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A. F. L. in Crisis Over Industrial Unionism

Split in the Federation Is Feared; Lewis Leads Insurgent Movement

Miners and Others Demand More Action in Mass Production Industries—Executive Council Yields and Grants International Union Charters to the Automobile and Rubber Workers

(See Editorial on Last Page)

WASHINGTON. — What may prove to be the gravest crisis in the history of the American labor movement since formation of the A. F. of L. more than a half a century ago, began to take shape here this week with the convocation of the Federation's executive council. The council assembled on Tuesday and remained in session throughout the week.

Because of what a number of the largest and most powerful unions affiliated with the Federation regard as failure to cope properly with the problem of organization of the mass production industries, a distinct movement has developed, reflected in the executive council, for the formation of a bloc of industrial unions which would secede from the Federation and lead the way for a veritable revolution in the organization and policy of American labor.



John L. Lewis

Garment Strike Brought Nearer By Jobbers

They Seek United Front of All Employers Against Union—50,000 Workers Ready for Showdown.

A strike of 50,000 cloakmakers in New York and vicinity after the expiration of existing collective agreements on June 1, has become probable as a result of the stand taken this week by the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association, the organization of jobbers.

Through its counsel, Samuel Blumberg, the association has openly proclaimed its intention to seek such revision of its present agreement with the union as would, in the opinion of spokesmen of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Cloakmakers' Joint Board, mean throwing back the industry to sweatshop conditions.

The jobbers are particularly determined to destroy the principle of limitation of contractors and revert to the old game of cut-throat competition on prices, with all the consequences this would entail for wage and work standards.

They have also proclaimed their intention to seek a "united front" with the other employer factors in the industry to compel the union to surrender gains fundamental to the welfare of the workers and of the industry itself. A committee to bring about such a "united front" has been elected by the jobbers.

Declaring that the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association deliberately broke off negotiations with the union for the renewal of the collective contract, Isidore Nagler, General Manager of the Cloakmakers' Joint Board, and Vice-President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, reiterated the position of his organization that the union would sign no contract unless it contained the present terms of contractor limitation and jobbers' responsibility for work conditions in their contracting shops.

Nagler further declared that the Merchant's Association terminated the negotiations on April 8, before the union was given an opportunity to present its suggestions for improvements and modifications upon the current agreement in the industry.

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Auto Strikers Continue Fight In Toledo Plant

Reject Chevrolet Company's Offer by Large Vote as Unsatisfactory—Insist on Union Recognition.

(Special to The New Leader)
TOLEDO. — Determined to gain the most important objective for which they are fighting, striking employees of the Chevrolet Motor Company's plant here have voted by 1,251 to 605 to reject the five per cent wage increase offered by the company and to remain on strike until recognition is granted. The strike was begun on April 30th. Since then it has affected 30 other plants of the General Motors Company in various cities, where plants have been closed through strikes or stoppages. General Motors owns the Chevrolet company. More than 30,000 employees are idle because of inability to obtain transmissions manufactured in the Toledo plant.

Frank Dillon, representative of the A. F. of L., with which the Toledo strikers are affiliated, declared that the poll of the Chevrolet strikers did not come as a surprise.

W. S. Knudson, executive vice-president of General Motors, in charge of the situation, has given no indication, however, of the company's intention to meet the strikers' demand. The men are determined to stay out until recognition is granted. It would not be surprising if the Toledo poll were to lead to a further spread of the strike movement.

James Roland, chairman of the union strike committee, declared he was not prepared to say what the union's next move will be. Workers in the Buick plant at Flint have been waiting for the result of poll before putting into effect their own strike threat of several days ago, when they postponed strike action at Mr. Dillon's request, pending the Toledo poll.

Union officials in Cincinnati and Cleveland, where strikes are also under way, have let it be known that the walkouts would continue.

In a statement following the vote in Toledo, Mr. Dillon said: "The poll was as expected. The result corroborates the position of the American Federation of Labor in its insistence that the labor policy of General Motors is unsatisfactory to the great majority of their employees, and overwhelmingly repudiates the contention of the corporation that their compromise proposal was acceptable to the workers. In my judgment the result of this poll makes it obligatory upon the management of General Motors to immediately adjust themselves to a changed order by proceeding forthwith in negotiating directly with the accredited representatives of the American Federation of Labor in an effort to conclude and execute a mutually satisfactory agreement."

Packed Meeting Wins 900 New Readers For The New Leader

PITTSBURGH.—An eager audience jammed the large Schenley High School auditorium to hear Jasper McLevy, first Socialist Mayor of Bridgeport, Conn., and Doctor George W. Hartmann, professor of Psychology at the Pennsylvania State College and contributor to The New Leader. This was one of the most successful and enthusiastic meetings that the Socialist Party of Pittsburgh has had since campaign time.

Nearly a thousand subscriptions for The New Leader were secured by the speakers who praised the paper for its struggle on behalf of the workers of America and its effective dissemination of Socialist propaganda.

This is the first of a series of meetings which is scheduled by The New Leader and the local branches for every industrial and organized farm section in the United States.

The Labor Week

By Chester M. Wright

WASHINGTON.—Tonight we find the American Federation of Labor planning real battle to win and solidify the nation's automobile workers, while in Toledo the day has witnessed "ballooning" which may end the strike in that city.

The executive council of the Federation, which has just ended its quarterly meeting, voted to issue a national charter to automobile workers. This charter will cover all auto workers except tool makers and pattern makers. Except for those two highly skilled trades we shall have an industrial union in this giant industry.

Other industrial unions include the United Mine Workers, the United Textile Workers, the Commercial Telegraphers, the United Brewery Workers and one or two other trades.

Automobile unions up to this time have been local unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, technically known as Federal unions. With a national union in the field, it is expected the impetus toward organization will be greatly accelerated.

Here's a bit of news for printers. There are two bills in Congress for the purpose of requiring railroads to use printing instead of the cheaper planographing for all letter schedules. The printers are actively backing one of these bills, H. R. 7442. My tip to printers is that these bills need a lot of backing if they are to be got out of committee. H. R. 7442 was introduced by Congressman Gray of Pennsylvania.

Before the executive council adjourned it had before it an invitation from the Father Coughlin forces to join in the Economic Se-

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Big Convention of W. C. Gets Under Way

35th Anniversary of Great Fraternal Order Brings Hosts to Great Garden Meeting.

By Sid. Q. Cohen

OVER 22,000 members, delegates and friends stormed the doors of Madison Square Garden Sunday afternoon to participate in a great spectacle of Workmen's Circle activity and strength, a hope and promise for the future—a parliament of the "Red Cross" of the Labor Movement—the huge 35th Jubilee Convention of the Workmen's Circle.

It is only once a decade that this great organization, the greatest Jewish labor fraternal order in the world, marshals representatives of all its forces throughout the United States and Canada into one inclusive and constructive convention where past activity may be reported and judged, where future work may be planned and decided.

The Garden Meeting

The opening of this convention meeting through the week of May 5th-12th at the St. Nicholas Palace, 69 W. 56th St., was staged in the huge Garden, bedecked with red banners, placards and Arbeiter Ring insignia.

A holiday and labor carnival prevailed. Thirty-five years have come and gone; thirty-five years of tremendous changes in our civilization and yet here was the W.C. demonstrating and celebrating at an awe-inspiring mass meeting. Cause aplenty for rejoicing!

So with bays playing, W.C. flags and banners waving the assembled rose as one in wild acclaim as the officers and the elected delegates paraded to their seats. The tumult had barely subsided when younger voices, faster steps, smiling faces emerged from under the arena door to bring down the house. The children of the W.C. schools, 2,000 strong bedecked in red kerchiefs, strode through the aisles as a living testimonial to the great accomplishments of the Educational Department in its maintenance of the many schools.

The YCLA

Happy faces, jubilant children, proud fathers and mothers. The Internationale blares out again and another parade begins, a new eleventh is entering into the proceedings and demonstration of this 35th Convention; young men and women, the membership and delegates of the Young Circle League, youth section of the Workmen's Circle, proudly marching through the arena in a colorful array of red flags and banners.

Some forty YCLA delegates march behind an impressive color guard. The Intermediates, 450

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Hitler's Downfall Seen As Discontent Grows; Socialists Gather Force

Social Democrats Strengthen the Lines and Restore Their Organizations in Great Underground Campaign Against Fascist Regime, Seger Tells in Interview—"We Are Ready"

By John Powers



Gerhart Seger

GERMAN Socialism is reforming its lines, recreating its organizations, conducting a vast underground propaganda against the Hitler regime, and watching for the opportunity when it may be able to deal a death blow to fascism, Gerhart Seger, former Socialist deputy in the Reichstag, told The New Leader yesterday.

While Hitler and his immediate Nazi clique are conspiring to throw Europe into another war, the Socialists, their organizations and morale revived, are also waiting for "Der Tag" the day when the German workers hope to strike and strike hard against the barbarians and sadists now in power in Germany, Comrade Seger said.

Quietly, persistently, systematically, without undue publicity, without subjecting the comrades to unnecessary risks or endangering the work of Socialist reconstruction, the German Social Democrats are at work—underground, in plants and factories, everywhere where the possibility presents itself of permeating the German people with contempt and detestation of the Nazi government.

As an illustration of the work being conducted by our German comrades, Comrade Seger cited the fact that no less than 500,000 copies of the party's chief propaganda organ, "Sozialistische Aktion," printed in Karlsruhe, are being distributed weekly in Germany. This is in addition to the hundreds of thousands of copies of other publications and propaganda material smuggled by the Socialists into Germany. The revolutionary smuggling operations as well as the distribution system in Germany are organized and conducted with true German efficiency.

It is no exaggeration to say that the history of revolutionary struggles knows no such well-organized and gigantic campaign of propaganda as is now being waged by our German comrades.

Comrade Seger, who returned to New York last week from a very successful anti-Nazi propaganda tour of the United States, which took him to forty cities and enabled him to present the anti-fascist case before scores of thousands of Americans, expressed himself as highly gratified with the results of the tour and the information, direct from Germany, which awaited him upon his return to New York. He was happy to note both the progress of the anti-fascist cause in Germany and the almost complete lack of sympathy with fascism which he observed in America, even in conservative circles.

A Sober View

At the same time, however, Comrade Seger—with true German Socialist Democratic sobriety—did not venture to predict when "Der Tag" for the Socialists would arrive. He expressed the opinion that circumstances as they appear at the present moment make it not unlikely that the process of moral, political and economic disintegration of the Nazi regime may take at least another two years. A great deal will depend upon the international situation as well as upon the internal situation in Germany, he said.

"We Socialists do not intend to force developments artificially," he said. "We do not intend to follow the reckless policy of the Communists, whose underground movement is honeycombed with spies because of their recklessness. We will let

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WORKMEN'S CIRCLE CONVENTION



Scene at Madison Square Garden when over 22,000 people cheered spokesmen of the Workmen's Circle upon the opening of the 35th anniversary convention of that great organization.

According to figures given out (Continued on Page Four)

America Must Choose Between Chaos and Reemployment of Millions

Thirty-Hour Week Called Urgent To Rescue Jobless from Misery

A. F. of L. Demands Congress Pass Measure as Economically Sound and Essential to Nation's Morale—Insists on Right of Toilers to Jobs—Hits Failure of NRA to Provide Work—Warns of Upheaval.

At a meeting in Philadelphia, President William Green of the American Federation of Labor delivered an historic address in behalf of the 30-hour work bill in which he warned that a political and social upheaval in this nation was inevitable if the millions of unemployed did not get jobs at decent pay. He demanded also the adoption of the Wagner labor disputes bill.

The meeting was a joint undertaking of the trade unionists and Socialists of Philadelphia. It was held in the Academy of Music, scene of many historic gatherings. The address of President Green, delivered with an earnestness and passion befitting the importance of the subject, gave the occasion a truly memorable character.

"THE demands of the workers of this country must be met," President Green said, in part. "A greater degree of social security must be accorded to the masses of the people, and the law-making bodies of this nation must, in all justice and fairness, respond to the reasonable demands of the masses of the people. We must know whether the Congress of the United States is going to measure up and meet the requirements of this most extraordinary situation. It must give the workers of this nation the thirty-hour week and the Wagner Disputes Act."

Characterizing the 30-hour week as essential and economically sound, Green declared that "it is impossible for industry, geared as it now is, mechanized as it has been made, equipped with mechanical devices as it is now equipped, to furnish work under our present economic set-up to all these millions of workers who are idle on the basis of the old forty-hour week or the long work week that has been in effect for the last century."

"We have passed beyond the period where we can supply work to these millions of working men and women on the basis of the forty-hour work week, and so we are faced with the choice—America must choose—we must decide whether we are going to maintain the 40-hour week, the long work week, and the more than 11,000,000 unemployed, with 40,000,000 dependent upon them, or whether we are going to make an equitable distribution of the amount of work available by reducing the hours per day and per week so that all may be accorded an opportunity to work."

Warns of Upheaval

"I would rather create work opportunities for all who are willing and able to work than to resign ourselves to the hopeless situation of maintaining constantly an army amounting to eleven millions of idle men and women. I hold that while the government does not owe any man a living, it does owe him an opportunity to earn a living for himself and for his family. And the government that fails in this respect, with a social order that cannot meet the requirements of the situation, where men and women, eager for work, are not accorded an opportunity to work, is a failure; and if it is a failure, then those who make up the government will abandon that form of government and find a way by which men may be accorded an opportunity to earn a decent living."

Experience of the Codes

"A general survey of the codes provisions of the codes can lead only to the conclusion that that portion of the Recovery Act which provided for reemployment through a shortening of the work hours has not been fulfilled in actual code making. Our 30-hour bill was side-tracked two years ago, after we secured the passage of the bill in the Senate of the United States, because they substituted the National Recovery Act instead, and we were told that through the code-making process the hours of labor would be so reduced as to accord work opportunities for the millions of unemployed. That prophecy has not been fulfilled and that hope has not been realized; the 40-hour maximum work-week has been written into the majority of the codes; exemptions of many groups of workers from hours regulation, together with loose averages in provisions, have made it possible to go far beyond the forty hours per week in a great

many industries. Substantial increases in production can, under the codes, be taken care of without increase in the number of workers.

"The reason why our standard codes have failed to give more employment is dominance of employers in code making."

Sabotage of Employers

"Now, the need for flexibility was one of the major arguments against the thirty-hour work week two years ago. It continues to be a criticism leveled against the present measure. Among the arguments in favor of fixing maximum hours of work through the codes of fair competition, instead of by Federal law, was that the needs of each industry could be considered separately and the desired flexibility could thus be achieved."

"A more startling and clear-cut indication that the codes have failed to establish a shortened work week is to be found in the fact that in no month since August, 1933, have the average hours actually worked been equal to the forty-hour week which has been generally established by the codes. With an average maximum work-week of forty hours provided by the codes, in October, 1934, the actual average hours of work were only thirty-four in manufacturing industry. For the first eleven months of 1934 the average actual hours of work in all industries—all industries, mind you!—were only thirty-seven and five-tenths per week."

Failure of NRA

"We are now asking for a work-week reduced sufficiently to reemploy the men and women who have now been out of work for four or five years. Had the NRA accomplished its primary purpose of solving the problem of unemployment, the American Federation of Labor would not, today, lend its support to a thirty-hour bill; it is the failure of the NRA to achieve any real gain in reemployment which makes imperative the thirty-hour law."

"It seems to me that our government, facing that situation, ought to be willing to stop halting and hesitating but boldly and courageously meet this situation and give the workers of this nation, who are honest, an opportunity to work and earn a decent living."

Tragedy of Crisis

"The tragic effect of continued unemployment upon the millions of our population must not be underestimated. Every year during which these men and women remain without work makes the problem of their ultimate rehabilitation and adjustment to a normal life more difficult. We lose more through the destruction of intangible values than the mere paltry sum of a hundred and seventy-two million dollars representing twenty-two million dollars now being spent each month in the nation on relief. We lose in morale and we lose in vision, we lose in hope, we lose in manhood and in womanhood, and the loss to this nation cannot be properly appraised when we take those intangible values of human life into account and into consideration."

"During the past four and one-half years, a large portion of our population has been sinking further into hopelessness and despair. How much more serious shall we permit this problem to become before we take the necessary action? That is the question we ask of Congress."

Work, Not Doles, Wanted

"Doles and emergency public works are merely temporary palliatives. They have afforded neither permanent nor sufficient security for our vast army of unemployed. Shorter hours and adequate wages, which are the cornerstones of the economic recovery reform, which President Roosevelt recommended, and business and the NRA code authorities rejected in March 1934, should now be provided by the enactment of the thirty-hour work-week bill."

"Now, I have made the argument in behalf of the thirty-hour work-week bill. What can the opposition say? Nothing; only, 'We are opposed to it.' Well the workers will not accept that as an answer. We refuse to accept it, and we are going to center our efforts, mobilize our strength, develop public opinion, and center it upon the Congress of the United States until they respond to our appeal to enact the thirty-hour work-week bill into law."

Wagner Disputes Bill

"Now, I want to speak just briefly upon the other measure. It is not necessary for me to make an extended argument in support of the Wagner Disputes Act. This is the major piece of legislation in which the American Federation of Labor and the workers of the nation are interested. It occupies a strategic position in the parliamentary procedure of the United

By Benjamin Meiman
Our Washington Correspondent

THE old insurmountable obstruction to social legislation, the Supreme Court, returned to its traditional role and dealt a severe blow to the New Deal's entire program of social security and industry control legislation in the 5 to 4 decision declaring unconstitutional the entire railroad retirement Act, designed to set up a pension fund for rail workers over 65 years of age and all railroad employees with 30 years of service.

The real significance of the ruling in its application to the other social legislation lies in the fact that the majority of the court not only invalidated the entire railroad retirement act on the ground it was objectionable to the "due process" clause of the Constitution, but went on to rule that Congress lacked power to enact any compulsory pension act for railroad employees.

Briefly, the majority held that, while under the commerce clause of the Constitution Congress has authority to regulate interstate commerce, it has no power to place a financial burden on railroads for a pension system which does not contribute to economy, efficiency or the safety of transportation. Thus, led by Justice Roberts, who sometimes votes with the conservatives and sometimes with the liberals, the majority, comprising also Justices Van Deventer, McReynolds, Sutherland and Butler, based their ruling on a narrow and strict construction of the commerce clause.

Let by Chief Justice Hughes, the minority—including Brandeis, Stone and Cardozo—took a more liberal view of the powers of Congress under the commerce clause, holding that the majority had departed "from sound principles and places an unwarranted limitation upon the commerce clause."

"The fundamental consideration which supports this type of legislation is that industry should take care of its human wastage, whether due to accident or age," the minority declared, adding that "the expression of that conviction in law is regulation" and when expressed in the government of interstate carriers "is a regulation of that commerce."

The minority of the court seemed outraged by the conclusions of the majority, for at the outset of his opinion Chief Justice Hughes asserted that "the gravest aspect of the decision is that it does not rest simply upon a condemnation of particular features of the railroad retirement act, but denies to Congress the power to pass any compulsory pension act for railroad employees."

Chief Justice Hughes attacked the position taken by Justice Sutherland, citing excerpts from a report made from a senatorial committee of which the then Senator Sutherland was chairman unholing the authority of Congress to enact a compensation act for railroad workers.

Labor Is Bitter

SPOKESMEN for the railroad workers were bitter in their denunciation of the ruling. George M. Harrison, chairman of the Railway Labor Executive Association, characterized the ruling as "one of the most reactionary decisions handed down by the court" and contended that it "shows a total disregard of the social obligations of industry to its workers."

"It will be most difficult for Congress to enact any social legislation," States Government. We must, if we are to make collective bargaining real in America, secure the enactment of the Wagner Disputes Act, and we are going to serve Labor in demanding that this Act be enacted into law, just as we are in behalf of the thirty-hour work-week bill."

"The opposition to this bill consists of the manufacturers' associations of the nation, the Chambers of Commerce, the employers of the country. They oppose it without offering anything instead. They say that if it is passed it will mean the domination of the American Federation of Labor, the monopoly of the American Federation of Labor. Well, that is not true, unless the workers of the nation want the American Federation of Labor in preference to the company union! So that the workers themselves may decide by majority vote; and that is democracy! And we want more democracy in industry, because the lives and the services of the manhood and the womanhood of this country, these men and women who work for wages, do not yet belong to the corporations!"

"I want you to do your part and we will do our part, and if we all work together, each doing our part, we will find that we have achieved for Labor, throughout America, the greatest legislative victory it ever realized in the history of our nation."

isolation that requires employers' contributions and, therefore, it is a serious obstacle to the consummation of the whole New Deal program," he said.

Many members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, now in session in Washington, expressed opinions closely akin to those of the railway spokesmen. One member said: "It's the old story; the Supreme Court being the bulwark against social legislation. History repeats itself. When the child labor law was passed by Congress the Supreme Court came to the aid of the merciless exploiters of youth and declared the child labor law unconstitutional."

Labor's Strong Opposition to Compromise

THE entire Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor visited President Roosevelt last week and presented the following statement:

"The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is deeply concerned over the action of the Senate Finance Committee in approving a resolution extending the National Recovery Act for a period of ten months. We interpret such action as an abandonment of the Administration's National Recovery Program. In the opinion of the Executive Council, it represents a total disregard of the seriousness of the unemployment situation which prevails throughout the nation and a lack of appreciation of the value of the remedies which, under your Executive authority, have been applied to the economic ills of the nation."

"Through the application of the provisions of the National Recovery Act which has been in effect since June 16, 1933, constructive plans have been followed and practical methods have been employed in all the heroic efforts which have been put forth to overcome unemployment. Even the most uncompromising foe of the National Recovery Act is forced to admit that through its operation child labor has been abolished, minimum rates of pay for unprotected workers have been lifted to a higher level, hours of labor have been reduced, many reprehensible unfair trade practices have been eliminated and work opportunities created for millions of unemployed."

"Your recommendation that a more effective and more constructive National Recovery Act be enacted by the Congress of the United States for a period of two years represents, in our opinion, the minimum legislative requirement which should become operative at this most important period in our national life. Nothing less will meet the urgent needs of the serious unemployment situation which prevails throughout the nation. It is the emphatic opinion of the Executive Council that a continuation of the National Recovery Act for a period of ten months, as provided for in the Joint Resolution recommended by the Senate Finance Committee, will be regarded by Labor throughout the nation as a Congressional abandonment of your National Recovery policy and as the liquidation of the National Recovery Act. It represents, in our opinion, the end of the definite economic policy inaugurated under the New Deal and a return to the old industrial, social and economic policies administered by the reactionary forces of the nation and which human experience and history show were directly responsible for the distressing unemployment situation through which the nation has passed during the last five years."

"The Joint Resolution, if adopted by Congress, will take the heart out of the National Recovery Act. It is estimated that it will deprive seventy-five per cent of working people of the benefits of Section 7A, child labor prohibition, minimum rates of pay and maximum hours of employment as incorporated in industrial codes of fair competition. The National Recovery Act for the next ten months would be a skeleton, a shadow, applicable to a small minority of workers employed in industries engaged in only what might be technically determined as interstate commerce."

"The Executive Council would rather see the National Recovery Act abandoned, terminated or repealed than emasculated and adopted for a ten-month period, as recommended by the Senate Finance Committee."

A strong intimation is given in the A. F. of L. statement about "resentment, protest, social unrest and industrial strife" if Congress adopts the compromise instead of the original NRA bill.

It's a statement with teeth in it.

Workmen's Circle Convention Gets Under Way

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strong, young, lithe, active and alert; faces lit up with W.C. jubilation—then the delegations from the distant portions of the nation and finally the members of the forty-odd branches of the YCLA in the Workmen's Circle itself. This is no passive summation of organization; this is no yearly check-up; this is a vital demonstration to the labor movement and the world in general that here breathes the very heart of radical thought and opinion, here are young and old, men and women to give of theirs in this struggle for a better life in which to live.

The meeting, officially opened with an introductory address by Ephim Jeshurin, chairman of the Convention Arrangements Committee, was noticeably stirred by the inspirational address of Joseph Weinberg, President of the W.C. General Secretary Joseph Baikin, who followed, a short greeting from Abraham Cohan, received a tremendous ovation for his energetic and impulsive presentation. An address by B. Charney Vlodeck concluded the program. The 35th Jubilee Convention was off to an auspicious start.

The convention meeting through the week will have heard reports from all the activities and departments of the Workmen's Circle so that future plans may be resolved in view of past accomplishments. The first two sessions of Monday, May 6th, were devoted almost entirely to various greetings from representatives of different organizations and movements. The chairman of the first session was Dr. Silverberg, vice-chairman D. Monoson, Boston, and the secretariat for the convention consists of Evancyk, Tobias and Lilliput of New York.

Directors' Report

The National Board of Directors' report was given by I. Cohen and greetings were heard from Vice-President Elias Lieberman, Raph. Abramowitch, Rudolf Rocker of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme; B. Gebiner of the Jewish Socialist Verband; Algernon Lee, H. W. Laidler of the L.I.D., and Block of the O.R.T., Kazdan of the Jewish Schools of Poland, and Rubash of the Palestinian Labor movement. Norman Thomas, representing the N.E.C. of the Socialist Party, vigorously called for intelligent action against war, fascism and other capitalistic oppressions.

The second day found the thousand delegates acclimated to the task before them, listening intently and taking notes of important passages. And pencils flew fast as Elias Lieberman, chairman of the National Youth Committee, gave his report of the activity and accomplishments of the League during its short existence. He demonstrated that in the YCLA the W.C. has sown a seed for the future; that in the YCLA the Workmen's Circle has a vital, active youth movement alert to the world about it and imbued with the very soul, aims and ideals of the W.C.

