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Appeal**  
Founded by  
**Eugene V. Debs**

## Nation-wide Strike Wave Looms as NIRA Dies

### Socialists Push Workers' Rights Amendment

#### Supreme Court Decision Strikes Blow at Labor; Unions Launching Defense

**Nullification of NRA Hits Wage and Living Standards and Imperils Progress Made In Fight for Social Control—Veto Power By Supreme Court Assailed**

By John Powers

RUNNING true to form the Supreme Court of the United States has added one more distinction to its historic record as the bulwark of the status quo by declaring unconstitutional vital portions of the National Industrial Recovery Act, killing all NRA codes and destroying the effectiveness of the act itself.

The effect of the court's decision was instantaneous. Utter confusion in the government, suspension of the NRA and a number of the most important controlling agencies affecting industry, trade and labor relations, price cutting as the beginning for a revival of cut-throat competition, slashing of wages and raising of hours, and the return to the centre of the stage of rugged individualism in all its ugly Hoover panoply.

From the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce and all the predatory forces of greed and selfishness came cries of joy and victory as organized labor, not yet recovered from the blow of President Roosevelt's pauper relief wage scale, reeled from the impact of the court's action.

Others who had an opportunity to rejoice at the decision were those misguided progressives in Congress who, with equally misguided radicals and the Communists, who never lose an opportunity to discredit and destroy labor's acquisitions, had assisted the reactionaries in the campaign against the National Industrial Recovery Act by branding it as "fascism."

To organized labor the decision of the Supreme Court dealt a particularly severe blow. Labor legislation now pending in Congress has become more than ever imperative if labor's rights are to be preserved.

#### Strike Wave Looms

The leaders of the American Federation of Labor and their legal advisers went to work immediately upon publication of the court's decision to obtain for labor the necessary redress to balance the court's action.

From all parts of the land the A. F. of L. began receiving demands from unions for guidance and instruction, as a mighty strike wave, unprecedented in the nation's history, loomed in response to the effects of the Supreme Court's ruling and the hypocritical promises of employers and employers' associations to maintain wage and labor standards, which previous to the adoption of the National Industrial Recovery Act had been completely shattered.

Labor has not forgotten the promises by employers to President Hoover at the beginning of the depression in 1929 and the manner in which these promises were kept. And, indeed, from all parts of the country, almost immediately upon publication of the Supreme Court's decision, came news of wage slashes and the raising of hours.

Against this labor must now mobilize its economic power, coupled with a final realization that the theory of "good men" in the White House and in Congress is bankrupt and that independent political action has become a matter of life and death for the organized labor movement.

#### The Record of the Court

In labor circles and in circles concerned primarily with the social interest as against the purely legalistic and metaphysical conceptions upon which the Supreme Court decision rests, the opinion, (Continued on Page Three)

#### Nation Facing Labor War to Stop Wage Cuts

**Employers in More Than Twenty States Begin to Slash Pay Schedules and Raise Hours—Unions Act**

ORGANIZED workers in all parts of the country are preparing to resist wage cuts and raising of hours with walkouts as employers everywhere are taking advantage of the Supreme Court's nullification of the National Industrial Recovery Act and the suspension of codes providing for minimum standards.

While employers' associations are issuing statements to the press, saying they will continue prevailing wage and hour schedules, the fact is that wholesale wage slashing and the jacking-up of hours has already begun. This commenced almost immediately upon publication of the Supreme Court's ruling.

From more than twenty states comes information that the employers' offensive against wages and hours is under way. Unless checked immediately, it is considered certain that labor will reply with a counter-offensive that will develop into one of the most bitter industrial struggles in the history of the United States.

Already the United Mine Workers are set for action, as more than 400,000 bituminous coal miners are awaiting strike orders.

In the needle trades scores of thousands of workers have been ordered to hold themselves in readiness for a walkout.

In the textile industry more than 500,000 toilers are awaiting directions from their leaders to resist the onslaught of mill owners against wages and hours.

In other industries there is great tension among the workers fearing a drive on wage and hour schedules.

Everywhere labor stands ready to bring into play its economic power against what threatens to develop into the most savage campaign of wage slashing the country has seen since the depression began.

All this found encouragement through the action of the Supreme Court. Following are statements by leaders denouncing the court's decision:

#### Challenge to Labor

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

If the decision means that the codes are destroyed and that there is no further protection as to wages and hours in the codes, then we shall have to protect those standards by such other means as we can devise.

If the decision means what it now seems to mean, it is an effort to thrust us back into the industrial slavery of two years ago. We shall not go back. We shall not forsake the gains that have been made. They are not the gains that should have been made, nor the gains we intend to make, but they do represent progress and we shall fight to the very last ounce of strength to hold what has been won.

This whole decision is a challenge to labor and labor, at least as far as our organization is concerned, will meet that challenge. We had hoped we had reached a (Continued on Page Four)

#### The NIRA Decision

By Louis Waldman

(New York State Chairman of the Socialist Party)

THE unanimous decision of the Supreme Court nullifying the Poultry Code wrecked the NRA. It has left the New Deal dazed and confused.

Labor will be the greatest victim in this wreckage. Wall Street hails the decision as a great victory for conservatism. Industrialists and financiers are jubilant. Labor is gloomy and disappointed.

With one fell blow the Supreme Court has nullified 758 codes covering directly about nineteen million wage earners. The elaborate NRA machinery at Washington, with its Regional Labor Boards, its Compliance Boards, its Code Authorities, employing thousands of people, has suddenly come to a standstill. Out of deference to the decision, the President promptly suspended all NRA operations.

The Taff-Vale decision stimulated the rise of the British Labor Party. The N.R.A. decision is likely to become the Taff-Vale decision of America, and to be the forerunner of a labor party here.

What is the meaning of this decision? What are its legal and social implications?

A careful reading of the decision discloses that what has been outlawed was not the philosophy of regulating industrial relations by law, but the technique set up by the Roosevelt administration for such regulation.

This decision must not be permitted to stop the movement for social legislation. We have reached the point in our industrial development when government can no longer take the position that it will stand aloof from what happens in our social and economic life. It is the duty of government to take an active part in the economic processes and to fix by law minimum standards of employment with respect to hours and wages and rights of collective bargaining so that labor conditions may not reach the lowest depths due to a glutted labor market with some ten million unemployed.

Let there be no confusion as to the meaning of the decision. It turned on two questions and two questions only. The first dealt with the code-making power; the second with whether or not the slaughtering of poultry and its sale within the state is a business engaged in interstate commerce subject to regulation by the federal government. These two questions are fundamental to the American constitutional system.

The American system forbids law making by decrees. The opinion holds that the code-making power conferred upon the President made it possible for him to make laws by issuing decrees. The code when written and signed by the President had the force and effect of law. It had the same effect as if it were a statute enacted by Congress. Objecting to this the court declares that "the code-

making authority thus conferred is an unconstitutional delegation of legislative power."

And in the words of Mr. Justice Cardozo, who wrote a concurring opinion: "The delegated power of legislation which has found expression in this code is not canalized within banks that keep it from overflowing. It is unconfined and vagrant. . . . Here, in effect, is a roving commission to inquire into evils and upon discovery to correct them."

This was the crux of the difficulty with the NIRA. This difficulty should have been foreseen by the Administration's legal Brain Trust. They preferred to live in a fool's paradise and ignore this vital defect. The recognition of this defect in the NIRA is not a matter of hindsight. It was foreseen by Socialists when the NRA was first adopted. In an analysis of the Act made by me to the Socialist Party of New York in August, 1933, I dealt with the indefiniteness of the vast powers conferred upon the President to legislate into existence codes of "fair competition," in these words:

"But what is fair competition? You will note that all the codes are described as Codes of Fair Competition. The Act itself refers to the Codes in those terms. The expression 'fair competition' is, of course, a very vague one. It means all things to all men. Why then was it used? It was used not so much for the purpose of describing an economic relationship or defining a course of conduct, as for the purpose of setting up a legal technique to control industry with respect to hours, wages, and prices. 'Fearing that there might be some difficulty in sustaining much that has been enacted in this law, in case of an attack on constitutional grounds, the Administration sought to bring it within a recognized and accepted constitutional power—a power to impose upon industry a course of conduct that is 'fair.' Fair to what and to whom?"

"Neither the Act nor the President, who is clothed with vast powers under the Act, has anywhere defined or indicated what fair competition is. There are speeches by Donald Richberg, general counsel for the Recovery Administration; there are statements by General Hugh Johnson, the Administrator, but nowhere do they tell the country what is the fair competition for which they expect industry to frame codes."

The Supreme Court does not hold that Congress acting as a legislative body could not enact laws setting up standards of fair competition. It simply says that it cannot, under the Constitution, delegate this legislative power to the President.

Most emphatically it must be stated that the decision does not affect the power of Congress to regulate wages and hours, conditions of collective (Continued on Page Four)

#### Action to Curb High Court Through Hillquit Draft is Demanded By the Party

**Constitutional Amendment Would Protect Social and Labor Legislation from Nullification by Judiciary—Penna. House Backs Proposal**

#### Child Labor is Seen Revived By High Court

**National Child Labor Committee Charges NRA Nullification Will Stimulate Old Evils**

The decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring the NRA unconstitutional means a return of child labor, the National Child Labor Committee maintains. Many decades of effort prior to the NRA failed to secure in most states child labor standards comparable with those which the industrial codes, within a few months, established on a national uniform basis. The child labor clauses in the codes barred the employment of children under 16 years, except for light work outside of school hours in certain industries, and removed boys and girls between 16 and 18 years from hazardous occupations.

"It is unthinkable that child labor should be permitted to regain a foothold in American industry," the committee warns. "Yet with the end of the NRA codes the employment of children will again be legal in many states, in some even under 14 years. Moreover, with the removal of present wage restrictions, it will again be profitable for unscrupulous employers to exploit low-paid children, and reputable employers will be forced to meet their competition."

"Previous experience shows that children flock back to industry as soon as legal restrictions are lowered. When the first Federal Child Labor Law was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, the immediate effect in states where state child labor standards were lower than those imposed by the Federal law, was the restoration of the longer working day for children and an increase in the number of such working children."

"Although no comparable data are available for the period immediately following the decision that the second Federal Child Labor Law was unconstitutional, the increase of 20 per cent in the number of children employed in textile mills in South Carolina and Georgia between 1920 and 1930 is indicative, for the Federal law was still in force when the 1920 census was taken, but was not in force in 1930."

"The obvious method to outlaw child labor permanently is through ratification of the Federal Child Labor Amendment which gives Congress express authority to legislate on the subject. The National Child Labor Committee will redouble its efforts to secure ratification at the earliest date. Twenty-four states have already ratified; 12 more must do so. Two states, Florida and Alabama, can still act this year."

"The legislatures of 8 other states which have not ratified meet in 1936. Nevertheless, it will be early 1937 before ratification can be completed. In the meantime it is to be hoped that some constitutional method will be found for continuing until that time the protection afforded children by the provisions of the codes. They have proved the effectiveness of Federal action to eliminate child exploitation and thus to increase employment opportunities for older youth and adults."

SUMMONING the Socialist Party and all its subdivisions to join the organized labor movement in a fight to the bitter end against lowering wage and working standards following the Supreme Court decision, the National Office of the Socialist Party, through National Chairman Leo M. Krzycki, has issued a clarion call for the workers to get back of the Workers' Rights Amendment to the Constitution



Morris Hillquit

If proposed amendment to Constitution drafted by late Socialist leader had been adopted, Supreme Court would have been powerless to set aside the will of the people.

drawn up by the late revered Morris Hillquit and long a part of the Socialist Party's legislative program.

The amendment has already been endorsed by the Pennsylvania assembly after a magnificent fight by Lillith Wilson, sponsor of the ratifying motion, and Darlington Hoopes.

The amendment reads:

#### Text of Amendment

Section 1. Congress shall have power to establish uniform laws throughout the United States to regulate, limit and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age, to provide for the relief of aged, invalided, sick and unemployed wage earners and employees, in the form of periodical grants, pensions, benefits, compensation, or indemnities from the public treasury, from contributions of employers, wage earners and employees, or from one or more such sources, and generally for the social and economic welfare of the workers of the United States.

Section 2. The power of the several states to enact social welfare legislation is unimpaired by this article, but no such legislation shall supersede, abridge or conflict with any act of Congress under this article.

This Workers' Rights Amendment was passed by the Lower House of the Pennsylvania Legislature by a vote of 108 to 16. It is now before the Pennsylvania Senate.

The joint resolution likewise would instruct Pennsylvania's members of Congress to introduce the amendment in Washington and fight to have it adopted there and (Continued on Page Three)

#### Miners Stand By For Strike Call As Parleys End

**400,000 Workers in 6,000 Locals in 28 States Await Orders for Walkout—U. M. W. Push Demand for Guffy Bill**

WASHINGTON. — With the stage set for a strike of 400,000 bituminous miners in the twenty-eight coal producing states, orders for the walkout are expected momentarily from leaders of the United Mine Workers to the organization's 6,000 locals, effective at midnight, June 16, when existing agreements expire.

Accompanying the strike instructions will be a summary of the negotiations between the union and operators, begun February 18, to the breakdown of last Tuesday and the present deadlock.

Determined to hold the gains obtained by the miners through the NRA code for the industry and their collective agreements, the United Mine Workers are prepared for a prolonged struggle should that prove necessary, but in coal circles it is hoped that the expected passage of the Guffy Coal Stabilization Bill will make possible resumption of negotiations on a more promising basis. Union leaders, who are optimistic over the prospects of the bill, believe that its passage would open the road to a satisfactory agreement. At the same time, however, the union has left nothing undone to meet an emergency. Everything depends on what may happen between now and June 16. At midnight on that day the strike will go into effect if developments in the interim do not provide a solu- (Continued on Page Three)

#### Distribution of New Leader Responsible for Organization of Four Pa. Locals

(Special to The New Leader)  
PITTSBURGH. — Systematic distribution of The New Leader is in a large measure responsible for making possible the organization of four party branches in the Pittsburgh district, County organizer Paul reported. The four communities are Millvale, Sharpsburg, Carnegie and Culmerville.

#### Strike of 35,000 Garment Workers Authorized in N.Y.

General Executive Board of I.L.G.W.U. Issues Mobilization Order in Preparation for Possible Walkout in This City

(Special to The New Leader)  
PHILADELPHIA. — Mobilization orders for a general strike in the cloak and suit industry of New York City, affecting more than 35,000 workers, were issued by the general executive board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union meeting here this week.

The board gave full endorsement to a general strike in New York in the event of inability of the Joint Board of Cloakmakers' Unions, an affiliate of the I.L.G.W.U., to reach an agreement with the three employer associations in the industry. Existing agreements expired at midnight Friday, but efforts to continue negotiations will be made. Prospects of a peaceful adjustment were believed to be considerably dimmed, however, by the Supreme Court's decision nullifying all NRA codes. While the code in (Continued on Page Three)

#### Epstein Warns Security Bill Is Endangered

**Holds Social Insurance Measure Imperilled by NIRA Nullification. Urges It Be Revised to Meet Constitutional Objections**

AS a result of the Supreme Court decision on the NRA, the Social Security Bill, omnibus measure for old age pensions, unemployment insurance and various welfare provisions now pending in the United States Senate, must be reconsidered to remove several features of doubtful constitutionality, according to Abraham Epstein, Executive Secretary of the American Association for Social Security.

Unless it is considerably altered to meet the objections of unconstitutionality, the bill runs the danger of being nullified, and in that case the whole movement for social insurance courts disaster, Mr. Epstein said. "It would be the height of irresponsibility" to proceed with the measure as it stands, he asserted. "To persist with the passage of this plan without a change would be merely to lead the nation into a blind alley and to encourage hopes which must ultimately be shattered."

#### Up a Blind Alley

Epstein pointed out that the NRA decision does not affect the old age pension subsidy and other provisions of the measure based on the subsidy principle and otherwise sound and effective. But the "tax-offset" method of providing for unemployment insurance and the present plan for contributory old age pensions must be altered in view of the action of the Supreme Court, and the straight subsidy principle of inviting state action and cooperation substituted (Continued on Page Four)



# Labor Party Called Essential to Workers' Interests

## Independent Politics Called Labor's Need

Lessons of Depression and Fight for Toilers' Rights Demand Organized Labor Movement Add Political Weapon to Economic Struggle to Preserve Democracy for the American People, Says Noted Labor Leader

By Max Zaritsky  
President of the Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.  
(From an address before a huge labor rally in Madison Square Garden, May 23, 1935)



Max Zaritsky

THE great struggle which is responsible for this vast assemblage of organized workers today is not merely to demand social justice, as it has been understood in the past, but what is infinitely more important if democracy is to be preserved for the great masses of the American people—social rights and social equality.

For the past eighteen months this struggle has assumed the character of a civil war, in which the industrialists of the nation, acting through their Chambers of Commerce, their National Manufacturers' Associations, and other agencies seeking to perpetuate their vested interests, have been in open defiance against the laws which the duly constituted representatives of the people have enacted. They have defied not only the spirit of the law, but they have proclaimed their opposition to the letter of the law as well. Through company unions which they have set up, through the assistance they have obtained from servile courts, by persistent and flagrant and wholesale violations they have succeeded in emasculating the law, and nullifying its purposes. The extent to which the law has failed to achieve its purposes has been the measure of the attacks that they sponsored.

These industrialists have succeeded in obtaining practical and actual advantages, while labor has given theoretical rights which it has been unable in many cases to translate into any benefits for themselves. At this late day, in this day of enlightenment, we must still plead with our legislators to outlaw the most inhuman forms of labor exploitation, the exploitation of the children of America. In this day of great human achievement we still have to plead with them that a system which condemns 11,000,000 working people, and their dependents, to a system of slow starvation—which is all that our relief system offers—can no longer be endured, that the overlords of industry and finance cannot continue to remain on our backs while our people perish in the midst of plenty.

Will the Bourbons of finance and industry, and the Tories of politics, remain blind? Will they forget the warnings contained in the pages of history? Don't they know that having sowed the wind they will be compelled to reap the whirlwind? Don't they understand that eighteen months hence there will come the day of reckoning, when the masses of the people will expect and demand an accounting? Don't they know that there is a limit to the endurance and patience of our people, and that the limit is rapidly being reached?

Labor will not be content with receiving promissory notes while the owners of industry receive cold hard cash. Labor will not see the rights for which it has fought and bled for generations whittled away, either by legislators or by the courts, or both. If the Chambers of Commerce and the Manufacturers' Associations continue to bid open defiance to the law which is superior to all laws—the law of

ILL.G.W.U. History in Films

At June 9th Concert

The I.L.G.W.U. concert, announced by the Recreational Division of the Educational Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for the afternoon of June 9th, offers the first opportunity to observe at close range the result of the work of the cultural groups of that union over a period of eight months of training. Though June 9th by no means marks the end of the current season, the Hippodrome affair will, in more than one sense, climax the initial period of the far-flung recreational activities of the union.

The old-timers will receive a genuine thrill watching "Marching On," the filmed history of the I.L.G.W.U. It will re-enact before their eyes the early battles of the organization, the great strikes of 1900-1910, the days of the Protocol—right down through the years when the newer recruits joined en masse the colors of the union—during the New Deal period.

Admission is free to all members of the I.L.G.W.U. Tickets are to be had in the offices of all locals.

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## The Socialist Party Demands Revision of Relief Wages

URGING upon Relief Administrator Harry L. Hopkins, immediate revision of the relief wage scale as being "shockingly low," Louis Waldman, New York, State Chairman of the Socialist Party, attacked Mr. Hopkins' defense of the wage scale as making "for substantial justice."

Waldman recalled the President's apology in the summer of 1933 when the "New Deal" was still young for fixing a minimum wage of \$12 a week for unskilled labor in the south in the textile industry. "Now, after two years of the New Deal," declared Waldman, "a minimum of less than \$5 a week for laborers in the south employed on government work is defended by you as making 'for substantial justice.'"

Waldman's letter to Relief Administrator Hopkins follows: "In common with organized labor, the Socialist Party was shocked at the low relief wage scale fixed for the new government works program. More shocking still is your defense of that wage scale as reported in the press. You state that 'the wages (as fixed) make for substantial justice. They were set on a broad, national basis, after careful consideration of the whole program from every angle.'"

