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

# All Out for May Day

## National Labor Conference Is Called to Meet Monday

**Green Summons All Unions to Plan Drive  
For Labor's Program in Congress—More  
Than 6,000,000 Workers to Be Represented  
At Washington Meeting**

**A**N intensive drive in behalf of labor legislation now pending in Congress will be mapped out at an emergency conference called by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, in Washington for Monday.

Representatives of national and international unions, state federations of labor and city central bodies will attend the conference to discuss a program of action to be laid before it by Mr. Green.

Mr. Green declared that the conference was called to discuss matters of great immediate interest to labor and requiring immediate consideration.

In making known the call for the conference early this week it was announced at the office of the American Federation of Labor in Washington that the delegates expected to respond "will represent more than 6,000,000 workers directly, and approximately 10,000,000 more indirectly."

### Bills Sponsored

The Wagner labor disputes bill and the thirty-hour work bill, both sponsored by the American Federation of Labor, will be among the chief measures to be discussed at the conference.

Mr. Green's call for the conference reads as follows:

"The legislative situation existing in Congress, particularly as it relates to pending measures in which the American Federation of Labor is deeply interested, calls for special consideration immediately.

"For this reason I am calling a conference of the representatives of national and international unions, state federations of labor and city central bodies to convene at headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, beginning at 10 o'clock on Monday morning, April 29.

"The purpose of the conference is to deal definitely and concretely with the Wagner-Connelly Labor Disputes Bill, the Black-Connelly Thirty-Hour Work-Week Bill, and other legislative measures which Labor insists be enacted into law in this session of Congress.

### Must Fight Opposition

"The widespread interest which has been aroused by the Wagner-Connelly Labor Disputes Bill shows clearly that this measure is regarded as of major importance to Labor and to working men and women and their friends everywhere. The opposition to this measure throughout the nation is active. Manufacturers' associations, large employers of labor, corporations, and financial interests are carrying on a campaign of opposition which is most unusual and extraordinary. Labor must meet this opposition by concentrating its efforts, by speaking collectively here in the capital city, by mobilizing the full and complete support of Labor and all its friends in behalf of the Wagner-Connelly Labor Disputes Bill and other measures pending in Congress which have been given the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor.

### Strategic Campaign Planned

"Please send representatives of your international union to this conference. It will be confined to the discussion and to the development of a strategic campaign in behalf of the enactment of the Wagner-Connelly Labor Disputes Bill and other labor legislative measures pending in Congress.

"The conference will be limited to a discussion and to consideration of these legislative matters only. Bring your credentials with you and come prepared to render all assistance possible in an endeavor to prevail upon Congress to enact the Wagner-Connelly Labor Disputes Bill and other labor legislation into law at the earliest possible date."

## Chevrolet Men Strike; 2300 Out in Toledo Plant

**Tie Up General Motors  
Shops When Company  
Refuses Demands—Early  
Victory Indicated**

**TOLEDO.**—Another move toward the long expected showdown between unionism and anti-unionism in the automobile industry came on Tuesday of this week when 2,300 employees of the Chevrolet Motor Company here went on strike in support of demands for collective bargaining and improvements in wage and working conditions.

Called by the United Automobile Workers' Federal Union, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, the strike went into effect with a precision and determination on the part of the workers that astonished the city and company officials. The latter had refused to believe that the workers would make as effective a demonstration of their strength as they gave when the zero hour arrived. The plant makes transmissions for Chevrolet and Pontiac cars.

The strike was called when company officials, refusing to grant union demands in a conference with the union's representatives, offered a series of counter-proposals which the union found unacceptable, principally because of the refusal to sign a contract with the union.

The union demands were for a five-day week or seven and one-half hours, a minimum wage of 70 cents an hour and a general wage advance of not less than five cents an hour, elimination of the speed-up system and a signed contract.

One of the tightest picketlines ever thrown out in a strike was being maintained by the workers, making it impossible for any one, not even company officials and office employees, to enter.

Although developments later in the week indicated an early settlement, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, declared in a statement from Washington there was a chance of the strike spreading to other cities. He characterized the Toledo walkout as spontaneous, caused by the company's refusal to deal fairly with the union or redress any of the employees' grievances.

"The union committee asked for union recognition as the exclusive bargaining agency of the workers," Mr. Green said. "It has been proved conclusively that the union had a clear majority. That does not mean they asked for a closed shop. They did not do that, although the employers claim they did. The patience of the men is exhausted. They carried on as long as possible and then initiated the strike movement themselves. The federation will do all it can to support them."

Later in the week the company, a subsidiary of General Motors, indicated its willingness to grant the union's demands in the form of a set of counter-proposals, on which it asked a vote by the strikers. The vote was to be held on Friday.



Drawn by John Rogers

## THE SOCIALIST PARTY'S MAY DAY MANIFESTO

Workers and Farmers of America!  
Members of the American  
Federation of Labor!  
Members of the Socialist Party!  
Workers and Socialists of All  
Countries!

**GREETINGS** on May Day,  
the international holiday of  
the working people of the entire  
world!

Let us make May Day, 1935, a historic celebration of our comradeship and our iron determination to break through the bonds of poverty, unemployment and capitalist repression to win peace and plenty.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party calls upon you, the workers from factory, office and farm, to lay down your tools on May 1 and to join in huge labor demonstrations in every city, town and village in the United States.

This year marks the 49th anniversary of May Day as a workers' holiday. First observed by the American Federation of Labor as a day of nationwide strikes and parades in its militant campaign for the Eight-Hour Day, May Day has since been adopted by the workers of every country of the world.

This May Day finds the workers faced with greater responsibilities than ever. In a world of tremendous possibilities for security and well-being, millions upon millions of workers find themselves engulfed in misery and poverty. While hunger and want constantly confront multitudes of workers, the capitalist governments are in a mad frenzy of preparation for war that promises to make the world a gigantic slaughter house where the blood and brains of the workers shall be coined into wealth for the profit seekers.

In many places where workers have sought to build a world of security they have been crushed by the brutal forces of fascism. In other places these forces of repression and brutality are gathering their strength against the day when they shall be unleashed upon the workers.

Here in America we witness millions unemployed—millions existing upon the bitter and woefully inadequate bread of charity. With sickening acceleration of speed, the capitalist system drives ahead in its blind and stupid program that forces down the standard of living for the great masses while it piles up wealth for the few. The government moves ahead to build up its great war machine while living conditions become unbearable for millions of workers and farmers.

After months of vague promises and glittering generalities the present administration in every real issue sides with the

forces of the owning group and labor staggers under the blow of a new betrayal.

With government aid and co-operation, the great corporations build their company unions. Where workers dare to stand for their own unions they find themselves opposed by every form of life, abuse and brutality. Municipal and state governments are mobilizing their forces in increased efforts of repression directed against workers.

Irresponsible and impractical demagogues such as Long and Coughlin, with vague promises and confusion of thought, add to the chaos, setting up the conditions which make for Fascism. Vigilante gangs are taking the law into their own hands in many communities to break up workers' organizations.

The Socialist Party calls upon all workers and farmers in America to demonstrate on May 1:

To demonstrate our solidarity with all workers everywhere in the world, regardless of race, creed, color, or nationality;

To make this demonstration our protest against the whole war game and the criminally stupid preparation for war;

To make this demonstration a determined protest against every form of repression and the denial of fundamental human rights.

The workers and farmers are called today to make this day a demonstration of our demand for the thirty-hour week, for adequate social security, against company unionism, against Fascism.

But above all we make this day a renewal of our determined and unflinching purpose to wage war on the capitalist system until it, with all its vicious offspring, shall have been abolished and in its place there shall be established a workers world of security and peace for all.

"With heads uncovered swear we all" to carry on until this task shall be accomplished and the dream of toilers throughout the ages shall be realized.

National Executive Committee,  
Socialist Party, U. S. A.

### The Labor Week

—By Chester M. Wright—

**F**OR a few days the happy thought in Washington political circles was, "all's quiet on the industrial front."

Then the flash went over the wires that the Chevrolet plant in Toledo had been struck. The walkout was tight and perfect. Those who remember back to the city-wide strike in Toledo will not expect this strike to fizzle. They expect that General Motors, one of the greatest of the industrial giants, will know there is a fight on hand.

American Federation of Labor officials do not expect this strike to spread to other plants—not this week, at least.

There has been newspaper comment to the effect that there is supposed to be a labor truce in effect. Perhaps that is true, but let us set the matter straight, at least to some extent.

There are perhaps 40,000 local unions in the United States. Each one of these has a certain independence of action and each one is a possible point of grievance. Thus, there are 40,000 possible sources of industrial disagreement. While most local unions must secure strike sanction from their national or international headquarters

(Continued on Page Four)

## Hosts of Labor to March In Greatest Demonstration

**Trade Unions, Socialist Party and Youth  
Organizations Join for Mighty Holiday  
Display—More Than 100,000 to Be in Line  
—Mass Meeting on Mall in Park**

By Henry Fruchter

**"A**LL out on May Day!" This is the sentiment that inspires scores of thousands of workers awaiting the big May Day celebration in New York City. Those in charge of arrangements have been thrilled by the intense interest displayed by the various labor and Socialist sections. Beginning in an initial conference of over 300 delegates, sub-committees, working night and day, have observed interest in the May Day celebration mount among leaders and rank and file.

## Many Cities Join In Big May Day Celebrations

**Pittsburgh, New Haven, Chicago, Milwaukee, Newark  
Among Those Planning  
Labor Demonstrations**

**PITTSBURGH, Pa.**—A huge mass meeting to be addressed by prominent Socialist and labor representatives will mark the May Day celebration here. The Labor Day Conference organized by the party, which includes the Workmen's Circle, the Unemployed Leagues, and other labor and fraternal organizations, has arranged for an imposing parade which will wind up at West Park Band Stand, N.S. Pittsburgh, on May Day at 1 p. m.

**ERIE, Pa.**—For the first time in the history of this city the Central Labor Union, with some 60 affiliated bodies, has accepted the Socialist Party's invitation to hold a joint May Day celebration.

The May Day committee expects to jam the Labor Temple in a manner reminiscent of the old days. A thorough Socialist and labor program has been arranged for the mass meeting. Hundreds of New Leaders have been ordered for distribution.

**NEW HAVEN, Conn.**—A monster street parade and rally on the Central Green, which has been planned by the Socialist Party in conjunction with organized labor, is expected to be the largest in the city's history. Over 3,000 workers will march to demonstrate for the passage of the 30-Hour Work Week Bill. Frank R. Crosswaith, prominent New York Socialist and labor organizer, will be the principal speaker.

**NEWARK, N. J.**—Socialists here have been active in mobilizing the support of the Central Labor Union of Essex County. Its support and participation in the May Day celebration has been enlisted. George H. Goebel will preside at a mass meeting to be held on May 1st, at 8 p. m., in the Workmen's Circle Lyceum, 190 Belmont Ave., for which a special program, including Charles Solomon as special guest speaker, has been prepared. There will be no admission charge.

**Oneal in Jersey City**  
**JERSEY CITY.**—James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, will speak in Cooperative Hall here on May 1st as a part of what is expected to be the finest May Day celebration in years. Jersey City trade unions, the Workmen's Circle and German workers' clubs will participate.

**Union City**  
Support of the Socialist Party's drive to stage an effective May Day demonstration has been promised by some of the largest A. F. of L. unions in Hudson County. This indicates the progress which the party has made with organized labor in Union City and its surrounding towns. Many thousands are expected to answer the call for a show of working class solidarity on May First. Prominent labor and Socialist officials are scheduled to speak at the monster rally set for the evening of May 1st in Cooperative Hall, 472 Summit Ave., Union City.

**NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.**—A May Day Celebration will be held in Irish Benevolent Hall, 18 Lawrence St., New Rochelle.

(Continued on Page Five)

The parade, in which 100,000 are expected to participate, will start in two sections, one downtown at the People's House, the other uptown from the garment center, both sections assembling at noon, and terminating at Central Park. A concert by a famous band will be rendered in the Mall of the park. Seats for about 20,000 will be provided and prominent labor and Socialist representatives will speak.

It is impossible to list the organizations that will participate. They are too numerous to be printed. However, leaders and rank and file, men and women, are eager to find a place in the great demonstration. The laboring masses are stirred to the depths by unemployment, by the new problems that beset them, by dangers ahead, by hopes of a better future.

**"All Out on May Day!"**  
"All out on May Day!" expresses the awakening in the labor movement. From homes and headquarters, from shops and offices, from factories and other places, men and women and children will pour into the streets to join the demonstration, to express the ideal of solidarity on Labor's international holiday.

Individual maps with detailed instructions have been mailed to all organizations for circularization among their members, as to precise meeting place, line of assembly, etc. The actual hour at which workers are expected to assemble is 12 o'clock noon, prepared to begin the march at 1 p. m.

Over one hundred thousand copies of our May Day Manifesto are being distributed to the various participating organizations, with large quantities of slogans, buttons, banners, etc. In addition, the Joint Boards of the Dressmakers and Cloakmakers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Millinery and Cap Makers, and scores of other labor bodies, are securing their own bands of music, preparing their floats and slogans, and printing appropriate literature for their various industries.

The Socialist Party, with its various branches, as well as the organizations of the Young People's Socialist League, the Women's Section, the Falcon groups and various other auxiliary bodies, will, of course, come out in full force. The Workmen's Circles and their Young Circle Leagues are exerting themselves to the utmost to bring out their members, young and old, in a most impressive display of strength and spirit.

**Many Meetings Arranged**  
The United Hebrew Trades, the Jewish Daily Forward, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Jewish National Workers' Alliance, the Paole Zion, the Jewish Socialist Verband, the Anti-Fascist League—all are adding their strength and enthusiasm to the celebration.

**"All out on May Day!"**  
Among many other celebrations in connection with May Day are the following: A meeting under the joint auspices of the Workers' Unemployed Union, Local 21, the Socialist Party, 1st A. D., Bronx, the 7th Senior Y.P.S.L., Bronx, and the Workmen's Circle School No. 1, Bronx, will be held April 30, at 8 p. m. in the auditorium of Public School 65 (141st Street and Cypress Avenue)—Pelham Bay local to Cypress Avenue. David Lasser will address the gathering. Choral singing and other entertainment will be on the program.



# What Labor Wants

by William Green  
President, American Federation of Labor

THE honored architect of the American Federation of Labor was accustomed to sum up the aims of Labor succinctly and graphically, thus—"More, more and ever more." Here we have the facts of human nature and the principle of growth. Men first were content to satisfy hunger, then they sought shelter, with a growing concern for clothing. When, in some degree, physical needs are cared for, intellectual and spiritual cravings assert themselves and individuals rise to higher levels of living.

All stages of this cycle of growth are in evidence today. To more than ten million persons without employment, food and shelter overshadow other wants. When work is obtained and wants are satisfied the worker and his family begin to think about and wish for other things. They yearn

for the enjoyment of a more abundant life.

It is this human urge for the realization of higher standards of life and living which influences workers to abandon individualism and individualistic efforts in their relationship with employers and management and unite for the purpose of speaking and acting collectively. There is always a basis for human action. Workers who aspire, who are idealistic and in whose lives have been planted the seeds of culture, art and a keen appreciation of the finer things of life join together and cooperate with each other for the realization of their common purpose and ideals. This is the answer to those who inquire why workers sacrifice, engage in strikes and fight and struggle, first, for the recognition of their right to organize and, second, to bargain collectively with those who solicit and use their training, skill and service.

## Individualism Obsolete

Individual workers can only go from employment office to employment office asking for work and taking it on whatever terms the employer offers. The only hope workers have to secure a voice in fixing the work contract is to apply the principle, "in union there is strength." By uniting, workers can agree upon uniform conditions of work and send a representative group to take the matter up with the employer. It is only just that rates of pay and working conditions should be acceptable to those who work. Uniformity of wage rates, hours and working conditions is an essential basis for fair competition within the industry. But instead of accepting employees' right to organize in unions to negotiate work agreements collectively, the more powerful employers have done everything within their power to prevent workers from belonging to unions. They have discharged employees who had the independence to exercise their right

to union membership and have developed black-lists so as to prevent these workers from finding employment anywhere in their industry. They have maintained spy systems so as to keep employees in a constant state of fear. Until forbidden by law they forced men and women to sign away their right to union membership as a condition of employment. They have even gone to the trouble and the expense of organizing employee organizations which have some of the outward forms of unions but function as an agency of management. The organizing headquarters of company unions is the Conference Committee made up of the personnel executives of the largest industrial corporations. The Conference Committee serves as a clearing house for company union experience and as a guide for its promotion. The National Industrial Conference Board serves as its statistical agency. These relationships make obvious the purpose of the company union. In addition the very size of our production institutions has hindered the development of mutual relations. As a result of such factors, although Labor had the legal and moral right to organize in unions and to bargain collectively, they were debared from any opportunity to exercise that right.

## Exploitation of Labor

Labor sought to promote government of industry from within as opposed to political regimentation or a dictator's edicts. At the time when this country most needed an effective labor movement, industrial executives were dictating the distribution of earnings from mass production industries and were



William Green

planning and managing our national enterprises and its action marks the beginning of a new era.

It is obvious to all that we cannot continue to permit individual managers of business enterprises to continue to decide their policies without consideration for the consequences to the general business situation. They need to learn to think in terms of one great national production undertaking with individual industries, transportation, wholesale and retail trade, as phases in producing the things the nation needs. Looking at the economic structure as a whole the principle of balance is inescapable. What is produced must be marketed in order to keep the currents of money and credit moving steadily throughout the whole structure.

become laws for industries. The fundamental principle of the code method was essentially collective bargaining under government administration. The principle is one which Labor emphatically approves, self-government in industry, to be further supplemented by collective bargaining for specific business undertakings and areas. In no instance did Labor seek domination or special privilege. Its proposals were reasonable and practicable. It asked for hearings and representation and made factual presentations on its proposals. The test of this way of dealing with this problem lay in the administration of the NRA and in carrying the principle of balance into the organizations of administrative machinery. Adequate and competent labor representation should be provided for at every point of administration.

## 30-Hour Week Vital

Because unemployment had not fallen below ten million during the past three years and the codes did not affect this dead level, Labor proposed the 30-hour week as a practical remedy for unemployment. Labor does not believe that the workers now employed can continue to support this large army of unemployed indefinitely. If the 30-hour week, with maintenance of established wage standards, is made the basis of employment and industries geared to these levels, the forces of production will be released on a higher level, able to sustain greater production. Employers have vehemently protested that shorter hours would bankrupt them. Yet in each case of shorter hours, industry has adjusted and reached higher production and

administration of the NRA. Out of 549 codes, only 23 provide for bona fide labor representation. Upon 28 others there have been appointed Labor - Administration members without vote—13 as a result of provisions in the code itself and 15 as a result of administrative orders. Labor wants adequate representation on every code authority on equal footing with all other representatives. Labor believes that it should have the same right as management to offer amendments to codes of fair practice, which experience shows brings more desirable results. It believes also that no code should be extended or imposed upon Labor without a hearing, as happened in the case of the Automobile Code.

As soon as the NRA began to function, it was obvious there must be a tribunal to which Labor could carry violations of its fundamental right to organize and bargain collectively. First the National Labor Board was created by Executive Order. Then Public Resolution No. 44 of the 73rd Congress set up the National Labor Relations Board. This board may hold elections in order that workers may determine their collective bargaining agency when disputes arise.

## Violations of 7A

It also hears cases of code violations when Section 7 (a) is involved and serves as an appeal board for cases referred to it by its regional boards. The National Steel and National Textile Labor Relations Boards were created under the same Joint Resolution. However, employers have been unwilling that employees should exercise the right of holding elections. They have invoked the courts to prevent orders for elections from being carried out. They have invented the formula of minority representation for collective bargaining so as to minimize any advantage to a majority vote for a union.

Labor urges the immediate consideration and passage of the Wagner Industrial Disputes Act. This legislation seeks to create an independent board in the Executive branch of the government to promote equality of bargaining power between employers and employees and to prevent any person or company from engaging in unfair labor practices affecting the free flow of commerce.

## The Right to Bargain

The right to bargain is the keystone to Labor's program for advancement, not only because it will bring opportunities for higher standards of living but because it is an opportunity to develop a body of practices recognizing Labor's equities which have their roots in Labor's production service. The most urgent demand which Labor makes upon our economic system is the right to earn a living and to feel secure in the exercise of that right. No industry should lay off or dismiss an employee without due regard for those equities which the employee has established by investing months or years of productive work. Such employee has a prior claim to re-employment before new workers are added to the payroll and to a maintenance income during unemployment. The equities created by the investment of intangible labor power must be formulated and established as common practice in industry if we really wish to have democratic institutions.

## Old Age Pensions

To give wage earners more of security, Labor is urging federal old age pensions and unemployment insurance. Old age comes to all and as the life span lengthens, the number of the nation's aged, without incomes or means of self-support, has steadily increased. Labor urges a federal old age contributory pension system to which employees are eligible at 60 years of age and old age assistance for those who cannot accumulate pensions. Labor advocates a monthly pension of not less than \$50 a month for dependent persons over 60 years of age.

## Unemployment Insurance

We urge also a federal unemployment insurance system which should provide for a federal tax of 5 per cent on payrolls and grants-in-aid to states that provide state-pooled systems, benefit payments for a maximum period of not less than 26 weeks, with payment amounting to not less than 50 per cent of normal wages.

and up to at least \$15 a week, with a waiting period of 1 week. Labor believes that employees should not contribute to unemployment funds because they pay in lower incomes during depression and in higher prices by which employers cover the costs of their contributions.

The working people of the nation appreciate the blessings and benefits of liberty, freedom and democracy. They cherish these vital principles as a priceless heritage which must be protected and preserved at all costs. The hope and the salvation of Labor lies in democracy. For that reason it opposes dictatorship whether established under the guise of the proletariat or of the autocrat.

Labor is fully conscious of the fact that a great economic change is taking place and that the nation is passing from the absolutism of individual control of our industrial and financial life to a broader supervision of these social agencies on the part of the people through their own government.

## JOBLESS SECURITY BILL PASSED IN CONNECTICUT

By Abraham Knepler

HARTFORD, Conn.—The old age pension bill passed the lower house of the Connecticut General Assembly last week with but one dissenting vote and is now up for a vote in the Senate.

Amendments proposed by Socialist Representative Jack O. Bergen to improve the one time model but now considerably crippled bill received some support, although they failed of passage. One amendment sought to remove the \$3 head-tax on every person in the state between the ages of 21 and 65 to finance the administration of the bill.

In the Senate the Socialists sought again to amend the bill, as did the Democrats. After considerable discussion and the passage of two amendments in coalition with the Democrats, the Socialists in a tactical move, in coalition with the Republicans, moved for reconsideration and rejection of the amendments, to leave the bill as it emerged from the lower house.

This was done because the Socialists wanted to insure passage of an old age pension bill and make amendments after they were sure the act itself was already on the books. If the bill were to pass the Senate with new amendments it would then have to go back to the much more conservative House, where the Socialists feared, the bill in its amended form might be defeated, since similar amendments had already been defeated in the House. If the bill went back again, in amended form, the whole bill might be killed by what is known as "disagreeing action" between the two houses.

After the bill is passed in the form in which it emerged from the House (as is expected), the Socialists will attempt to have amendments raised in the Judiciary Committee, to improve and strengthen it. Then each amendment can be considered individually, since the old age pension bill itself will have safely become a law.

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## Green's Summary of Labor's Demands

WHAT Labor wants. . . The keystone in its program at all times is the right to organize and bargain collectively. It asks recognition and acceptance of this right by employers and protection by the government against violation or invasion of this right.

It asks the right to representation and participation in agencies and decisions where issues which affect its interests and welfare are determined.

It asks that society make provisions for those to whom an opportunity to earn a living is denied and for those who have lived beyond the productive period.

It asks that all work, both public and private, be kept on a self-respecting basis so that no one shall be forced down to pauper standards of life and work.

It asks that educational opportunities be made freely available to all and designed to meet the needs of all.

It wants Child Labor abolished permanently and wage standards commensurate with the requirements of the American standard of living established and maintained.

It insists that cultural and recreational opportunities be created in all civic centers so that leisure gained as a result of technical improvement may be made as available and profitable to the individual and the Nation as are the hours utilized in earning wages in mills, mines and factories.

It believes that the way to democratic living is to extend privileges and rights to the underprivileged—the great masses of wage earners and small salaried workers. It believes it is not only possible but highly desirable for men to work together for common betterment and that men would prefer to compete with each other in giving service rather than in gaining control over other men's lives. This faith gives Labor courage to join in the common effort to develop the agencies and the practices of a new age.

steadily increasing the proportion going to overhead allotments. One industrial engineer who studied this problem of distinction found that in 1917, when producing workers got \$1.00 for goods made, overhead people got another dollar for various services leading to the sale of the product to consumers; whereas in 1932, when producing workers got one dollar, executives got \$2.30. This is one reason why 36,000 families (1/10 per cent of all families) with incomes of \$75,000 or more have an aggregate of 9.8 billions of dollars, while six millions (or 21 per cent of all families) with incomes of less than \$1,000 have a total aggregate amounting only to 2.5 billions. This means that 6 families in the upper bracket have nearly four times as much to live on as one thousand families in the lower bracket. This sort of a situation is an unfortunate background against which to mass an army of 10,000,000 unemployed while denying the employed wage earners the right to organize to bargain collectively. Continued insistence on special privileges by investor groups will drive even American wage earners to radical methods and agencies. Can America afford to be without a strong, constructive, aggressive Labor movement?

## Economic Planning Urged

The Nation's experience with mass production, technical changes, the pyramiding of industrial control through holding companies, the mounting fortunes of the few and the steady decline of the workers' share in the value created by manufacture (approximately a decline of 20 per cent between 1921 and 1931), helped precipitate the catastrophe of 1929. The business structure broke down creating an army of unemployed that exceeded 13 million in 1933 and has not since dropped below 10 million. This demonstrated the need for balance in the economic structure of the Nation and the impossibility of having such balance unless we planned to that end. The Government has set about the task of

Money and credit are the life-blood of business because they are necessary to exchange. Exchange puts finished products in the hands of consumers.

The first move toward a planned economy designed to establish a partnership in industry was the enactment of the National Recovery Act, which moved toward balance in industry by providing for the organization of industrial managements in trade associations with exemption from anti-trust regulations, and with guarantees to wage earners of the right to organize in free trade unions and to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. Trade associations and unions under government chairmanship were to originate codes which were to

more profitable levels. The 30-hour work-week would provide work opportunities for several millions unemployed and give an impetus that would absorb the remainder.

The problem we have to meet in fixing the work-week is to balance the rate at which industries use power, which is the key to productivity. The use of power has increased 50 per cent in 10 years. In comprehending the consequences of this change in production, we must bear in mind the fact that engineers estimate that one power-hour is the equivalent of 10 man-hours in production. The work-week must be adjusted so as to balance changes in production and technique.

Labor does not have adequate representation and voice in the

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# Socialism on the Road to Power

## May First — Nineteen Thirtyfive

By RAPHAEL ABRAMOWITSCH

Member Executive Bureau, Labor and Socialist International

THE severe blow dealt to international Socialism by Hitler's victory in Germany brought only temporary confusion into its ranks, weakening for a while its prestige and striking power. The crisis now shaking the edifice of capitalism to its very foundation, emphasizing more clearly than ever the bankruptcy of capitalism, has compensated to a considerable degree the defeat suffered by Socialism in Central Europe.

Today, two years after Hitler's advent to power, the Socialist proletariat is once more resuming its aggressive advance in Europe.

This advance is taking place, first, in the democratic countries. Labor governments have come into power in all the three Scandinavian countries. They do not command majorities in their respective parliaments. They do not place before themselves the task of immediate realization of Socialism.

They are very far removed from any species of revolutionary "radicalism." Their immediate task is to fight against the depression and its consequences for the people and the tolling masses. In other words, the problem before the labor parties in the Scandinavian countries is to supply "correctives" for capitalism. But this modest "reformist" task as it presents itself in the present stage of capitalist development can no longer be carried out by capitalism itself. It must be performed by the proletariat through the instrumentality of its own parties. Such parties have before them no other road than the road to power.