It is a powerful and potential factor in the Youth Movement holding great promise. Lieberman also stressed the fine cooperation between the Schule movement and the YCLA.

From the Benefit Department report by chairman Spinrad it was learned that over \$300,000 were spent last year for sick benefit. The office committee report given by J. Rothman summed up the resources of the organization and the work of this very important committee. The organization committee report was rendered by L. Dinnerstein; the Grievance Committee was given by chairman Z. Haim.

Greetings From Various Organizations

This day's greetings included messages from David Mayer of the Polish Bund and B. C. Vlodeck speaking for the Jewish Labor Committee. Vlodeck received a tremendous ovation as did Judge Jacob Panken, who also spoke.

The Education Committee report featured the Wednesday's session. Delivered by B. Block, it summed up the extensive year's work of the department throughout the country, touching on the various lecture tours, open forums, etc.

An important part of the report was devoted to the W.C. schools. The close cooperation between school and Young Circle League was emphasized. The Sanatorium Committee report was given by chairman Golding, and supplemented by Drs. Tashman and Harwood. Charles Solomon, warmly greeted, represented The New Leader; Henry Fruchter spoke for the Naturalization Aid League and Dr. Linz for the Los Angeles Sanatorium. An elaborate luncheon was given in the afternoon at the Mecca Temple for all the delegates.

Employers Still Lengthen Hours Despite Growing Army of Jobless

Government Report Strengthens Argument for 30-Hour Bill—Bosses Imposed Longer Week on Telephone, Power and Laundry Employes—Wages Only Slightly Increased, Department of Labor Study Shows

By A. F. of L. News Service

WASHINGTON.—A strong indictment of industrial employers for imposing an increasingly long work week on millions of employees when millions of others are jobless and being supported by the government together with their dependents is contained in the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor in its report on wages and hours in the manufacturing industries in January, 1935, compared with January, 1934.

Average 35-Hour Week

The figures, which are based on reports made to the Bureau by 20,536 factories this year and 11,820 last year, cover 3,127,990 employees. They show that the employees worked an average of 35 hours a week during the year and an average of 33½ last year—an average increase of an hour and a half in the length of the work week.

But the Bureau's revelation of the long work week which employers imposed upon workers in various industries contains the most glaring indictment of this anti-social policy. The hours ran as high as 47 per week in the face of the fact that over 11,000,000 workers were pounding the pavements in every part of the United States looking for jobs which these same long-hour employers refused to give.

47 Hours for Hotel Employes

Although the miners in the bituminous coal industry were employed an average of 27.5 hours a week, the other industries tell a different story.

Employees in the telephone and telegraph services and power and light industry had the 38-hour

week imposed on them.

Those who dominate the laundry and dyeing and cleaning establishments worked their employees an average of 40 hours a week.

The hotel owners topped the list and imposed an average 47-hour week on their employees.

It is quite evident that if the hours of labor imposed by employers on the workers in these industries had been reduced to 30 per week, there would have been a much smaller unemployed army.

It is equally apparent that the refusal of employers to reduce the length of the work week makes it imperative for Congress promptly to enact into law the Black 30-hour week bill.

Small Wage Increases

When it comes to wages, the Bureau of Labor Statistics found that increases were relatively inconsequential. The 3,127,990 workers covered by the report were paid an average of \$20 a week this January and \$18 a week in January, 1934—an increase of only \$2.

Employers who dominate the durable goods industries were compelled to grant pay raises which varied from an infinitesimal 85 cents a week in brick manufacturing to \$4.50 a week in the automobile industry.

Employers who control the non-durable industries were compelled to grant pay raises varying from 65 cents a week in the cotton goods industries to \$5.10 in the tire and inner tube factories.

For the lengthened hours of work per week in typical industries the following average wages were paid: Bituminous coal miners, \$19.30; telephone and telegraph service employes, \$27.75; hotel employes, \$13.50; laundry workers, \$15; dyers and cleaners, \$17.50.

The Labor Week

(Continued from Page One)

curity League movement. No official announcement has been made. None will be made. However, accurate information is to the effect that the council will not join in the Coughlin movement.

Another executive council item of more than passing interest is this: John L. Lewis sought to gain for the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, which is the old Western Federation of Miners of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone fame, complete jurisdiction over all workers in and around metal mines, without success. Had he succeeded it would have dealt a mortal blow to the so-called Anaconda agreement, under which the A. F. of L. Metal and Building Trades Departments have negotiated agreements covering all the crafts in those departments.

The printers score in the news again. Because Sears, Roebuck and Company have their big catalogue printed by the R. R. Donnelly and Sons Company, non-union, Typographical Union No. 16 of Chicago has launched a nation-wide fight intended to induce union printing of the big price and picture book.

Building trades workers, attention. Let me quote questions and answers from a press conference by Secretary of the Interior Ickes:

Question: In your opinion, what wages will be paid on PWA and other projects under the works relief bill?

Mr. Ickes: Where contracts have been let under the present plan, PWA wage scales will set the example.

Question: It is understood that the President for the past week has been studying a plan to get organized labor to reduce its wage scales in order to extend the life of the works relief bill by saving that money? Has President Roosevelt decided whether he will reduce the wages of organized labor?

Mr. Ickes: The President is studying a plan to reduce wages of organized labor. However, final word on this question must come from him. We will try to work out a cooperative wage scale with

the unions. There will be no move to reduce wage scales until the President announces it.

That ends the quotation. Study it and express your opinion without delay, if you are interested.

Labor's whole conflict covers a wide front. It may well be wider before it is narrower. On the economic field and on the legislative field the camp fires are burning and thousands are on guard for human progress and human liberty.

RECOGNITION WON AFTER LONG STRUGGLE

(Continued from Page One)

labor mouthpiece of the organized employers of the city.

For a time the city authorities were transporting strikebreakers from the city poor farm in city-owned trucks. This was stopped by the vigorous protest of the Socialist Party and the labor unions.

Many Socialists marched on May 1st in the funeral procession of R. C. Morency, slain picket. More than 6,500 unionists and friends paid honor to the labor martyr, who had been killed by the son of one of the truck owners involved in the strike of 300 warehousemen.

The men struck for union recognition, preferential employment for unionists and higher wages. Although the strike was conducted peacefully, the bosses staged several fake "boating" to give the impression the strikers sanctioned violence. The owners and their agents had themselves appointed deputy sheriffs in order that they might carry weapons, and it was as a result of such action that Morency was slain.

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German Socialists Reform Lines for Battle

Hitler's Downfall Seen as Discontent Grows

(Continued from Page One)

circumstances and the realities of the situation guide us. Our local organizations are restored. We have also reestablished a central contact between the local organizations throughout Germany. This work is being done principally by young elements. It would be a mistake, however, to interpret this fact to mean that the older comrades and leaders have been pushed aside by our youth. You cannot conduct an illegal, underground organization and propaganda with elements well known for their Socialist activity in the past. To do so would mean to lay such elements open to capture by the secret police and the destruction of all efforts at reconstruction of the movement. The elements most active in this work are "new blood," young, vigorous, loyal, determined. The veterans are keeping in the background, helping with advice and direction wherever they can, and biding their time. I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that if tomorrow it should become possible to resume, in part at least, some degree of open political activity our movement will emerge from under the surface as if it had never disappeared. We are ready."

An Example of Recklessness

As an example of what he termed Communist recklessness, Comrade Seger cited the case of the former secretary of Willy Muenzenberg, former Communist leader, who escaped from Germany and is now residing in Paris.

"For a long time the secret police kept on arresting every courier sent by the Communists in Germany to Muenzenberg," Comrade Seger explained. "As soon as the courier would cross the frontier back into Germany he would be seized. Then it developed that Muenzenberg's former secretary, who remained in Germany as a member of the Communist Party, was in reality a police spy. Just as the Communists tried to force issues recklessly under the republic and thereby contributed to the advent of Hitlerism, so are they now continuing to pursue an adventurist policy, quite oblivious to the unnecessary sacrifice it entails and the discouragement and disillusionment it sows. At the same time, in the face of the fascist regime, they continue their campaign of attacks and slanders against the Socialists. But we have neither time nor inclination to argue with them. Our only immediate task is the destruction of the Hitler regime. To this we are devoting all our time and energies."

"In this connection, I have had some amusing incidents with Communists and their friends in this country. At various meetings I was asked by spokesmen of these elements to explain why the German Social Democrats did not do this or that. My reply invariably was: I have not come to this country to argue with critics or to discuss the past. It has come here to help fight German fascism by helping to organize American sentiment against it. And I am gratified to say that I have found this sentiment to be overwhelmingly against Hitler."

Democracy Is the Aim

Asked what the aim of the German Socialists was with respect to the regime that may succeed Hitler, Comrade Seger said:

"Those who speak of another dictatorship to succeed Hitler and make this their slogan are quite devoid of any sense of reality. You cannot fight an evil by proposing to substitute another evil in its place. The aim of the German Social Democrats is, first and foremost, to restore liberty in Germany. For this the German Socialists are ready to go into battle when the moment comes. For the present they are gathering the organization and power for this great task."

Comrade Seger took occasion to ridicule the conception so popular now in parlor-bolshevik circles—the conception of which the British Communist de luxe, John Strachey, is a leading exponent—that there is but one choice before humanity, fascism or Communism.

"I regard the dissemination of

Rand School Reception to Women Delegates

Tuesday afternoon more than 200 women gathered in the Rand School auditorium when the Women's Committee of the Rand School gave a reception to the women delegates and the wives of delegates to the Workmen's Circle convention.

After refreshments had been served there were brief talks by Mrs. Bertha H. Maily and others, telling of the work of the school and its services to Socialism, and inviting the visitors to inspect the building after the reception after which there were musical selections.

this conception, in which both fascists and Communists engage for their own respective political purposes, as a dirty trick," Comrade Seger said. "The propaganda is intended to wear away the faith of the people everywhere in democracy in order to facilitate its destruction."

"Socialists who preach the inevitability of fascism and exaggerate its importance outside of the countries where it has achieved temporary power for reasons peculiar to these countries alone are pouring water on the mills of our fascist and Communist enemies. I have become quite convinced as a result of my experiences and observations in this country that fascism cannot possibly strike any serious roots in the United States. This holds true of all countries where democracy is firmly rooted. And I am convinced that in Germany fascism faces inevitable destruction."

The Present Situation

As regards the position of the Hitler regime at the present moment, Comrade Seger expressed the view that it has been both strengthened and weakened in recent months, strengthened among the middle classes and fascist youth because of its defiant rearmament policy, and weakened by its economic failures.

"To be sure the internal psychological effects of the Hitler government's rearmament policy cannot endure indefinitely, while the regime's failure to cope with the extremely serious economic situation, which does not and cannot under the circumstances show any improvement, is turning an ever increasing number of people against it."

For this reason, said Comrade Seger, the regime may ultimately seek escape in a foreign diversion—war.

"Germany is practically ready for war today," he said. "The military organization, the aviation service, the chemical service is ready. What is lacking is heavy artillery and certain other equipment. My best information is that it will take another eighteen months to complete the preparations. What will happen then is the big problem."

"The high command of the Nazi party is definitely determined on war. On the other hand the non-Nazi, conservative elements in the government, represented by such men as foreign minister Von Neurath, know full well the grave peril of war for Germany. The Reichswehr command is likewise opposed to any reckless war adventure. The conservative and professional military elements are not enamored of Nazi policy. Their policy is the old Bismarckian policy—to build up a strong military machine in order to use it not for making war, which may well lead to the defeat and destruction of Germany, but as an instrument of threat and blackmail against the rest of Europe, an instrument with which to wring concessions."

The Two Alternatives

"It must be remembered, however, that this, too, is a dangerous policy. The conservatives and professional soldiers do not actually want war but they are nevertheless preparing for it. For the present Hitler is to all intents and purposes their prisoner, but the power and influence of the ruling Nazi elements is still very great, and these elements are bent on war. Will they be held in check, and how long? That is the crucial question. On the other hand, there is the problem of the internal situation. Should the internal situation become so grave as to leave no escape outside of a foreign diversion, the conservatives and the professional military clique, too, may decide to stake everything on war. This is one possible alternative. Another alternative is that the conservatives, realizing the grave risk of war and revolution, may before long be compelled to seek contact with the democratic and old trade union elements as a means of facilitating a more or less rapid political change, having for its purpose the ultimate elimination of Hitler and his party. Everything will depend upon developments. It would be reckless to prophesy. One thing is certain: the Hitler regime cannot endure."

"No Concessions to Hitler!"

In connection with the problem of the forces making for the disintegration of Hitlerism, Comrade Seger emphasized the importance of the international factor.

"The Hitler regime is being isolated internationally," he said. "The one weak spot is England. If England would make it quite clear that she is definitely aligned with France and Soviet Russia against Hitler Germany, Hitler's game would be lost. The hope of the inner council of the Hitler party,

dominated in questions of foreign policy by Rosenberg, is that England will stand aloof from the continent, that she will not assume definite obligations. In this respect our comrades of the British Labor Party, who may form the next British government, should be quite clear in their minds as to the responsibility of England and their own responsibility. England must make Hitler Germany understand that she stands ready to cooperate all the way with France, Soviet Russia and the League of Nations in keeping the peace of Europe and resisting the aggressions of Hitler Germany, which are aimed, first and foremost, at the despoliation and dismemberment of Soviet Russia, then at the destruction of France, and ultimately of England. Woe to Europe if the Nazis succeed in this purpose."

Comrade Seger took sharp issue with the view entertained by some Socialists that concessions must be made to Germany on points involving errors and injustices of the Treaty of Versailles. He emphasized the position of the German Social Democracy that any concessions to a Germany ruled by Hitler would mean only the strengthening of the fascist regime.

"No concessions to Hitler Germany," Comrade Seger declared. "The Hitler regime can never be appeased by any concessions. There is but one way of dealing with it—its complete isolation. Concessions to Hitler mean a betrayal of the true, the better Germany, a betrayal of the German workers, of democracy, of Socialism."

"There can be but one policy for the free nations of the world to facilitate the internal destruction of Hitlerism. That is the purpose the German Social Democracy has set for itself. That is the purpose we labor unceasingly to accomplish!"

Garment Strike Brought Nearer

(Continued from Page One)

In clarifying further the union's position, Nagler declared:

"After years of an auction-block system sustained by the jobber, which brought chaos and demoralization into the cloak industry, we succeeded, in 1933, in checking these degrading conditions by introducing contractor limitation and by imposing upon the jobbers responsibility for work conditions in their outside shops. These two paramount reforms made it possible to eliminate materially the cut-throat competition in the industry and to control work conditions in the shops."

"The jobbers, however, appear to be yearning to get back to the old catch-as-catch-can conditions of utter irresponsibility. They are chafing under the legitimate obligation for labor conditions which all the other employer groups in the industry have observed, and demand that they be put again in the privileged status of free lances, that would make it possible for them to underbid and outsell every other manufacturer in the industry."

"Their offer to negotiate on wages and hours is obviously meaningless. No agreement on wages and hours is worth the paper it is written on if control of such wages and hours, through contractor limitation and the assumption of responsibility for contractor shops, does not go along with it."

Nagler stated that conferences with the other three employers' groups in the industry, the Industrial Council of Cloak and Suit Manufacturers, inside employers, the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers, contractors' group, and the Infant Coat Manufacturers' Association, are scheduled to take place during the next week.

Good Battle Waged By Socialists in West New York Election

WEST NEW YORK, N. J.—Under the slogan "Socialism Eventually—Why Not Now?" the Socialist Party is waging a fine campaign for Commissioners in this municipality of 40,000 working people across the river from New York.

The election is on a non-partisan basis, but the five candidates named by the Socialist Party are waging a fine fight and the party is doing everything in its power to publicize their Socialist affiliation. The candidates are Katherine Avalloni, Otto Levingson, Dr. Philip Nemoff, G. Darrell O'Neill and Edwin Smithauser.

The candidates are permitted to employ a slogan on the printed ballot, and are using the slogan quoted above. The party's program calls for a county-wide publicly-owned electric light and power plant, a municipal coal yard, a municipal milk depot and wide extension of the public health service. There is also a plant demanding police protection for peaceful pickets in strikes.

Meetings are being held nightly, and much literature is being distributed, in which the success of the Socialist administrations of Milwaukee and Bridgeport is emphasized.

Nazi Discipline Breaks Down on May Day

BERLIN.—Contrary to enthusiastic Nazi forecasts, May Day, 1935, in Germany has not been a success.

For the first time in the history of Hitler's Third Reich the workers displayed a restlessness which was in marked contrast to last year's celebration in which 2,000,000 people participated in Berlin alone.

Discipline cracked everywhere; in Munich, Nazi stronghold, even going so far that the refusal of workers to participate forced the cancellation of all outdoor meetings. Underground opposition, especially

in Berlin, was also instrumental in keeping so many workers from these meetings that the threatened reprisals are doomed to failure.

As if to add to the growing disillusionment of the working masses, the assembled hundreds of thousands in Tempelhof Field near Berlin were treated to speeches which were devoid of even the smallest olive branches of economic improvement held out to them in recent weeks. Except glittering generalities and fervent appeals to nationalism, Hitler said nothing that had not been said before, while the long promised declaration of wage increases, or "attainment of a just wage," failed to materialize. In fact, the expected announcements of this kind were cancelled at the last minute at the insistence of the German industrialists. The protests of the employers proved so effective that Hitler had to bow to them.

To appease the disappointment of the masses, the leader of the German Labor Front, Dr. Ley, announced that a commission for the study of wages would be set up, and that practical results might be obtainable by next May Day, 1936. The assembled workers, shivering in a snow storm, greeted the announcement with stony silence.

In the meantime, further reports on the shop council elections tend to clarify the extent of the so-called Nazi "victory." As has already been reported, the votes cast for the Nazi ticket do not exceed 70%, despite the tremendous pressure upon the workers and the successful combing out of all doubtful voters. Official figures report 6,500,000 valid workers' votes, which is far below the census figure of 1933, giving a total of 14,900,000 industrial and agricultural workers. Taking the Nazi claim of only 2,600,000 workers unemployed at

its face value, and leaving out completely 2,000,000 agricultural workers, the vote of the remaining more than 3,000,000 industrial workers remains a mystery. The number of 70,000 factories and shops in which elections were held is also far below the actual number of German industrial establishments. The workers' vote cast throughout the Reich and mainly in Berlin where the Nazis are frankly disappointed, seems to confirm again the outcome of the Danzig elections which gave the Nazis only approximately 60% of the total.

New York State

State Executive Committee.—The next meeting of the State Executive Committee will be held in the Capitol District May 18 and 19. Members of the S.E.C. will address a meeting of the Capital District Party membership in Schenectady.

Buffalo.—The local will canvass all the enrolled voters of Erie County; the campaign got under way this week. Rev. Rodney McKinnon is chairman of the committee in charge.

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154—COLUMBUS, OHIO 303—BIRMINGHAM, Ala.
87B—NEW YORK CITY

America Must Chose Between Chaos and Reemployment of Millions

Thirty-Hour Week Called Urgent Behind the Scenes in Washington Employers Still Lengthen Hours To Rescue Jobless from Misery Despite Growing Army of Jobless

A. F. of L. Demands Congress Pass Measure as Economically Sound and Essential to Nation's Morale—Insists on Right of Toilers to Jobs—Hits Failure of NRA to Provide Work—Warns of Upheaval.

At a meeting in Philadelphia, President William Green of the American Federation of Labor delivered an historic address in which he warned that a political and social upheaval in this nation was inevitable if the millions of unemployed did not get jobs at decent pay. He demanded also the adoption of the Wagner labor disputes bill.

The meeting was a joint undertaking of the trade unionists and Socialists of Philadelphia. It was held in the Academy of Music, scene of many historic gatherings. The address of President Green, delivered with an earnestness and passion befitting the importance of the subject, gave the occasion a truly memorable character.

"THE demands of the workers of this country must be met," President Green said, in part. "A greater degree of social security must be accorded to the masses of the people, and the law-making bodies of this nation must, in all justice and fairness, respond to the reasonable demands of the masses of the people. We must know whether the Congress of the United States is going to measure up and meet the requirements of this most extraordinary situation. It must give the workers of this nation the thirty-hour week and the Wagner Disputes Act."

Characterizing the 30-hour week as essential and economically sound, Green declared that "it is impossible for industry, geared as it now is, mechanized as it has been made, equipped with mechanical devices as it is now equipped, to furnish work under our present economic set-up to all these millions of workers who are idle on the basis of the old forty-hour week or the long work week that has been in effect for the last century."

"We have passed beyond the period where we can supply work to these millions of working men and women on the basis of the forty-hour week, and so we are faced with the choice—America must choose—we must decide whether we are going to maintain the 40-hour week, the long work week, and the more than 11,000,000 unemployed, with 40,000,000 dependent upon them, or whether we are going to make an equitable distribution of the amount of work available by reducing the hours per day and per week so that all may be accorded an opportunity to work."

Warns of Upheaval

"I would rather create work opportunities for all who are willing and able to work than to resign ourselves to the hopeless situation of maintaining constantly an army amounting to eleven millions of idle men and women. I hold that while the government does not owe any man a living, it does owe him an opportunity to earn a living for himself and for his family. And the government that fails in this respect, with a social order that cannot meet the requirements of the situation, where men and women, eager to work, are not accorded an opportunity to work, is a failure; and if it is a failure, then those who make up the government will abandon that form of government and find a way by which men may be accorded an opportunity to earn a decent living."

Experience of the Codes

"A general survey of the hours provisions of the codes can lead only to the conclusion that that portion of the Recovery Act which provided for reemployment through a shortening of the work hours has not been fulfilled in actual code making. Our 30-hour bill was sidetracked two years ago, after we secured the passage of the bill in the Senate of the United States, because they substituted the National Recovery Act instead, and we were told that through the code-making process the hours of labor would be so reduced as to accord work opportunities for the millions of unemployed. That prophecy has not been fulfilled and that hope has not been realized; the 40-hour maximum work-week has been written into the majority of the codes; exemptions of many groups of workers from hours regulation, together with loose averages in provisions, have made it possible to go far beyond the forty hours per week in a great

many industries. Substantial increases in production can, under the codes, be taken care of without increase in the number of workers.

"The reason why our standard codes have failed to give more employment is dominance of employers in code making."

Sabotage of Employers

"Now, the need for flexibility was one of the major arguments against the thirty-hour work week two years ago. It continues to be a criticism leveled against the present measure. Among the arguments in favor of fixing maximum hours of work through the codes of fair competition, instead of by Federal law, was that the needs of each industry could be considered separately and the desired flexibility could thus be achieved."

"A more startling and clear-cut indication that the codes have failed to establish a shortened work week is to be found in the fact that in no month since August, 1933, have the average hours actually worked been equal to the forty-hour week which has been generally established by the codes. With an average maximum work-week of forty hours provided by the codes, in October, 1934, the actual average hours of work were only thirty-four in manufacturing industry. For the first eleven months of 1934 the average actual hours of work in all industries—all industries, mind you!—were only thirty-seven and five-tenths per week."

Failure of NRA

"We are now asking for a work-week reduced sufficiently to reemploy the men and women who have now been out of work for four or five years. Had the NRA accomplished its primary purpose of solving the problem of unemployment, the American Federation of Labor would not, today, lend its support to a thirty-hour bill; it is the failure of the NRA to achieve any real gain in reemployment which makes imperative the thirty-hour law."

"It seems to me that our government, facing that situation, ought to be willing to stop halting and hesitating but boldly and courageously meet this situation and give the workers of this nation, who are honest, an opportunity to work and earn a decent living."

Tragedy of Crisis

"The tragic effect of continued unemployment upon the millions of our population must not be underestimated. Every year during which these men and women remain without work makes the problem of their ultimate rehabilitation and adjustment to a normal life more difficult. We lose more through the destruction of intangible values than the mere paltry sum of a hundred and seventy-two million dollars represented by the cost of the nation's unemployment. We lose in morale and we lose in vision, we lose in hope, we lose in manhood and in womanhood, and the loss to this nation cannot be properly appraised when we take those intangible values of human life into account and into consideration."

"During the past four and one-half years, a large portion of our population has been sinking further into hopelessness and despair. How much more serious shall we permit this problem to become before we take the necessary action? That is the question we ask of Congress."

Work, Not Doles, Wanted

"Doles and emergency public works are merely temporary palliatives. They have afforded neither permanent nor sufficient security for our vast army of unemployed. Shorter hours and adequate wages, which are the cornerstones of the economic recovery reform, which President Roosevelt recommended, and business and the NRA code Authorities rejected in March, 1934, should now be provided by the enactment of the thirty-hour work-week bill."

"Now, I have made the argument in behalf of the thirty-hour work-week bill. What can the opposition say? Nothing; only, 'We are opposed to it.' Well the workers will not accept that as an answer. We refuse to accept it, and we are going to center our efforts, mobilize our strength, develop public opinion, and center it upon the Congress of the United States until they respond to our appeal to enact the thirty-hour work-week bill into law."

Wagner Disputes Bill

"Now, I want to speak just briefly upon the other measure. It is not necessary for me to make an extended argument in support of the Wagner Disputes Act. This is the major piece of legislation in which the American Federation of Labor and the workers of the nation are interested. It occupies a strategic position in the parliamentary procedure of the United

By Benjamin Meiman
Our Washington Correspondent

THE old insurmountable obstruction to social legislation, the Supreme Court, returned to its traditional role and dealt a severe blow to the New Deal's entire program of social security and industry control legislation in the 5 to 4 decision declaring unconstitutional the entire railroad retirement Act, designed to set up a pension fund for railroad workers over 65 years of age and all railroad employees with 30 years of service.