### A Striking Contrast

"When the minimum wage of \$12 a week for unskilled labor in the south in the textile industry was fixed in the summer of 1933, when the New Deal just began, the Administration apologized for such low minimum wage. Now, after two years of the New Deal a minimum of less than \$5 a week for laborers in the south employed on government work is defended by you as making 'for substantial justice.' Apparently the increase of mass purchasing power by raising the level of wages to which this Administration is committed has been abandoned for the discredited philosophy of the bankers and open-shop employers that prosperity can be restored by a policy of deflating wages."

"The relief wage scale is not only disgracefully low for those unemployed who are to be given jobs on the new government works program, but it is also a serious threat to the entire wage structure of the country. It is a direct attack

upon present living standards, which unfortunately, are already low enough.

"The stamp of approval of the national government of a wage scale of \$19 a month in the south and \$94 a month to professional men in the north will be a signal to private business to depress wages and further to degrade the American standard of living. While under the NRA industry has increased its profits enormously, it stubbornly resisted, as the evidence of the Recovery Administration discloses, all efforts to increase wages. The National Association

### Stabilizing Poverty

From the Labor Record

One of the chief goals of government and industry, whether they be operating under old or new deals, is stabilization of industry.

The scale of relief wages promulgated by the administration, supposedly designed to supplant relief doles with work payments in order to aid recovery of private business and forward the latter's approach to such stability as "normality" affords, is nothing less than stabilization of poverty. The application of these scales in the widespread manner intended would create from those now constituting the "unemployed building craftsmen" a permanent peasant class employed only at the whim of Congress and then only at a stabilized poverty wage.

The "beneficiaries" of this plan will never again find private employment at proper wage scales because proper wage scales will disappear.

Then wages in other industries will reflect the vicious and unjustified "differentials" established in the relief scales between the North and South.

Then wages in other industries, still maintaining these differentials, will sink to the levels of the building industry.

Then unemployment will increase because of the lessened markets for the goods produced by the employed.

Then relief rolls will increase.

Then poverty, if not starvation, will be stabilized at work-relief levels.

of Manufacturers at its national conference in December, 1934, urged upon the government a low-wage policy. It declared that 'wage rates for work performed on work relief should be lower than current wage rates in private employment.'

"The relief wage scale shows a complete surrender by the Administration on its wage policy to the National Association of Manufacturers."

### Should Lift Wage Level

"Rejecting the principle of fixing a basic rate of pay with additions for every child included in the family, you said that: 'private employment is not run that way and there is no reason why government work should be. It does not make for justice in the long run, and I do not believe that employment for work should be placed on such a basis. I believe that a man and a woman should be paid for what they do.'"

"If in fixing the wage scale you do not take into consideration the need of those employed on government works on the theory that that is a false basis upon which to fix compensation for work done, and on the further theory that 'private employment is not run that way,' why then is the relief wage scale fixed far below the wages of even those doing similar work in private employ? Your wage scale is estimated to be between 40 to 100 per cent below the wages paid in private employment in similar work. If you believe as you said 'that a man, and a woman, should be paid for what they do,' why then do you fix a starvation wage determined on the principle of relief allowance rather than for work done?"

"The Socialist Party of New York urges immediate revision of the relief wage scale to place the unemployed doing work on government projects at least on the same footing as those workers doing similar work in private employ. The government should lead in the effort to lift wage levels, not to depress them. We refuse to believe that our national government will take advantage of the dire necessity of the unemployed to get its government projects done at starvation wages, thereby not only deepening the foundations for dependent family life."

## Supreme Court Ruling Blow to Home Relief

Falconer Says NRA Decision Upsets Wage Scales and Makes More Difficult Transfer of Unemployed to Job—Relief Executive Fears Employers Will Utilize Situation for Beating Down Pay Schedules—Shocking Figures

THE Supreme Court ruling holding NRA unconstitutional may completely upset the working of Home Relief in New York, according to Douglas P. Falconer, assistant director of the Emergency Relief Bureau.

"The NRA established and provided the principal machinery for the maintenance of minimum wages and maximum hours of employment," Mr. Falconer said. "Under the protection of the NRA codes it was possible for the Emergency Relief Bureau to insist upon persons on Home Relief accepting employment while, at the same time, seeing to it that unscrupulous employers did not take advantage of the misfortunes of Home Relief to impose grossly unfair wages and working conditions as a premium for this employment."

"Now that the Supreme Court has held NRA codes unconstitutional the whole picture is changed. We must be prepared to meet a tremendous situation arising out of a possible wholesale cutting of wages and increase in working hours. Should such a condition result the relief problem would be affected in two distinct ways: First, it might throw into unemployment large numbers now working; Second, it would compel relief officials to insist upon the acceptance by persons now on relief of any job regardless of how low the pay might be. In order to make room for the new flood of unemployed we would have to cut off from our present rolls families now receiving as little as five dollars a week through part-time jobs."

"The only alternative would be to increase the amount of relief. However, it seems hardly likely at this moment that there will be more money forthcoming for relief from the city."

"That this expectation of scandalously low pay is no idle fear is evidenced by our experience, even with the protection hitherto afforded by the NRA."

"Positions are now being offered to persons on relief that are very sub-standard. For instance, recently the head of a family was offered \$5 a month to take care of an apartment house of twelve apart-

ments. Another man, receiving relief, was being paid \$10 a month for cleaning an eight apartment building and also taking care of the garbage."

"On May 17th there were 356,000 families receiving relief from the Emergency Relief Bureau, with approximately half a million employable people. Our ultimate objective is to return this entire group to industry without disturbing the labor market. This great reservoir of labor, if improperly used, might be a very serious stress to the wage standards of those now employed, and the relief administration will be under considerable pressure to compel persons now on relief to accept jobs regardless of standards."

### INSTITUTE FOR UNION SERVICE AT UNITY

BUSHKILL, Pa.—Amid the hammering of men engaged in putting the final touches to the rebuilt and enlarged summer home of the Unity House, a summer vacation resort of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in the beautiful Pocono Mountains, the second Training-for-Trade-Union-Service institute was brought to an end.

Nearly seventy students undertook a period of intensive training under the instruction of Dr. Joel Seidman, Dr. Lazare Teper and Miss Rebecca Jarvis. The visiting lecturers included Samuel Shore (The NRA and the Garment Industry), Frank Crosswaith (Organizing the Negro Worker), and Pauline Newman (The Worker's Health). Members of the General Executive Board, unable to lecture at Unity House in person, sent along their speeches in writing for the benefit of the students.

The students are enthusiastic concerning this method of combining recreation and study, and during the summer other institutes with a similar purpose will be organized.

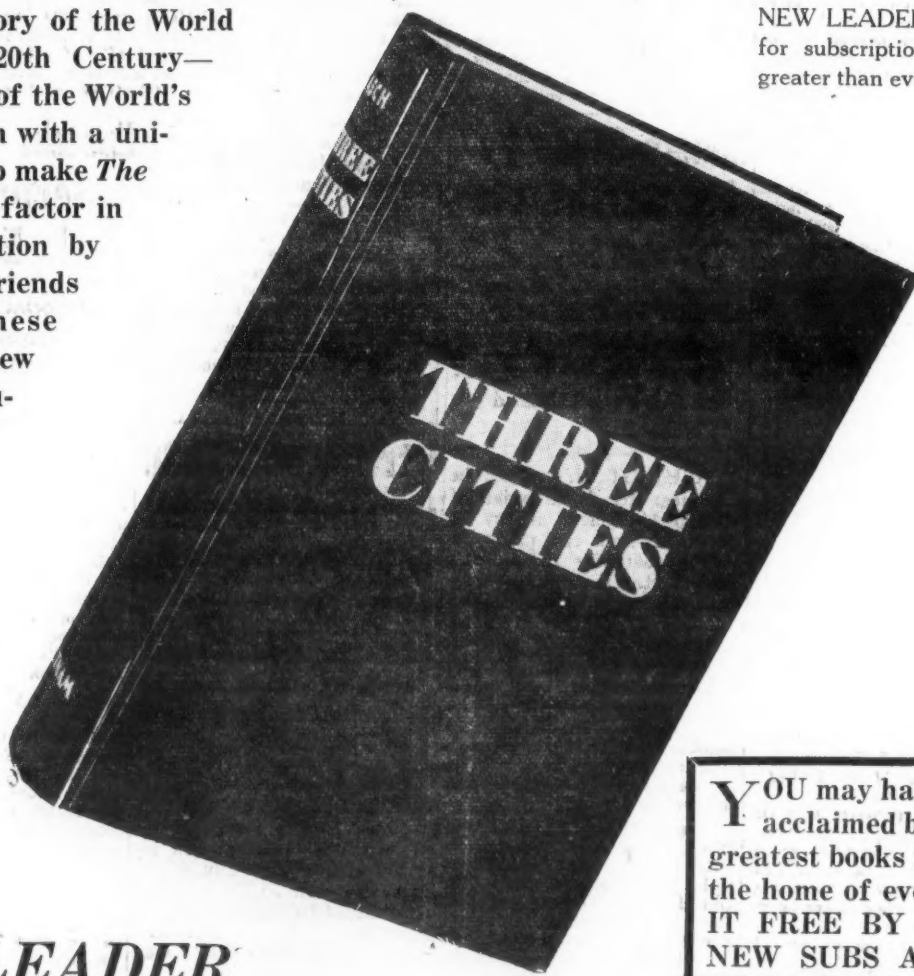
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I have to curtail what I eat during this month in order to send you the enclosed dollar... but I'd rather go hungry for a few times than miss the regular meal of reading *The New Leader*. A. H. F., Oakland, Calif.

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# Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment Now Vital Issue

## Supreme Court Decision Strikes Blow at Labor

(Continued from Page One)

as wired in a dispatch from Washington, was:

"Look at the history of the Supreme Court and see what it has saved us from, what liberties it has preserved.

"It saved us from limiting the slave trade and thus helped plunge us into the Civil War, from stopping child labor, from the income tax, from minimum wage legislation, the first workmen's compensation act for railway employees, the railway pension system and now—the NRA."

The question now asked is, will it "save" us also from the Wagner labor disputes bill, the security bill, the 30-hour bill, the Guffey coal stabilization bill, top items on labor's legislative program, and any other legislation that Congress may be prevailed upon to pass as steps essential to the development of an effective social control over unbridled exploitation?

### Legalism and Economics

In its NRA decision the court drew the old familiar distinction between intrastate and interstate commerce, and while refraining from ruling directly upon the general principle of the right of the federal government to regulate wages and hours it did make such regulation impossible as applied through the National Industrial Recovery Act and the NRA code system.

Because of the court's insistence that the government had no right to interfere in intrastate commerce any regulation which Washington may attempt in the future will be jeopardized and vitiated by the Federal government's inability to apply a uniform system of regulation that will cover the whole of the nation's economic life.

Thus in the struggle for industrial democracy the Supreme Court has stressed the old issue of states' rights, which however tenable in the field of political administration becomes a reactionary obstacle to any kind of cohesive and effective economic planning and control.

For this reason and because of the court's record in obstructing Congressional legislation on vital social and economic measures, the cry has now gone up for a constitutional amendment which would definitely assure to the Federal government the right to legislate for and regulate the nation's economic life as one integral entity, subject to the effects of the thousand and one currents and cross currents emanating from all parts of the land.

It would not be surprising if as a result of the accentuation of the unrestricted jungle economy of capitalism brought about by the Supreme Court's NRA decision the immediate big issue confronting the nation will be "The Supreme Court vs. the People of the United States." Sooner or later the American people will be called upon to decide whether a tribunal arrogated to itself through Chief Justice John Marshall the right to declare laws unconstitutional shall be permitted to stand in the way of the most vital interests of the nation in the name of constitutional conceptions which while valid in logic and precedent have no relation whatever to the bitter and urgent needs and realities of a new age. Sooner or later the people of the United States will be called upon to decide the question of John Marshall vs. the Twentieth Century, and whether or not the Supreme Court should be permitted to plunge the nation into another civil war to settle an irrepressible conflict, the conflict between wage slavery and industrial freedom.

### A. F. of L. Stand Vindicated

That the leaders of the American labor movement had a more sound conception of the value and importance, immediate and general, of the principles embodied in the National Industrial Recovery Act and of its potentialities than had been exhibited by radical critics of the act has now been demonstrated by the effects of the Supreme Court's decision.

Fighting for a two-year extension of the act and such amend-

ments and modifications as experience and necessity made necessary, President Green of the American Federation of Labor declared at the great Madison Square Garden rally on May 23:

"The opposition to the National Recovery Act is not well-founded. It is alleged that it has oppressed the small business men. The facts are otherwise. Small business men have been the beneficiaries of the stabilizing influence of the National Recovery Law.

"The best answer that can be made to such opposition to the National Recovery Act is the opposition of the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, the two most powerful employers' organizations in the nation. This issue is clearly drawn. Those who believe in the permanent abolition of child labor, the protection of forgotten workers, through the establishment of minimum rates of pay, the shortening of the hours of labor and increase in wages as remedies for unemployment and the incorporation in industrial codes of fair practice of Section 7A (which provides for the right to organize and bargain collectively), and the elimination of unfair trade practices will support the extension of the National Recovery Act for a period of two years. Opposition to the National Recovery Act will be interpreted as opposition to those humane economic and social principles.

"The National Industrial Recovery Act should be made permanent. If it is good for an emergency, it is sound for every day. If I had my way, I would amend the National Industrial Recovery Act in a manner more compatible with the nation's economic requirements and make it a permanent part of the statutes of the republic."

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, speaking from the same platform with Mr. Green, declared:

"Our country today is in a state of what might be termed uncertainty and bewilderment. There is no definiteness of plans or objectives. Our statesmen rush hither and thither—turning first one key and then another. But all in vain. Our people are starving in order that a worn-out and discredited system of capitalism may be preserved. Many of our political leaders have concentrated their energies on side-stepping and evading the fundamental issues involved in the NRA.

"The labor movement obviously, under these conditions, must fearlessly step forward and assume a definite and worthy leadership based on a true conception of industrial liberty and democracy, and a spiritual conception of living standards based on material and technological progress. It should look first to human rights, for therein lies our key to plenty for all. Our democracy and our civilization will go forward or fail on this issue. Humanity can no longer be beaten back when it should be allowed and is demanding the freedom to march ahead.

"The immediate hope for progress lies in the social and economic principles and objectives contained in the National Industrial Recovery Act. They must be retained. Time must be secured for working these out more effectively. The reactionary plot to kill the Recovery Act and its objectives must be defeated."

### Conspiracy Charged

Charging a conspiracy of reactionary employers and a bipartisan machine in the Senate to kill the NIRA, Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and member of the National Industrial Recovery Board, declared that every sweatshop and every Tory was behind the conspiracy, and that any one who for one reason or another aligned himself in the fight on the NRA acted against the best interests of labor and of the nation.

"I hope that this conspiracy, sure to throw labor out of employment and to reduce wages, will not succeed," Mr. Hillman said. "Labor will not take this lying down. The shorter work week and the mini-

mum wage must remain the law of the land."

David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and member of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, was equally emphatic. He said:

"We are fully aware of the shortcomings of the NRA. We know that the NRA did not bring about the re-employment of millions of idle workers. We know that the collective bargaining clause, the famous Section 7A, has in most instances been flagrantly violated by the employers and that the government failed adequately to prosecute and punish these violators.

"But, even the most outspoken enemies of the NRA must admit that through its operation the minimum wage rates and maximum hours were established in industry for the first time for millions of unprotected workers.

"True, we regard these minimum rates and maximum hours as insufficient for a living wage and too long to enable industry to absorb the vast army of unemployed. It is also true that in many industries these minimums have become the maximums; that while these minimums were intended for the unskilled, employers have taken advantage of them and weeded out the slower workers from the factories. Nevertheless, the principle of the minimum wage and maximum hours is sound because it has established for the first time a legal barrier of protection, and any employer who descends below these established rules guiding industry, in his desire to exploit labor, violates the law and is subject to punishment.

"Organized labor in America is determined that the old order shall not come back, notwithstanding all the attacks from the Chambers of Commerce, from the Manufacturers' Associations and from their henchmen and supporters."

Only a few days after the labor leaders had spoken, and as the House of Representatives was preparing to extend the NIRA for another two-year period, the Supreme Court rendered its decision. The blow thus dealt to labor is a painful one, but it is not irreparable. For labor, if it only learns the lesson, now has an opportunity to reply—to reply both with economic and political weapons. Stronger, bigger unions, combined with independent political action through a party of its own choosing and making, will open the road to emancipation.

The government of the United States belongs to the people of the United States. It is up to them to take it and use it for the benefit of all the people.

In this task labor must lead the way. The Supreme Court has spoken. Let labor now speak—and act.

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## The Labor Week

By Chester M. Wright

Washington, D. C.

THE Supreme Court handed the nation the biggest piece of news it has had in years.

Call it flood, fire, cyclone, devastation or what you will, it was one grand clean sweep.

But is that a reason for heads hanging, brows between nervous palms?

Is it a reason for waiting at the wall, or for cries of despair and hopelessness?

What's become of the spirit of fight? What's become of self-reliance? Go where you will, there are dozens asking questions of each other.

Everyone asking; nobody answering.

Except here and there one, outstanding because so different. Hell's bells—why not stand up and fight!

WE have our unions—the same unions we had before NRA—and every last one of them is stronger.

More than that, there are more allies of labor among employers themselves. More people today say: "Labor is right."

And as for Congress, there are definite things that can be done. Of course there are.

Those things can be done and the temporary need can be met.

But the brigade of hand-wringers was never bigger.

The godsakers have mobilized.

Not in years have the spineless Jerries been so willing to advertise their presence.

What in sam hill has gone wrong with people?

PERHAPS by the time this piece is in print, filling its usual perpendicular space in its customary area of type, a definite plan will have been started toward action.

But at the moment one could write a book about The Well of Hopelessness.

Next to the devastation itself is the lack of recoil from the people.

Business talks twaddle about voluntary codes. That is utter nonsense.

Even when business thought there was power to enforce regulations, there was little enforcement and a widening circle of cheaters. The idea of voluntary codes is out the window.

Congress can revive the codes, of course.

And the Supreme Court could knock them down again. But meanwhile we should have moved on a little.

Ultimately the Constitution must be revised, if the NRA idea is to be made permanent.

Congress could bridge that gap.

GIVE the Supreme Court enough laws to knock out and it probably will get tired of doing it. Endless repetition doesn't make judges any happier than it would make any one else.

The Supreme Court has, of course,

started something. Probably more than it wanted to start.

But be all these things as they may, the one notable fact in the whole situation is the bafflement the decision brought in its wake.

Not that way does liberty lie. Not that way shall we find progress. Determination must rally and it will rally. The sooner the better.

Also, the sooner we realize that there is a strength that courts cannot shake nor laws undo, the better for all concerned.

## MINERS STAND BY FOR STRIKE CALL

(Continued from Page One)

tion. The stoppage, if it materializes, is expected to be complete, the union being in a stronger position than it has been for many years to enforce a general cessation of work.

Railroads, utilities and manufacturing establishments are said to have soft coal supplies for twenty or thirty-nine days on hand, and a prolonged strike would be reflected in a serious crippling and eventual paralysis of large sections of these services and of industry as a whole.

### Conference Deadlocked

Final breakdown of the negotiations between the miners and operators occurred here on Tuesday at a meeting of the Joint Wage Scale Committee, consisting of 400 representatives of both sides.

Adjourning was taken sine die after a sub-committee had reported inability to agree and proposed an indefinite adjournment.

With the operators divided into two camps, one urging passage of the Guffey bill and another extension of the NRA for two years, the situation became aggravated by the decision of the United States Supreme Court killing all NRA codes, but strengthening the hands of those who insist that only passage of the Guffey bill can provide a basis for operation of the industry without dislocation of price and wage levels.

While declaring that "the United Mine Workers do not want a suspension nor a strike or lockout on June 16," John L. Lewis, president of the U.M.W., declared that the union was prepared to defend wage scales which would be inevitably threatened as a result of the breakdown in the coal code and the industry's inability to maintain price structures set up in the code.

Mr. Lewis suggested that a way out might be found if the two camps of operators were to agree on a common legislative program and join the miners in getting it through Congress.