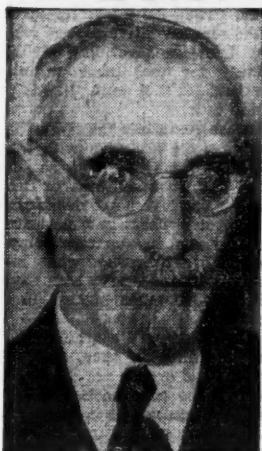
A similar process has just taken place in Belgium. The crisis had attained a critical point, threatening the country with financial and currency catastrophe, pregnant with increasing misery for the masses in that highly industrialized country. The capitalist parties stood helpless in the face of this catastrophe. The bankruptcy of the various capitalist groupings brought the Labor Party upon the arena, the only party able to put forward a clear and definite plan of action: the De Man plan.

Originally, the De Man plan had been intended as a platform for the attainment of power, for the winning of the proletariat and the ruined middle classes to the side of the Labor Party. The intensification of the crisis gave the Belgian Labor Party an opportunity to put this plan into effect by participation in the government with this very purpose in mind.

It appears that the same road will be entered upon in the near future by the British Labor Party. The general parliamentary elections are expected to strengthen the Labor Party so as to make formation of a Labor government inevitable, regardless of whether or not our British comrades will have a majority or will represent merely the strongest single party in Parliament, as was the case in 1929.

Participation in the government to ameliorate the diseases of capitalism, in order that they may be able later to win complete power, participation in the government "with the permission of capitalism," as some like to put it, and on the basis of the existing system, in order to win complete power "with the permission of the proletariat" and the confidence of the proletariat for the larger task of abolition of capitalism and the building of Socialism—is the road upon which in ever-increasing measure the important labor parties in the democratic countries are now entering.

This development had its inception long ago, when the aggressive-revolutionary wave of 1919-1920 had spent itself, when the radical-revolutionary sentiments of the proletariat had been compromised and disorganized by the splitting tactics of the Bolsheviks, and the



Raphael Abramowitsch

hopes of new democratic gains appeared boundless.

The development in question was halted and appeared to be smashed by the brutal advance of fascism and Hitlerism, which wrecked in barbarous manner the German and Austrian Socialist parties. With pride Hitler maintained that he saved Europe from the "Red menace."

Weakened politically and morally, the European proletariat was compelled to enter upon a period of retreat and to maneuver as best it could. The battles in Germany, and particularly in Austria, had, as a consequence, assumed the character of rear guard actions, such as armies are compelled to fight in periods of retreat.

But not more than two years had passed when the situation began to change. The nationalist-capitalist reaction, which had assumed such barbarous forms in Central Europe, lost its old aggressive power.

The workers are beginning to recover from the first wave of confusion and are closing their ranks.

This process of recovery is taking place in countries where democracy is firmly in power, and on a platform of reformism and coalition with democratic-bourgeois parties.

The revival of Socialist prestige in the fascist countries and the strengthening of the labor movement in the democratic countries is reflected in an accentuation of revolutionary sentiments. The trial of the Republican Defense Corps leaders in Vienna, the shop council elections in Germany are clear symptoms of the growing urge to revolutionary struggle.

The world now perceives clearly the true meaning and substance of Hitlerism: the revival of German militarism, the rise of German neo-imperialism, directed toward immediate preparation for another world war.

The advance of the proletariat in our capitalist world, which has lost its old stability and unity, proceeds by short spurts and zigzags. The destruction of capitalist stability may take the form of an unprecedented catastrophe in the event of war, now being feverishly prepared by fascism. Everybody feels and understands it, and it is one of the paradoxes of contemporary capitalism that fear of

war, coupled with the growth of nationalism and armaments, is accompanied simultaneously by strengthening of the positions and prestige of the working class and of the Socialist parties in the eyes of the people, for only the forces of Socialism, representing the only sincere opposition to war, can prevent war. And only the working class, as the basic power upon which modern industry rests, can help win a war should it be impossible to avert it.

The depression and the war danger split the forces of the proletariat, but at the same time strengthened its position. Such is the dialectics of the present phase of capitalism.

The Socialist proletariat of Europe must display great discipline, endurance and political skill to utilize the contradictions of the situation in its own interests, in order that it may strike a death blow to both capitalism and war.

In this task it cannot avoid concentrating its attention upon Soviet Russia and the United States.

In Russia the problem of power gives the appearance of having been solved. The question there is no longer how to achieve power. But the no less important problem remains: how to utilize that power, how to shape it, in order that it may become truly stable, how to make of it the bulwark of the toiling people, in order that it may become an instrument for the advance toward Socialism and not a weapon for the preparation, however involuntary, for bonapartism and counter-revolution?

In this proletarian sense the "road to power" remains also for Russia a distant ideal, and in wide circles of Russian and international Socialism there is a profound and tragic feeling that Stalin's dictatorship may lead the Russian Revolution into a dangerous and inescapable impasse. Meanwhile, the danger of war is particularly real for Russia, more so than for any other country. To enter into war with a hungry, discontented population, deeply dissatisfied with the government's policy, with poorly fed, passive workers, deprived of the right to all independent political activity by the terrorist dictatorship, would constitute a risk that even Stalin himself must understand.

The democratization of the Soviet regime, conciliation (through compromise based upon abandonment of utopianism) with the basic forces of the peasantry and the proletariat is the immediate task involved in the problem of the "road to power" in Russia. A speedy and successful solution of this problem would bring a tremendous strengthening of the power of Russia's revolutionary government and would greatly strengthen the entire Socialist proletariat of Europe. It would mean the beginning of a mighty new advance of Socialism in the entire world.

How to find the "road to power" in Europe and strengthen the power already acquired in Russia—these are the two cardinal problems before us.

There is an entirely different problem, and a much more modest one, presenting itself, however, in

the most powerful of all capitalist countries, the United States. In the United States the problem Socialists must solve is still the simple one of how to find the road to the masses.

The absence of a mass labor movement in the United States (in the post-war period) has been one of the weakest spots of world Socialism. The gigantic perturbation produced by the depression, the deep ideological and psychological fermentation, symbolized by the Roosevelt experiment, appeared to have created a favorable situation for the activity of the Socialist Party, for its transformation into a mass party. Unfortunately, strife and division have arisen within that little nucleus upon whose shoulders this great responsibility has fallen. The removal of these disagreements, maintenance of unity within the Socialist vanguard, is the immediate problem of Socialism in the United States.

The development of the working class movement throughout the world proceeds in various ways, by zigzags and forward spurts.

But the movement has definitely revived from the marasmus of the early period of its defeats (1933-1934). It is advancing forward and upward.

With new hopes and opportunities, with new strength and courage, world Socialism is celebrating May 1, 1935.

## An Appeal to Trade Unionists

By Eugene V. Debs

From his Writings and Speeches

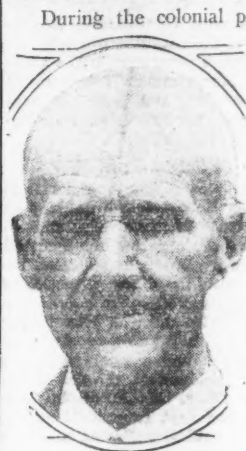
UNIONISM, as applied to labor in the modern sense, is the fruit and flower of the last century.

In the United States, as in other countries, the trade union dates from the beginning of industrial society.

During the colonial period of our history, when agriculture was the principal pursuit, when the shop was small and work was done by hand with simple tools, and the worker could virtually employ himself, there was no unionism among the workers.

When machinery was applied to industry, and mill and factory took the place of the country blacksmith shop; when the workers were divorced from their tools and recruited in the mills; when they were obliged to compete against each other for employment; when they found themselves in the labor market with but a low bid or none at all upon their labor power; when they began to realize that as toolless workmen they were at the mercy of the tool-owning masters, the necessity for union among them took root, and as industry developed, the trade union movement followed in its wake and became a factor in the class struggle of the workers against the aggressions of the employers.

It is of vital importance to the trade union that its members be class-conscious, that they understand the class struggle and their duty as union men on the political field, so that in every move that is made they will have the goal in view, and while taking advantage of every opportunity to secure concessions and enlarge their economic advantage, they will at the same time unite at the ballot box, not only to back up the economic struggle of the trade union, but to finally wrest the government from capitalist control and establish the working class republic.



Eugene V. Debs

## Cleveland Unions in Big Demonstration

By Sidney Yellen

CLEVELAND. — The Cleveland Federation of Labor has sponsored a huge May mass meeting where organized labor will unite in demanding unemployment and social insurance, a 30-hour week and a law against company unions. This demonstration will be Sunday, May 5, in one of the largest halls in Cleveland.

The Federation has also sent a request to all breweries in the Cleveland area not to use the paper pads which beer houses put on the tables when beer is served. These pads are made in Germany and the Federation, cooperating with trade unions all over the world, is enforcing the boycott against German-made goods as long as Nazi dictatorship lasts. The delegates from the Allied Printing Trades announced that the same pads could be bought in Cincinnati, made in a union shop.

Unfortunately the local Socialist movement will participate in a united front with the Communists on the first of May.

A resolution on the united front

adopted at the last state convention authorized locals to participate in Communist united front activities if an adequate number of unions affiliated with the local central bodies officially take part in it. The State Executive Committee decided that ten local unions shall be considered an adequate number. On the basis of this decision, ten minor unions, some not affiliated with the Cleveland Federation of Labor, will celebrate May Day with the Socialists.

It is feared that the decision to unite with the Communists, after the Cleveland Federation of Labor rejected the proposition by a unanimous vote and arranged its own May mass meeting, will embarrass Socialists in the unions.

The successful drives of the Metal Trade department, of the delivery and transportation department, of maintaining impregnable the Building Trades of Cuyahoga County, even though the building trades suffered more than any other from the depression, ranged the union movement as a militant fighting organization.

One affiliate which contributed to this is the Amalgamated Cloth-

ing Workers of America, which organized all shops in the men's clothing industry, a number manufacturing shirts, and unionized one of the largest plants in the world, the Joseph and Feiss, where 2,400 workers are employed.

The Joint Board arranged the installation of officers at a banquet in honor of Frank Rosenblum, head of the Western Organization Department, and Beryl Peppercorn, Manager of the Cleveland section. Sidney Hillman, Joseph Schlossberg and Jacob Potofsky are guests of honor at the banquet, Friday, April 26, at the Hollenden Hotel.

A far-reaching program for educational and recreational activities resulted in well functioning Educational Classes, a Ladies' and Men's Choir of 75 voices, a Dramatic Club, Bowling and Baseball teams and an Amalgamated Band.

**Battery Workers to Strike**  
Members of Battery Workers' Federal Union No. 19,268 voted to strike if the management does not grant demands for shorter hours, increased wages and seniority rights. A strike vote was taken and the committee was instructed to call a strike at its discretion.

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## Socialism: Revolution of Minds

By Victor L. Berger

From Voice and Pen of Victor L. Berger

WE are revolutionary not in the vulgar meaning of the word, which is entirely wrong, but in the sense illustrated by history, the only logical sense.

We want to convince the majority of the people. As long as we are in the minority, we of course have no right to force our opinions upon an unwilling majority.

Besides, as modern men and true democrats, we have a somewhat less romantic and boyish idea of the development of human things and social systems. And we know that one can kill tyrants and scare individuals with dynamite and bullets, but one cannot develop a system that way.

We know perfectly well that force serves only those who have it, that a sudden overthrow will breed dictators, that it can promote only subjection, never liberty.

The Social Democrats do not expect success from a so-called revolution—that is, a smaller or bigger riot—but from a real revolution, from the revolutionizing of minds, the only true revolution there is.

Yet we do not deny that after we have convinced the majority of the people, we are going to use force if the minority should resist. But in every democracy the majority rules, and must rule.

It is clear that this revolution of the minds cannot be brought about in a day or two, nor can it be arranged for the pleasure of a few. It can only be attained by patient work and intelligent organization.

We want to observe closely the course of things, the development of economic and political conditions. We want to find out, if possible, where this development leads. Then, supported by this knowledge, we want to put ourselves in line with the march of civilization, so that civilization will carry us, instead of crushing us, which it would do, if—knowingly or not—we should stand opposed to it.



Victor L. Berger

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# Auto Workers Press Fight for Unionization

Organization Drive Pushed Despite Obstacles Raised by Employers and Roosevelt Administration—Workers Prepare for Ultimate Showdown

By L. S. DAVIDOW

Special to The New Leader

**DETROIT**—There is no group of employers in the United States more determined to prevent the organization of workers than the automobile manufacturers. Thus far they have been very successful. Last spring it seemed as if their unbroken domination would be seriously challenged for the first time, but this expectation was dissipated as weeks and months wore by and the demands of men in the industry were ignored or refused.

About a year ago newspapers carried scare headlines about the imminence of an automobile strike. The American Federation of Labor had succeeded in organizing strong groups in all the automobile industries, with the possible exception of Ford. It is common knowledge now prominent labor officials were persuaded by the genial personality of President Roosevelt to abandon the strike upon assurances that later turned out to be vague and indefinite, that the men's claims would be considered and adequately treated. The immediate outcome of the White House conferences, when A.F.o.L. representatives met the President in his office, was the creation of the now famous Automobile Labor Board, consisting of Nicholas Kel-

ley, attorney for the Chrysler Motor Company, representing the interests of the manufacturers; Richard Byrd, a newcomer in the automobile labor unions, representing the workers; and Leo Wolman, supposedly disinterested and representing the public.

## Dilatory Poetics

Labor was given to understand that the Labor Board would pass upon points in controversy and arrive at decisions binding upon all concerned. Labor had become satiated with the dilatory tactics of various regional labor boards under the NRA and was pressing for machinery to be able to arrive at conclusions and compel adherence to them. Much to the consternation of labor, this Automobile Labor Board first functioned as an other Conciliation Board, in which it sought to reconcile the irreconcilable. It devoted itself almost exclusively to charges of discrimination, which of themselves were serious enough, but on the major issues, such as the unwillingness of employers to meet representatives of the employees, on hours, wages and other conditions, the Automobile Labor Board proved to be entirely useless.

Indignation spread among the automobile workers, and unfortunately their reaction reacted against the prestige of the A. F. of L. Vacillations of the Labor Board and disappointments that grew out of them were charged unfairly to the Federation. When this Board was first created, great expectations were held out, based largely upon chairman Leo Wolman, who had earned considerable prestige for his work with other unions. He was supposedly liberal and sympathetic with the cause of labor; hence, the opinion shared by responsible labor leaders that something worthwhile was finally going to develop.

The Automobile Labor Board pursued its uneventful career characterized by growing discontent with its ineffectiveness. In this period Wolman proved another betrayer of labor. Richard Byrd, official representative of labor, found himself in a hopeless minority particularly because of his inexperience. He was no match for the sharpshooters who were his associates.

It has always been the insistence of the A.F.o.L. that employees have the opportunity under fair election conditions to decide what sort of representation they wanted; that is, the open shop or company unionism on one hand, or the facilities of organized labor on the other. There has been the confident expectation on the part of the American Federation of Labor that with fair and unimpeded elections workers would in a large measure express their preference

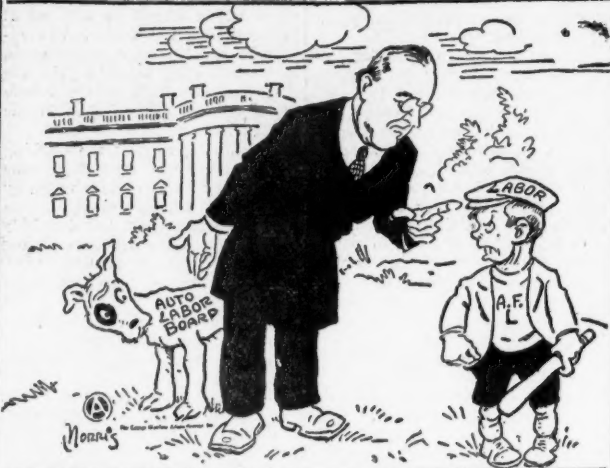
for the American Federation of Labor.

## The New Set-Up

It is no exaggeration to say that when President Roosevelt persuaded William Green and the other labor spokesmen to postpone the strike a year ago, organized labor was led to believe that the least the Government would do would be to secure fair conditions under which labor could make its bid for the support of the workers. This included the right to be consulted and advised by the government before any final action was taken. These hopes were dissipated

So far as Wolman is concerned, he may be definitely charged as anticipating that this scheme, of which he was supposed to be the creator, had the purpose of frustrating efforts to unionize the industry.

About two weeks ago, employees' representatives, elected under this scheme, had a conference with the Automobile Labor Board in Dr. Wolman's office when Wolman said that employee representatives had no right to organize a city group made up of representatives from the various plants. When Wolman was challenged by one of the



when in the early part of this year the Automobile Labor Board, with the knowledge and consent of President Roosevelt and Donald Richberg, announced a new set-up in the automobile industry. Unknown to labor, the Automobile Labor Board created a scheme which was claimed to afford true representation of employees. In substance, the scheme proposed to have all automobile employees in a plant take part in an election on a specified day, first in the nomination of representatives and finally in the election of representatives.

The scheme met the immediate opposition of labor, for the very obvious reason that instead of uniting men into one organization it created another form of organization, and a very loose one at that, in which there would be no cohesiveness, no co-ordination and no general objective. Giving the Automobile Labor Board the doubtful benefit of honest intention, there can be no escape from the conclusion that in its results it has had the tendency to disrupt the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to organize the industry and divide the men into such small units, wholly unrelated to one another, as to make difficult, if not impossible, the organization of the men into unions.

Chrysler employee representatives that the NRA gave men the right to organize a union of their own choosing, Wolman conceded that was so, but advised the representatives against organizing of city-wide groups.

While the organization of this scheme has temporarily interfered with the effort to organize the industry and to that extent has served the purpose of the manufacturers, there are signs that the machinations of Wolman and his associates will fail.

## Bitter Medicine

The employees have been meeting in various groups all over the city to confer with the representatives concerning wages, hours and other conditions of employment. At these meetings they have heard their representatives advise them that while conferences have taken place with the management, nothing has come of them. They have been told that under the representative group scheme they have no power to enforce their demands. Even Byrd, who has completely forfeited the respect and confidence of the men, has had to concede to the employees as he has addressed them at numerous representative group meetings, that they could expect no substantial concessions because they had no power under the scheme.

The representatives themselves have been given a taste of the bitter medicine of how futile it is to negotiate with no compact organization to buttress their position. The looseness of the form of representative organization, the lack of dues, the lack of discipline, the lack of any machinery with which to function as an organized unit, have made clear to the men what organized labor has been saying from the time it first began to articulate. This lesson is being rapidly learned by thousands of men new in the industry who had been led to entertain high hopes of what the representative group scheme would do for them, and for whom there has been nothing but bitter disappointment.

The employers are discovering, much to their chagrin and amazement, that their employees are learning the lessons of the hopelessness of negotiation with the management unless there be a strong union organization of their own choosing to deal for them. The management does not dare discharge employees for attending the meetings of representative groups, or for that matter, does not dare openly discharge anyone. The men are meeting and while they are being offered the facilities of the factories, they prefer to meet in halls which they hire themselves, the rent for which is usually defrayed by voluntary collections. The mere fact that many of them are meeting for the first time and voicing their grievances and learning that the present set-up is doomed to failure, is a necessary transitory period that the men are going through, preliminary to the organization of a real union.

## Workers Dare Spies

That the men are learning and that they are arriving at the conclusion that their future can only be safeguarded by a bona fide labor union is known to the manufacturers whose spies attend all the meetings. However, they find themselves in this predicament, by voluntary agreement they have signed up with the Automobile Labor Board, have given the Automobile Labor Board jurisdiction over matters of discrimination. While they may abandon these agreements any time they see fit,

they dare not do it now lest they immediately expose the shallow pretext of the Automobile Labor Board set-up. The manufacturers know that these representative group meetings are creating the mental attitude together with the determination on the part of employees to develop organizations that will have power to compel concessions.

Manufacturers are now caught between the upper and nether millstone. They must pay lip service to the representative scheme which they know is developing the machinery for real labor organization, and yet they would like to put a stop to it.

In the meantime the A.F.o.L. is watching the situation with interest, and it may be said, satisfaction. The Automobile Labor Board and the employers are demonstrating to the workers in a most striking way, and in a manner comprehensible to everyone, what labor union organizers have been saying with not so much success in the past.

The American Federation of Labor is biding its time, fully conscious that events are driving the men to the conclusion which will lead eventually and in the not too far distant future, into unions of their own choosing. When that time comes, labor in the automobile industry will have arrived.

## CLEANERS IN STRIKE ON CHAIN STORES

**MORE** than 7,000 workers in the cleaning and dyeing industry of New York and vicinity went on strike Tuesday in an effort to force stabilization of the industry and compel improvement of work and wage conditions.

Supporting the strike are thousands of small retail store proprietors cooperating with the strikers in the drive on chain stores, against which the walkout is principally directed. The strike is conducted by the Cleaning and Dye House Drivers' Union and the Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union.

While the strikers are seeking to tie up the big wholesale plants, about 100 in number, which do work both for chain stores and independent retailers, as a means of forcing united action by the industry as a whole in the direction of general improvement, they are particularly determined to break the opposition of the chain stores, which have been the principal stumbling block to stabilization.

It is the chain stores who by cutting prices below the subsistence level and fanning cut-throat competition in the industry which have been primarily responsible for the location of work and wage standards and what the unions characterize as complete chaos in the industry.

About twenty per cent of the strikers are women. Stabilization of the industry, standardization of wage and working conditions, union recognition, a 36-hour week, minimum wage rates of \$25 to \$45 a week, pay for holidays, time and a half for overtime and the closed shop are among the demands of the strikers.

The strike began with great enthusiasm and has been marked by intensive picketing in which thousands of the workers have participated.

## The Labor Week

By Chester M. Wright

(Continued from Page One)

tors, no parent body will compel its local unions to live under intolerable conditions.

If there is a truce it is a truce only in part and, I think, a minor part, at that. That does not modify the fact that there is, among leaders, a hope that the industrial scene will not be too badly disturbed before Congress acts on the Wagner bill, which labor regards as vital.

As to the Wagner bill, candidly, the chances are not too bright. Congressional leaders might and probably would deny it, but there is in fact a sub rosa agreement not to report out the Wagner bill until Congress has acted on extension of NRA. The theory back of that manifestly is that, with NRA extended, it may be possible for reactionaries in Congress to induce their colleagues to abandon the Wagner bill. The idea is to wiggle out of having to enact the Wagner bill.

A number of members of Congress may change their minds when the national labor conference called by President William Green meets in Washington next Monday. The purpose of that great conference is to impress upon Congress the absolute need for the Wagner bill and certain other labor measures, including the 30-hour week bill and to make it very clear that failure on the part of Congressmen will be followed by certain political campaign activities which no officeholder likes to contemplate.

Generally, the industrial picture looks a bit better this week. The statistical wizards have built up charts, tables and calculations which indicate what is called better business conditions. However, so far as we can learn, there isn't much change in employment figures and until those begin to change in a big way there will not be much reason for the cheering section to go into action. The outlook appears to be for betterment but most of us now want to ob-

serve the substance and not the forecasting shadow before we breathe easier.

New York City has been nearer a city-wide bread strike than is generally known. All danger is not past, but tonight it is remote. Fast action in these last three or four days seems to have forced most of the wrinkles out of a situation that had union leaders deeply concerned for a time. Once more it was a situation in which the labor hating employer endangered a whole structure of peace because of his bitterness.

The situation still bears watching, but eruption probably has been prevented. If there is still some danger tonight, it is most acute in the Jewish division of the industry. It seems to me that if there is any commodity in the making of which labor should not be exploited and demeaned, it is in the making of bread.

Now a word of warning. Watch the Pittsburgh steel district. All is NOT filled with the promise of light and sweetness in that great literal melting pot of the nation. It isn't possible tonight to forecast what will happen, or when. But those looking for news ought to keep an eye on steel in the Pittsburgh area.

For months there has been no week when the textile industry has been out of the news. This week we have a cabinet committee planning an inquiry, by direction of the President. State governors and mill owners went to Washington. They waved the flag over Japanese imports and over the processing tax. Perhaps the import situation needs attention. But deeper things than those are wrong with textiles and until deeper things are fixed there will be no real fixing. The United Textile Workers will tell that to the cabinet committee. As to the tax, it happens to be the fact that a really decent wage, added to the tax, would add no more than five cents to the price of a shirt. Labor believes Americans would pay that to redeem an industry from mud and bondage.

## Forward Association Condemns Lang Articles in Hearst Press

The Forward Association, publishers of the Jewish Daily Forward, Yiddish Socialist daily, has made public the following statement:

"At a special meeting of the Forward Association, held April 22nd, 1935, in the Forward Building, it was voted to make the following declaration in the Forward and all other Socialist publications:

"A member of the Forward staff and of the Forward Association Harry Lang, has given his pen and name to a chain of reactionary newspapers, which has frequently been branded by the labor and progressive movements as an enemy of the labor movement and of every advanced movement.

"We regard this conduct as a crime against the Socialist and labor movement of the United States and the recognized principles and

usages of our movement. Such action is not consistent with the conduct expected to be followed by one connected with a Socialist or labor organization.

"As a result of this tragic experience, we hereby decide that in the future no member of the staff shall be permitted to write in capitalist newspapers without special permission of the Forward Association.

"It is also decided to inform the New York State Committee of the Socialist Party and all other friendly organizations of this action."

The action was taken as a result of publication in the Hearst newspapers of a series of articles by Lang, which has aroused severe criticism and condemnation in Socialist circles.

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## Their First May Day Celebration

Newly Enlisted in the Labor Movement, Thousands of Young Garment Workers in Many Cities Eager to March in Parades

By Gertrude Weil Klein

THOUSANDS of workers in scores of small towns throughout the country will this year, for the first time, celebrate May 1st as labor's holiday. For the first time thousands of recently organized workers will be called upon by their unions to come to meetings, parades and picnics, where they will express their solidarity, and head the story of the struggle of labor throughout the world.

Only a year ago, or perhaps in some cases two years ago, these workers knew nothing of union; or if they did, it was nothing good. They had been fed the vicious conception of the union as a racket and the union leader as a grafter, assiduously spread by union-hating employers and by Communists, at times that union policies did not please them. It was no easy matter to make progress against such a combination of opponents; it is something to be glad about that the success has been so great.

Throughout New York State there will be a whole string of towns holding May Day meetings. Big cities like Albany and Troy, where the shirtmakers recently waged a victorious campaign, will have big meetings. Along in Haverstraw, Peekskill, Nyack, largely due to the good work of Comrade Thomas W. Davis and other members of the Rockland County Socialist local, festivities of one kind or another will be held. All through Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Jersey where the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers and the other needle trades have pushed their frontiers, May 1st will be celebrated by recently organized workers.

In Elizabeth, N. J., the workers of one of the largest firms in the wash-suit industry, the Atlantic Romper will go right from the picketline to the parade. These workers are celebrating their anniversary as union members with a 100% walkout, which was as great a shock to their employer as though his own children had walked out on him. In fact, he had always insisted that the workers were just like his own children and about a year and a half ago he tried to organize a company union for them, which fell flat.

And a great deal of quiet consistent work has been going on right in New York City which will show up in New York's monster parade. Last year the babies of the parade were the Ladies' Neckwear Workers' Union. This year they have an addition, the flower and feather workers, some of whom are still striking and some of whom won settlements within the last week or two.

The bushelmen's section of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will be three times as large as last year, with bushelmen from the swell Fifth Avenue stores in the ranks. Right now one of the very smart shops, Finchley's, is tied up 100% by a strike of its alteration hands or bushelmen. By May 1st, they will probably be marching with a union settlement.

Another branch of the men's clothing industry which has put over a good job of organizing this last year is the shipping clerks who are practically completely organized. They will be in the line of march, too. And the ticket sewers who work alongside of the cutters in the cutting rooms and who only recently became union.

