down to the age of

NRA we have had the people using, blindly and unsuccessfully, parliamentary means to fight against industrial and financial oligarchy.

### Other Groups

3. We have our millions of farmers, whose tradition is that of



Dr. William E. Bohn

British yeomen rather than that of European peasants. For generations they have been freeholders with a strong sense of political power and of social importance. Even if they have lost their land, their attitude is that of free citizens standing up for their rights. This section of our population, because of its distribution and psychology, has political influence far beyond its proportional size.

4. Our professional classes have more independence and more influence than similar groups in other societies. This is partly due to the wide distribution of our people and to the preferred position of professionals in frontier communities. These classes retain much of the old-time individualism and, too, a large degree of the idealism which

developed during the long democratic period of small capitalism.

5. Part of the difference between America and all European countries except Russia is due to mere extent of territory, to regionalism and, more specifically, to our division into forty-eight states with their varying traditions and interests. Such a country cannot be changed by a Gunpowder Plot. Its state capitals will have to be won by some sort of orderly process.

6. Control of our society is carried on, not by conspiratorial cunning, but by propaganda and ballyhoo. Power is actually in the hands of the people, and the people use it as skilled publicists teach them to use it.

7. During the past forty years our government has very largely changed its character in order to play a part in the industrial and financial life of the country. The division between industry and the political state exists now mainly in the heads of theorists.

8. The idea of personal or group rebellion against the dominant power is so alien to the minds of our people that the vast sufferings during the present depression have been borne in peace. Though we have had a very large part of the population actually deprived of many of the necessities of life, there has been no approach to a revolutionary psychology or a revolutionary situation.

### Beating Tomtoms

9. Among industrial nations the United States has the smallest of all labor unions movements. There are plenty of reasons, but we are not now concerned with them. Not only is our labor movement, proportionately, the smallest, it is also one of the most conservative. In a general way, American Labor is now at about the point occupied by British Labor in the year 1900.

10. There is no sign of a collapse of the present industrial or political system. Our shouting about the downfall of capitalism is like the beating of tomtoms by a medicine man. The various features of

this system which we call capitalism are very old and very flexible. It is true that present technology is carrying us into a new era, that statistics of employment in relation to production have a strange appearance, but capitalism has passed through several phases and may pass through others. Most of the revolutionary situations of the past have been brought about by bankruptcy or military defeat. Despite the tremendous strain of the present depression, the credit of the American government and of the central financial and industrial institutions of this country is secure for an indefinite period.

Great Britain has been in a much worse situation for the past dozen years and shows little sign of weakness. It is true that if the structure of governmental, industrial and financial control were no better than during the depression of 1873, our whole society would by this time have fallen in a heap. But since those days tremendous changes have gradually been made. Ways of coordinating private and public credit have been devised, ways of liquidating the weak and saving the strong. Making the necessary changes has been the job of the "liberal" statesmen. But the production of these statesmen, the ways of bringing about these changes, advertised as "reforms," is a part of our whole way of doing things. In a time like this we have a Roosevelt instead of a Czar. He bends and twists and turns as much as is necessary.

The revolutionary situations in Russia and Germany were directly due to catastrophic military defeat coupled with immense suffering. The world is surely moving toward another great war, but such wars never come as quickly as newspaper headlines suggest. When the next one arrives, it is quite possible that America will be involved. There will be as much reason for her mixing in as there was in 1917. She may suffer more than on the last sad occasion. But in the World War England, Canada and Australia suffered grievously without having their fundamental systems more than slightly shaken. The position of America as an independent nation with no dangerous neighbors gives her great advantages as to expectancy of stability.

### Time Between Wars

It is true that at present the capitalist system as a whole has pulled in its wings. Foreign trade threatened to disappear. The actual appearance of economically autonomous states, of which we have heard so much, would mean retrogression. Possibly we shall not see again, without new ways of exchange, such expansion, such boundless expectation, as we knew before the war. The system as a whole may function worse and worse. Right now no one has the right to prophesy such a line of development. No one knows what new inventions, what new sorts of development lie before us. But suppose the worst, from the bourgeois point of view, suppose that from now on things get worse, or only—occasionally—a little better. With even a fair amount of statesman ship on the part of the ruling class a worsening system may go on for a very long while.

Given this sort of a country in this sort of a world, what is the road to power in the United States of America? It is the way (Continued on Page Nine)



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# America's Need for Social Insurance

Unless Our Democracy Solves the Problem of Economic Security It Will Not Be Able to Survive

by Louis Waldman

By Louis Waldman

(From an address before the Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, March 1935.)

In my judgment, unless democracies like ours undertake to solve the problem of economic security they will not be able to withstand the attack made upon them by the forces of dictatorship which in different form now dominate three major countries in Europe. The capacity of democracy to survive will be tested by its capacity to afford economic security to its citizens and inhabitants.

## Who Are Insecure?

I want to set down a few social facts which are not in dispute among honest students of government and economics. In the first place, dependence and insecurity is not the problem of some, but of the overwhelming majority of our people. Not the unemployed alone, as some believe, but the employed as well are insecure. That is a fact frequently forgotten. Every time there is unemployment, there is insecurity of the employed.

The last census records 48,829,920 persons engaged in gainful occupations in the United States. Exclusive of agricultural workers, only 3,670,000 are numbered among those that may be described as independent persons engaged in gainful occupations. These include professional men, business men, and those engaged in similar activities. All the rest are dependent and insecure.

The second important fact is this: Economic insecurity as it is known today, with its devastating consequences to the individual, is a recent phenomenon. It is the product of the current industrial form of organization. It was unknown in its present form in the early days of our country's history, when our social system was based on an agricultural economy. There may have been want, there may have been poverty in those days, but there was not insecurity so widespread and so thorough as we have today. The present insecurity is the direct consequence of the wage system; and unless we appreciate this important social fact, the remedies we propose will be of little use. They will not hit the mark.

A third important fact, little dwelt upon, is that economic insecurity is not a problem of the wage earners alone. It has become a very important problem for the farmers, the professional men and women, and the smaller business men. There are today in the United States over fifteen thousand physicians, exclusive of internes, working on a full-time salary. That represents approximately 11 per cent of all the physicians in the country. There are today tens of thousands of lawyers working on a salary, occupying the same relative position towards the employer as the wage earner in the mine, the office, or the factory. These lawyers are utterly dependent upon the wage or salary they earn. There are tens of thousands of engineers who, like physicians and lawyers, depend entirely on a salary or wage. The same is true of the pharmacist and the chemist. The professional men and women have been reduced, as wage earners, to a dependent status.

These three important facts do not paint the full picture of insecurity, and do not sufficiently tell the story or set forth the problem. There are some tens of thousands who regarded themselves secure because there was an investment made by them or for them in the purchase of bonds or stocks or other approved securities. From recent experience, there is little to be said for the security of these people.

Here are some very startling figures. On September 1, 1929, the market value of all stocks and bonds on the stock exchange in New York was \$89,668,000,000. One year later, in 1930, the value was \$49,020,000,000, and in 1932 it was only \$15,633,000,000. These figures tell a story of misery and poverty and destitution in thousands of homes where formerly the families thought themselves independent and economically secure.

