

## Terror Sweeping U.S.S.R. 90,000 are Exiled from Moscow and Leningrad

**Society of Old Bolsheviks Dissolved by Dictatorship Despite Service of Members to the Revolution — Socialists, Anarchists and Dissident Communists Victims of Stalin's Purge**

A NEW wave of terror, which found its original impact in the assassination of Kiroff, Communist satrap of Leningrad and member of the all-powerful Political Bureau of the Communist Party, is spreading in Soviet Russia, with Communists, Socialists and other radicals as its victims.

Information received from Moscow by the Socialist Messenger, Russian Social Democratic organ edited by Raphael Abramovitch, member of the executive bureau of the Labor and Socialist International, and Theodor Dan, leader of the left wing of the Russian Social Democracy, is to the effect that the Stalin dictatorship is running amuck in its desperate efforts to root out all heterodoxy and tighten its grip both on the Communist Party and the Russian people.

In a letter from Moscow published in the current issue of the Socialist Messenger it is declared that no less than 90,000 persons have been driven from Leningrad and Moscow as "undesirable elements" since the assassination of Kiroff. These mass expulsions have been proceeding simultaneously with the ever growing number of arrests of old Communists, to say nothing of Socialists, the dissolution of various Bolshevik institutions, exile and jailing of their heads, and the "mopping up" of the entire Bolshevik Old Guard.

### Drive Against Bolsheviks

The information made public by the Socialist Messenger is significant in that it comes soon after the appearance of a cable dispatch in the New York Times from Harold Denny, its Moscow correspondent, announcing the dissolution by Stalin of the Society of Old Bolsheviks. This organization, with a membership of approximately 600, was the most "aristocratic" Bolshevik society in Russia; only Bolsheviks who were members of the party before 1917 were admitted. Most of the members have been party members for three decades; the Bolshevik "blue bloods," and yet Stalin found it necessary to dissolve the organization—so great is his fear of internal party "treachery," that is to say of the growing dissatisfaction with his dictatorial rule within the Communist Party itself, to say nothing of the growing discontent among the people.

Among those who have fallen into the Bolshevik "führer's" disfavor, according to the information appearing in the Socialist Messenger, is Maxim Gorky, the Communist "poet laureate," who heretofore had sung Stalin's praises.

The Moscow letter, as printed in the Socialist Messenger, reads in part: "There is nothing remarkable in the reports of Gorky's shaken position. He was chairman of the 'Academia' publishing house, whose vice-chairman was L. Kamenev, now in disgrace [Kamenev and Zinoviev have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for their alleged connection with the Kiroff assassination, although no evidence has been adduced against them. Ed.] The publishing house has been dissolved and severe punishment has been inflicted upon the prominent Communists who were its heads. Ionoff, manager of its technical department, has been sent into exile. Particularly cruel has been the suffering inflicted upon

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### But the Dictatorship Is Only "Temporary"

The dictatorship over the people of Soviet Russia is only "temporary," according to a statement by Ambassador Alexander Troyanovsky, Stalin's official spokesman in the United States, in a speech in Chicago. The diplomat said that the Soviet constitution was drawn up "merely to defend the country from its enemies, internal and abroad," and he added that since Russia is now peaceful "the government is assuming a more democratic form."

Interesting, if true. The only flaw in an otherwise idyllic picture is that the judges of when the "danger" from enemies "internal and abroad" is at an end are the members of the dictatorship themselves, who are also the sole judges of what constitutes a more or less "democratic form."

Abraham Lincoln said that "no man is fit to govern another without that man's consent." And that statement is still good.

## Tom Mooney Calls For Solidarity as Freedom Nears

**Grateful to German Workers' Fraternal Order for \$2,000 Gift to Fund for Campaign for Release**

His hope for freedom revived by recent legal developments in California, Tom Mooney, political prisoner, acknowledged receipt of a \$2,000 contribution toward his fight voted by the convention of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Association.

Tom Mooney declared that in prison or out he would devote his entire life to the cause of labor and liberty.

The message follows: "Received your most welcome telegram informing me that Convention of Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund donated two thousand dollars to my fight for freedom."

"Your splendid contribution together with its fine purposeful message breathing warm sympathetic and continued faithful support of this desperate nineteen-year-old struggle for my liberation and vindication comes to me like a wonderful tonic giving new hope, added courage and renewed strength to carry on the fight."