### Greetings

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## BISCUIT STRIKERS CLUBBED



This picture shows a scene on the picket line of the strikers against the National Biscuit Company when New York mounted police took a hand in one of the hottest labor battles in the country.

## The Pennsylvania Front

### Five-County-Conference

QUAKERTOWN, Pa.—The Five-County Socialist Conference, with representation from Lehigh, Northampton, Bucks, Montgomery and Chester Counties, met recently at Quakertown. Charles W. Young of Allentown, member of the State Executive Committee, presided. The conference represented 12 branches, 4 Y.P.S.L. Circles and several women's groups.

The conference concerned itself chiefly with the problems of organization, education and a membership campaign.

In response to the call of the State Executive Committee, the conference decided to launch a campaign in behalf of the Anti-Company Union, Anti-Eviction, Socialist Insurance, Sedition Bill Repealer and the 30-Hour Week bills.

Plans for further organization in Montgomery and Northampton Counties were drawn up.

The New Leader was endorsed and arrangements made for the next conference, to be held at Menlo Park, Parkside, Pa., during the middle of July.

### Booming Activities Everywhere

BETHELEHEM. — Bethlehem will have a full ticket in the forthcoming election; reports increase

in membership; extensive educational program; organizing Y.P.S.L. circle.

EASTON.—Easton is taking in new members. They will have a full ticket.

LANGHORNE. — Langhorne branch has an active membership; educational activities.

ALLENOWN.—Allentown comrades are planning an annual picnic the first Sunday in August at Central Park. They report an active Women's Committee and Y.P.S.L. circle; expect full ticket.

FULLERTON.—Fullerton branch is reorganizing; good prospects.

SELLERSVILLE. — Sellersville branch reports active membership; holds propaganda meetings.

### Five New Branches

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Ahe State Executive Secretary announces the following new branches in Pennsylvania: Scranton Branch, Lackawanna County; Jessup Italian Branch, Lackawanna County; Coalport Branch, Clearfield County; Glen Hope-Iriona Branch, Clearfield County; Du Bois Branch, Clearfield County.

## UNITED FRONT BID TO L.S.I. CAME TOO LATE

FRIEDRICH ADLER, secretary of the Labor and Socialist International, has made public copies of correspondence with the executive of the Communist International regarding joint May Day celebrations.

Marcel Cachin telegraphed Adler from Paris on April 11, asking for his reply to a Comintern proposal for such joint action. Not until April 15, did Adler receive the proposal of the executive of the Comintern, dated Moscow, April 10. Evidently, Cachin was reached by Moscow by telegraph and Adler by slow mail.

Adler replied to Moscow and to Cachin, saying to the latter, "You know our point of view through decision of our executive, November, 1934." This telegram to Cachin was included in Adler's letter to Moscow, Comrade Adler adding that joint May Day demonstrations are left to "the decision of the Socialist parties in each country."

Moscow's late decision, the telegram to Cachin five days before Adler received Moscow's letter, the impossibility of Adler even reaching the affiliated Labor and Socialist parties with the proposal in time for them to act, again demonstrates the insincerity of the approach of Moscow to the organized workers of the world.

## Many Cities Join In Big May Day Celebrations

(Continued from Page One)

ton Street, on the evening of May First. Among the organizations participating will be the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Local 143, the Workmen's Circle and its Women's Auxiliary, the Young People's Socialist League and the Socialist Party.

YONKERS.—The Arbeiter Ring and the Socialist Party branch will unite in a May Day celebration, May Day evening, at the joint headquarters, 29-31 Palisade Ave. William E. Duffy will be the principal speaker.

ROCKLAND COUNTY, N. Y.—The Socialist Party will cooperate in the first May Day meeting ever to be held in this county with the textile unions and the Workmen's Circle. A rally has been organized for the Washington Hall in Haverstraw, N. Y., at 7 p. m. A large part of the program will be given over to a show of workers' culture in the form of speeches, songs and other entertainment.

MILWAUKEE.—The Federated Trades Council and the Wisconsin Workers' Committee will unite with the Socialists Party for their May Day demonstration. A plea for a united front with the Communists was emphatically denied.

CHICAGO.—The Labor Committee of the Socialist Party announced excellent response to the call to trade unions all over the country to join in the annual celebration of May Day.

KANSAS CITY, Kansas.—Approximately 25 labor unions will join the Socialist Party in a monster demonstration in celebration of May Day. The keynote of this year's demonstration will be a plea for the 30-hour week and a protest against the threat of war and fascism.

## Parade in Brownsville Monday Night

Monday, April 29th, the Brownsville workers will hold a large parade, ending in a mass meeting at Hopkinson, corner Pitkin Aves. The organizations participating are the Socialist Party, Young

## Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

### The Significance of May Day

MAY DAY is unique as a holiday. It differs from all others in the fact that while other holidays are restricted in their appeal to certain national ideas, traditions, prejudices or noted men, May Day is different. It is not restricted to any nation, it does not divide mankind into groups devoted to national traditions, ideas or prejudices. It is international in ideals and in its observation. Even Christmas, celebrated in many nations, lacks this international scope.

May Day cuts across all forms of nationalism, of racial and color prejudices and veneration of men identified with national and racial myths. It appeals to the awakened working masses of all nationalities, races, colors and countries, binding them into a solidarity of ideals all over the world. Wherever there are workers laboring under any form of servitude, there will be found many who respond to this ideal of world fraternity.

The word "holiday" has a history which has not yet been studied. Its root origin may be located in early religious festivals, a day set apart for their observance. Each such observance was a "holy day." Exemption from work was granted by masters in order that the holy day might be generally observed. It was a day of festival and recreation, of rest and devout homage paid to some tribal or national deity or dieties. Slave and bondman, serf and peon, were thrilled by the solemn services, the mysterious rites, the promise of release from back-breaking toil in some mystic future promised by tribal priests. Even in this mystic form emancipation from the hard lot of the laborer had its appeal.

In the course of social evolution these holy days became special observances of the various religions of the world. As these religions had adherents in a number of nations they became inter-nation holy days. The days set apart to commemorate great generals and statesmen became national holidays. In general, these holidays served the ruling classes by fixing the attention of the masses on "national glory." These holidays give prestige to myths and ideas which induce the masses to accept the existing order of exploitation. Banners and flags stimulate "patriotic" memories and flowery orations commend the traditions of the ruling classes.

### The Holiday of Working Masses

IN the modern capitalistic countries, especially since the end of the World War, the national "holy days" have been transformed into something almost akin to state piety. For example, the American Constitution has been venerated as though it were a holy scroll written by pious saints inspired by heavenly motives instead of by politicians, slave owners, wealthy merchants and their lawyers. To question its pious origin is today regarded by many reactionaries as a sin.

Elsewhere in this issue we tell the story of the origin of May Day and its symbolism. It is Labor's International Holiday. Unlike the early religious "holy days" in the childhood of the human race, the workers observe it not by order of masters but by their own decision. It is THEIR day, the day of the working masses in all countries of the world. Not to pay homage to national "heroes" or to think in terms of release from servitude after their bodies have been sapped of surplus values and they have passed into oblivion, but to think of struggles here and now for emancipation from servitude.

May Day is a day of rest, of recreation, of festivals, of marching hosts of workmen and women. Black and white, Jew and Gentile, foreign and native born, fraternize in proletarian solidarity. Over the centuries through many forms of human slavery this ethic of solidarity has slowly emerged until in the minds and hearts of tens of millions of workers it breaks down frontiers, shatters the ancient prejudices cultivated by the intellectual police of capitalism and forestalls the world that is yet to be.

But May Day is not a day of joy, of exaltation. To the extent that the sentiment of international fraternity is realized we rejoice, but we also know the hideous miseries that have come to our class throughout the world. The worker is locked out of his accustomed work-place. His fists batter in vain at the gates of employment. His children suffer and in place of opportunity they face a Sahara Desert of broken hopes. The mills are silent and the market place is empty of customers. Into the faces of millions of workers are thrust the degrading alms of the rich.

### What of the Morrow?

THE countryside where once the yeoman cultivated his acres in comparative comfort is a scene of desolation. If his harvest yield is great, it only piles up to mock him in his misery. His brothers of the cities starve for want of the fruit of his acres. The wage laborer in turn is deprived of the opportunity to serve the yeoman. Civilization in the hands of the wise men of the world has turned awry. A potential paradise has been transformed into a prison housing paupers. Life is uncertain and the future is bleak for the laborers who are outcasts in the very temple which their genius has created.

It is a sad May Day. It is sad in London and Paris, in Melbourne and Tokio, in Brussels and New York. Everywhere we have built and the builders know not what of the morrow. The wise men know not. They toy with soldiers, with guns, with dynamite, with poison gas, while the machines of industry rust and acres of food go ungathered.

On a precarious layer just above the yeoman and the wage laborer gather frightened men and women. They cling to this slender ledge, hoping to climb to an upper layer, frantically fearing that they will be thrust into the pit below, the pit where our class vegetates in anxiety and fights against utter degradation and loss of hope. Here on this ledge the Hitlers and Mussolinis obtain recruits; here human beings turn to demagogues to end their misery.

In the alleys and byways, in the shadows and haunts of misfits, here slink the Ishmaels of society, warped men and women who could be reclaimed in a decent human world. The "criminals," forsooth! Many of them never lived and never had a chance to live. Here is the "social scum" of Marx's phrase, the scum that rises to the top in Fascist countries to become the pillars of a despotic regime—until a blood purge removes them from the earthly scene.

Only a few niches of the old order, to be sure, but they must be recalled to understand the vast human task that faces the army of Labor throughout the world.

### Let Us March On!

IT is May Day. We march and celebrate. We take stock of our victories and defeats. Here we have made an advance and we must hold the conquered sector. There we have been compelled to retreat. Never mind! Reassemble our forces and plan to retake what we have lost. Having gained it another advance beckons us to further action.

There a whole section of the Labor army lies bleeding under the boots of despotism. Measureless sacrifices have been made to prevent the disaster. Again, never mind! The Labor army may be beaten but it never surrenders. It will again mobilize, nay it is being mobilized, within range of spies, of terror, and the ever present threat of death. Neither gallows nor concentration camp can conquer our will to win. Some fall in the struggle. Others pick up the standard and march on. Some day, some time, the victory will be universal! March on!

Meantime, the advance couriers of the Labor army sound the tocsin of devotion to the greatest cause in the history of the race, the organization of the masses of the world for power, power to take over this capitalistic civilization and reshape it for human ends. Its productive powers are sufficient for our work. We shall bring science to our task and labor for human weal. We shall tear down the useless and preserve the useful. We will make the work-place as pleasant as the art studio. The yeoman will transform his fields and his work to yield flowers, not thistles.

A sad present but a glad future. This is the meaning of May Day. Let us march and celebrate and fraternize, strengthening the ethic of international solidarity, inspired by the knowledge that capitalism itself cannot always endure. It must give way to the Socialist ideal of a warless and peaceful world, a world where unmerited poverty and unearned wealth will no longer exist!

People's Socialist League, the sylvania and Sutter Aves. at 7:30 P. M. All party members are requested to participate. David Lasser, chairman of the Workers' Alliance of America, will be chairman of the mass meeting. The parade will start at Penn-

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# Harry Moses — Producer of Distinctive Plays

## His Current Success, "The Old Maid," Wins This Year's Theatre Accord

Mr. Harry Moses, producer of "The Old Maid" at the Empire Theatre, easily comes by the distinction of being one of the most remarkable figures to emerge in the American theatre in recent years.

He has been active in the theatre for a period of exactly five years. In those five years he has accomplished these three things:

Produced one of the most successful plays presented on the American stage in the last twenty-five years.

Discovered the most unique individual talent revealed on the English-speaking stage in the last five years.

Sponsored the most bizarre, the most daringly "different" and the most widely discussed stage production made anywhere in the world in a decade.

The most successful play referred to was, of course, "Grand Hotel."

The unique individual talent which he discovered was that of the flaming and irresistible Katharine Hepburn. Practically an unknown actress, she swam into Broadway fame overnight by her impersonation of the central role in Mr. Moses' production of "The Warrior's Husband."

The bizarre and daringly "different" stage production referred to above was "Four Saints in Three Acts," the Gertrude St. Stein-Virgil Thompson operetta or what have you which drove many of the intelligentsia into orgiastic frenzies of high praise and which either charmed, puzzled, bewildered or completely be-devilled countless thousands of other theatregoers. It took daring of a rather high order to present this esoteric and amazing production to the public and to back it with a substantial outlay.

"The Old Maid," Mr. Moses' newest production, is, if advance announcements are to be believed, something quite different also. It is an attempt to evoke upon the stage the substance of dreams of far-off things; in other words, it seeks to recreate upon the stage something of the atmosphere and the essential feeling of life in old New York a hundred years ago. Very few nostalgic plays of this description have reached the American stage in recent years.

## KIND LADY

As nearly a perfect play as one could imagine, in its field, is "Kind Lady," which opened at the Booth Theatre on Tuesday. Seldom has such a highly concentrated drama been written; there is not a word wasted and the successive climaxes are tense and gripping.

"Kind Lady" is a well-knit play that seems to have been written for Grace George. Never has she appeared to better advantage. Time seems to increase her graciousness and charm. Henry Daniell and the supporting cast, together with the direction, were flawless.

"Kind Lady," written by Edward Chodorov and adapted from one of Hugh Walpole's stories, is based upon the method of a gang of crooks who subtly gain possession of the home of a retired, elderly woman of means. For a period of many months they hold her as a prisoner, disposing of her priceless paintings, forcing her to sign checks, etc. All this is accomplished without the melodrama that accompanies thrillers. On the contrary, the drama and acting are pitched low; not a wild gesture or a raised voice. It is this quality that gives "Kind Lady" power that cannot fail to thrill an audience expecting something novel in the theatre.

## Ginger Rogers-William Powell on Albee Screen—New 7-Act Stage Show

Ginger Rogers plays "Watson" to William Powell's "Sherlock" in "Star of Midnight," the current RKO romantic mystery drama at the Albee Theatre this week.

A seven-act vaudeville bill supplements the feature film. Ella Logan, who scored so successfully at the Casino De Paree and in "Calling All Stars," is the headliner. Stuart and Lash, the two cracked nuts; Art Landry and his Hotel Commodore Orchestra with Ann Butler; Gil Lamb with Marian Belett, the dancing comedians, and three other RKO acts complete the stage offering.

## At the Broadway Trans-Lux

The Broadway Trans-Lux Theatre presents this week W. C. Fields in "The Dentist," which is

## MUSIC

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MARTINELLI, PINZA  
Arthur Judson, Mgr. (Steinway)

## Scene From the Group Theatre's Hit, "Awake and Sing"



Luther Adler and Phoebe Grand as they appear in a scene from Clifford Odet's highly praised play at the Belasco Theatre.

considered one of this comedian's best short comedies; a Popeye cartoon, "Beware of Barnacle Bill," and "Good Badminton." This Pete Smith sport short presents George "Jess" Willard, the national badminton champion of America, in one of the most grueling and fastest net games ever filmed. These specialties with one-half hour of the latest news of the world completes the program.

## Columbia Pictures Celebrates 15th Anniversary

Columbia Pictures, which won eight of the 1934 Motion Picture Academy awards for "It Happened One Night" and "One Night of Love," marks off its fifteenth birthday this month.

It was formed in April, 1920, by two brothers—Harry Cohn, now president and head of production, and Jack Cohn, vice-president, in charge of the New York office. They issued a Hollywood news reel, "Screen Snapshots," and a series based on a popular comic strip of the time, "The Hallroom Boys."

The Cohns were New York boys who had gone to work at an early age. Both had had a good deal of experience in the movies. They were responsible for the tactics which caused Columbia to forge ahead, especially during the depression, this company's most prosperous period. It was their policy not to maintain an expensive salary list of stars but to hire or borrow them by the picture, not to build up chains of theatres but to concentrate on economical production. As a result, Columbia was one of only two film organizations to show a profit during 1932 and the first to restore the general 50 per cent industry pay cut.

## Creating a New Dance

Reports from Paradise Beach Casino, Nassau, West Indies, speak of a new sensational dance created by Fowler and Tamara, which they called a mystic Persian Fantasy, a very exotic, rhythmic movement which is the result of a world-wide study of East Indian and Hindu customs.

Before mirrors they unfolded in

## The Circus Stays on at the Garden

New York has the circus fever as never before.

With thrills, surprises and sparkling freshness, the Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Combined Circus is delighting great audiences in Madison Square Garden in this, the 3rd week of its engagement.

Mlle. Gillette's leap from the dome of the Garden; the thrilling aerial perch offerings of the Walkmirs and the Antaleks; the quadruple somersault of the Yacopis; the great massed liberty horse finale; the stunning thrill of the repeating cannon, from which Hugo and Mario are fired in great arcs the length of the Garden arena; these are but a few of the outstanding features that have capacity audiences vollying their approval at every performance. The engagement closes Saturday night, May 4th.

the dance the weird pattern and breath-taking mystery of the Far East. After completing their engagements they return to New York.

They expect this number to be their outstanding feature in their repertoire.

## Paul Muni's Film Continues at the Strand

"Black Fury," the Paul Muni starring picture for First National which has been breaking records at the Strand Theatre ever since its world premiere, is now in its third week there. The film has been receiving the acclaim of press and public since its opening. Michael Curtiz directed "Black Fury" from the screen play by Abem Finkel and Carl Erickson, both of whom are now at work on the next Muni starring film, "Dr. Socrates," which is being adapted from W. R. Burnett's novel of the same title.

"The Man Who Knew Too Much" Mystery Thriller at Fox B'klyn—New Stage Revue

"The Man Who Knew Too Much," with Leslie Banks, Edna Best, Peter Lorre and Nova Pilbeam, is the feature film attraction at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre this week.

On the stage at the Fox the new revue is headed by George McQueen, who serves as master of ceremonies. The Fox Steppers, Ben Nelson's orchestra, Chuck and Chuckles, and Billy Wells, and "The Four Fays" round out the stage show.

## Theatre Union Sponsors Timely Symposium as "Black Pit" and "Black Fury"

A controversial symposium on "Black Pit," the Theatre Union's coal mine play, and "Black Fury," Paul Muni's coal mining picture, is announced for next Sunday evening, April 28th, at the Belasco Theatre under the auspices of the Theatre Union.

Speakers will be Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, whose interest in conditions in the coal mines is well known; Judge M. A. Musmanno of Pittsburgh, co-author of "Black Fury"; Albert Maltz, author of "Black Pit"; Andre Sennwald, movie critic of the New York Times; William Boehnel, critic of the World-Telegram; Rose Hobart, Michael Gold, William Troy of the Nation will contribute a letter as will the anonymous Robt. Forsythe of the New Masses. Three Pennsylvania miners will be guests of honor.

The symposium has been planned because of the considerable public

## Junior Relief Affair

A dinner-dance sponsored by Junior Relief, Inc., will take place tonight, Saturday, April 27, in the Waldorf-Astoria's Starlight Roof. This organization is actively engaged in aiding the underprivileged children of hospitals and orphanages.

Interest aroused by the play and the picture on mining conditions and problems.

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SUNDAYS  
DOORS OPEN AT 1 & 7  
**RINGLING**  
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All New This Year  
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**CAPITOL**  
Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir.  
**HELD OVER**  
2nd Romantic Week!  
JEAN WILLIAM  
**HARLOW & POWELL**  
in M-G-M's  
**"RECKLESS"**  
with FRANCHOT TONE  
ON STAGE  
DAVE APOLLON  
and all-new  
"International Varieties"

Beg. Wed. May 1st, 9.30 A. M.

The 'Public Enemy' Is a 'G-Man'

**STRAND**

25c to 1 p. m. weekdays  
B'WAY & 47th STREET

SEE UNCLE SAM DRAW HIS GUNS  
TO HALT THE MARCH OF CRIME!  
**G-MEN**  
JAMES CAGNEY  
Ann Dvorak—Margaret Lindsay—Robert Armstrong—In Huge Cast!

Last Week of the Sensation that Shook the Country!  
**PAUL MUNI in "BLACK FURY"**  
Warner Bros. Dramatic Thunderbolt—STRAND—Broadway & 47th Street

**BROOKLYN STRAND**  
Hear Ye! Hear Ye!  
GEORGE RAFT—BEN BERNIE  
**STOLEN HARMONY**  
2 HITS  
"The MYSTERY OF EDWIN DROOD"  
A story of impetuous lovers! A tempestuous love! with CLAUDE RAINS DOUG. MONTGOMERY  
25c  
Atop the most of the best—Grace Bradley  
MIDNIGHT SHOW EVERY SATURDAY

GOOD BAL-  
CONY SEATS  
50¢ \$1.00  
\$1.50 \$2.00  
**3 MEN ON A HORSE**  
"A Knockout"  
Sobel—Mirror  
PLAYHOUSE 48th St. E. of B'way  
Eve 8:45. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:45

## BLACK PIT vs. BLACK FURY

which is the REAL TRUTH?  
The THEATRE UNION presents A SYMPOSIUM

This Sunday Eve., Apr. 28, at 8 o'clock  
BELASCO THEATRE, 44th St. E. of B'way

—SPEAKERS—  
MRS. GIFFORD PINCHOT, JUDGE M. A. MUSMANNO, author of "Black Fury"; ALBERT MALTZ, author of "Black Pit"; ANDRE SENNWALD, WILLIAM BOEHNEL, MICHAEL GOLD, ROSE HOBART, 3 PENNSYLVANIA MINERS, ROBERT FERSYTHE and WILLIAM TROY will contribute letters.

TICKETS 25¢ & 40¢  
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**MUSIC HALL** ROCKEFELLER CENTER  
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**CARDINAL RICHELIEU**  
Joseph M. Schenck presents a DARRYL ZANUCK production starring  
**GEORGE ARLISS**  
ON THE STAGE... "GLORY OF EASTER", spectacle: "Lonely Heart", a romantic fantasy in three scenes, produced by Leonidoff, Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Erno Rappe.  
Doors Open 10:00 A.M. First Feature at 10:20  
Doors Open 12 Noon on Sundays  
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**FOX**  
DIRECT FROM 5 BIG WEEKS ON BROADWAY!  
**The MAN WHO KNEW TOO MUCH**  
PETER LORRE & NOVA PILBEAM  
"Raciest melodrama of the year."  
Fascinating shocker!—N.Y. Times  
PLUS A GREAT STAGE SHOW!  
25c  
105 P. M. WEEKDAYS

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JOSEPH M. SCHENCK presents  
DARRYL ZANUCK'S PRODUCTION OF  
VICTOR HUGO'S  
**LES MISERABLES**  
Starring  
**FREDRIC MARCH**  
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CEDRIC HARDWICKE  
Released thru UNITED ARTISTS  
**RIVOLI**  
BROADWAY AT 49th STREET  
DOORS OPEN 9:30 A.M.

**COLISEUM**  
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**5 RKO ACTS**  
Today to Tuesday  
ARTIST & MORTON HAVEL  
after 10:00 Acts  
**RKO 86th St.**  
at Lexington Ave.  
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**FORDHAM**  
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**ROYAL**  
Westchester & Bergen Aves.  
**HAMILTON**  
B'way & 146th St.  
A "STRAIGHT FROM THE HEART"  
**REGENCY**  
116th St. & 7th Ave.  
A "STRAIGHT FROM THE HEART"  
**RKO 125th St.**  
Mr. Lexington Ave.  
A "STRAIGHT FROM THE HEART"  
**RKO 58th St.**  
at Lexington Ave.  
A "STRAIGHT FROM THE HEART"  
**RKO 23rd St.**  
at Seventh Ave.  
A "CAR 99"  
**ALBEE**  
RKO 81st St.  
on Broadway  
**RKO THEATRES**  
TODAY to TUESDAY  
The Thin Man  
and his new sweet-  
heart solve another  
amazing murder!  
**WILLIAM POWELL**  
**GINGER ROGERS**  
star of "Roberta"  
**"STAR OF MIDNIGHT"**  
From the novel by Arthur  
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ALL THIS WEEK AT  
**PALACE** **RKO** **ALBEE**  
Broadway & 47th St. (ACTS) Albee Square, B'way

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**Till the Day I Die**  
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Eves. 8:30—\$1.65 to 40¢  
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## THEATRE PARTIES

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



## ABRAMOWITSCH AND CRIPPS AT GENERAL PARTY MEETING MONDAY

Raphael Abramowitsch, member of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International, and Sir Stafford Cripps, M.P., British Socialist leader, will speak at a general party meeting Monday, April 29th, at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street, at 8:30.

Comrade Abramowitsch will speak on "Russia and Her Future," and Comrade Cripps on "England and Her Future." Louis Waldman will preside. There will be an admission fee of ten cents to cover expenses.

## The Press Agent Blurbs About the Bronx Bazaar

May 3rd, 4th and 5th all roads will lead to the Bronx. The hardy traveler will leave the East Side I.R.T. at the Prospect Ave. station and walk one block to the Bronx Labor Center, 809 Westchester Ave. There he will lose himself in the gay sights and sounds of a merry and colorful Bazaar.

## Building Service Men To Celebrate May 4th

Local 32B of the Building Service Employers' International Union will hold its first anniversary ball at Rockland Palace, 155th Street and Eighth Ave., Saturday, May 4th. Gus Carrington's Famous orchestra will furnish the music for

## Upper West Side Festival Friday, April 26th

The Upper West Side Branch, noted for the excellence of its social affairs, particularly the Comrade Ball, will initiate the Spring season with a Gala Festivity Party Friday night, April 26th, at 100 West 72nd Street. An exceptional program of entertainment has been arranged and will star the Rebel Arts Puppets, the Cacophonous Band, guest artists, and Levy & Nathan. The Women's Committee will supply their famed home-made pies, cakes, sandwiches and delicacies; while the punch-bowl will be supplemented by other liquors of choice and honored lineage.

## Beginning Saturday, May 4th

Chapayev, the famous Russian picture that recently had a long run in New York, will be shown for a limited engagement in the Little Theatre, 362 Broadway, Newark, N. J., at popular prices.

the occasion. The rapid growth of 32B has had few parallels in the local labor movement and a big turnout at the ball is certain.

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31 Union Sq., W. Cor. 16 St.  
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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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Sick benefit, 15 weeks per year, at \$8, \$18, \$28 and \$38 per week. Many branches pay additional benefit from \$8 to \$5 per week. Consumption benefit \$400 and \$600 or nine months in our own sanatorium, located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.  
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Tel. REgent 4-4391 New York City

## Women to Fight H. C. of L. At City Hall on May 14th

**A CALL** for a monster demonstration at City Hall on May 14th has been issued by the Women's Conference Against the High Cost of Living which has affiliates 51 women's groups in New York City.

Plans for the demonstration, which will be discussed in Room 508 of the People's House, 7 East 15th Street, Saturday, April 27th, include calling upon all of these groups to circulate a petition which embodies a part of the conference's Ten Point Program, and to send a letter to Mayor LaGuardia, asking him to receive one delegate on May 14th.

The text of the letter and petition to Mayor LaGuardia follows: "The undersigned organization consists mainly of housewives and mothers to whom the high cost of necessities—especially food—constitutes a near, if not a complete, tragedy. At this moment there are

## Memorial Meeting for Patrick J. Murphy

A memorial meeting will be held in honor of the late Patrick J. Murphy on Tuesday evening, May 14th, in the Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves., the Bronx. Those who will speak are Dr. S. J. Fried, Geo. I. Steinhart, Irving M. Knobloch, Edward F. Cassidy, August Claessens, and James Oneal.

All members of the Bronx County organization are expected to present to do honor to our departed comrades, who gave so many years of devoted service to the labor and Socialist movement.

## Paper Box Makers' Meeting April 30th

A mass meeting of all paper box makers in the New York area has been called by Paper Box Makers' Union, Local 18,239 of the A. F. of L., for Tuesday night, April 30th, at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 15th Street, N. Y. C.

The meeting is called to stimulate trade union organization in a badly sweated industry, and is part of the drive started by A. N. Weinberg, who recently became manager of the union.