Then there are millions of home owners in the United States who thought themselves secure with their homes. Many have found out through bitter experience in the last four or five years that their homes were not their own.

## Far-reaching Remedies Needed

I could cite further examples to show that there are large groups of our population, apart from wage earners, profoundly affected by the problem of dependence and insecurity in our present economic organization. From all this I draw the simple conclusion that economic security cannot be brought to our people by the establishment of even the most perfect system of social insurance, though of course I most heartily favor the bringing of

such a system into life. I merely desire to emphasize and to make abundantly clear that social insurance is not a complete answer to the problem of insecurity. The government relation to insecurity must express itself in many ways. It must attack the problem on many fronts.

From the little I have said, you will see that the government relation to insecurity goes to the question of homes, home building, and home financing. It goes to the question of controlling investments—of the regulation of the making and marketing of securities. It goes much beyond the mere control of the Stock Exchange. Government relations to economic security must deal with the whole vast problem of industrial relations, with the professions, and with the problem of farming and marketing alone. It is important to bear this fact in mind because we are, whether we like it or not, in a period of economic upheaval. We shall travel either in the direction of catastrophe or in the direction of profound and real readjustment for the social good. And if we are to travel the road of readjustment, we must know how far government must go. That, I take it, is the meaning underlying the subject under discussion.

Economic security obtained for a worker through an adequate collective agreement between employers and his union is one of the most important forms of such security. From this it follows that the government should legislate upon and should concern itself with the question of collective bargaining and with the enforcement of collective agreements. It should keep the avenues clear for such bargaining. It should remove all legal obstacles to, and judicial interference by injunction with, the free functioning of the trade union movement.

The National Industrial Recovery Act is evidence of the clear recognition that there is a direct relation of government to economic security. But, in my judgment, the people will have no economic security so long as they have no economic power. Unless through government action there is a shift of economic power from where it now resides to the broader base of the population, the problem of insecurity will remain unsolved. And unless a program of reforms is directed not against one symptom or another, but rather against the central problem of economic power, looking to a shift of that power, not in sudden, violent form, but consistently and as rapidly as

possible, from the hands of the few to the hands of the entire collectivity—unless that is done, the proposed measures will not give us the relief we hope for.

By a shift of economic power, I do not mean simply a shift from Wall Street to Washington. That would create a vast government bureaucracy. The system of economic control concentrated in a central government has been tried in Russia, and that picture is not very alluring. What I mean is a shift of economic power to the public, which through non-profit agencies will democratically manage and operate our system of credit, utilities, and basic industries. Those enterprises which are local in nature should be operated by local public agencies; those which are state or Federal in scope, by corresponding agencies.

## Risks to Be Covered by Social Insurance

And this brings me to the immediate question of social security through social insurance. What kind of insurance should the government adopt? And what hazards and risks should be covered? I happen to have had the privilege of being the first legislator in the State of New York to sponsor a bill for the establishment of a comprehensive system of social insurance. That was in 1918. The problem has not changed. The

need was obvious even then, but it has been emphasized by time.

What are the risks that should be insured? Unemployment is one, of course. That seems clear today. But many who realize its clear need now, opposed it only a few years back.

## NEXT WEEK

What did the fathers of Socialism think of "Left-Wingism"? Read what the great Friedrich Engels wrote about Blanqui—and then you'll wonder if he is writing about 1935. By "Social Democrat," a distinguished Socialist living in a fascist country.

MARK STARR on Workers' Education.

KARL KAUTSKY continues his notable articles on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

NEWS—PICTURES—EDITORIALS.

YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO MISS THE NEW LEADER

Invalidity, permanent and temporary illness, and industrial accidents not adequately covered by the compensation laws, constitute another risk that should be insured. Please remember that not all the states in the Union have compensation laws today. Some five states do not have any such laws at all. About half of the rest have what is known as the voluntary scheme, under which, by written consent of both sides, compensation may be waived. With the insecurity we know to exist, it is hard to believe that in states where the voluntary system prevails, the employees can offer adequate resistance if the employer desires them to waive.

Hundreds of millions of dollars annually are lost to the wage earners because of illness, tuberculosis, blindness, and permanent disability of various kinds. Today, there is no responsibility anywhere for the care of the wage earner or his dependents in such eventuality. An examination of the insurance policies written by private companies covering disability discloses that the risk, as far as wage earners are concerned, has not been covered.

Medical care is a phase of the same problem. In spite of the \$3,500,000,000 spent annually on medical care and medical institutions, the masses of workers and

their families receive scant attention. Even the lower middle class, according to a recent report, do not receive adequate medical and dental care. And yet there is no want of physicians and nurses and dentists and hospitals. They simply have not been socialized and organized to serve the community. A good part of the medical profession is coming around to the view that health insurance, fairly and honestly administered, is desirable not alone for the public, but even for the medical profession itself.

A third risk that should be insured is old age. Available figures disclose that approximately 40 per cent of those over sixty-five years of age are dependent upon relatives, private charity, or public care provided under the poorhouse laws. Even New York State's so-called Old Age Security Act is in fact not old age insurance. Benefits are granted on the test of destitution, not on the test of old age. Insurance must be distinguished (and it rarely is) from unemployment relief, the dole, old age relief, or relief for the blind, by the principle that in the case of insurance, the recipient of the benefits under the fund becomes entitled to those benefits on the happening of a given event, not on proof of pauperism. It is that fact that makes students of the subject describe social insurance as a step in attaining security for the individual. An old man or an old woman need not prove poverty to be entitled to an old age pension. Under an insurance plan, such a person need only prove that the event of age has occurred, and if that person falls in the class that has been insured, a pension is allowed.

The same is true of unemployment. Today, relief is based on the principle of destitution. That fact is humiliating, degrading, and demoralizing. It pauperizes the nation. Unemployment insurance is predicated on the principle that a wage earner is entitled to the benefits on the happening of the event of unemployment. It is a social measure, not a measure of poor relief.

The same is true of health insurance.

There is another risk that must be insured today, although a half a century ago it would have been an academic question. With a very large number of women in industry, maternity insurance should be included in any comprehensive scheme of social insurance. Maternity insurance is really a phase of health insurance, but because of its other social implications it

has specific features which require special administrative provisions as well as special funds.

And finally, there is one more risk against which the broad masses of the population must be protected, and that is the risk of death. Out of the 100,000,000 life insurance policies outstanding in 1931, approximately 74,000,000 were what are known as industrial policies, that is, insurance carried by people of small means, mostly workers. Those policies generally run up to about \$500. It is estimated that the average benefits of these 74,000,000 policies yield \$211 for every beneficiary. All I need to do is remind you of the fact that burial expenses alone run from \$200 to \$400. This policy, therefore, even where it exists, is at best nothing more than a burial policy. The widow and the orphans remain destitute, a charge upon the state. We therefore say that a system of social insurance must provide against the risk and the hazard of death.