Mr. Lewis warned the operators that the union was in a position to defend successfully any attacks designed to bring about a return of "the economic slavery" which existed in mining camps before the NIRA went into effect in June 1933.

Failure of Congress to pass the Guffey bill and the unleashing of a prolonged conflict in the coal industry would, it is believed, be the beginning of a vast industrial democratization and social control of the nation's economic life.

## I.L.G.W.U. Gives \$10,000 For Hillquit Press Fund

(Continued from Page One)

the cloak and suit industry is based upon the collective agreements negotiated directly between the union and the employers, the union having always relied fundamentally upon such agreements. The union's position in the industry had been greatly strengthened by the code, which also made possible more effective enforcement. Employers who in recent months have assumed the offensive against the whole code system in the industry, accompanied by demands for radical revision of collective agreements, have been encouraged by the Supreme Court's decision to press their demands for modifications on a basis quite unsatisfactory to the union.

### Peace Hopes Dimmed

The prospects of a peaceful adjustment of the conflict that has been brewing in the cloak and suit industry for many weeks are, therefore, not nearly as good today as they appeared before the Supreme Court handed down its momentous decision.

The employer organizations involved in the controversy are the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association, representing the jobbers; the Industrial Council of Cloak and Suit Manufacturers, Inc., which speaks for the "inside" manufacturers; and the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers Association, the contractors.

While all of these organizations are seeking to bring about a lowering of wages, longer hours and modifications of working conditions and of the enforcement machinery which the union says would bring back sub-standard and sweatshop conditions in the industry, the key to the situation lies in the attitude of the jobbers, who broke off negotiations with the union in April after presenting demands denounced as a blow at the very foundations of the existing system of labor relations in the industry.

These demands are for abolition of the principle of limitation of contractors and jobbers responsibility for the maintenance of wage and labor standards. What the jobbers are aiming at, the union charges, is a return to the old system of unbridled farming out of work to contractors at the cheapest possible price, with consequent return to the system of cut-throat competition among contractors and destruction of wage and work schedules. The union is prepared to fight the jobbers to a standstill on this fundamental issue.

Another fortnight may reveal whether the employers will retreat from their demands to avert a strike.

### Mobilization Order

The strike mobilization order was issued by the general executive board through David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U., after the board had heard a report from Isidore Nagler, vice-president of the union and chairman of the Cloakmakers' Joint Board, that the negotiations with the jobbers had reached a stalemate and that a crisis was facing the industry. The following resolution was

adopted by the general executive board:

"The general executive board endorses the general strike in the cloak industry of New York in the event the conference committee cannot reach a settlement peacefully with the employer association and pledges in such case the full moral and material support of the international and all its affiliated bodies until the strike is won."

It was announced that a fund of \$10,000 would be made available for the strike by the international and its affiliated organizations.

The general executive board heard reports on the progress of strikes in the cotton garment industry in Decatur, Ill.; Dallas, Texas, and St. Louis, Mo. The board announced that the strikes will be pressed "until the next work season if necessary." An additional staff of union organizers was ordered sent to the strike zone.

### Hillquit Press Fund

The board voted a contribution of \$10,000 to the Morris Hillquit Memorial Publishing Fund, which is to publish important books and other forms of literature on questions of Socialism and labor. The contribution was voted after a plea presented by Algernon Lee, president of the Rand School.

## MAY DAY IN SPAIN

May Day, which has been a national holiday in Spain since the fall of the monarchy, was celebrated by the workers in all parts of the country despite the reaction that followed the suppression of the October uprising. The workers were able to bring about a complete stoppage of work, except in the public services.

Many enthusiastic meetings were held. The chief of these took place in the Pardiñas Theatre in Madrid, where a huge audience was addressed by Julian Zugazagoitia, Jeronimo Bugeida, Anastasio de Gracia and Fernando de los Rios. At this and the other meetings the following list of demands was adopted with acclamation for presentation to the Prime Minister:

Amnesty for political and social prisoners; abolition of the death penalty; freedom of the press; freedom of assembly, demonstration and strike, and a general restoration of the constitutional liberties; opening of the workers' halls and offices; strict fulfillment of labor legislation; reinstatement of the workers dismissed in consequence of the rising in October; equitable and rapid solution of the employment crisis; and reinstatement of the municipal councils which were freely elected by the people.

One incident which took place on May Day throws a significant light on the repressive conditions which exist in the Spain of Senor Lerroux. The municipal band in Reinos, in the province of Santander, was dismissed for playing the "International" after a concert held in connection with the May Day celebrations!

## WOMEN BATTLE THE HIGH COST OF MEAT



The Women's Conference Against the High Cost of Living and its 39 affiliated organizations are working like beavers in the present meat strike, a scene from which is shown above. They are holding outdoor meetings, picketing, and doing everything that is to be done in a struggle of that nature. They are, however, doing this work independently and not in cooperation with other groups.

## Socialist Women Picket High Price Meat Shops

The Women's Conference Against the High Cost of Living, representing various fraternal and labor organizations, whose campaign against the increasing cost of necessities was marked by a conference with Mayor LaGuardia on May 14, has thrown its entire strength to furthering the city-wide picketing campaign against meat shops.

Over 200 housewives, representing various district units of the organization, met in the offices of the Socialist Party and organized a series of mass meetings throughout the city. The cooperation of leaders in political, social and economic fields has been enlisted and the efforts of the Conference are receiving widespread attention.

"We must succeed in this meat strike as a first step in our campaign to reduce high living costs," said Esther Friedman, chairman of the Conference. "With the Supreme Court's action on NRA, living costs are bound to rise and the only protection we have is a general and widespread consumers' campaign."

## HILLQUIT DRAFT IS PUSHED BY PARTY

(Continued from Page One)

sent to the several states for ratification.

IF THE SOCIALIST PARTY'S PROPOSED AMENDMENT HAD BEEN PART OF THE CONSTITUTION LAST WEEK, THE SUPREME COURT WOULD NOT HAVE HAD THE POWER TO WIPE OUT IN A SINGLE DECISION ALL THE SAFEGUARDS TO WAGES AND HOURS SO PAINFULLY BUILT UP IN THE CODES.

In his statement National Chairman Krzycki declared that the workers and farmers must overthrow what he characterized as usurpation by the Supreme Court, and he suggested that state federations of labor, the Continental Congress and unemployed organizations meet in Washington July 4th, to lay plans to defeat the foes of the workers.

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# Workers Prepare to Halt Wage Slashes With Strikes

## Nation Facing Labor War To Stop Wage Cuts

(Continued from Page One)

field where issues could be decided by deliberation on merit. If we are to be thrust back into battle, we have fought before and we can and will fight again. I am now warning our membership to be ready and to strike instantly any mill that departs from code provisions regarding wages, hours or other terms of employment.

### A Judicial Blow

By Joseph P. Ryan  
President of the Central Trades and Labor Council

The decision is obviously a blow at what organized labor regards as of utmost importance in the National Industrial Recovery Act. Whatever the ultimate outcome may be in possible new legislation designed to meet the prohibitions of the Supreme Court, valuable accomplishments under the present law in the stabilization of industries through codes and improvement of wages and working conditions will be wrecked. The Supreme Court has knocked out the only measure under which industry can recover. If the Court, by its action, believes that such decisions can bring a return of prosperity it better get down to work on the task of restoring prosperity very quickly.

### For Independent Political Action

By David Dubinsky  
President of the Internat. Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

We are disappointed and distressed by the decision of the Supreme Court. We hope that a new law will be enacted that can overcome the technical objections to the NRA.

We cannot imagine that in American industry the sweatshop system, child labor, unlimited hours and starvation wages will be restored.

This is a great victory for big business and the reactionary forces

of America. It is enough to arouse the bitter resentment and the resistance of both organized and unorganized labor. It reveals that every gain achieved by labor can be nullified by the reactionary elements.

This development is the strongest argument for independent political action by labor. Labor in this way will be able to designate Senators and Congressmen as well as have a voice in passing upon nominees for the Supreme Court.

### Congress Must Act

By George Meany  
President of the New York State Federation of Labor

The issue is now squarely up to Congress. The raising of labor standards and the elimination of unfair trade practices represent the highest functions of government. These were the purposes set forth in the National Industrial Recovery Act. These purposes remain to be carried out in one way or another. I feel it is now up to Congress before adjournment to enact legislation that will effectuate the original purpose of the NIRA.

### Strike, If Necessary

By Emil Rieve  
President of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers

We will close down the entire industry if need be in order to maintain wages, hours and conditions of work. I am issuing blanket orders to this effect to every one of my field representatives located in eighteen different States of the Union.

### A Wave of Strikes

By Julius Hochman  
Predicting a "wave of strikes unprecedented in labor history," Julius Hochman, General Manager of the Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union, an organization with 102,000 members in the New York metropolitan area, commented as follows on the Su-

## Stopping an Uprising With a Piece of Paper

By B. Charney Vladeck  
General Manager of the Jewish Daily Forward

The decisions of the United States Supreme Court which affect the industrial codes show how inefficient the government is in a time of crisis.

The Court takes a legal position irrespective of economic and social conditions and tries to stop with a piece of paper a great current uprising of the American people against rugged individualism.

preme Court decision abolishing NRA:

"If NRA or something similar with even greater enforcement powers is not continued this country will face a wave of strikes unprecedented in labor history."

"Some employers will try to increase hours and reduce wages and because of the nature of our industry this will affect all employees and workers. Organized labor will unquestionably resist such attempts and will insist on the enforcement of the collective agreements."

"Unorganized workers will rally to the call of organization and will also fight against wage cuts and longer hours. Regardless of Wall Street's temporary boom, unemployment will be increased and recovery retarded."

### Another Zig in the Zig-Zag

By Harold N. Sturgeon  
In the Unionist and Public Forum, Sioux City, Ia.

The only reasonable answer to the attempt to lower the standard of living for the mass of workers is that, having lost the friendship of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the ultra-trust Manufacturers' Association, the President is wooing them back through a sacrifice of decent sustenance for the unemployed. Evidently it's another zig in the zig-zag veering from right to left and from left to right. The president will wind up about next year to find that it is himself that has been zig-zagged out of the dictatorship that he seemingly aspires to.

It is fallacy to believe that men will find jobs in private industry at better pay if the so-called relief work is ill paid. Such reasoning does not take cognizance of the fact that there is no need of men in private industry. If there had been vacancies in private industry during the past year they would have been filled quickly by men who were on semi-starvation rations on relief rolls.

## Quinn's Partner Flays Quinn Law As "Brazen"

### Anti-Injunction Law Denounced as "Unconstitutional" in N. Y. Court by Bosses' Attorney

UPON the basis of New York's new anti-injunction law passed by the legislature after a campaign inaugurated by the Socialist Party and sponsored by the State Federation of Labor, William Karlin, attorney for several New York locals of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America and of the Window Cleaners' Protective Union, Local 2, of the Building Service Employees' International Union, both A. F. of L. organizations, made five motions in the New York Supreme Court to dismiss five pending injunctions in which the unions are defendants.

And there he discovered a curious circumstance.

The anti-injunction law, based on a model bill drawn up by Louis Waldman, state chairman of the Socialist Party, was sponsored in the State Senate by Senator Elmer F. Quinn, Tammany leader, as part of the program of Governor Lehman. As the Quinn bill the labor movement and the Socialist Party fought for it in committee hearings and built up the necessary public sentiment to assure its passage.

In court, however, the employers opposing the unions seeking the dismissal of injunctions under the terms of the Quinn law were represented by the law firm of Weisman, Quinn, Allen and Speet, Senator Quinn's law partner, excoerated the Quinn law as "unconstitutional . . . a brazen and flagrant attempt at legislation for a particular class," and "an insult to the judiciary of the state of New York."

Addressing Supreme Court Justice Isidor Wasservogel, Karlin said (pointing his finger at Quinn's law partner): "Are we to understand from Senator Quinn's partner that the Quinn law was passed not in good faith, that believing the law to be unconstitutional and wishing for labor support he successfully sponsored this law expecting that in the end his own law firm would defeat the measure by denouncing it in the courts as un-

## FAREWELL DINNER TO SEGER JUNE 3

The whole Socialist and labor movement will unite in an affectionate farewell dinner June 3rd at Rosoff's Restaurant, 147 West 43rd Street, to Cerhart Seger, who sails for Europe the next day.

Comrade Seger has endeared himself to the American movement not only by his manliness and courage and his brilliant ability in fighting fascism in all its forms, but also by his charming and winning personality.

Reservations can be secured through David Dubinsky, 3 W. 16th St., New York City.

### constitutional?

Justice Wasservogel reserved decision.

But the incident is far more important than appears on the surface. It is not enough to get a "friend," bearing some old party label, to sponsor bills and then depend upon pressure-politics to get some of them enacted. Without a party of their own through which to do their own work the workers are helpless, lame and blind.

### Features of the Week on (1200 Kc.) WEVD (321 M)

Sat., June 1-8:45 p.m.—Judge Jacob Panken of the Domestic Relations Court will discuss "Labor's Reaction to the NRA Court Decision"; 10—Bizet's opera "Carmen" as presented by the Chicago Opera Company, direct from the stage of the New York Hippodrome.

Sun., June 2-11 a.m.—Forward Hour, music and sketches; 12:15 p.m.—Variety Show featuring Gaila Budkin; 8—Studio program; 8:30—Chicago Opera Company; 10—Symposium; 10:30—Social Drama by the Theatre Union.

Mon., June 3-3 a.m.—"Starting the Day Right," Jacob S. List; 3:30 p.m.—String ensemble.

Tues., June 4-8 p.m.—Mark Eisner, Chairman of the Board of Higher Education, "Collecting and Spending the Tax Dollar"; 8:15—Frank Bohn, news commentator; 8:30—Creil Harrows, harpist; 8:45—"What Next For America?"; talk; 10—New Leader News Review; 10:15—Gaila Heller Miller, soprano.

Wed., June 5-8:30 p.m.—Premier Instrumental Trio; 8:45—Louis Waldman, State Chairman of the Socialist Party, will discuss "The Supreme Court Decision—What Next?"; 10—Studio program; 10:15—"National Labor Scene," University of the Air; 10:30—Max Wechsler, violin.

Thurs., June 6-8 p.m.—Social Service Workers, talk; 8:15—Charlotte Tomazay, violin; 8:30—Eugene Byron Morgan, harpist; 8:45—Royal Dutch Traveler, Hendrik de Leeuw; 10:15—Newspaper Guild on the Air.

Fri., June 7-8:15 p.m.—Frank Bohn, news commentator; 8:30—Sigmund Spaeth, "The Talent Detective"; 10—Saskavsky String Quartet; 10:15—"Current Scene in Washington," Representative Carolyn O'Day.

Sat., June 8-6 p.m.—Jewish Events of the Week, talk; 6:30—"Amid and Beyond," sketch; 8—String ensemble; 8:30—Don Ayton's Orchestra; 10—Chicago Grand Opera.

## Socialists Lead in Defeat of Sales Tax in Connecticut

By Abraham Knepler

HARTFORD.—The proposed Connecticut sales tax met overwhelming defeat in the House of Representatives, Bridgeport's two Socialist Assembly men voting against the bill. The bill had previously been defeated in the Senate.

The legislature also voted down a bill that would have made the adjutant-general of the state a member of the board of trustees of the Connecticut State College at Storrs. Socialists had fought against the measure at committee hearings.

The Bridgeport Civil Service bill passed the State Senate this week by a vote of 23 to 4. It is expected to pass the House this week-end. The bill places municipal employees of Bridgeport under the supervision of a board of five commissioners to be appointed by the Mayor on a tri-partisan basis.

Exempted from the civil service provisions are elected officials, heads of boards and commissions, and teachers, except that teachers will, under the bill, obtain tenure of office and the right to a hearing before they are dismissed.

Senator Taft, Socialist, in urging passage of the bill, declared that "it would stamp out the practice of filling city jobs on a basis of personal preference and also the blackjacking of employees to contribute to the campaign fund at election time." The bill had received the endorsement of the city's municipal employees, including the Bridgeport Teachers' Union, the policemen and the firemen.

With the legislature compelled by law to adjourn on June 6, many important social measures are still

in committee, and the Socialist legislators are doing everything to get the bills reported out. Most important are the income tax and dividend tax bills, which are sought by the Socialists to raise revenue for state relief purposes.

### Cassidy Heads Poll in "Big Six" Election

Edward F. Cassidy, veteran Socialist and trade unionist, was elected to the Executive of New York Typographical Union Number Six with the highest vote cast for any candidate before the membership of that union for an office for which there was a contest.

Cassidy was chosen with 5,055 votes, more than 700 votes more than the next highest candidate. Only two candidates polled a higher vote, and they were unopposed. The highest vote cast was 5,273 for a candidate for alternate delegate for the I.T.U. convention.

The vote for Cassidy was a tribute to his 48 years of faithful and intelligent service to the labor movement, and was won despite a barrage of vilification and slander by the small but active Communist group that accused him of "betrayal" and of being an "employers' man."

No candidate for president receiving a majority, there will be a run-off election between former President Leon H. Rouse and F. Elmer Brown. James J. McGrath was elected secretary-treasurer and William Ward vice-president.

## THE BATTLE RAGES IN JAPAN



Workers carrying red flags are finding out that Japan has learned a great deal from the "civilized" West.

## Epstein Warns Security Bill is Endangered

(Continued from Page One)

instead, the social insurance expert pointed out.

"Those provisions of the bill which grant Federal aid to state systems, of old age pensions, to state systems for mother's aid, child welfare services and public health are rooted in traditional principles," said Mr. Epstein. "The subsidy plan is definitely constitutional and has been an accepted American practice from the first days of the Republic. It is being extensively used in the field of education, public highways and in many agricultural activities. These provisions in the bill are fairly adequate, are socially sound and are tremendous instruments for social progress."

"The constitutionality of the contributory old age insurance provided under this bill, however, was questioned from the very beginning by students of constitutional law. These doubts have been strengthened by the Supreme Court decision on the Railroad Retirement Act and the latest decision on the NIRA. Passage of this plan without a change would merely lead the nation into a blind alley and encourage hopes which must ultimately be shattered. Such a procedure would be the height of irresponsibility for it would invite nullification and thus court disaster to the entire movement for social security. Moreover, this feature, as now drawn, is economically unwise and socially dangerous. The removal of so much purchasing power from immediate use may freeze the depression. It would place the heaviest burden of the future support of the aged upon the lowest paid instead of the entire community."

### Cumbersome Tax Method

"The unemployment insurance provisions in the Social Security

Bill which are based on a tax-off-set method, have likewise been repeatedly questioned by students of constitutional law. Supreme Court decisions have denied the right of Congress to pass a tax in order to compel specific state legislation. Aside from its questionable constitutionality, the system sets up a duplicating and cumbersome method of taxation. Its inducement to states is nugatory and it will make possible a miscellany of forty-eight confusing and inadequate statutes. Much more could be accomplished for unemployment insurance by following the traditional American method of a Federal subsidy to states which set up laws under proper uniform standards. This principle has been urged by a majority of the Advisory Council of the President's Committee on Economic Security, and by many of the members of the Committee's technical staff.

"The Federal subsidy method offers not only a far superior plan but also the only safely constitutional one. This can be accomplished if Congress retains the Federal excise tax of 3 per cent of wages as provided in this bill. A Federal system of aid to states which enact adequate unemployment insurance laws should then be provided in a separate bill. Under such an arrangement it is definitely possible to return to the states the full sums collected from their respective employers. This would assure constitutional soundness and make possible a real national plan of unemployment insurance."

"In the face of the last decisions of the Supreme Court it would be sheer folly to persist in retaining the present tax-off-set plan which may have a disastrous effect on the growing movement for social security."

## SUPREME COURT, TAKE NOTICE



The Supreme Court may think that a paper ruling on the basis of legalistic formulas is quite all right, but these Americans think that material welfare is also important. Maybe they're in contempt.

## Millinery Workers to Meet Threat to Standards

THE Cap and Millinery Department of the Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, one of the major organizations of workers in the needle industry, moved along two separate fronts this week to prevent the decision of the United States Supreme Court nullifying the National Industrial Recovery Act from lowering the standards of the workers employed in both the cap and millinery industries.