The real significance of the ruling in its application to the other social legislation lies in the fact that the majority of the court not only invalidated the entire railroad retirement act on the ground it was objectionable to the "due process" clause of the Constitution, but went on to rule that Congress lacked power to enact any compulsory pension act for railroad employees.

Briefly, the majority held that, while under the commerce clause of the Constitution Congress has authority to regulate interstate commerce, it has no power to place a financial burden on railroads for a pension system which does not contribute to economy, efficiency or the safety of transportation. Thus, led by Justice Roberts, who sometimes votes with the conservatives and sometimes with the liberals, the majority, comprising also Justices Van Deventer, McReynolds, Sutherland and Butler, based their ruling on a narrow and strict construction of the commerce clause.

Let by Chief Justice Hughes, the minority—including Brandeis, Stone and Cardozo—took a more liberal view of the powers of Congress under the commerce clause, holding that the majority had departed "from sound principles and places an unwarranted limitation upon the commerce clause."

"The fundamental consideration which supports this type of legislation is that industry should take care of its human wastage, whether due to accident or age," the minority declared, adding that "the expression of that conviction in law is regulation" and when expressed in the government of interstate carriers "is a regulation of that commerce."

The minority of the court seemed outraged by the conclusions of the majority, for at the outset of his opinion Chief Justice Hughes asserted that "the gravest aspect of the decision is that it does not rest simply upon a condemnation of particular features of the railroad retirement act, but denies to Congress the power to pass any compulsory pension act for railroad employees."

Chief Justice Hughes attacked the position taken by Justice Sutherland, citing excerpts from a report made from a senatorial committee of which the then Senator Sutherland was chairman unholing the authority of Congress to enact a compensation act for railroad workers.

Labor Is Bitter

WORKERS were bitter in their denunciation of the ruling. George M. Harrison, chairman of the Railway Labor Executive Association, characterized the ruling as "one of the most reactionary decisions handed down by the court" and contended that it "shows a total disregard of the social obligations of industry to its workers."

"It will be most difficult for Congress to enact any social leg-

islation that requires employers' contributions and, therefore, it is a serious obstacle to the consummation of the whole New Deal program," he said.

Many members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, now in session in Washington, expressed opinions closely akin to those of the railway spokesmen. One member said: "It's the old story; the Supreme Court being the bulwark against social legislation. History repeats itself. When the child labor law was passed by Congress the Supreme Court came to the aid of the merciless exploiters of youth and declared the child labor law unconstitutional."

isolation that requires employers' contributions and, therefore, it is a serious obstacle to the consummation of the whole New Deal program," he said.

Labor's Strong Opposition to Compromise

THE entire Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor visited President Roosevelt last week and presented the following statement:

"The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is deeply concerned over the action of the Senate Finance Committee in approving a resolution extending the National Recovery Act for a period of ten months. We interpret such action as an abandonment of the Administration's National Recovery Program. In the opinion of the Executive Council, it represents a total disregard of the seriousness of the unemployment situation which prevails throughout the nation and a lack of appreciation of the value of the remedies which, under your Executive authority, have been applied to the economic ills of the nation."

"Through the application of the provisions of the National Recovery Act which has been in effect since June 16, 1933, constructive plans have been followed and practical methods have been employed in all the heroic efforts which have been put forth to overcome unemployment. Even the most uncompromising foe of the National Recovery Act is forced to admit that through its operation child labor has been abolished, minimum rates of pay for unprotected workers have been lifted to a higher level, hours of labor have been reduced, many reprehensible unfair trade practices have been eliminated and work opportunities created for millions of unemployed."

"Your recommendation that a

more effective and more constructive National Recovery Act be enacted by the Congress of the United States for a period of two years represents, in our opinion, the minimum legislative requirement which should become operative at this most important period in our national life. Nothing less will meet the urgent needs of the serious unemployment situation which prevails throughout the nation. It is the emphatic opinion of the Executive Council that a continuation of the National Recovery Act for a period of ten months, as provided for in the Joint Resolution recommended by the Senate Finance Committee, will be regarded by Labor throughout the nation as a Congressional abandonment of your National Recovery policy and as the liquidation of the National Recovery Act. It represents, in our opinion, the end of the definite economic policy inaugurated under the New Deal and a return to the old industrial, social and economic policies administered by the reactionary forces of the nation and which human experience and history show were directly responsible for the distressing unemployment situation through which the nation has passed during the last five years."

"The Joint Resolution, if adopted by Congress, will take the heart out of the National Recovery Act. It is estimated that it will deprive seventy-five per cent of working people of the benefits of Section 7A, child labor prohibition, minimum rates of pay and maximum hours of employment as incorporated in industrial codes of fair competition. The National Recovery Act for the next ten months would be a skeleton, a shadow, applicable to a small minority of workers employed in industries engaged in only what might be technically determined as interstate commerce."

"The Executive Council would rather see the National Recovery Act abandoned, terminated or repealed than emasculated and adopted for a ten-month period, as recommended by the Senate Finance Committee."

A strong intimation is given in the A. F. of L. statement about "resentment, protest, social unrest and industrial strife" if Congress adopts the compromise instead of the original NRA bill.

It's a statement with teeth in it.

Workmen's Circle Convention Gets Under Way

(Continued from Page One)

strong, young, lithe, active and alert; faces lit up with W.C. jubilation—then the delegations from the distant portions of the nation and finally the members of the forty-odd branches of the YCLA in the Workmen's Circle itself. This is no passive summation of organization; this is a yearly check-up; this is a vital demonstration to the labor movement and the world in general that here breathes the very heart of radical thought and opinion, here are young and old, men and women to give of theirs in this struggle for a better place in which to live.

The meeting, officially opened with an introductory address by Ephim Jeshurin, chairman of the Convention Arrangements Committee, was noticeably stirred by the inspirational address of Joseph Weinberg, President of the W.C. General Secretary Joseph Baskin, who followed, a short greeting from Abraham Cohan, received a tremendous ovation for his energetic and impulsive presentation. An address by B. Charney Vladeck concluded the program. The 25th Jubilee Convention was off to an auspicious start.

The convention meeting through the week will have heard reports from all the activities and departments of the Workmen's Circle so that future plans may be resolved in view of past accomplishments. The first two sessions of Monday, May 6th, were devoted almost entirely to various greetings from representatives of different organizations and movements. The chairman of the first session was Dr. Silverberg, vice-chairman D. Monson, Boston, and the secretariat for the convention consists of Evancy, Tobias and Lilliput of New York.

Directors' Report

The National Board of Directors' report was given by I. Cohen and greetings were heard from Vice-President Elias Lieberman, Ralph Abramowitch, Rudolf Rucker of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme; B. Gebner of the Jewish Socialist Verband; Algernon Lee, H. W. Laidler of the L.I.D., and Block of the O.R.T. Kazdan of the Jewish Schools of Poland, and Rubash of the Palestinian Labor movement. Norman Thomas, representing the N.E.C. of the Socialist Party, vigorously called for intelligent action against war, fascism and other capitalist oppressions.

The second day found the thousand delegates acclimated to the task before them, listening intently and taking notes of important passages. And pencils flew fast as Elias Lieberman, chairman of the National Youth Committee, gave his report of the activity and accomplishments of the League during its short existence. He demonstrated that in the YCLA the W.C. has sown a seed for the future, that in the YCLA the Workmen's Circle has a vital, active youth movement alert to the world about it and imbued with the very soul, aims and ideals of the W.C.

It is a powerful and potential factor in the Youth Movement holding great promise. Lieberman also stressed the fine cooperation between the Schule movement and the YCLA.

From the Benefit Department report by chairman Spinrad it was learned that over \$300,000 were spent last year for sick benefit. The office committee report given by J. Rothman summed up the resources of the organization and touched on the successful but difficult work of this very important committee. The organization committee report was rendered by L. Dinnerstein; the Grievance Committee was given by chairman Z. Haim.

Greetings From Various Organizations

This day's greetings included messages from David Mayer of the Polish Bund and B. C. Vladeck speaking for the Jewish Labor Committee. Vladeck received a tremendous ovation as did Judge Jacob Panken, who also spoke.

The Education Committee report featured the Wednesday's session. Delivered by B. Block, it summed up the extensive year's work of the department throughout the country, touching on the various lecture tours, open forums, etc.

Government Report Strengthens Argument for 30-Hour Bill—Bosses Imposed Longer Week on Telephone, Power and Laundry Employees—Wages Only Slightly Increased, Department of Labor Study Shows

By A. F. of L. News Service

WASHINGTON.—A strong indictment of industrial employers for imposing an increasingly long work week on millions of employees when millions of others are jobless and being supported by the government together with their dependents is contained in the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor in its report on wages and hours in the manufacturing industries in January, 1935, compared with January, 1934.

Average 35-Hour Week

The figures, which are based on reports made to the Bureau by 20,536 factories this year and 11,820 last year, cover 3,127,990 employees. They show that the employees worked an average of 35 hours a week during the year and an average of 33½ last year—an average increase of an hour and a half in the length of the work week.

But the Bureau's revelation of the long work week which employers imposed upon workers in various industries contains the most glaring indictment of this anti-social policy. The hours ran as high as 47 per week in the face of the fact that over 11,000,000 workers were pounding the pavements in every part of the United States looking for jobs which these same long-hour employers refused to give.

47 Hours for Hotel Employees

Although the miners in the bituminous coal industry were employed an average of 27.5 hours a week, the other industries tell a different story.

Employees in the telephone and telegraph services and power and light industry had the 38-hour

week imposed on them. Those who dominate the laundry and dyeing and cleaning establishments worked their employees an average of 40 hours a week.

The hotel owners topped the list and imposed an average 47-hour week on their employees.

It is quite evident that if the hours of labor imposed by employers on the workers in these industries had been reduced to 30 per week, there would have been a much smaller unemployed army.

It is equally apparent that the refusal of employers to reduce the length of the work week makes it imperative for Congress promptly to enact into law the Black 30-hour week bill.

Small Wage Increases

When it comes to wages, the Bureau of Labor Statistics found that increases were relatively inconsequential. The 3,127,990 workers covered by the report were paid an average of \$20 a week this January and \$18 a week in January, 1934—an increase of only \$2.

Employers who dominate the durable goods industries were compelled to grant pay raises which varied from an infinitesimal 85 cents a week in brick manufacturing to \$4.50 a week in the automobile industry.

Employers who control the non-durable industries were compelled to grant pay raises varying from 65 cents a week in the cotton goods industries to \$5.10 in the tire and inner tube factories.

For the lengthened hours of work per week in typical industries the following average wages were paid: Bituminous coal miners, \$19.30; telephone and telegraph service employees, \$27.75; hotel employees, \$13.50; laundry workers, \$15; dyers and cleaners, \$17.50.

The Labor Week

(Continued from Page One)

curity League movement. No official announcement has been made. None will be made. However, accurate information is to the effect that the council will not join in the Coughlin movement.

Another executive council item of more than passing interest is this: John L. Lewis sought to gain for the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, which is the old Western Federation of Miners of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone fame, complete jurisdiction over all workers in and around metal mines, without success. Had he succeeded it would have dealt a mortal blow to the so-called Anaconda agreement, under which the A. F. of L. Metal and Building Trades Departments have negotiated agreements covering all the crafts in those departments.

The printers score in the news again. Because Sears, Roebuck and Company have their big catalogue printed by the R. R. Donnelly and Sons Company, non-union, Typographical Union No. 16 of Chicago has launched a nation-wide fight intended to induce union printing of the big price and picture book.

Building trades workers, attention. Let me quote questions and answers from a press conference by Secretary of the Interior Ickes:

Question: In your opinion, what wages will be paid on PWA and other projects under the works relief bill?

Mr. Ickes: Where contracts have been let under the present plan, PWA wage scales will set the example.

Question: It is understood that the President for the past week has been studying a plan to get organized labor to reduce its wage scales in order to extend the life of the works relief bill by saving that money? Has President Roosevelt decided whether he will reduce the wages of organized labor?

Mr. Ickes: The President is studying a plan to reduce wages of organized labor. However, final word on this question must come from him. We will try to work out a cooperative wage scale with

the unions. There will be no move to reduce wage scales until the President announces it.

That ends the quotation. Study it and express your opinion without delay, if you are interested.

Labor's whole conflict covers a wide front. It may well be wider before it is narrower. On the economic field and on the legislative field the camp fires are burning and thousands are on guard for human progress and human liberty.

RECOGNITION WON AFTER LONG STRUGGLE

(Continued from Page One)

labor mouthpiece of the organized employers of the city.

For a time the city authorities were transporting strikebreakers from the city poor farm in city-owned trucks. This was stopped by the vigorous protest of the Socialist Party and the labor unions.

Many Socialists marched on May 1st in the funeral procession of R. C. Morency, slain picket. More than 6,500 unionists and friends paid honor to the labor martyr, who had been killed by the son of one of the truck owners involved in the strike of 300 warehousemen.

The men struck for union recognition, preferential employment for unionists and higher wages. Although the strike was conducted peacefully, the bosses staged several fake "boating" to give the impression the strikers sanctioned violence. The owners and their agents had themselves appointed deputy sheriffs in order that they might carry weapons, and it was as a result of such action that Morency was slain.

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German Socialists Reform Lines for Battle

Hitler's Downfall Seen as Discontent Grows

(Continued from Page One)

circumstances and the realities of the situation guide us. Our local organizations are restored. We have also reestablished a central contact between the local organizations throughout Germany. This work is being done principally by young elements. It would be a mistake, however, to interpret this fact to mean that the older comrades and leaders have been pushed aside by our youth. You cannot conduct an illegal underground organization and propaganda with elements well known for their Socialist activity in the past. To do so would mean to lay such elements open to capture by the secret police and the destruction of all efforts at reconstruction of the movement. The elements most active in this work are "new blood," young, vigorous, loyal, determined. The veterans are keeping in the background, helping with advice and direction wherever they can, and biding their time. I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that if tomorrow it should become possible to resume, in part at least, some degree of open political activity our movement will emerge from under the surface as if it had never disappeared. We are ready."

An Example of Recklessness

As an example of what he termed Communist recklessness, Comrade Seger cited the case of the former secretary of Willy Muenzenberg, former Communist leader, who escaped from Germany and is now residing in Paris.

"For a long time the secret police kept on arresting every courier sent by the Communists in Germany to Muenzenberg," Comrade Seger explained. "As soon as the courier would cross the frontier back into Germany he would be seized. Then it developed that Muenzenberg's former secretary, who remained in Germany as a member of the Communist Party, was in reality a police spy. Just as the Communists tried to force issues recklessly under the republic and thereby contributed to the advent of Hitlerism, so are they now continuing to pursue an adventurist policy, quite oblivious to the unnecessary sacrifice it entails and the discouragement and disillusionment it sows. At the same time, in the face of the fascist regime, they continue their campaign of attacks and slanders against the Socialists. But we have neither time nor inclination to argue with them. Our only immediate task is the destruction of the Hitler regime. To this we are devoting all our time and energies."

"In this connection, I have had some amusing incidents with Communists and their friends in this country. At various meetings I was asked by spokesmen of these elements to explain why the German Social Democrats did not do this or that. My reply invariably was: I have not come to this country to argue with critics or to discuss the past. It has come here to help fight German fascism by helping to organize American sentiment against it. And I am gratified to say that I have found this sentiment to be overwhelmingly against Hitler."

Democracy Is the Aim

Asked what the aim of the German Socialists was with respect to the regime that may succeed Hitler, Comrade Seger said:

"Those who speak of another dictatorship to succeed Hitler and make this their slogan are quite devoid of any sense of reality. You cannot fight an evil by proposing to substitute another evil in its place. The aim of the German Social Democrats is, first and foremost, to restore liberty in Germany. For this the German Socialists are ready to go into battle when the moment comes. For the present they are gathering the organization and power for this great task."

Comrade Seger took occasion to ridicule the conception so popular now in parlor-bolshevik circles—the conception of which the British Communist de luxe, John Strachey, is a leading exponent—that there is but one choice before humanity, fascism or Communism.

"I regard the dissemination of

Rand School Reception to Women Delegates

Tuesday afternoon more than 200 women gathered in the Rand School auditorium when the Women's Committee of the Rand School gave a reception to the women delegates and the wives of delegates to the Workmen's Circle convention.

After refreshments had been served there were brief talks by Mrs. Bertha H. Mailly and others, telling of the work of the school and its services to Socialism, and inviting the visitors to inspect the building after the reception after which there were musical selections.

this conception, in which both fascists and Communists engage for their own respective political purposes, as a dirty trick," Comrade Seger said. "The propaganda is intended to weaken the faith of the people everywhere in democracy in order to facilitate its destruction."

"Socialists who preach the inevitability of fascism and exaggerate its importance outside of the countries where it has achieved temporary power for reasons peculiar to these countries alone are pouring water on the mills of our fascist and Communist enemies. I have become quite convinced as a result of my experiences and observations in this country that fascism cannot possibly strike any serious roots in the United States. This holds true of all countries where democracy is firmly rooted. And I am convinced that in Germany fascism faces inevitable destruction."

The Present Situation

As regards the position of the Hitler regime at the present moment, Comrade Seger expressed the view that it has been both strengthened and weakened in recent months, strengthened among the middle classes and fascist youth because of its defiant rearmament policy, and weakened by its economic failures.

"To be sure the internal psychological effects of the Hitler government's rearmament policy cannot endure indefinitely, while the regime's failure to cope with the extremely serious economic situation, which does not and cannot under the circumstances show any improvement, is turning an ever increasing number of people against it."

For this reason, said Comrade Seger, the regime may ultimately seek escape in a foreign diversion—war.

"Germany is practically ready for war today," he said. "The military organization, the aviation service, the chemical service is ready. What is lacking is heavy artillery and certain other equipment. My best information is that it will take another eighteen months to complete the preparations. What will happen then is the big problem."

"The high command of the Nazi party is definitely determined on war. On the other hand the non-Nazi, conservative elements in the government, represented by such men as foreign minister Von Neurath, know full well the grave peril of war for Germany. The Reichswehr command is likewise opposed to any reckless war adventure. The conservative and professional military elements are not enamored of Nazi policy. Their policy is the old Bismarckian policy—to build up a strong military machine in order to use it not for making war, which may well lead to the defeat and destruction of Germany, but as an instrument of threat and blackmail against the rest of Europe, an instrument with which to wring concessions."

The Two Alternatives

"It must be remembered, however, that this, too, is a dangerous policy. The conservatives and professional soldiers do not actually want war but they are nevertheless preparing for it. For the present Hitler is to all intents and purposes their prisoner, but the power and influence of the ruling Nazi elements is still very great, and these elements are bent on war. Will they be held in check, and how long? That is the crucial question. On the other hand, there is the problem of the internal situation. Should the internal situation become so grave as to leave no escape outside of a foreign diversion, the conservatives and the professional military clique, too, may decide to stake everything on war. This is one possible alternative. Another alternative is that the conservatives, realizing the grave risk of war and revolution, may before long be compelled to seek contact with the democratic and old trade union elements as a means of facilitating a more or less rapid political change, having for its purpose the ultimate elimination of Hitler and his party. Everything will depend upon developments. One thing is certain: the Hitler regime cannot endure."

No Concessions to Hitler!

In connection with the problem of the forces making for the disintegration of Hitlerism, Comrade Seger emphasized the importance of the international factor.

"The Hitler regime is being isolated internationally," he said. "The one weak spot is England. If England would make it quite clear that she is definitely aligned with France and Soviet Russia against Hitler Germany, Hitler's game would be lost. The hope of the inner council of the Hitler party,

dominated in questions of foreign policy by Rosenberg, is that England will stand aloof from the continent, that she will not assume definite obligations. In this respect our comrades of the British Labor Party, who may form the next British government, should be quite clear in their minds as to the responsibility of England and their own responsibility. England must make Hitler Germany understand that she stands ready to cooperate all the way with France, Soviet Russia and the League of Nations in keeping the aggressions of Hitler Germany, which are aimed, first and foremost, at the despoilation and dismemberment of Soviet Russia, then at the destruction of France, and ultimately of England. Woe to Europe if the Nazis succeed in this purpose."

Comrade Seger took sharp issue with the view entertained by some Socialists that concessions must be made to Germany on points involving errors and injustices of the Treaty of Versailles. He emphasized the position of the German Social Democracy that any concessions to a Germany ruled by Hitler would mean only the strengthening of the fascist regime.

"No concessions to Hitler Germany," Comrade Seger declared. "The Hitler regime can never be appeased by any concessions. There is but one way of dealing with it—its complete isolation. Concessions to Hitler mean a betrayal of the true, the better Germany, a betrayal of the German workers, of democracy, of Socialism."

"There can be but one policy for the free nations of the world to facilitate the internal destruction of Hitlerism. That is the purpose the German Social Democracy has set for itself. That is the purpose we labor unceasingly to accomplish."

Garment Strike Brought Nearer

(Continued from Page One)

In clarifying further the union's position, Nagler declared:

"After years of an auction-block system sustained by the jobber, which brought chaos and demoralization into the cloak industry, we succeeded, in 1933, in checking these degrading conditions by introducing contractor limitation and by imposing upon the jobbers responsibility for work conditions in their outside shops. These two paramount reforms made it possible to eliminate materially the cut-throat competition in the industry and to control work conditions in the shops."

"The jobbers, however, appear to be yearning to get back to the old catch-as-catch-can conditions of utter irresponsibility. They are chafing under the legitimate obligation for labor conditions which all the other employer groups in the industry have observed, and demand that they be put again in the privileged status of free lances, that would make it possible for them to underbid and outsell every other manufacturer in the industry."

"Their offer to negotiate on wages and hours is obviously meaningless. No agreement on wages and hours is worth the paper it is written on if control of such wages and hours, through contractor limitation and the assumption of responsibility for contractor shops, does not go along with it."

Nagler stated that conferences with the other three employers' groups in the industry, the Industrial Council of Cloak and Suit Manufacturers, inside employers, the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers, contractors' group, and the Infant Coat Manufacturers' Association, are scheduled to take place during the next week.

Good Battle Waged By Socialists in West New York Election

WEST NEW YORK, N. J.—Under the slogan "Socialism Eventually—Why Not Now?" the Socialist Party is waging a fine campaign for Commissioners in this municipality of 40,000 working people across the river from New York.

The election is on a non-partisan basis, but the five candidates named by the Socialist Party are waging a fine fight and the party is doing everything in its power to publicize their Socialist affiliation. The candidate are Katherine Avalloni, Otto Levingson, Dr. Philip Nemoff, G. Darrell O'Neill and Edwin Smithauer.

The candidates are permitted to employ a slogan on the printed ballot, and are using the slogan quoted above. The party's program calls for a county-wide publicly-owned electric light and power plant, a municipal coal yard, a municipal milk depot and wide extension of the public health service. There is also a plant demanding police protection for peaceful pickets in strikes.

Meetings are being held nightly and much literature is being distributed, in which the success of the Socialist administrations of Milwaukee and Bridgeport is emphasized.

Nazi Discipline Breaks Down on May Day

BERLIN.—Contrary to enthusiastic Nazi forecasts, May Day, 1935, in Germany has not been a success. For the first time in the history of Hitler's Third Reich the workers displayed a restlessness which was in marked contrast to last year's celebration in which 2,000,000 people participated in Berlin alone.

Discipline cracked everywhere; in Munich, Nazi stronghold, even going so far that the refusal of workers to participate forced the cancellation of all outdoor meetings. Underground opposition, especially

in Berlin, was also instrumental in keeping so many workers from these meetings that the threatened reprisals are doomed to failure.

As if to add to the growing disillusionment of the working masses, the assembled hundreds of thousands in Tempelhof Field near Berlin were treated to speeches which were devoid of even the smallest olive branches of economic improvement held out to them in recent weeks. Except glittering generalities and fervent appeals to nationalism, Hitler said nothing that had not been said before, while the long promised declaration of wage increases, or "attainment of a just wage," failed to materialize. In fact, the expected announcements of this kind were cancelled at the last minute at the insistence of the German industrialists. The protests of the employers proved so effective that Hitler had to bow to them.

To appease the disappointment of the masses, the leader of the German Labor Front, Dr. Ley, announced that a commission for the study of wages would be set up, and that practical results might be obtainable by next May Day, 1936. The assembled workers, shivering in a snow storm, greeted the announcement with stony silence.

In the meantime, further reports on the shop council elections tend to clarify the extent of the so-called Nazi "victory." As has already been reported, the votes cast for the Nazi ticket do not exceed 70%, despite the tremendous pressure upon the workers and the successful combing out of all doubtful voters. Official figures report 6,500,000 valid workers' votes, which is far below the census figure of 1933, giving a total of 14,900,000 industrial and agricultural workers. Taking the Nazi claim of only 2,600,000 workers unemployed at

its face value, and leaving out completely 2,000,000 agricultural workers, the vote of the remaining more than 3,000,000 industrial workers remains a mystery. The number of 70,000 factories and shops in which elections were held is also far below the actual number of German industrial establishments. The workers' vote cast throughout the Reich and mainly in Berlin where the Nazis are frankly disappointed, seems to confirm again the outcome of the Danzig elections which gave the Nazis only approximately 60% of the total.

New York State

State Executive Committee.—The next meeting of the State Executive Committee will be held in the Capitol District May 18 and 19. Members of the S.E.C. will address a meeting of the Capitol District Party membership in Schenectady.

Buffalo.—The local will canvass all the enrolled voters of Erie County; the campaign got under way this week. Rev. Rodney Hekman is chairman of the committee in charge.

NEW YORK'S LARGEST CLOTHING CHAIN AND 20 OF AMERICA'S LEADING WOOLEN MILLS MADE THIS AMAZING EVENT POSSIBLE

● Crawford "went shopping" and twenty of America's leading woolen mills co-operated to make possible the value we're offering you today.