## Beneficiaries, Administration, and Contributors

Now, who shall be included in that system? There is no way of ascertaining the answer to this question on any scientific basis. There are only the basis of social expediency and the experience abroad. In the judgment of those who have for some time given serious thought to the question, the suggestion has been put forth that persons earning \$3,000 and less should be covered by insurance. It should cover not only manual workers, but white-collar workers as well. The principle is the same, for the dependence and insecurity is the same.

One more vital question is that of administration. There is a very serious effort now being made by the employing interests and their allies to convert the public sentiment for unemployment insurance into the acceptance of measures which in effect would perpetuate their economic power, not only in the degree in which they now have it, but in a greater degree. They may create benefits, but they would increase the insecurity of the workers and make them more dependent. Of course, if you reject my assumption that economic security depends upon a shift of economic power, you will not feel that the question is important. But in my judgment, it is of grave importance.

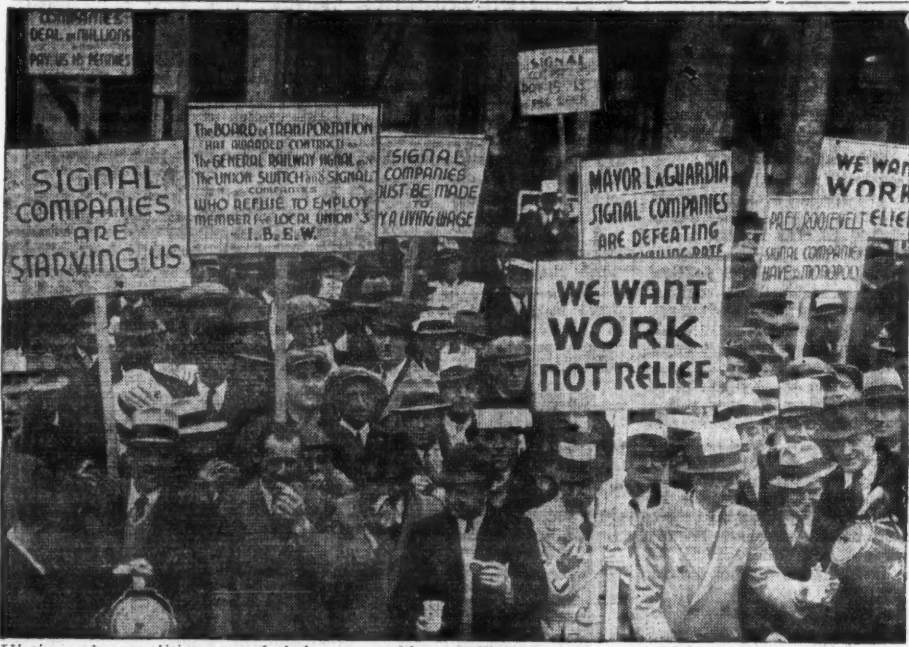
The industrialists in every state, and the program of the National Association of Manufacturers, advocate the setting up of what are known as unemployment reserves, to be administered by the company or plant, as against the system which has been described so adequately by the previous speaker, of having a central fund to be administered by each state in co-operation with the Federal Government. You can see at once that if industrialists are permitted to establish the plant or company fund, to be controlled and administered by the owner of the plant or by the company, you have added to the evil of the company union the evils of the company fund. By giving him control of the fund, you increase the economic hold of the employer over his employees. You increase rather than decrease the degree of insecurity of those employees. It therefore becomes important that the whole fund be administered by public agencies. It should be made entirely clear that there are grave social implications in the question of how the billions of dollars involved in a system of social insurance are controlled.

The question has been raised whether the state should contribute. It must, if the fund is to be sufficient to allow for the risks I have just discussed. Should the Federal Government contribute? It should, if it wants to relieve itself of the haphazard form of unemployment relief.

The state, the nation, and the employer should make their proportionate contributions. How about the employees? Should they contribute? In my judgment (and we cannot be dogmatic about it) those earning a wage or salary below a certain minimum, a minimum which is too low to provide for a decent standard of living, should not contribute. Those earning above such a minimum should contribute.

## M. E. Kirkpatrick Again Mayor of Granite City

GRANITE CITY, ILL.—M. E. Kirkpatrick, Socialist, has been returned as mayor here by a 700 majority over A. M. Jennings, who was a candidate for re-election. Jennings won the office from Kirkpatrick two years ago. Comrade Kirkpatrick, an old steel and iron worker, has served as mayor of this town, across the Mississippi from St. Louis, most of the time since the close of the war.



Victims of a condition not of their own making. Skilled workers compelled to parade and demonstrate because in our maladjusted system there is no decent living for them.

# The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Some Problems Confronting Socialists Today

by K. Kautsky



## By Karl Kautsky

It would be nonsensical to pretend that we are obliged to use democratic methods under all circumstances. Such an obligation we can assume only with respect to those who themselves use only democratic methods. Acts of violence cannot be repelled by ballots, newspaper articles or mass-meetings. Nevertheless, in circumstances when we are compelled to meet violence with violence, we must seek, first and foremost, to win the support of the majority. This is the essential prerequisite of victory, regardless of whether we apply democratic or other methods. And, furthermore, we must never lose cognizance of the fact that democracy remains always the most valuable instrument a working class can possess.

Where democracy does not exist the most urgent task before us is to establish political freedom. It is quite erroneous to say that the workers must first emancipate themselves economically, and that only then will "true" democracy be possible.

It makes no difference whether or not we choose to regard a strong representative assembly of the people, elected by universal equal suffrage, and coupled with freedom of the press, speech and organization, as mere "formal" democracy. The fact is that without such institutions the workers cannot emancipate themselves economically. To be sure, democratic institutions will change their character when

we organize society on a Socialist basis. Today they are essential instruments of struggle for the proletariat. Under Socialism they will be only instruments of free social administration. And this will constitute the difference between present-day democracy and the democracy of a Socialist society. The fashionable conceptions of "true" and "formal" democracy are mere abstractions.

## The Lesson of Soviet Russia

Some may say that the example of Soviet Russia refutes my conception of democracy. It is argued that in Soviet Russia a proletarian minority succeeded in seizing power by force, something which it could never have attained by democratic methods.

Those who present this argument forget that Czarism was not overthrown by a Bolshevik minority against the majority of the people. Czarism fell because its chief instrument of power—the army—was wrecked and shattered by the arm of German militarism and, in part, turned against the Czar. Moreover, the entire population joined the rebellious troops. Unfortunately, Russia did not possess any class schooled in self-government. As a result anarchy overwhelmed the country. Amidst this anarchy Bolshevism established itself with the instruments of a new army and bureaucracy.

It would be futile to expect a repetition of anything like this. The state to which these developments gave birth is a distinctly abnormal one. No one who has devoted any serious study to conditions in Russia will argue that the workers in the Bolshevik state are particularly happy. The continued existence of the Bolshevik state is by no means an argument against democracy in a modern state.

## One More Argument

There remains now one more argument against democracy to be disposed of, that democracy necessarily implies a weak government. Only a dictatorship can be strong and energetic, we are told, only the application of extreme pressure will suffice to tackle the monopolists of finance, industry and land ownership.