Max Zaritsky, president of the international union, announced that he had taken the following steps:

1. In all of the markets throughout the nation where there are collective relations between the union and the employers, local managers and organizers of the union were advised by wire that under no conditions will the union permit any departure from the terms of the collective agreement. In most cases, Zaritsky said, the wages are above the minima provided for in the Millinery and Cap codes.

2. In those of the markets which have no such collective agreements and which, he said, affect about 15 per cent of the total number employed in the industry, organizers and managers have been instructed to resist, by calling strikes if necessary, any attempt on the part

of the employers either to increase the hours of labor above those provided by the codes or to reduce wages below the minimum provided in the codes.

### Resistance in South

The only places in which trouble in the near future was anticipated, Zaritsky said, were in the South, where, he added, the employers had resisted code enforcements through court injunctions. Zaritsky left for Atlanta this week to meet the local leaders of the organization and to prepare for any eventualities that might result from the scrapping of the codes. Dallas, Tex., and Birmingham, Ala., are two other places in which the union will make preparations to prevent any reduction in labor standards.

In his wire to local organization leaders, Zaritsky declared that the Supreme Court decision will serve to strengthen the hand of extremists, most of whom joined with the reactionaries in opposing the recovery program. He said:

"The decision of the Supreme Court comes as a shock, but not as a surprise, to the labor movement. Students of the role which the Supreme Court has played in every case in which the rights of labor were involved had little reason to hope that the court would be any more solicitous about hu-

## The NIRA Decision

(Continued from Page One)

bargaining and other conditions of employment in business engaged in interstate commerce and in industries directly affecting interstate commerce.

Labor must shake off its gloom and demand the prompt enactment of the Black-Connerly Thirty-Hour Week measure and the Wagner Industrial Disputes Bill. The Wagner bill will have to be somewhat modified, since as now drafted it follows the same legislative technique developed by the New Deal and embodied in the NIRA which the Supreme Court by its decision has outlawed. It should press for the enactment of a new NIRA, omitting from the Act the unconstitutional delegation of legislative powers to the executive. It should press for the enactment of its social security program.

Labor's legislative program must not be crushed by the breakdown of the New Deal's legislative method, which upon careful analysis should have been recognized as fatally defective. It served unchallenged at the time when the nation was in panic and economically prostrate. With the return of critical scrutiny that method could not survive.

Of far greater importance is the second point of the decision, which held that Congress may not legislate respecting business affecting interstate commerce indirectly. Though this holding is not novel, it has been assumed that our present industrial and commercial interdependence has substantially obliterated local boundaries. The free flow of interstate commerce cannot be maintained by imposing widely different standards of labor on business engaged directly in interstate commerce from that affecting it only indirectly.

The practical effect of the court's holding will be the immediate necessity for the enactment of state legislation prescribing minimum wages, maximum hours, the freedom of collective bargaining, and other labor conditions. This creates incalculable difficulties. If Congress passes the labor legislative program it can only apply to those workers employed in business engaged in interstate commerce, within the meaning of the present court's decision, a much narrower sphere than was heretofore assumed under the NIRA.

If labor is ready to act politically it can pro-

vide a uniform labor legislative program within the states to correspond to the national program. It may find support from those business elements who are engaged in interstate commerce and who would insist upon being on the same competitive basis with those engaged in intra-state commerce.

Of course, the whole problem raised by the Supreme Court decision could be solved by the adoption of a constitutional amendment to be known as the Workers' Rights Amendment. Such an amendment has been urged by the Socialist Party for the last five years. It should have passed through Congress and been submitted to the states in the early days of the New Deal. It could have become the fundamental law of the land in the same short space of time as it took the New Deal to put through the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Unfortunately, the Socialist proposal was not needed. It is not yet too late. With Organized Labor solidly behind it, it could be presented at this Congress. And if adopted, it could be submitted to the states to be ratified by special conventions called for that purpose.

The national crisis justifies such immediate action. Will the Roosevelt Administration have the will to propose and carry through such an amendment?

In the meantime, upon Organized Labor has been imposed the task of holding the gains of the last two years. It will be called upon to resist the attack on labor standards that will be made by the powerful business interests who now gloat over the death of NIRA. During the two years since the code system has been brought into existence, national associations of employers have been created where no associations existed before. Many of these associations are now velded into powerful organizations. They have a uniform policy as far as labor is concerned. The individual worker will become more helpless than ever under this new system. And even the trade unions will find it harder to unionize such industries.

This is a critical period for Labor. The Socialist Party and all lovers of social justice will get behind Labor in its fight in this trying hour.

### Butcher Strike of 5,000; Union to Issue Call

The Butchers' Union Local 234, affiliated with the A. F. of L., reports that due to the complaints reported to the union, concerning wage and hour "chiseling" by retail meat shopkeepers, will call a mass meeting to vote on the question of a general strike.

Proprietors have already fired a number of men and hired youngsters to do the manual work. Because of the breakdown of the NIRA, code provisions are being violated.

The union has been advised by President Green to "MAKE A STAND," and that we are proceeding to do immediately, says Joseph Belsky, general secretary of the 3 butcher locals.

A Section Delegate meeting has been ordered for Monday, June 3, at 231 East 14th St., to discuss a general strike in the kosher and non-kosher meat markets.



## Big Labor and Party Picnic At Ulmer Park July 27th

## Party Progress

# BIG DINNER TO HONOR CLAESSENS' 50TH BIRTHDAY



## Activities of Local New York's Labor Department

In the coming strikes in the garment trades and the labor situation as affected by the collapse of the NRA, the Labor Committee of the Local New York will throw its force and energies into the common struggle.

## Socialist Gains in France Analyzed by Bracke

**St. Louis 3-Day Carnival Shows Labor Protest**

ST. LOUIS.—A three-day carnival and Labor Exposition conducted by the Socialists in St. Louis, was unanimously

A mass meeting held in connection with the carnival featured speeches by William M. Brann, secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, an old-time Socialist, and Norman Thomas.

New Dance League Third Annual All Day, afternoon and evening  
**SUNDAY, JUNE 9th,**  
For the benefit of  
Afternoon—Competition: Black  
Amateur Group; Bill Matson  
mental Group; Reuk-ami Gro  
Friends Dance Group; New Dan  
Troupe 2; Junior Red Dance  
Studio; State Unit of Dance, Dr

Since then, millions of dissatisfied voters over the country, what an opportunity before us! What a blunder it would be to see Socialist movement!

And what an equally greater, when the danger of in this country is so great, the impression that the S do not stand for democracy.

Let us preserve an un Socialist Party based on these principles!

## Hitler Regime Takes War ing From Workers' Elections

These disappointing outcomes in these elections is said to be the reason why the Hitler Government is studiously refraining from instituting another national plebiscite which was seriously considered only a short time before the labor elections took place.

**DANCE FESTIVAL**  
**PARK THEATRE, Columbus**  
can League Against War and Fascism  
e Evan **PRICES: MATINEE 35c, 50c**  
Experi- **Tickets at: New Dance League,**  
Nature **CH. 2-9523; Amer. League Against**  
Group, **and Fascism, 213 4th Ave.; Box**  
Dance **50 E. 13, or Box Office Park**  
, Music

## International Nazism is Flayed By I.F.T.U. Congress

**Intrigues of Fascism**

"In Sweden the Nazis are maintaining a tremendous secret service; they are plotting against the Swedish Government, getting their supporters to work together with the Communists; they are sending their spies in every party; they are even trying to get into the heavy industries (armaments industries) and under their control."

"Denmark has to be concerned on the alert against the attack of the Nazis from Germany. Through the Nazis, a specially formed 'provincial' organization has been set up in Luxembourg, Nazi funds are being poured in a steady stream into numerous organizations and associations which carry out the work of agitation under the cover of legal disguises."

"In conjunction with the

"Nothing much is done by governments against these nations. Some of them have on their own consciences. The world is to be freed from the Hitler, resistance must stand with the workers in this spirit and are preparing to reply to Hitler's plans for domination with a crusade of humanism. These efforts must be a wide echo in the General Congress in Copenhagen."

**BRONX**  
Lower 6th A.D. Branch will  
day, June 4, at 1638 E. 172nd St.  
Amol. Coop. A meeting to  
against the high cost of living  
report on the conference with  
LaGuardia at City Hall will be  
Monday, June 3, at 8:30 p.m., at  
Assembly Hall, 80 Van Cortlandt  
Serafini, Esther Friedman and  
Abramson. Admission free. It  
is urged to come.

**Do two things. Build the  
Left Party and get subs  
Leader to help build it.**

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e. Evan  
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# "Oil for the Lamps of China" in World Premiere at the Strand

## The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

### FAST AND FAR

"THE YOUNG GO FIRST," by Peter Martin, George Seudder, and Charles Friedman. The Theatre of Action at the Park. Swiftly and noisily they go, the young, new generations, pressed into greater awareness of the world by their greater need, and out of these rising to the possibility of changing it. Such is the thesis of every radical play, and "The Young Go First" maintains it with vigor and speed and direct power. This is a tale of the C.C.C., of the boys who, out of their need and in the glow of a young (and naive) enthusiasm, go to the Civilian Conservation Camps. How these camps have many of the abuses of the army, how army oppression and inequality and graft press on the rookies, the play pounds home through the evening. Excellent settings by Mordecai Gorelik, and vivid acting, especially by Paul Enders as the Sergeant and by half a dozen of the boys, keep a tense interest in the evening's stir.

What is perhaps even more interesting, however, is the way in which these plays of protest are forming a fixed pattern, to which they tend increasingly to conform. Here are all the familiar elements—and we pause to remark that a program note to the effect that an episode is taken from life does not make it an artistic or justifiable movement in a drama. Stevenson remarked that when he found, in a story, an unusually incredible incident, he was sure that it was taken direct from life. Fact is stranger than fiction. Life is full of accidents, of rare, unusual, unexpected happenings, of violent and extreme cases of human greed and cruelty. But, to be convincing, the facts in a play cannot parade a program note that they have actually occurred; they must seem, not unique, but representative, true because typical ways of human conduct or events. The radical audience at propaganda plays knows that the things presented do happen, and often; but those whom the plays should wake and rouse to a sense of the evil are able only to exclaim against the play's violent distortion, its presentation of what may occasionally happen as the general rule. A little less vehemence would mean more forcefulness; less noise, more true emphasis.

"The Young Go First," we say, follows the pattern. Here are the earnest youth discovering how they are held down, bound to the system by their elders (bullying or cynical or pretending to be kind); the impulse to rebel, at first personal, then gathering group impetus, and spreading to other groups (in "Sailors of Cattaro" a fellow-seaman from another ship is hidden while an officer stirs around; in this play it's a lad from another section of the camp); in most of the plays the cruel representatives of power discover the plot of the gallant young rebels, and frustrate their plucky plans. And, as the victims are sent to their death or (as here) scattered to other camps, they grow strong in the belief that this failure has taught them how to succeed. There is no red flag raised in this play, but the pattern is patent, and always arouses enthusiastic approval from those already convinced.

"G-Men" Stays at Strand. Owing to the excellent business which has accompanied the fourth week of its engagement, "G-Men," in which James Cagney is the star, is being held over at the Strand Theatre for a fifth week. The fifth week of "G-Men's" run, which is a record for 1935 at the Strand, necessitates the postponement of the premiere showing of "Oil for the Lamps of China."

The Dept. of Justice Story That Goes Further... that shows how the silent heroes track down the public enemies and then...

"LET 'EM HAVE IT"

Richard ARLEN - Virginia BRUCE  
Alice BRADY - Bruce CABOT  
25c to 1 P. M. - MIDNITE SHOWS  
**RIVOLI** Broadway  
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SHOW PLACE OF THE NATION  
WARNER BAXTER  
KETTI GALLIAN in  
"UNDER THE PAMPAS MOON"  
A Fox Picture with  
Veloz and Yolanda  
ON STAGE: "Rhapsody  
in Green," Florence  
Rogge's lavish festival  
Symphony Orch.  
in vivid color and  
merry music...  
Popular Prices  
First Seats Reserved  
Phone CO 5-6335

### In "If a Body"



Marie Hartman, the hard-boiled moll in "If a Body," the mystery farce at the Biltmore Theatre. This role, incidentally is her first in a legitimate production in all her twenty years on the stage.

### New Holiday Show at Roxy's Includes "Laws of a Dictator" and Stage Revue

A gala holiday show with new attractions on both stage and screen is at the Roxy Theatre this week. The feature film is the new dramatic spectacle "Laws of a Dictator" with Clive Brook and Madeleine Carroll. On the stage the new revue features Gordon, Reid and King. Other acts on the program include Joaquin Garay, versatile singer, Pallenberg's Bears and this week's winner of the Fred Allen radio amateur contest, Freddy Mack conducts the Roxy Rhythm orchestra in a program of special holiday selections and the Gae Foster Girls appear in new and lavish dance ensembles.

### "Bride of Frankenstein" in Brooklyn Premiere at Albee—New Stage Show

"The Bride of Frankenstein," the weirdly thrilling successor to "Frankenstein" is now at the RKO Albee Theatre. It was in the original "Frankenstein" that Karloff, "the Monster" of the story, was brought to life at the height of a crashing electrical storm, and in this sequel detailing his further adventures a mate is created for him in the person of Elsa Lanchester.

Ann **HARDING** • Herbert **MARSHALL**  
in **"THE FLAME WITHIN"**  
ON THE STAGE  
George **OLSEN** • Ethel **SHUTTA** • and big  
CAPITOL **REVUE** BROADWAY  
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CLIVE BROOK • MADELEINE CARROLL  
in **"LOVES OF A DICTATOR"**  
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★ ON THE STAGE ★  
GORDON REID & KING - BAYES and SPECK - JOAQUIN GARAY - PALLENBERG'S BEARS - GAE FOSTER GIRLS - FREDDY MACK  
**ROXY** ANY DAY!  
11th Ave. & 50th St. ANY SEAT!  
SHOW VALUE OF THE NATION

**5th WEEK — "G-MEN"**  
with **JAMES CAGNEY** • **STRAND—25c**  
Warner Bros. Epic! B'way & 47th St. to 1 P. M. Cont. from 9:30 A. M. weekdays

ALL THIS WEEK  
**"The Bride of Frankenstein"**  
with **KARLOFF**  
—ALSO—  
**McLarnin vs. Ross**  
**Fight Pictures**  
—RKO VAUDEVILLE—  
**"REVUE A LA CARTE"**  
with JANS & WHALEN  
TOM PATRICOLA - FIVE MAXELLOS  
and other RKO Acts  
**ALBEE** Albee Square  
BROOKLYN

### Josephine Hutchinson, Civic Repertoire Star, and Large Cast in New Film

The world premiere of "Oil for the Lamps of China," the Cosmopolitan special production to be released by First National with Pat O'Brien, Josephine Hutchinson and Jean Muir in the leading roles, will be held at the Strand Theatre on Wednesday evening, June 5th, at seven o'clock. The first showings of "Oil for the Lamps of China" are to be attended by gala festivities signaling the transcription to the screen of one of America's best-selling novels. Its author, Mrs. Alice Tisdale Hobart, and Miss Hutchinson of the cast are expected to be in attendance.

### De Vega to Make Film Debut

Carlos de Vega, noted concert dancer, has signed with Warner Brothers to make his motion picture debut in a short to be filmed early in June in which he will appear opposite Armida.

### Ann Harding-Herbert Marshall at the Capitol

Ann Harding and Herbert Marshall are co-starring in M-G-M's "The Flame Within," which occupies the Capitol Theatre's screen this week. "The Flame Within" deals with the life and loves of a celebrated and beautiful woman psychiatrist.

George Olsen, Ethel Shutta, Olsen's Orchestra and a new idea in revues will supplement the screen feature for the week.

### Group Theatre presents Waiting for Lefty and Till the Day I Die

by CLIFFORD ODETS  
**LONGACRE THEATRE** West 46th St.  
Eves. 8:30—\$1.65 to 40c  
Mats. Wed. & Sat.—\$1.10 to 40c  
For Theatre Party Benefits Call Helen Thompson, PEnn. 6-7234, or write The Group Theatre, 246 W. 44th St.

ALL THIS WEEK  
**Katharine Hepburn**  
in **"Break of Hearts"**  
with CHARLES BOYER  
—ALSO—  
**McLarnin vs. Ross**  
**Fight Films**  
ON THE STAGE  
PAPPY ZEKKA - EZRA BARRY & WHITE LEDGE  
ADAIR & RICHARDS  
and other RKO Acts  
**PALACE** B'way  
& 47th St.

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

### Earl Carroll



The musical comedy producer, whose new edition of "The Sketch Book" opens Tuesday at the Winter Garden.

Ethel Shutta's Revue are Bob Jack Gifford, Adrian Freiche and Rice, Alan Gale, Bobby Borger, Henry Russell.

THE GROUP THEATRE presents  
**"AWAKE and SING!"**  
by CLIFFORD ODETS  
at the **BELASCO THEATRE** 44th STREET, East of Broadway  
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Gilbert Miller & Leslie Howard in association with Arthur Hopkins present  
**LESLIE HOWARD**  
**THE PETRIFIED FOREST**  
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The **THEATRE GUILD** presents  
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Eves. 8:40—Best Seats All Evenings \$3.30  
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has given New York its two blithest and swiftest plays"  
—Otis Skinner  
with **GLADYS GEORGE**  
**PERSONAL APPEARANCE**  
**HENRY MILLER'S THEATRE**, West 43rd Street  
Evenings 8:10 Matinees Thurs. and Sat.

**JUDITH ANDERSON and HELEN MENKEN**  
—in—  
**THE OLD MAID**  
PULITZER PRIZE PLAY 1935  
**EMPIRE THEATRE** Mats. Wednesday and Saturday  
BROADWAY and 49th STREET

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**THE YOUNG GO FIRST**  
A drama of the CCC camps  
N.Y. SUN Says: "An exceedingly fine production...splendid"  
(On Columbus Circle) 59th St. • PRICES 25c, 50c, Eves. 9:40—Mats. Sats. 2:40 65c, 85c & \$1.10  
**PARK THEATRE**

**GOOD BALCONY SEATS**  
50c \$1.00  
\$1.50 \$2.00  
**"HILARIOUS"**  
Lockridge-Sun  
**3 MEN ON A HORSE**  
"A Knockout"  
Sobel-Mirror  
**PLAYHOUSE** 18th St. E. of B'way  
Eve 8:45 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:45

Fabian's **FOX** B'way  
**EDMUND LOWE** ESTHER RALSTON  
in Dashiell Hammett's  
**"MR. DYNAMITE"**  
Thrilling Successor to "THIN MAN" 25c  
Plus Usual BIG STAGE SHOW 10:50 P. M. 15c

### Edmund Lowe on Fox Brooklyn Screen—Minstrel Show Stage Feature

The inside workings of a modern, efficient detective bureau are being visualized in Universal's latest feature, "Mr. Dynamite," Dashiell Hammett's new thriller, now on the screen at Fabian's Fox Brooklyn Theatre.

Edmund Lowe, star of the picture, has been given competent support in the person of Jean Dixon, Esther Ralston, Victor Varconi and Verna Hillie.

On the stage this week the Fox is presenting a minstrel show, the return of Miss Olive White as mistress of ceremonies, and Ben Nelson and his orchestra.

### "Under the Pampas Moon" at Music Hall

Warner Baxter's newest starring vehicle, "Under the Pampas Moon," in which he resumes the same sort of characterization which first brought him great popularity, is current at the Radio City Music Hall.

In "Under the Pampas Moon," Baxter plays the role of a fighting, romantic gaucho—a role not unlike the part he played in "In Old Arizona."

On the Music Hall stage is a new production staged by Florence Rogge, Ballet director, who is the first woman producer to create the Music Hall stage spectacles. The extravaganza is titled "Rhapsody in Green," and its cast will include Jan Pearce, tenor, Marie Grimaldi,

### "Town Hall of Air Series"

George V. Denny, Jr., of the League for Political Education has started a "Town Hall of Air Series" and is giving the nation the advantage of being able to tune in on discussions and debates exactly as they occur at Town Hall. He has resurrected the old New England town hall idea of public discussion and let millions of people have the benefit of it, instead of one or two thousand within the immediate confines of Town Hall.