"You have touched the deepest emotions within my being and I sincerely hope that no action of mine will ever give you cause to regret your confidence in me. I shall always try to live up to the highest traditions of the working class, ever and always struggling for its advancement and ultimate emancipation. You are generous to a fault."

"If other working class organizations would emulate your wonderful example of proletarian solidarity, our struggle would end in victory in mediocrity. Accept my profound heartfelt thankful appreciation for your magnificent gesture of comradeship."

"Fraternally yours,  
"Tom Mooney, No. 31921,  
San Quentin Prison."

## AS STRIKE SPREADS OVER WATERFRONTS



Street scene in Vancouver during the current longshoremen's strike, typical of scenes in all the West Coast cities where strikes are raging.

## Railway Unions Demand Strike of Dockers Government Ownership

**Private Management of Railways a Ghastly Failure, Workers Declare in Backing Socialization**

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Nineteen of the 21 Standard Railroad Labor Organizations through their executive have declared in favor of "the immediate taking over of the railways of the United States by the Federal Government."

This declaration is another item indicating a profound change in labor philosophy that is going on as a result of the depression. The effects of continued corporation ownership upon the railroad workers, the decay of equipment endangering human life, the "milking" of the railroads by big bankers, and the oligarchic control of transportation by a few men are reasons cited in favor of nationalization of the railroads.

Isolated problems of transportation have been given attention by Congress and emergency measures have been applied, the unions declare, but the basic abuses continue and they are supplemented by new problems. Nationalization will bring coordination, efficiency, needed economies and integration without imposing further hardships on the workers.

**Short-Sighted Policies**  
Short-sighted policies, "planned only to produce immediate gains for railway financiers, inflicted upon the industry very serious injury," the statement continued. Then it went on to point out how the bankers after "milking" the railroad industry during good times, refused to come forward with proper financial assistance during the depression.

Instead the roads "were made to feel a demand for continuance of payments to their security owners which has brought the industry to the verge of complete collapse."

"Necessary new financing has been denied, refinancing of maturing obligations has been denied, railroad management throughout the country has been forced to reduce expenditures for operating purposes, not only to the minimum, but far below the lowest level consistent with property operations."

"Railroad facilities have been

allowed to deteriorate to the point where the efficiency of railway service has been seriously impaired and where its safety has been greatly reduced."

**Service Impaired**  
"Railway workers, absolutely necessary to a proper maintenance and operation of the railways, have been thrown out of employment in order that the money which should have been paid in wages might be diverted to satisfy the demands of railway financiers."

"The conditions thus brought about, already grave enough, will become even more dangerous unless they are immediately corrected. "Railway roadbeds and equipment, already badly under-maintained, must show in future months in still greater degree the result of these years of neglect."

The statement summarizes some of the benefits which would follow government ownership as follows: "Public ownership and operation of the railways under the Federal Government will permit the integration of the railways in a manner most conducive to efficient, safe and economical operation."

"Federal financing under Federal ownership will cost much less and can be much more wisely directed than either public or private

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## Indicted for Conspiracy, Nemser Declares Unions Victims of a Frame-Up

Indicted for alleged conspiracy, together with six other officials of two clothing salespeople's unions, Hyman Nemser, counsel for Local 107 and manager of Local 717, declares that his organizations are victims of what he characterized as a frame-up to smash the retail clothing salesmen's organizations "at the behest of the employers."

Nemser appeared in court together with his fellow-union officials, Samuel Feder, Nat Levine, Al Goldin and Wm. Weise, and put up the required bail.

"This indictment," said Nemser, "is a challenge to the labor movement of New York in its methods of dealing with associations of employers. It was secured by the employers, and we are prepared to prove it. We stand on the record of gains won for our members in the years that we have been organizing the retail clothing salespeople in the stores of New York. If we are guilty, then every union in New York City is guilty of the same offense."

## Rome Bricklayers Back Hillquit Amendment

**Special to The New Leader**  
ROME, N. Y.—The proposed Hillquit amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which would make constitutional all labor and social legislation, was endorsed by the Bricklayers, Masons' and Plasterers' Union No. 50 at its annual meeting here on June 10.

## Strike of Dockers Sweeps Pacific Coast Cities

**Workers Keep Cool Heads Despite Intense Provocation — Communists in Usual Role**

### Special to The New Leader.

PORTLAND, Ore.—With the strike in the lumber industry extending down the Pacific Coast from the Canadian border to California, it has broken into a tense struggle in Oregon and Washington.