This is quite true. The capitalist masters are becoming more and more violent. They will stop at nothing to maintain themselves when they are confronted with the danger of expropriation. But this does not necessarily involve the use of military force, the raising of a private army by capital. Only in a politically backward country does fascism constitute a promising instrument for the exploiters. In the democratic states of Western Europe and in the Anglo-Saxon world the capitalists resort more to economic than military instruments, just as the proletariat, in the great, decisive political struggles of the past few decades, fought with economic rather than military weapons. The methods pursued by the capitalists are essentially the same as those used by the workers: the strike, the crippling of production. The workers fight by stopping work; the capitalists fight by stopping the circulation of capital. By this means they have succeeded in overthrowing governments which they regarded as inimical to their interests.

Only a government which does not stand in superstitious awe before the rights of private property can tackle the resistance of the monopolists of capital. Such a government must not hesitate to confiscate any enterprise which practices passive resistance, and operate it for the social interest.

Some comrades, embittered over the performances of the Nazis, now demand that we obligate ourselves forthwith to confiscate all capitalist enterprises when Hitler is overthrown. This is to be accomplished through a dictatorship.

## After Nazis Fall

We do not know under what circumstances the fall of the Hitler regime will take place and how great will be the power of the Social Democracy after the Nazis have been disposed of. At any rate, we may expect that we will have more power than we had in 1918. Although it would be premature to anticipate that all political power in the German Reich will belong to the working class after Hitler's downfall, our chances of attaining such power are not to be ignored. This would surely give us the political power wherewith to expropriate the whole capitalist class at one stroke. But what would make any such move inadvisable are the very considerable economic considerations of the kind to which I called attention as early as thirty years ago in my book, "The Social Revolution."

It is simply impossible from the point of view of sound economics to change the whole of capitalist economy into a Socialist economy at one stroke. There will be many capitalist enterprises which it will be necessary, for the time being, to continue as such.

And, indeed, it will be to the advantage of the labor state to have these enterprises continue functioning without disturbance. But the owners of these enterprises will continue to operate them only when they feel secure against confiscation, and when we assure those of them whose enterprises are to be ultimately socialized a proper measure of compensation.

This very prospect of compensation should move the capitalists in question to refrain from passive resistance, economic sabotage and interference with the new regime. As regards capitalists who will sabotage under any circumstances we need have no compunction about seizing their property in socially necessary means of production. The threat of confiscation will be a most effective weapon to compel their cooperation with the Socialist government.

## Socialist Economic Policy

Economic as well as political considerations will make two things necessary: to reassure those capitalists willing to cooperate against direct confiscation of their property, and the determination to confiscate ruthlessly without compensation any enterprise hostile to the new economy and refusing to adapt itself to it.

But nothing is more erroneous than the assumption that only a dictatorship can show such determination. To be sure, no Socialist governments, and certainly no coalition governments, have ever been in a position to act with such determination. But it was not democracy that hindered them, but the fact that they did not command a united Socialist majority.

Only such a majority can have not only the courage and will but also the power to break ruthlessly the resistance of the capitalists. Such a majority, as we have already pointed out, can be attained, however, only in democracy. The establishment and maintenance of a dictatorship in the modern state requires a much greater majority than does democracy.

Considered, therefore, from every point of view democracy facilitates, and in no way retards, the emancipation of the working-class. (To be continued)



## Editor's Corner

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

By James O'Neal

### The Fetishism of the "Left"

WE have received a long document, "Evaluating the Meeting of the National Executive Committee." It is sent out by the Revolutionary Policy Pub. Ass'n. Here the old fetishism of the need of going to the "left" bears heavily on the minds of the authors. The difficulty about this obsession is that there is no end to it because no matter how "left" you feel there is always a "left" to the "left." It leaves those who are afflicted with it in a constant agony of doubt. To the "left" of each "left" is another "left" pointing a finger to the "left" that is to the "right" of each "left."

Consider the type of fetishism of the R.P.P.A. The Trotskyists accuse it of "right" or "cowardly centrist" prejudices while the R.P.A. say the same thing of the militants. Then the commissars of the Communist Party wheel their heavy artillery into line and throw big shells at the Trotskyists who are "right" and "counter-revolutionists." Within the C.P. there are the "right deviation" and "left deviation" and the "line" within that organization so changes from one period to another that to follow it leaves the members as sick as a passenger on a ship rolling in a heavy sea.

The fetishism was rounded out beautifully in 1919 by Louis Fraina who headed the "left" in the Socialist Party in this country. He declared that one must never be satisfied in establishing a "left." Having once established it, a "left" must be formed in the "left" and then a "left" in the "left" of the "left," and so on *ad infinitum*. He, however, eventually found himself outside of the final "left" when he reached it. The Bolshevik party in Russia, while contending that it is the only "left" in the world, has occasionally faced a "left" of the "left" of the "left" but it has easily disposed of it. Permanent residence in a jail, exile to Siberia or abroad, as in the case of Trotsky, and there is nothing left of the "left" of the "left."

### Some Samples of History

THERE is also the interesting psychological transformation of some individuals who are afflicted with this fetishism when facing a test in a crisis. We select one in this country as a type in the Socialist Party in 1917. Author of a number of books, the party was not "left" enough for him. Several years before the United States entered the war he wrote that Socialists would be required to stage an insurrection should the United States enter the war. When the war came, he entered the "patriotic" camp and in letters to New York papers urged the authorities to take Morris Hillquit into custody. Hervé in France was of the same type. Declaring that the war-makers would have to face "the shots of our insurrectional commune," he passed into the arms of Clemenceau and became an uncompromising jingo.

Even in a normal period we have seen this transformation of the "left" who drinks a bowl of blood for breakfast and is so "red" that he is afraid of his own shadow. One could name a dozen or more in the last three decades who demonstrated how shallow they were by passing into the camp of the capitalist enemy. They revealed that they were mere exhibitionists on parade, and when a real lion appeared in their path or sometimes even a kitten they not only left the "left" but passed out of labor's side of the class struggle.

The psychology of this type is in part understandable. The woman who constantly boasts of her virtue is a suspect. We do not trust her. If she is what she claims she is, there is no need of hoisting a sign, for the sign is immediately recognized as a defense mechanism that conceals something.

The laboring masses are not affected by this fetishism. They are interested in jobs, wages, rent, strikes, food and clothing, and they are right. Their class instinct leads them into real struggles to fight real issues. Socialist cooperation with them will eventually bring them into the larger struggle while fetishism remains in an agony of doubt regarding what is and what is not "left."

### Consistency Not Evident

IN his contribution to the factional organ in New York last week Norman Thomas observes that the New York State Committee has broadcasted a circular "attacking the National Executive Committee" and declaring that "a good many of us in New York" would like to know where the funds are obtained for this circularization.