For the first nation-wide broadcast on May 30th he selected four acknowledged leaders in each branch of political economy to debate on "Which Way America?" The participants were Raymond Moley for Democracy, Laurence Dennis for Fascism, A. J. Muste for Communism, and Norman Thomas for Socialism.

The programs will continue through the summer and if successful will be made a regular weekly feature in the fall.

### Socialist Party Lectures

(All lectures begin at 8:30 p. m. unless otherwise specified. Lectures listed below are under the auspices of the Educational Committee of the Socialist Party.)  
**TUESDAY, JUNE 4**  
Charles Solomon—Topic to be announced, 16th A.D., 6618 Bay Parkway, S. ROUMALDI—"Fascism in Italy," 23rd A.D., Kings, 219 Sackman St.

**WOMEN'S COMMITTEE SPEAKERS ON HIGH COST OF LIVING—9 P. M.**  
Friday, May 31—Havenue and So. 4th Sts., Brooklyn, Julia Primoff.  
Saturday, June 1—8112 Rockaway Beach Blvd., Far Rockaway, Esther Friedman.  
Monday, June 3—Amalgamated and 8th A.D. Branches, Sedgewick Ave. and Van Cortlandt Park So. Estelle Abramson and Esther Friedman.  
Tuesday, June 4, 2 P. M.—Upper East Bronx Unit, outdoor meeting, Lydia and Cruger Aves. Kate Gerber, Estelle Abramson, Esther Friedman, Lillian Teplitz, Mrs. Halbit.  
Thursday, June 6, 2 P. M.—West Bronx Unit at Kate Gerber's Home, 1130 Anderson Ave., Esther Friedman, "The Meat Strike."

## Party Legislators Rebuild Sacked City of Bridgeport

Secure Passage of Bills Designed to Aid in Reconstruction

By Abraham Knepler

BRIDGEPORT. — The Socialist administration will be greatly aided in its work of reconstructing the city through legislation which has just been passed by the General Assembly at Hartford. That Bridgeport's Socialist Senators and Representatives are truly representing those who elected them is appreciated by the people and has been recognized by the press.

One of the first acts of the legislature this year was to pass unanimously the bill permitting the City of Bridgeport to issue refunding bonds. A bill that will mean a great saving to the city is the measure just passed giving the State Highway Department responsibility for maintenance of a through-route in Bridgeport extending from Fairfield to Stratford, putting an end to the numerous bridge scandals which have plagued Bridgeport for so many years under the old-party regimes, since the State Highway Department will take charge of maintenance of the bridges on the through-route.

The House passed bills last week empowering the mayor to act as a member of the Board of Education if the continued absence of a quorum obstructs the business of the board, as happened a short time ago when three members of the Democratic party sitting on the board, in a political move, refused to attend several scheduled

meetings of the Board of Education.

The House also passed a bill revising the pension system in the city's police and fire departments, ending many abuses in the methods of obtaining pensions and in the rates of pension pay. Another important bill amended the city charter to create a central maintenance bureau for the more efficient upkeep of all city buildings and property under the Director of Public Works. A bill setting up a civil service and merit system is expected to be reported favorably out of committee in the near future.

In a hearing on repeal of the extraordinary powers granted at the last session of the legislature to the Board of Apportionment and Taxation, the sentiment was overwhelmingly in favor of repeal of the drastic powers, only two spokesmen appearing in favor of continuation of the so-called "ripper act." It appears likely that the demand of the Socialist administration for the repeal of the "ripper act" and return of financial authority into the hands of the elected representatives of the people will be granted.

All of the measures mentioned have been part of the Socialist administration's legislative program for the City of Bridgeport, and all of them are part of the Socialist attempt to rebuild for the people of Bridgeport a city left bankrupt by the corrupt double machine that had control of the city's destinies for so long a time.



# Property

## There Should Be More Private Property in Some Things and Less in Other Things--The Trouble Is That Most of Us Haven't Enough Property for Decent Living

by Kirby Page

MANY giant inequities of this age flow from property. The competitive struggle for private gain has resulted in social strangulation through excessive concentration of property in the hands of a privileged minority. And at the same time the lack of property is proving to be a scourge to countless individuals. In the paradox of too much private property and too little property this generation confronts its gravest menace.

Escape from the tidal wave of disaster produced by maladjustments of property is conditioned upon clear recognition of the vast differences in social significance of various types of property. The doctrines of individualism or capitalism fail to differentiate sharply between numerous varieties and the assumption prevails widely



Kirby Page

that a citizen is entitled to all the property to which he can acquire legal title, irrespective of its nature or quantity. That some limitations are necessary is universally recognized, of course. Private ownership of postoffices or mints for the coinage of legal tender is not permitted. But the general opinion is that private ownership of property should be encouraged over the widest possible area. Equally legitimate and desirable to the public mind appear countless varieties of private property: coal mines, wearing apparel, oil wells, forests, steel mills, food, shelter, huge factories, telephone systems, musical instruments, Titanic generators of electric energy, objects of art, banks, educational institutions, carpenters' tools, land, recreational centers, skyscrapers, firearms, department stores, apartment houses, books, railways, and on and on almost endlessly.

### Three Types of Property

No rational solutions of the problems connected with property are possible so long as property is regarded merely as property. The first step must be accurate classification. For purposes of intelligent discussion, various types must be assigned to one of three categories: (1) consumers' or users' property; (2) producers' property in the giant instruments of industry; and (3) miscellaneous property that does not come clearly within the first or the second categories. If a color scheme is used for purposes of illustration, one may refer to the first classification as white, the second as black, and the third as an assortment of grays and browns.

The first category includes food, clothing, modest homes, and countless articles which minister directly to the daily welfare of individuals and families. The second group embraces coal mines, water power sites and other primary sources of electric energy, banks, railroads, telephone and telegraph systems, huge steel mills and Titanic manufacturing establishments. And the third classification is composed of border-line types, such as small retail stores, small manufacturing plants, factories which produce non-essentials and certain kinds of transportation and communication.

The thesis which I desire to set forth is this: there should be far more private property in the first category, much less private ownership in the second classification, and experimentation in the third group, including ventures in co-operative ownership and operation through consumers' cooperative societies.

The case for private ownership of food, clothing and articles of personal use does not need to be supported with elaborate arguments. Few individuals would choose to dwell in a community in which all possessions of every type are held in common. Tastes and needs vary. Individuality should not be repressed by complete uniformity in users' goods. Many values are afforded by the ownership and occupation of a small home. A major indictment of the prevailing economic system is found in the fact that vast multitudes of people are denied sufficient property to minister adequately to their daily needs. A substantially higher standard of living is urgently required.

### The Leading Type

So nearly universal is the conviction in the United States that property in users' commodities should be owned privately that it is futile to seek fundamental changes in the present property system unless a sharp differentiation is made between property for consumption or use and property for production. It is therefore imperative that the social significance of private ownership of the Titanic instruments of production be vividly disclosed. The heart of the modern economic problem is found in this second type of property. There is relatively little dispute about the first classification,

and decisions concerning the third category are not so urgently demanded. But the action we take with regard to the mass instruments of production and distribution will in large measure determine the future of this nation.

### Prevailing Concepts

Prevailing concepts of property are a heritage from the frontier and the days of handicraft or small-scale production. The founding fathers could not more imagine a billion dollar corporation than they could envisage themselves taking afternoon tea on the sands of the Atlantic and breakfast the following morning on the cliffs above the Golden Gate of the Pacific. George Washington at the time of his death was probably the richest man in the United States, his estate of 50,000 acres being estimated at \$530,000. Benjamin Franklin's fortune of \$150,000 marked him as one of the wealthiest men of the land. In 1804 Secretary of the Treasury reported to President Jefferson: "There are not at present one hundred thousand dollars in Philadelphia, New York and Boston put together."

The total amount of money coined down to the year 1820 was 19 million dollars, about two dollars per inhabitant. At one time the entire specie stock of the Bank of North America did not exceed \$20,000, and a near-panic was produced when a single depositor withdrew one-fourth of this amount.

### The Modern Corporation

Ideas which may have been valid in primitive communities are not necessarily sound and practicable in an industrialized nation with 22 billion-dollar corporations possessing total assets of 40 billions. In their monumental study, Berle and Means have shown that the 200 largest American corporations control 38 per cent or more of all the business wealth of the nation. These 200 corporations in turn are controlled by 2,000 directors, and "since an important number of these are inactive, the ultimate control of nearly half of industry was actually in the hands of a few hundred men. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company possessed at the beginning of 1934 total assets approximating five billion dollars. This vast economic

empire was owned by 680,939 stockholders but controlled by a small board of directors. "One hundred companies of this size," write Berle and Means, "would control the whole of American wealth; would employ all the gainfully employed..."

At the time when the prevailing doctrines of individualism were

formed, property was something substantial in the physical possession of its owner—land, buildings, jewels, slaves, live stock, inventories of goods, machinery and equipment. Property was owned by individuals or families or small groups of partners, and the total holding of the richest individuals were insignificant in contrast to

the vast wealth of present day corporations. Moreover, the concept "property" has now assumed a host of new meanings. The rise of the modern corporation has changed drastically the significance of property. The capital required for mass production can rarely be supplied by a few individuals or families. The Ford Motor Company constitutes a conspicuous exception to the general rule. The giant corporations of our day are owned by tens of thousands, or even hundreds of thousands of different individuals; the number of stockholders of American Telephone and Telegraph Company exceeds 680,000. The "property" actually held by these "owners" consists of pieces of paper in the form of stock and bonds, and the price paid is often far in excess of the total value of all the physical and tangible assets of the corporation.

### Responsibility of Owners

The menace of property, as well as its potential blessing, cannot be understood without a clear recognition of the significance of the modern corporation. Under the

system of personal ownership and operation of a business enterprise, and under the system of partnership, the individual owners were fully responsible for their business transactions. The emergence of the modern corporation has changed drastically the responsibility of owners. "The corporation is a purely legal device," writes John T. Flynn. "It is sufficiently old in its theoretical aspects, but as an instrument of business, it is a purely modern instrument. It is not and never has been possible to create a corporation without an express authorization of the law. It is not merely an association of men in a common enterprise. The distinctive features of the modern corporation—at least those which give it economic importance—are, first, that it is a legal entity, entirely apart from the individuals who compose it; it is a legal person, and acts, assumes obligations, wholly separate from those who are its members. Second, the members who compose it have no liability for its acts save to the extent of their contribution to its stock. If the modern corporation did not possess these two attributes it could not possibly function as we know it today. No man would commit his savings in the form of investment to an ordinary association of men of whom he knew little and without opportunity or capacity for investigation and intelligent discrimination, if he could be held liable for all its acts to the extent of all his possessions. That must be sufficiently obvious. And of course both these attributes—the character of the distinct personality and the benefit of limited liability—are privileges conferred upon the corporation by acts of the legislature. They are special privileges devised by and bestowed by the government."

### Control Centralized

Thus it is apparent that the device of the corporation has changed utterly the relation of owners and investors to "property." The huge number of stockholders and bondholders of a giant corporation indicates that ownership of modern industry is being scattered, but this fact should not obscure the vastly more significant fact that control is thereby highly centralized. The 680,000 stockholders of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company own but do not control this five-billion-dollar corporation. They are concerned chiefly about dividends. Control rests in the hands of a small board of directors. These 20 or 30 directors thus control not only their own "property" but that of a half million other persons.

In numerous instances the board of directors in turn is controlled by three or four super-financiers who sit upon it. A striking case was revealed during the Insull trial in Chicago when Stanley Field, nephew of the late Marshall Field, a director of one of the Insull corporations, testified that the affairs of this company were "conducted by a close Insull group of four men, the Elder Insull, his son, Samuel Jr., Martin Insull, a brother, and Harold L. Stuart." He further testified, as reported in the New York Times, that "this inner group comprised the only ones who really knew what was going on in the inside of the big holding company, which failed with losses of \$120,000,000. As a director, Mr. Field said, he was there to give advice on policies when asked, but no important question was ever put up to him. He ratified the action of the executive committee, that was all, he added..." He said that many matters concerning the company, which forms the basis of the prosecution, had come to his attention for the first time during the trial... He could not recall if he ever approved or disapproved any policy, he said." (November 8, 1934.)

(To be continued)

### FALCON CALL IN PRINTED FORM

The Red Falcons of America are putting out a real magazine for workers' children. In the recent issue of the Falcon Call, their official organ, there are many interesting articles and stories, written by Falcons and Falcon guides for children of the working class.

Among the articles is an excellent history of May Day, with illustrations. There is also an excellent play on the sharecroppers in Arkansas which any children's group may use to excellent advantage in presenting entertainment at some affair. There are a number of stories, and articles on first aid, nature study, stamps, etc.

For those who are interested in children's work this magazine is of inestimable value. Others will find it very interesting and may find in it information they cannot get elsewhere.

Branches are urged to take bundle orders to be distributed among the children of their neighborhood. Workmen's Circle schools will find it valuable in teaching labor history. Write to the office of the Falcon Call, 7 East 15th Street, New York City, for rates.

## Dan Hoan's Twenty-Five Years in Public Office

By William M. Feigenbaum

### The Entire Socialist and Labor Movement Unites to Honor the Mayor of Milwaukee for Unique Services to the Workers

THERE was a delicious scene in the vast West Side Turner Hall, the largest in Milwaukee, that election night, April 5, 1910. A bitter campaign had been fought, and the Socialists—then known in Wisconsin as the Social Democratic Party—had swept the city. Emil Seidel, head of the little patternmaker, had been elected Mayor by a heavy plurality, carrying the entire Socialist city and county ticket with him.

Outside the streets were jammed with cheering people; in the hall the comrades were wild with enthusiasm when big, bulky Victor L. Berger walked on to the platform and himself had just won his first office, having been elected Alderman-at-large, but he gloried in a far simpler honor, that of being the Organizer of Socialist Victory in Milwaukee.

**A Solemn Dedication**  
Berger signalled for quiet, and he called upon the vast audience to pledge themselves to stand by the new Administration and help them be a credit to the city, and to the great cause of Socialism. It was a simple service to dedication, and it was deeply effective.

All the war-horses of Milwaukee Socialism were involved in the great victory, for every city and county office had been carried, together with a majority in the City Council and the County Board. The roster of the new city and county administration read like the rollcall of a Socialist meeting or convention.

But in that list far from the most conspicuous elected official was the new City Attorney, a young Socialist lawyer with a mid-western drawl, Daniel Webster Hoan. The Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin did not go in heavily for lawyers, preferring, as Berger used to say, a bricklayer or a printer or a railway engineer to members of the bar. And so the few trusted lawyers in the party's ranks were quickly pressed into service as candidates.

Hoan was then a young man just over 29, attorney for the Wisconsin Federation of Labor. He had been born in Kenosha, Wis., March 12th, 1881, and he had worked his way through the University of Wisconsin as a cook and dishwasher. At the university, from which he received his degree in 1905, he founded one of the first university Socialist societies in the country. He studied law in Chicago, and since 1907 has been a member of the bar. But he was able to practice only three years, being called to public service in the sweep of 1910, and he has held public office with distinction ever since. He has been a candidate eight times, and he has been elected eight times.

### First Socialist Administration

The city administration was elected for a two-year term in those remote days, although the City Attorney's term was four years. In those days, also, elections were by party tickets, although the business interests insisted that national politics had no place in municipal affairs. And during the two years of the terrible "disgrace" of a Socialist administration attempts were made to amend the law to provide for non-partisan elections in the city, solely in order to defeat the Socialists. By 1912 they had not yet succeeded in securing that legislation, and in that year the two old parties combined to defeat the Socialists, although Seidel and his comrades polled a vote substantially higher than two years previously. Hoan, however, held on for two more years, and in 1914 he was named for re-election.

By that time the non-partisan law had gone through, and candi-

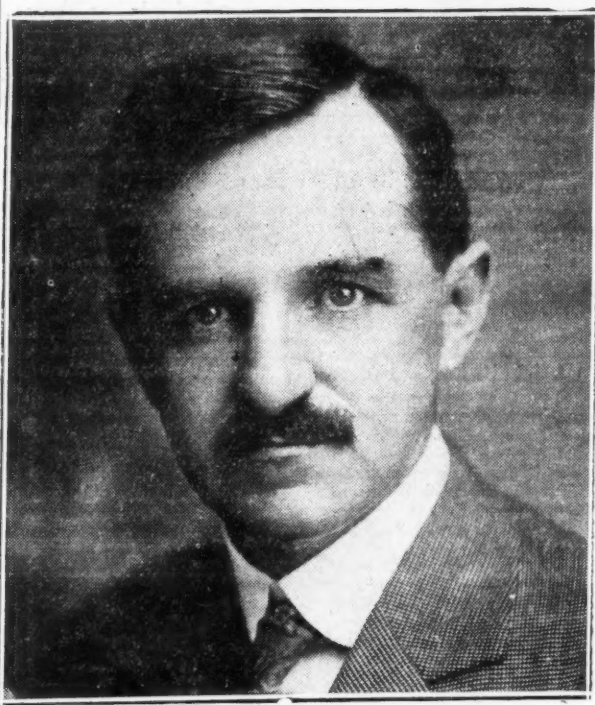
dates have appeared ever since in city elections without party labels. A primary is held, and the two highest candidates meet in the final election. The Socialists, of course, do everything in their power to emphasize the Socialist affiliations of their candidates, while the opposition usually spends a good deal of time concealing their party connections.

In 1914, the first year under the new system, Seidel and his colleagues on the city-wide ticket were defeated, but Hoan astonished everybody by winning re-election by a rather narrow margin. And it was then that Social-

### The New Leader Greeted Dan Hoan Upon His Anniversary

Affectionate greetings to Dan Hoan upon the occasion of the completion of a quarter century of unique work in the interest of our great cause. Forward to a united party, a united working class and a Socialist world!

The New Leader:  
James Oneal,  
Wm. M. Feigenbaum,  
S. M. Levitas.



Daniel Webster Hoan

ists in every part of the country began to take an interest in him. And for over two decades Dan Hoan is and has continued to be one of the best known and most conspicuous Socialists in the country.

### Elected Mayor

Two years later, in the spring of 1916, Seidel asked to be relieved of the burden of running for mayor, and the Socialists—now officially called the Socialist Party as in the rest of the United States—unanimously turned to the young and highly-popular city attorney, now in the sixth year of his term. Hoan was then 35, full of physical vigor with a splendid record of successful work behind him. During his six-year term he had written a book, "The Failure of Regulation," in which he showed that only by public ownership could the utilities be properly managed and operated in the interest of the great masses. The book is valuable even today, twenty years after it was written, to show that regulation is an impossible solution of the utility question.

Hoan was elected that year, and almost immediately was plunged into a difficult situation. The so-called "preparedness" movement was at its height, the big industrialists stirring up nationalist and militarist passions in preparation for plunging the nation into the World War. It was a hard time for any Socialist, but Hoan kept his head, administered the city and was loyal to his Socialist convictions despite the fearful pressure upon him the following year, when

America was dragged into the war, to go "patriotic."

The momentous St. Louis convention came, and the Socialist delegates voted for the famous anti-war resolution. Victor L. Berger was the head and front of Socialist work in Milwaukee and Wisconsin, and in a special election for United States Senator came close to election, throwing a terrific scare into the war-mongers and reactionaries. Everything had to be done to crush the Milwaukee Socialist movement, and the period of savage persecution began. Two of the active Socialists, Winfield R. Gaylord and A. M. Simons, mailed a copy of the St. Louis anti-war manifesto to the Federal Attorney suggesting action, and they were promptly expelled from the party; but their action was a hint of what was in store for everyone true to Socialist ideals in those fearful times.

### Hoan Never Flinched

But Dan Hoan never flinched. In 1918 he was re-elected, almost unnoticed in the wild excitement of the last terrible months of the war, and in the fall Berger was re-elected to Congress. But Berger had been indicted under the convenient Espionage Act, and his right to his Congressional seat was challenged; after a long trial before Judge Landis he was convicted, together with four comrades, and sentenced to twenty years in jail, and at the same time he was thrown out of his seat in Congress. The tide of hysteria was mounting, and it took courage as well as a clear head to stand fast for Socialism. But Dan Hoan stood

fast, as did the bulk of the Milwaukee movement.