In Oregon the Governor has mobilized the state police, a judge has refused to grant an order prohibiting police from interfering with strike activities, and the Communist Party is serving in its usual role of provoking violence and trying to destroy the solidarity of the strikers by shouting "treachery" and "sell-out." Communist broadsides of this kind, printed in Seattle, are distributed among the strikers.

Portland papers carry pictures of the state police driving strikers along the roads, dragging some who refused to be driven. In one case the men were driven seven miles in one hour and old men dropped in the road from exhaustion. On other roads strike pickets managed to get to Portland in trucks.

A total of 237 pickets were arrested in Portland in two days and nearly 200 were driven off a tract of land rented by the Timber Workers' Union. Deputy sheriffs and state police marched the evicted pickets to Viking Park and told them to move on.

### Executive Secretary

At Tacoma, Wash., troops were ordered out in a clash of 5,000 union men and their sympathizers with scabs, and state troops have taken control of the city. Tear gas bombs were used and a "bull pen" has swallowed up a number of

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## Karl Kautsky on The New Leader

Mrs. Luise Kautsky writes from Vienna: "My husband and I are very happy to get regularly The New Leader and to find there Comrade Lee's contributions, which we esteem highly for their clearness and thorough Socialist spirit, and also Comrade Oneal's articles and John Powers' handling of international news. We could not now afford to miss your paper, whose general attitude is very satisfactory to us."

## Modernize Constitution, Is Socialist Party Demand At Interstate Conference

**Uniform Legislative Program for All States Urged — National Executive Committee Called Upon to Lead Party in Drive for Constructive Program — Way Pointed to Party Unity and Harmony**

### "Oh, Say, Can You See?"

THE committee of the Illinois Senate investigating "sedition" in the faculty of Chicago University at the request of Chain-Store Millionaire Walgreen, who protested the effects of "radical" teaching upon his 18-year-old niece, has cleared all members of the faculty but one.

The one black sheep in an otherwise perfect collection of professors is Robert Morris Lovett, who "has pursued an unpatriotic course of conduct" for the past decade or so.

Prof. Lovett's hideous crime consists in the fact that he is known as a "liberal," and that he has been interested in labor difficulties "and freedom of speech movements."

The Republic is saved! Turn the Illinois Senate Committee loose and it will smell out treason and sedition where no one else can find it!

The full text of the two resolutions adopted at the Eastern States Conference appears on Page Five.

INSPIRED with the opportunities for educational and organization work which recent events have given the Socialist Party, five state organizations of the party and two federations held an eastern conference in the Pennsylvania Hotel, New York City, last Sunday. These organizations represent the bulk of the party membership in the East. Unofficial representatives from a number of other states were also present.

The new situation confronting the working masses by the Supreme Court decision on the N.R.A., the need of safeguarding what gains the organized workers have won, the danger that industries confined to states may serve as a downward drag upon labor standards because they do not come within federal legislation, the urgent need of a drive in the states for uniform social legislation and labor statutes, for the 30-hour week, anti-injunction laws and guaranteeing collective bargaining, all this, it was agreed, provides an unparalleled opportunity for party mobilization and activity.

The need of a comprehensive constitutional amendment that will empower Congress to venture into the whole field of federal social and labor legislation and to permit socialization of industries was also felt. The correlation of social and labor legislation with the idea of vesting Congress with power to nationalize basic industries provides an ideal setting for every phase of labor and Socialist agitation. The suggestion of eastern-state cooperation along these lines met a welcome response from those who attended the conference and machinery was set up to get the party members behind the program which will also be submitted to the National Executive Committee with the request that it induce other states similarly to act.

### Joint Action Effected

Another important action was the adoption of a program demanding that the N.E.C. and the state organizations take an unequivocal stand against any united fronts with Communists and that all organized factional groups be ordered to disband.

One after another of those who attended the conference found this two-fold program adapted to the needs of a healthy and growing party. The reports of the inner party situation in the various states were also informing and each believed that cooperation for the program would do much to revive agitation and organization and lead to better party morale.

The States of Maryland, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Connecticut, in addition to New York, were represented, as well as the Finnish Socialist Federation and the Jewish Socialist Verband. Comrades as observers were in attendance from Hudson County, N. J., whose local charter had been revoked by the New Jersey State Committee, and from Michigan.