The speakers will be William B. Mahoney, General Organizer of the A. F. of L., Jacob Panken, Judge of the Domestic Relations Court; Matthew M. Levy, counsel for the union, and Samuel E. Beardsley, Secretary of the Jewelry Workers' Union.

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The choicest wines and liquors served at our newly installed bar

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**BLUE PLATE** with Bread, Butter and Coffee for 35c—DINNER, 50c

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Italian and American Cuisine  
Special 7-course Dinner 55¢ 65¢  
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Choice domestic and imported wines  
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Large and Small Halls for Meetings, Banquets, Weddings, Entertainments and Conventions.  
Individuals and committees are cordially invited to inspect our splendid facilities. Reasonable rates. Caterer, William Rosenberg.

## Y.C.L.A. Prepares for May Day

The National Office of the Young Circle League has sent out a call to all clubs and branches throughout the country urging them to participate in May Day celebrations with sympathetic organizations, and to carry out an educational campaign among the members as to the meaning and importance of this great international labor holiday.

In New York City the Y.C.L.A. will join the W.C. in its special celebration and concert at Palm Garden, 306-312 W. 22nd St., and then join the main line of march.

Chicago, Philadelphia, New Jersey, the Southeast and other sections of the Y.C.L.A. map will likewise participate in their special celebrations.

## National Conference of Y.C.L.A. Branches

On the day before the formal opening of the Workers' Circle Convention, Saturday, May 4th, the first National Conference of Young Circle League branches will be held at the New York Center, 11-15 Union Square West.

Delegates from all parts of the country will formulate more effective organizational and activity programs, and, in particular, to plan for the establishment of local district organizations throughout the country.

The National Youth Committee of the Workers' Circle League will hold a supper conference to follow the afternoon session of the National Conference, which will be held at the New York Center, 11-15 Union Square West.

The supper conference will be followed by a gala May frolle and dance, at which the national delegates will be welcomed by the New York League membership. Music for dancing will be provided by Lew Sandow's Orchestra.

Admission is 50c. The dance is being sponsored jointly by the National Youth Committee and the Brooklyn Organizational Council.

Another Brooklyn Branch Installed  
The Avalon Young Circle Club will be installed Sunday evening, April 28, at 506 E. 96th St., Brooklyn, as Branch 644 of the Workers' Circle League.

This will be the fourth installation of a branch in Brooklyn since January 1 and points to fine development in a section of New York City to which organization efforts have only recently been applied. This, also, will be the seventh Y.C.L.A. installation since January 1 in New York City itself.

A fine installation program has been arranged in celebration of the event.

## Y.C.L.A. Participates in Labor Drama Festival

The Young Circle League Drama Group, in conjunction with the Rebel Arts players, the Brooklyn Labor College, Chautauque Players, and the L.L.G.W. Dramatic Troupe, presented three performances at the New School Auditorium on April 26th. The audience's laughter and their frequent burst of applause were sufficient indication of the "screamingly amusing" time they had.

Plays, skits, mass recitations, puppet shows were all featured at this affair. The plays presented by the Y.C.L.A., which were well received, were "Gentleman from Hooeyville," "Gods in His Heaven and Devils in His Hell," and "Outstanding among the performers were Alan A. West in his role as a proletarian, and a group of gallery spectators: Shiva Zuckerman, Sid G. Cohen, and Abe Goldberg.

The Center Celebration  
The New Center of the Young Circle League was officially opened Saturday evening, April 13, a crowd of 500 Young Circleites and W.C. members filled the beautiful new auditorium to capacity and witnessed an unusually fine program. The speakers were J. Baskin, general secretary of the Young Circle League, chairman of the National Youth Committee; Frank Epstein, chairman of the City Council; and Eleanor Schachner of the City Youth Committee.

Successful Conference of Branches in Manhattan  
On Monday evening, April 15, a conference of Young Circle League branches was held in Manhattan with 70 branches represented, which was the highlight in the campaign of the Action Committee of the Workers' Circle for the Young Circle League.

The conference was presided over by I. Anagnostis, chairman of the Action Committee. All branches pledged unabated aid to the Young Circle League to support an increased subsidy at the W.C. Convention, to call special gatherings of sons and daughters to organize individual youth branches.

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**YOUNG CIRCLE LEAGUE**  
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

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Delegates from all parts of the country will formulate more effective organizational and activity programs, and, in particular, to plan for the establishment of local district organizations throughout the country.

The National Youth Committee of the Workers' Circle League will hold a supper conference to follow the afternoon session of the National Conference, which will be held at the New York Center, 11-15 Union Square West.

The supper conference will be followed by a gala May frolle and dance, at which the national delegates will be welcomed by the New York League membership. Music for dancing will be provided by Lew Sandow's Orchestra.

Admission is 50c. The dance is being sponsored jointly by the National Youth Committee and the Brooklyn Organizational Council.

Another Brooklyn Branch Installed  
The Avalon Young Circle Club will be installed Sunday evening, April 28, at 506 E. 96th St., Brooklyn, as Branch 644 of the Workers' Circle League.

This will be the fourth installation of a branch in Brooklyn since January 1 and points to fine development in a section of New York City to which organization efforts have only recently been applied. This, also, will be the seventh Y.C.L.A. installation since January 1 in New York City itself.

A fine installation program has been arranged in celebration of the event.

## Y.C.L.A. Participates in Labor Drama Festival

The Young Circle League Drama Group, in conjunction with the Rebel Arts players, the Brooklyn Labor College, Chautauque Players, and the L.L.G.W. Dramatic Troupe, presented three performances at the New School Auditorium on April 26th. The audience's laughter and their frequent burst of applause were sufficient indication of the "screamingly amusing" time they had.

Plays, skits, mass recitations, puppet shows were all featured at this affair. The plays presented by the Y.C.L.A., which were well received, were "Gentleman from Hooeyville," "Gods in His Heaven and Devils in His Hell," and "Outstanding among the performers were Alan A. West in his role as a proletarian, and a group of gallery spectators: Shiva Zuckerman, Sid G. Cohen, and Abe Goldberg.

The Center Celebration  
The New Center of the Young Circle League was officially opened Saturday evening, April 13, a crowd of 500 Young Circleites and W.C. members filled the beautiful new auditorium to capacity and witnessed an unusually fine program. The speakers were J. Baskin, general secretary of the Young Circle League, chairman of the National Youth Committee; Frank Epstein, chairman of the City Council; and Eleanor Schachner of the City Youth Committee.

Successful Conference of Branches in Manhattan  
On Monday evening, April 15, a conference of Young Circle League branches was held in Manhattan with 70 branches represented, which was the highlight in the campaign of the Action Committee of the Workers' Circle for the Young Circle League.

The conference was presided over by I. Anagnostis, chairman of the Action Committee. All branches pledged unabated aid to the Young Circle League to support an increased subsidy at the W.C. Convention, to call special gatherings of sons and daughters to organize individual youth branches.

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## "WHY I AM NOT A CHRISTIAN"

By BERTRAND RUSSELL  
This powerful attack on Christianity and Theism, together with "What Is Religion" by Robert C. Ingersoll, "Evolution Implies Atheism" by Woolsey Teller, "The Bible in the Balance" by Charles Smith, and other anti-religious folders and leaflets, sent, postpaid, for 10c.  
**CATALOGUE OF ATHEIST BOOKS FREE**

American Association for the Advancement of Atheism, Inc., 307 E. 14th St., New York, Sat. eve., May 4th. Make reservations (\$1) now.

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## "So This Is War"

by TUCKER P. SMITH  
A 18-page illustrated pamphlet explaining the war machine at work in schools and colleges, with other relevant material on sugar-coated militarism, sent upon receipt of 1c in stamps. Of special interest to workers in the labor and socialist cause.  
**Committee on Militarism in Education**  
2929 Broadway, N. Y. C.

## READERS of the unusual and bizarre



**MAY DAY** finds great masses of the organized workers more determined, more courageous and more enlightened than at any time for years. Old illusions are passing and as they disappear the message of human liberation meets a welcome response by millions formerly indifferent. The willingness to fight against degradation to lower levels of living inspires more and more of the organized labor hosts.

Three years of the New Deal have revealed the Old Deal of company unions, Section 7A whittled away by interpretations, lack of enforcement and hostile court decisions. As the mists are dispelled the old lesson that labor must rely upon its own resources is again being learned. Nothing can be a substitute for the

organized power of the workers organized into compact and disciplined unions of their class.

We are a lower class. We do not seek to be an upper class. We strive for a classless society where unmerited want and unearned wealth will no longer be a hideous social contrast. Economic, social, political and cultural democracy is the ideal of the working masses, the ideal for which we and our ancestors have sacrificed and in the effort to attain which many have died.

So long as we are compelled to sell labor power and others are privileged to buy it, so long as others own the work places and have the power to exclude us, we will remain a lower class. Eventually to bring the working opportunities—the industries—under the control of

those who labor is the aim to which all our struggles lead.

In the meantime the day-to-day struggle for more bread, more wages, better conditions, shorter hours, must go on. Every advance conquered strengthens us for the next advance and each is a preparation for the time when the laboring masses and their friends will be vested with that power in government and industry that will enable mankind to create a paradise out of this industrial misery.

**Close ranks, march forward, in the great labor struggle!**

**Forward against the company union and against injunctions!**

**Forward against wage reductions, for the 30-hour week, for the aboli-**

**tion of child labor!**

**Forward for genuine insurance against unemployment, old age, sickness and accidents!**

**Forward against imperialist wars, against ignorance and barbarism, against fascism and dictatorship!**

**Forward to a free democracy with equal economic, social and political rights; a free society based upon cooperative labor and production; a society of equal opportunity for all; a society where those who labor shall own, where mankind will at last be the master of their destiny!**

## Austrian Fascism Writes Its Own Death Warrant

**Sentence of 21 Socialists to 130 Years Imprisonment  
Foreshadows Fall of Schuschnigg Regime—  
Gallant Conduct of Prisoners**

By John Powers

**THE** conviction and sentence of twenty-one Socialists in Vienna on April 18th to a total of nearly 130 years imprisonment is the latest manifestation of fascist bloodlust.

Trembling in the deep recesses of their miserable souls with fear of the ultimate judgment that the people will pronounce upon them, the pious condottieri, judicial murderers of the Schuschnigg government, have pronounced sentence upon a group of the Republican Defense Corps to appease their sadistic thirst for revenge and satisfy their competitors in crime, the Nazis.

Major Alexander Eifer, war hero, organizer and chief of staff of the Republican Defense Corps, sentenced to 18 years, and Captain Rudolph Loew, his second in command, sent to prison for a period of 15 years, head the latest Socialist roll of honor. The crime of these Socialists was that they remained true to their convictions and as officers and members of the Defense Corps had prepared to defend the Socialist movement and the republic with their lives. Like the rest of their Socialist comrades they had not sought the encounter of February, 1934.



Major Alexander Eifer

They wished to avoid it, if possible, but they were ready to face it if necessary.

The fact is, however, that those sentenced had no opportunity to partake in the fighting, for by a treasonable maneuver of the government they had been rounded up two weeks before the February uprising and rendered helpless.

Yet, they were tried and convicted for "treason" and "complicity in treason," despite the fact that the indictment against them had collapsed. Incontrovertible evidence demonstrated that the treason was wholly on the side of the government.

### Issues of the Conflict

Why did the Defense Corps, organized and directed by Socialists, fight in February, 1934? Was it because the Socialists had aimed to seize power? Did the program of the Austrian Socialists ever call for any irresponsible putsch? Had they ever toyed with the idea of forcing a party or class dictatorship upon Austria? No. The Socialists fought a defensive battle because they were compelled to do so as a last resort.

Those party leaders who saw things with a clear eye and had no illusions about the situation were fully aware of what was and what was not in the power of the workers to accomplish under the circumstances then prevailing. Political and economic conditions in Austria, the triumph of Hitlerism in Germany, the presence of a white guard regime in Hungary, and close cooperation between Mussolini and the clerical-fascist Dollfuss regime placed the Austrian workers in a trap from which no attempt at force could, under the circumstances, provide escape. The workers themselves were exhausted, worn out with twenty years of war and political and social turmoil, their strength and resources, political and economic, sapped to a degree which became tragically apparent when it developed that only a few thousand had actually joined the February battle. Those who fought did so with courage, devotion and gallantry that will live forever in the history of mankind's struggle for liberty.

### How Fighting Began

What precipitated the fighting? Speaking at a fascist parade on February 11, 1934, attended by the minister of war, Major Fey, leader of the Heimwehr, frankly declared: "In the last two days I have made

certain that Herr Dollfuss is with us. Tomorrow we are going to clean up Austria."

No clearer announcement of intention was necessary. What Major Fey meant was that the Heimwehr was going to stage a counter-revolution. From Rome had come Mussolini's orders to Dollfuss that the Socialists and trade unions must be destroyed if fascist Italy was to continue to extend protection to its Austrian proteges against the pressure of Hitler, determined to absorb Austria into the "Third Reich." To save itself from being devoured by the Protégé of Germany, the Austrian Catholic fascism of Austria decided to throw itself into the arms of Rome. The destruction of Austrian Socialism was the price demanded by Mussolini. Dollfuss, Starheimberg and Fey agreed to pay the ransom in the blood of the Austrian workers.

It was then that the Republican Defense Corps determined to resist this conspiracy by force.

The twenty-one men convicted on April 18 were hostages of the regime which ensued upon the defeat of the gallant Socialist defense.

To appease the Nazi opposition for the punishment meted out to some Austrian Nazi by the Dollfuss and Schuschnigg governments in cases arising from Nazi activities in Austria and the subsequent assassination of Dollfuss by Nazi conspirators, to give the impression that the Catholic-fascist murderers of Vienna were holding over the balance of "justice" between Socialists and Nazis, the government decided to throw the Socialists' hostages to the Nazi wolves.

### The Facts of the Case

Documents bearing on the case published by the Socialists and presented at the trial, clearly established the following facts:

1. That the Heimwehr, i.e., the fascist Storm Troops, were organized and armed before the Republican Defense Corps. In other words, that the formation of the latter was a consequence of the formation of the former and was necessary as a measure of defense.

2. That the Republican Defense Corps was recognized by the constitutional authorities in Austria, including the Christian Social Minister of War Vaugin, and that representatives of the government even negotiated with representatives of the Defense Corps in the Defense Corps offices with a view to securing the collaboration of

## To the Quitter

By John M. Work

**SO** you are tired and discouraged and propose to lie down and quit.

Just when things are coming our way all over the United States and all over the world. Just when the newspapers and magazines are compelled to give us constant attention.

Just when we are drawing the fire from the biggest batteries the enemy has. Just when the people's minds have become fertile for our principles, and we have a grand opportunity to push past another mile post on the way to the cooperative commonwealth.

In the face of all this you propose to lie down. Well—goodbye!

There have always been those who lack the stern qualities and the grim persistence to keep on until the goal is reached. There have always been those who drop out and take it easy, and then profit by the sacrifices of their comrades after the victory is won. There have always been those who want to get something for nothing.

Your lament is babyish. Some of your plans have not worked out as you expected. There were not as many votes as you thought there ought to be. You are unable to see visible results of your efforts. You have not been fully appreciated by your comrades.

Even so. The changing of people's minds is a gradual, not a sudden process. Seldom does a comrade see the direct results of his own individual efforts for the cause.

But let him look back a few years—comparing the Socialist sentiment then with the Socialist sentiment now—and he will see the marvelous advance that has been made through the common efforts of all the comrades, including himself.

And let him not expect to be patted on the back every time he serves the cause. There are others also in the service. And the consciousness of having aided the cause is sufficient reward.

Persistence—persistence—and yet again persistence—is the thing that wins.

Working for the great cause of Socialism is the chief thing that is worth living for at this stage of human progress. He who quits is dead. He is mentally, morally and spiritually deceased.

Let the faint-hearted and the weaklings lie down if they like.

But they whose courage and whose consecration to the cause make them worthy to be called men and women will keep on organizing and educating, with enthusiasm, good will and determination, in spite of all obstacles, until capitalism fades away and Socialism takes possession.

They have neither fears nor illusions. The path to the goal may not be a smooth and gentle incline. There may be mountains to climb, cliffs to scale, thickets to penetrate, and rivers to ford.

But that does not matter. They are in the struggle to win—and win they will. They know that "the flower that follows the sun does it even on cloudy days."

They follow the sun. Let it rain. Let it pour. Let it storm. Or let the sun glow soothingly. In any case they will be in the vanguard just the same, enlightening the people and bringing the great day of universal love and happiness nearer. They remember the lines of Gerald Massie:

*We are beaten back in many a fray,  
But never strength we borrow;  
And where the vanguard rests today  
The rear shall camp tomorrow.*

the Defense Corps in the defense of the frontier. That the authorities promised the Defense Corps recognition as a police corps and referred to the possibility that the Federal Government would take steps to look after dependents of Defense Corps men on active service. That officers of the Federal Army discussed military defense with Major Eifer.

3. That, on the other hand, the Heimwehr undertook an offensive "putsch" in 1931, which was sharply condemned by the government, though no serious steps were taken against the culprits, and that the same Heimwehr leaders are today ministers, while those who then opposed them in the name of the Constitution are now in the dock.

4. That the Republican Defense Corps repeatedly declared in Parliament that it was prepared for internal disarmament if the other side were also willing. That this offer was turned down by the government and internal disarmament thereby rendered impossible.

Voluntarily, irrefutable data supporting these facts submitted by the Socialists at the Vienna trial established that the responsibility for the civil conflict of 1934 lay exclusively on the shoulders of the Austrian government—Dollfuss, Starheimberg, and Fey, leader of the Austrian fascists, and Major Fey.

### Brave Conduct of the Socialists

The conduct of Major Eifer and his comrades, most of them plain workers, at the Vienna trial adds another bright page to the annals of Socialism. They and their women folk in the courtroom brought into the proceedings the same gallantry and courage that characterized the Defense Corps in its conduct in the February fighting.

Confronted with the testimony of the police spy Korbel, upon whom the prosecution sought to support the charge that the Socialists had prepared for a revolution a month before the fighting—testimony which collapsed miserably in the very first days of the trial together with Korbel—Major Eifer, questioned by the presiding judge, said:

"I cannot tell you, Herr President, what he is, because I was brought up a gentleman. But I can tell you his statements are shameless lies."

Asked by the court whether he did not think that it was a "dreadful responsibility" to have planned the resistance, Major Eifer declared:

"No, it was necessary and right to face the enemies of the republic, arms in hand."

And passionately loyal to their cause.

### Accusers Face Destruction

And what of their accusers, of those who sentenced them to a living death in the prisons of Austria?

History, perhaps sooner than now appears likely, will take care of them.

"This is the end of Austria—the government has sentenced itself to destruction by the Nazis now," said one man in the courtroom, as quoted by a correspondent of the New York Times.

Another said quietly: "To this the only answer can be 'revolution.'"

What can tell at this moment what form the answer will take. We cannot tell what developments may intervene before the final

judgment is pronounced and executed upon the Catholic-fascist rulers of Austria. But we know that their ultimate fate will be the fate of all traitors to the cause of liberty and justice throughout history. However complex and obscure it may appear at times, history, after all, does have a meaning. Already its finger is writing its judgment on the wall of the prison in which Austrian fascism has incarcerated the body but not the spirit of Socialism and freedom. We cannot yet discern the lines, but their import is already clear.

To the gallant comrades who stood up like Socialists and revolutionists before their accusers, and to the workers of Austria, we send this May Day our flaming greeting and a pledge of eternal faith and devotion!

## Karl Marx's Labor Policy

*Preamble to the Working Rules of the International Workingmen's Association—1864*

**WHEN** the Communist Manifesto was written by Marx and Engels in 1848, the working class was largely disfranchised and trade unions were illegal. Sixteen years later the workers were breaking down these old vestiges of aristocracy and the International Workingmen's Association—the First International—was founded in London in 1864.

Karl Marx and his intimate associates were influential in arranging the congress and he was active in its proceedings. Various views were represented, from simple trade unionism and the followers of Giuseppe Mazzini to various shades of Socialism.

Marx believed that an organized movement of the workers was more important than a purely Socialist program; therefore, in drafting the Preamble to the Working Rules of the International he kept in mind the need of uniting the workers, relying upon experience in the class struggle and education to bring about the greater movement. The Preamble below reveals the composite character of the Congress, the final paragraph showing concessions to the followers of Mazzini:

### Preamble to Working Rules

"In consideration that the emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the working class itself, that the struggle for the emancipation of the working class does not signify a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties and the abolition of class rule;

"That the economic dependence of the working class upon the owner of the tools of production,

the sources of life, forms the basis of every kind of servitude, of social misery, of spiritual degradation and political dependence;

"That, therefore, the economic emancipation of the working class is the great end to which every political movement must be subordinated as a simple auxiliary;

"That all exertions which, up to this time, have been directed toward the attainment of this end have failed on account of the want of solidarity between the various branches of labor in every land, and by reason of the absence of a brotherly bond of unity between the working classes of different countries;

"That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, which embraces all countries in which modern society exists, and whose solution depends upon the practical and theoretical cooperation of the most advanced countries;

"That the present awakening of the working class in the industrial countries of Europe gives occasion for a new hope, but at the same time contains a solemn warning not to fall back into old errors, and demands an immediate union of the movements not yet united;

"The First International Labor Congress declares that the International Workingmen's Association, and all societies and individuals belonging to it, recognize truth, right and morality as the basis of their conduct toward one another and their fellow men, without respect to color, creed or nationality. This Congress regards it as the duty of man to demand the rights of a man and citizen, not only for himself, but for everyone who does his duty. No rights without duties, no duties without rights."

## A. F. of L. Founded May Day In Eight-Hour Day Fight

**International Labor Holiday Originated When Gompers Sent Envoy to Second International in Paris With Plea for Cooperation.**

By James Oneal

**MAY DAY** is a symbol of the awakening of all things to life. Its origin runs back to the Romans and other ancient peoples. In England it was an ancient custom for the people to go "a-Maying" on the First of May to welcome the advent of spring.

The May pole, from which the merry-makers suspended flowers and around which they danced, became a custom with the toilers who found in the day a release from arduous labor. Something in the day appealed to the emotional and spiritual nature of serfs and laborers.

I suspect that those who observed the woodland bursting into a riot of green, the flowering of the hillside, the evidences of awakening life in all nature, felt rather than interpreted this as a forecast of the beauty and joy that would come to be universal for mankind. All the aesthetic impulses of the toilers were quickened, and although they could not fathom their own feelings the one fact that was evident was a day's release from the drudgery to indulge in festivals of comradeship and joy.

That the labor movement of the world should inherit this day as its own and translate its local and provincial symbolism into terms of international brotherhood was natural. The call of May Day comes to us across the centuries. It came to the serf to the feudal ages from the Roman bondmen, from the serf to the journeymen of the guilds, and from the journeymen to the wage worker of modern capitalism. Having its origin in the labor movement of the United States, it was carried to the European workers, adopted by them and observed to this day, while here it was abandoned by the trade unions for an official Labor Day designated by Congress.

In 1886 the American trade unions, engaged in concerted propaganda for the eight-hour day, set May Day to start the campaign, but the Haymarket tragedy in Chicago set back the movement for nearly two years.

It was not until 1888 that a nation-wide movement was again taken up for the shorter hours. In that year the A.F. of L. planned another long campaign to culminate in great mass meetings on May Day, 1890. The International Socialist Congress was called to meet in Paris in July, 1889, and President Gompers planned to get the sympathetic support of the congress for the struggle in the United States. Here a paragraph from Mr. Gompers' autobiography:

"I talked the idea over with Hugh McGregor, who was idealist enough to recognize no practical difficulties. The margin of time intervening was too small to trust a letter of invitation to the mail, so McGregor agreed to act as a special courier. He had long experience in traveling on almost nothing. His wants were few and accustomed to all manner of delays in gratification. We discovered that a boat was leaving within a brief time that would just get him to Paris in time. We managed to get enough money for his ticket... Eventually a resolution for an eight-hour demonstration in every country was adopted and there was pretty general observance of the day. That was the origin of the European May Day, which has become a regular institution in all European countries."

### The Paris Resolution

The famous first congress of the second Socialist international opened on the hundredth anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, July 14, 1889. A letter from Gompers was read to the delegates. It stated that the American Federation of Labor was so occupied with the eight-hour movement that it was unable to send an official representative. It urged the world labor and Socialist congress to join the agitation for a shorter workday.

A leading delegate from France, Lavigne, introduced the resolution which was carried unanimously, with an explanation from the Rus-

sians that in the land of the Czar a May Day demonstration was impossible. The resolution selecting May 1 reads:

"Let the workers of all countries and of all cities gather together on one day and thus constitute a great international demonstration. Let them demand of the public authorities the introduction of the eight-hour day and the enactment of the labor legislation embodied in the resolutions of the Paris Congress."

"Inasmuch as the American Federation of Labor, at its St. Louis convention in December 1888, has already decided upon May 1st, 1890, let the international labor demonstrations all be held on this day."

"And let the workers of the different nations conduct their demonstrations as seems best to them, in conformity with the special conditions of their lands."

### Labor Day Proposed

Why the trade union movement of this country withdrew from celebrating May Day as the international holiday of labor has never been explained. The New York Central Labor Union on May Day, 1882, suggested that the first Monday in September be designated as Labor Day and a resolution to that effect was adopted. Two years later the A.F. of L. officially endorsed the first Monday in September. In 1884, Congress declared this day a holiday in the District of Columbia and the territories and the States one by one declared it a holiday in the ensuing years. In the convention of the A.F. of L. in 1903 a resolution to declare May Day as labor's holiday was defeated and the trade unions have accepted the September day ever since.

Nevertheless, many of the more progressive trade unions have in each year joined in May Day celebrations in union with the workers of all other countries. That the bulk of the unions decline to celebrate it only emphasizes the fact that they are out of step with their brothers on this matter in all other countries as they are in the matter of independent political action.

May Day is not only a day for pledging the fellowship of the workers of all countries regardless of sex, nationality, color or race, but it is a day for taking stock and to consider the road we have to travel before the world is made safe for the working class. Its symbolism of awakening life suggests the continuous rebirth and readjustment of the labor and Socialist movement to a changing world. Its inspiration cannot be reconciled with the dead hand of precedent. May Day teaches that all things change. It teaches the universality of progress. It suggests a living movement, not one dead in the clutches of hoary tradition and archaic formulas.

May Day is a call to service against war and the capitalist system that breeds it. It is a call for peace and fraternity among the nations. It is a protest against jingoism and the abysmal hatreds fomented among the peoples of the world.

Finally, May Day and its ideals forecast the day of working class deliverance from the menacing capitalism of our time. When these ideals are realized, when labor is triumphant all over the world, it will reconstruct capitalism so that every day will be a May Day for humanity. Art and beauty will replace the hideous cities that are now wretched monuments of the capitalist regime. Labor will labor for labor, not for idle exploiters. The cesspools and foul ghettos, the disease-breeding kennels of human-kind, the anxiety and overstrain, the brooding fear of unemployment, the unmerited poverty and the uncertainties of this chance-world of capitalism, will be no more.

May Day spurs us to renewed effort today, inspires confidence in ultimate victory, and brings to us knowledge that hundreds of millions think as we think, hope as we hope, work as we work, conscious that mankind will flower into something better in the great days ahead.



# MORE GOVERNMENT IN BUSINESS

Socialization Necessary to Meet Needs of Modern Society  
—Present Advances in This Direction Not Enough

by Harry W. Laidler

(From a recent address before the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences.)

IN the past, we in America have had a bias against the entrance of government into the field of business. Despite our philosophy of individualism, however, we have made considerable strides in the direction of public ownership.

We have developed the most extensive public school system of any country in the world. The extent of our health, recreational, mail, fire protection, and other services is well known. Over seven thousand cities, towns and villages own their own water works. In about eighteen hundred municipalities the electric lighting system is publicly owned. There are in the country more than a hundred municipal gas plants, and many municipal markets, beaches, piers, airports, golf courses, fuel yards, heating plants, ice plants, milk distributing agencies, and laundries.