It is interesting that when your position is questioned it is an "attack," but when ours is questioned it is a gentle inquiry, perfectly in order and to be accepted as such. As for the expense of circularization, "many of us in New York" have for many months been curious as to the source of the funds that have financed the extra-organization of a faction led by Comrade Thomas. It has done some extensive circularization, held regional conferences, met the expenses of its factional adherents attending the Boston and Buffalo meetings of the N.E.C., and now publishes an organ. While we are curious as to the source of these funds, we shall lose no sleep if the source is never disclosed. Finally, in reading the Thomas inquiry, we cannot say of him what Lowell said of General C., that "consistency still wuz a part of his plan."

### The Workers Abroad

(Continued from Page Seven)

He warned that the Communists will attain their objective only when they correct this malady. He might have added that to do so would make it necessary for the Communists to cease being Communists.

Another leader of the German Communist Party, V. V. Mueller, is even more frank than Pick. Writing in the same official organ of the Communist International he says:

"The activities of the Social Democratic functionaries (representatives of the various groups), the object of which is the reestablishment of the Social Democratic Party, is growing. We may say that a definite central organization of the Social Democracy is already in existence. The strengthening of the

Social Democracy is a danger for the proletarian revolution. The proletarian revolution will require more sacrifices when the German bourgeoisie will be able to support itself once more upon the Social Democracy. This we must avert. That is why a united front with the Social Democratic workers is an urgent necessity."

A "united front" with the Social Democratic workers to destroy the growing Social Democracy! Not bad.

"But," weeps our Communist friend, "although the Social Democratic workers and an appreciable portion of the functionaries are inclined to be opposed to the Executive Committee of the Social Democracy now seated in Prague, there is not a single more or less important Social Democratic group in which the influence of the Prague executive committee is not felt."

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# The Pennsylvania Front

## Y.P.S.L.'s BACKING SOCIALIST BILLS IN LEGISLATURE

By Milton Weisberg

Penna State, Sec'y, YPSL

PITTSBURGH. — The Pennsylvania State Office of the Young People's Socialist League has issued a call to all its circles and members to begin an immediate drive to acquaint the young workers and students of Pennsylvania with the legislation introduced by the Socialist members of the Legislature, Darlington Hoopes and Lilith Wilson.

The call said in part: "If the legislation that our two Socialists, Comrades Darlington Hoopes and Lilith Wilson, have introduced in the Pennsylvania Legislature is to become law, we must immediately act and back these two comrades who are the true representatives of the working-class in Pennsylvania. . . . We can rally much sentiment for these bills and acquaint workers and students with the work of Comrades Hoopes and Wilson."

This campaign is being carried on in cooperation with the Socialist Party. Among the measures Socialists have introduced and the

League will back with action is: Anti-Company Union Bill; Social Insurance; Sedition Act Repealer; Anti-Eviction and a Thirty-Hour Week Bill.

In a joint letter Comrades Hoopes and Wilson appealed to Young Socialists of Pennsylvania to exert pressure on their legislative representatives to get this working-class legislation passed. The appeal said in part: "Being fully aware of our responsibilities as Socialist representatives, we do everything in our power to present the Socialist view on social and labor legislation before the Pennsylvania Legislature. We must, however, depend entirely upon you to organize public support of these bills, and to spread the favorable publicity resulting from our activities."

The Young Socialists of Pennsylvania are responding to the appeal for action.

## ORGANIZED WORKERS FIGHT FOR LABOR BILLS IN PENNSYLVANIA

(Special to The New Leader)

HARRISBURG, Pa.—An appeal to Pennsylvania's organized labor to exert its influence on the members of the State Senate in behalf of 15 labor bills, passed by the House and now in Senate committees, was issued by the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

Among the 15 measures are the Child Labor, Anti-Company Union, Industrial Police, Anti-Eviction and Full Crew Bills.

The Anti-Eviction and Anti-Company Union Bills were introduced by Socialist representative Darlington Hoopes of Reading.

Simultaneously the Federation issued a call to affiliates to protest at once to Governor Earle against the sales tax.

The appeal released by President John Phillips of the Federation indicates that there is immediate danger of a sales tax being passed as a last resort. "The poorer you are," the statement reads, "the harder a sales tax will hit you."

The State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party called upon the branches to secure the cooperation of organized labor and unemployed groups for public protest meetings against this form of taxation and to communicate their opposition to the sales tax to Governor Earle and members of the House and Senate.

## OLD PARTIES CUT RELIEF AS TOLL OF JOBLESS RISES IN PENNA.

(Special Staff Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH.—While the state relief list is constantly mounting less money is being spent for direct and work relief. The Pennsylvania State Relief Board reports an increase of 4,517 persons more during the week ending March 30th.

## THE ROAD TO POWER

(Continued from Page Seven)

Even those in power require mass support. Those who propose revolutionary changes require it much more. The loyalty of millions must be won during the middle part of the twentieth century just as it has been won in the past. The thing must be done by hard and honest and above-board effort. Instead of smart revolutionary strategy we need a sense of reality. The plans that succeed will be plans developed here and based on the experience of our own people.

We have been told that we must be very quick, that we must choose right now between Communism and fascism. Who said so? Who has any right to say so? Our people—and their ancestors—have often refused to believe their ruling classes, have often followed their own deep desires rather than the wisdom of the very smart. Here they are now in the depths of this depression. The times are hard for them. But their long way of living and struggling for more than three hundred years, lead one to think that they can carry on while they organize themselves for a new effort.

The labor movement and the political party are the traditional forms of mass power for these people. They are used to adapting their means to changed purposes and changed conditions. There is time now, between wars, to organize millions, time for them to learn what changes of weapon and strategy are called for.

There may be places where smart professional revolutionists can "make" a revolution. America is not one of them.

This brings the total on relief in this state up to 1,738,410.

In spite of the fact that the needs of the unemployed are becoming greater, both Republicans and Democrats in the State Legislature have made common cause in curbing relief costs. The Republican controlled Senate seeks to reduce appropriations for this purpose by one-half.

The Legislature is also considering a proposal of a state-wide survey of unemployment relief. Such investigation is now being carried on in Pittsburgh. Representatives of the Unemployed Citizens' League of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) are scheduled to appear before the investigating committee this week.

## WORKERS JOIN WITH THE SOCIALISTS FOR BIG MAY DAY

(Special to The New Leader)

PITTSBURGH. — A May Day Conference, attended by 102 enthusiastic delegates, representing the Unemployed Citizens League, Socialist Party, Workmen's Circle, Poale Zion, Young People's Socialist League and a number of trade unions, launched plans to hold a May Day demonstration on Wednesday, May 1, 2:30 p.m., at the West Park.

The demonstration of employed and unemployed, of organized and unorganized, will be the first of a series of meetings to make known to the Pennsylvania Legislature labor's demands for the passage of labor and social legislation now pending.

A committee of 30 was elected to take charge of arrangements, with Robert Lieberman, executive chairman of the Unemployed Citizens League as chairman and David Rinne of the Socialist Party as secretary.

## PARTY NOTES

### Rhode Island

A special delegate to the Convention was held April 1, and did the following: 1—Decided to enter candidates for the Constitutional Convention soon to be called by the legislature.