The comrades present made clear their intention of outlining constructive work for the party, and to indicate lines upon which work would be possible. It was the unanimous opinion of the delegates present that a way must be

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## Meet the Supreme Court's Challenge! Bring the Constitution Up to Date!

THE Railway Workers' Pension Law is unconstitutional. The National Industrial Recovery Act is unconstitutional. So says the Supreme Court. It may pass the same judgment on other laws enacted within the last two years, as soon as test cases come before it. The "social security bills" which Congress is about to pass may likewise be declared unconstitutional.

Under the Federal Constitution as the Supreme Court interprets it, Congress cannot limit hours of labor, nor fix a minimum wage, nor enforce collective bargaining, nor do practically anything else worth while for that vast majority

who are not employed either on government works or in interstate commerce. Nor can it in any simple and direct way create a nation-wide system of insurance against unemployment, industrial accidents, occupational diseases, and old age. Nor can it nationalize industries which are now being mismanaged for private profit.

It does no good to denounce the Supreme Court, nor to dispute its interpretation of the fundamental law. We must appeal straight to the people, the ultimate source of all law.

The Constitution must be amended. Congress must be explicitly vested with the power (which

it can now claim only by doubtful inference) to enact social and labor legislation for the United States as a whole and to own and operate industries for the common good.

It can be done. Labor is aroused. The farmers are ready for change. Many business and professional men see the dangers that result from recent court decisions. Now is the time to bring our eighteenth-century Constitution up to date.

It may take a couple of years. Meanwhile, we must have identical legislation by the various states to hold reaction in check until the amendment is carried.

This is the bold and constructive program agreed on at last Sunday's conference of Socialists from six Eastern states, and fully reported elsewhere in this paper. Let the National Executive Committee give it nation-wide scope. Let Socialists everywhere rally to its support. That way lies the hope for vital harmony within our party. That way lies the hope for mutually helpful relations with Organized Labor. That way lies real service to the working people in office, factory, and farm.



# Troops Called as Strike Sweeps Coast Cities

## Farmers and Workers Fight Hand in Hand in Battle

By Paul F. Smith

Portland, Oregon.

THE NRA has been ruled out of order. Some thought that the Wagner Bill would put false teeth in the Labor Section, but since the Blue Eagle is now to be stuffed as an extinct species of bird any hopes on that score are dead.

The lumber strike is progressing. The bosses are concentrating their efforts in fighting the strike in the smaller communities of the state. The appeal to the "general public" took the form of an assertion in all the capitalist papers that the farmers were up in arms and forming vigilante committees to start mills running, in order to get boxes and crates for their berry crop, which they feared would be ruined if not picked at once.

As a matter of fact, the only ones up in arms are not dirt farmers, but those who farm the farmers. Representatives of the farmers met with the representatives of labor and made arrangements to get what boxes and hatches they needed. Even the small business men would be glad to see the workers get more money, as they would have more to spend.

Labor has supported the farmers whenever they have tried to better conditions for themselves. During the strike for a better price on milk a shortage of milk threatened. Labor made no complaint about it, but only hoped that the farmers gained their point. There is still too much of a spread between the price that the farmer gets and what the consumer pays, so there may come a time again when the farmers will need the support of labor.

### Longshoremen's Support

The battle is concentrated at the Simpson mill at Forest Grove. The word was given that this mill was going to start up. About 600 loggers and workers from all over Oregon went out there to prevent cars from being taken out. The plant is situated so that pickets find it difficult to get to it without trespassing private property. The yards are about a mile long and about 900 feet deep, which is quite a space to cover. But the pickets contrived to get through. The papers say that the mill is running, but it is not. They had a large supply of lumber on hand, loaded on cars, and most of their efforts are toward getting these cars out. Under the protection of the sheriff, they got some cars out, but they are standing on side tracks, as the longshoremen are not unloading them. And there you have another angle to the situation. Last summer, during the longshoremen's strike, some of the mills and camps had to shut down, while the boats were tied up. The capitalist papers made a great noise about all the men being thrown out of work who had no interest in the longshoremen's strike. But now that the longshoremen are supporting them.