Many of the mills from whom we bought were astounded to learn that their fabric would go into \$18.75 suits. They're accustomed to finding their woollens in \$40, \$50 or \$60 clothes.

Nothing less than the unparalleled facilities of the Crawford organization could bring such clothing to you for only \$18.75. Don't forget — when you buy from Crawford you buy DIRECT from the maker at one of the smallest profits known to the industry! That's the Crawford way of doing business. That's why New York's Largest Clothing Chain has increased its business 70% in the past four months. Come in today and see what this means to YOU!

WE bought approximately 1,000,000 yards of fine fabrics... enough to reach the top of the Empire State Building 3000 times.

UNRESTRICTED CHOICE

\$18.75

NO CHARGE FOR ALTERATIONS

FANCY BACK \$10.75 SPORTJACKETS

SPORT SLACKS \$2 and up

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CUSTOM *Quality* CLOTHES

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NEW YORK
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100 5th AVE. Cor. 15th St.
1282 BROADWAY Cor. 33rd St.
462 7th AVE. Cor. 25th St.
208 WEST 42nd ST. At Times Square
963 8th AVE. Cor. 57th St.
152 EAST 86th St. Near Lexington Ave.
115 W. 125th St. Near Lenox Ave.
1391 St. Nicholas Ave. Near 180th St.

BROOKLYN
467 FULTON ST. Cor. Lawrence St.
95 FLATBUSH AVE. Near Schenectady St.
1700 PITKIN AVE. Near Rockaway Ave.
1512 PITKIN AVE. opp. Loew's Pitkin Theatre
1622 PITKIN AVE. Cor. Hookinson Ave.
26 MANHATTAN AVE. Near Varot St.

JAMAICA
168-05 JAMAICA AVE. Cor. 168th St.
At the End of the "L", Jamaica, L. I.

BRONX
115 FORDHAM RD. Near Jerome Ave.
340 E. Fordham Rd. opp. Kgsbridge Rd.
378 E. Fordham Rd. near Webster Ave.
526 WILLIS AVE. Near 149th St.

JERSEY CITY
& JOURNAL SQUARE
317 CENTRAL AVE. Cor. Griffith St.
94 MARKET ST. Cor. Washington St.
595 WASHINGTON ST. Cor. Avery St.

PHILADELPHIA
1225 MARKET STREET
38 S. 69th STREET

ALL STORES OPEN EVENINGS

BELATED MAY DAY GREETINGS

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE BRANCHES

20—NEW YORK CITY 29—BUFFALO, New York

154—COLUMBUS, OHIO 303—BIRMINGHAM, Ala.

87B—NEW YORK CITY

Smashing Attack on Hearst on the Floor of Congress

Jewish Unions Pass Resolution On Lang Articles in Journal

United Hebrew Trades Attacks Those Who Use Lang Articles as Excuse to Assail Great Jewish Labor Movement—Services Of Jewish Daily Forward to the Masses.

THE United Hebrew Trades sends us a resolution it adopted on the incident of the publication in the Hearst press of the series of articles on Soviet Russia by Harry Lang. We print the resolution as coming from an organization representing more than 200,000 organized workers.

We print it also in justice to Lang. He committed a grave error in failing to realize that the Hearst press is a poor vehicle, indeed, for the dissemination of truth, whether it concerns Soviet Russia or any other political or social problem, and that by resorting to such a vehicle one compromises the truth and plays into the hands of its enemies. The present incident has only served to confirm this fact, as will be observed by the advantage taken of it by the Communists and their apologists.

By all means, let us tell the truth about everything, including Soviet Russia, which no true So-

cialist considers sacrosanct or immune to criticism, but let us not tell it in the Hearst press. The Hearst press is not a place for a Socialist.

The resolution of the United Hebrew Trades follows:

Official Declaration of the United Hebrew Trades

The United Hebrew Trades, at a special meeting Monday, April 29, gave full consideration and freely discussed the campaign being waged against the Forward as a result of the articles on Russia which a member of its staff, Comrade Lang, permitted the New York Evening Journal to reprint.

The United Hebrew Trades took up the matter upon presentation of several unions that our position should be defined and made known to the tens of thousands of Jewish masses in general.

Before the assembled representatives of the unions began to confer upon the matter, Comrade Lang

was given an opportunity to make a statement as to all the facts in the case. He was entitled to such consideration by many years of loyal service to the cause of the labor movement.

The United Hebrew Trades, upon analyzing the whole matter and considering all the relevant points, adopted the following declaration:

In the course of our entire history we have always treated with respect all questions and incidents in the labor movement, resolutions and decisions made by other sections of our movement. This is also true of the resolution of the Forward Association on the question of Comrade Lang, with the addition that the entire incident has in no way diminished our respect and confidence in him as a journalist and contributor to the activities of the labor movement.

We recognize that the editorial staff of the Forward and the Forward Association are mainly competent to judge Comrade Lang's conduct.

We fling back every attempt now being made to create opposition to the Forward. It is clear to us that these attempts to raise a wrecking crusade against the Forward is the work of two camps of enemies, venomous enemies of the Jewish labor movement—on the one side the Communists and the other side the newspaper the Day.

The campaign of incitement on the part of the Communists is a natural phenomenon. We expect no other attitude on their part. They have carried on their wrecking operations in the unions during the entire period of their existence, and they are trying to break up the unions now. They have always condemned the Socialists and the entire Socialist movement, and they are condemning them now.

They have been carrying on their scandalous work throughout the length and breadth of the labor movement. When, in 1934, all of labor assembled in Madison Square

Harry Lang Suspended From Party for Year

Harry Lang was suspended from membership in the Socialist Party for one year at a meeting of the Central Committee, Wednesday night. The offense charged was conducting unbecomingly a Socialist for permitting articles by him to appear in sensational form in the Hearst press.

Garden to protest against the slaughter of the Socialists in Vienna and to mourn the martyrs of Austrian fascism, the Communists with their rowdy attacks upon the assembly branded themselves as the worst of hooligans who deserve no attention on the part of any decent person.

A similar sentence was passed upon them when they staged their diabolical dance over the hopes and interests of the Jews. It was in 1929, when the Jewish masses of the world were shocked by the Arab massacres of Jews in Palestine, that the Communists welcomed the pogroms and hailed the pogrom makers. They condemned themselves and placed themselves then under the curse of all Jewish people.

In every country in the world the Communists march hand in hand with the darkest reactionaries to destroy the Socialist, and the democratic, and the labor movements. It is they who are responsible for fascism, which destroys every bit of freedom and sows race hatred. Their disturbances here in America have the same character as the trouble which their comrades create in other lands.

But events in Jewish life in America show that there is also an institution of power which seeks regularly to demoralize the Jewish masses. This is the newspaper the Day, which politically is in the

service of Tammany Hall, which publishes advertisements of strike-breakers at a time when workers are on strike and suffer need and hunger.

For commercial reasons the Day often enters into an alliance with the Communists, to help them wreck the unions. In this manner it helps to ruin the economic life of the Jewish masses in America.

The United Hebrew Trades, which represent all the unions in every industry and trade in which Jewish workers are engaged, warns the Jewish masses against such mercenary elements and institutions.

The United Hebrew Trades demand that the newspaper the Day cease to poison the air with its Communist flatteries, with its fabricated charges against labor and the Socialist movement.

The United Hebrew Trades greet the Forward for its consistent stand against all demagogues and trouble-makers in the Jewish world, and call upon all unions and their members to fling back the base charges being leveled against the Forward.

It is the Forward which was the great power that has built every Jewish union, that always defended and continues to defend absolutely all immigrants against their enemies. In all our battle the Forward is our great champion.

We declare: They who condemn the Forward condemn the entire Jewish labor movement. The Jewish unions will stand like a mighty force ready to defeat every attack against the Forward and against the labor movement.

United Hebrew Trades:
R. Guskin, Chairman; M. Tigel, Vice-Chairman; M. Feinstone, Secretary.
Executive Board: M. Abramson, A. Baron, A. Cohen, A. Dvinsky, M. Edelson, M. Goldowsky, H. Lippitt, S. Metz, S. Polacoff, A. Solovioff, A. Student, J. Tuvim, M. Wolpert, S. Wolchock, M. Horwitz.

Hearst Assailed in Congress As Enemy of Best Traditions

Representative Hildebrandt Exposes Publisher as Bitter Foe of American Liberty and Genuine Progress—Scores His Hypocrisy.

ON April 23, 1935, Representative Fred H. Hildebrandt of South Dakota rose in the House of Representatives and uttered a few pointed remarks about William Randolph Hearst and his campaign against "Reds," laborites, progressives and everything that even remotely threatens the system of which he is the most contemptible exponent in the United States.

We do not wish at this time to take issue with Mr. Hildebrandt on some of his characterizations or the distinction he makes between "democratic Socialism and Marxian communism." Communism is no more "Marxian" than were Blanquism and Bakunism, both of which Marx fought as utopian and reactionary. Present-day Communism is the heir of Blanquism and Bakunism. There is nothing Marxian about the Communism of Stalin and Union Square. Social Democracy is the only force in the world today, organized, disciplined and in the process of constant growth, that has the right to speak in the name of Marxism.

Mr. Hildebrandt's remarks, as they appear in the Congressional Record, follow:

"Mr. Speaker, Sane Government or 'New Deal' Socialism—Which? America Must Choose." This is the heading of a half-page editorial on the back page of the Washington Herald of April 22. Presumably the same editorial appeared in the other dailies owned by William Randolph Hearst on the same day in different cities.

"If there has ever been a more venomous campaign in favor of reaction and against every form of social justice than that now being conducted by William Randolph Hearst in his newspapers, I am not aware of it. Even the most moderate reforms tending to alleviate the suffering of American citizens under our cruel and rapacious industrial system are the targets for bitter abuse in editorials signed or inspired by Hearst. All the way from the tamest progressivism to democratic socialism and Marxian communism, Hearst pours his editorial poison on advocates of any proposal that involves benefit to the producing class. This journalistic and political mountebank seems to have developed a definite monomania on the subject of Socialism. This is the most charitable characterization of his furious and frantic fulminations. Either we must assume that the explanation is pathological or accuse him of the most brazen and deliberate misrepresentation and insincerity.

"Typical of the false statements with which the Hearst editorials are reeking is the reference to 'these two great Soviet Republics'—meaning the United States and Russia. Nobody outside of an insane asylum should have any illusions about the program of the 'new deal' being similar to the policies of Soviet Russia. Russia is attempting to carry out a completely collectivized society. The United States, under the 'new deal,' is simply attempting to regulate private industry more strictly without abolishing private capitalism. The best economists of our time, instead of finding fault because of the regulatory features of the 'new deal' and favoring a return to the 'leave-things-alone' plan, believe that the real mistake is in not carrying regulation out to its ultimate—which must, in my judgment, mean public ownership of basic public utilities.

"Hearst refers to 'our socialistic administration in Washington,' knowing full well that the administration is not socialistic and that some of its most energetic opposi-

tion comes from those who are convinced that socialization of these basic public utilities is the only path out of the economic wilderness.

"Confidence! The editorial is saturated with appeals to the Government to 'restore confidence!' In Hearst's judgment, it is all-important for the profiteer, the exploiter, the man who has squeezed millions and billions out of the common people through high prices, inferior goods, and watered stock to 'retain confidence.' What matters the empty stomach of the jobless man or woman? What matters the plight of the citizen with ragged coat or tattered dress? What matters the misery of the unfortunate who has no home? All these things are of no consequence. But, for God's sake—and, the sake of the legalized robber in Wall Street—let us make sure that big business does not lose 'confidence'!

"Could anything be more hypocritical, more asinine, more disgusting?

"It is as if we were to go to a man who has been robbed of his money, had most of his clothes torn off, had his house burned down, and been beaten to a pulp in the bargain and tell him that he must stop his complaining, make no effort to bring the guilty to justice, and cooperate in restoring 'confidence' to the thug and roughneck who subjected him to such indignities.

"Hearst knows as well as you and I know that 'radicalism' is as American as the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, instead of being an alien product. Our greatest Americans have always been 'radical'—that is, they believed in getting at the root of things. That is what radicalism is—seeking root remedies. It is not necessary to quote Marx or Ruskin or Fourier. Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, Horace Greeley, Edward Bellamy, Wendell Phillips, and other native-born American iconoclasts had drastic things to say regarding the evils of concentration of wealth in the hands of a few.

"I commend to the attention of Hearst—knowing, however, the futility of commending anything to him except the ruthless desire of Wall Street to go on exploiting without limit—these words of Andrew Jackson:

"It is to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the axis of government to their selfish purposes. * * * In the full enjoyment of the gifts of heaven and the fruits of superior industry, economy, and virtue, every man is entitled to protection by law; but when the laws undertake to add to these natural and just advantages artificial distinctions, to grant titles, gratuities, and exclusive privileges, to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics, and laborers—who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their Government."

"Abraham Lincoln's immortal words have often been quoted, but they can never be quoted too frequently:

"This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to dismember and overthrow it."

DeBROUCKERE IS CHOSEN NEW HEAD OF L.S.I.

With the entry of Emile Vandervelde, Chairman of the Labor and Socialist International, into the Belgian Government changes were made in the bureau of that great organization with which the Socialist Party of the United States is affiliated.

In accordance with the rule that comrades cannot serve in the executive when they enter a Ministry, Comrade Vandervelde resigned, and was succeeded by Louis de Brouckere, one of the great leaders of Belgian and world Socialism. The selection by the bureau was temporary. It will be made permanent when the full executive next meets.

With the transfer of the seat of the International from Zurich to Brussels, Robert Grimm ceases to be a member of the bureau. The new bureau, now located at 162 Rue de Laken, Brussels, consists of the new Chairman, the Secretary, Dr. Friedrich Adler, Treasurer Van Rossebroeck, and the Belgian members of the Executive, Comrades Bouchery and Camille Huysmans, Mayor of Antwerp.

Split in the Federation Is Feared in Washington

(Continued from Page One)

by Mr. Green, the automobile workers now have 176 locals, numbering between 40,000 and 50,000 workers. The rubber unions have made similar advances, he said. He declared also that "before we can complete our organization in the automobile field, the government must do away with the National Automobile Labor Board."

Those who speak of secession are, of course, not unaware of the gravity of the move they are contemplating. They wish to avoid it, if possible, but they are reported to feel that to permit matters to remain as they are, to fail to take energetic action on the ill-important problem of organization of the mass production industries would entail a peril that may well mean the decay of the entire labor movement. They are convinced that the American labor movement will stand or fall on the one big question of organization of the mass production industries.

Firmer Action Demanded

Expert observers of the situation, entirely friendly to the American Federation of Labor, and who are anxious to see the unity of the labor movement preserved, feel that the secession movement may not materialize if the executive council and the international unions concerned perceive the gravity of the situation and fall in line with the San Francisco decision and the grim realities of the situation.

At the same time, it is pointed out, in extension of the executive council, that it is, after all, little more than a clearing house, and that the decision rests fundamentally with those international themselves immediately concerned with the problem.

Nevertheless, it is felt that the executive council, as the highest authority of the Federation between conventions, should have shown more determination in the matter and a more definite inclination to bring moral pressure to bear upon those international who stand in the way of the purpose clearly expressed by the San Francisco convention.

As a striking illustration of the failure of the executive council and certain international concerned to carry out the San Francisco mandate, attention is called to the situation in the automobile industry. In circles quite loyal to the A. F. of L. it is frankly pointed out that the poor showing made by the A. F. of L. in elections conducted by the Automobile Labor Board, while due in part to the composition and policy of the board, is actually to be explained by the more important fact that the workers have been bewildered by the number of A. F. of L. craft unions in the field. It must be remembered that both A. F. of L. unions and company unions polled a very small percentage of the votes, the overwhelming majority of the automobile workers voting for affiliation with neither. Those close to the situation maintain that the urge for organization into bona fide unions among the automobile workers is very great, and that all that is necessary to translate this urge into organization is a proper form of unionism which would enable all the workers in the industry to come into the fold of one big union. The workers have confidence in the A. F. of L., but they are being held back by confusing craft divisions. This is how realists interpret the situation.

What holds true of the automobile industry applies with equal force, it is declared, to other mass production industries. In all these

industries the triumph of labor organization depends, it is pointed out, upon an honest, determined application of the principle of industrial unionism.

Clash in Smelter Industry

The immediate question which has brought the insurgent movement in the A. F. of L. council to the fore is the request placed before the council last January to rule that the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, an industrial organization in the copper and iron ore field, should have jurisdiction over all workers in and about these mines, irrespective of craft.

According to Mr. Lewis and Thomas H. Brown, president of the Smelter Workers, successor to the old Western Federation of Miners, twenty-two craft unions affiliated with the Metal Trades and Building Trades departments of the A. F. of L. made a separate agreement last summer with the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, leaving 6,000 striking workers of Mr. Brown's organization out in the cold.

A Jurisdictional Dispute

Both Mr. Lewis and Mr. Brown emphasize that the Smelter Workers' Union, like the United Mine Workers, holds a charter from the A. F. of L. to organize all workers in its field, irrespective of craft, and that the separate agreement concluded by the craft unions in question with the Anaconda Company was a violation of the charter.

The craft unions involved in this charge maintain, however, that their charters antedate the charter of the smelter workers, which was issued in 1911, under Samuel Gompers, and, therefore, remain in effect. The craft unions assert also that in concluding their agreement with the Anaconda they had stipulated that their members would not return to work unless a settlement was concluded with all the strikers.

The demand for a ruling on the dispute presented by Mr. Lewis was laid on the table by the executive council.

While the only other member of the council who voted with Mr. Lewis was George L. Berry, president of the pressmen, with David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, absent in Geneva at a meeting of the International Labor Office, it was declared that should the threatened secession movement take actual form, the United Mine Workers would not remain alone. Among the organizations mentioned who would be likely to support the United Mine Workers, are the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Brewery Workers, the Pressmen's Union, and, possibly, the International Typographical Union, as well as the dissident unions of the building trades.

These unions, in the event of a split, would form another federation, which would seek affiliation with unions to be formed in a great mass production industries.

Such, in brief, is the situation confronting the American Federation of Labor.

Those interested in the unity and progress of the labor movement hope that the secession movement may not materialize and that it will be averted by a timely realization on the part of the executive council and the craft unions concerned of the importance of the problem and the urgent need of abandoning small craft interests for the sake of the larger aims of unionism.

The Smile and Smirk Area

By Bebee

THE progress of the depression, or as some would say, the course of civilization, can be charted by the ever present smiles of the great and near-great whose maps adorn the pages of the press. It makes no difference who the subject is or the occasion that calls forth the snapping of the picture; there must be a smile.

Does the former presidential candidate, Al Smith, get hot and bothered because some folks are nudist (physically, we mean)? He cools off with the coming of the camera. Does a female society leader start a campaign to provide pajamas and undies for the Polynesians? Result, her picture appears in the rotogravures, showing an expansive smile that follows the performance of a generous deed.

No paper, magazine, movie or billboard is complete without the feature that leads to better things, the smile. In fact, researches have shown that during the somewhat unsettled period some folks have experienced during the past few years, that production has lagged in everything but the output of smiles, excluding even the contributions of the Roosevelt clan. This phenomenon is called to the especial attention of surviving technocrats.

In an effort to ascertain the meaning and effects of the smiling age the renowned savant and historian, Professor Laffitov of the University of Schmaltzponem, said in a recent interview:

"The epidemic of smiles should cause no alarm to those who do not see the daily press and keep their eyes closed during the showing of the newsreel. However, it is the history of the subject that interests me. But a few years ago the type of smile that met our gaze was that, say, of an alderman who proclaimed that he was cured of the itch or of a female prohibition advocate who sang the praises of Peruna tonic, guaranteed to contain not more than 57 per cent alcohol. Happy countenances were also to be seen in the likenesses of those who endorsed cures for the liquor habit. Those were the golden days for the small town papers and the hearth and home journals.

"The Lady Astorbitt, the blond-haired marionettes of the films and Central European medical men brought about a change. The first named smiled her testimonials for sweet charity or perhaps it was for just hubby and the dear kiddies; the second to meet the expenses connected with getting rid of a succession of husbands, etc., and the physicians to pay blackmail to the German and Austrian Nazi terrorists."

"Ah," reflected Professor Laffitov, "who can measure the far-reaching effects of the smile. It has caused us to smoke Stencho Cigarettes to add energy and La Flor Cabaggo Cigars to top off meals made of foods that make up in calories what they lack in savor. What causes the mass to buy certain saw tooth razor blades and a thousand other evidences of excess baggage that mankind, at least the

American branch of it, burdens itself with, what is it, but the smile? One starts reading the exciting news of the splitting of the atom or an ornithologist's treatise on the blue eagle and other extinct birds of prey, what happens? We turn to page two and the first thing that meets the eye is a grinning face informing the world that the notable behind it was cured of every ailment from dandruff to athlete's foot after a protracted liquid diet of ——— applejack (firm's name deleted by our advertising department).

"Can you envision what will happen when every home is equipped with television and the advertising spielers' toothy smirks are inflicted upon us along with balldroop for gadgets, gimcracks and nostrums? Future historians will refer to this period as the Grin and Smirk Age."

"But surely, professor," asked the interviewer, "are you unaware that some of the best minds have stated that smiles will lift us out of the depression?"

Lapsing into the vernacular of his mother tongue, the famous scholar said, pityingly, "Aw, nerts."

Warning to Socialists

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The Socialist Party of Pennsylvania warns comrades everywhere that a certain J. Travenski has been traveling through Pennsylvania and other states and abusing his privileges of party membership by imposing on comrades.

Hoopes Joins Oneal in Protest Against O. K. to Dual Paper

A MOTION to add the Socialist Call, local factional paper of the militant group, to the "accredited" list of Socialist papers has been made in the National Executive Committee by Norman Thomas.

The proposal was filed as an "emergency" motion, members being requested to vote by wire or air mail, two days before the meeting of the New York State Committee at which New York's reply to the Nine-Point program of the National Executive Committee was to be prepared. One of the nine points, to which Norman Thomas agreed in the Buffalo meeting of the N.E.C., dealt with the New Leader and provided that in the event New York's reply was satisfactory the promoters of the factional organ would be urged to discontinue that paper.

In voting against the motion, Darlington Hoopes said:

"I think that the motion is ill-timed because it will impress one side of the New York controversy with the idea that we are trying to do everything we can to favor the other group, which in a situation such as exists at present is very dangerous. All who have given the matter thought realize that the decision of the New York matter, whichever way it goes, is likely to be most serious for the

party, and unless we desire to become the laughing stock of the working class movement, it behooves us to do everything we can to get the matter adjusted without wrecking the party. I realize that that appears to be very difficult, but it is our job and I do not want to do anything at this time which will appear to be a direct slap in the face of one group or the other. I therefore ask that this matter lay over until a full meeting of the committee."

James Oneal, inoting No, commented in part:

"There are plenty of reasons for believing that this motion is a factional blow aimed at the New York party organization. The Call is the organ of a minority faction which Thomas has helped to build and of which he is the leader. He wants to give this faction the blessing of the N.E.C. Moreover, the militant faction with its Communist allies in the party is more than a faction. It has developed into a dual party organization which parallels the party organization, duplicates its functions, has its own headquarters, tries to deal direct with party branches and members, and has established its weekly organ. We now have the spectacle of a member of the N.E.C. elected by a national convention, recommending a local organ speaking for a dual party

Women Socialists to Fight Against High Cost of Living

By Gertrude Weil Klein

I NOTICE that recently Comrade Algernon Lee has taken to barging into what was formerly my exclusive territory. If you think I'm not complaining, you're right. I'm not.

I think that the interest in Socialist women's activities would be considerably enhanced if more men comrades gave us a hand. And conversely, it would encourage women who have been too timid about their own abilities to assume a larger share of the party work which is usually left to the men. There would then be no need for me to write a women's column at all, which would be just dandy for everybody.

The other evening the Women's Unit of the West Bronx threw a party to which the women brought their protesting some non-Socialist husbands and in a few cases grown-up sons. The results, after the preliminary warming-up process, were more than happy. Now we insist that the men bring their non-member wives with them on the next occasion.

The Anti-H.C.L. Conference
Meanwhile there's that most important Conference against the High Cost of Living on which the Women's Committee has been working vigorously and effectively these last few months. No less than fifty-one women's organizations have joined this concerted drive and next Tuesday, May 14th, at noon they are descending on Mayor LaGuardia with their demands. Now that the Mayor has demonstrated what can be done to whip into line even the big utilities merely by threatening to go into competition with them—as witness the Consolidated Gas Company's offer to reduce the city's gas and electric rates by 25%—we should be most emphatic in our insistence that the city carry into actual operation its threats, not only in regard to light, but also telephone, milk and other necessities.

This then is a call for an impressive demonstration on May 14. Come down to City Hall if it means some sacrifice. Let the children take their lunch with them and bring the babies along if you can't find anyone with whom to park them.

On Sunday, May 19th, the Women's Committee in conjunction with the Socialist Teachers will

hold a conference in Butler, N. J. I am getting a word in about this a little early because I am anxious that as many as people keep this date open for the conference. Such eminent educators as Albert Smalheiser, Mrs. Henry Pascal, Mrs. Frances Pollack and Walter G. Hodge will lead the discussion in which the parents, of course, will take part. The trip will be a very inexpensive one, as the Comrades Chaiken donate their home and grounds for the occasion and also supply refreshment. This will be an unusual opportunity for parents to thresh out from every angle the many perplexing problems they and their children face, in relation to each other, in relation to the school system and in relation to the teachers.