2—Decided to demand a place on the ballot as the only working class party there in the fall elections, and to ask the trade unions to back us in that demand.

3—Accepted with great reluctance the resignation of Joseph M. Goldwell, state secretary, "because of advancing years and a desire to see the younger comrades assume the burden and responsibility."

4—Elected as his successor, Robert R. Warner, formerly field organizer, New England district, who has been working in Rhode Island for seven months.

5—Appointed a committee, chairman Comrade Goldwell, to draw up a platform for the convention, in consultation with the national office.

6—Directed all locals to discuss the formation of a labor party.

### Connecticut

New Haven. Through a misunderstanding, the announcement was made in last week's issue of The New Leader that a showing of "Chapayev" would be given in New Haven under the auspices of the local Socialist Party. The showing is under the direction of the Film and Photo League and in connection with the celebration of the S. P. has reached us, stating that the latter organization has no connection with the venture.

### New Jersey

Pasadena, James O'Neal, editor of The New Leader, will be the principal speaker at the opening of the new headquarters of Branch 1 at 201 Washington Place, Friday evening, April 19.

Comrade George H. Goebel will speak at the second forum on a "Program for Social Security."

Vipsels have begun another study class in Socialism on Monday evening at 8 at the headquarters. Branch meetings each Friday night at 8:30.

### New York State

State Executive Committee. The State Executive Committee will hold its deferred monthly meeting at People's House, New York, next Sunday, April 14th, at 11 a.m.

Syracuse. Local Onondaga County is mourning the death of one of the old-timers of the Socialist movement, Joseph Johannes, former local organizer. Gustave A. Strebel, former Socialist candidate for Governor, delivered the funeral address.

Yonkers. The Yonkers branch will unite with the Workmen's Circle in the celebration of May Day this year. William E. Duffy of New York is expected to be the principal speaker.

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

Sun.—11 a.m., Forward Hour; 8 p.m., Brookwood Labor College, talk; 8:30, Hippodrome Grand Opera, 10, Symposium; 10:15, Don Carlos, "Poet Philosopher."

Mon.—8 a.m., "Starting the Day Right," with Jacob S. List; 3:30 p.m., String Ensemble; 4, Katerwiskalki Orchestra; 8:15, Van Halperin in "Bonanza"; 8:30, Grell Burrows, baritone; 8:45, University of the Air, "What Next for America?" 10, New Leader News review, Gertrude Weil Klein; 10:15, "The Three Debs," vocal trio; 10:45, "Paris in New York," music.

Tue.—8:15 p.m., Guy Harris, songs; 8:30, Mary Winslow, soprano; Doris Hardy, poet; 10, Gotham Male Quartet; 10:15, "The National Labor Scene," University of the Air; 10:30, Moira MacMahon, soprano.

Thurs.—8:15 p.m., Irish Blackbirds Orchestra; 8:30, "The Virginians," vocal quartet; 8:45, Roy Dutch Traveler, Hendrik de Leeuw; 10, The Building Service Hour, talks, music; 10:30, "Newspaper Guild on the Air," talks; 10:45, Forbes and Rkoll, 2 piano trio.

Fri.—3:45 p.m., Metropolitan String Ensemble; 8:15, Nan Halperin in "Bonanza"; 8:30, Skunkand Spaeth, "The Talent Detective"; 10, League for Industrial Democracy, Presentation, sketch; 10:15, University of the Air, Washington series; 10:30, Medical Hour, talk; 10:45, Raymond Shannon, baritone.

Sat.—6 p.m., "Jewish Events of the Week," talk; 6:15, Jennie Moscovitz, sketch; 8:15, Metropolitan String Ensemble; 10, Hippodrome Grand Opera.

## 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.

## Good News for the Working Masses

To add a touch of humor to an otherwise dull and dreary world, William Fellowes Morgan, multi-millionaire Commissioner of Markets of New York City, rises at a luncheon of the Republican Builders to remark that the odds have been reversed in the struggle between capital and labor, and labor now has an unfair advantage over capital.

"Something should be done to make the battle between capital and labor a fair one, with both equipped with the same weapons," he declared. He said that labor was in a position to exploit capital, as many labor leaders were able to call strikes whenever they wanted to, injuring not only capital but the consumer and the independent workers.

Violence is but an accident of the social revolution; it is by no means its necessary accompaniment, and it has no place in the Socialist program.—Morris Hillquit.

## 1935 BRONX LABOR CENTER BAZAAR

Comrades will be glad to hear that the Bronx Labor Center will soon hold the 1935 edition of its annual bazaar. The committee got off to an early start this year, with the result that the affair promises to be highly successful.

Unions thus far approached have responded much better even than last year. Everything points to plenty of fun, good music and, above all, plenty of marvelous bargains. Everybody should be at the Bronx Labor Center, 809 Westchester Ave., near Prospect Ave., on May 3rd, 4th and 5th.

## Kansas Socialist Vote Soars

KANSAS CITY, Kansas.—Increasing its local vote 270%, Socialists have nominated H. L. Decker for a member of the Board of Public Utilities, and missed placing three more by less than a hundred votes.

The Socialist campaign expenses were less than \$30.

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# NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

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

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## PRaising CORPORATION SERVITUDE

WHEN the United States News devotes an entire page to an editorial article in praise of the General Motors Corporation, declaring that it "points the way" out of the depression and to security and content for the masses, we become interested in this bourgeois heaven. Here is the old baloney regarding the large number of stockholders which shows "a trend towards popular ownership." Here is "collective bargaining" by the corporation with itself through its dummy company unionism which produces a "loyal group of workers who are more interested in security than in labor politics." Here is the opportunity for the workers to invest in company stock and to participate in their own exploitation; also group insurance, death and accident benefits.

Delightful, to be sure. The collective bargaining reminds us of the practice in the Old South of hiring slaves to contractors, the owner making all arrangements, fixing the "bargain," complimenting the "loyal" slave who returned to the plantation and turned over the money to the boss for which he received the usual ration of bacon, corn pone and molasses. The "security" recalls the permission given slaves to cultivate a patch of the owner's land and to sell the product for a few dollars at the village market. Sick, death and accident benefits were also conceded by the owner who provided a physician and medicine for his human work animals and even incurred the expense of their burial when they died. Of course, the slave did not indulge in "labor politics" either.

In short, General Motors and other big dynasties of capital simply revive the feudal ideal of the old landed aristocracy living on the labor of slaves and whose lives were regulated by a handful of masters at the top of this old regime. The old aristocrats became so confident that they had solved the problem of peace and "security" that in the last twenty years before the Civil War they sent missionaries to the North with the view of winning capitalists and bankers to this program. The idea was to bind northern workers to the industries and parcel out the western lands to big-wigs of the North and South.

Company unionism and corporation "welfare plans" destroy the human being and make of him a vassal of corporate power. The road to emancipation lies in unionism organized and controlled by the workers themselves in alliance with "labor politics," also organized and controlled by the working masses.