It was stated in the papers that the National Guard would not be needed to handle the situation at Forest Grove, as the farmers were out with shotguns, and the sheriff's office was adequately prepared. However, the deputies were the only ones who had guns, and most of them seemed to be young National Guardsmen. They were equipped with everything but their uniforms, and wore deputy sheriff's badges. Portland, being the political center of Oregon, shipped out tear gas and other gas.

### Strike at Other Points

The boys at Forest Grove have been taking members into the union right along. The Simpson mill hires over 200 men, and not over 50 went to work. Most of the men are favorable to the union, but a small bunch favored the boss this time.

The Portland bosses are still sit-

ting tight. They would rather lose money than give the boys even a ten-cent raise. A few of them asked the boys why they couldn't start the mills, as they had nothing against the union or their employees, but the boys are sticking 100 per cent.

At last reports, the Weyerhaeuser and Long Bell mills in Longview are starting up, having reached an agreement satisfactory to both sides. Some small mills have signed up at 60 cents an hour, but about the same running conditions.

The mills at Longview are down again. The bosses here are still working on the outside districts, which is an old game. If the workers' organizations in small communities can be beaten down, it is easier to control the situation in Portland. All the boys in Portland are busy on picket duty at these outside points.

### The Boss of Oregon

The center of operations now is at the Bridal Veil mill. Over 300 pickets were arrested June 12 and released again. The sheriff's men arrested them as fast as they were put on the picket line, and when they had a bus load brought them into Portland. There are about 7,000 more to take the place of those arrested, and after they have been all arrested, they will start from the beginning of the list again. The sheriff should do well as he gets about thirty-three cents a meal for prisoners' food and it is reported he pays about nine cents a meal.

General Governor Martin is all a-lather, because it appears that the union men don't understand yet who the boss of Oregon is. The National Guard is in encampment at Camp Lewis, but the Governor, or General, assured Sheriff Pratt that he would bring the boys back home if it became necessary. However, at the last session of the legislature a bill was put through to utilize the state police for strike duty. According to the latest report the police are using tear gas to keep the boys back and making them walk home.

The owner of the Southeast Portland Lumber Company in a recent interview said he would leave it up to his crew whether they wished to go to work or not. He said if they wanted to go back he would start the mill if he had to call for protection of the sheriff's office and state police. But it seems that the men out here have no desire to work under police protection.

## Strike of Dockers Spreads Over the Pacific Coast

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strikers who are held as military prisoners.

The Portland Central Labor Council has adopted a ringing statement citing the outrages that have been committed by the public authorities. "We charge that the Governor is the spearhead of this attempt to set up a dictatorship which is usurping the powers of the legislature and the courts," the union declares. He is "turning law enforcement officials into a lawless mob bent on denying fundamental rights of citizenship. From the beginning of the lumber workers' strike, the Governor has bristled and threatened and played the game of employing interests."

"In the last week the state police, under the direction of the Governor, and the sheriffs of Multnomah and Washington counties have indulged in practices suggestive of the cockroaches of old Russia and present-day Hitlerites in Germany. Among the acts which one or the other of the above named officials have committed, and which violate

## FINE MUSICAL PROGRAM AT UNITY OPENING

Special to The New Leader.  
FOREST PARK, Pa.—Rebuilt and newly landscaped, Unity House, summer playground of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, celebrated its 17th annual opening and dedicated its newly constructed buildings last weekend, with a gala program of music, opera, and speeches by executives of the I.L.G.W.U.

Nearly 1,000 workmen and women who were housed and fed on the grounds had come to see the new buildings and to hear plans for the future.

Saturday night, June 22, the Philharmonic string quartette, Dora Borshova, Leon Kairoff, and the Slav Male Quartet from the Russian Opera Company provided music in the Pine Grove open air theater, and Isadore Nagler, Sidney Hillman, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot and David Dubinsky spoke.

Something new in Unity House programs was presented in the Pine Grove Theater Sunday morning. Instead of the usual Jewish hour, there will be an international hour which will present speakers of all nationalities. Phillip Hoffman, editor of the Yiddish weekly publication of the I.L.G.W.U., spoke last Sunday.

Telegrams of congratulations from B. C. Vladek and Lieutenant Governor Kennedy of Pennsylvania were read at Sunday dinner. William E. Lescage, member of the International Congress of Architects, designed the building and the builders of Radio City supplied the skilled workmanship. LaBar's Rhododendron Nursery was called upon to supply trees and shrubs according to the plans of the landscaping artist in charge of the property.