After Berger was expelled from Congress, a special election was held in December, 1919, to fill the vacancy; hysteria was mouting sky-high, the notorious Palmer raids were only half a month off, and it took almost heroic courage for anyone publicly to identify himself with the cause of radicalism. I had the privilege of participating in the special election campaign that black month, and one of my finest memories, next to Berger's own lion-like courage in the face of the persecution being mobilized against him, was Hoan's manliness in standing by his party, his principles and his leader in the moment when to stand by Victor Berger was to court hatred and persecution. The people of Milwaukee stood fast; Berger was re-elected by a substantial majority over the combined opposition.

The reactionaries were certain that Socialism as a political force was dead, and confidently expecting an easy victory in the spring elections they had secured legislation extending the mayor's term to four years. The election period came, and Hoan stood for re-election not only on his own superb record as an executive, but also on the record of the Socialist Party. He stood on the record of the five Socialists expelled from the New York legislature; he stood on the record of the revered Morris Hillquit, then lying desperately ill of tuberculosis at Saranac; he stood on the entire record of the Socialist movement in that terrible period.

### In the Face of Persecution

It would have been easy for Hoan quietly to drop out, to forget his embarrassing party affiliations and return to glory on his matchless record. But if he had done so, he would not have been a Socialist; he would not have been Dan Hoan!

Again, I had the opportunity of participating in that re-election campaign. I recall a series of meetings April 1st, 1920, the grotesque All Fool's Day, when the New York Assembly finally completed the insane comedy of the ouster of the Socialist Assemblymen. "Gene Debs was in jail. Berger, twice ousted from Congress, was a convict out on bail pending determination on his appeal. It was not a time to boast of one's Socialist Party associations if one merely wished to court easy popularity.

I went to several meetings with Victor Berger that day. Like the loyal soul that he was he did not wish to embarrass Hoan's chances by intruding himself into the campaign; he sat in the rear of one hall when the Mayor came to speak, and Hoan did not know he was there.

The Mayor's speech was mainly on municipal matters, expounding and defending his administration; but he could not conclude without these words: "And finally, I want it to be known that I am running as a Socialist and only as a Socialist. I consider it an honor and a privilege to belong to the same party as such great and noble Americans as Eugene V. Debs and Victor L. Berger." There spoke a real man!

He was elected, and four years later he was re-elected. In 1928 he was elected again, and by that time the election of Hoan had become a habit with Milwaukee.

In 1929 Victor Berger was struck down by a street car, and after lingering in agony for a month he passed away. Many of the reactionaries believed that with the passing of the great propagandist, organ-

izer, theoretician and party leader the bottom would drop out of Milwaukee Socialism, as they confidently expected that the next election would result in Hoan's defeat.

### His Greatest Triumph

But Dan Hoan fooled them. In 1932 he was elected with a vote of 101,501 and a majority of 38,596, just in time to preside as Mayor over the city's official welcome to the National Convention of the Socialist party in May of that year, the last convention at which Morris Hillquit was a delegate.

Following that victory, the greatest he ever won, Dan Hoan issued a statement in which he showed that as always his chief concern was to build a great Socialist Party rather than to win victories for himself. He said:

"It was a million times more important that the voters in Milwaukee voted for the candidates of their own party and against this damned system than they voted for me as an individual. I told the voters daily that we Socialists stood by our program; that even though they put us in jail during the war, they could not get us to change one line of it.

"We workers will go on working until we put our governor in the chair at Madison and until there is another Emancipator in the White House.

These are but a few of the facts in the Socialist career of Dan Hoan, but they are by no means even an outline; they tell of his various elections, and indicate why today the whole labor movement of his city is celebrating a quarter century of matchless and unique service to Socialism by this single-minded son of the working class.

It would take far more space than is here available to tell of his splendid administration of the city, and his service as one of the leaders (now president) of a highly-important organization of American mayors. It would take far more space than is here available to tell of the fine, clean city over which Dan Hoan presides, its freedom from graft and crime, from racketeering and from the usual assaults upon civil liberties that soil most American cities.

### A Great Mayor

It is enough to refer to the fact that Dan Hoan has served his city from that dim and distant time of 1910, four years before the war burst upon the world, when men dared dream that the important social problems would solve themselves without upheaval and cataclysm. It was the day of the muckraker and the social reformer. William Howard Taft was president, and Nelson A. Aldrich, Jim Tawney, Joe Cannon and other standpatters were battling Victor Murdock over the rules of the House of Representatives; it seems like another age. And it was.

Dan Hoan was elected Mayor while there still seemed to be some sanity in the world, when there seemed to be an excellent chance of keeping America out of the war; Wilson was about to seek reelection on the issue of having kept us out of war. And he has been Mayor ever since, the years of the greatest social changes in a similar period in the world's history.

Milwaukee has changed; and so has Dan Hoan. He is now 54, in the full vigor of his life. There are many useful years before him. He has given over thirty years to Socialism, 25 of them in public office. He has served in many capacities. He does not neglect the humble and humdrum work of party organization. No call upon his time for party problems finds him too busy.

Dan Hoan is a notable Socialist, and the Socialist and labor movement honor themselves in honoring him.



## The Workers Abroad

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

By John Powers

### The Socialist Road to Power

NO honest Socialist, one who likes to deal with realities rather than with fancies and whose faith in Socialism is maintained by fervid devotion to the ideal in fair weather and in bad, will deny that the years of depression have been years of crisis for Socialism as well as for capitalism.

The Socialist and labor movements are not things apart in the world in which they function and which gave them birth. They inevitably register the effects of the vicissitudes and perturbations through which the world is passing. In some countries they have suffered severe defeats and setbacks, due to historic circumstances for which they were not responsible. In other countries they have been on the defensive. Parallel with the defeats in Germany, for which the Communists were primarily responsible insofar as the weakening of the striking power of the workers was concerned, and in Austria, where the collapse was an inevitable consequence of what happened in Germany, there have been a series of important, and encouraging victories in a number of democratic countries, where Socialists are either in control of the government or play an increasingly influential part. Wherever democracy and civil rights have been preserved the Socialist and labor movements are resuming the offensive, although it would be dangerous to succumb to the illusion that the crisis confronting them is over or to ignore the fact that even greater and more difficult tests may be awaiting them in the near future, in the event of another war.

Because of the unprecedented difficulties with which the Socialist movement throughout the world has had to cope in recent years, dictatorial critics, parlor-bolshevik exhibitionists and left wing illusionists, none of whom have to their credit an iota of concrete achievement, like to speak with derision of the alleged failures of democratic Socialism. Soviet Russia, where Stalin has emerged as the unbridled chieftain of a Byzantine Bonapartism, the counter-revolutionary fruition of Communist dictatorship, is always cited by the critics in contrast to the alleged lack of achievement of democratic Socialism.

The critics are welcome to their glorification of the Bonapartism in Soviet Russia. We, however, continue to point with pride and satisfaction to the accomplishments of our comrades in England, Scandinavia, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, France and Spain, where the Socialists continue to hold aloft the banner of democratic Socialism in the face of a reactionary tide. And our hearts respond with warmth to the heroic battle waged by the Socialists and trade unionists of Germany and Austria against the fascist oppressors of these countries. Everywhere democratic Socialism is resuming the offensive while Bonapartist Bolshevism is sinking deeper and deeper in the mire of its own counter-revolutionary substance.

Democratic Socialism does not build for a day. It builds consistently and persistently for immediate advance and ultimate, enduring victory.

### Record of British Labor

A STRIKING example of the value of this policy and approach to the problem of building a Socialist world is presented by the British Labor Party. Reviewing the achievements of British labor in the past twenty-five years, the London Daily Herald wrote on May 4, 1935:

"They have been years of amazing growth and of remarkable experiences, of success and defeat, of elated triumphs and sobering responsibilities.

"Reverse has proved never more than a temporary setback. The theme of the twenty-five years has been growth, the development towards maturity.

"In 1910, Labor candidates polled 532,000 votes against 3,128,000 for the Conservatives and 2,873,000 for the Liberals. Forty Labor M.P.s were elected. In 1929, 8,340,000 men and women in these islands voted Labor: within 250,000 of the Conservative poll. Nearly 290 Labor M.P.s were elected.

"Two Labor Governments have been in office, though not in power. Their achievements were not negligible, in foreign affairs they were remarkable.

"But the historian will grasp at their importance the experience derived from them, the establishment of Labor as the alternative Government of the Left.

"Even the defeat of 1931 has played its part in the development of power and quality and competence in the movement.

"It led to an examination of the foundations of faith, it made the movement more critical, more sensitive to weaknesses, more determined to conquer them.

"On the Trade Union side, growth and development have been equally remarkable. The status and influence of organized Trade Unionism have increased enormously, and each day sees new extensions.

"Yet the true task still lies ahead. Tomorrow is a day of dedication to its achievement."

### The Socialist Approach

AND how does democratic Socialism build? What are its program and strategy? The answers to these problems were given at a gigantic demonstration held on May 1 in Hyde Park. Thirty speakers occupied the platform from which the vast multitude heard again the message of Socialist emancipation:

Herbert Morrison, leader of the London County Council, said: "Today the forces of London Labor, Trade Unionism and Cooperation are assembled to give voice to the great faith that is in their minds and hearts.

"The Labor Party seeks the support of the people for the achievement of Socialism and to end poverty, insecurity and ignorance.

"The trade unions appeal to all workers to come within their ranks for the protection of their industrial interests, and in order that organized labor may contribute in a big and responsible way to the formulation of high economic and industrial policy.

"Cooperation asks the consumers to associate for their mutual benefit and the ending of profiteering.

"All of us express our fervent desire for a new and better social order, and extend our greetings to and solidarity with the workers of all lands.

"Above all, we trust that the victims of fascist dictatorships will soon be able to rise in their might and destroy for all time the tyrannies that now oppress them.

"In our own land we will be on the alert for fascist conspiracies, and exert all our powers to nip them in the bud.

"Let us not delude ourselves with the thought that the achievements of Socialism will be a simple task. It will constitute the mightiest effort in the history of man.

"We shall not only meet the direct opposition of capitalism but also problems and difficulties, some of which, if we are not careful, may be of our own making.

"Our greatest task, therefore, is to create in the minds of the people such a passionate and understanding belief in Socialism that they will stand by us through thick and thin and will be proof against the wiles and misrepresentations of the vested interests."

Harold Clay, chairman of the London Labor Party, said: "Over a large part of Europe political liberty has been destroyed and working-class organizations suppressed.

"Ruthless dictatorships, born out of the capitalist struggle and determined to maintain capitalist society, are for moment in control.

"There is only one effective answer to fascism and that is Socialism. To prevent this country following the way of some Continental countries we must win Socialism.

"The freedom which we enjoy today must be an active and positive force, and our political power must be used as an instrument for securing fundamental social and economic change.

"It is not enough to fulminate against fascism and dictatorships or to affirm that we are a free democracy with a glorious heritage.

"The measure of freedom we have can only be preserved by extending its range and deepening its purpose.

"Changes in capitalist society demand increasing vigilance and improved organization of the working class.

"In industry today craftsmanship is largely destroyed and mechanization is reducing men to a position not far removed from robots.

"That system must go. The right to vote must be accompanied by the will for change. Industry must not only be transferred from private to public ownership, but be made to serve human ends and not private interests."

(Continued on Page Nine)

# The Only Road for Labor to Follow

The Workers Must Have a Party of Their Own With Which to  
Serve Their Own Interests---No Other Way Is Possible

By Abraham Lefkowitz

From an address at a symposium on "Political Action and the Unions" in which Congressman Amle and John P. Fry, representing the official policy of the American Federation of Labor, participated. Dr. Lefkowitz is the legislative agent of the Teachers' Union and vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers.

THE question labor must face is this: What kind of political action shall the labor movement of this country undertake? Shall it continue the American Federation of Labor's policy of reward your friends and punish your enemies by voting for the Democratic or Republican candidates, or shall labor organize for independent political action, voting as it strikes—as an organized unit?

No vital question was ever discussed at a more opportune moment. In fact, powerful representative political leaders and organizations from every part of the country have been giving this question very serious consideration so that our discussion is not academic but real. Under the leadership of that outstanding stationery engineer—Herbert Hoover—America, with its fertile fields, its skilled labor, its marvelous transportation system and technological development, could have provided every American family with a luxury income of \$5,000 or more. Under the divine guidance of our Republican engineer this was delightfully expressed by a guarantee of a chicken for every pot, a two-car garage for every family and a loud speaker—other than your wife—for every home.

The workers voted for this dream as they did for other dreams—Democratic and Republican. The result was the crash of 1929, gross inequality in income and wealth distribution; unprecedented unemployment with starvation and misery throughout the land. In despair, labor and the American voters did what they have invariably done—like trusting children they turned to the other political party for salvation. Hence the New Deal.

### The New Dealers

Led by Franklin D. Roosevelt, the New Dealers were to launch their program of salvation by

driving the money changers from the temple, provide adequately for the hazards of industry, raise wages, furnish work for the unemployed and help build a powerful labor movement to cope with entrenched capital by guaranteeing the right of collective bargaining and the right to organize. Another new day was to dawn for labor.

The guarantee under the NRA—except where unions were strong enough to win by their own economic power—proved as illusory as did the Clayton Act, which had been hailed by labor as a monumental victory but in the hands of our judges turned out to be a hollow mockery.

The NRA with its chiseling employers, its boss-controlled labor boards, its anti-trust law exemption, its denial of the prevailing wage rate is proving to be the bitter ground of Labor's great hopes. It must also mark the beginning of its political awakening.

Labor has a right to ask more than mere subsistence or dole starvation when a world, free from exploitation, poverty and war, is within its reach.

Roosevelt's efforts to preserve a modified capitalism with its profit motive, if it succeeds, will merely restore the conditions that will precipitate a worse depression and bring our economic structure crashing about our ears. It was the mad lust for gain that gave labor its crown of thorns and the dominant capitalists their cross of gold. Since the profit motive can only make jobs scarce instead of plentiful, labor's only hope lies in the elimination of the profit motive by substituting the socialization of natural resources, monopolies and basic industries.

### Labor and Politics

In essence, workers are politically disfranchised as far as effective representation in the legislative bodies of the nation are concerned. Our representatives, even the so-called labor men, are the choice of a political party and party bosses. Hence they are not free to vote for labor when their political bosses decree otherwise.

Moreover, both political parties are financed, dominated and controlled by the industrial overlords of the nation—the men who control our finance. Every major attempt at advance by legislation has been frustrated or emasculated

by the employers who contribute to make our lavish political circus possible.

Certainly no Senator or Congressman, whatever his interests or political affiliation, can serve both the A. F. of L. and the National Manufacturers' Association or the U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

The policy of rewarding friends and punishing political enemies proved futile, as evidenced by the little we have to show for our efforts. Had these efforts been more intelligently motivated, organized and directed, our future would now be more promising if not assured.

Gains now made in one political campaign are often wiped out by the success at the polls of a more reactionary group—a success that workers often make possible. We alternate or nullify our political efforts by our non-partisan policy. First we vote for a Democrat and if he fails to deliver we vote Republican. We get what we vote for and then complain if disaster follows. What is worse, we nullify our own efforts. In New York organized labor is Democratic and in Pennsylvania it is generally Republican. What happens when a caucus vote is determined upon in Congress? Our Labor Republicans of Pennsylvania must vote against the labor Democrats of New York and so throughout the nation. Labor's vote is divided.

How could we win strikes by division in place of unity? In a word, a non-partisan political policy means, in the last analysis, a nullification of our political might by labor itself.

Why doesn't it occur to labor leaders to put into the field a political party of Labor's own, financed, controlled and dominated by itself instead of the bosses? Why can't we do on the political field what we find necessary on the economic or industrial field—that is, vote as a unit in every city and state of the nation? If we had a party of our own we would not have to plead, often at hand, for the legislative crumbs capitalists are forced to give labor to prevent them from learning that both political parties are the tools of the bosses and not the workers.

### Need of a Labor Party

The interests of capital and labor are not identical but in direct conflict. How, then, can the worker expect to win if he marks his

ballot as his boss does? Hence labor, to preserve its rights and advance its own interests, must have a political party not controlled by the bosses—and that means a labor party as the workers in the European countries have. If labor does not establish such a political party, then it is weakening its own power by supporting the political parties controlled by its enemies—the bosses. Division of strength never helped any cause and it cannot help the organized labor movement. Labor must face and meet this basic fact.

Some labor leaders fear that if they embark upon independent political action they will betray their political weakness. Except in rare instances labor has no political voice and nobody can deliver it. The power they do wield is the fear of the politicians that if driven desperate they may use their political might intelligently by establishing a labor party. A labor party, however weak at its launching, is a greater threat to vested interests than the present non-partisan policy of the American Federation of Labor. The political leaders, faced with a labor party, would break their necks to give labor much of what they want to wear them back to the fold. Witness Bismarck's efforts at social legislation or the enactment of the British Trades Dispute Act with the launching of the British Labor Party. Similar results would follow in America if we launched a labor party composed of all who render useful toil in the factory, on the farm or in a mercantile establishment or profession.

### Mental Revolution Needed

I do not underestimate the difficulties that must be faced in launching a labor party. I know that most of our workers still owe allegiance to the dominant political parties, because they believe in the policy of rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies, although they have no power to punish or to reward. They still cling to their outworn craft unionism and to political labor leaders, some of whom, I regret to state, look upon labor office as an opportunity for self-service rather than social service. They still look askance at their better politically organized workers of Europe because their outlook is Socialist, whereas our workers are essentially capitalistic in outlook.

They still think they can rise to affluence, that is, get out of the working class. Hence, before we can launch a new labor party, we have a huge task ahead of us.

We must bring about a mental revolution in the mind of the American worker who is still dominated by an outworn economic and political ideology. This mental revolution must precede any real economic or political revolution. Hence we must launch comprehensive schemes for workers' education, for more intense strike activity, for more realistic political and legislative activity. In this way we shall develop a new outlook which will make possible the birth of a new labor party with a collective goal predicated upon the ideal of service to our fellow men rather than to the ideal of gain. Without that new consciousness, we cannot build a better society.

### Change Must Come

America will not go Communist but it may go fascist. Conditions are now bad enough to make the most capitalistic-minded of American workers realize that a fundamental political and economic change must come. When Roosevelt and the NRA fail—as they must since they cannot ride two horses going in opposite directions—what then?

Our real enemy is a fascist dictatorship. Already organized capital is building its foundations by encouraging military preparation and expenditures, and especially by seeking to muzzle the thinking of the nation through congressional legislation leveled at holders of minority views, and particularly by their "loyalty" oaths which have for their object the muzzling of the thinking teachers of the nation, especially those who have a collective goal.

I have been reared in the democratic tradition. I believe that no society, however fine its economic conditions, is worth living in unless basic democratic rights such as those of free speech, free press, the right of religious freedom, toleration and freedom of assembly are guaranteed. I urge the workers of America, if they desire to preserve these democratic rights which make life worth living, to organize for independent political action. Unless we do, like Germany we shall live under a dictatorship with FEAR as our master and slavery the result.

# The Paris Commune Wall

Every Year, on the Last Sunday in May, the Paris Workers  
Honor the Heroes of 1871--What They Fought and Died For By Boris A. Skomorowsky

EVERY year on the last Sunday in May, the working population of Paris and its industrial suburbs walk in procession to the cemetery of Pere-Lachaise. Tens of thousands of demonstrators assemble on the wide boulevards bordering this vast burial ground. Singing revolutionary songs and preceded by the innumerable red flags of political, economic, educational and other organizations, the narrow line of men, women and children, which stretches miles in length, winds its way among the graves and tombstones to pay its tribute to the Commune wall.

This old and decayed cemetery wall is a place of veneration as a Socialist relic of the past. Here it was that on May 27, 1871, the last brave defenders of the Paris Commune were put to death, but their memory and the ideal for which they gave their lives is fondly cherished in the minds of the working classes.

This year the manifestation on the last Sunday in May are particularly grandiose in view of the bitter struggle which the Socialist Party and the trade unions are carrying on against capitalist reaction.