## THE VOTE IN DANZIG

THE returns of the election in Danzig throw an interesting light on the Communists. There were 21,422 more total votes polled than in 1933 and the Nazis gained a total of 30,014. The Socialists held their own with a modest gain of 133. How fared the Communists? They lost 6,576 votes, cutting their vote nearly one-half.

Where did these votes go in the Sunday election? Practically all went to the Nazis, for the latter gained less than 4,000 votes from the German Nationalists! The former Communist votes certainly did not go to the Socialists for the latter gained only 133. This repeats the history of Germany where Nazi and Communist passed from one camp to the other with ease. Moreover, the Socialists risked their lives by watching at the polls while the Communists were absent. Who fights fascism?

## THE SCOTTSBORO DECISION

CONSIDERABLE water has run under the mill since President Harding said in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1921, in an address on the race question, that it was "a question of recognizing a fundamental and inescapable difference." The Supreme Court of the United States in declaring that the court proceedings in the trial of the Scottsboro boys were invalid because Negroes were excluded from the jury has wiped out the "difference" mentioned by Harding. Henceforth Negroes have the right to serve on southern juries.

This does not mean the end of discrimination or of race prejudice, but it is a long step in the right direction. Workers in the South have seen more and more cooperation between workers of both races in labor struggles and this court decision will help in fostering this solidarity. Workers of the South unite! You have nothing to lose but your prejudice and freedom to gain!

## PLOW THE SYSTEM UNDER!

BEFORE the rise of capitalist production if a family produced something in excess of needs, it was stored until it was needed. Today, if it is produced in excess of purchasing power—plow it under! Producing for exchange brings a deadlock.

In agriculture it is also a gamble with nature. It is estimated that if farm crops mature at the normal rate, there will be an excess in the market and prices will decline. The farmers will then suffer. If crops do not mature because of drought or dust storms, prices will rise and complaints will come from the cities. In both instances it is prices—production for exchange—that will bring distress.

## DANZIG



The Social Democracy, heroic and unshaken, stands as the bulwark of liberty and freedom despite the savage Nazi terror in the Danzig election.

## Behind the Scenes in Washington



By Benjamin Meiman

Our Washington Correspondent

AS soon as President Roosevelt returned to Washington he got into a huddle with Congressional leaders because of a rebellious Congress. In very plain language the President was advised that some of his most favored propositions will have to be left out of his year's legislative program. That there are slim chances for the passage of even such important measures as the social security and holding company elimination bills. That, unless the President cuts his program to the bone, a legislative jam will be created and nothing will be passed.

It is understood that the leaders suggested that the President concentrate on the following four measures, essential to carry on the Administration:

1. Routine Appropriations. 2. NRA Legislation. 3. Additional funds to carry on the Home Owners' Loan Corporation. 4. Some new tax legislation.

### Honeymoon Ended

WHEN Congress assembled more than three months ago predictions were freely made that it would go to work quickly, put through the President's legislative program, and go home. There was talk in those early days of completing the program by May 15th, at the latest.

These predictions of speed and of harmony between the President and Congress have proved empty. One bill, a big one to be sure, has been put through of all the President's program—the work relief bill.

With the President back in Washington, he will have to sit down with the leaders and go over the situation rather carefully. Congress has been in no mood for New Deal doses in recent weeks. The President and his party in Congress have begun to suffer from divisions. There have been threats of revolt and the leadership has been ignored. The honeymoon period for the President and Congress lasted somewhat longer than it has lasted in other administrations, perhaps. The Democrats were able in the mid-term congressional elections to increase their majorities in both Houses, until they have more than two-thirds of the membership of each House. The slipping of the administration in popular favor did not begin to appear until after the first of this year.

Without even a murmur of dissent, the House pushed into the bill the amendment to take all excessive war profits. It was passed after House leaders had bowed to demands for drastic taxation and after Representative McSwain himself had offered the amendment.

He said it would provide a hook on which the Senate might hang

Other bills desired by labor, although not to such an extent, are the 30-hour week bill and the Guffey bill to give coal a public utility rating.

So many controversial issues are on tap that any one of a dozen measures now awaiting congressional action could throw the situation into another such muddle as developed during the work-relief fight. It is axiomatic that a bad congressional situation only gets worse as it continues. Presidents in the past have found it necessary to abandon legislative projects once Congress became obstinate and unruly.

### Voice of the People Should Be Heard

THE Roosevelt Social Security program has come through the Ways and Means Committee to the House floor much the worse for its 11 weeks' ordeal.

The committee removed from unemployment insurance and contributory old-age benefits all farm labor, domestics, casuals and employees of non-profit institutions, and from jobless insurance benefits small firms that employ 10 or fewer workers, instead of four or less as in the original bill. It exempted most of the seasonal industries by raising from 13 to 20 weeks the period during which a worker must be employed to qualify for compensation. Out of 36,000,000 wage-earners only about 22,000,000, including the unemployed, stand to benefit, while the eliminated classes are those most in need of protection.

Despite its faults, the new measure represents a momentous step forward in American history. It raises old-age pension standards. It breaks ground for a nation-wide system of uniform jobless and old-age benefits supported by industry. It aids the states in caring for their dependent and crippled children, and in their maternal and child-welfare programs and public-health systems. It sets out to substitute pensions for poor houses, insurance for relief, justice for charity.

The voice of the people should be heard in favor of passing the Social Security bill. Congress must be made to do it before it adjourns.

Labor Not to Be Drafted in Time of War

APPROACHING a final vote on the McSwain anti-war profits bill, the House confirmed its action to exempt labor from a section to draft man-power and industrial, financial and material resources to conduct war. The vote was 207 to 11.

Without even a murmur of dissent, the House pushed into the bill the amendment to take all excessive war profits. It was passed after House leaders had bowed to demands for drastic taxation and after Representative McSwain himself had offered the amendment.

He said it would provide a hook on which the Senate might hang

anything it wants in the form of specific taxes, such as those suggested in the bill backed by the Senate Munitions Committee.

As the amended bill stood today, and as it seemed likely to go to the Senate, it provided:

### Roosevelt to Hear Rubber Strikers' Side

ORGANIZED labor to lay before President Roosevelt its side of the controversy which threatens an immediate strike in the tire and rubber industry.

Plans to present the "true picture" of the situation were made after thousands of union workers cast strike votes.

Either Coleman C. Claherty, president of the United Rubberworkers' Council, or President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, will be before the President.

Claherty said, however, that the unions will not ask the President to intervene to prevent the walk-out.

"We merely want the President's opinion on several things," he said. Opinion was that nothing, not even Federal intervention,

## The Parable of the Cow

IN the Bandera (Texas) New Era there recently appeared the following story:

Ten men who were financiers chipped in \$10 each and bought a fine cow that gave ten gallons of milk every day. These men received one gallon each day as his share.

Soon the neighbors far and near heard about the wonderful cow and said to one another, "Think of getting a whole gallon of milk every day. What a wonderful return on a \$10 investment. I wish I had a share in that cow."

When this talk was repeated to the ten financiers who owned the cow, they went into a huddle and one of them said, "Let's give these people what they want. Our shares in the cow cost us \$10 each and we can sell other shares in the cow at the same price."