Through such organizations as the Port of New York Authority, our states build and operate bridges, tunnels, warehouses and terminals. According to the recent survey of the President's Committee on Social Trends, the cost of state and city ventures in the field of public services increased by 145 per cent in terms of 1915 dollars, from 1915 to 1929.

And when we come to the National Government we find it a gigantic builder of roads. We see it as the developer of inland water ways and hydroelectric lighting plants. It controls railroads in Alaska and Panama, manages steamship lines and radio stations, owns and operates innumerable public buildings, has charge of the largest printing plant in the world, owns a vast amount of land, and conducts a large and growing banking business.

Even during the boom days of 1925-1926, the business of government was "the third largest business in the United States, exceeded in its annual turnover only by the manufacturing industry and agriculture." (National Industrial Conference Board, "Cost of Government in the U. S., 1925-26," p. 5. See also Carroll H. Woody in "Recent Social Trends," Ch. XXV.) Even before the present depression, government was also the largest single employer of labor in the country. In 1926 it was estimated that the local, state, and Federal governments employed nearly 2,700,000 full-paid workers and nearly a million on part time—about one out of every eleven gainfully employed in the United States. Today, under the NRA, that proportion is of course very considerably higher.

## Motives for Public Ownership

In other nations, the movement toward public ownership has progressed much farther than in the United States. In most countries the major part of the public utilities are under public control, while in Russia the overwhelming portion of the industrial life is run by the community.

In the past, in many of these nations, the movement toward more government in business could not be traced to any one driving cause. Sometimes the extension of a public service was advocated as a means of providing for improved community health or safety, as in the case of our water supply, hospitals, and public fire departments; of developing better educational, cultural and recreational facilities for the masses, as in the movement for public schools, playgrounds, museums, libraries, or concerts; or of promoting trade and commerce, as in the construction of public roads and the expansion of postal facilities. At other times its advocates urged it as a means of reducing living costs, of improving quality, of strengthening the nation's defense, of raising labor standards, of decreasing crime, of preventing the destruction of a natural resource, of obtaining governmental revenue, of discouraging the use of certain commodities, such as liquor, or of encouraging the use of certain services, such as water, and of promoting, in various other ways, the public welfare. At times the increase of collective action had, unfortunately, as its prime aim the giving of increased power to autocratic groups in control of government.

In many instances the public has been induced to enter a field of activity because private capital could not be persuaded to do so, on account of the magnitude of the official outlay, the risk involved, the small potential profits, or the length of time elapsing before expected returns. In many cases public ownership has been advocated for the purpose of avoiding the evils of private monopoly. During war time there is usually a great temporary development of collective action as a means of winning the war; while in periods of depression such as that through which we are passing, government is forced increasingly to go into business to provide

work and financial aid to those whom capitalist industry has left high and dry.

In their exhaustive survey of State and Municipal Enterprise made many years ago, Sidney and Beatrice Webb maintained that the products supplied by public agencies "are more certainly reliable in quality, more certainly continuous in supply, and, on the whole, though this naturally varies from trade to trade, more economical in cost and cheaper in price than those supplied by capitalism; whilst the gain in being sure that there will be neither adulteration nor short weight, neither cheating nor taking advantage of the necessities of the more ignorant or weaker buyers, or of periods of scarcity, is, in some departments, beyond all computation." (Supplement to "The New Statesman," May 8, 1915, p. 31.)

## Public versus Social Ownership

Most types of public ownership in the world today should not be confused with social ownership. Social ownership implies not only that the title to industry shall be in the hands of the government, but that the government itself shall be controlled by the masses of the people; that the administration of industry shall be democratic in its nature, and that its aim shall be not the aggrandizement of one privileged group, but the welfare and happiness of all. These conditions are fully present in none of the publicly owned industries in the world today.

Today in the United States and elsewhere, two groups of men and women are in general urging further government experimentation in the field of industry. The first group consists of those who have formulated no definite social philosophy regarding the extent or the limits of public ownership, but who, considering each case on its own merits, advocate transfers from private to government ownership and administration in par-

## Hoan Completes Quarter Century in Public Office

MILWAUKEE. — Twenty-five years of continuous public service to Milwaukee by Mayor Daniel W. Hoan has been celebrated this week by the entire city. The Common Council, in which the Socialists have a large minority delegation, unanimously felicitated the Mayor in an affectionate resolution, and Hoan replied in a stirring speech in which he declared that it was the ideal of Socialism that sustained him during that long and trying period.

Hoan is one Socialist who has never been defeated in an election. He began his career in public office when he was elected City Attorney in the big sweep of 1910 when Emil Seidel was elected first Socialist mayor of the city, carrying a full city administration with him. Hoan was then a young Socialist lawyer of 29 and he says he was induced to accept the nomination only because he was told there was no chance of his election. Four years later he was reelected, although the two old parties had effected a fusion in the interim. His six years as City Attorney were characterized by brilliant work.

In 1916 he was elected Mayor for a two-year term, and despite the terror he was reelected in 1918. So confident were the enemies of Socialism that the party was finished that they then had the term lengthened to four years, but Hoan defeated the combined forces of the old parties in 1920, and again in 1924, 1928 and 1932.

## This Is Called Running a Big City

Hammen Swaffer, distinguished British journalist, writes in the London Herald, "Tories at Leeds are shouting about the way the Labor party is wasting public money. What the Socialists are trying to do, of course, is to build a new Leeds."

"In 1914," he adds, "when the Tories ruled the city, 4,000 municipal workers went on strike because many of them had to keep families on from 26s to 29s a week—some got only 19s!"

"Then the city council stopped the strike, not by paying the workers a little more but by spending £30,000 (\$150,000) on special police and blackleg (scab) labor."

"That was considered wise economy!"

Cheerio, Swaffer! We know that sort of thing in America, too.

From the earliest times that man lacked in knowledge he made up in imagination. And the less he was informed as regards what occurred about him, the more extravagant were the speculations he indulged in. Consequently his intellectual growth consists, in some measure at least, in a process of disillusionment.—Joseph E. Cohen.

particular industries, such as some of our public utilities. In the second place are the collectivists, the Socialists, the Communists, and other groups who would make a complete shift of the basic industries of the country from a private to a social basis; who would have industry conducted not for profit but for the service of the community.

Adherents of the first school of thought take such an industry as that of electricity. They point to numerous successful public ventures in the field of power, as in Ontario, Canada, where domestic consumers pay for electric light far less than do consumers of power from private plants. They contend with Joseph B. Eastman, Federal Coordinator of Transportation, that regulation of private plants has proved utterly ineffective in protecting the consumer and the worker, and that public ownership provides the only sensible alternative. They maintain that public ownership of specific utilities provides certain definite advantages over private control. Under community control it is not necessary to pay large dividends, often on watered stock. Under public ownership, bonds may usually be issued at a lower interest rate than under private control. The tendency in governmental in-

dustry is to pay off these bonds as the years go by, and thus continuously to reduce the capital indebtedness; whereas under private control, the debt structure is constantly rising.

Under public ownership, the overhead expenses are less. The public does not pay huge salaries, as do many private corporations. It does not spend millions of dollars in fighting against the reduction of rates, or in general propaganda. It does not pay for finan-



Harry W. Laidler

cial and engineering services two or three times over, as does private industry when entangled in a complicated holding-company structure. It does not trust hundreds of millions of dollars of the hard-earned savings of private investors to irresponsible speculators. It does not involve the public in the valuation nightmare. And it takes away from city officials the corrupting influence of great private monopolies intent on special privileges, and from the autocratic influence of private monopoly.

Of course, no form of public ownership will automatically run itself. And to be of maximum success, public industry should be administered by officials thoroughly interested in its efficient and honest administration.

## Advocates of Socialized Order

Increasingly, both here and also abroad, millions of men and women are not only advocating the community ownership of particular utilities, but are condemning the whole system of private monopoly and private ownership of the basic industries of the country and are demanding that civilization advance to a cooperative social order. Thus, the powerful British Labor

Party, at its Southport conference in 1934, again announced its determination to advance from mere social reform to Socialism, the party's Executive Board declaring: "Economic reorganization and control will take many forms, but public ownership of the primary industries and services is the essential foundation step and on no other terms can such activities be freed from the fatal restrictions placed upon them by the vested interests. . . . Banking and credit, transport, electricity, water, iron, steel, coal, gas, agriculture, textiles, shipbuilding, engineering—in all these times has come for drastic reorganization, and for the most part nothing short of immediate public ownership and control will be effective."

The American Socialist Party pledges itself "to the attainment of a cooperative commonwealth, a Socialist society, wherein the basic industries and services of the nation will be publicly owned and democratically managed for the common good."

The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party has recently come out with a pronouncement for a collectivized social order, while labor bodies, churches, educators, technicians, and other groups are increasingly demanding that the community—not a small section of society—become the owners of the natural resources and the machinery of production.

I agree with these advocates of a new social order. I believe that as the system of slavery gave way to feudalism in many parts of the world, as feudalism outgrew whatever usefulness it may have had and gave way to the present system known as capitalism, and as capitalism has developed from its primitive agricultural stage to that of the trust and combine, so the logical next step in industrial development is a step from private to public monopoly and democratic control of the nation's industrial life.

## The Meaning of Words Socialism and Communism

WITH the publication of the "Communist Manifesto" in 1848 Karl Marx and Frederick Engels gave the working class of the world a brilliant short statement of Socialist philosophy and principles.

Because of the many utopian sects of that period that were known as "Socialist," the authors avoided the use of this word, but the word "Communist" was also not satisfactory, as Engels explains in his preface, although it was less objectionable than "Socialist."

What was known as "Communism" at that period was, in the words of Engels, "a crude, rough-hewn, purely instinctive sort of Communism" but it had the merit of being more working class than the "Socialist" sects. At a later period when these sects had disappeared, the words Socialist and Socialism became more expressive of the principles and aims of the movement. A strict interpretation of the word "Communism" means common ownership of all wealth while Socialism means common ownership only of the means of production and distribution. The following quotations from the Manifesto are central ideas of its philosophy:

"All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority."

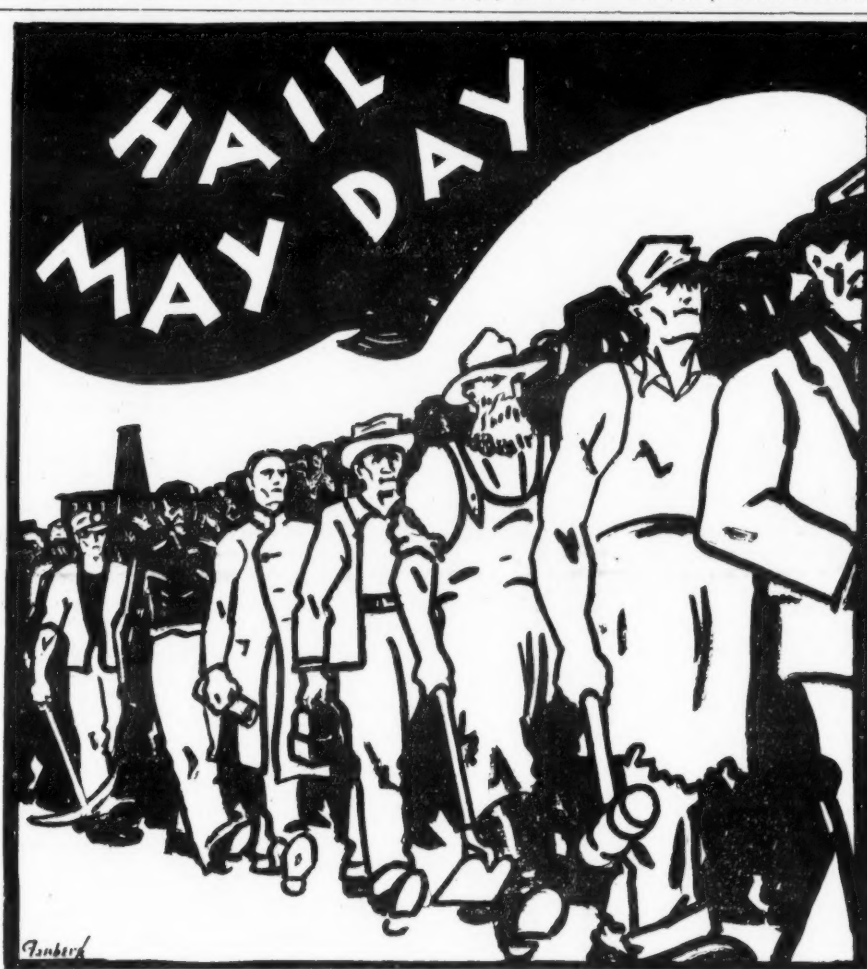
"The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class; to win the battle for democracy."

"The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie; to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i. e., by the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible."

"Of course, in the beginning this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionizing the mode of production."

"When in the course of development class distinctions have disappeared and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class; if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonism, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."

"In place of the old bourgeois society with its classes and class antagonisms we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."



## The Common Sense of May Day

By Mark Starr

IN the American trade union movement there has been a tendency in the past to regard the internationalist as the fool with his eyes on the ends of the earth. The whole spirit of May Day has been scoffed at as utopian and hopelessly idealistic with no appeal to the hard-headed workers of the United States.

Even participants in May Day do not know fully how many facts and how much common sense is on their side.

Just now with egotistical nationalism running riot and menacing us with the disease, death and darkness of the Middle Ages we must (to paraphrase Kipling) fill the unforgiving minute with 60 seconds' worth of distance run toward the goal of internationalism away from the madness of nationalism. No Socialist can be a nationalist aiming at isolation and self-sufficiency for some particular portion of the world in which the accident of birth placed him.

Patriotism in its modern meaning signifies a hatred of other countries. Such a sentiment is as dangerous as it is outworn. May Day should remind us of the red blood that flows in the veins of us all. We ought not to wait until the rats have bared the skeletons of American, German, French and British workers in the wartime trenches to realize the biological unity of the human race.

## Spirit of May Day

Already in art and science and medicine the national frontiers have been ignored. American workers who think of the services of Marx and Gompers, to mention only two Jews, cannot rationally be anti-Semitic. Chaplin on the movies is not regarded as a mere English-

man; his appeal is universal. The gum we chew comes from Nicaragua. Our morning coffee is a product of Brazil and if we change to tea we draw upon Ceylon or China. The rubber for our auto tires has been brought from the Dutch East Indies or from Brazil. The skins for our hot dogs and the stiff bristles for our brushes are also imported from foreign lands. And the silk in our ties and handkerchiefs came from far-away Japan. Even the paper pulp for the newspaper of such patriotic morons as Mr. Hearst to boast of America's self-sufficiency has to be imported from Canada, along with the metal in the nickel which we hand to the newsboy. All this illustrates the economic interdependence of the world on which modern well-being is based.

At the moment of writing (April 15) the United Press broadcasts the story that the continental and richly endowed United States lack at least 25 of the raw materials necessary in modern war and lists tin, chromium, iodine, manganese, mica and rubber as samples of the things which have to be obtained from overseas.

Until now cooperation among various sections of the human race has been haphazard. Henceforth if mankind is to survive it has to be recognized that civilization is the result of collective action and its perpetuation is a communal responsibility of men to whom nationality is of secondary importance.

The spirit of May Day is common sense. It corresponds to the facts and needs of modern life. It transcends the barriers of race, climate and creeds to lead the way to conscious cooperation among all sections of the workers of the world.



Mark Starr



# READ NEWS ON THIS PAGE OF IMPORTANT NATIONAL LABOR INSTITUTE AT CAMP TAMIMENT

## Tamiment Institute Wins Support of Many Leaders

By George Field

At a meeting of active supporters of the recently organized Tamiment Economic and Social Institute, a comprehensive program was outlined and elaborate plans made for the launching of the first of these annual events June 27th to 30th. John T. Flynn, noted economist and author and chairman of the Institute's Committee of Sponsors, took part as the luncheon guest of B. Charney Vladeck. As announced in The New Leader two weeks ago, the topic will be: "Labor, Government and Industry."

"America in the Face of Crisis" will be the subject of the first session. This discussion will include a serious appraisal of the factors that produced the depression, and efforts to solve our economic problems will be reviewed. "Inflation" and "Taking the Profit Out of War" are two related topics the discussion of which will be led by Mr. Flynn, who was recently identified with the investigation of the munitions industry as advisor to the Senate Committee.

Housing as an important social problem will be considered during one of the sessions, and B. Char-

ney Vladeck, member of the Municipal Housing Authority, is at work on the program for this department. "Social Security and Labor" will bring such an authority as Abraham Epstein into the picture. Finally, leaders of the American Federation of Labor and heads of government and labor agencies will join in a discussion of "Collective Bargaining and the Company Union."

There will be six sessions from Thursday night, June 27th, to Sunday morning, June 30th. An afternoon will be reserved for recreation and an interesting evening of entertainment is promised.

The list of prominent sponsors is growing daily. At this early date the Institute announces Edward F. McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor, Congressman Thomas R. Amle of Wisconsin, Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, B. Charney Vladeck, Louis Waldman, Eli-nore Herrick, Chairman of the Regional Labor Board, Professor John Dewey, Father Francis J. Haas of the National Labor Advisory Board, Rabbi Edward Is-rael, James H. Maurer, Charles Solomon, Alexander Kahn, Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild and Adolph Held. Among the labor

leaders who will be present are George Q. Lynch, John P. Burke, Frank Crosswaith, Robert J. Watt, Joseph Schlossberg and others. These men represent organized labor, the farmers and the government. Many other leaders in our social and economic life, all recognized authorities in their respective fields, are yet to be heard from.

Camp Tamiment, where the sessions will be held, is the ideal setting for such an institute. A lovely spot in the Poconos, it combines scenic beauty, athletic activities and distinctive entertainment with perfect conference facilities. The social hall or auditorium with a capacity of over a thousand is spacious, airy and overlooks Tamiment's lake. During the winter a good deal of money and effort were expended to make the camp more beautiful and comfortable and to increase its facilities.

Camp Tamiment's special institute rate of \$3 a day and the low \$1.50 registration fee for all sessions, will insure a large enrollment. Early reservations are advised. Registration fees should be mailed to John T. Flynn, Chairman, Room 1003, 15 East 40th St., or to Dr. William E. Bohn, Secretary, 7 East 15th St., N. Y. C.

## The Textile Workers Prescribe For a Sick Industry

By Thomas F. McMahon

International President,  
United Textile Workers of America

THE textile industry of our country is indeed a sick baby, particularly the cotton division, which is approximately 150 years young. This division has been supported and maintained, in season and out of season, by a tariff. Profits have been immense during the last twenty-five years' life of this baby.

They have by now practically disappeared, and their disappearance cannot be charged up in any way to high wages. There is scarcely anyone who does not realize that the textile industry has been built around human exploitation.

Textile employers in all parts of the country are lining up governors, high dignitaries of the nation, business men and lawyers, to assist them in putting the blame for the condition of the industry some place other than where it properly belongs.

Science has created new names for different diseases that affect mankind; they have just missed out in not applying some term applicable to most of our textile employers. Not being a scientist but just a common, everyday textile worker I am applying a term that I think aptly fits the situation, "Treacheritis." "Treacheritis" can

be described as a disease of the human brain which brings about a malicious growth of corruption that thrives on broken promises, unfair trade practices, cut-throat competition and human exploitation.

To diagnose the sickness within our industry properly, we must find out the root from which it emanates and see if something cannot be done to correct or cure it.

**Investigation Needed**  
First—A real Congressional investigation of the industry, beginning January, 1914, and continuing up to and including December 31, 1934.

In my opinion, the Federal Trade Commission, as well as the Bureau of Labor Statistics, authorized by the President to make investigation and report back at a stated period, have laid sufficient groundwork to make such a congressional investigation easy.

In the present hurried appeal of textile employers to the Government to take prompt action to eliminate the present processing tax in cotton mills, there is real justification, just as there is real merit in the argument to debar or heavily tax importations of goods from any nation that can be dumped on our shores at a cost of production which cannot be reached here in America, even if workers gave free service. What we have proposed many times is a tariff equal to the difference between the cost of pro-

duction here and the cost of production in any importing nation. It is a fair application of tariff if the political cry prior to election of "American workers must be protected" is to be carried out.

But these two things in themselves, even though 100 per cent concession were granted the employer, will not eradicate the disease in the industry. Take off the processing tax, and the chiselers, profiteers and racketeers will immediately fight for the same percentage of reduction in the finished goods. The consumer is not consulted, the manufacturer does not gain, but the jobber, the commission house, and in many instances the retailer, with the importer, reap the harvest.

The United Textile Workers of America have suggested, in season and out, that the real consultants for employers to engage are the workers in their mills and their chosen representatives. Before this sick industry thrives again this latter palliative must be applied. The employers must accept the friendly offer of the employees in the industry who are as much, if not more, interested in the welfare of the industry than are many of the so-called agents and superintendents. The workers, with their families, depend on the industry for a living; to agents and superintendents it is only a job—a job with a good salary, and a fat bonus in many instances.

It is unfortunate that during all of the experimentation to bring life to this sick baby, the "quack" and not the real physician has been consulted. They say, "too many cooks spoil the broth," and the cotton textile industry has had too many cooks.

### A Sick Industry

This industrial sick baby can well be compared to the child of a former millionaire Governor of Connecticut. This young lad skipped away from his tutor and enjoyed life naturally with the rest of the boys surrounding his home, and with them he enjoyed a feed of green apples; his stomach not being used to this kind of nourishment rebelled, and he became a sick boy. The highest priced physicians in the land were called in by the distracted parents. The boy being too sick to tell, or possibly afraid to tell, what he had done, placed the high-priced consultants in a very awkward position—they could not diagnose the case. However, they consulted, and they consulted, and the boy, like the sick baby industry, got weaker and weaker. In the employ of the Governor was a servant who suggested to the mistress of the house that Doctor So-and-so, a practical physician, ought to be called in. The mistress agreed; the professional was called in and diagnosed the

### THE TAMIMENT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INSTITUTE

JUNE 27th TO 30th

1935 TOPIC: "LABOR, INDUSTRY AND GOVERNMENT"

JOHN T. FLYNN, Chairman  
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15 East 40th Street  
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CAMP TAMIMENT ANNOUNCES TO ALL FRIENDS OF LABOR THE LAUNCHING OF THE FIRST ANNUAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTE AT TAMIMENT, PENNSYLVANIA. SIX CONFERENCE SESSIONS, AN AFTERNOON FOR RECREATION AND AN EVENING OF ENTERTAINMENT IN THE BEST TAMIMENT TRADITION.

SPECIAL RATE \$3.00 A DAY PLUS \$1.50 REGISTRATION FEE.

ALL PROFITS OF CAMP TAMIMENT ARE CONTRIBUTED TO THE RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

Note—Read Full Details in Special Institute Story on the Left-Hand Side of this Page!

## Camp Tamiment Opens Officially for Decoration Day Week-end on May 30th --- Attractive Low Rates

Reservations at New York Office, 7 East 15th Street

MRS. BERTHA H. MAILLY, Director

BEN JOSEPHSON, Associate Director

## New Leader Scholarships at Rand School Institute

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

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

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

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

details of which will be made public later.

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

It is estimated that each student will be able to cover all expenses, tuition as well as board, for between \$20 and \$25 for the week, including the Tamiment trip.

The New Leader, eager to aid in making the Institute a success and thus to contribute to sound Socialist education, makes the following offer:

For new subscriptions to The New Leader totaling \$60 there will be a premium of \$20 toward expenses of the student.

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

In either case the Rand School will add free tuition.

For details address inquiries AT ONCE to The New Leader, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

## Bay State Socialists in Significant Conference April 27th

BOSTON.—"Socialism, Foundation for Security" will be the subject of a conference Saturday, April 27, under the auspices of the Eastern Massachusetts Federation of Socialist locals. The sessions will be held at the Finnish Socialist Hall at 521 Cambridge St., Allston, beginning at 2:30 p.m. and lasting until 11.

The program of the conference as outlined by Comrade Paul Carlton, chairman of the arrangements committee, will be as follows: At 2:45 p.m. an address by Comrade

Oliver Peterson on "History Through the Socialist Looking Glass" after which seven group conferences will take place.

A. Socialism and Popular Security Plans, with Alfred Baker Lewis as leader Ralph Hultgren as chairman. B. The Outlook for Labor, Maud Van Vaerenwyck and A. Velleman; Paul Carlton chairman. C. The Economic Basis for Socialism, Louis Marcus leader and David Boynick chairman. D. American Socialists in Office and Out of Office, Morris Berzon leader and Jo-

seph B. Greenfield chairman. E. Socialism and Americanism, S. Syrjala leader and Henry Fine chairman. F. Socialism and World Affairs, Theodore Smith leader and Maurice Wheeler chairman. G. What's What in Cooperation, Ralph Price, Gerhard Rheder, E. F. Statman.

A supper prepared under the direction of Cali Kimball will be served at 6 p.m. At 7 p.m. reports on the various conferences will be made, followed by two short addresses: "Tribute to a Socialist" by Herbert Heller and "Channels of Socialist Activity" by Harry Maltzman.

Beginning at 8 p.m. and lasting until 11 p.m. a lighter program including singing, entertainment and dancing will follow.

## The RAND SCHOOL

7 East 15th Street, New York

extends fraternal greetings to The New Leader and all its subscribers.

A postal card to the address above will bring you information about our Summer Institute, our Correspondence Courses, and our plans for the season of 1935-36.

You can help support our educational work without cost to yourself by buying all your books and pamphlets from

THE RAND BOOK STORE  
7 East 15th Street, New York



## The Workers Abroad

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

By John Powers

**PRAVDA**, official organ of the Russian Communist Party, publishes an appeal this week addressed to Socialists of ten leading European nations calling upon them to join the Communists in combatting "the fascist peril in Germany, which is preparing a war against the Soviet Union." The appeal is published in the name of the Communist International.

Socialists do not require appeals from *Pravda* and the Communist International to fight fascism. But what is curious in the latest Communist appeal, as in all similar appeals, is that it is addressed to those whom the Communists and their press, in Soviet Russia and elsewhere, continue to denounce as "social fascists," and whose destruction, as well as that of the trade unions who refuse to take directions from Moscow, remains the keystone of Communist policy.

As a reading of the Communist press and of Communist official utterances will reveal, Moscow and its allies outside of Russia continue to cling blindly to the policy that the road to Communism lies through fascism, and that the destruction of the Social Democracy and its allied trade unions is essential to clearing the way for the advance of Communism, even though this may require a "fascist detour." This was precisely the road the Communists followed in Germany, when they repeatedly declined the appeals of the Socialists for united action against the rising Hitler tide.

"Nothing would be more fatal than an opportunist overestimation of Hitlerist fascism," said Ernst Thaelmann, leader of the German Communist Party, at the party's plenum, February 19, 1932, a year before Hitler's advent to power. "If we permitted ourselves to lose our correct class gauge because of the swelling up of the Hitler movement and allowed ourselves to be pushed into panic, then we would of necessity be led to a false manner of posing the question in our practical work against the Nazis as well as, and above all, with regard to the Socialist Party."

#### Stampfer's Revelation

IN the Karlsbad *Neuer Vorwärts*, Friedrich Stampfer, the editor and one of the outstanding leaders of the German Social Democracy, has revealed that shortly before Hitler's coming to power he called at the Soviet Embassy in Berlin, pleading that Moscow order the German Communists to alter their policy in order that a united front might be presented against Hitler. Stampfer visited the embassy more than once, his last visit being immediately before the Reichstag fire.

"I was told quite clearly," says Stampfer, "that Moscow believed fascism was inevitable in Germany as a transitory development and that, for the present at least, I could not expect any support for my ideas."

Moscow has consistently refused to give such support. Only to the extent to which Russian nationalist policy requires does it now plead for the help of Socialists, while continuing to wage war against Socialists and trade unionists in all countries and to follow with stubborn fanaticism its aim of destroying the labor movement as the chief obstacle to Communist hegemony.

Moreover, Moscow must finally perceive that cooperation between Communists and Socialists is quite impossible unless it begins at home—in Soviet Russia. The Stalin dictatorship cannot honestly continue its policy of suppression and terrorism against all revolutionary elements in Russia, including dissident Communists, and plead for cooperation with Socialists.