## Railwaymen Demand Public Ownership of Lines

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financing under private ownership and operation. "The necessary coordination of railways and other types of transportation can be done in a manner to safeguard public interests only if there is complete governmental control of the railways."

"The immediate rehabilitation of railway facilities, which is absolutely essential to the safe and efficient operation of the railways, is not possible except through Federal financing, and will be very difficult unless with Federal financing there is also Federal ownership and operation."

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

## Protests Force Ungarelli, Fascist Propagandist From Consular Post

Special to The New Leader

DETROIT.—Transfer of the notorious Giacomo Ungarelli, Italian Vice-Consul to this city, to another post has been met with jubilation by Italian workers. The transfer was made following vigorous protests by the Italian workers, who charged that Ungarelli had made his office a propaganda machine for Italian fascism.

"This is the first time since the days of President Adams that a consular agent of a foreign country has been obliged to leave his post," said Larry Davidson, labor and Socialist attorney, through whose efforts the transfer was effected. "The Italian people in Detroit are jubilant, and they have reason for their great joy."

The transfer of Ungarelli was effected after a delegation of Italian Socialists and trade unionists, headed by Giralmo Valenti, editor of *La Stampa Libera*, New York labor, Socialist and anti-fascist daily, and including Luigi Antonini and Arturo Giovannitti, presented the facts gathered by Davidson to the State Department in Washington. International courtesy required, however, that the transfer be ostensibly by the Italian government.

## Modernize the Constitution Is Socialist Demand

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found for unity of action within the party, and that the party must unite upon a constructive program of immediate work.

The National Executive Committee is to be asked to become the driving force back of the move for the proposed Constitutional Amendment which is based upon the famous Hillquit Amendment, with added provision for socialization of industries, as well as for a six-point program of uniform state legislation. The state organizations are to be asked to work for uniform anti-injunction, social insurance, minimum wage and anti-child labor legislation, and the N.E.C. is to be asked to institute a drive for the proposed Amendment.

### Officers Elected

Algernon Lee, president of the Rapid School, was elected chairman after Louis Waldman as State Chairman of the New York organization that had summoned the conference had outlined the work before the party and the opportunities facing it.

Herman Kobbé was chosen vice-chairman, and Sarah Limbach, state secretary of Pennsylvania, was chosen secretary.

A committee of eight was elected to draw up resolutions on the two subjects before the conference, consisting of S. M. Neistadt, Maryland; Larry S. Davidow, Michigan; Louis Epstein, Massachusetts; Fred Schwartzkopf, Connecticut; Louis Waldman, New York; George Griffiths, Pennsylvania; N. Chanin, Jewish Verband, and W. N. Reivo, Finnish Federation.

After a considerable general discussion, all of it in a constructive tone looking toward conciliation of all genuine Socialist forces in America, the committee reported with the two documents (printed elsewhere in this issue) and elected a continuation committee, as follows:

Louis Epstein and Joseph Bearack, Massachusetts; Fred Schwartzkopf and Jasper McLevy, Connecticut; Louis Waldman and Julius Gerber, New York; Sarah Limbach and George Griffiths, Pennsylvania; S. M. Neistadt and William A. Toole, Maryland; Robert Leemans and Val Bausch of the ousted New Jersey branches; Saul Rifkin and N. Chanin of the Jewish Verband, and W. N. Reivo and Wilho Hedman of the Finnish Federation.

It was the opinion of all present that the conference had been a highly constructive one and that a long stride had been made toward restoring unity of action within the party mainly by outlining definite and constructive work upon which all elements might unite.

## PAGE DIOGENES

"Intelligent Nazis sought by Góbbels."—Headline in New York Times. It's a good trick if he can do it.

Coast face the biggest crisis in the history of unionism. Reactionary newspapers are urging the Governor to take even more stern and swift measures, and the methods of the Communists serve as provocation to such measures.

The program of the labor exploiters and the public authorities seems to be aimed at crushing unionism and to compel workers to accept any wage that is offered. The strikers are making a gallant fight against combined forces which they never before faced.

## The LaborWeek

By Chester M. Wright

Washington, D. C.

BEFORE this week ends the Wagner-Connelly bill should be the law of the land.

Things will begin happening shortly. I am told that some employers plan deliberately to disobey the law. Others will begin court action. Not for months will we know whether the law means what Congress intends it to mean.