So they went to a printer and had him strike off 1,000 sheets of paper, bearing the legend, "One share in the cow." Then they sold 500 of these shares at \$10 each, which brought them in \$5,000 in cash. Then they divided the other 500 shares among themselves as their reward for being so smart.

Each man of the ten now had fifty-one shares besides the cash,

## Emergency Relief Is an Opiate; Let Us End the Need for It

By Algernon Lee

ALL over the country there is a hue-and-cry over alleged waste, favoritism, bribery and outright stealing in the administration of relief funds. We need not take all these charges at face value. In part, they express the desire of office-seekers to discredit office-holders, and in part the desire of taxpayers (or tax-dodgers) to save money by cutting down relief budgets. Allowing for exaggeration, there probably is more inefficiency and dishonesty in the management of relief funds than in the handling of other public monies.

There are many reasons why we should expect this. One sufficient reason is that the whole policy of doing out relief is a vicious policy.

Shakespeare tells us that the practice of mercy blesses him that gives and him that takes. But the thing that used to be called organized charity and is now called emergency relief corrupts both those who give and those who receive. It makes the givers think they are being generous, when in fact they are paying hush-money for the social injustice they permit and condone. It compels the recipients to seek as a favor what is much less than their right. This inherent moral dishonesty of the system is worse than any incidental abuses in its administration.

AND yet, for the time, we cannot drop it. It is a necessary evil, or an evil necessity. But the longer it continues to be necessary the greater grows the evil. When a patient's rest is being broken and his strength worn down by pain the physician rightly administers opiates. But he knows that there is danger in using such drugs, and that this danger increases with every dose. If he is a wise and honest physician he tries to get his patient past the need for opiates as quickly as he can.

That is just what our statesmen are not doing. It is now five years since unemployment, with all its frightful consequences, suddenly took on gigantic proportions. There was instant need for emergency relief to save men and women and children from misery and despair. That relief was not given so promptly nor at first on so large a scale as it should have been. It was given grudgingly, in response to the pleas and even the tacit threats of the sufferers. Since then it has been continued and enlarged. But meanwhile nothing worth speaking of, nothing of a permanent nature and even half-way adequate, has been done to conquer or even seriously to combat the cause of the misery which demands relief.

The number of the unemployed is perhaps twenty per cent less than it was two years ago. But it is still at least three or four times what it was in 1929; and if emergency relief work were stopped, unemployment would instantly rise to or above the ominous figures of early 1933. The emergency is still here; and for all that the public authorities are doing, it may last forever.

Ending the Emergency

OUR old-party statesmen, together with their economic experts and their business advisers,

could prevent the walkout now. Union rubber-workers have voted almost unanimously to strike in protest against rejection of their demands for recognition.

whereas in the beginning each man had but one share.

But one of the ten began to worry. "Say, fellers," said he, "look here. Every fellow who bought a share in this cow will expect a gallon of milk tonight and the cow only gives ten gallons. When the milk is divided into one thousand and ten parts, these share-holders won't get a spoonful. Shares will drop to nothing overnight. We'd better unload while we can."

So the ten men went out on the street to find investors. Each of them sold the 50 shares that had been awarded to him, and thus they obtained another \$5,000 to be divided among themselves.

But now night was drawing near and again one of the ten began to worry. "Fellers," said he, "there's bound to be a big row at milking time tonight. Hasten abroad and persuade each of the shareholders to sign a proxy, authorizing you to cast as you think best the vote to which the share entitles him. Then return with the proxies and we will do some voting."

At twilight the ten men met at the barn where the cow was kept and in their hands were 1,000 signed proxies to represent the absent shareholders, and the ten

either do not wish to end the emergency, or do not know how to end it, or cannot make up their minds to do the things by which alone it can be brought to an end. Probably all three causes—lack of will, lack of understanding, lack of moral courage—work together to withhold them from doing what is needed.

The capitalists, in so far as they consult their class interests, may well wish to have the number of the unemployed considerably reduced; but they cannot wish to abolish unemployment nor even have it brought down to a point where it would cease to be a haunting terror for the working class. They need the unemployed to keep down the wages of those who are at work.

Some members of the Brain Trust (some, not all) understand the problem quite well and would be glad to see unemployment wiped out. But besides the unfitness for decisive action which is so common a trait of so-called intellectuals, they are in the embarrassing position of being employees of an administration which does not wish to act.

### To Please the Voters

As for the men in office, from the Capitol and the White House to the city halls, they are pulled both ways by the desire to please the voting masses and the desire to serve the business interests. So they "let I dare not wait upon I would," try to placate the millions with emergency relief, and avoid offending the millionaires by any action that would end the emergency.

Not from any of these will real help come—or only so far as they may be driven in the right direction by increasing pressure from below. The working people, to whom unemployment is a dreadful reality, know in at least a general way what they want—not sugar-coated charity, but some substantial measure of social justice. Organized Labor is more and more clearly formulating their demands. It is to be wished that Organized Labor would—but no, let's start that sentence another way: It is to be hoped the Organized Labor will more and more aggressively press those demands.

The way to overcome the emergency, to put an end to the need for relief funds by opening the way to normal recovery, is very simple. It includes three parallel lines of action:

1. To distribute employment by drastic shortening of the work-week, a thirty-hour week being quite long enough;  
2. To increase employment by utilizing a large available surplus of labor-power on socially useful but not profit-yielding public works, and this not as a mere emergency measure, but as a permanent policy;  
3. To protect all the workers, not by piecemeal and haphazard relief schemes, but in a regular way, as a matter of right and not of favor, from the danger of poverty resulting from old-age or from such unemployment as may still occur.

### Our Socialist Duty

WE Socialists have a duty in this matter, which we are as yet by no means performing as we should. Of course we cannot advocate the cessation of relief. Perhaps we cannot just now cease to urge more liberal relief. But we ought to shift the emphasis from relief to prevention. We ought to work ten times harder than we have yet done for the threefold constructive program which will do away with the need for demoralizing dolos.

were entitled in their own right, for each still had his original share.

"Now," said the oen who did the talking, "we must reorganize. This company needs a president, a treasurer and eight vice-presidents. That gives each of us a job. And since there are ten of us and the cow gives ten gallons, it is hereby moved and seconded that each of us receive a salary of one gallon of milk per day. All in favor say 'Aye'."

And the motion was carried without a dissenting vote!

And then they milked the cow!

### A Mystery Solved

Reports from Nazidonia bring tidings that during the reign of Adolf the First, 189,677 people have been subjected to sterilization operations. Dr. Fritz Lens, speaking before the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for the Advancement of Science, in Berlin, comments that as a result of these operations only 10,000 feeble-minded children are being born every year, whereas previously 20,000 feeble-minded children were annually born into the German world.

And so that's it. We had always wondered where Hitler had been able to recruit his Nazi party!

It must be remarked, in the first place, that while revolution and evolution are normal functions of social physiology, rebellion and individual violence are symptoms of social pathology.—Enrico Ferri.