#### Latest Arrests of Socialists

THE Socialist Messenger, organ of the Russian Social Democracy abroad, of which Comrade Raphael Abramowitch is one of the editors, has just published a letter from Moscow telling of continued wholesale arrests of Socialists. Some of them have but recently completed terms of incarceration in prisons and concentration camps. Others are in exile and have had their sentences extended. Among those arrested are Yezhov, Zacharova, Kuchin, Liber and others. Arrests are continuing in all towns and cities along the Volga.

Commenting on this information, the Socialist Messenger says: "As is well known, the names of Comrades Yezhov and Zacharova were among those signed to the Kazan telegram in which our comrades from Soviet Russia hailed the conclusion of the agreement for united action in France. At that time *L'Humanité*, official organ of the French Communist Party, cited the telegram as an object lesson, in which it contrasted the conduct of our Russian comrades as distinguished from other Social Democrats and, in particular, the Delegation of the Russian Social Democratic Party abroad (publishers of the Socialist Messenger). The signers of the telegram were pictured virtually as supporters of the Communist International. Now, *L'Humanité* considers it superfluous to inform its readers of the arrests of these revolutionists, whom it had previously applauded, finding it rather embarrassing to be called upon to agree that the arrests were prompted by the revolution's necessity of 'self-defense.'"

"The names of Kuchin and Liber are too well known not only to the Russian Socialist world but far beyond its confines to require any recapitulation of their history as revolutionists. We need only point out that all the comrades mentioned, as well as those whose names have not yet been forwarded but who, according to the information from Moscow, have but recently completed sentences of imprisonment or exile, or were still serving such sentences, could not, by virtue of these very facts, have had any contacts with our underground work or with our delegation abroad. It was because of this very fact that we and our illegal organizations in Russia have learned of the Kazan telegram from *Populaire* and *L'Humanité*, to whom the telegram had been addressed and who had made it public. The arrests now taking place are, therefore, not for any illegal activity, but solely because of the 'detrital' Social Democratic 'tendency' of the victims."

While appealing for cooperation of Socialists and Communists, the Soviet government continues to jail and exile Socialists who are advocates of such cooperation.

#### The Treaty with Hitler

TO buttress its fight on Hitlerism, Moscow couples this policy of terrorism and persecution with conclusion of a commercial treaty with Hitler. On April 10, 1935, representatives of the Soviet and Hitler governments concluded the new commercial treaty in Berlin. Under the treaty, Russia receives a credit of 200,000,000 marks to be spent in extending Soviet purchases in Germany. The credit is for five years. In return, Germany is to extend her purchases from Soviet Russia to the amount of 150,000,000 marks.

The *Neue Volkszeitung*, New York German Socialist weekly, comments: "If we are to believe the assertions of the present masters of Russia, there is no more dangerous enemy of Russia than the 'Third Reich.' And if we are to believe Adolf Hitler, there is no greater enemy of mankind than the Bolsheviks, who now rule Russia. From the point of view of capitalist economy the attitude of the 'Third Reich' is understandable. But we venture to doubt whether it is possible to explain satisfactorily to the workers of the world the position of Russia in concluding such commercial treaties with their basest enemy."

"It is no accident that German economic circles attribute extraordinary significance to the commercial treaty with Russia. The Reichsbank, in a semi-official statement, declares that the conclusion of the commercial treaty with Russia will solve the currency difficulties which have recently made themselves manifest."

"Thus we learn, clearly and unequivocally, from a source that ought to know, that Germany's currency has been in danger, and that it proved possible to master this danger through conclusion of the commercial treaty with Russia. But we also learn something else. The report (of the Reichsbank) says:

#### Raw Materials for Hitler

"THE commercial treaty with Soviet Russia is of great importance not only because it furnishes a great, almost limitless market for German goods, but opens up also a source of raw materials which the Reich could obtain elsewhere only by paying cash."

"There is no grimmer joke than the spectacle of the world's only 'proletarian' state lending help to Hitler and the economic leaders of the 'Third Reich' in order that they might continue, as heretofore, to exploit, enslave and imprison in concentration camps the workers of Germany, Communists and Socialists alike."

While the Soviet Government and its spokesmen picture Hitler as Soviet Russia's greatest and most determined enemy, and Communists abroad, particularly in the United States, stage anti-Hitler

## Fifty Years of Belgian Socialism

By Herman Kobbé

**P**REVIOUS to the organization of the Belgian Labor Party (P. O. B.) the workers lived in the most insecure and miserable conditions. Men, women and children toiled ten, eleven, and twelve hours daily, often for a pittance of 25 or 30 cents, and crime and alcoholism ran riot.

As early as 1838 an attempt was made to organize on a solid basis, but without tangible success. Then came the Paris revolution of Feb-

ruary 1848, which led by force of example to the formation of a republican party in Belgium in which workers took part. But this movement in turn was diverted by the bourgeoisie to their own purposes.

Then in 1864 was founded in London the first International Working Men's Association and, inspired by this event, the leaders of Belgian labor, at their head Cesar de Paepé, launched another campaign of organization. The Franco-Prussian War, and the fall of the Paris Commune, however,

brought a wave of reaction over all Europe, and the Belgian movement was engulfed and destroyed, together with the whole International.

Then began the heroic efforts which led in April 1885 to the Congress of Brussels and the formation of the P.O.B.

Louis Bertrand, one of the leaders of the movement, declared in his address to the Congress, "No social progress, no amelioration of the condition of a people or of a class is possible if those who have an interest in this progress and amelioration do not get busy themselves to bring it about." He then described the tragic conditions of the workers of that time, and continued: "The aim of a labor party should be, above all, the progressive amelioration of the lot of the workers. Its program should contain all reforms of a political, economic and intellectual order. 'All owe obedience to the law; all pay taxes; what could be more just than that all take part in the

election of those who make the laws and vote the taxes. . . ."

He then went on to point out the necessity of organizing as an integral part of the movement "trades unions, and a federation of the same; cooperative societies open to all workers without distinction; people's houses with cafes, meeting rooms, libraries." And he ended with an exhortation to all workers to unite.

A long debate took place on the name of proposed party: an intransigent group held out for the name "Socialist," but after long caucuses the less controversial name of "Labor" was chosen.

The 112 delegates representing 59 groups to this first congress decided on a second, to be held in Antwerp, and this was duly summoned in August of the same year, 1885. Here were 109 delegates representing 69 groups. This congress adopted a comprehensive platform, beginning:

"The aim followed by the party is to obtain for the workers the political rights and the well-being of which they have been hitherto deprived." It went on to point out the separation of the peasant from the ownership of the land, and the

separation of the worker from ownership of his tools of production; and called upon the state to intervene in protection of the workers during work, sickness and old age.

Just to win universal secret suffrage would be a revolution in itself! And in fact this right was won by the united action of the workers against the opposition of all three bourgeois parties.

Fifty years ago the P.O.B. was nothing. Today the party possesses a union organization, and powerful cooperative and mutual aid societies. More than 850,000 voters supported the P.O.B. in the last elections. In the Chamber 40 per cent of all the deputies are Socialists. Walloons Flemings are united under the popular slogan: "In Union is Strength" ("Eendracht macht Macht," "L'Union fait la force.")

Our Belgian comrades are now celebrating the 50th anniversary of the founding of their party. The Socialists of America send them heartfelt congratulations on the termination of a half-century of titanic struggle for working-class emancipation.

May Day Greetings from

## Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

Labor solidarity is a vital necessity now, more than ever before. It is the only hope of a suffering world.

SIDNEY HILLMAN, General President

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, General Sec'y-Treasurer

#### GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD:

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We send our greetings to the Workers of the World!

Long live the First of May!

Forward for Peace, Freedom and Justice!

## New York Joint Board Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

ABRAHAM MILLER, Secretary

J. C. CATALANOTTI } Managers  
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LOCAL 198, PASSAIC, New Jersey

LOCAL 208, VINELAND, New Jersey



## Mexican Girls Organized by Garment Union in Los Angeles

By Rafael Trujillo

Spanish Organizer, I.L.G.W.U.

LOS ANGELES.—The Spanish-speaking Branch of Dressmakers, Local 96, of which I have charge, has started an intensive campaign to bring into the union, during the current season, all the unaffiliated Mexican girls.

Los Angeles, like the rest of California, is bitterly opposed to unionism. The bosses use all imaginable tactics to stop our activities, from flattery to the workers in the form of false promises by company unions to threats of deportation. In the face of this situation the poor girls are often bewildered. They see how the immigration authorities send hundreds of families ignorant of the laws back to Mexico. Many are afraid to join the union because they feel they might be persecuted by the bosses and finally be deported.

Our campaign is directed towards the destruction of this bugaboo erected by the bosses, and to prove to the dressmakers that they are only trying to intimidate them by the Mexican expression, "pick up your bundle and get out of here." The results of this campaign have already been noticeable even in the shops where the sword of Damocles, symbolizing deportation, has hung over every machine. The girls in these shops now loudly clamor for and proclaim the spirit of unionism.

For this campaign we needed real soldiers. Our organization committee is divided into groups of ten, as the Spanish-speaking branch. The organizing squads are composed of the most aggressive girls, though this does not mean that the other squads are inferior.

The squads are under the direction of one of my lieutenants, Anita Andrade, a most dynamic and energetic young lady. During the strike she often stayed for whole days without food on the picket lines, or trenches, as we call them here, and neither the threat of a jail sentence nor the hard work would daunt her. Sister Andrade is aggressive, but her aggressiveness is stamped with intelligence and good judgment.

Classes.—In the Spanish-speaking branch we have various classes in diversified subjects, which our girls follow with enthusiasm. Every Friday we give instruction in unionism, which includes public speaking.

If the worker received the full social value of his labor there would be no capitalist class.

# The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

## Roads to Working Class Unity

by K. Kautsky



## As They Fear, So Shall We Hope

By Ben Hanford

EVERY anti-labor injunction, every suppression of the rights of free speech and a free press, every foul and unjust decision against labor by capitalist courts, every deportation of union men, every call for militia—all are confessions.

The capitalist confession that in opposing Socialism he cannot win by argument but may by force. Confession that he cannot win by fair means, but may by foul. Confession that fear—peace-destroying, death-dealing fear—is gnawing his heart like a cancer. In madness the man who fears, destroys himself.

Socialists, as the capitalist fears so shall we hope. More than once we shall leave our dead and wounded on the field. We shall lose some battles, but we shall not lose the war. As the revolutionary patriots lost their Lexington and their Bunker Hill so may we. But like them, we shall win our Saratoga and our Yorktown—and we shall dictate the terms of peace.

The man who fears has been a power for evil, but his sun shall set on the day when he meets the man who hopes.

The last century has been one of human achievements; the present century promises to be one of human improvement.—Aronovici.

VI  
In last week's article we discussed the composition of the working class, the differentiations that characterize the make-up of the proletariat.

In addition to those already mentioned there is the category of salaried employees, the so-called white collar workers. Salaried employees, as compared with wage earners, perform functions of a mainly capitalist character. The productive capitalist is not merely an exploiter; he performs an important economic function. He organizes and directs enterprises, purchases and assembles the means of production and takes care of the disposal of commodities. The element of profit does not emanate from these activities, but depends rather upon the amount of capital, not upon the quantity of labor, furnished by the capitalist. Frequently he has to work much harder in a smaller enterprise than in a big one. But what constitutes the pre-requisite of profit is the realization of the tasks of productive capital. This realization is not dependent, however, upon the personalities embodied in capitalism.

The functions of productive capital are merely transferred to the shoulders of hired help. Such help is required as soon as any given enterprise reaches a certain advanced stage of development. Where an enterprise develops to the size of a share-holding undertaking the entire activity of the capitalist is transferred into the hands of hired forces, i. e., of wage earners and other employees who perform purely capitalist functions. These elements emanate from circles closer socially to the capitalist, command a higher culture and education and enjoy a bourgeois standard of living.

For a long time this category of employees were considered part of the middle class, enjoying the "protection" of capital as against the proletariat, and the flattery of bourgeois economists and politicians. The more rapid the growth of capitalist enterprises, the wider has been the development of this new middle class, which grew more rapidly in numbers as compared with the old middle class than did the wage earning section of the proletariat.

More recently, however, it has become apparent that the standard

of living of this new middle class has been declining in proportion as higher education has ceased to be a monopoly of a small minority. The more extensive the administrative and commercial apparatus of an enterprise, the more pronounced becomes its hierarchical differentiation. Only a few leading elements reach the top, i. e., the elements who rise above the mass of the commercial and administrative employees. The latter move socially ever closer to the status of simple "wage earners," while those above them develop increasingly the psychology of "masters," to a degree even more pronounced than that displayed by the capitalist. That is why the directors and superintendents of plants and factories are so well paid.

Thus does the majority of the "new middle class" approach ever closer the status of the real proletariat, enlarging and augmenting its ranks. But within the proletariat it forms, again, a separate category, with its own peculiar psychology, standard of living and capacity for struggle, reflecting, in turn, a different approach and policy.

As soon as the proletariat attains a certain degree of intellectual, political and economic power it begins to exercise an increasing measure of influence upon some sections of the old middle class. Small peasants or farmers, and petty tradesmen find their immediate interests divided between the proletariat and the capitalist class. Their allegiance vacillates at given moments between the two, depending upon the historic circumstances. The peasant and middle class elements in question cannot be characterized as dependable allies of the proletariat, to which circumstance must be ascribed the fact that political development since the French Revolution has been alternating constantly between revolution and counter-revolution, progress and reaction. Nevertheless, the proletariat has been acquiring the confidence of these elements in increasing measure, in proportion as these elements themselves have moved closer economically to the status of the proletariat and as the proletariat itself has gained in power and influence. On the other hand, the more these elements draw closer to the proletariat the

more complex and varied does the composition of the proletariat itself become.

### Employed and Unemployed

Another differentiation to be mentioned is one that has acquired great significance in recent years: the differentiation between employed and unemployed proletarians.

Marx showed that chronic unemployment of part of the proletariat was an inevitable phenomenon of capitalism. But however painful unemployment was in the past for the individual worker, it was, as a rule, a temporary affliction. Since the war, however, and particularly since the start of the world economic crisis in 1929, unemployment has become a permanent curse for increasing masses of workers. This carries with it the development of a psychology among many workers unfortunately akin to that of the Roman proletariat who, as we have already pointed out, constituted one of the principal roots of the dictatorship of the Caesars.

There are many other differentiations within the respective component parts of the proletariat, upon which we will not dwell here but examples of which may be cited by anyone familiar with the problem.

But the differentiations already mentioned are the most important and make it impossible for the proletariat to form a solid, homogeneous mass capable, without the intervention of any other forces, of presenting a united mode of thinking and action. What we see, instead, is a heterogeneous mass, composed of variegated and uneven elements. It was the insight of a Marx that discerned the common interests which, in the long run, must animate all these elements. But the realization of their common tasks and interests depends, in turn, upon intensive education and enlightenment.

The development of economic and political class struggles does, indeed, facilitate a closer approach of the various elements of the proletariat to one another, but this process is being constantly interfered with and vitiated by the influx of ever new elements into the body of the proletariat. Nor does this influx always imply a strengthening of the proletariat. It invariably complicates its policy and makes its formulation and application more difficult.

### Roads to Unity

The influence of proletarian policy gains in strength only in proportion as the proletariat becomes more united and presents a common front, by which we mean united in more than one sense. It must avoid, first, a zigzag course which leads it into contradictory and unsuccessful experiments. Secondly, it must seek to overcome the many differentiations of craft and local interests, of tradition and capacity for struggle responsible for the temporary or more lasting differentiations in the thinking and aspirations of the respective elements comprising the proletariat and those closest to it.

Real unity of these various heterogeneous elements can be accomplished only by putting forward great, noble objectives and high social ideals. The necessity of such a policy makes the formation of a labor party inevitable, sooner or later, wherever a Socialist Party has not already preceded it. Any person who subscribes to the ideals of such a party is to be welcomed into its ranks, but the proletariat, which can develop its potential powers only as a united force, remains the most important, the decisive element of such a party.

### Democracy Essential

But how are we to achieve this unity of the various heterogeneous differentiations that enter into the composition of the proletariat?

There are two ways of accomplishing this: first, by widening the horizon of the proletariat, and second, by a proper utilization and extension of democracy.

The proletariat must be taught the significance of the great moving factors at work in society and the ultimate mutuality of interests that bind the various differentiations of the proletariat itself. It must be taught that each one of its divisions draws power and sustenance not from its successes alone but also from the successes of the others, and that the defeats of one section of the proletariat are the defeats of the proletariat as a whole.

As regards the importance of democracy we cannot overemphasize the fact that higher social perceptions can be attained only through freedom and research. Only under such conditions, through free discussion, can the welfare of the proletariat be advanced.

(To be Continued.)

Correction: The last installment of Kautsky's articles was unfor-

tunately garbled by the printer.

The sentence in the fifteenth line from the top of the fourth column, beginning, "Only occasionally, etc." should read:

"Only occasionally are they moved to outbursts of despair, which is followed immediately by dejection and surrender. Higher aims than those of the moment are beyond the scope of the undeveloped proletariat."

The garbled sentences immediately following this paragraph belong to the next column, as will be indicated. The last sentence in the paragraph stands.

The sentence beginning with the seventh line from the bottom of the fourth column of the article, and ending with the words "to exclude, etc." should continue as follows:

"...to exclude outsiders in the manner characteristic of any aristocracy."

The rest of the paragraph, following the word "aristocracy" in the garbled portion, follows immediately upon the corrected sentence.

The sentence in the fifth column of the article, seventeen lines from the top of the column, beginning with the words, "The war and the world economic crisis," should read:

"The war and the world economic crisis have stimulated the numbers of the last two mentioned groups at the expense not only of proletarian elite but also of the artisan and small peasant elements."

The garbled portions of this sentence will be found in the adjoining column, where a correction has already been indicated.

The sentence beginning with the words, "The development of capitalist industry, etc.," in the thirteenth line from the top of the fifth column, should precede the third paragraph from the bottom of the column.

## THE JOINT BOARD OF THE CLOAKMAKERS' UNION of Greater New York

extends its greetings to The New Leader and its readers,  
on the occasion of the celebration of the First of May—  
the universal holiday of the International Proletariat.  
We wish The New Leader many years of fruitful service  
in the interests of the toiling masses.

REUBEN ZUCKERMAN, President  
LOUIS E. LANGER, Secretary

ISIDORE NAGLER, General Manager  
MORRIS J. ASHBES, Treasurer

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Cloak & Suit Cutters, Local 10  
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THE road that Labor has traveled has not been a course of unbroken victories. Setbacks, discouragements and temporary defeats have marked the path where trod the sons and daughters of toil. . . . Every gain, every advance has meant sacrifice and idealism by those who struggled for human rights, human dignity and freedom.

The army of labor that has passed on, has left us a heritage that is priceless, the heritage of devotion to the cause of human emancipation. Let us show ourselves worthy to carry on the legacy they have left us.

Let us dedicate ourselves anew to the task of reshaping the world free from human degradation in all its forms.

Forward to the task of organizing the workers to make themselves masters of their own destinies!

Forward to the building of peace, plenty and prosperity!

General Executive Board  
INTERNATIONAL  
LADIES GARMENT  
WORKERS UNION

DAVID DUBINSKY, President

May the toilers of the world become so organized and so enlightened to their interests that another May Day will find them much nearer to their goal of a warless and classless society.

MAY DAY GREETINGS  
from the

MISCELLANEOUS LOCALS  
of the

INTERNATIONAL  
LADIES GARMENT  
WORKERS UNION

consisting of:

Miscellaneous Branch Cutters' Union, Local No. 10  
Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local No. 20  
Blouse and Waistmakers' Union, Local No. 25  
Designers Guild of Ladies' Apparel, Local No. 30  
Corset and Brassiere Workers' Union, Local No. 32  
Ladies' Tailors Workers' Union, Local No. 38  
Whitegoods Workers' Union, Local No. 62  
Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local No. 66  
Children's Dressmakers' and Housedress Union, Local 91  
Cloak and Suit Truck Drivers' Union, Local No. 102  
Button and Novelty Workers' Union, Local No. 132  
Ladies' Neckwear Workers' Union, Local No. 142  
Joint Council Knitgoods Workers' Union, Local No. 155  
Ladies' Tailors Alteration Workers' Union, Local No. 177  
and Out-of-Town Department



# Noble Ideals of the First May Day Thrill the Workers Today

By M. C. Feinstein  
Secretary, United Hebrew Trades

ON May First, 1889, an International Socialist congress in Paris dedicated that day to the economic and political unity of the working class of all countries. On that day the historic destiny of world labor was announced to the world.

On May First, 1925, Labor looks back over great triumphs and defeats, over hopes realized and bitter disappointments. It looks forward to ceaseless struggle toward its goal, and the certain fulfillment of that goal. But despite countless changes both in the material and the social aspects of society since 1889, the original affirmation of that day remains unchanged, strengthened and firmly entrenched in the hearts of workers: that world labor has a single destiny, a single loyalty, and a single purpose.

It is this spiritual solidarity, serving the years of struggle and doubt, which stands out most clearly to one considering the whole period since that Paris congress. Had that proclamation been merely theoretical there would be no such intense class loyalty, social consciousness and feeling of common cause as now animates labor. The intervening period of struggle would long ago have dissipated it; and the present obstacles, political and economic, would have dispelled it entirely if it were not deeply rooted in the people, if it were not sound, healthy and constructive for society as a whole.

On the first May Day Labor set as its immediate goals the eight-hour working day, improved working conditions, a higher working standard for the laborer, protection of his health, moral and physical well-being, the creation of a commonwealth of labor over the entire world. These decisions awakened a burst of enthusiasm in the ranks of Labor. They attracted the best minds and spirits, seeking a finer world and who were working toward the founding of a more sane and beautiful society—a society of free men, a society based upon equality and justice to all.

The efforts of these early idealists brought about the realization of many of the goals proclaimed in 1889. The eight-hour working day and other improved economic conditions are already things of the past in all civilized countries. It is no longer taken for granted

that the laboring classes should work in filth, sweat and darkness.

The commonwealth of Labor: this most important point in the May First proclamation appears as yet far from realization. It is this which has received the greatest setback during the tempestuous years since 1889. The World War, with its increase of fanatical race hatred, its exploitation of patriotism by ruthless capitalists and infatuated politicians, did a great deal to block the upward progress of world Socialism. But it could not discourage it. On the contrary, the greater the misery and hatred induced by that ghastly spectacle, the greater need was there for persistent striving towards that Commonwealth, to be a permanent guarantee against any such barbarization of mankind as we witnessed in the last war.

In the halcyon days after the war, there was a renewed feeling that the democratic principles of civilized society must be saved and entrenched, else culture would disintegrate. The Labor and Socialist movement reflected this popular feeling about democracy. The social ideal embodied in the May First celebration came to the fore again.

Today, after an economic slump that sent the whole world into a state of panic, moral as well as financial, there has risen a great controversial disturbance, rooted in the panic that large masses of people feel when they have been disrupted by events and are ready to follow any leader or try any panacea. Fascism, Nazism, or for that matter Communism—these are a few of the cure-alls that are hawked about among the nations. The first two, so deadly and fanatically nationalistic in design, are dangerous enemies of free labor, of the workers in every country, and offer obstacles to the realization of the Socialist commonwealth. Communism, purporting to be Socialism and speaking in the name of Labor, is confusing and dangerous since it seeks to take advantage of Labor at its weakest hour to brutalize it into a false unity. Fascism, Nazism and Communism are basically foreign to the peaceful, constructive and democratic commonwealth which was proclaimed at the Paris congress and which we dedicate anew every May First.

The strongest possible guarantee that the ideals of 1889 are not

lost, that their force is undiminished, is the inward solidarity and feeling of a common destiny of the working class. On this May First, more than at any other time, all workers must in no uncertain way display that solidarity and strength. Labor on this May First must pledge itself anew to the ideals of 1889—to a cause that must ultimately be realized, no matter what the difficulties are in our way.

## WHEN KARL MARX SENT GREETINGS TO LINCOLN

ONE of the earliest documents adopted by the First International within two months of its organization was addressed to Abraham Lincoln congratulating him upon his re-election in 1864. It bears the impress of Karl Marx's style. The complete text of this notable document follows:

"To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America. 'Sir.—We congratulate the American people upon your re-election by a large majority. If Resistance to the Slave Power was the watchword of your first election, the triumphal war cry of your re-election is Death to Slavery.'

"From the commencement of the titanic American strife the workmen of Europe felt instinctively that the Star Spangled Banner carried the destiny of their class. The contest for the territories which opened the *divine* *epoch*, was it not to decide whether the virgin soil of immense tracts should be wedded to the labor of the immigrant or be prostituted by the tramp of the slave driver?

"When an oligarchy of 300,000 slaveholders dared to inscribe for the first time in the annals of the world 'Slavery' on the banner of armed revolt; when on the very spots where hardly a century ago the idea of one great Democratic Republic had first sprung up, whence the first declaration of the Rights of Man was issued and the first impulse given to the European Revolution of the eighteenth century; when on those very spots counter-revolution, with systematic thoroughness, gloried in rescinding 'the ideas entertained at the time of the formation of the old constitution' and maintained 'slavery to be a beneficial institution'; indeed, the only solution of the great problem of the relation of capital to labor, and cynically proclaimed property in man 'the cornerstone of the new edifice';—then the working classes of Europe understood at once (even before the fanatic partisanship of the upper classes for the Con-

## We Members of the Debs English Speaking Branch 665 WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

are happy to extend May Day Greetings to The New Leader.

|                   |                 |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| Morris Extract    | Nathan Lerner   |
| Wm. M. Feigenbaum | Celia Rotter    |
| Irving Alexander  | Helen Schwimmer |
| Jos. Gammerman    | Samuel Schwartz |
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| Chas. Berger      | Henry Citrin    |
| Morris Cohen      | Harry Wander    |
| Sol Levy          | Ben Senitzer    |
| August Claessens  | Nathan Zughaft  |

## Workmen's Circle Celebrates Its 35th Anniversary

THE Workmen's Circle, the powerful Jewish fraternal organization that is closely allied with the Socialist movement, has completed 35 years of useful service to the working class, and is celebrating its anniversary at a great jubilee convention in New York during the week beginning May 5th.

The Workmen's Circle was launched in 1900 by a group of Jewish Socialists led by the late Benjamin Feigenbaum, and it has steadily grown until today it is one of the most important organizations of its kind in the country.

The organization maintains, in addition to its regular work, a fine tuberculosis sanitarium, many labor lyceums in every part of the country, an important educational department, and conducts much other work of incalculable benefit to the masses. In recent years the English-speaking section has been growing, and there are today a large number of English branches as well as the Young Circle League, all of which carry on Socialist educational work.

Ten years ago, upon the occasion of its 25th anniversary, the Workmen's Circle held a Quarter-Centennial Jubilee convention that opened with a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden with Eugene V. Debs as speaker. That was Debs' last public appearance in New York.

Next week The New Leader will carry a special supplement devoted to the Workmen's Circle, with articles giving details of its manifold activities.

federate gentry had given its dismal warning) that the slaveholders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy war of property against labor, and that for the men of labor, with their hopes for the future, even their past conquests were at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic. Everywhere they bore, therefore, patiently the hardships imposed upon them by the cotton crisis, opposed enthusiastically the pro-slavery intervention—importunities of their betters—and from most parts of Europe contributed their quota of blood to the good of the cause.

"While the workingmen, the true political power of the North, allowed slavery to defile their own republic; while before the Negro, mastered and sold without his concurrence, they boasted it the highest prerogative of the white-skinned laborer to sell himself and choose his own master, they were unable to attain the true freedom of labor, or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation; but this barrier to progress has been swept off by the red sea of civil war.

"The workingmen of Europe felt sure that as the American War of Independence initiated a new era of ascendancy for the middle class, so the American anti-slavery war will do for the working classes. They consider it an earnest sign of the epoch to come that it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln, the single-minded son of the working class, to lead his country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of the enchained race and the reconstruction of a social world."