I had the happy opportunity of saying a word of greeting on behalf of The New Leader to the women delegates and women guests of the Workmen's Circle Convention. The Women's Committee of the Rand School in conjunction with the Socialist Women's Committee gave a reception to nearly 300 women who had come from all over the country to attend the convention. Only about 100 of them were delegates and out of the entire delegation which must have numbered a thousand men and women, this is a small proportion, but when it is remembered that these are all busy housewives, most of them with small children, the percentage is not as small as it appears. I, as always, carried on my own perpetual campaign for greater participation by women in the affairs of their organizations.

On the whole the Workmen's Circle is in the forefront in stimulating activity among the women and the children and has, I think, more women participants than any other organization of a similar nature.

Our own two women's committees did themselves proud in the way of hospitality and entertainment and I know it was enjoyed by our guests.

Rockaway Socialists Working for Labor

Members of the Rockaway party branch and the Workmen's Circle are buzzing with activity. Raphael Abramowitch received a great ovation when he appeared last Saturday before a crowded audience at our headquarters and a large sum was collected for the Social Democratic exiles in Paris.

Besides cultural work, Friday evenings are devoted to labor organization. Great enthusiasm is displayed in the support of a local strike at the Winkler's Warehouses. Under the leadership of the A. F. of L. our members are picketing, distributing leaflets, and raising funds for the strike victims. A package party and entertainment will be given at the headquarters, 81-12 Rockaway Blvd., Hammels, Saturday evening, May 11th.

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New York Ministers Renounce War

By Don Carlos

A GREAT meeting, and one that may become historic, was held in the Riverside Baptist Church, presided over by Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick and built by the millions of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., when, in response to a call signed Francis J. McConnell, Suffragan Bishop Charles K. Gilbert, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein and others, more than two hundred Protestant clergymen and rabbis met for a service of repentance and consecration.

The meeting was attended by a throng who listened in breathless silence when more than two hundred clergymen gathered about the altar and led by the Rev. Dr. William Pierson Merrill of the Brick Presbyterian Church repeated in unison this "covenant of peace":
"In loyalty to God I believe that the way of true religion cannot be reconciled with the way of war. In loyalty to my country I support

its adoption of the Kellogg Briand Pact which renounces war. In the spirit of true patriotism and with deep personal conviction, I therefore renounce war and never will I support another."

These words rang with high devotion and sincerity particularly after the earnest "confessions" by three clergymen and one rabbi who had seen active service in the last war and told the story of their change of heart. One heard such phrases as "there is no way to reconcile faith in Christ with anything that has to do with war," "war constitutes blasphemy against our highest ideals,"—"I denounce war as a crime against man and sin against God,"—"my generation will not believe that the church is honest until the church has declared itself to be unalterably through with war."

The significance of this meeting and its declarations lies not only in the fact that they came at a time when the world is again faced with the prospect of a war more terrible in its consequences than

the last, but rather that for the first time in the history of the church a large group of its recognized leaders dared publicly to declare itself against war.

It is significant that these men plainly acted from personal conviction and not because they felt they were representing their constituents. The printed program of the meeting carried the statement that the men who had called the meeting were "acting as individuals and not officially for their denominations and churches."

It is planned to have similar meetings in all the larger cities of the land and to extend the organization of ministers against war to all parts of the world. All lovers of peace, and that includes all Socialists, cannot but welcome this new spirit among the ministers of religion, and every Socialist will wish them well and hope that they may show similar wisdom and courage in identifying themselves with the Socialist world-movement, the most powerful instrument in the fight against war and fascism.

ILL.G.W.U. CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS POLITICS

"SHOULD the workers form a new political party, or should they concentrate on making their power felt inside the existing parties?" is the question to be treated at a special conference run by the Educational Department of the I.L.G.W.U., at 3 West 16th Street, New York City.

John P. Frey will explain the political experience of the A. F. of L. Mr. Frey has been editor of the Molders' Journal since 1903 and was president of the Ohio Federation of Labor in 1924. He is now president of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz of the Teachers' Union will also contribute to the discussion. Dr. Lefkowitz served as chairman of the State Platform Committee of the Farmer Labor Party in 1920. He has been a vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers since 1919 and legislative representative of the Teachers' Union since 1917.

Representative Thomas R. Amle, Farmer-Laborite from Wisconsin, will draw upon his experience in Congress, and Julius Hochman, Chairman of the Education Committee, I.L.G.W.U., will preside.

Trade Union Service Training

The first Training-for-Trade-Union-Service Institute, one of a series planned for the summer by the Educational Department, I.L.G.W.U., will start at Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y., May 13 and continue for five days. Among the faculty are Dr. Joel Seidman (Labor Before and After the NRA), Dr. Lazare Teper (Economics of the Garment Industry), and Miss Rebecca Jarvis (Public Speaking and English).

Visiting lecturers include Emil Schlesinger (Labor Under the Law), Elias Lieberman (Picketing and Injunctions), Julius Hochman (Strike and Negotiation Tactics), Isidore Nagler (The Crisis in Cloaks) and other prominent union members.

The 50 students will be active trade unionists sent by their local for these intensive courses. A larger institute for 100 students is planned for Unity House, May 24-28, inclusive.

Upper West Side Dinner

B. Charney Vlodeck will act as toastmaster at the May Solidarity Dinner under the auspices of the Upper West Side Branch, at Cecil Restaurant, 2512 Broadway, near 94th St., New York City, Saturday evening, May 11, at 7 o'clock. Frank Crosswaith and others will speak. Entertainment will be provided by WEVD artists. Abraham Presser will take reservations by telephone at TRafalgar 7-9890.

Dinner to Honor Claessens On June 7th

A dinner to celebrate the 50th birthday of August Claessens and the 25th anniversary of his entrance into active Socialist Party work will be held June 7th at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th St., New York City.

The dinner will be given by the 6th A. D. branch of the Socialist Party, of which Claessens is a member. Reservations through the Claessens Dinner Committee, Joseph Beckerman sec'y, 95 Avenue B.

Rockland County Celebrates
The fourth anniversary of the installation of Rockland County Local will be observed at a dinner in the Hob Nob, Nyack Turnpike, Nanuet, Friday, May 10, at 8 p.m. State Secretary Herbert M. Merrill, Organizer T. W. Davis, Rev. A. Batten and David Roth will speak. Dancing follows.

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

RISE OF SOCIALISM IN CANADA VISIONED

The rise of Socialism in Canada to a point that will cause a realignment of existing parties is visioned by Canadian political leaders.

W. G. Ernst, prominent member of the Conservative Party, now in control of the government, predicts that Conservatives and Liberals will undoubtedly be forced to unite against "the common menace of Socialism." He based his conviction on the belief that the future obviously was a struggle between capitalism and Socialism.

Socialism in Canada is expressed by the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, a federation of trade unions, farmers' organizations and Socialist parties, which limits its present program to nationalization of transportation, power and banking, but stands at the same time for the complete Socialist goal.

Parkman B. Flanders, Former Mayor of Haverhill, Dies at 78

HAVERHILL, Mass. — Parkman B. Flanders, several times Socialist Mayor of this city, has just died here at 78. Flanders was first elected in 1903, following several terms by John C. Chase, first Socialist Mayor in the United States, and he served two terms. He was elected again in 1920. In recent years his health had not been good and he had long been inactive.

ONEAL IN PASSAIC ON FRIDAY, MAY 24th

PASSAIC, N. J. — James Oneal will be guest speaker at the next public forum sponsored by Branch 1, Friday, May 24th, at 8:30. His subject is, "The Crisis in the Labor Movement."

Branches are actively engaged in a municipal campaign which closes May 14th. Rallies for the Labor League candidates, of which the Socialist Party in Passaic is a part, will be held in the Workmen's Circle, 50 Howe Avenue, Thursday and Friday nights, at 8:30 P. M.

Business meeting of Branch 1 will take place Friday, May 17th, at 8:30.

Yipsels meet each Wednesday at 8 P. M.

Westchester Workers Regain 10 Per Cent Wage Cut

WHITE PLAINS, N. Y. — After two years of agitation by the Socialist Party in Westchester the County Board of Supervisors voted a 10 per cent restoration in pay cuts to county employees receiving less than \$3,000 a year.

The party will now demand that a second 10 per cent reduction be restored to these 350 workers.

A hot blast by Leonard Bright, executive secretary of the Westchester Socialist local, against a proposed ordinance banning picketing in New Rochelle brought a disclaimer from Mayor Paul M. Crandell. He telephoned Bright to this effect.

Meetings of Trade Union Socialists

Saturday, May 11th:
2:30 p.m.—Bookbinders.
Thursday, May 16th:
8:30 p.m.—Architects, Chemists, Engineers and Technicians.
Saturday, May 18th:
2:30 p.m.—Carpenters.
Monday, May 20th:
8:30 p.m.—Cleaners & Dyers.

CLEANERS' AND DYERS' STRIKE GAINING

The strike of the drivers and inside workers of the cleaning and dyeing industry, conducted by Local 185, Cleaners and Dye House Drivers' Union, is concluding its third week. The battle is partly over.

Sixty plants controlled by the Cleaners' and Dyers' Board of Trade have signed an agreement with the union for a 40-hour week, a closed shop and other conditions. Upon these terms voted upon by the membership about 5,000 workers will return to their jobs.

Some 2,000 will continue the strike against the chain store companies and their plants. These companies are responsible for the worst conditions in the industry and a stubborn fight is on.

Another ally in this struggle are the Retail Tailors and Cleaners of Greater New York. This organization represents some 20,000 small business people engaged in this industry. Although nominally storekeepers, they are really working people and they are brutally exploited by the large cleaning concerns and victimized by the cut-throat competition of the chain store and the competition among themselves. Whole families work shamefully long hours in these stores and their income is miserably low.

On Sunday afternoon 2,000 of these Retail Tailors and Cleaners crowded Webster Hall to capacity. They took up a generous collection for the strike fund of the Cleaners and Dyers and voted for a parade to City Hall and mass picketing against the chain stores. These retailers also pledged themselves to carry on an intensive organization campaign to strengthen their own union. H. Bernstein was chairman of the meeting and several speakers representing the Retailers' and the Drivers' and Inside Workers' unions addressed the meeting.

August Claessens, Chairman of the Socialist Party Labor Committee, was given a rising vote of appreciation following his address and his offer of cooperation in the great organization drive of the Retail Tailors' and Cleaners' Union.

Crawford Sports Clothes Offer Great Variety



Whatever your whim in the way of sports clothes for spring and summer, the Crawford Clothing Company, New York's largest clothing chain, can satisfy it. Never has the assortment for a new season been more extensive!

You'll find a wide variety of garments with shirred backs, yoke backs and pinch-backs. You'll find smart slacks as well as the extremely popular odd spot jackets, which will be bigger than ever this year.

The fabrics, too, are most interesting. They are the kind usually associated with clothes selling upwards of \$40. They feature unusual weaves and patterns, smart shades and rich texture.

Crawford Clothes at \$18.75 represent a wonderful opportunity for the man of moderate means to be well dressed for little money. They embody the masterful designing of D'Ambrosio, the celebrated stylist who formerly made clothes selling from one hundred dollars up and who now devotes his talents to Crawford exclusively. Adv.

Notable Solidarity Is Shown By May Day Conference

By Henry Fruchter

I AM glad of an opportunity publicly to express my appreciation of the cooperation received in connection with our recent magnificent May Day celebration. The May Day performance, its magnitude, its color, the enthusiasm which marked the response of tens of thousands, could not have been achieved without heroic efforts of scores of responsible persons.

As the secretary of the Labor May Day Conference, in daily touch with innumerable details; continually conferring with men and women of various locals and branches; handling untold problems involving conflicting currents of opinion and desire, I look back upon the crowded pre-May Day weeks with a sense of inspiration and renewed hope for our future.

The tens of thousands of workers who paraded, waving their flags and banners, singing their songs, marching step by step up the avenue; they who waited in line, responded to the concert and speeches in Central Park; I wonder how many of them fully realized the momentous tasks confronting the leaders of their particular organization in their efforts to bring out the rank and file of labor.

I dare not think in terms of mentioning names and organizations although the temptation is strong to single out the Joint Board of Dressmakers, Joint Board of Cloakmakers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, for the numerical strength, the efficiency and order, the color and effectiveness of their showing. They outstripped anything we have seen in New York City for many years and no one, observing the parade could have failed to be impressed and deeply moved by the spectacle.

The same is true of the Amalgamated, that organization which responds so readily to the call for cooperation, whether it is on the picket line, in strikes, or in general work of organization.

As for the Millinery Workers, the Painters, the Bakers; as for the Butchers, Furriers, Neckwear Makers, Barbers, Capmakers, and all the rest—who can have seen that tremendous turn-out without thrilling with warmth and hope.

And the Workmen's Circle, with Joseph Baskin at the head, and the little children of the Young Circle League, with their flags and banners, their songs and smiles; who could have watched them without a deep-rooted conviction that these youngsters will in the future bear high the torch of fraternity and justice to which the Workmen's Circle has long ago dedicated itself.

As for the Socialist Party, with its various locals and branches; the Youth organizations with its hundreds of youngsters—these, too, lent color and credit.

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BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS, TUCKERS, STITCHERS and PLEATERS' UNION, Local 66, I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St., Phone ALGONQUIN 4-3571.
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY TUESDAY NIGHT in the office of the Union, 2 E. Freedman, President; Leon Hattell, Manager; I. A. Barkinsky, Sec'y/Treas.

CAP MAKERS' UNION, Local No. 1, Tel. Orchard 4-9860.—Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 132 Second Ave., New York City.

CLOAK, DRESS, DRIVERS' & HELPERS' UNION, Local 162, I.L.G.W.U., Affiliated with A. F. of L. 131 West 33rd St., Clipping 4-3681.—Saul Metz, Manager.

CORSET and BRASSIERE WORKERS' UNION, Local 32, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 1 West 16th Street, New York City. Abraham Snyder, Manager.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th St., New York, N. Y. Phone TOMPKINS Square 6-3406. L. Hollender, J. Catalano, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union, Office and headquarters, 909 W. 10th Ave., Brooklyn; STAG 2-0738. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice-President, Stephen Tobasco; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Secretary-Treasurer, Albert Heib.

JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAISTMAKERS' UNION—Offices: 232 West 40th St., N.Y.C. Tel. LONGACRE 5-5100. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening; Joint Board meets every Wednesday.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St., Phone ALGONQUIN 4-7882. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottmann, Secretary-Treasurer.

WAITERS' and WAITRESSES' UNION, Local No. 1, A. F. of L. and U. I. T. 290-7th Ave. W. Lehman, Sec'y; Tel.: LACKAWANNA 4-5483.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 62 of I.L.G.W.U., 873 Broadway, New York City. Telephone ALGONQUIN 4-1881. S. Shore, Manager.

The May Day of 1935 is a thing of the past now. The traffic of Eighth Avenue continues as usual; the Central Park Mall has been cleared for other purposes. But the spirit of that May Day still lingers in the hearts of thousands hoping for a better world, a great class-consciousness among the toilers of life. We know that this May Day demonstration was more than a mere parade or a mass meeting; that our ranks are still united in our daily tasks of organization and up-building; that sooner or later these disciplined, these united workers, will usher in a new world of Socialism, a world of cooperation and equality, with the evils of capitalism and war forever driven from our midst.

Bensonhurst Socialists' Ball Saturday Night

The Bensonhurst Socialists, one of the largest and liveliest branches of the party in New York, will hold their annual ball Saturday night (May 11th) at the Jewish Community Center, Kings Highway and Bay Parkway, Brooklyn.

The Bensonhurst comrades, who maintain attractive headquarters at 6618 Bay Parkway and who regularly poll one of the largest Social votes in New York City, are confident that the ball will attract a large attendance of merry-makers, who will with their presence not only add substantially to the branch funds for propaganda work during the forthcoming year but will also recruit many followers for the party.

An attractive souvenir book has been published in connection with the affair. Interest in the ball extends far beyond the boundaries of the Bensonhurst branch, and comrades from every part of the city are planning to attend.

INGERSOLL FORUM

SUNDAYS 8 P. M.—Admission 25 cents
PYTHIAN TEMPLE, 135 W. 70th Street

May 12th—
TIMOTHY P. MURPHY
"The French and Russian Revolutions"
Questions and Discussion

MOTHER'S DAY MASS MEETING

AGAINST WAR
Sunday Eve., May 12, at 8 o'clock
AT CARNEGIE HALL
27th Street and Seventh Avenue

Speakers:
BISHOP FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL
MRS. DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY
MISS BLANCHIE YURKA
and others

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Karloff Again Assumes "Frankenstein" Role at The Roxy

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

"AS OTHERS SEE US"

"TO SEE OURSELVES." By E. M. Delafeld. At the Ethel Barrymore.

Shakespeare was neither first nor last to declare that age has problems youth cannot solve; but the young folk of today are setting out to solve problems age scarcely knows it has. At least, Caroline was content, if not unconscious of her domestic ills, until her young sister breezily comes along with a suitor. Then, alas, Jill will have none of her Jack; because she refuses to marry him, lest they muddle into the quagmire of middle-aged bourgeois dullness in which she sees Caroline, and she refuses to have an affair with him because that's too Victorian. Under the pained prodding of these two younglings, Caroline grows acutely aware of the way her husband takes her for granted; she almost takes Jill's boy friend for consolation, but finally subsides into the promise of better days, as hubby wakes a bit, and the young couple decide to get married and settle down to avoid the mistakes all others have made before them.

Mill Delafeld would more successfully engage our interest in her characters if she more consistently took them seriously herself. They alternate unfortunately, in being intelligent persons (like ourselves!) and puppets pulled to win a laugh. Thus Caroline, who at times is quite sensible (and as played by Patricia Collinge, constantly delightful) when asked what she wants out of life, says, quite seriously: "Oh, nothing much. Just to be perfectly happy"—and after the audience has laughed at the manifest folly of such a desire, caps the climax with one more serious word—"always." Which prevents us from taking her wholly to heart. Save for such lapses, however, the play presents in sound dramatic form the inevitable sobering of romance into quieter middle age; without being riotous, it is a pleasant spring stir in the theatre.

Burns and Allen in "Love in George White's 1935 Scandals"

George Burns and Gracie Allen, the nitwits of the networks, after an absence of nearly a year, return to the screen as a pair of hilarious honeymooners in "Love in Bloom," which is having a first Brooklyn showing at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre as part of the popular double feature program. Dixie Lee (Mrs. Bing Crosby in private life) and Joe Morrison are in the cast. The second attraction is "Men of the Hour" with Richard Cromwell, Wallace Ford, Billie Seward and Jack LaRue.

International Marimba Symphony Orchestra at Carnegie Hall Thursday Eve., May 16th

Clair Omar Musser, young American conductor, who brings here the International Marimba Symphony Orchestra for a New York debut concert at Carnegie Hall, Thursday evening, May 16th, has just returned from a European tour with this unusual organization.

The programs of the orchestra range from classic to modern composers, and have all been specially arranged by Mr. Musser. Although a pianist and violinist by training,

and a former pupil of Anton Krueger of the Leipzig Conservatory, Mr. Musser began to devote his attention to the marimba fifteen years ago. He has devised many improvements in the instrument, and the specially constructed marimbas used by the orchestra are mainly of his design. The first chair of the men players of the orchestra is occupied by Burton Lynn Jackson, the first chair of the women players belongs to Magdalene Mary Hanousek.

Russell Collins, Luther Adler and Bob Lewis



In a scene from "Waiting for Lefty," which the Group Theatre presents with "Till the Day I Die" at the Longacre Theatre.

Irving Mills' "The Cavalcade of Music" to Tour Vaudeville Theatres

Irving Mills, who has achieved the unusual with modern music, advances another step with a decided innovation known as "The Cavalcade of Music." The man who gave American music such notables as Duke Ellington, Cab Calloway, Mills' Blue Rhythm Band, and many others, has outdone himself with this spectacle which will tour the vaudeville theatres in the country.

Mills' "Cavalcade of Music" has for its background a huge mixed orchestra of girls and boys playing seventy-five different instruments with effects. The principals include: George Houston, direct from "Thumbs Up"; The Selbys; Zee Confrey, the American composer; Henriette Borchard, George Brunies, Cliff Crane, Tess Gardell (Aune Jimima), The Three Dollies, Don Davis, and many others.

Ann Sothern on Screen at Fox Brooklyn—Stage Show

Ann Sothern, star of stage and screen, is featured in Columbia's current romantic drama, "8 Bells," at Fabian's Fox Brooklyn Theatre. Also appearing in this picture are Ralph Bellamy, John Buckler, Catherine Doucet, Franklin Pangborn, Arthur Hohl, Charley Grapevin, and Joseph Sauer.

The new stage show is headed by Lester Cole and his Texas Rangers.

Group Theatre presents

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and

Till the Day I Die

by CLIFFORD ODETS

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Eves. 8:30—\$1.65 to 40¢

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Eerie Thriller Opens Today at Big 7th Ave. Playhouse

At the Roxy Theatre this week is the Universal Pictures' production of "The Bride of Frankenstein," starring Karloff as the monster, and directed by James Whale, who made the original "Frankenstein" and also "The Invisible Man."

"The Bride of Frankenstein" is the sequel to the original production of "Frankenstein," which proved one of the most successful pictures of the past ten years. Once again James Whale, the director, demonstrates his ability to produce pictures of the "Frankenstein" type. John Balderston and William Hurlburt are responsible for the screen play which was suggested by the story, "Frankenstein," by Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley.

The complete cast includes Karloff, Colin Clive, Valerie Hobson, Elsa Lanchester, O. P. Heggie, Ernest Thesinger, Dwight Frye, E. E. Clive, Una O'Connor, Anne Darling, Douglas Walton, Gavin Gordon, Neil Fitzgerald, Reginald Barlow, Mary Gordon, Gunnis Davis, Temple Piggott, Ted Billings and Lucien Prival.

On the stage the Roxy is again presenting a Fanchon and Marco variety revue in which many stars from radio and vaudeville stage appear. Chief among these is Teddy "Blubber" Bergman, the multi-voiced radio comic, who presents an all new repertoire; Jack Eddy and Company with Eleta Dayne, the Gretonas, the Fred Allen Winner, the Gae Foster Girls, Freddy Mack, and the Roxy Rhythm Orchestra.

"G Men" 2nd Week at Strand

"G Men," in which James Cagney has the starring role, is now in its second week at the Strand Theatre. The Strand's augmented schedule of twelve showings a day was instituted the second day of "G Men's" engagement, following a first day of run which broke all Strand house records. The theatre is now open from 8 in the morning until 5 the following morning.

"George Whites 1935 Scandals" on Albee Screen—Tamara in Person

The second annual screen edition of George White's Scandals is at the RKO Albee this week with a star-spangled cast including Alice Faye, James Dunn, Ned Sparks,

Theatre Union's ANNIVERSARY DINNER

HOTEL DELANO, 108 W. 43 St. Wed. Eve., MAY 22, 7 P. M.

THE AMERICAN THEATRE RIGHT? OR LEFT?

Speakers: SHERWOOD ANDERSON, MICHAEL BLANKFORT, SIDNEY HOWARD, ALBERT MALTZ, PAUL PETERS, GEORGE SKLAR, MAURICE WERTHEIM, STARK YOUNG; ROGER BALDWIN, Chairman.

Tables seat 6, 8 and 10 (informal) \$1.50 per plate. Make reservations now through Theatre Union, 103 W. 14th St. Phone Watkins 9-7450.

Last 3 Weeks!! Last 3 Weeks!!

THEATRE UNION'S STIRRING PLAY

BLACK PIT

"ONE OF THE TEN BEST"—BROOKS ATKINSON

CIVIC REPERTORY THEATRE, 14th Street & 6th Avenue

EVEN. 8:45—Prices 50¢ to \$1.50, No Tax—Mats. WED. & SAT. 2:45—30¢ to \$1.00

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3 MEN ON A HORSE

"A Knockout" Sobel-Mirror

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

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ANN SOTHERN in "8 BELLS" A Columbia Picture

with RALPH BELLAMY

25¢

on LESTER COLE AND HIS 15 TEXAS RANGERS

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CARNEGIE HALL

NEXT THURS. NIGHT MAY 16

INTERNATIONAL MARIMBA SYMPHONY ORCH.

CLAIR OMAR MUSSER, Conductor—Returning on the S.S. "LE DE FRANCE"

FROM TRIUMPHANT SUCCESSES IN PARIS AND BRUSSELS

100 ARTISTS—100 MARIMBAS Tickets Now at Box Office—Mgt. R. Copley

Moves to Brooklyn



The trained seal and others in the biggest show on earth can now be seen in Brooklyn, where it begins its annual engagement on Monday.

Spring Varieties at Mecca Temple

Clifford Odets, author of "Awake and Sing" and "Waiting for Lefty," has written a monodrama, "I Can't Sleep," which will be performed by Morris Carnovsky at the Spring Varieties, Sunday evening, May 19th, at Mecca Temple, 133 West 55th Street.

Another item on the program will be the premiere of "The Tide Rises," a new one-act play by Art Smith.

Albert Maltz, author of "Black Pit," will be master of ceremonies. Lyda Roberti, Cliff Edwards, Arline Judge, Eleanor Powell, and George White. The vaudeville show too is said to be bedecked with stars, presenting as it does the personal appearance of Tamara, wistful Russian star; Buck and Bubbles, the ebony-hued funsters; Mattison Rhythms; George & Bee McKenna; and the Six DeCardos, who offer a dash of circus entertainment.

"WEREWOLF OF LONDON"

with WARNER OLAND HENRY HULL VALERIE HOBSON

Beware! This Beast Strikes When the Moon Is Full!

RIALTO Broadway at 42nd St.

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SECOND WEEK!

AI JOLSON

Ruby KEELER

in Warner Brothers

"GO INTO YOUR DANCE"

ON THE STAGE

ABE LYMAN

and His Californians

CAPITOL Broadway at 56th St.