### The Commune

The Commune arose from a legitimate move on the part of the Paris workers, directed against the reactionaries headed by Thiers. The government, which depended in the National Assembly on a Royalist majority of antiquated old fogies, took measures with a view to suppressing the recently proclaimed republic and to decapitalizing Paris, the heart and brains of France. It issued a series of anti-social laws aimed against the workers, artisans and small tradesmen, and against poor tenants of flats. Finally, it decided to disarm Paris by removing in secret, under cover of night, guns belonging to the National Guard, which had been bought with money obtained by public subscription.

It was this endeavor to remove the guns which brought matters to a climax and strained the patience of the masses to the breaking point.

The callous Conservative, Thiers, who personified the egoism and self-interest of the ruling classes, wittingly and cold-bloodedly provoked the indignation of the people. When the National Guard retook the guns which the government endeavored to steal from it (March 18), he immediately ordered all the public services to leave Paris. He also called the troops from there and concentrated them in Versailles, the former residence of the French kings, eighteen kilometers from the capital.

Authority in Paris, which the "lawful" government suddenly quitted, was automatically taken

over by the Central Committee of the National Guard, who, within a week (March 26), transmitted it to the General Council of the Paris Commune [French municipalities are known as Communes].

### A People's Government

The people's government remained in existence in Paris for seventy-one days. In this short space of time, although under the constant threat of the guns of the Versailles government, the Commune voted a series of laws relating to finance, education, the protection of labor, the defense of women, social assistance, and so forth. Unfortunately, it was not

able to extend this legislation. Thiers did not consent to any negotiations whatsoever with the Commune. He did not wish to conclude a truce with Paris, but hastened to give the Paris workers a bloody lesson. Taking advantage not only of the "benevolent neutrality" but also of the actual support of their "traditional foes" (the Prussians), the Versailles party took the offensive against the Paris proletariat and the government freely elected by it. The capital, which had just undergone a siege by foreign troops, was once more subjected to another siege and bombardment, this time by French troops. Revolts

broke out in a number of towns (Lyons, Marseilles, Toulouse, St. Etienne, Narbonne, Le Creusot), but ended in the defeat of the workers.

Against the 30,000 defenders of the Commune, Thiers concentrated 130,000 regular troops, whose officers and generals had shamelessly capitulated before the Prussians. After two months' fighting under the walls of Paris, the Versailles army penetrated into the city (May 21), but the workers stubbornly and heroically resisted it for yet another week, putting up a valiant and desperate fight behind street barricades, defending inch by inch every quarter and every house.

### The Tragic Death Toll

The vengeance of the conquerors surpassed in cruelty anything known in history up to the present day. Twenty thousand workers, with their wives and small children, were shot without judgment or trial. Such was the horrible outcome of the week of bloodshed in May. In addition, there were 13,000 other victims of courts martial, which were held during six years, and which mercilessly condemned the workers either to death or to penal servitude.

The greatest crime of the Commune, in the eyes of the ruling classes, was that the workers dared to lay claim to power. This first experiment of a workers' government, although limited to Paris alone, is considered by Socialists all the world over to be the most important date in the labor movement.

The capitalists hoped to extirpate from France with a red-hot iron the Socialist "infection," but they were mistaken in their calculations. The defeat suffered by the French proletariat was only of a temporary nature.

In but a few years the labor movement revived both politically (French Section of the Socialist and Labor International) and economically (Federation of Labor, which forms part of the International Federation of Trade Unions), and today the French proletariat—children and grandchildren of partisans of the Commune—are struggling for power, not only in Paris, but in the whole of France.

# Democracy Need Not Despair!

By Camille Huysmans

Mayor of Antwerp; Former Secretary of Socialist International.

CAN international democracy, in spite of the reverses it has recently suffered, go on developing, and so achieve conquest over the spirit of violence?

I believe that it can. The world is looking for a new economic equilibrium—and the world will find it.

We are confronted by a strange contradiction, resting on the fact that we are at the same time both rich and poor—rich in goods and poor in buyers.

Never, during the history of the human race, have there been such developments in the means of production. Industry is capable of putting on the market ten times as many goods as in 1914, while agriculture, owing to new processes, can produce three or four times as much as formerly.

The time is not far off when each country will be able to produce the greater part of the goods it needs.

From this abundance we are justified in concluding that contemporary civilization need never fear a scarcity, provided it knows how to organize itself.

But will the world find out in

time how to organize itself? Will the nations abandon the folly from which so many of them are now suffering?

What I mean by folly is the policy of closing frontiers, of turning these frontiers into tariff walls, of putting guns there to threaten one's neighbor, of starting new wars and of maintaining within their own borders a regime of barbarous oppression which relies for power on the assassination of political opponents.

I do not believe that this folly will last forever. The abnormal is always transient.

Certainly, since the war, the world has learned a new truth revealed by recent events. It is that the war has never really ended, although the diplomats signed a treaty of peace.

The practice of violence has de-

veloped the spirit of violence. The methods employed in war have been carried into civil life.

It was the war which gave rise to the Communist method of governing a great empire. It was the war which created fascism in Italy and in Germany. There is no moral difference in the assassination of opponents as practiced by the dictators of Moscow, Rome and Berlin.

Political murder has become a current practice, and is even inscribed in the constitutions as necessary for the salvation of empires, and of those who rule over them.

One would have thought that the small nations, who cannot possibly become powerful, would have escaped this infection. But this is not the case. The examples of Austria and Lithuania are there to show that this folly can impose equally on strength and weakness.

But in spite of all this, I persist in believing that the establishment of economic equilibrium will bring about moral equilibrium.

In a world which lives sheltered from hostility and insecurity, the Mussolinis and Hitlers cannot live. And that is why, for the education of the masses and the peoples, we must continue our support of democracy and a pacifist policy, which are symbolized by two pictures—the end of poverty and the end of war.

—Morris Hillquit.



## Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

### Two Motions in the N.E.C.

DURING the past week something has happened in the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party which requires comment. Norman Thomas was joined by Daniel W. Hoan in two motions, the substance of which was to inquire into and mediate in the party situation in Local New York, and the selection of a committee of three for this purpose. We are inclined to think that it was a Thomas idea, as he presented a long comment in favor of the proposals.

What is extraordinary in one motion is that it nominated three members for the committee with Devere Allen as chairman. The other two are William F. Quick of Milwaukee and Dr. M. V. Leof of Philadelphia. Alternates were also suggested if any one of the three named could not serve. The procedure violates party ethics and democracy.

First, there is the fact that the State Committee had answered the nine-point letter of the N.E.C. on the New York situation. From many quarters in this and other states we have received congratulations on the objective and tolerant character of this reply. That reply should be considered by the N.E.C. Instead of this, two motions are suddenly made with a long comment by Norman Thomas which deal with this same situation in New York! Nothing is in order before the N.E.C. but consideration of the State Committee's answer.

Moreover, assume that the motion is a legitimate one. Comrade Allen voted to recognize the dual organization in this city by voting to accredit its organ. Comrade Quick revealed his prejudice against New York in the national convention of 1932. Dr. Leof is known for his Communist sympathies and is reported to have recently said that he was uncertain whether he will remain in the party or join the Communist Party! The committee is stacked against New York.

### Undemocratic Procedure

BUT even the method of selecting the committee is a travesty. The members of the N.E.C. are deprived of making nominations. Three candidates are offered and that is all! N.E.C. members should have the right to nominate members of its sub-committees and those who are thus nominated should be asked whether they accept or decline. Then members of the N.E.C. should vote on the candidates. Those receiving a majority vote would then be the committee.

During the progress of the voting there was another surprise. The National Office announces that the two motions have been withdrawn! They are withdrawn because they were not formulated satisfactorily, a new statement is to be submitted, and the personnel of the proposed committee must be changed because Comrade Allen cannot find the time to serve. However, the N.E.C. members are not to participate in nominations!

Really, the whole affair has its comic aspects. Here is a grave situation in the party. Any proposals made regarding it should be carefully thought out before being made and reasons offered for the proposals should be just as carefully considered. The withdrawal of the proposals with the announcement that a new statement is to be issued reveals a carelessness and inability to think things through that are characteristic of the amateur. If the party cannot get better service than is revealed in this slipshod procedure, it need surprise no one that it is shot full of confusion and conflict.

The Thomas statement in supporting the two motions now withdrawn also lugs in matters that were not before the Buffalo meeting of the N.E.C. For example, he would have a committee investigate whether the penalty imposed in the Lang case was adequate. Here is a party member suspended for a year; but there are other party members in many other states who have been disciplined for one reason or another, some by censure, others by suspension, some by expulsion. If Norman Thomas thinks that the action taken in one case here is not adequate, why not go into every case in all the states? Why pick on New York? Then where is the power of the N.E.C. to undertake such a judicial investigation?

### "Democracy" in New Jersey

THE very fact that one case was singled out in New York and that many cases in other states are ignored simply reveals the old policy of attacking New York. To ascertain whether a penalty imposed on a party member is "adequate" is about the silliest excuse that can be offered for keeping an open wound bleeding.

While we are on this matter of penalties, we take this occasion to direct attention of party members to the most fantastic and unfair actions ever committed in the party. They are known to Comrade Thomas, for they are committed by his crowd in control of the party in New Jersey. If he and others of his faction are interested in the adequacy of penalties and "democratic procedure in New York," we direct their attention to what is happening across the river. Here is the story:

In New Jersey the "militants" with their R.P.C. allies are dominant. They have suspended the charter of Hudson County (Jersey City), and one of the oldest Jewish branches in the country at Newark. There is no pretense made that any party principle is involved. Twelve other branches are reported to be slated for the axe. What is their offense?

These branches did not respond favorably to a proposal to sell raffle tickets for a four-page paper published each month in Camden! Therefore they are thrown out of the party!! Here is "democracy" with a vengeance. Moreover, we wonder whether the penalty imposed on these branches was "adequate." Why is it that on this side of the river there is so much concern for democracy but none for the other side? The contrast enables party members to answer these questions without any comment from us.

### "Emergency" and Other Motions

THERE is another matter that deserves attention. Last week we reported what we believed to be the vote on the motion by Norman Thomas to accredit the organ of the dual party in this city. That report, made in good faith, now proves to be incorrect but through no fault of our own.

The proposal was submitted as an "emergency motion." Now such a motion implies the need of swift action. Otherwise it is not an emergency. The writer received the motion on May 4th and immediately voted against it. Members of the N.E.C. are expected to vote by telegraph or air mail on such motions and the vote can easily be taken in a few days. I waited until May 23rd for a final report on the vote. There was none and the story of the vote appeared last week. That evening the final vote was received.

The result was this: nineteen days elapsed before the vote on this "emergency" motion was reported. On the other hand, the two motions that have just been withdrawn had a time limit of fourteen days in which members were to vote! So we have this comparison: these two motions not having an emergency character are allotted fourteen days and the "emergency" motion is allotted nineteen days! The procedure becomes a farce.

Having written what I believed to be an accurate report of the vote on the "emergency" motion nineteen days after I received it, it now appears that my report was wrong. The final report on this motion to accredit the dual party organ is as follows: Yes—Allen, Daniel, Haggood, Krueger and Thomas; No—Coolidge, Hoan, Hoopes and Oneal. Not voting—Krzyski. Graham moved to postpone. On the Graham motion the vote is as follows: Yes—Coolidge, Graham, Hoan, Hoopes and Oneal; No—Daniel, Haggood and Krueger. Not voting—Krzyski, Allen and Thomas.

Perhaps a little democracy in the N.E.C. itself would be healthful to the party. We regret to have to give this space to these matters, but the party members are entitled to know everything regarding the business transacted by its responsible officials. We have thrown all of these items into this column to avoid cluttering up other pages. We may add that it is distasteful to us to use our space for such matters. We prefer to use it for propaganda and hope that the party will soon become so stabilized that it can be avoided.

### WORKERS ABROAD

(Continued from Page Eight)

#### Power and Opportunism

WHEN the policies and conceptions outlined in these addresses become those of the majority of the British people, as they have already become accepted by increasing millions under the wise and constructive leadership of the Labor Party, they will be translated into realities—not in a day

or a year, but in a manner that will be real and permanent.

Power alone is not sufficient to build Socialism. The greater task lies in the ability to hold power not merely for the sake of power but for the sake of the ideals to which it is to be devoted.

And that constitutes one of the most fundamental differences between democratic Socialism, never seeking power for the sake of power, and opportunist Bolshevism,

# The Pennsylvania Front

## Stump is Named For Mayor of Reading, Pa.

Hoopes Heads Strong County Ticket in Berks—Socialists Are Confident of Victory

By Raymond S. Hofses

(Special to The New Leader)

READING, Pa.—As the first step in a campaign which offers greater promise of victory than any in local history, the Socialists of Reading and Berks County, at a membership meeting in Odd Fellows' Hall, selected a full city and county ticket with former Mayor J. Henry Stump and Assemblyman Darlington Hoopes as standard bearers.

Stump was given the nomination for mayor and Hoopes for judge without opposition.

The complete Socialist ticket for the coming campaign will be:

City: Mayor, J. Henry Stump; council (four years), Howard McDougall, at present a member of the School Board, and Stewart



J. Henry Stump

Tomlinson; council (two years), Charles F. Sands; controller, Walter R. Hollinger; treasurer, William C. Hovetter; school directors, Mrs. Hazlette Hoopes, at present a member of the board, George D. Snyder and Alvin F. Stone.

COUNTY: Judge, Darlington Hoopes; district attorney, Fred M. Merkel; commissioners, Amos Lesher and County Chairman Edward A. Yoe; sheriff, Walter S. Shear; treasurer, Adam Eberly; controller, Howard Moser; register of wills, Jacob D. Reber; clerk of quarter sessions, Elwood Coldren; directors of poor, Mrs. Annie Zechman and Jacob Halderman; prison inspectors, Mrs. Gertrude Hiller, George Zember, Charles Weiss and Robert Work; surveyor, Alfred Eckenrode.

Most of the party's candidates, but not all, have run for office in previous campaigns. Tomlinson on the city ticket and Shear, Coldren, Hiller, Zember and Eckenrode on the county ticket are new candidates.

In the list of those who have held elective public office in the past are Stump, Darlington Hoopes, McDonough, Hollinger, Hovetter, Mrs. Hazlette Hoopes and Snyder. Walter R. Shear, candidate for sheriff, was Reading's chief of police under the Socialist administration 1927 to 1931 when Stump was Mayor.

Several factors make the Socialist prospects of victory brighter than ever before. The party's membership is the largest and most active in its history. The organization has completed a survey of the city's voters and is prepared to do intensive block work. The general dissatisfaction with economic conditions and the close alliance between the party, trade unions, and unemployed organizations will gain new allies for the Socialists. And the personal popularity of the candidates, most of whom have been active in working class activities, enhances the chances of success this year.

A bill to outlaw the kind of fusion which has been employed by the old party politicians since 1931 to defeat the Socialists has already been passed by the State Senate and its approval by the House may be a fact by the time this is read. With such a law the election of a full Socialist ticket in the city is assured and the chances of victory in the county are extremely bright. However, even with a combination of Democrats and Republicans, there is little doubt of the ability of the Socialists to win in Reading this year.

Former Mayor Stump predicted sweeping victory for the entire ticket.

### New York State

Olean.—The Tri-County organization, consisting of locals in Allegany, Cattaraugus and Chautauque Counties, is to hold a joint picnic in July. Mrs. Grace S. Croyle, 108 Charles St., Olean, is the secretary of the Tri-County Conference. The Socialist enrollment in Olean is by far the highest in the state in proportion to population.

which has abandoned the road of Socialism to preserve the dictatorship of a Bonapartist clique rather than make possible the cooperation of all Socialists and revolutionary elements to preserve the revolution.

We are confident that the workers of the world will continue to understand the difference with increasing clarity, and act accordingly.

## Women's Class Begins June 6th at Riverview Park

(Special to The New Leader)

PITTSBURGH.—The Women's Committee of the Socialist Party has completed plans for a class on the History of the Labor Movement in the United States.

The class is scheduled to start Wednesday, June 6th, and will meet every Wednesday thereafter at Riverview Park, where a cabin for the exclusive use of the class has been secured. All sessions will begin at 7:30 p. m. and will last for one hour. Members and sympathizers are invited to joint and make use of the park facilities for weekly family picnics.

## Labor Forum in Pittsburgh

(Special to The New Leader)

PITTSBURGH.—The Labor Problems Forum concluded its first winter season and will resume beginning with Wednesday, June 19, at the West Park Band Stand, Sherman Avenue and West Ohio Street, N.S.

The Forum devoted itself exclusively to discussions of current problems affecting organized labor. Most of the speakers were drawn from among the trade union leaders, among them James Hueston of the Molders' Union, A. J. Feldhaus of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, A. F. of L. Representative David Williams, Louis Leonard of the Amalgamated Association of Steel Workers, and Robert Lieberman of the Unemployed Citizens' League of Allegheny County.

Members of the trade unions formed the greater part of the audience and participated in the question period followed by lively discussion from the floor.

The outdoor Labor Forum will be conducted on the same basis, with the addition of music and labor dramatics.

## To Commemorate Debs' Canton Speech June 16

(Special to The New Leader)

PITTSBURGH.—The seventeenth anniversary of the day on which Eugene Victor Debs delivered his famous speech at Canton, Ohio, will be commemorated by Socialists throughout Pennsylvania June 16.

While many Pennsylvania Socialists will join the Ohio demonstration at Canton, others will participate in Debs peace meetings throughout the state.

In response to a request from the State Executive Committee to join the Ohio meeting and also to arrange Debs peace meetings in their respective communities simultaneously with the Canton demonstration, close to 100 such gatherings are expected to take place.

## Tamiment Memorial Grove a Tribute to Morris Hillquit

By George Field

A BEAUTIFUL grove in memory of the late revered Socialist leader and teacher, Morris Hillquit, is being completed at Tamiment, according to an announcement by the board of directors of the camp. It will be dedicated Saturday afternoon, June 29, during the four-day national labor conference to be held under the auspices of the Tamiment Economic and Social Institute.

It is fitting that Tamiment, the camp which is operated in support of the Rand School of Social Science, should be the setting for this monument to the man who during all of his adult life gave his devotion and great talents to the Socialist cause and to the leading educational institution of the movement he served.

An inclosure, built entirely of garden stones, will set off the Hillquit Grove. Two small fountains will form a picturesque approach to a speakers' platform, symbolizing the noble appeal and logic of Hillquit as a public speaker.

A beautiful landscaped, newly planted trees, benches informally placed for visitors and guests, and in the center a bronze cast of the head of the late Socialist leader contributed by Mrs. Hillquit, complete the picture of what visitors will behold at the dedication ceremonies. But the eye will see far more than words can describe.

Among the Socialist co-workers of Hillquit who will attend the dedication program will be Louis Waldman, B. Charney Vladeck, David Dubinsky, Charles Solomon, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Adolph Held, James Oneal and Algernon Lee, as well as the many other notables and hundreds of guests who will be attending the sessions of the Tamiment Economic and Social Institute.

### Tamiment Institute

For some years the Williams-Tamiment Institute has dealt chiefly with international affairs. The University of Virginia Institute deals, for the most part, with American politics and economics. The Tamiment Economic and Social Institute will concern itself with national and international events from the point of view of labor's hopes and aspirations.

There will be six sessions from Thursday night, June 27, to Sunday morning, June 30. The gen-

## A "BOMBSHELL" THAT WAS A DUD

By Ralph W. Tillotson

(Special to The New Leader)

ERIE, Pa.—Newspapers which for the past three weeks had carried on a man-hunt for "relief chiselers," during which they openly intimated that there were innumerable chiselers on the rolls, have finally published the list compiled by the Grand Jury of Erie County, and instead of hundreds of chiselers only ten individuals and couples were found in the entire city and county, where some 30,000 persons are on relief.

Judge Rossiter, in charging the May Term Grand Jury, slapped at the relief chiselers with remarks about how "they were driving around in cars and living off the fat of the land." This judge has a salary of some \$12,000 and is about to retire on full salary for the balance of his days.

Equally interesting was the report of recommendations of the Grand Jury when it came out, slapping the unemployed organizations as follows: "We believe that under the present system of administering relief there is no necessity for nor end to be obtained by groups which operate to obtain relief for their members by means of organized intimidation and annoyance, and we heartily condemn such practice."

That it is the wish of the political henchmen who administer relief to cut it to the bone, is then start hacking at the bone, is shown in another part of the set of recommendations, as follows: "We would suggest that the entire ease load be studied and rechecked to see that people are not receiving relief where their lawfully responsible relatives are working."