## 218,158 Votes for Turner in Wisconsin

MADISON.—A record Socialist vote for the state of Wisconsin was polled by Glenn P. Turner in his run for supreme court justice at the recent election.

The correct total vote, just made public, was 218,158, an all-time high for any Socialist candidate in this state. The highest previous Socialist vote was for John C. Kleist for the same office, who received 168,541 votes in 1922.

Turner was the only opponent of Judge George B. Nelson, who polled 385,659 votes on the Republican, Democratic and LaFollette tickets. Nelson was backed by every daily paper in the state except the Socialist Milwaukee Leader.

## Socialist Majority in Basel Government

The Canton of Basel, seat of the second largest city of Switzerland, now has a Socialist government, following recent elections. Two Socialist councillors were elected and two Liberals. Together with the councillors whose terms continue the new governing body for the Canton consists of four Socialists and three others. The old council had two Socialists and five others.

The Socialist candidates polled 16,692 and 15,781 votes respectively out of a total of 30,888.

## Oneal at Debs Branch

James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, will speak Friday, April 26th, for the Debs Branch, 665, of the Workmen's Circle. The meeting will be held at the People's House, 7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C., and the subject will be: "Socialism in America Today."

# Socialism Alone is the Hope of a Sorely Troubled World

By J. Baskin  
General Secretary, Workmen's Circle

THE First of May is here again. Once more we hear the triumphant sounds and trumpets of our International borne on a wave of hope to every part of the world where workers are found.

The First of May! This is their day, the day of the oppressed and the exploited. On this day they band in close formation openly proclaiming their solidarity with every brave soul in the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed. On this day they demonstrate their faith in a noble and just ideal, and call upon all thinking people yearning for a richer and fuller life, to unite in the struggle for its attainment.

We sincerely believe that even under the black reaction of Hitler,

Mussolini and other oppressors, enough workers will be found who will gather in designated places to express their cherished hopes and strivings, and to proclaim to the world that all is not yet lost; that there are still a sufficient number of valiant workers who await this moment to come out in open battle against the sinister forces of reaction.

Let the cynics laugh, let the pessimists and the weak lose their courage and relinquish their hope—that does not deter us. The heavy blows the Socialist movement has suffered in the past few years have not at any moment weakened our firm beliefs, have not in any manner shaken our fundamental and deep-rooted principles and ideals.

On the contrary, all the events of the past strengthen our conviction that the world has no other solution than Socialism. We are firm in our belief that all quick

remedies prescribed for the ills are of no avail, that the world is in pain because the system under which we live is in its death throes, and this must lead to chaos and destruction.

In America last year, especially in the larger centers, we organized huge mass demonstrations. Workers of all trades and industries, workers of many beliefs, proudly marched and declared in clear, unequivocal language the goal toward which they were striving. Again this year have the Socialist leaders, the trade union officials, the Workmen's Circle and other radical organizations prepared for a huge demonstration on May Day. We are convinced that the celebration this year will go down in history as among the most outstanding the American workers have ever held.

Long live the First of May!  
Long live the solidarity of the international working class!

## WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

The "RED CROSS" of the Labor Movement

75,000 Members

Insurance from \$100<sup>00</sup> to \$3000<sup>00</sup>

Sick Benefit, 15 weeks per year at \$8, \$18, \$23, \$28 per week.

Many branches pay additional benefit from \$3 to \$5 per week.

Consumption benefit, \$600 or twelve months in our Sanatorium, located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.

### YOUNG CIRCLE CLUBS

The Workmen's Circle has organized Young Circle Clubs consisting of the sons and daughters of the members. It is the aim of these clubs to provide youth an opportunity for physical, intellectual, social and ethical development in an atmosphere sympathetic to the ideals of the labor movement.

### SCHOOLS

The Workmen's Circle has over 100 Yiddish Schools for children in various parts of the United States and Canada. The children of the members are trained in the finest traditions of their fathers.

### LADIES' AUXILIARIES AND CLUBS

The Wives of the members are organized into ladies' clubs and auxiliaries who have their own distinct and interesting social life.

### CAMPS

The Workmen's Circle has 6 children's camps in the United States and Canada for children and adults.

For Information Apply to

**The WORKMEN'S CIRCLE**  
175 EAST BROADWAY  
NEW YORK CITY

Telephone ORchard 4-6000

The following branches conduct their meetings in English and solicit their membership from the English Speaking Radical Element. Below you will find the time, place and date and also the secretaries' address when applying for membership.

BRANCH 400 meets the first Tuesday of the month at 809 Westchester Ave., Bronx, N. Y. Address of Secretary, William Bobit, 3957 Gouverneur Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.

BRANCH 455 meets the first and third Fridays of the month at 809 Westchester Ave., Bronx, N. Y. Address of Secretary, Adolph Sonnen, 1172 Montgomery Ave., Bronx, N. Y.

BRANCH 655 meets the second and fourth Fridays of the month at 140 Second Ave., New York. Address of Secretary, Morris Extract, 1195 Montgomery Ave., Bronx, N. Y.

BRANCH 650 meets the first and third Friday of the month at 937 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y. Address of Secretary, Frank Rosenfarb, 1516 Union St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

BRANCH 1001 meets on Fridays at 7 East 15th Street, New York. Address of Secretary, B. G. Flavin, 2064 Creston Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.

BRANCH 267 meets the second and fourth Saturdays of the month at 44 East 12th St., New York. Address of Secretary, Isaac Levy, 74 Van Cortlandt Park South, Bronx, N. Y.

- LONG LIVE THE NEW LEADER!
- LONG LIVE THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE!
- LONG LIVE THE FIRST OF MAY!

## Workmen's Circle

Branch 1—NEW YORK  
Branch 2—NEW YORK  
Branch 6—NEW YORK  
Branch 23—NEWARK  
Branch 24—NEW YORK  
Branch 25—NEW YORK  
Branch 27—ROCHESTER  
Branch 39—NEW YORK  
Branch 41—ANSONIA  
Branch 45—PITTSBURGH  
Branch 75—NEW YORK  
Branch 87—NEW YORK  
Branch 88—NEW YORK  
Branch 92—WASHINGTON  
Branch 110—PROVIDENCE  
Branch 114—SAN FRANCISCO  
Branch 122—NEW YORK  
Branch 126—NEW YORK  
Branch 136—NEW YORK  
Branch 155—TOLEDO  
Branch 164—NEW YORK  
Branch 173—OMAHA  
Branch 175—INDIANAPOLIS  
Branch 177—NEW YORK  
Branch 212—NORFOLK  
Branch 244—NEW YORK

Branch 256—NEWARK  
Branch 275—NEW YORK  
Branch 276—PASSAIC  
Branch 280—NEW YORK  
Branch 280B—NEW YORK  
Branch 322—NEW YORK  
Branch 342B—NEW YORK  
Branch 367—NEW YORK  
Branch 375—NEW YORK  
Branch 392—NEW YORK  
Branch 402—NEW YORK  
Branch 423—NEW YORK  
Branch 430—CLEVELAND  
Branch 455—NEW YORK  
Branch 457—GRAND RAPIDS  
Branch 470—NEW YORK  
Branch 473—LOS ANGELES  
Branch 505—SALT LAKE  
Branch 572B—TORONTO  
Branch 573—NEW YORK  
Branch 655—NEW YORK  
Branch 664—SIOUX CITY  
Branch 665—NEW YORK  
Branch 684—NEW YORK  
Branch 706—REVERE  
Branch 710—BROCKTON  
Branch 723—NEW BEDFORD

## THE WORKMEN'S MUTUAL FIRE INSURANCE SOCIETY, INC.

On the occasion of Labor's International Holiday—The First of May—when the workers all over the civilized world, moved by the spirit of international solidarity and cooperation, will assert their demands for economic justice and political freedom, it is but fitting for

The Workmen's Mutual Fire Insurance Society, to join the great hosts of Labor.

In doing so it emphasizes that during the 63 years of its existence it has adhered strictly to the high ideals of cooperation and mutual help, which its founders, the pioneers of the Labor Movement in the United States, have made its corner stone foundation. It can point with pride to the fact in the great progress of our Society, which from a very humble beginning has through steady growth reached its present magnitude, a household fire insurance organization having

\$83,000,000.00 Outstanding Insurance  
\$1,000,000.00 in Assets 66,000 Members.  
Household Fire Insurance at Actual Cost  
(10 Cents per \$100 Insurance annually)

For information apply in person or communicate with the main office of the Society.

227 EAST 84th STREET, NEW YORK CITY

WE greet the workers of the world and affirm our abiding faith in the International Labor Movement.

Let us join together in a mighty outpouring for the liberation of our brothers and sisters in the fascist-ridden countries, for peace, for the coming classless society where toilers will not be hounded by oppression, unemployment and hunger.

## JOINT BOARD of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union

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JOSEPH DI MELLA, President



# New Problems and Old Illusions

Some Lessons Pertinent to Our Tasks as Gleaned from Marx's Closest Associate and Collaborator

by Social Democrat

(The author of this article is a world-famous Socialist writer residing in a fascist country, whose name therefore cannot be revealed. What he has to say, written specifically with the situation in Germany and Austria in mind, applies in principle to the situation in our party here.)

## By "Social Democrat"

OUR period has brought forward a mass of extraordinary problems the solution of which requires an objective appraisal of events. In considering these problems we will observe certain similarities with previous periods of reaction. It would be helpful, therefore, to familiarize ourselves with some of these similarities to clarify our understanding of our own tasks.

In doing so we will be astonished to discover how simple some apparently complex problems may become. They are not really as novel as some may think, for they have presented themselves on previous occasions. Those who seek to confer upon us the benefits of new conquests in revolutionary thinking will discover, on closer examination, that unfortunately they are merely recapitulating the long forgotten.

This is precisely the idea that came into my mind while reading over what Friedrich Engels wrote sixty years ago about the French revolutionist, Louis Auguste Blanqui.

The Blanquists took an active part in the Paris Commune of 1871, and after its collapse they settled in London. They affiliated with the First International, where they were warmly welcomed by Karl Marx. Very soon, however, disagreements developed between them and the International, from which they seceded in 1872 because "it eschewed the revolutionary road," and formed an independent group called "The Revolutionary Commune." Their program was published in a manifesto, upon which Engels wrote a commentary entitled "Emigré Literature." He began his article as follows:

### The Noise of Factions

After every revolution or every counter-revolution there always arises a feverish activity among those who have fled abroad. The various party tendencies find expression in groups engaged in making war upon each other, exchanging recriminations, and accusing each other of treachery and many other sins. At the same time they seek to maintain contact with the homeland. They organize, conspire, publish leaflets and newspapers, and seek to delude themselves with the idea that everything will be altered within 24 hours. They have no doubt that victory will be theirs, and in this faith they hasten to apportion the portfolios of the future government.

"Of course, disappointment comes with each day. And as they refuse to perceive inevitable historic circumstances, and fail to realize that these circumstances constitute the true reason for their defeats, they seek the cause in the accidental mistakes committed by this or that person. The result is that they do not stop accusing one another, and the consequence is general war. We find the same story applying to all emigrés, from the monarchists who fled the Terror in France in 1792 to this day. The French emigrés of the Paris Commune have suffered the same fate."

Engels then touches upon the exit of the Blanquists from the First International, presenting also a characterization of Blanqui, who was still alive. Engels wrote: "Fundamentally, Blanqui is a political revolutionist. He is a socialist only insofar as he is governed by his own emotions. But he has no Socialist theory and no practical proposals for action to improve the condition of the masses. In his political activity he is 'a man of action.' He believes that a small, well-organized minority, by staging a revolutionary uprising at an opportune moment, can by a few successes carry with it the great masses of the people, and thus achieve a successful revolution."

Engels then points out that all such attempts are doomed to failure. He says:

"Since Blanqui conceives every revolution as an uprising of a small revolutionary minority, it follows that such a successful uprising would bring with it the establishment of a dictatorship not of a revolutionary class, of the workers, but of the small number of people who would make the uprising, and who previously had constituted an organization under a dictatorship of a group of dictators."

"It is quite clear that Blanqui is a revolutionist of the past generation."

**Blanquism in Our Time**  
Engels could not foresee from the vantage point of his period that fifty years later a new gen-

eration would reproduce such revolutionists, who would even lay claim to being the only true Marxists. But this is not surprising when we consider that since the World War our society has become a wild mixture of all sorts of elements in which things most modern clash with the primitive and the barbarian. Aeroplanes and radio have become daily phenomena, side by side with direct, medieval barter in trade. It is not surprising, therefore, that in Socialist ranks, too, we witness the revival of ideas current among revolutionists one hundred years ago, accompanied by glorification of these ideas as if they were newly discovered commodities.

Engels continues: "Our London Blanquists take as their basis the idea that revolutions do not come naturally but that they are made by a comparatively small number of people, in accordance with a previously prepared plan, and that this can be accomplished at will and at any time. Such conceptions lead only to self-deception. Such train of thinking can lead only from one stupidity to another."

Engels sought to show that after the blood bath of the Paris Commune of 1871 the workers needed a certain period of rest to gather new strength, and that any premature attempt at another uprising would bring only another failure.

But the Blanquists thought differently. They were convinced that the revolution was around the corner, that it would come tomorrow. With this conviction in mind they made public their program, in which they proclaimed themselves as "atheists," "Communists" and "revolutionists." Of this Engels said:

"Our Blanquists have a characteristic common with the Bakuninists (followers of Michael Bakunin, the Anarchist) in that they seek to embrace at one stroke the most extreme objectives, to be the representatives of the most extreme tendency."

It was not enough for them to declare that they were atheists. They went so far as to assert that "atheism, it is self-evident, is the accepted doctrine of all European working class parties." To emphasize their radicalism the Blanquists demanded the suppression of "all religious teaching and all religious organizations."

### Blanquism at Work Today

Engels ridiculed all this as nonsense. "One thing is certain," he wrote, "The best way to serve God in our time is to make a new faith of atheism, and to impose it by force upon other people. To forbid religion is to outdo Bismarck in the fight between the church and the enlightenment in Germany. Such policy must lead to consequences opposite to the result desired. God and religion can only profit by it."

What Engels wrote applies not only to the Blanquists of his day but also to the Bolsheviks of our day, to their atheist movement as embodied in the so-called "Association of the Godless." Even the Bolsheviks have begun to perceive the silliness of the extremes to which they have permitted themselves to go in this respect.

As regards Communism, the Blanquists proclaimed it to be their faith in order to emphasize their radicalism as distinguished from the principles and organization of the Social Democracy.

"We are Communists," they wrote in their program, "because we wish to drive toward our aim without stopping at way stations, without making compromises which would only deter victory and prolong the rule of slavery."

To this Engels replied, with particular reference to the Blanquists in Germany: "The German Com-

munist are Communists because beyond the various way stations and compromises, which are not necessitated by human beings but by the process of historical development, they see clearly the final aim, and are striving to attain it. And the final aim is abolition of classes and establishment of a society without private ownership of land and the means of production. The thirty-three (German Communists) signed the Blanquist manifesto because they have become convinced that to avoid the various way stations and compromises it is only necessary to will it, and that when the day of uprising arrives and they seize power they will immediately establish Communism. Otherwise there is no use being Communists."

### Childish Conceptions Revived

To follow such a policy is to make a theory of childish conceptions, naïveté, irresponsibility and impatience. Unfortunately, to this day there

are Socialists, young and old, who have embraced this theory in effect. This is even true of some mature thinkers, who perceive in such theories the expression of a revolutionary tendency.

Concerning the declaration of the Blanquists that they were "revolutionists," Engels says: "With respect to the use of loud, bombastic phrases the Bakuninists, as is well known, have attained a degree beyond that yet reached by any human beings, but the Blanquists consider it their duty to outdo even the followers of Bakunin."

The entire Socialist International had expressed its solidarity with the Paris Commune of 1871, but it did not by any means approve all its actions. The Blanquists, however, took the position that unequivocal approval of such actions constituted the test of a real revolutionist.

Other Socialists maintained that certain actions, such as the firing

of houses or the shooting of hostages, might be explained by the resentment of the Communards against the enemy's cruelty in the concluding episodes of the struggle. But calm consideration of such acts leads one to deplore them and to hope they will not be repeated. The Blanquists, however, believed that it was their revolutionary duty to hail and praise such acts as the firing of houses and the shooting of prisoners. Engels commented on this as follows:

"It is most uncritical to hold that the Commune was sacred, that it made no mistakes and could make no mistakes. This is on a par with saying that in the French Revolution it was quite all right for Robespierre to guillotine people on his orders and quite proper to guillotine Robespierre himself at a later stage. Such childish theories are possible only for people who at bottom are not really so bloodthirsty, but wish to give the impression of being terrible revolutionists."

## What American Radicals Think

By William E. Bohn

THAT representative American intellectuals are in favor of social and economic change and that the majority of them have not gone Communist is plainly indicated by the results of a questionnaire conducted by Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild and summarized by him in the last number of the New Republic. The questions cover a wide range of social attitudes and definite proposals for action. The ninety persons whose answers are tabulated represent a cross-section of college professors, technical experts, social reformers, clergy-men and writers.

Out of these only nine are recognizable as members of the Socialist Party, and these Socialists were not put on the list as Socialists but because of their standing in connection with ideas or organizations. Another ten are persons who have been members of the Socialist Party or who are closely connected with it. The other seventy are for the most part independent thinkers and writers, excellent representatives of progressive thought in this country.

The most interesting single result of the pooling of opinion is that the majority of these representative people are neither in favor of leaving society just as it is or attempting a violent April Fool's day plot to overthrow it and institute the millennium.

Fifty out of the ninety approved the idea of working "toward a Socialist order." The same fifty approved the statement, "Socialism can be approached by gradual measures using constitutional means." Fifty-one signed the declaration that "government ownership or control of industry without control of the government by the working class is not Socialism."

With relation to definite steps toward change the majorities are even larger. More than sixty out of the ninety voted for public own-

ership and operation of the following industries and properties: transportation systems, communications, radio, banks, public utilities, all underlying natural resources (including coal, oil, gas, minerals, large forests and water power). Seventy out of the ninety voted in favor of this last item.

The vote on the use of violence as an instrument for bringing about social change in America is highly significant. Ninety-seven votes were cast with regard to this part of the questionnaire. Forty-five favored the affirmation, "A Socialist order can definitely be established by non-violent, democratic, political means." Forty-eight accepted the statement, "though a Socialist order may be established

by non-violent means, it will probably provoke forcible resistance by reactionaries which cannot be suppressed without violence."

Four persons chose to be represented by the following sentence, "A Socialist order can be established only by violent insurrection." On this matter of violent insurrection, then, the American intellectuals vote No at the rate of ninety-three to four.

Among Socialists and labor people there is a general notion that our writers and thinkers have gone haywire, that they are so far off toward the left that they are of no use to the labor movement. It is easy to see how such an impression may have got abroad. A very few bright and impatient young men have got into the headlines with sneers at the labor movement, at practical reforms, at democracy. Here we have the opinions, not of one or two smart men, but of nearly a hundred representative persons who are in opinion-forming positions. And these people are not utopians, not escapists. They have got beyond the Santa Claus period in revolutionary thinking.

### New Address for Labor and Socialist International

BRUSSELS.—The Labor and Socialist International has established its headquarters in this city, at 162, Rue de Laeken. Removal of headquarters from Zurich, Switzerland, where it has been for several years, was undertaken primarily because of high Swiss exchange rates, but the new headquarters has the additional advantage of being a day closer by mail to the larger Socialist parties.

One difference between Socialism and trade unionism is that, whereas the unions can only marshal the workers for a desperate trial of endurance, Socialism can get rid of the capitalist altogether. The former helps you to resist your enemy, the latter destroys him.—Robert Blatchford.

### MAY DAY GREETINGS from

**POALE ZION**  
United Jewish Socialist Labor Party  
1225 Broadway  
New York City

We stand with all the workers in their struggles. They can help better working conditions by insisting that the Union Label must appear on all printed matter.  
**HEBREW-AMERICAN TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 83**  
I. T. U.  
142 Henry Street, N. Y. C.  
Hyman Bloom, President  
Nathan Efron, Sec'y-Treas.

We extend May Day Greetings to all workers striving to improve the economic, social and political standard.  
**HEBREW BUTCHERS WORKERS' UNION**  
American Federation of Labor  
Nathan Teitelbaum, Pres.  
Joseph Belsky, Secretary  
L. Lef, Business Agent  
B. Levine, Business Agent

It is the labor movement that stands as a bulwark against reaction in all its forms. We greet our comrades and fellow workers in the fight for freedom and solidarity.  
**BUTCHER WORKERS' UNION**  
LOCAL 174  
213 East 84th Street

GREETINGS TO THE FIRST OF MAY!  
**CUTTERS' LOCAL No. 4**  
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America  
MURRAY WEINSTEIN, Manager

**BELT MAKERS' UNION**  
Local 40 of the I.L.G.W.U.  
125 W. 33rd St., New York City

Our May Day Greetings to The New Leader and all our fellow workers striving to achieve the ideals of Unionism

Our heartfelt greetings to the workers of The New Leader on the 1st of May  
**Cooperative Bakery of Brownsville and East New York**

When you buy bread that bears the Union Label you are doing your duty to your fellow workers. On May Day and all other days buy bread that has the label of  
**International Bakery & Confectionery Workers' Union, Local 507**  
1258 Boston Road  
M. Yanofsky, Sec'y

**Local 505—Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Int'l Union of America**  
Resolve on this May Day that you will always demand the UNION LABEL

(THE ONLY UNION)  
**HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES' UNION**  
LOCAL 16  
217 West 46th Street  
BRYANT 9-4496  
Charles B. Baum, President  
T. Coulcher, Sec'y-Treasurer



### May Day Greetings!

On this workers' holiday, we proclaim anew our solidarity with our fellow workers throughout the world, and rededicate ourselves to the achievement of that classless society which has been our goal and inspiration.

**CAP AND MILLINERY DEPARTMENT, UNITED HATTERS, CAP AND MILLINERY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION**

245 Fifth Avenue, New York City  
M. ZARITSKY, President

The black clouds of reaction cannot cast shadows on a labor movement that forges powerful organizations, industrial and political. Down with fascism in all its forms! Forward with labor's army of freedom!

**MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 24**  
CLOTH, HAT, CAP AND MILLINERY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION

Alex Rose, Sec'y-Treasurer

Diversity of opinion, unity of action, and solidarity with our brothers in the common struggle for a free world will make every day a May Day for all humanity.

**MILLINERY BLOCKERS' UNION Local 42**  
Cloth, Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union  
102 WEST 38th STREET NEW YORK CITY  
MAX GOLDMAN I. HAMMER, FRED CARRANO  
Manager Organizers



## Karl Marx in Role of Adviser to American Labor Movement

KARL MARX took a profound interest in the struggle for the abolition of slavery in the United States, knowing that this archaic system, like the remnants of feudalism in Europe, had to be swept away before the labor movement could develop into a power. Marx was the author of an Address by the First International to Abraham Lincoln, congratulating him on his re-election in 1864, declaring that American workers "were unable to attain the true freedom of labor or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation" until the slave barrier "has been swept off by the red sea of civil war."

In 1865 the International sent an address to President Johnson deploring the assassination of Lincoln and in 1869 sent an address to William H. Sylvius, president of the National Labor Union, also written by Marx. Intended for American workers, the address in part follows:

"In our congratulatory address to Mr. Lincoln on the occasion of his re-election to the Presidency we expressed it as our conviction that the Civil War would prove to be as important to the progress of the working class as the War of Independence has been to the elevation of the middle class. And the successful close of the war against slavery has indeed inaugurated a new era in the annals of the working class. In the United States itself an independent labor movement has since arisen which the old parties and the professional politicians view with distrust. [This referred to the National Labor Reform Party with which Sylvius was identified. Ed.] But to bear fruit it needs years of peace. To suppress it, a war between the United States and England would be the sure means.

"The immediate tangible result of the Civil War was of course a deterioration of the condition of the American workingmen. Both in the United States and in Europe the colossal burden of a public debt was shifted from hand to hand in order to settle it upon the shoulders of the working class. The prices of necessities, remarks one of your statesmen, have risen 78 per cent since 1860, while the wages of simple manual labor have risen 50 and those of skilled labor 60 per cent. 'Pauperism,' he complains, 'is increasing in America more rapidly than population.'

"Moreover, the sufferings of the

working class are in glaring contrast to the new-fangled luxury of financial aristocrats, shoddy aristocrats and other vermin bred by war. Still the Civil War offered a compensation in the liberation of the slaves and the impulse which it thereby gave to your own class movement. Another war, not sanctified by a sublime aim or a social necessity, but like the wars of the Old World, would forge chains for the free workmen instead of sundering those of the slave. The accumulated misery which it would leave in its wake would furnish your capitalists at once with the motive and the means of separating the working class from their courageous and just aspirations by the soulless sword of a standing army.

"Yours, then, is the glorious task of seeing to it that at last the working class shall enter upon the scene of history, no longer as a servile following, but as an independent power, as a power imbued with a sense of its responsibility and capable of commanding peace where their would-be masters cry war."

### Party Seeks to Cooperate With All Scandinavian Workers' Groups

CHICAGO.—Calling attention to the fact that Denmark, Norway and Sweden now all have Socialist-Labor governments, the national office of the Socialist Party has asked local secretaries to work closely with Scandinavian workers' fraternal and cooperative groups where these are known to exist.

Local secretaries are asked to inform party headquarters as to existing cooperation between these groups and the party.

### New Haven Socialists Hold Banquet Apr. 27

NEW HAVEN.—The anniversary banquet of the New Haven Socialists will be held Saturday, April 27th, 8 P. M., at Silverberg's Restaurant, 204 Crown St.

Comrade Mrs. C. D. Rostow will act as toastmaster and prominent speakers will appear.

This affair will mark the opening of the Socialist drive for campaign funds.

## St. Thomas More—A May Day Tribute

(Thomas More, author of Utopia, is one of the early fathers of the Socialist ideal. In his own limited but none the less inspiring manner he blazed the road for the development of mankind's aspirations for a better world. It is appropriate that we remember him on May Day for the revolutionary things he said and did, especially since the Catholic Church saw fit recently to canonize him for the thing that was of least revolutionary significance in his life.)

ON April 1, 1935, close to the four hundredth anniversary of his death, a consistory assembled in the Vatican and canonized Thomas More, late Lord Chancellor of England, together with Bishop Fisher of London, who suffered with him the punishment of execution.

This canonization did not imply merely the addition of two more names to the endless list of Catholic saints. Insofar as it did not take cognizance of his writings, which have wielded a permanent influence in the struggle for emancipation of the exploited and the oppressed, it was in reality a disavowal.

Karl Kautsky has devoted a whole volume to Thomas More. Max Beer, in his "General History of Socialism and Social Struggles," discusses his work in extensive detail. And if the expression "from utopia to science" has advanced from the title of a book to an idea pregnant with powerful content, we owe this to Thomas More, for it was he who coined the very word Utopia.

It was in the England of Henry VIII, the ruler on the throne, who frequently sought escape from his political and personal difficulties with the help of the executioner. Economically the period was marked by the rise of British commercial capital, which destroyed the old communal rural order and drove the peasants from their holdings to clear the way for the development of the wool industry, that the large land owners might enrich themselves in the wool trade with Flanders. Political despotism coincided with the spread of economic misery, as has frequently been the case in the history of mankind to the degradation and destruction of the general welfare.

### More's Antecedents

Thomas More did not belong to the poverty-stricken classes of England. His father was a judge, and the son received an excellent education, attended Oxford Uni-

versity and responding to an inner urge, devoted himself to the study of law, coupled with theology and philosophy. As a young man he had already attained a reputation as a scholar extending beyond the confines of England. Upon ascending the highest judicial post in the country as Lord Chancellor he stood forth as one of the most striking personalities of his time. We have all the more reason to remember him in the midst of our own world economic crisis because, far in advance of his time, and after a pause of two thousand years, he was, like Plato, the first to propound the idea that the happiness of mankind required a radical readjustment in property relationships, and to give the idea a firm foundation.