THE GROUP THEATRE presents

"AWAKE and SING!"

by CLIFFORD ODETS

at the

BELASCO THEATRE 44th STREET, East of Broadway

B'way 9-5100—Evenings at 8:40

Matinees Thursday and Saturday

ALL THIS WEEK

"GEORGE WHITE'S SCANDALS"

with ALICE FAYE JAMES DUNN

RKO VAUDEVILLE

TAMARA BUCK & BUBBLES

MATTISON RHYTHMS

and other RKO Acts

ALBEE Albee Square

BROOKLYN

"The Informer," Much Discussed and Long Heralded, Arrives at Radio City Music Hall

"The Informer," described as one of the most powerful dramas ever to be screened, is current at Radio City Music Hall. Starring Victor McLaglen, the photoplay's cast includes Heather Angel, Preston Foster, Margot Grahame, Wallace Ford, Una O'Connor and Donald Meek.

The high-pitched drama has been adapted from the novel of Liam O'Flaherty and was directed by John Ford. "The Informer" is set in Dublin during Ireland's revolt against British authority, and tells the tale of a powerful Irish giant who has been dismissed from the Irish revolutionary forces. The entire action of the photoplay takes place in one night in the Dublin slums. Practically every emotion experienced by a group of people in a normal span of years is crowded into a single swing of the clock in this film.

On the Music Hall stage is a new Leonidoff spectacle, featuring the Corps de Ballet, Rockettes, Glee Club, and Erno Rapee and the symphony orchestra.

Party Progress

Young Socialist Alliance

Saturday night at a membership meeting the Young Socialist Alliance got under way. The meeting was packed, many not being able to secure seats. This organization, which is the official youth organization of Local New York, has opened its office in Room 407, 7 E. 15th St.

The Y.S.A. has astonished its heartiest well-wishers by the flood of applications it has received. But the best thing of all it has started its organization with a surplus in its treasury—a precedent we think all Socialist organizations should follow in the future. Without noise and confusion it has started out on its task of spreading socialism, helping the party, and selling The New Leader.

It promises to continue to spread socialism with the same enthusiasm it has started with.

Women's Committee Activities

Tuesday, May 14, 11:30 a.m.—Demonstration at City Hall against the High Cost of Living.
Saturday, May 18, 1 p.m.—No-More-War Parade, meet at Rand School. Make Socialist Division impressive.
Sunday, May 19—May Festival and Parent-Teachers Conference, B'way. Round trip by bus or auto, 75 cents. Meet 9 a.m. at Rand School, or 9 a.m. at Burnside Manor, Bronx. Burnside and Harrison Aves. Rain or shine!

Classes in Practical Political Problems

Monday, May 13, 1:30 p.m.—Rand School: "The International Socialist Movement." Guest speaker, James O'Neal.
Tuesday, May 14, 1:30 p.m.—Amalgamated Houses, Bronx: "The International Socialist Movement."
Wednesday, May 15, 1:30 p.m.—Burnside Manor, Bronx: "The International Socialist Movement."
Thursday, May 16, 2:30 p.m.—Brownsville.

Public Speaking

Monday, May 13, 3 p.m.—Rand School: "Social and Political Revolution."
Tuesday, May 14, 3 p.m.—Rand School: "Tragedy of Waste."
Wednesday, May 15, 3 p.m.—1719 Ave. P, Brooklyn.

Class Day Luncheon

Saturday, May 25, 1 p.m.—Betty Gould's Restaurant, 344 W. 57th St., City Charge 65c, including tip. Make reservations now at Rand School.

MANHATTAN

4th A.D. (201 East B'way)—Meeting of Branch Executive Committee, Tuesday, May 14, 8:30 p.m. Protest meeting on the high cost of living Wednesday evening, May 22, at Clinton Hall, 151 Clinton St. Prominent speakers. First of a series of meetings under branch auspices. Branch is making a study of the records of East Side Legislators. The organization of the Young Socialist Club in our district is in full swing. It already has 35 enrolled members and new candidates are applying for membership at every meeting.

12th A.D.—Party and supper Sunday, May 19, 7 p.m., 17 Irving Pl. Supper 45c, no tipping. Packages to be auctioned off by the committee. Communicate with Frieda Strauss, 206 E. 18 St.

BROOKLYN

Midwood Forum—Sunday, May 12, at 9 sharp, August Claessens will deliver the third lecture in his popular series on Recent Trends in Social Psychology. Topic for the evening, "Social Attitudes in Sex Differences—Environmental Influence Upon Characteristic Behavior." Lectures are held in the spacious auditorium of the Flatbush Cultural Center, 179 Ave. P, under the auspices of the Midwood Branch.

Midwood Branch (1719 Ave. P)—Business meeting, Monday, May 13.

LECTURE CALENDAR

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

MONDAY, MAY 13

Manhattan
Dr. Wm. E. Bohrer—"The Road to Power." Chelsea Branch, WEVD Studios.

Brooklyn
George H. Goshel—"What Socialism Has to Offer." 10th-11th A.D., 295 Gates Ave. TUESDAY, MAY 14

Murray Baron—"Labor Party." Upper West Side, 120 W. 72nd St. SUNDAY, MAY 12

Brooklyn
August Claessens—"Social Attitudes in Sex Differences." Midwood Br., 1719 Ave. P. MONDAY, MAY 13

Brooklyn
Alexander Kahn—"Short Cuts to Socialism." 10th-11th A.D., 241 So. 4th St. TUESDAY, MAY 14

Brooklyn
Dr. Harry W. Laidler—"Socializing Our Democracy." 16th A.D., 6618 Br. P'way.

Memorial Meeting for Patrick J. Murphy

A memorial meeting will be held in honor of the late Patrick J. Murphy next Tuesday evening, May 14, in the Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves., Bronx. The speakers will be Dr. S. J. Fried, George I. Steinhart, Irving M. Knobloch, Samuel Orr, Edward F. Cassidy, August Claessens and James O'Neal. The Rebel Arts are also on the program.

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

★★★★★—Daily News—WARNER BROS. EPIC OF GANGDOM'S WATERLOO!

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British Labor Plans Boldly for New Order

How Labor Party Is Preparing to Revolutionize England by Rallying All the People Behind Gigantic Effort at Social Reconstruction—Economic Planning on Basis of Democracy—An Exposition of the "New Gradualism"

The following article, a review of a book just published by Dr. Hugh Dalton, former Labor M.P. and a member of the Executive of the British Labor Party, one of the party's outstanding spokesmen, helps us understand the approach of our British comrades to the great task of building a Socialist Britain. To our British comrades this task is no longer a matter of the distant future, but a practical, immediate problem. Dr. Dalton's book is, therefore, of importance to Socialists particularly in the United States.

In this country, unfortunately, we are far removed from the position already achieved by Socialists in Britain, but in view of the close similarity in political tradition and psychology between the two countries have most to learn from our British comrades. How to apply the approach successfully developed by British Socialism to the specific conditions confronting us in America constitutes the central problem of the development of a Socialist policy in the United States.

The article below is reprinted from the London Daily Herald, organ of the British Labor Party.

By Robert Fraser

ON Tuesday morning, October 2 of last year, the Garrick Theatre, Southport, was crowded with delegates from Labor Parties, Trade Union, Socialist Societies and Cooperative Societies.

There were nearly seven hundred of them, representing the members of the Labor Party. They were assembled for its thirty-fourth annual conference. And they were, as they knew, on the point of taking one of the great historic decisions of the Labor Party.

A major debate was about to open, in which the delegates were to be asked to choose between the policy outlined in the document known as For Socialism and Peace, prepared by the National Executive of the Party, and the proposals of the Socialist League.

For the National Executive the speakers were Mr. Arthur Hender-

son, Dr. Hugh Dalton and Mr. Herbert Morrison.

The proposals of the Socialist League were defeated, and those of the National Executive were accepted, by the decisive majority of something over ten to one.

Dr. Dalton has now written a book in which the program there adopted is expounded and explained.

He has called it "Practical Socialism for Britain" (published by Routledge). The title is deliberately chosen. It is a book concerned not so much with Socialist theory as with the practical and concrete plans which the Labor Party proposes to execute during its next term of office. And it is in every way a distinctively and genuinely British book.

"The nature and conditions of British home politics are difficult," he writes, "for foreigners, and even, it seems, for some British circles to understand. From cloistered coteries visibility of the outside world is poor, whether from Carlton Club or Communist Cell or Highbrow Hall."

"The British people, in the mass, differ from many others in their cult of the practical and their gift for compromise, their sense of humor, their sense of what they call 'fair play,' a term notoriously hard to translate into foreign languages, their capacity for all forms of self-government, their dimness of class-consciousness."

And they were, as they knew, on the point of taking one of the great historic decisions of the Labor Party.

They do not like it because they instinctively feel it to be an unpleasant and untrue version of

their political behavior. They see that our political life does not move only in these narrow channels, is inspired by something more than these narrow motives.

"There is, I believe," says Dr. Dalton, "a tremendous and sustained support waiting, in nearly every section of the community, including the so-called 'technicians' and the professional middle class, for a government that will show fight against poverty and unemployment, and delay and muddle, that will act boldly and get things done."

"Opinion, fortified by experience, is setting strongly in our direction. The case for Socialism is today becoming a commonplace in ever-widening circles."

Present Order Discredited

The existing social and economic order has few firm friends. Millions of those who vote for it do so, not because they like it or find it defensible, but because they are not yet convinced that the alternative is practicable.

To secure that conviction is Dr. Dalton's object, and I find it difficult to imagine a more likely way of securing the support of disinterested people for Socialism than by giving them his book to read.

For it is the essence of the problem to convince them that the Labor Party is reasonably clear in its own mind about what it wants and means to do, and that it can be done consistently with the maintenance of the democratic process.

It is not, I think, helpful to spread the view—a totally erroneous one, I believe—that the two great parties in the State will grow more and more hostile, that the distance separating them will rapidly distend until at last they suddenly slam back in a violent conflict from which either fascism or Socialism would emerge.

"I discount heavily," declares Dr. Dalton, "in this common-sense and politically mature

country, all panic talk, whether from Right or Left, of an 'inevitable crisis,' and all theatrical nightmares of violent head-on collisions, wrecking the train of democracy."

The "New Gradualism"

He sees the coming of Socialism, not from a revolutionary fracture on some Sunday evening, with Capitalism on Sunday converted to Socialism on Monday, but as the result of a rapid and sustained national effort, made within the boundaries of democracy and parliamentary government, and drawing its vigor from all that is best in the British people.

He generally supports, that is, what some of us younger Socialists call the New Gradualism: a gradualism that shall be vastly different in tempo and objective from the thoroughly and justly discredited gradualism of 1929-1931.

The objective of the New Gradualism is not amelioration but socialization. Its first purpose is not the extension of social services but the transference of economic power from private to public hands. Its tempo is not slow but fast.

But it is gradualist in the sense that it recognizes the existence at this moment of a big socialized sector in our economic life, and rests on the view that Socialism will come, not from any one decisive and disruptive struggle, but through the rapid, step-by-step expansion of the socialized sector until the stage of full national planning is reached. "Socialism," Dr. Dalton repeatedly and memorably reminds us, "is quantitative."

"We must not pitch our program low or prepare ourselves to be content with slowly crawling forward," says Dr. Dalton. "The next Labor Government must start off with a well-planned rush. My advice to you is: 'Be audacious!'"

said Mr. Lloyd George to the Labor Party nearly twenty years ago. That was good advice, and it is time we took it."

"A Well-Planned Rush"

And elsewhere he writes: "Whatever may be true of other countries, I believe that here it is possible to make a peaceful, orderly, and smooth transition to a better social order, and that with a working Labor majority in the House of Commons, five years of resolute government could lay its foundations."

He declares his faith in democracy in these words:

"Political democracy will only be fully alive when married to economic democracy in a society of equals."

"Yet to deny the reality of political democracy, even if only half alive, to deny, for instance, that an Englishman today breathes freer air than a German, is half-witted."

"And to deny that political democracy can, if enough men and women will it persistently, march towards Socialism, is defeatist and doctrinaire."

"There is, in blunt truth, no other passable road to Socialism in modern Britain. It is no easy road, and he who thinks it looks too steep or stony for his taste had best stay at home and cultivate his garden. He will find the contemplative detachment of that life much easier."

I have, in this review, been concerned to make clear, fairly and accurately, I hope, the outlook, the hopes, and the practical approach of one of the Labor Party's leaders.

I have said little of the proposals he makes, and which cover the reform of democratic procedure, the socialization of particular industries, and of finance, the objectives and machinery of planning, equality and taxation, and the organization of peace. On these the book itself speaks clearly, and decisively, and at length.

Rich in persuasion, compact with common sense, bright with courage and hope, it is in every way worthy of the British political tradition and in every sense a high contribution to Socialism and to the future of our country.

The Workers Abroad

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

The Tragedy of the I. L. P.

AMONG the so-called revolutionary forces in Europe towards whom the left wing-militant elements in our party turn their gaze longingly and whose tenets and policies they seek to force upon us here is the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain (what is left of it).

At its conference in Derby, held in the last week of April, the I. L. P., under the leadership of James Maxton (we have his equivalents in our own party) decided upon an alliance with the Communist Party.

The conference was marked by new evidence of the decline and disintegration of the once great I. L. P., the I. L. P. of Keir Hardie. But even within the present organization, which under the leadership of Maxton has moved closer and closer to the Communists—a direction in which certain elements of our own party here would like to lead us—there are elements who are beginning to understand the fundamentally reactionary character of the Communists. At Derby, J. McGovern, M. P., minced no words on this point. With Harry Pollitt, leader of the insignificant British Communist movement on the platform, McGovern charged that the Communist Party was becoming more and more reactionary, and that its purpose in seeking a "united front" with the Socialists was not to further the development of a revolutionary party and a united workers' party but solely the aims of the Communist Party itself.

"There is not a chance for a united revolutionary workers' movement through united action with the Communist Party," McGovern declared. "There is no boggy at all about Moscow gold. It is a reality. In return for gold they get their orders, and carry them as a commercial traveler carries out his orders from the master who pays him."

Dollan's Comment on I.L.P. Tragedy

COMMENTING on the Derby conference and the disintegration of the I. L. P., P. J. Dollan writes in the Glasgow Forward:

"Mr. James Maxton, three years after he led the I.L.P. out of the Labor Party, confesses the failure of his own policy. When he manoeuvred the I.L.P. into adopting his policy of Splendid Isolation from the organized Labor Movement, he did so, I am told, because he believed it so strong that the Labor Movement would be forced on its hands and knees to ask the deserters to return to the fold."

"Mr. Maxton's policy of Splendid Isolation has worked out contrary to his expectations. It has brought disruption and disaster to the I.L.P., now a weakened and attenuated remnant of what was the greatest propagandist force for Socialism in Europe."

"Mr. Maxton cannot escape responsibility for the disruption of the Socialist organization which Keir Hardie created after a lifetime of sacrificial drudgery for the Socialist cause."

"Now he wants to form a new workers' party. This is to consist of an amalgamation of what remains of the I.L.P. with the Communist Party. Mr. Maxton knows the merger will cause further disruption in the I.L.P. despite the combined diplomacy of himself and Mr. Harry Pollitt, in their effort to lead the I.L.P. into the Communist wilderness."

A New United Front

"If Mr. Maxton does succeed in forming an I.L.P.-Communist United Front, his success will be an illusory triumph. He will not bring into the merger more than a handful of supporters, and in a few weeks after the United Front is formed, the I.L.P. will be triumphantly buried in the Communist Party. Perhaps this is what Mr. Maxton wants. He has in recent years been more of a Communist than a Socialist. By this I mean he has been influenced by the Russian Revolution into thinking that what was possible in Russia in 1917 is also possible in Great Britain in 1935."

"He has never been able to understand the difference in economic conditions in the two countries, nor the different political mentality of the two peoples, and too hastily assumed that the conditions and political mentality of Russia and Great Britain are similar."

"But what is to be the purpose of this new I.L.P.-Communist Party? Mr. Maxton stated on Sunday it would have a twofold purpose."

"(1) It would be free to struggle for the workers, and (2) its pressure would compel the Labor Party to take up this struggle. 'Wasn't it Maxton who told us that if the I.L.P. left the Labor Party the effect would be to cause the Labor Party to follow the so-called revolutionary lead of the I.L.P.?' (3) Mr. Maxton confesses that this tactic seems to have failed, and if it has been a failure for the past three years, what hope has he that it will be successful in the next three years?"

Landing in Queer Street

THE truth is that Mr. Maxton does not know where his tactics will lead the working class, because he has never given political tactics and strategy the study and consideration they deserve.

"That is why he always avoids outlining a policy. He knows that once he begins to outline a policy he lands himself in Queer Street. He is unable to outline any policy which would prove acceptable to the working class of this country other than that which receives the general support of the Trade Union, Labor and Socialist Movements."

Fighting the Labor Party

NOW that the I.L.P. leader has decided on an alliance with the Communist Party, with a view to the formation of a new party, there should no longer be any doubt about the position of the I.L.P. Many people have been under the impression that the I.L.P. would repent its walk-out from the Labor Party and rejoin the ranks of organized democracy. Its latest declaration of preference for Communism should make it clear to all concerned that the I.L.P. has turned its back on the Labor Party for all time."

ONLY FIVE TO FOUR

NO one need be surprised, and consequently no one should be alarmed or discouraged, by the decision of the United States Supreme Court that the law providing retirement pensions is unconstitutional. The surprising thing is that the court divided five to four on such a question.

We have gone pretty far when four justices of the highest court can gravely dissent from the proposition that, in giving Congress power to regulate commerce between the states, the framers of the Constitution meant that Congress might compel the railway companies to pension their retired employees—or, to be a little more precise, when they can take the ground that, no matter what the framers of the Constitution had in mind, this meaning should now be read into their words.

It looks as if the Constitution and the Supreme Court were not such formidable barriers to social progress as we used to think them. The Constitution means whatever the Supreme Court says it means. Five-to-four decisions in such matters as this do not last long. Let public opinion develop a little further, as it will if Organized Labor and the Socialist Party and press do their work well, and we shall need no constitutional amendment to open the way for nation-wide unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, abolition of child labor, and other social legislation.

There are some in the party—and they are now dominant on the National Executive Committee—who believe the N.E.C. should have such autocratic powers. Neither the Constitution nor the convention confers such power upon them. On the contrary, at the very powers.

New York Replies to N.E.C.

New York Insists Party Has No Place for Advocates of Violence and Armed Insurrection; If Its Position on 18-Year Admission Age Is Unsatisfactory a Joint Committee to Iron Out Differences Will Be Welcomed

Statement adopted by the New York State Committee, Socialist Party, May 5, 1935.

TO the National Executive Committee.

Comrades: We are in receipt of the communication which your Committee adopted at its session of March 24, 1935, addressed: "To the State Committee of New York, the State Executive Committee of New York, and the New York City Local."

In this communication you say, among other things, "that the two groups in New York State can find a common ground of unity if they so desire." Upon failure of the respective groups substantially to comply or reach an agreement along the lines outlined by your Committee, you state that formal charges against the New York state organization will be entertained by your Committee.

Before taking up specifically the nine points in your communication we desire to say that the State Committee of New York has at all times exerted itself to the utmost—and will continue to do so—to maintain the unity of the Socialist party.

New York Strives for Unity

This was strikingly emphasized at your recent Boston meeting at which the State Committee of New York officially presented to you a carefully thought-out program looking towards the restoration of harmony and the maintenance of unity in the party. Among the measures which we then urged as essential to achieve the purposes of party unity was this recommendation:

"We recommend that the National Executive Committee call upon all state organizations to take steps immediately to dissolve all factional organizations in their territory, and members of the National Executive Committee who are identified with such factions shall assume aggressive leadership in dissolving the groups with which they are affiliated or identified."

It seemed to us, as well as to numerous other State organizations represented at the Boston meeting and who supported our plea, that the National Executive Committee could do no less than issue such a call. The existence of organized factions, maintaining their own headquarters, financing their own ventures, holding their own conferences so as to bind their members to vote as a unit on all questions coming before the regularly authorized party committees and agencies, was the very source of most of the factional trouble in the party. The fact that some members of the National Executive Committee were either

members of, or encouraged by their advice and support, the existence of such factional organizations created what your committee acquainted with the first principles of organization must have known—that you cannot maintain a dual organization within the party organization and preserve the unity of the party.

Factions in the Party Moreover, the very diversity of the purposes of such factions, and the nature of their aims, indicated that unless dissolved they would be a source of endless strife and turmoil. Some groups were organized to preach armed insurrection and violence as necessary means

to bring about the changes Socialists favor; others were organized to secure wider support for the Declaration of Principles and for the particular interpretation which they sought to place upon it; still others announced that their object was to drive from the party those whom they called the "Old Guard."

The aforesaid request, modest as it was, your committee completely ignored. This was done notwithstanding the proposal was supported by other state organizations having a large percentage of our total national membership, and notwithstanding it was so essential as at least the first step for the restoration of party harmony. Instead, some members of the National Executive Committee continued to meet with and encourage such factions. The regularly constituted party committees and officials with whom these members and factions disagreed, and whose expulsion from the party they declared to be one of their main objectives, were made the target for additional assaults and misrepresentation which were spread throughout the country. This was done not only with the knowledge but with the help of some who are supposed to be party leaders. New institutions and committees were established to perpetuate the rift within the party and to defeat the

hope that the majority of the party membership entertained that party harmony could be restored. The refusal of the National Executive Committee at its Boston meeting to deal with a serious blow to all in the party who had looked to your committee to measure up its opportunities and duties.

Obstacles to Harmony We regret to say that your present communication, though written in the name of harmony, reveals the same lack of appreciation of the factors responsible for the party's present condition, and the same inability to face the real issues that confront the party.

Indeed, the motion summoning the New York organization to appear before the N.E.C. to "show cause" why our charter should not be revoked was accompanied by comment by Comrade Coolidge, its mover, including the words, "The only question is whether they shall leave [the party] voluntarily or involuntarily."

In the first place, basic harmony must rest upon mutual respect and a clear understanding of the rights the party membership enjoys under our State and National Constitutions. Any other policy inevitably leads to destruction and ruin.

To begin with, you address a communication "To the New York City Local" directing it to do certain things. This procedure is utterly without warrant or authority in the Constitution.

You must know that the National Constitution expressly prohibits you from transacting party business with any local in an organized state, except through the state organization. Article X, Section 7, of the National Constitution, reads:

"In organized states the National Office shall transact its business with the state through the state secretary and the state committee."

New York State

You must also know that New York is an organized state, as defined by the National Constitution. Article X, Section 5, reads:

"Organized states shall be such as have at least three (3) locals in three (3) different municipalities with a combined membership of at least seventy-five (75) and which have a state committee and a state secretary . . ."

New York is among the largest of the state organizations. It provides about 20 per cent of the total national Socialist vote. It has wide contacts with the labor movement, and furnishes the national organization, through the institutions which it maintains in New York, much of our literature and many of our speakers.

Your committee should under-

TO HALT THE IMPERIALIST WAR MACHINE



Only the united might of the working masses can stop the onrush of the mighty war machine that would destroy all civilization.

Drawn by Alex Haberstroh

(Continued on Page Nine)

The Future of Soviet Russia ::

by **Raphael Abramowitsch**

Member Executive Bureau, Labor and Socialist International; Member Foreign Delegation, Russian Social Democratic Labor Party.

THE remarkable speech delivered May 6th in Moscow by Josef Stalin before the Red Army Cadets confirms in the main the assertions made in the article printed herewith.

Stalin admitted the facts about privation and starvation among the Russian people due to the gigantic investments caused by the Five-Year Plan and forced collectivization.

It is true that Stalin now tries to justify his policy by the necessities of military defense, but those who know the origin of the industrialization and collectivization plans will agree that the real cause of the gigantic plans was the utopian idea of establishing Socialism in one country, the road to Socialism by starvation.—Editor.

(From an address before a Socialist Party membership meeting in New York City. Speaking at the same meeting was also Sir Stafford Cripps, left wing member of the executive committee of the British Labor Party. His address will be published in an early issue.)

TO understand the mainstays and principal tendencies of the Russian Revolution is the duty of all Socialists.

The peasant always was and remains the main governing factor in the Russian Revolution. From the very beginning the Russian Revolution was a revolution of the peasants. Even Lenin, as late as 1915, considered the coming Russian Revolution a revolution of the petty bourgeois Russian peasantry, and that the aim of this revolution, under the political, social and economic circumstances of Russia, could not be the building of a Socialist regime. In the language of our party, we all believed that the Russian Revolution would be a petty-bourgeois and not a proletarian revolution.

At the same time, however, because of conditions peculiar to Russia, all Marxists believed the main moving power of the revolution would be the working class. As Plekhanoff, our great teacher, put it at the very beginning of the Social Democratic movement in Russia, the Russian Revolution would be a working class revolution or it will not be at all.

By that we meant a revolution led by the working class, but not seeking the aim of building Socialism in Russia, because of the absence of the essential social and economic prerequisites for Socialism. In the official journal of the Bolsheviks of 1903 and 1906, who at that time constituted a faction in our party, you will find plenty of articles and material supporting the argument that the Russian Revolution would be a democratic revolution, a petty-bourgeois revolution, and that it would be the aim of the Bolsheviks to establish a revolutionary dictatorship to carry out the purposes of the bourgeois revolution, not of the proletariat. In other words, the Bolsheviks, like all those who spoke as Marxists, believed that Russia was not ready for Socialism and that the purpose of the Russian Revolution, as limited not by the will of human beings but by historic circumstances, would be the introduction of political democracy and other changes compatible with a bourgeois revolution, in order to pave the way for further struggle for ultimate Socialist aims.