All of which is an indication of how the wind blows among the political henchmen as to relief, the theory being: "Let the poor take care of the poor."

It is rumored about town that there are plenty of chiselers who are fraudulently receiving aid, but that they will never be touched for "political reasons," being hangers-on of the Democratic and Republican parties. The rabid press had already assigned the indicted relief chiselers to the early May term of court on charges of receiving relief fraudulently; but since the Grand Jury indictment of May 20th, against ten couples and individuals, the district attorney has announced postponement of the trials until September, giving as his "reason" a pressing murder case. The statements of both Grand Jury and high-salaried judge has aroused the resentment of the Erie Unemployed Workers' Association, who are now talking and planning independent working class politics.

## Out of Sorts?

That's Nature's Warning

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# NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

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

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SATURDAY, JUNE 1st, 1935

## The NRA Decision

**N**ULLIFICATION of the NRA codes by the U. S. Supreme Court came as a shock to many workers. An excellent interpretation of the decision, its effect upon the labor movement, and the problems which confront the working class will be found in the article by Louis Waldman on Page One of this issue.

We merely add this observation; In denying the Executive the power to govern by decree it has struck down a power which is exercised by every dictator in Europe. This power in the hands of a future President less scrupulous than Roosevelt would be a constant menace to the whole labor movement. Those who fear fascism should keep this in mind.

## TOWARDS STATE CAPITALISM

**H**OW changing material forces compel unwilling politicians to do what they do not want to do, to scrap old ideas and philosophies which they hold sacred and to venture into the unknown, is evident at Washington. "Government is changing place with private industry as the nation's great enterpriser," says the United States News. "Dollars that once worked for private enterprisers turned to working for government as the new enterpriser."

The government has ventured into the power business and into other forms of business, it owns a large stake in many businesses, and millions of men are working for the government which, to this extent, has taken the place of the capitalist. Private capital borrowed money for its business ventures down to the depression period; now the government borrows money for similar ventures. State capitalism has emerged out of the depression and the government today is the biggest enterpriser in the world.

Compare this tremendous change with the speeches of Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover in the periods when each reigned. What a contrast! However, substitution of the government for the corporation does not mean Socialism. That can only come when the working class and its allies rule government and industry.

## WAILING FOR "LIBERTY"

**O**PINION in the upper range of capitalism is not all reconciled to the shift of government policy mentioned above. Big organizations of capital like the U. S. Chamber of Commerce want it thoroughly scrapped while the American Liberty League, a holding company of reactionary policies, is terrified. The silk hats for whom it speaks are sure that everything is going to the bow-bows. Late last week the A.L.L. broadcasted a warning against "building up a socialist state" and added that "Never have the dreams of bureaucrats flowered so perfectly as in the Tennessee Valley." They are afraid that the "liberty of the people" is endangered.

For the big shots, whose industries often resemble a penitentiary where workers are known by their number, where they are registered by a time clock and are regimented almost like convicts, to wail about liberty is high comedy. What they are really interested in is their property and the dollars they can scoop out of the exploitation of the working class.

## BABBITTS ON STRIKE!

**A**THIRD view of our ruling Babbitts takes the form of a strike against certain legislation at Washington. This charge is made by the American Federation of Labor with facts to support the charge that are convincing. The Babbitts are on strike and engaged in sabotage against legislation they do not relish!

The ruling classes are divided. Their politicians at Washington expand government power into industry; the American Liberty League hoists a liberty pole; in the realm of capital and finance they go on strike. It is an interesting division.

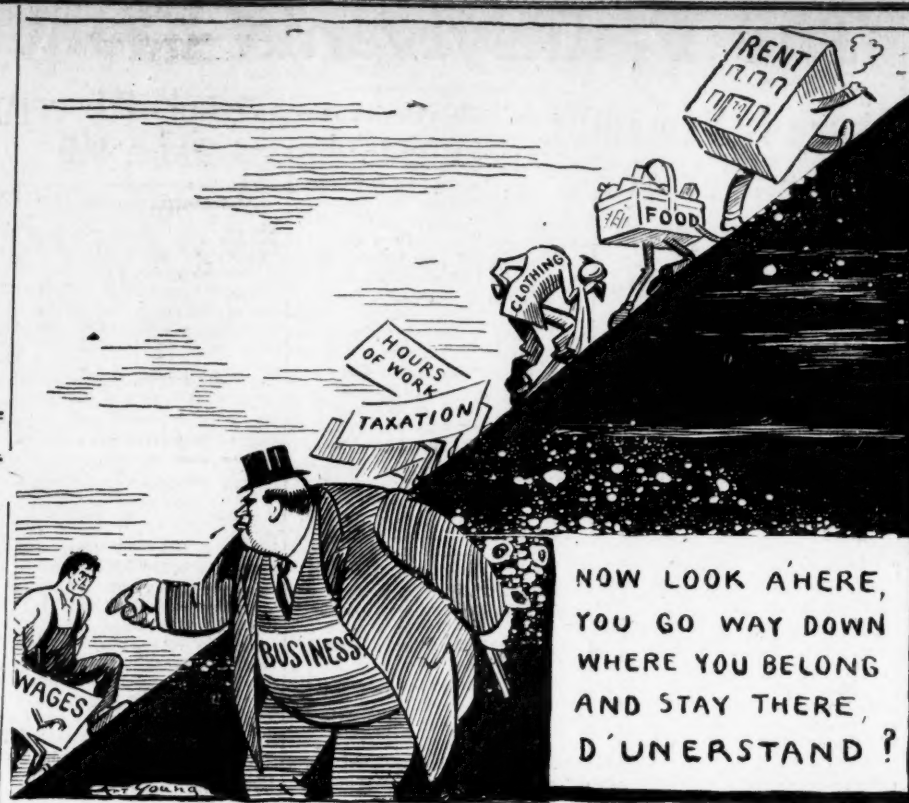
One function of the political agents of a ruling class is to restrain it in its own interests. This is what is being done at Washington in some important measures which is followed by the three-fold reaction mentioned. The Babbitts do not know what is good for them.

## THEIR FIRST BIRTHDAY

**T**HE whole world forgot its troubles the other day long enough to listen in with delight to the cooing and burbling of the Dionne babies on their first birthday. What a miracle of science, what a triumph of loving care the survival of the five premature mites has been and their development into five healthy, beautiful babies!

A year ago the chances of their survival was about one in a couple of billion. Today they have the normal human life expectancy of year-old babies, with the added security given them by the legal guardianship that protects them against hazards of economic insecurity.

But what a thought it is to all the mothers and fathers of the world that it took the miracle and the freak of a multiple birth to safeguard the lives of these babies. In a normal, a sane, a decent—that is to say, a Socialist—society all the resources of science and medical care and of material goods will be freely at the disposal of all children as their birthright.



## Behind the Scenes in Washington



By Benjamin Meiman  
Our Washington Correspondent

**M**ONDAY, May 27, 1935, will stand out as a date of real significance, a day in which the history of the United States turned a "corner."

Three decisions were rendered by the Supreme Court which may have far-reaching effects on the course of American life. Without a link between them, the three decisions supplemented each other in preserving the inviolability of private property; the American system of checks and balances between executive and legislative functions and a Federal government of sharply defined and restricted powers.

By far the most important was the decision in the Schechter Poultry case, dealing a death blow to the entire NRA.

### All Codes Suspended

**I**MMEDIATE suspension of compulsory enforcement of all NRA codes was announced by the Administration following the smashing blow the Supreme Court earlier in the day struck at the foundations of the New Deal when it unanimously declared the heart of that measure unconstitutional.

In addition, the Supreme Court, also unanimously, held invalid the Frazier-Lemke farm mortgage moratorium act, affecting millions of dollars of property and many thousands of farmers, and ruled that President Roosevelt lacked authority to remove the late William E. Humphrey from the Federal Trade Commission.

The most important of the trio of adverse decisions was that striking down the validity of the NRA codes on the ground that Congress had exceeded its authority in delegating to the President unlimited power to regulate business and industry. The court held neither the President nor Congress has power to regulate wages and hours in interstate transactions.

The decision threw the Administration and all New Dealers into a condition of bewilderment, confusion and dismay. None knew the extent of the wreckage. Certain it was that every NRA code, rule and regulation immediately became void. Great doubt existed whether Congress could draft a law to reach the NRA objectives within the requirements laid down by the Supreme Court.

In addition a dozen New Deal alphabetical agencies were on the brink of immediate extinction and thousands of Government workers wondered whether they still had jobs and would receive salaries. Even more far-reaching was the contention in some quarters that the validity of the AAA, the pending amendments to that act, the labor disputes bill and the social security program were in serious jeopardy.

### Little Man, What Now?

**P**RESIDENT ROOSEVELT conferred at length with Donald R. Richberg, chairman of the NIRA board; Attorney General Homer S. Cummings and Solicitor General Stanley Reed in an effort to appraise the damage done his program and determine what salvage steps might be taken.

Following this meeting Mr. Richberg, speaking for the Administration, announced no effort would be made for further compulsory enforcement of the NRA codes. He made an appeal to Congress and the people to take steps quickly to preserve the gains made under NRA.

No alternative plan was projected by any Administration quarter, but it was assumed that an effort would be made at once to draft

legislation that would circumvent the strongly worded objections which Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes on behalf of the Supreme Court made to the NRA.

Congressional leaders were in a quandary as to what should be done. The House Ways and Means Committee had originally planned to report favorably on Tuesday a bill extending the NRA for two years from June 16. The committee met, but realizing that an entirely new act must be drafted—if there is to be any legislation at all—adjourned to wait developments.

### Meaning of the Decisions

**I**N the NRA decision the court once again distinctly drew the line between the powers of Congress and the President, decreeing that Congress cannot delegate legislative functions to the Executive. Congress may make the President the administrator of its policies, but it must set up for him specific and definite standards to govern his conduct and not give him, as Justice Cardozo put it, "a roving commission to inquire into evils and, upon discovery, correct them."

At the same time the court ruled that Congress cannot undertake to regulate the hours and wages of intrastate industry where the flow of interstate commerce is not directly affected. Otherwise, Chief Justice Hughes held in the court's opinion, "there would be virtually no limit to the Federal power and for all practical purposes we should have a completely centralized government."

In the Frazier-Lemke case—which cannot be accurately called a New Deal measure, although passed by congressional Democrats and signed with misgivings by the President—the court, however, struck out at disregard for the rights of creditors and private property.

With Justice Brandeis speaking for a unanimous court, the high tribunal pointed out that the Fifth

### Big Business on Strike Which Keeps Billions in Banks and Idle in Streets

**W**ASHINGTON.—By a campaign of sabotage against legislation which big business opposes, it is withholding 4,000,000 jobs that could be made available, declares the American Federation of Labor in a statement that denounces this sabotage.

"No strike of labor ever reached such proportions or has any labor strike condemned the nation to continue in depression as this strike is doing," says the Federation.

Evidence that billions of dollars are held idle while workers suffer the agonies of the depression is presented in figures of bank deposits and check payments. While money held in banks in demand deposits, consisting mainly of funds of business concerns, "is now 17 per cent above even the high 1929 level and higher than ever before, the outflow of these funds for use (check payments) is lower than at any time since 1918, and 62 per cent below the 1929 volume," the statement continues.

The Federation declares that when big business carries on such a strike, when it "can dominate the nation's productive activity, keep billions of dollars idle in banks and millions of men idle in the streets, it is high time for the government to take a hand."

Amendment to the Constitution "commands that, however great the nation's need, private property shall not be thus taken even for a wholly public use without just compensation."

In the Humphreys case the court set up for the first time a rule whereby the independence of quasi-judicial and quasi-legislative agencies of the Federal Government may be assured—a development regarded as of great importance in view of the increasing authority exercised by such agencies.

The court held that Congress could properly deny the President the right to remove without cause his appointees to such agencies. The ruling applies to members of such bodies as the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the Communications Commission as well as the Federal Reserve Board. It opens the way for Congress to deny to the President the right of removal without cause of members of the Federal Reserve Board and make that body actually a supreme court of monetary and credit control free from political domination.

None believed that all three decisions would be handed down on the same day and few thought all would be adverse to the Administration. Still less did anyone believe that in ruling adversely the court would be unanimous in each case.

### Joy in the Jungle

**A**MID the gloom of the New Dealists there were exclamations of joy and thanksgiving from others. Senator William H. King, Utah Democrat, said, "Thank God for the Supreme Court"—a remark echoed in House and Senate and among lawyers in the corridors outside the high tribunal's small chamber. Senator Borah exulted, "The Constitution has been re-established!"

The official opinion of the Republican Party came from Henry P. Fletcher, chairman of its national committee, who said that "the Supreme Court decision in the NRA case preserves our Federal form of government—it knocks the props from under the New Deal."

Employers had mixed emotions, most of them withholding public comment pending detailed analysis of the decision of their lawyers. The thought was projected, however, that the future of American business was afloat on uncharted seas today, none being certain whether industry would voluntarily live up to NRA principles pending the drafting of new legislation or would return to jungle competition.

### Labor Disillusioned

**F**RANKLY, I haven't the heart to interview those labor leaders who pinned their entire hopes on the New Deal. Not now. Let's give them time to reflect, to analyze, to come to some definite conclusions. William Green of the A. F. of L. hurried away from New York to come to Washington and consult with his associates after asserting that labor has "suffered an awful blow."

The Supreme Court decided that wages and hours of labor in interstate commerce and industry cannot be regulated by the Federal Government. Well, what's to be done? Does this send the labor question back to the stage of guerrilla warfare? Is every employer of labor to decide for himself how much to pay his workers and how many hours to make them work? Is labor to return to its old theory to rely on its own power and to fight for its rights?

Dazed by the terrible blow the labor leaders are not ready to answer these questions. Not yet. But soon they will have to answer them and answer them very emphatically!

## Much Nonsense Is Talked About Industrial Unionism

By Algernon Lee

**I**N the long and often bitter discussions about craft unionism and industrial unionism which commanded so much attention among Socialists some years ago, most of the bitterness resulted

as to the aims and methods of the workingclass movements. Because the Industrial Workers of the World was thought of as the from confusion of thought—from mixing up the question of organization with quite other questions

typical industrial union, if not the only one worth mentioning (which it was not), and the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which the I.W.W. was attacking, were all assumed to be craft unions (which they were not), everything that the I.W.W. stood for was lumped together under the name of industrial unionism and everything that it denounced was brought under the head of craft unionism.

The I.W.W. was at first indifferent and afterward positively hostile to political action, as that term was commonly understood. It must be said to the credit of the "Wobblies" that they showed more intellectual honesty—no, let us be polite and say that they were more consistent and outspoken—than are the immature persons of all ages who are now railing at the "bogus democracy of bourgeois parliamentarianism" and talking big about the "workers' democracy" which they are going to set up some fine day, with or without the consent of the majority of the people. Haywood knew just what he meant, and made no bones about it. "Strike at the ballot box—with an axe!" was terse, vivid, and not a bit ambiguous. The I.W.W. was anti-political; therefore industrial unionism includes the rejection of political action; and therefore craft unionism and political action are two sides of the same evil thing; that was the argument.

Of course, everyone who cared more for facts than for phrases knew very well that the German labor movement, which was composed entirely of industrial unions, considered political action just as necessary as action on the industrial field. They knew also that Samuel Gompers, who was a stout champion of craft unionism, thought it a mistake for wage workers to put any faith in politics. There is in truth no necessary connection between the two forms of unionism and the two

attitudes toward political action. The I.W.W. idealized lawless violence. For practical reasons its spokesmen sometimes tried to camouflage this fact, but as a rule they were pretty frank about it. And if they did not openly advocate violence, they at any rate never missed an opportunity to attack and ridicule those who advocated reliance on peaceable and lawful methods. In idealizing violence they were merely idealizing the methods that were in general use on both sides of the class conflict in that raw Far West where the I.W.W. was born. In practice, the Western technique didn't work so well in the really industrial sections of the country. If and when violence was used by either side here it was done somewhat differently, and it wasn't openly advocated.

The talk of violence naturally gave a thrill to many youngsters and to "radical" ladies and gentlemen—the same kind of vicarious thrill which those who live sheltered lives commonly get by reading crime novels or going to war movies. Thinking that violence and revolution are synonymous, they were sure that the I.W.W. was very revolutionary; hence, they argued, industrial unions are revolutionary unions and craft unionism is reactionary.

Whoever cared for facts knew very well that violence can be used without talking about it, that it was used quite as often by members of craft unions as by workingmen organized on industrial lines, and that it was practiced much oftener by workers who were not organized at all. They knew also that it was the bosses, much more than the working people, who deliberately introduced lawless violence into labor disputes. The truth is, first, that the question of violence is an entirely separate question from that of craft or industrial organization; and second, that violence is not in itself revolutionary—that on the contrary, it is oftenest associated either with reactionary purposes or with a complete lack of social ideals.

As the subject of industrial organization (otherwise called vertical unionism nowadays) is again coming to the front, and this time in a more serious way, it is greatly to be desired that in the discussions that will take place these and other misconceptions that have obscured the issue in the past should be avoided. Just what do we mean by craft unionism and by vertical or industrialism? And what advantage can the workers gain under any given circumstances by being organized in the one way or the other? Where change is needed, how can it best be made? Those are the real questions.

## The New Leader Book Corner

### H. G. Wells Tells All

By Ben Blumenberg

**F**EW autobiographies have stood the test of time. As a rule the art of self-portraiture lacks frankness, honesty and proportion. There are enough of these qualities in Casanova and Rousseau to make up for whatever shortcomings these autobiographers may have had. For this reason they have lived, and the guess is hazarded that the life story of H. G. Wells will live for many years and for the same reasons.

Wells was ideally equipped to write "Experiment in Autobiography" (Macmillan, \$4). He had a sound scientific training greatly influenced by Thomas H. Huxley, years of experience as a teacher, exceptional qualities as a writer of popular science and fiction, and, above all, imagination, breadth of view, integrity and intense interest in every phase of life.

Despite these qualities, however, there is a curious kink in Wells. He has a strong dislike for Marx, bordering on phobia. Again and again he returns to the subject to scotch Marx and Marxism. Another curious quirk is the author's belief that his novels have strongly influenced human and social behavior. He writes of his "outrageous radicalism," but this may be just British spoofing or a demonstration of the author's admission that he "never was a fluent liar but could lie effectively on occasion."

The pictures of the Fabians are quite different than those given of the Marxists. The former were accused of advocating the holding of wives in common. "As a matter of fact," says Wells, "they did not have their ideas in common." Well, hardly, with Shaw, Hyndman, the Webbs, Graham Wallis, Morris and Wells crossing swords.

Wells' criticism of education is that children are taken out of the tadpole stage too soon and that the mental and moral enslavement of the masses is in a measure the result of a mechanized civilization. After attending a Mosley meeting he asks, "is what passes for edu-

cation only a systematic softening of the brain?" Scorn is heaped on organized religion. The wine and wafer ceremony is characterized as a "homeopathic dose of divinity." Fear and puritury shape political and social processes.

Hitler's mind is the twin of Wells' own mind when he was thirteen years of age. Wells dreamed of becoming a Cromwell or a Napoleon. Small and undernourished as he was he conquered whole armies in his imagination. Hitler stands out because "a whole generation of Germans has failed the Journal of the Reichstag. The to grow up." The present is a "spotty" stage in the adolescence of mankind. "It is the great man idea and method in its final pathological decay."

The world war showed the instability of the social order. The possibilities of making a new world fell far behind the anticipations of Wells. He tried to take what may be termed a middle course and in the light of today his explanations lack the ring of conviction. A war demonstration in London causes Wells to reflect that the participants consist largely of the proletariat of "dear old Marx." Just why the author laughed at the spectacle is not clear, considering that he played a bit of a part in the war.

President Roosevelt, thinks Wells, is trying to direct the capitalist system towards state socialism. He asks whether Roosevelt is aware of the game he is playing. "Does he realize that he is in a revolution?" The reader is left with the impression that the President's human qualities and urbanity captivated Wells after his visit to the White House.

The seven hundred pages of "Experiment in Autobiography" is the record of a highly civilized mind: a fascinating, stimulating record of men, events and ideas which it records.