As will be seen from the first, the socio-political part, of his Utopia, he proclaimed the belief that there could be no trace of either right or justice in a land that enriched the bankers, speculators and courtiers while peasants, agricultural laborers, blacksmiths, carpenters, miners and other workers were permitted to sink in impoverishment. The fate of the workers was even worse than that of beasts of burden. Misery was their reward as long as they were strong enough to toil, and utter poverty and degradation were their lot when they grew old and ill, and no longer able to work. The laws were stacked against them. The existing order was but a conspiracy of the rich to make secure their own interests.

With the development of the new economy, based upon money, and the gradual extinction of natural economy More perceived in money the source of all evil. He maintained that poverty and crime would disappear if money were only abolished, since it was lack of money that gave stimulus to these evils.

### Reform and Revolution

Before taking up the discussion of his idea of a better social order, More concerned himself with the problem which to this day continues to occupy so much prominence, the problem of reform and revolution, without, however, reaching any definite conclusions on the question. He cited arguments both in support and against the two conceptions, and quoted Plato, who had rejected as useless the idea of private property. More inclined, however, to the idea that reforms should not be rejected in a capitalist society because "one should not quit a ship in the midst of a tempest simply because one cannot master the tempest... On the contrary, one must cope with the matter wisely and diplomatically, so that while unable to attain the best, one may at least avert the worst."

To escape the practical difficulties

Our Heartiest Greetings to The New Leader, the only Labor and Socialist paper in the country.

6th A. D., Bronx  
SOCIALIST PARTY

Our May Day Greetings to The New Leader  
Upper 8th A.D., Bronx  
Socialist Party

We celebrate the International Holiday of Labor, firm in the conviction that we will gain in our day-by-day program in all that makes for human welfare.

### Delicatessen and Restaurant Countermen and Cafeteria Employees Union, Local 302

Affiliated with Central Trades and Labor Council, United Hebrew Trades, State Federation of Labor and American Federation of Labor  
Executive Office: 260 W. 39th Street, New York—Wls. 7-6851-6852  
B. BARKY, Organizer  
J. J. WILLIAMS, Organizer  
W. M. MESEVICH, Labor Chief  
MAX FISHER, Pres. Branch "B"  
MAX NACHMANSON, Pres. Branch "A"  
HYMAN GOLDSTEIN, Secretary

Let this May Day be the forerunner of a year of triumph and victory for the toilers.

### The Retail Dairy, Grocery, Fruit and Vegetable Clerks' Union

Local 238

Affiliated with United Hebrew Trades and Amer. Federation of Labor

LOUIS WONKOWSKY, President  
OSCAR HOFFMAN, Vice-President  
S. WOLCHAK, Manager

Our Greetings to The New Leader and Our Fellow Workers

LOCAL NUMBER 1

### Amalgamated Lithographers' Union

Affiliated with A. F. of L.

Emil Thenen, Recording Sec'y  
Frank Schei, Financial Sec'y  
James J. O'Connor, Treasurer  
Patrick J. Hanlin, Vice-Pres.  
A. E. Castro, President

## Lewis Warns That Expulsion of New York Would Split Party

By Alfred Baker Lewis

When the State Committee of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts adopted a resolution favoring the revocation of the charter of New York State, this action was sent to a referendum of the party members. The State Committee was reversed by a vote of 5 to 1. Following the referendum State Secretary Lewis sent to members of the National Executive Committee the following statement:

A REFERENDUM was submitted on the question of endorsing or overturning the request made by the State Executive Committee of Massachusetts to the National Executive Committee to revoke the charter of New York. The membership overwhelmingly refused to give such an endorsement, so that the vote against the action of the State Committee was more than 5 to 1. A considerable number of those who voted for the Declaration of Principles voted against the idea of throwing out the New York State organization.

"When Maynard Krueger spoke at the open meeting held at the time of the Boston meeting of the National Executive Committee, he gave the pledge that the members of the Socialist Party control and would continue to control the party."

"If the members of the National Executive Committee intend to follow the desires of the membership it is plain that they should not throw out New York. I think that the vote here is sufficiently typical of the opinion throughout the country to show that only about half who voted in favor of the Declaration of Principles want to have the New York State organization thrown out; while all of those who voted against the Declaration of Principles are anxious not to have this take place. A definite and sizeable majority of the party members, therefore, would be against throwing out the New York State organization."

"From still another point of view the question of throwing out the Old Guard in New York seems to me very foolish. That it would split the party goes without saying. That it will bring radicalism in general into disrepute in the country by making the incapability of radicals to get along with one another more obvious than ever before is also plain."

"But there is still another point which seems to me needs emphasizing. Sooner or later we are bound to have a labor party in this country, as that is the form which the Socialist political movement has taken in every other English speaking country in the world. The Rhode Island Textile Council has endorsed the idea of a labor party and is sending its delegates to the Rhode Island State Federation of Labor with that in mind. They have worked up in favor of a labor party a mass sentiment of the members of the United Textile Workers in Rhode Island. More and more of our members are coming to that opinion, and that is true among the militants and Old Guard alike."

"It is also true that the so-called Old Guard have the inside track with the unions in the clothing trades and some other unions in New York and with the unions in the clothing trades throughout most of the larger cities, Boston included. If we throw out the New York organization and the Old Guard throughout the country, therefore, we are in the foolish position of firing them out one day and then being compelled to get together with them in a labor party the next day; and if not for a labor party, on other matters of common interest."

"I realize that it is easy simply to say, 'Don't take a particular action when you are faced with a serious situation in New York.' Some more constructive and positive line of action must be suggested."

### GREETINGS, COMRADES, IN YOUR FIGHT FOR A BETTER WORLD!

### Central Committee of GERMAN BRANCHES

Socialist Party, New York  
Come to the Festival May Day Evening:  
Labor Temple, 241 E. 84th St.

The New Leader is our paper and we are proud of it!

### Branch 7th A.D., Bronx Socialist Party

### GREETINGS from Brighton Beach Branch Socialist Party

Organizers: Al Meyers  
Secretary: Natalie Z. Schwartz

LONG LIVE THE NEW LEADER!

### Branch 2, Kings Socialist Party

### The East Flatbush Branch of the Jewish Socialist Verband

are with you comrades, in this struggle for a better world.

I. Kaplan, Organizer  
M. Edelstein, Secretary

Long live The New Leader!  
Long live The First of May!

### Upper West Side Branch SOCIALIST PARTY, N. Y.

Paul Linson, Organizer  
Vera Rantane, Sec'y

We are with you, comrades, in the fight for democracy and Socialism!

### RUSSIAN BRANCH SOCIALIST PARTY

FORWARD, COMRADES, TO A BETTER WORLD!

### 4th-14th A.D. Branch Socialist Party, Brooklyn

Harry Schuchner, Sec'y

MAY DAY GREETINGS and the hope that The New Leader will soon be a daily.

### Socialist Party Branch in the Amalgamated Houses

Meets 1st and 3rd Monday of each month at Assembly Hall, 80 Van Cortlandt Park South.

We are with you, Comrades!

### 4th & 14th A.D., B'klyn Socialist Party

gested in its place, and I want to suggest and urge as strongly as I can upon the members of the National Executive Committee that they appoint a committee of comrades outside of New York composed of persons who voted both sides on the Declaration of Principles to investigate and mediate, if possible, and if not, to hear and try charges against individuals or against the State Committee of New York; then report to the members of your committee and to the membership throughout the country. I urge that this committee be composed of members not on the N.E.C. It would be unwise to have such members on a committee to mediate and investigate when the members of the National Executive Committee will sit as the court of final appeal on decisions and recommendations of such a committee.

"In talking with members both of the so-called Old Guard and so-called militants, I have found a substantial degree of agreement regarding certain things that have been done in New York by the Old Guard which they feel should not have been done, and also regarding certain things which have been done or proposed by the militants which they feel should not be done, so that I believe it will be possible to get a fairly substantial degree of agreement among members of a committee appointed to investigate the New York situation even though such a committee was composed of equal numbers of those who voted for and those who voted against the Declaration of Principles."

"To make perfectly clear my complete disinterestedness in the matter, I declare now that if you follow the earnest request that I make to you and appoint a committee of members outside of New York who voted both sides on the Declaration, I am not a candidate for appointment to such a committee and would not accept such an appointment."

## SOCIALIST PUPPET SHOW CARRIES BISCUIT STRIKE MESSAGE

By Joel Lloyd

JUST returned from a southern tour for the National Biscuit Co. strikers, the Rebel Arts Puppeteers are continuing their "U-Don't-Need-a-Biscuit" campaign with daily performances in the streets and union headquarters in New York and New Jersey.

The puppeteers left New York last month, making Reading their first stop. Their performance was the wind-up of the Socialist Bazaar, one of the most successful affairs run in Reading for several years. From there to York, Pa., where the National Biscuit Co.'s pretzel factory is also on strike. At a meeting arranged by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers funds were raised for strike relief.

Then the group traveled down to Norfolk for a performance at the Workers' Education Conference. They stopped off in Hopewell, Va., scene of the spectacular lock-out of three thousands members of the United Textile Workers by the Tubize company, that would rather move its plant to Brazil than recognize the union. From there they journeyed to Chapel Hill, N. C., for the three-day Drama Festival sponsored every year by the University of North Carolina.

Shaw University, colored college in Durham, N. C., gave one complete chapel period to the Rebel Arts Puppeteers, who gave their performance for the entire student body. Then the players went north to Richmond, Va., for a special meeting arranged by the industrial department of the Y.W.C.A., to an audience composed of factory girls from the Workers' School and a group of girls from the Junior League of Richmond, Va. The puppeteers then visited Baltimore for a Socialist party general membership meeting, and went on to Washington, D. C., for a co-performance with the movie group of the Student League for Industrial Democracy.

In Philadelphia, they performed for a joint meeting arranged by the Socialist Party and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Then the group returned to New York with a full season ahead, both in and out of town.

The visible results of this puppet tour is a trail of newspaper publicity through the Southeast for the National Biscuit strikers and for Rebel Arts, and a distribution of fifty thousand "U-Don't-Need-a-Biscuit" circulars to union and Socialist Party groups who were practically unaware of the strike. U-DON'T-NEEDA BISCUIT!

"We'll keep the Red Flag flying here"

### 5th A.D., BRONX SOCIALIST PARTY

809 Westchester Ave., N. Y.

For a Daily New Leader!

### 13th-19th A.D. Branch Socialist Party, Brooklyn

Eva Palf, Treasurer  
Sammy Schreier, Secretary  
H. Greenberg, Organizer

### Compliments

OF THE

### UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA

THOMAS F. McMAHON  
International President

### United Neckwear Makers' Union LOCAL 11016—A. F. of L.

PEOPLE'S HOUSE—7 EAST 15th STREET

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LOUIS FRIEDMAN MAX HOENIG FRANK KATZ

### New York District Council No. 9 Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America

This day marks the beginning of another great organizing drive launched by the painters of New York City for a greater membership and for universal enforcement of higher standards of working conditions throughout the painting and decorating industry.

PH. ZAUSNER, Secretary

We extend our greetings to the workers of the world on this international labor holiday.

On with the march for a Socialist Commonwealth.

### PAINTERS LOCAL No. 261

GUS GREENBERG, President  
M. GAFT, Secretary-Treasurer



# 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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## SOME PRIMARY PRINCIPLES

IF people could get the basic fact that capitalism is a system of producing commodities and understand what a commodity is, they would be able to understand why industry remains stagnant. Take a shoe. It is made not to use but to sell. It has value in exchange and a use value. Its use value is not realized until it passes through exchange to the user. Its exchange value is not realized until it is sold.

A commodity may be very useful and have little exchange value or have much exchange value and be of little use. An apple to a man who is starving is in the first category and a diamond is in the second category. A starving man can eat the apple and live, but if he ate the diamond he would die. In the one case the utility is enormous and the exchange value is small; in the second case the exchange value is enormous and the utility is small.

Labor produces commodities, exchange values, but they are useless until they reach the consumer. To realize their use value, one must have the medium of exchange—money. No money, no shoes, no food, no use values. Now it is the use of things that is essential to human welfare and happiness, but capitalism is a system of producing values for exchange, not use. In an industrial crisis commodities remain in the exchange phase of production and do not reach the use phase. Exchange suffers from a glut of commodities and as exchange becomes clogged production slows down. The use value of commodities is thus not realized.

The working masses constitute the great source of consuming use values. Their labor power is also a commodity. It has exchange value and use value, like any other commodity. The capitalist buys it and realizes its use value. The worker realizes its exchange value in the market—a wage. The capitalist uses labor power because the worker will produce more values than what it cost in the market. A surplus accumulates in the hands of the capitalist. Eventually the surplus becomes a glut. Exchange becomes clogged. Like a blood clot in the brain, paralysis follows. The paralysis may have its beginning in the upper range of financial gambling or below in production and exchange. In any event, a depression is inevitable.

Eliminate production for exchange, produce use values to satisfy human wants and the problem is solved. But this also means elimination of private owners of industry and substitution of collective ownership—Socialism. Utility will then be the primary motive in production, the only motive that should prevail in a civilized society.

## THE AMERICAN WIND BAG

WHEN Hearst runs sloppy and sentimental ads in other dailies in support of his reactionary ideas he must be feeling the effect of criticism. He takes everything "American" into his special keeping. In the ad this week he manages to establish a protectorate over "American principles," the "American People," "militant Americanism," the "American system," the "American Constitution," "American institutions," "American ideals," "American standard of living," "American forefathers," "American rights and liberties" and quite a number of other American things and ideas.

There are a few things American that Hearst might well claim. There is the American demagog, the American who coins money out of malice, the American who racketeers in medieval prejudices, the American exploiter, jingo, imperialist and war-maker. In short he is the worst thing American, the windbag of American reaction.

## THE DANGER OF LEADERS

IF there is one thing that the working masses have to avoid more than anything else it is reliance upon a leader. Such reliance implies lack of confidence in themselves. The conscious self-directed movement that chooses and recalls its spokesmen, instructs them, holds them to instructions, formulates its own program, changes it when necessary, is the only movement that can serve the working class.

The rise of Father Coughlin, Dr. Townsend and "Kingfish" Long and recruiting by these "leaders" for each leader's program is not a healthy development. Milo Reno who heads the National Farm Holiday Association hopes to see a political union between the three "leaders" to end wage slavery. That is one way by which wage slavery will not be ended. Moreover, each of them has no intention of ending capitalism. Each regards the masses as herds to be directed by him.

This is dangerous. Instead of a union of these three leaders we need a union of the organized workers and farmers in a class party of their own, choosing spokesmen and representatives who have been tested in the struggles of these organizations, not a cleric, a demagog or a professional man with no experience in the struggle. Unless we have confidence in ourselves, we are certain to be led up a blind alley to realize disappointment.



## Behind the Scenes in Washington



By Benjamin Meiman

Our Washington Correspondent

PERSONAL quarrels overshadowed all important or semi-important political occurrences in Washington last week. That's human nature. A fist-fight will attract a bigger crowd than a scientific discussion on a social problem. A display of fireworks will get a much larger audience than a sermon on the Mount even during the Easter holidays. Such is life!

It is therefore not surprising that the personal fight on President Roosevelt, the major bout between Secretary Ickes and Senator Long, and minor sparrings and scrapings between Reliefers Hopkins and Governor Talmadge, took up all the center rings in our political circus. Such an important thing as the Social Security Bill in the House is being shoved into a dark corner.

Until very recently the most violent critics of the New Deal spared the person of the President. But now "voices in the air" about Roosevelt's waning popularity have encouraged personal attacks upon the Pontiff of the New Deal and all his cardinals and bishops. And so we see that Hearst's Washington morning paper calls the President a Socialist and a Communist. (To Hearst's editorial writers a Socialist is still the same as a Communist—a hare or a horse, both run.) It talks editorially of "Our Socialistic Administration in Washington" and of "these two great Soviet Republics, the United States and Russia."

Talmadge and Long Have Their Say

Governor Talmadge of Georgia calls President Roosevelt "a radical and a disciple of Stalin."

Senator Long, dictator of Louisiana, talks of the "strange combination of Moscow and the Normans"—referring to the yacht of the rich young man who entertains President Roosevelt on his fishing trips.

Earlier Monday the Senate gave a good performance to a large crowd. The Kingfish returned fire to those who dared challenge his dictatorship in Louisiana. He tried to be dignified, at least serious. He warned of "another Boston Tea Party" and revived the ancient cry of Southern politicians of State sovereignty. He spoke to the Senators, not to the galleries. That's unusual for Huey. But he couldn't hold that serious pose. A few minutes, and he was court jester again, laughing, buffooning, spattering the New Deal with nicknames.

Secretary of Interior Ickes, whose ears he had threatened to "pin back" for daring to threaten withdrawal of Louisiana's share in the Federal-aid jackpot, was labeled "Lord High Chamberlain Harold Ickes, the chinch bug of Chicago." Other figures, he said, enjoying "a peculiar status in this third year of our reigning empire of St. Vitus" were: "The Prime Minister, James Aloysius Farley, the Nabob of New York," "The expired and lamented royal block, Hugh Sittling Bull Johnson, who has now described himself as the new oo-lala of Oklahoma," "The Honorable Lord De-Troyer, Henry Almighty Wallace, the Ignoramus of Iowa."

The scheduled personal reply to Secretary Ickes, as such, wasn't delivered. But shafts at the Public Works Administrator were sandwiched into a general broadside at the Administration. Ickes was "No."

"2" on his list of New Deal characters.

The Interior Secretary, whose warning against Long control a Federal works funds in Louisiana provoked the attack, was meanwhile not silent. Speaking in New York, he denounced the Long "share-the-wealth" plan as "despicable beyond my powers of description."

Huey's fanfare of criticism echoed down the Eastern seaboard to Atlanta, where Gov. Eugene Talmadge, reputed friend of Long and a New Deal antagonist, declared reelection of President Roosevelt would be "a national calamity." Talmadge, according to the Associated Press, adopted a new slogan, "Americans, Wake Up!"

House Adopts Social Security Bill

At last a modified Social Security bill passed the House last Friday (372 to 33) that almost insures its passage in the Senate. It is far from being the kind of Social Security demanded by Socialists, but it beats by a mile the present relief makeshift and the old-age poor-house.

Short work was made of the Townsend plan. No one dared sponsor the fantastic \$200 per month old-age pension contemplated by the good but foolish doctor. A modified form of the plan was offered by Rep. McGroarty and championed by Monaghan of Montana. This limited pensions to \$50 a month as a starter, but gradually stepped them up to the full \$200 a month contemplated by the original plan. On a standing vote this was beaten 206 to 56.

Then Connery (Dem., Mass.), the hard-hitting chairman of the Labor Committee, offered the Lundeen unemployment insurance proposal which would guarantee full wages to the idle.

Doughton of North Carolina, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, said his committee had been considering the President's social security program for three months, but had given no consideration to the Lundeen measure. Connery retorted that while the Ways and Means Committee might have studied the subject for three months, his committee—the Labor Committee—had considered the subject for 15 years and from the vast knowledge thus accumulated favored the Lundeen bill. On a teller vote Connery lost, 158 to 40.

Conscious that it was making history by committing the Government to permanent responsibility for the care of the nation's aged and needy, the debate was on a much higher plane.

"We are about to pass the most important measure, probably, ever considered by an American Congress," said the veteran Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, who guided the measure through the House. The House Committee, under Doughton's conservative leadership, cut out some of the provisions regarded as desirable by the Administration except, and liberals who considered the original bill too conservative, were even less pleased with the House version.

In casting their vote for it they conceded, however, that the measure is a stride forward in that it gives official recognition to the principle that the Federal Government is responsible for the care of victims of the economic system.

They are hopeful that the Senate will stiffen the measure at sev-

eral vital points.

The bill as passed by the House provides for: 1. Unemployment compensation. 2. Old-age benefits. 3. Federal aid to dependent children, neglected dependents and cripples. 4. Additional Federal aid to State and local public health agencies.

The old-age insurance program provided by the bill will require every employed person in the United States making not more than \$250 a month to take out what amounts to an annuity policy with the United States Government.

The premiums will come from a 1 per cent tax on payrolls, half to be borne by the worker and half by his employer. The tax will go into effect January 1, 1937. The tax will increase gradually until 1957, when it will become 6 per cent, still divided, half and half, between the employer and the employee. It is expected that by 1950 the tax will have created reserves amounting to \$12,000,000,000.

The worker will become eligible for a pension when he reaches 65 and has contributed regularly to the system for five years. Those who earn up to \$250 a month and have contributed for five years would receive a pension of \$22.50 a month.

Those who started contributing when they were 25 and earned \$250 a month all that time would collect \$75 a month, the possible maximum. If an insured person dies before reaching 65, his heirs will receive the amount paid into the system by him and his employers.

WHILE approving the Government's assumption of responsibility for the aged and the needy, we cannot enthuse over the bill the House adopted. It's a security bill that in reality does not secure; an insurance bill that does not insure. There may be some strength, some force, in the excuse that it's only a start, a first step in the right direction, the good old argument of an "entering wedge" which covers up a multitude of sins. But there is also the danger of making a false start, which condemns the best intentions to inevitable failure. There is in it also the danger of setting a bad example, which results in discouragement for future efforts.

But—that's that! If the workers want real legislation for security, whether in the field of collective bargaining, social security,

## Comrades in Exile

By S. Romualdi

EIGHT years ago, when Comrade Giuseppe Emanuele Modigliani and his wife had to flee from Italy, they traveled first to Vienna. Vice-Burgomaster Max Winter received them on behalf of the Red City and put at their disposal an apartment in the Schönbrunn Palace, once the residence of the Hapsburg emperors.

In February of this year Comrades Modigliani and Winter met again in the lobby of a Los Angeles hotel. Talking arm in arm, two veteran soldiers of temporarily defeated armies, they appeared, to those of us who knew and therefore could understand, in the light of two wandering prophets seeking to fulfill the never-ending mission of workers' redemption.

The gentle Viennese wanted to be host again. He wanted us to go to his modest room, where he dreams, plans and works. Coffee

## Labor's Internationalism Is Not Just Brotherly Love

By Algernon Lee

WE American Socialists like to remind ourselves that the observance of May Day, now as widely prevalent throughout the world as is the capitalist system, originated in the United States.

Perhaps we should do well to call very vividly to mind who it was here in the United States that gave the initial impulse. It was the trade unions, through their delegates assembled at St. Louis in the eighth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. That fact has a deeper significance than we sometimes realize.

We commonly think of the First of May as being dedicated above all to the idea of internationalism. It was not so in its inception. What the American Federation of Labor did at St. Louis in December, 1888, was to fix May 1, 1890, as the date for launching a great nationwide effort for the general establishment of the eight-hour day. A few months later, in July, 1889, delegates from Socialist and Labor organizations in nineteen countries (the United States included) met at Paris in what has come to be known as the first congress of the Second International. One of the most important acts of that body was the decision that, on a date to be fixed, great demonstrations should be held simultaneously in as many places as possible in all countries, for the purpose of demanding everywhere the legal limitation of the working day to eight hours. That resolution emanated from the French Federation of Labor Unions, then but three years old, and was introduced by two of its leaders, Dormoy and Lavigne. In giving it final form they referred to the St. Louis resolution, and accepted the date which the American Federation of Labor had set.

For a Shorter Workday

Starting with the shortening of the workday as its whole content, and international only in the sense that this purpose was to be voiced on the same day in many countries; thought of now as primarily a manifestation of internationalist thought and feeling, with the demand for the shorter workday as one among its incidental features.—Has it become something essentially different from what it was? Is there a real contrast between the May Day of 1890 and the May Day of 1935?

Not if our Socialism has remained vital and sound. Not if, when we proclaim ourselves internationalists, we are thinking in terms of class-consciousness and class struggle.

It is in just such hard, materialistic, work-a-day facts as the struggle over wages, over hours of labor, over the right to "hire and fire," that the heart-stirring ideal of internationalism lives and has its being. Separate the high ideal from the unromantic daily struggle, and it becomes as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal.

The fine internationalism of a healthy Socialist movement has little or nothing in common with philosophic cosmopolitanism or with ethical humanitarianism. It does not say: "The world is my country and to do good is my religion." It does not say: "All men are of one blood and ought to live together in brotherly affection." Those may be very fine sentiments, but they are empty and sterile in a class-divided society. Socialism does say: "Workingmen of all countries, unite!" which is quite a different thing.

The First of May stands for soli-

old-age pensions, and all other social legislation, let them send their own representatives to Congress. Or,—is that asking too much of the workers to understand?

was served, which the ex-burgomaster of Vienna had made himself, while the ex-opposition leader of the Italian Parliament was jubilantly arranging some oranges in a tray. Madame Modigliani and I, together with some local comrades, sat at a distance so as not to interfere with the conversation of the two old leaders.

But they were not bemoaning the past. They were not wasting time over what might have happened. The present, the palpable, throbbing present, was the constant topic of their discussion. Socialism, the Townsend Plan, Labor party prospects, tactics and programs of the Socialists throughout the world, were the only things to occupy their minds.

When it was time to part, however, the gentle Viennese could not keep back his tears. The embrace of good-by was probably too much for his heart, not yet hard-

ly among workingmen only because it recognizes the irrepressible conflict between workingmen to unite across national frontiers in order that they may the more effectively carry on their defensive and aggressive struggle along the class frontiers which everywhere divide the non-producing producers of wealth from its non-producing possessors. It aims ultimately, if you will, at universal human brotherhood; but it knows that this can be attained only through the victory of a class which by its very nature cannot aspire to become a ruling class, cannot emancipate itself except by putting an end to all class division, by building a classless society. So it aims immediately at that class victory.

For Solidarity

Wherever and in so far as Socialists think of Socialism as primarily a matter of opinion, of doctrine, of program, and not primarily as a matter of class interest and class action; wherever and in so far as they think of themselves as an intellectual elite, more or less apart from the bulk of the working class, qualified to lead and direct it, patiently or impatiently offering it the benefit of their tutelage, instead of feeling themselves to be flesh of its flesh and bone of its bone; wherever and in so far as Socialism fails of being wholeheartedly identified with Organized Labor, understanding and respecting its point of view, recognizing that it is the more basic as well as the larger embodiment of working-class consciousness, that it can get along without the Socialists if the Socialists cannot get along harmoniously with it—wherever and in so far as this state of affairs exists, there and to that extent organized Socialism remains a sect instead of having grown into a political movement. For what is essential about a political movement is not that it goes through the motions of adopting platforms, nominating candidates, and campaigning for votes. What is essential about a political movement is that it is the movement of a class—not just for a class, but of it.

The Working Class: Right or Wrong?

Our glorious old Ben Hanford adopted and adapted a famous patriotic slogan of earlier days. How often have we heard him close a speech with those ringing words: "The working class, may it ever be right! But right or wrong, the working class!"

He would readily admit that if one were to take only the literal meaning of the words, one might draw false conclusions. But the sense of the saying was correct. The working class may go wrong for a while, in some things. But it is better to be with and of the working class, at the risk of sometimes sharing its mistakes, than to stand aloof and never to err. For the working class is a fundamental reality. It lives and will live; it grows and will grow; it fights and will fight. Out of its experience in struggle it learns to correct its own mistakes. In a large sense the working class is ever right.

NOTE.—I have received many comments, favorable or adverse, upon my articles in The New Leader, and particularly upon that of last week. If I do not find time to answer all such communications, this does not mean that I disregard them. It is helpful to a writer to get reactions from his readers. Last week's article, though regrettably long, obviously dealt with only a part of the subject to which it was devoted. I intend to follow it up, but it seems better to have in this May Day issue, with its large special circulation, an article complete in itself. The question of democracy is big enough and likely enough to remain a live subject to warrant coming back to it again and again.—A. L.

When the Co-operative Commonwealth is achieved, there will be no room for any more revolutions. For revolutions are caused by the clashings of class interests, and all class distinctions are forever abolished the moment the lowest class is fully incorporated into Society. But there will be plenty of room for progress, for further evolution. One Commonwealth after another may decay and disappear, but they will all contribute to the upbuilding of the Organism of Humanity.—Laurence Gronlund.

Co-operation is not a sentiment—it is an economic necessity.—Charles P. Steinmetz.