Old Conception Abandoned

This conception of the revolution, abandoned by the Bolsheviks during the World War, especially when they came into power was based on a Marxian interpretation of the role of the peasantry in the Russian Revolution. The overthrow of Czarism and the establishment of a revolutionary government, first under Kerensky and then under Lenin, was possible only because the Russian peasantry was a revolutionary class. In other countries the peasantry played a revolutionary role in times past, when it sought to break the fetters of the old feudal regime, but since then, in other countries, the peasantry, its property, ambitions satisfied, has become conservative and even reactionary.

At the outbreak of the revolution we had in Russia 100,000,000 peasants, whose aim it was to expropriate the land of the big landowners and to become free, independent farmers. But what have we now in Russia? We have a peasantry freed from the landowners, from the aristocracy, but we have not a free class of free farmers, free economically, socially and politically. What we have is a dictatorship which not only forces the peasants to pursue a certain aim, but forces them by military compulsion, by the power of dictatorship, to accept an economic policy utterly foreign to the psychology, the historic aims and even the interests of the peasantry itself.

It is true that 70 per cent of the Russian peasants have joined the collective farms. Only 30 per cent of the peasants are still individual, not collective, farmers. But when you consider the political and economic struggle which the Russian peasantry has been waging against the forcible collectivization of

Russian Revolution Gravely Imperilled by Stalin Dictatorship--False Economic Policies, Suppression of All Liberties and Tendency to Bonapartism--Democratization of Soviet Only Way to Stop Threat of Reaction--Moral Pressure of International Socialism Required

agriculture, you will perceive the modest results that have been obtained by this grand and beautiful idea of transforming the peasantry into one big, organized collective.

The Cost of Collectivization

The collectivization program began in the winter of 1929 and 1930. In the New York Times of February 3, 1931, you will find a Moscow cable by Walter Duranty. You know that Duranty and his reports are always favorable to the Stalin government. Mr. Duranty is not only loyal to this government, but he is always its advocate. And in that cable you will read that during the winter of 1929-30 more than two million Russian peasants were arrested and exiled to concentration camps, to enforced labor. We have no statistical data about the peasants who were not exiled but shot. But Mr. Duranty's cable gives you a yardstick by which to measure the extent of the social upheaval that took place in Russia during that winter and what the forcible collectivization of agriculture has meant since then in terms of human lives and economic dislocation.

A fortnight ago cables from Moscow informed us of the promulgation of a Soviet Government decree making children over 12 subject to the criminal law on the same level with adults. And the law in Russia provides capital punishment for certain kinds of crime. We thus now have a situation in Russia under which children over 12, boys and girls, are to be sent to concentration camps, to forced labor, and to execution for certain crimes.

It can be easily understood that a law as severe as this was not promulgated to deal with a few dozen spoiled children, but rather to cope with tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands of incorrigibles whom the government is unable to handle and to bring up as honest men and women. Else why such severity? There are now in Russia hundreds of thousands of children with no parents and no homes. The same was true, you will remember, twelve years ago when you read so much about the Russian "Besprizorny" waifs. These were children whose fathers had died in the war, in the civil war, in pogroms in the Ukraine, etc. But today a child of over 12, born under the Soviet regime, after the end of the civil war, is subject to exile to concentration camps and to capital punishment. These are children of "collectivized" peasants, the chil-

dren of peasants sent to concentration camps, shot or exiled. These are children of peasants who died of starvation during the years 1932 and 1933.

Some Startling Figures

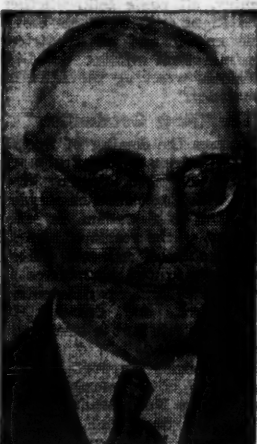
When we turn from this human aspect of the situation to the economic aspect, what do we see? During the past five years 70 per cent of the Russian peasants have been organized in collectives, with modern machinery, under scientific supervision, with lectures, university instructors, etc. Russian agriculture now boasts about 250,000 tractors. Five or six years ago there were only a few dozen. The application of chemistry and fertilizer on a modern basis now characterizes Russian agriculture. But what is the actual economic result?

The grain crop in 1934 was 90 million metric tons. In 1913, four years before the revolution, the grain crop totaled 81.6 million metric tons, or only 12 per cent less. But the population of the territory now comprising Soviet Russia was 113,000,000 in 1913, as compared with the present population of 160,000,000, an increase of 22 per cent. In other words, we have a crop increase of 12 per cent and an increase in population of 22 per cent. In 1913 the per capita grain production was 630 kilograms. In 1934, under the regime of collective farming we have a per capita production of 570 kilograms.

What about cattle? In 1916, on the territory now comprising Soviet Russia, we had 35,000,000 horses. In 1929, after the revolution and civil war, etc., the number was 34,000,000, practically the same. In 1930, after the first winter of collectivization, we had 30,000,000, or a loss of 4,000,000 horses. In 1931 we had 26,000,000; in 1932 we had 19,000,000; in 1933 the number had been reduced to 16,000,000. In other words, during the period of forcible collectivization Russia gained 250,000 tractors, or about 4,000,000 horsepower, but lost 17,000,000 natural horsepower.

In 1916 Russia had 58,000,000

* It is true that before the war important amounts of grain were exported every year from Russia, while today Russian grain exportation is negligible. But on the other hand the Soviet Government is collecting tremendous stocks of grain and foodstuffs for war and emergency purposes. The amount of grain assigned for direct consumption remains thus practically unchanged as compared with the years before 1914.



Raphael Abramowitsch

oxen, bulls, cows. In 1929 the number stood at 65,000,000. In 1930, after the first year of collectivization, this number has been reduced to 52,000,000. By 1931 the number had been reduced to 47.9 per cent of what it was in 1929. By 1932 it went down to 40 per cent, and by 1933 to 38 per cent.

In 1929 Russia had 147,000,000 sheep and goats. In 1930 the number fell to 108,000,000. In 1931 it was 77,000,000. In 1932 it was 52,000,000. In 1933 it was 50,000,000, a loss of 97,000,000 sheep and goats.

The number of pigs and swine in 1929 was 20,000,000. In 1930 it fell to 13,000,000. In 1931 it rose to 14,000,000. In 1932 it fell to 11,000,000, and in 1933 it stood at 12,000,000.

The sum total of the forcible collectivization has been a loss of about 50 per cent in livestock and no more grain than in 1913. Is it any wonder that the Russian peasant is dissatisfied with this situation? And do you think that this tremendous destructiveness fills the Russian peasant with faith in Socialism?

Enslavement of Peasantry

The Soviet government has robbed the Russian peasant of his economic freedom, his political freedom, his social freedom. It has forced him to work on the land as a worker in a huge agricultural factory dominated and controlled by the dictatorial state. It has forced him to become a day laborer. The collectives are run not by peasants but by the government, directed by a bureaucratic administration, whose members are the

new rural aristocracy, enjoying many economic and political privileges. A member of the administration of a collective receives twice the pay of the peasant. There are distinct social differences in the collectives, finding expression in a bitter class struggle of the various differentiations among themselves and of all of them, with the exception of the bureaucracy, against the industry.

You have heard also of the progress made by Soviet Russia in industry. There has been great progress in the so-called heavy industries—iron, coal, power and chemical industries. In the light industries, such as textiles, etc., the progress has been slow. Today Russia produces 25,000,000 tons of oil products annually. The production of iron (pig iron and steel) has risen to 9,000,000 and 10,000,000 tons. This progress has been due, however, to tremendous capital investment made annually by the Soviet Government, as high as 20,000,000,000 gold roubles a year. This has been possible only by depriving the population of 160,000,000 of even the bare necessities, by taking away from the peasants more than 50 per cent of their output in grain, cattle, milk, etc. This constitutes the basis of the constant struggle between the peasantry and the government.

The collective is an organization of peasants interested in not giving too much to the government. The government demands the products of the peasantry in order that it might invest the proceeds in industry. The situation presented is thus a permanent struggle between the various classes of peasants against the government, parallel with an internal struggle within the collectives for the distribution of what the government does not take away. The result is permanent hostility and opposition on the part of the peasantry to the government. The peasant has always resented the demands of the government, in taxes, and the requisitions carried out by commissars.

There is no peace in Russia between the most important class of the Russian Revolution and the government that is leading the revolution. This constitutes one of the gravest dangers confronting the Russian Revolution. The basis upon which the revolution rests is unstable and will remain unstable as long as the government fails to meet the aims, needs and ideals of the Russian peasantry.

What is the use of all our struggles, say the peasants; why

did we spill our blood to save the revolution from the attacks of the white guards?

The great hope and aim of the Russian peasantry, during generations of oppositionist and revolutionary struggle, was always to become free farmers, on free land, with free homes, in a free Russian republic. Today the peasants find themselves ruled by party dictatorship, ruling in the name of the workers, and consisting of intellectuals and bureaucrats. The peasant resents the government's policy of robbing him of half of his income.

No Paradise for Workers

At the same time, Soviet Russia is no paradise for the workers. With the tremendous investments poured into the building of huge plants by the government, it is impossible for it to satisfy the needs of the workers. The government has carried out a program of housing development in the big cities. There are model houses, and model schools, and model towns with gardens, but only for perhaps one or two per cent of the Russian workers. The rest of the working class lives under indescribably bad conditions. This is not because the Soviet leaders would not like to give them better conditions, but it is an economic impossibility to do so when all the money available, wrung from the toil of the peasants, is being invested in heavy industry, in the development of a gigantic program of industrialization.

Under normal conditions it would be possible for the Russian people to compel the government to enter upon a compromise with the peasantry, as Lenin did in 1921, when he introduced the New Economic Policy, ruthlessly abandoned by Stalin with the introduction of his industrialization and collectivization program. Were the Russian workers in a position to make their influence felt upon the government and its policy, they would bring about an improvement in their living conditions by forcing a drastic curtailment of the industrialization program. But the political situation in Russia is not a normal one.

There is no freedom of speech, of press, of organization. There is no means of expressing an opinion that is not the opinion of Stalin. And even when you are a member of the Communist Party you dare not express an opinion contrary to Stalin's. You know what happened to Trotsky and, more recently, to Zinoviev and Kamenev when they ventured to differ with Stalin. They are now

exiled and imprisoned for ten years.

The Stalin Dictatorship. In Russia we have what is to all intents and purposes a dictatorship not of a party, or of the proletariat, or of the peasantry. We have a dictatorship of a certain group of the Communist Party, supporting itself on the OGPU, the secret police, on the Red Army, a dictatorship that wields an absolute monopoly of political power, against the wish and will of the peasantry, against the desires and demands of the workers, and not even in harmony with important parts of the Communist Party itself. And parallel with this we have in the villages and industrial plants a system of inequality, of special privileges, of social differentiations, of divisions into lower and higher classes. We have a system in which private capitalism is abolished, but offering no opportunity for true Socialist construction.

We have in Russia a system of unprecedented state capitalism, not private capitalism but state capitalism. The state is one big capitalist, ruling the country on the basis of dictatorship, with no possibility for the working class to influence the policies of the rulers or to give free expression to the will, the aims, the hopes of the workers. This is the true situation in Russia.

What of the Future?

What can be the future of such a system? We, Russian Socialists, cannot be very optimistic. We still regard the Russian government as a revolutionary government. I personally do not doubt the Socialist aspirations of Stalin, Molotov, Kalinin, etc. But we have had many revolutions in history which, despite the good will of the leaders, had a very sad ending. We have seen the magnificent French Revolution of 180 years ago, led by men like Marat, Danton, with the best aims and the finest intentions, the most idealistic purposes. And the end of that revolution was dictatorship, war, Napoleon and Bonapartism. It was not the dream of Rousseau, the intellectual father of the revolution, that the revolution should end in Bonapartism, that a Second Empire and a "republic of bankers" should be the heirs of the revolution.

When we examine the internal mechanism of the Russian Revolution, what do we see?

We see the vast Russian peasantry, with its own aims, class struggles, class interests and class psychology. We see the Russian workers, consisting of about two or three million elder elements with some Socialist tradition, and 12 or 15 million young workers from the villages, people who but yesterday were peasants, today workers, but retaining the psychology and traditions of peasants. We see a bureaucracy very much inclined to consider itself quite the most important thing in the world. We see a regime which can in no way be controlled by the will of the people. And all this is permeated by the growing psychology of this new state capitalism with tendencies to Bonapartism.

Deification of One Man

At the recent Communist congress in Moscow, Kamenev delivered a long speech. And what was the purport of that so-called "Marxian" speech? It was the deification of a man, the setting up of a new God in Russia. In that speech Kamenev actually sought to prove that the dictatorship of the proletariat was synonymous with the dictatorship of one man, Stalin. It was all a part of the disgusting flattery and sycophancy that permeates the Soviet bureaucracy, a sycophancy, which did not however save Kamenev from imprisonment and exile. Brutality and utter lack of concern for those below, flattery and servility towards those above constitute the direction in which the psychology of the Stalin state is drifting.

Is this the moral basis upon which a Socialist society can be built? Is this the instrument with which Socialism can be promoted? The technique is practically that of fascist Italy and Hitler Germany. Party dictatorship, a police state, personal leadership, the Führer principle.

More and more the psychology and evolution of the Soviet regime is turning in the direction of Bonapartism.

And the only way to save the great Russian Revolution is to stop this Bonapartist tendency, to find ways and means of compelling a change in the policy of the Stalin regime. We Socialists know only one way in which this may be accomplished: moral pressure not only by all Russian Socialists but by the entire international Socialist movement. With the danger of war, with the very great social and economic difficulties confronting Soviet Russia, the moral pressure of the international proletariat may force the Soviet Government to alter its policy, to strike out upon the road of democracy in the Soviet regime, to make of the Soviets real Parliaments of the workers and peasants, to give the peasants in the collectives an opportunity to achieve real economic freedom, to lay the basis for true Socialism in Russia.

Democratization of the Soviet system is the only road open for the salvation of the revolution and satisfying the will and the historic aims of the people.

Sweden's Socialist Government Faces Problems of Capitalist Crisis

Moeller, Minister of Social Welfare, Tells of Notable Achievements Of Government Headed by Per Albin Hansson

by **Adrien Gambet**

GUSTAVE MOELLER, Minister of Social Affairs of Sweden, represented the Socialist Party of his country at the Easter Congress of the Netherlands Socialist Party and pushed on to Brussels, where he conferred with Friedrich Adler, Secretary of the Labor and Socialist International, and Comrade Henri de Man, Belgian Minister of Public Works and of the Re-absorption of Unemployment.

The two Socialist ministers had a long conference on the subject that is most essential in their immediate task, the war against unemployment.

While in Brussels Moeller gave an interview on the economic rehabilitation of his country, which is governed by a Socialist ministry. This ministry came into power as a result of the elections of September, 1932, with 104 Socialist seats out of 230. There are 8 Communists as well.

The Swedish Socialist Party did not hesitate to form a government, hoping through its policy to win a parliamentary majority. It was assured of the support of the peasant party (36 seats) and the radical liberals (4 seats) and thus commanded 152 votes or close to two-thirds of the Chamber for the ministry headed by the new premier, Comrade Per Albin Hansson.

When the Socialist government came into office the crisis had already deeply affected the country and the general attitude was pessimistic. The first aim of the Hansson government was to break the crisis and to overcome the crisis mentality. In 1931, the devaluation of the Swedish krone had occurred and this, the Socialists felt, assisted them in attaining their ends, which in fact, they could not have attained without it, as the proud sterling [England is Swe-

den's greatest customer] had already gone off the gold standard. With the crown on the gold standard, Sweden could not have held her foreign markets.

In reply to a question as to whether the purchasing power of the masses had been maintained, Comrade Moeller replied that the whole aim of Socialist policy had been to augment the purchasing power of the mass of consumers and that it has succeeded in attaining this goal. In the interior the purchasing power of the crown has been maintained. Thanks to its policy of works and subsidies to enterprises the number of unemployed has been considerably reduced with the result that purchasing power has been greatly increased, and this, in turn, has led to a pick-up in a number of industries.

Parent-Teachers' Conference To Be Held on May 19th

The annual May festival and parent-teachers' conference under the joint auspices of the Women's Committee of the Socialist Party and the Socialist Teachers' Group will take place on Sunday, May 19th, on the beautiful private estate of a comrade at Butler, New Jersey.

Busses and private automobiles (which are expected to be contributed by comrades) will leave the People's House, 7 East 15th Street, New York City, 9 A. M., Sunday, May 19. The fare is \$1.00.

The program is as follows: 11 a. m.—Conference; 1 p. m.—Picnic Lunch; 3 p. m.—Sports; 4 p. m.—A performance by the Rebel Arts Players.

The speakers at the conference, it was announced, will be Albert Smallheiser on "The Teacher and

The program of public works has been extremely inclusive and has embraced no less than fifty different categories, while at the same time it respected the autonomy of cities and communes and encouraged their initiative in this matter.

Working class housing and schools have been developed, roads and urbanization have been undertaken, and exploitation of forests (Sweden is a country of great forests and the source of raw material for the match and paper industries). The result has been that thousands of unemployed have been returned to work.

Subsidies to private industry have enabled 55,000 small businesses and 1,000 large ones to weather the worst phases of the crisis, to keep their personnel at work and even to augment it from

the Parent"; Mrs. Henry S. Pascal on "Parents' Organizations"; Mrs. Frances Pollack on "The Work of the School Committee of the Teachers' Union Auxiliary," and Walter C. Hodge on "Organizing Socialist Parents."

Nazi Labor Paper Speaks, For Once, the Truth

BERLIN.—The Deutsche, official organ of the German Labor Front, which ceased publication at the beginning of 1935, made its exit with an article entitled "Mass, Man or Personality?"

Among other things the article said: "The ruthlessly suppressed masses are merely the instrument for these tyrants, who do not regard them as differing in any way from dead matter. Calculations are made with the 'mass man' just as calculations are made with machinery, goods, construction. Man is a cipher, he is just one particle of an immense machine. He is not

allowed a will of his own. The will belongs to the dictator. The mass man is not allowed a will of his own. The will belongs to the dictator. The mass man is not allowed to create or to strive for progress, for the dictator alone decides whether he shall go forward or be submerged."

Those who believe that the article is directed against German Nazi methods are mistaken. The paper was not talking about Germany, but about Russia. It is characteristic of the blindness prevailing in Germany today, that the writer did not see that his arguments applied with more than equal force to the German dictatorship.

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State Committee Replies to N.E.C.

(Continued from Page Seven)

vention at which the present National Executive Committee was elected, the constitution was adopted containing the requirement that "In organized states the National Office shall transact its business with the state through the state secretary and the state committee."

Two "Groups"

You not only proceed to transact business with the New York City Local in violation of the National Constitution but you state in your communication "that the two groups in New York State should find a common ground of unity," and in the event of failure you threaten action against the New York State organization.

In the first place, you do not specify which two groups. In the second place, assuming that the duly constituted state committee of New York is to be treated by you as just a "group," you do not name the second group. You could not have intended the New York City Local as the other group, since there is no disharmony between the New York City Local and the state organization. Nor did the New York City Local or the state organization complain to you of any such disharmony.

We have learned that the only complaint you have received was from a group in New York styling itself "Militants."

If this is the other group you have in mind, it is extraordinary that you do not name or describe it. What is even more extraordinary is that you have not even addressed this communication you sent us to the other group asking them, as you have asked us, to do certain things. If, as you assert, the two groups must agree on the grounds of harmony, how can you expect the group which you do not name, to whom you do not even submit the request, to perform its part in any plan that might be adopted as a basis for harmony? You have not asked that group to do a single thing or to comply with a single suggestion. Yet you threaten us with disciplinary action.

An Organization and Its Opposition

In treating the duly constituted state organization as a "group," in placing it on the same plane as a group of individual members organized in opposition to it, in asking us, but not the others, to submit to conditions which require common action and agreement, you, in effect, take the position that New York is no longer an organized state, with a duly constituted state committee and an executive committee to govern it.

Harmony cannot be achieved by such method as you employ. You cannot violate the National Constitution and the Constitution of the party in New York and upon that violation establish peace in the party organization. By these methods and policies you encourage a minority within the party in New York State to continue guerrilla warfare against the party organization, to intensify their organized efforts to build up a dual party, to maintain their own headquarters, and a weekly paper in opposition to the regular organ of the party, The New Leader.

If any further evidence were needed to establish the unfair treatment you have accorded our state organization by defining it as a "group," the fact that you permitted a group of individual party members to file with you a complaint of alleged grievances against the New York City Local furnishes such evidence. Your very communication rests on this complaint.

As a matter of fact you have not even extended us the courtesy of forwarding a copy of that complaint. Neither has the National Office complied with the written request of our S.E.C., made after receiving your communication, for a copy of any complaint or resolution submitted to the N.E.C. by any group or local within the state.

All this has been done in violation of Article VI, Section 2, of the New York State Constitution, reading:

"Sec. 2. Proceedings Against a Local. (a) For violation of this or the national constitution shall be instituted upon a written complaint signed by at least three (3) members in good standing, or by the state secretary. Said complaint shall state specifically and clearly the nature of the offense or offenses with which the local is charged."

(b) The written charges shall be filed with the State Executive Committee, which may appoint at its discretion a committee to investigate the said charges or may proceed to investigate the charges as a committee of the whole."

Notwithstanding this provision, you have permitted complaints to be lodged by individual members against our New York City Local, at a time when you knew that there was not a single complaint lodged against it with our State Committee or our State Executive Committee.

Does the National Executive Committee believe that as long as individual dissenting comrades within a state can with impunity and in violation of their own State Constitution appear with complaints before them and receive favorable action, that there can be any harmony or common ground

New York Socialists Seek Harmony in Party, and Will Continue To Work for Unity; Nine-Point Program Taken Up; Admit Declaration Is Properly Adopted, But Will Continue to Seek to Change It

for unity within the state organizations, whose laws are violated and whose discipline they refuse to accept?

Would such a group, coming from Wisconsin, in defiance of the Wisconsin State Constitution; or from Pennsylvania, in defiance of the Pennsylvania State Constitution; or from Connecticut, in defiance of the Connecticut State Constitution, be received by you and their alleged complaints entertained seriously by your committee?

To Continue to Work for Harmony

However, notwithstanding our belief that the policy which some of the members of your committee are pursuing leads to disunity, we shall continue as in the past, in spite of the provocations from the dissident group, to leave nothing undone to restore peace. From the very beginning it has been our position that a way can be found to restore such peace. We believe that those who are so sure that they can have a united front with the Communists can at least make an effort to establish a united front of all Socialists. It is with this hope in mind that we answer the points outlined in your communication, taking each one in turn, and in the order in which they are presented.

The Nine Points

"1. The adherence to the resolutions of the N.E.C. providing the ineligibility of advocates of communism and violence in the party."

Of course, this rule will be adhered to.

Your committee must be aware that the New York State organization has contended for precisely this provision. At the Boston meeting of the N.E.C. it was the representatives of New York State who urged that fact that advocates of violence and armed insurrection must be prevented from joining the Socialist Party if the party is not to become a stamping ground for those who have freely admitted that they seek admission in the Socialist Party not to advance Socialism but to "settle" within the party their differences with the Socialist Party membership.

To make the principle of Point One of practical value it is imperative that the N.E.C. make that rule effective in those states which have accepted applicants for membership who still believe in Communism. It should make that rule effective, for example, in New Jersey, which accepts applicants who are not acceptable in New York because they are Communists, thereby flooding the party with Communists who can be used, as they have been used, to undermine the New York State organization. It should also address that communication to Illinois, where Communists who openly admit that they have not renounced their Communist views are admitted, to be used both locally and nationally to submerge and eventually destroy the social democratic elements constituting the bulk of the present party membership.

So far as New York State is concerned, the N.E.C. may rest assured that the New York State Committee will enforce Rule 1.

The Declaration

"2. That the State Committee of New York prepare and issue a statement setting forth its view that, while holding to the right of Socialists to advocate changes in the Declaration of Principles, the same must be accepted as the duly and legally adopted Declaration of Principles as provided for in the National Constitution."

The State Committee of New York has never denied, and does not now deny, that the Declaration of Principles has been duly and legally adopted.

But the New York State organization will use its right as Socialists to advocate changes and modifications in the Declaration of Principles and to point out to the membership that the present Declaration of Principles is a repudiation of Social Democratic principles upon which the Socialist Party has been founded.

"3. That the local, state and national constitutions shall be rigidly enforced."

So far as the State Committee and the State Executive Committee are concerned, we assure the N.E.C. that the local, state and national constitutions will be rigidly enforced within our state. Moreover, we shall expect these N.E.C. members to observe these constitutions in their relation to New York State.

We resent the insinuation that there has been no such enforcement in the past. Such insinuations are the result of rumors which some members of the N.E.C. have received and put into general circulation without first inquiring as to their truth or falsity.

If complaint exists against any local that it fails to comply with the constitution or by-laws, there is sufficient provision in the New

York State Constitution for a review of such complaints before our State Committee. We have already referred to the provisions in our State Constitution which govern these cases, and we here, again, assert that at the time your communication was adopted no such complaints had been received.

We again urge the N.E.C. to advise individual comrades and the organization of so-called "militants" within the party who happen to disagree with the duly constituted state committee that the N.E.C. will not countenance their breach of the local and state constitutions and of the rules laid down by the State Committees.

18-Year Admission Age

"4. That the State Committee rescind the resolution which forbids locals from accepting to membership members of the Young People's Socialist League who are qualified within the national constitution and resolutions."

This point relates to the rule of the New York State Committee that no person under 21 years of age shall be admitted to membership in the party within our state. This rule has been in continuous existence in New York State for the past fifteen years, since the Assembly ousted in 1920. The rule applies to all applications, not only to the Y.P.S.L. members.

This rule is contested by the "militants," who hope to augment their numbers by the admission of youngsters of 18 years. They contend that it violates Article III, Section 1, of the National Constitution.

Our committee firmly believes that this rule, to make 21 the minimum age requirement for membership in the party in our state, is not in conflict with the national constitution, and for the following reasons:

1. That under the structure of the Socialist Party, and the national constitution, the establishment of an age requirement for membership resides within those states that are organized.

2. That the age requirement in the national constitution is permissive, not mandatory, and was never intended to be mandatory.

The Socialist Party, nationally, consists of the organized state parties and in unorganized states of local organizations and individual members-at-large. The individual members in organized states are members of the state organizations.

Article II, Section 1, of the National Constitution reads:

"The organization of the Socialist Party shall consist of the state and local organizations now in existence, and such state and local organizations as may be hereafter organized by the National Executive Committee or by the state organizations recognized by the National Executive Committee."

State or National Matter?

The state organizations have in the past determined the eligibility of its members; subject to the acceptance by applicants of the principles and platforms of the Socialist Party.

We, in New York, had at one time an 18-year age qualification for membership. At the trial for the ouster of the Socialist Assemblymen in 1920, one of the main contentions of the State was that we were not a legally constituted political party because, among

other things, persons not qualified to vote exercised political powers as members of the party. After the ouster, the age qualification was raised to 21 years, where it has been ever since. Our conditions require that it shall continue to be so. If it could, the N.E.C. ought not to impose conditions on the state organization which might have the effect of outlawing the party or hamper it in its development and growth.

The adoption of the 18-year clause in the National Constitution was not intended to abrogate the right of an organized state to pass upon the eligibility of members.

Section 1, of Article III, of the National Constitution states that a person 18 years of age and upward "shall be eligible to membership in the party." This provision is permissive, not mandatory. Innumerable cases, where similar language employed in other connections have been construed to impose no mandate, can be cited.

Permissive or Mandatory?

States frequently prescribe membership in a trade union as qualification for party membership. A restriction may be imposed that an applicant's membership in the Communist Party shall make him ineligible for membership in the Socialist Party. Yet such requirements, according to the "militant" construction of Article III, Section 1, would be improper. Yet that would be improper if the construction contended for by the "militant" group were to be adopted.

The provision in the national constitution that "Members under twenty-one (21) years shall not be eligible to take part in the nomination of candidates for public office" does not render us immune from danger under our state laws. The activities of a political party are not confined to the making of nominations for public office. We adopt rules and regulations binding elected officials to a certain course of conduct.

In the making of such rules members 18 years of age would take part. Their participation in the determination of policies by which candidates are bound, in the drafting of platforms, etc., is such as to bring them within the prohibition which our state imposes on those who are not qualified voters.

If the N.E.C. desires to preserve party harmony, certainly it will not insist on our acceptance of a condition which was not intended to be imposed in the first place, has no applicability to us in the second place, and finally would make our position as a political party untenable.

Boys and girls who have reached the age of 18 and are desirous of serving the Socialist Party are not deprived of that opportunity. As members of the Y.P.S.L. they can be effective workers for Socialism. If their purpose in joining the party is other than to serve Socialism, if it is to aid the "militant" faction, then the N.E.C., if it really desires harmony, should not aid them in their plans.

Conference to Settle Differences Suggested

We do not regard the question raised by this point as insoluble. In spite of our sincere belief that the rule prescribing a 21-year limit in our state in no way violates Section 1 of Article III of

the National Constitution, the N.E.C. still thinks it does, we suggest the appointment by the N.E.C. of a sub-committee to meet a sub-committee of our State Committee as a political organization to find a way to iron out this difference without requiring our party to be exposed to unnecessary dangers. We are ready and willing to cooperate for that purpose. We are confident that a way can be found, if good will is exercised.

"5. That every party member, all party committees, and papers published by Socialists shall be forbidden from making or issuing statements attacking the integrity of the comrades, the party itself, or its duly constituted committees. Provision must be made for disciplinary action to enforce this."

The State of New York has always insisted that proper party ethics be maintained in discussion among party members or in the criticism of party officials and committees. The files of the N.E.C. are filled with malicious and scurrilous accusations aimed at the State Committee and the state and city officials by the so-called "militants." Instead of repressing them for such tactics, these attacks have been accepted without investigation, and by so doing your committee has encouraged attacks on the integrity of party committees.

We welcome the change of attitude. We hope that in the future you will not permit statements attacking the integrity of party committees, officers and members to be made a part of your official records without at least giving those so falsely accused an opportunity to reply.

Party Ethics

While we gladly subscribe to the principle of sound party ethics, we desire to emphasize that we in New York do not believe in a censorship or a stifling of legitimate criticism. We believe in free party discussion, and when the issues are of a public nature, they may be publicly discussed. Our party has never had anything to conceal or to fear. We have always announced our doctrines and declarations to the whole world. They were publicly debated and argued. Secrecy is the policy of concealment and underground methods. Nor do we believe in heresy hunting. Point 5 is too vague to be adopted, except in the spirit here outlined.

"6. That the local and state committees of New York shall promptly dispose of all questions of membership, organization, etc., in dispute in a democratic and constitutional manner."

We fully accept the suggestion. For the sake of the truth, however, permit us to state that there are not now and there never have been any questions of organization and membership before our committee which were not promptly and constitutionally disposed of. As a matter of public record, the following membership and organization cases were before our committee during the past two years, and they were disposed of promptly:

Matthews appeal—Decided on July 30, 1934.

Harold Draper appeal—Decided on November 11, 1934.

Buffalo case—Disposed of within 60 days, as provided in the Constitution.

The only three cases before us were: Local Huntington, L. I., for

RESOLVED, that the State Executive Committee petition the National Executive Committee that if developments in the New York situation bring an indictment of New York, they call an Emergency National Convention which will decide on the action to be taken."

The vote was taken by mail. A. Arkin of Boston, a bitter opponent of the move to petition for the revocation of the New York charter, refrained from voting in order that it might not be said that his vote carried the day.

BOOST THE NEW LEADER!

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

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The militant faction pretends to be clamoring for democracy. The Board of Directors have been elected by the only democratic method of which we know. Is it the view of the National Executive Committee that it can transform minorities into majorities in the same way that has been done by the Communists when they sought to enforce minority decisions?

Democratic Socialism

Under the constitution of The New Leader Publishing Association The New Leader must support and advocate the principles of Socialism as recognized by the Labor and Socialist International.

That is, it must advocate the principles of Social Democracy, not of Communism or dictatorship. By resolution, adopted at the same meeting at which the foregoing was adopted, The New Leader voted to support the Socialist Party of the United States of America.

The New York militants had repeatedly threatened that through the control of a majority of the N.E.C., which they claimed, the charter of New York State would be revoked, and the majority of the members of The New Leader Association would thereby be technically out of the party, and the militant minority of the Association would thereby assume control of The New Leader.

In order to protect its rights and those of the majority of its members, it became necessary for The New Leader Association to omit from its constitution that part of its membership qualifications dealing with membership in the Socialist Party; but members of the Association must adhere to the principles of Social Democracy.

Not a Factional Organ

We wish to assure the N.E.C. that the Association and the Board of The New Leader is representative of the party membership in New York. The New Leader is not a factional organ. The New Leader is the official organ of the New York State Socialist organization as well as of Pennsylvania and Maryland. Unless we accept the view, which the N.E.C. seems to hold, that the official organization is just another "group"—a view which we emphatically repudiate—The New Leader is not a factional organ. Moreover, The New Leader policies are those of the Socialist Party, accepting Social Democracy as its foundation.

"9. That both Local New York and the State Committee shall report what progress has been made in accomplishing the purposes hereof, on or before six weeks from the receipt of copies of this statement."

The foregoing is our reply. As to Local New York, we again call your attention to Article X, Section 7, of the National Constitution, under which you are required, in organized states, to deal with "the state through the state secretary and the state committee."

We are informed by representatives of Local New York, that with a view to establishing harmony there was appointed a "unity committee" composed of representatives of all factions and groups within the local. This committee was instructed to formulate a harmony program upon which agreement could be accomplished. The committee reported to the Central Committee of Local New York four specific recommendations. All of these were in line with your communication. The "militants" refused to accept or support these recommendations. The minutes of the Central Committee show that every "militant" delegate voted against the Harmony Committee report.

In spite of this "militant" attitude, the harmony program was adopted by a substantial majority of the delegates constituting the Central Committee of Local New York.

In closing, we repeat our complete desire to eliminate all factional strife, and to maintain the unity of the party based on the rights of members and of state organizations under our Constitution.

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MASSACHUSETTS S.E.C. REVERSES ACTION ON NEW YORK CHARTER

BOSTON.—By a vote of 5 to 4, the Massachusetts State Committee of the Socialist Party virtually reversed itself on its stand of a month ago, and declared that the revocation of the charter of the New York State organization, for which it had previously petitioned, would cause a "suicidal split." Last month the motion calling for the revocation of the charter of New York was carried by a vote of 6 to 2.

Following the referendum vote that reversed the S.E.C. motion by 593 to 119, Delegate Boynich of the S.E.C. introduced the following:

"WHEREAS, so long as the threat of suspension is hanging over the State of New York, party activities will be paralyzed, cooperation impossible, and efforts to make a success of the United Socialist Drive remain at naught; and,

WHEREAS, compliance by the National Executive Committee with the petition of the Massachusetts State Committee to suspend the charter of the State of New York would be a suicidal split in the party ranks; be it

THE ONLY NEW DEAL THEY KNOW



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WORKMEN'S MUTUAL FIRE INSURANCE SOCIETY, INC.

(ORGANIZED 1878)
A co-operative Fire Insurance Society, affiliated with the Cooperative League

NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

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

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SATURDAY, MAY 11th, 1935

THE A. F. OF L. AT THE CROSSROADS

INFORMATION from reliable sources in Washington indicates that the labor movement may be approaching the most serious crisis since the formation of the American Federation of Labor.

Because they feel that the executive council has failed to carry out the mandate of the San Francisco convention of the A. F. of L. for the organization of the mass production industries, notably steel and automobiles, certain influential members of the executive council, including John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, are reported ready to lead a secessionist movement of a group of powerful organizations as a means of facilitating the organization of the mass production industries on the principle of industrial unionism.

The critics of the executive council within the council feel, as do many, that certain trade union internationals within the A. F. of L. have permitted their immediate craft interests to interfere with the organization of the automobile industry, for example, and that unless these internationals show clearly their willingness to sink narrow craft interests and avoid jurisdictional disputes the task of organizing the automobile industry will never be accomplished. On the other hand, the life and vigor of the labor movement as a whole depend upon successful organization of the mass production industries.

The situation is, indeed, serious if the reports from Washington are true. And we have reason to believe that they are well grounded. It would be a great tragedy if the labor movement of America should be split by the exit from the A. F. of L. of a group of its most powerful and most militant organizations, totalling perhaps one-half of its membership. Splits in the labor movement are never to be encouraged. What makes the present situation so serious is that the leaders and organizations reported as considering secession are fully aware of this fundamental truth. Yet, they are reported to be actually considering secession.

The whole question may be expected to reach a climax at the next convention in Atlantic City in October.

Let us hope that that convention will take the necessary firm steps for the carrying out of the San Francisco mandate, that it will facilitate the great task of organizing the mass production industries, and that the unity of the great American labor movement will be preserved.

HIGH FINANCE CALLS A HALT

GREAT capital has at length spoken out pretty clearly in the resolutions adopted a few days ago by the United States Chamber of Commerce. Pretty clearly, but perhaps not so fully nor with so much emphasis as it will speak later on.

In the spring and summer of 1933 practically the whole capitalist class was in a state of bewilderment and panic fear. This was not due to the outcome of the 1932 election, nor to any manifestations of popular unrest that had taken place. What puzzled the capitalists and literally "scared them stiff" was the fact that the economic crisis, after running its course for three fiscal years, working ruin in the fields of industry and of commerce, had finally begun to work ruin in the financial field as well.

The really powerful capitalists—which in our day means the financiers—had flattered themselves that, no matter what disaster might befall manufacturers and mine owners, railway corporations and mercantile houses and, of course, millions upon millions of wage workers and working farmers, their great financial institutions were safe and sound as the rock of Gibraltar. In February, 1933, they had a rude awakening. Banks and trust companies began to crack and fall, each dragging others down with it.

The super-capitalists were dazed. They momentarily lost faith in their system and in themselves. And so they raised no protest when the incoming President demanded and a frightened and self-distrustful Congress voted to him what might almost be called dictatorial powers. The capitalists never liked the New Deal, but they had nothing to offer instead. At any rate, it was not chaos. It would give them time to turn around. They endured it, because they did not know what else to do.

Two years have gone by. The capitalists do not understand the situation any better than they did in 1933, but they have got out of their blue funk. They are inclined to think once more that God's in his heaven and all's well with the world—not quite well, perhaps, but by no means so ill as they had feared. For them, the New Deal has served its purpose. The emergency is past. Now we may think of "getting back to normalcy."

"The Moor has done his work—the Moor may go." They won't be too rough about it. NIRA may be extended for a few months. They will even consider the propriety of enacting, some time or other, some possible measures of social legislation. Some time or other—upon mature consideration—after we've got business to running well in its old grooves. But not this year, nor next—oh, no? Thank you kindly, Mr. President, for what you've done so far, but please don't go any farther until we give the word.

And their next word will be a sharper one.

Twenty-Three Cents a Day Is Enough



Drawn by Arthur Fassberg.

That is, if you're not a member of the "privileged classes."

Privileged and Unprivileged

By William M. Feigenbaum

THREE ladies, two clinic dieticians and a supervisor of nutrition service for the Emergency Relief Bureau, have reported to the New York State Dietetic Association that it is possible properly to feed a family of five "on low relief incomes" on \$8 a week. The ladies found that it is "quite possible" to plan a well-balanced diet for 23 cents per day per individual, the total for five people reaching \$8.05 per week—the extra five cents presumably being supplied out of the private fortune of the family; or maybe it is a discount for cash.

The three ladies report that families that are not "too temperamental" can get along "very nicely" on such a budget. The diet includes meat three or four times a week, providing cheaper cuts are used.

This "well-balanced" diet compares favorably with the New York Home Relief food allowance of \$2.15 for two weeks for children of five and under, rising to \$3.55 for an unemployed man, \$3.30 for a woman (and \$4.50 for her when she is pregnant); when a man gets a relief job he is allotted 15 cents a day for lunch and \$2 every other week for clothing.

There isn't much variety in food possible either for the pregnant woman's \$2.25 a week or with the three ladies' 23 cents a day, but what do people expect when they are on relief? Don't they know that they are permitted to live and now and then to gnaw at a bone just on sufferance?

Here we have Miss Alice E. Mertz, director of Social Case Work in the Home Relief Bureau (\$70 a week), who testified that if she found a man and his wife both had relief jobs (at \$15 a week) she would fire one of them. Then when it was called to her attention that she had a husband on a \$29 a week relief job, she brightly explained, "We have privileged classes in this country."

And those who do not belong to those privileged classes have to make \$1.07½ do for a week's food for babies of five and under; have to feed a pregnant woman for \$2.25 a week, and have to be content with 15 cents a day for lunches when they get a relief job.

And then what happens to them? They get this princely 23 cents a day for food, more or less (32 cents for their wives when they are pregnant), and for a while they sit around and wait for relief jobs. Then they will get a dollar a week for clothing, 15 cents a day for lunch (a filling meal of six pretzels is suggested), and carfare to and from work.

"Good" men, a recent article reports, "with a history of steady employment, sit around the relief station all day hoping for a call to a relief job." But it is becoming increasingly plain, the article continues, "that the general tendency of the masses is to sit back and take what they get, and gradually lose interest in looking for work. The world is giving them food and shelter, and more and more the idea sinks into them that this is a proper state of affairs."

And that was the way it went in Rome; more and more of the voting masses depended upon free grain and spectacular shows, until it sank into their minds that they would be fools to work so long as food and amusement were freely theirs. . . . And so Rome degenerated and fell.

Of course, there are those who do not like the gradual pauperization of vast masses of useful people. Of course, there are those men and women who believe that in a world so rich, with plenty possible for all, it might be less than impossible to arrange things so that there is worth-while work for all, to be performed under conditions of decency and self-respect, leaving sufficient leisure to enjoy the fruit that they by their labors have made so abundant.

But to achieve this thing it will be necessary to turn our system upside-down and set it on its feet; it will be necessary to produce for use and not for profit; it will be necessary to eliminate from our system all elements of profit-taking and exploitation.

To achieve this thing it will be necessary to get rid of capitalism and to get Socialism. It is possible to achieve this, but no one is interested in seeking to achieve it except those who suffer and toil and are degraded by what we have today, and who will thereby gain peace and plenty and contentment and the full fruits of rich living.

BLACK on WHITE

By Eugene Lyons

THEODORE DREISER is no more to blame for his gradual unfolldment as an anti-Semite of the more psychopathic variety than he is for other manifestations of encroaching old age

(writes Eugene Lyons in the Jewish Daily Bulletin). Whoever has read his letters to Hutchins-Hapgood must be aware that they show neither logic nor balance, being a pitiful, floundering attempt to rationalize unreasoned prejudices.

The anti-Jewish hallucinations, especially his tell-tale hallucination of numbers, which a lucid intelligence would have resolved as one resolves a nightmare, poor Dreiser accepts as fixed premises for his "thinking" on the Jewish problem.

One may as well argue against the thinning of his hair or the ebbing of his virility as argue against the submersion of his logic in the slimy morasses of race hatred.

The Left intelligentsia here, rightly shocked, may eventually bully the old man into softening, tending down or even retracting his frank expression of anti-Semitism. Their good opinion is doubtless worth something to him and they may maneuver him into confession

of error. But nothing will be gained thereby—he will be doubly anti-Semitic under the surface for having been forced to do penance.

The spectacle is sufficiently tragic. Dissolution and putrefaction attacking a mentality of noble proportions is no matter for levity. Luckily the tension has been considerably relaxed by some well-timed comic relief. The record is spread in the current issue of The New Masses and I recommend the number highly for its unconscious comedy (Adv.).

A solemn delegation from that magazine called upon the erring Dreiser and tried to argue him out of his phobia. The expedition failed, the novelist defended his right to hate the Jews and the visitors "came away . . . discouraged and dissatisfied."

A second, more formidable delegation was then sent to renew the argument. It included Corliss Lamont, John Howard Lawson, and other intellectuals. Even through the painfully careful phrases of the official report one can visualize the picture: the delegates citing Lenin and Hitler while Dreiser repeats his absurdities with the stubbornness of second childhood. Driven into a corner, Dreiser finally composes and signs a statement attesting that he "draws a distinction between Jewish worker and the Jewish exploiter."

Having recognized that distinction, and signed it reluctantly, he then made it clear to the delegation that he dislikes both workers and exploiters if they happen to

be Jews. Had he been bludgeoned into admitting that he draws a distinction between Jewish males and females, or tall Jews and short ones, the total significance of his compromise would have been exactly the same.

Other assaults on Dreiser's right to hate the Jews, and to wish them safely packed off to Palestine (which is Hitler's wish too), are presumably under way now. The New Masses editors promise that "a still further effort will be made to go over these questions with him and to end all such confusion as remains." They "decline to believe that it will be impossible for Theodore Dreiser to regain his traditional place as a fighter for human liberty."

The performance is merely ludicrous. If the delegates were not the sort who substitute slogans and formulas for thought and content themselves with lip service to a political "line," they would see the absurdity of their behavior. They would realize that the more valid their arguments, the greater the patient's resistance.

It speaks volumes for the strange state of mind induced by political orthodoxy. Those expeditions, of course, were wholly political and undertaken in the curious belief that a formal retraction would change something in Dreiser's mind or Dreiser's essential position.

The whole report in The New Masses is a revelation of the Communist belief in the efficacy of confession. The editors went to

The Biggest Pork Barrel Any President Has Had

By Algernon Lee

IF ever any President had his renomination nailed down more than a year in advance, Franklin D. Roosevelt is the man. With four or five billions of government money to be spent on public works, practically "as, if, and when" he shall direct; with power, through his appointees, to determine under what conditions any non-federal project is to be financed and carried out, and to decide without appeal whether



Algernon Lee

this or that state, city, or country administration has given satisfactory assurance that those conditions will be met; with a Farley to advise him and an Ickes to do what critics will call the "dirty work"—with such opportunities as these in his hands it would be almost impossible for him to make himself unpopular enough to lose the Democratic nomination next summer or to fail of a huge majority at the polls.

We Socialists are not consumed with love either for Mayor LaGuardia or for Commissioner Moses of New York, and Senator Long of Louisiana is certainly not one of our idols. Yet we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that Secretary of the Interior, undoubtedly, advised by the Postmaster General and with the President's full approval, has used his power of

granting or refusing government aid as a partisan club, in the one case to punish the people of New York City for electing a Fusion mayor, in the other case to compel the Louisiana Democrats to depose a state leader who dares to oppose White House policies.

It is the biggest "pork barrel" in modern history. To match it we have to go back to ancient Rome, where the plutocratic senate held power by providing the urban masses with bread and shows—"panem et circenses." In this country until now presidents have counted themselves lucky if there was enough pork in the barrel to buy a few thousand venal politicians. This one contains the possibilities of food for millions of literally starving voters. With such means of mass corruption at his disposal, it would be folly for Mr. Roosevelt or any other man in his place to think of adopting the crude methods of a Mussolini or a Hitler.

Those who are continually talking of an imminent danger of fascism in the United States are barking up the wrong tree. The danger is not that democracy will be overthrown. The danger is that democracy will be more and more undermined. And whoever mocks at "parliamentarism," whoever joins in sneering at the deliberative slowness of legislative bodies and by emphasizing the importance of "leadership" promotes the overgrowth of the executive power, helps to make that evil more acute and more difficult ever to be corrected.

How About the Progressives?

By E. H. Thomas

WHEN you are going on a long journey it is very pleasant to find friends who are also starting on their travels. Not only will you enjoy their company, but they may share the dangers or expenses of the expedition.

But if you find that they are determined to go to Florida, while you are dead bent to reach California there is nothing to do but to part company.

Nobody denies that the Socialists have a hard road before them, and it is no wonder that they have sometimes sought help from the left or the right.

With the examples of Hitler, Mussolini and other human beasts before their eyes the thoughtful part of the American working class are not to be trapped by any plan of dictatorship, even if camouflaged by fine promises to the workers and lower middle class.

Neither does the Russian idea of dictatorship of the proletariat appeal to organized American working men who believe in democracy of the true kind. Union with Communists is therefore out of the question.

But how about the Progressives?

Eleven years ago when the American workers seemed pretty well satisfied with things as they were, and it was impossible to organize a large working class political party, some very sincere Socialists thought it best to join with the Progressives in running the elder Robert M. LaFollette for president. A large working class

Dreiser, "hoping that he would stand by his long record." They went in hopes of "the ringing repudiation which we all had a right to expect of him." As if that would have altered anything!

The conception of a rigid "party line" and a G. P. U. to enforce respect for it carries with it unavoidably everything else that goes with an armed official religion. How often I have witnessed scenes of formal "repentance" and tearful "retraction" by Soviet writers and politicians and scientists, under threat of expulsion from jobs or exile to Siberia. If the New Masses were in the position of the Moscow Literary Gazette and had a G. P. U. to back up its arguments, Dreiser's public statement would have been speedier and more satisfactory, but Dreiser's private phobia would have remained just what it is.

As it is, the report can merely record as a minor victory that Dreiser "came around to see a few of the contradictions involved in his stand" and that he signed a meaningless statement with the "adequacy" of which the editors are "far from satisfied."

The formal, legalistic wording of these regrets adds to the comic aspect of the performance. Where is the New Masses well-known talent for invective? Why is the caption over the report "Dreiser Denies he is Anti-Semitic" when the report itself proves the opposite?

organization was supporting him and it seemed as if here was a chance to gain these organized working men for the Socialist movement and program, since the platform adopted was really Socialist and since the elder LaFollette was said to be a Socialist at heart, although he did not consider it politically wise to admit it. With his death, however, the movement fell to pieces.

Since then, everything has changed. In the struggle to end the depression every politician has to lay his cards on the table. He must vote either for or against the many and various measures that concern the working class.

What, thus far, has been the record of the Progressives in Congress? What have they done in the Wisconsin legislature, where they are in a dominant position?

Nothing whatever to end the depression permanently. True, they have supported most measures that can relieve the present misery, shorter hours, better pay, the right to organize, various temporary work projects—nothing that goes to the root of the matter.

Why should they? Their own interests lie in the other direction. They belong to the middle class; the measures they have always supported have been plans for regulation or at best for planned production. They have never proposed and never voted for any measure that goes to the foundation of the trouble.

And why should we expect them to shake down the structure of capitalism around their ears? It is their house—they live in it, occupying, it is true, somewhat more humble apartments than the Morgans and Rockefellers, but still it is their home.

True, they support many humane and useful measures, as did the liberals of the last century. But neither in England nor any other country have the liberals as a body ever developed Socialist ideas. Individual liberals have joined our ranks and have become very useful members, but no liberal party as a whole has ever grown into a Socialist organization.

It is right and wise for Socialists to work with Progressives for all measures that will benefit the working class and humanity. But there should be a clear understanding that our goals are utterly dissimilar. It must be positively recognized that regulation cannot regulate what it does not own and that planned production will fail unless the industries which produce are owned by the people who do the planning and that these should be the whole American people.

In these decisive times, no hybrid political body can succeed.