We have been told that the law is what the constitution says and that the constitution is what the judges say. So, not until the judges have spoken the final word will we know, definitely and for all time, what this law means.

BUT, the one clear road for labor to pursue is to act under the law as it is written. Remember this: It is the law until the judges say it isn't so. As soon as the President signs his name to the final draft, the words of that draft will constitute the law until, some day far down the line, the Supreme Court hands down a decision. Moreover, it will not be safe, by any means, to assume that the court will kill this law.

Employers have been very busy trying to build up the idea that the Wagner-Connelly bill will not stand a test in court. The more they can create the idea that the bill is a weak and puny thing, the less respect there will be for the bill when it becomes law. They are trying in advance thus to break down its effectiveness.

Many unions are planning to begin national membership campaigns under the protection of the Wagner-Connelly bill. Indications are that there will be something like the fast action that characterized the first months under NRA. The field will be clearer than it was under the famous Section 7A. The guarantees are stronger.

I know that nothing has been left undone to make this bill airtight against abuse. The company union is out. The industrial field is at last, under this bill, absolutely and completely free for the organization of labor into unions.

To gain a real picture of how big this step really is and how important, remember that the Bill of Rights was put into our Constitution in 1791 and not in all the years since then, nor in all the years before then, have been workers free of restraint and coercion in forming unions. We did not have it even under Section 7A for 7A had its very real limitations as to scope and as to field. It had no effect except through codes. Thus far have we had to come down through the corridor of time to gain this vital right. Surely, labor now will know how

## Buy Crawford Clothes and Save the Difference, Say Thousands



Thousands of men in all walks of life—lawyers, doctors, accountants, successful business men, college students, men about town, and others—are saying: "Buy Crawford Clothes and save the difference!"

The Crawford Clothing Company, New York's largest clothing chain, enjoys a volume so tremendous that it permits the smallest per garment profit known to the industry. In addition, Crawford sells every Crawford garment in Crawford owned and operated stores. This eliminates the usual middleman's profit, bringing you an extra saving. Further than this, Crawford makes every garment in Crawford's own union workrooms, thereby keeping production costs at the irreducible minimum. All these savings make possible a regular \$50 value in suits, topcoats, overcoats and tuxedos, which are sold to you at the amazing low price of \$18.75.

For spring and summer 1935, Crawford is showing the most exclusive collection of garments men in this part of the country have ever seen. There is every type of garment you could want, all absolutely authentic in style and individualized by D'Ambrosio, famous designer, who now devotes his talents to Crawford exclusively. Heretofore, he tailored clothes selling for not less than \$100.

## Wright and Solomon Speak At Tamiment Inst. Opening

Special to The New Leader.

TAMIMENT, Pa.—Before a large and impressive gathering of Socialists and workmen and women the second annual Economic and Social Institute got off to a fine start here Thursday night with fine addresses by Charles Solomon and Chester M. Wright, under the chairmanship of Louis Waldman, who will preside throughout the sessions.

Several hundred persons came for the opening, a number that is expected to grow until the uttermost capacity of this beautiful summer playground is reached Saturday for the dedication of the Morris Hillquit Memorial, the natural amphitheatre in which the sessions are being held, to the memory of the revered Socialist leader whose bronze bust presides over all the sessions.

Solomon delivered a stirring address in which he pointed out that America and a large part of the rest of the world are passing through a crisis due to a basic conflict in society between the means of production and the mode of exchange.

Chester M. Wright, once editor of the New York Call, Socialist newspaper, now director of the International Labor News Service, declared that "We are in the midst of a revolution. We are trying, in substance, to make our political liberty, which we have had for more than a century, win us economic liberty, which we have never had completely, and now have less than ever."

Impressively, Wright drew a parallel between the Dred Scott decision that precipitated the Civil War and the NRA decision of the Supreme Court. He declared:

### Some Major Issues

"It took a Civil War to wipe out the Dred Scott decision, the first declaration by the court that a law duly passed by Congress and signed by the President was unconstitutional. That decision wiped out all laws for the limitation of slavery, and made it legal in every part of the country. It took a constitutional amendment to get the income tax after the court, by a 5 to 4 vote, declared that law unconstitutional. Just in passing, will someone tell me what this country would have done in the last few years without the power to levy an income tax?"

"So we come to the Constitution to use it and how to keep it."

President William Green has said that this bill is a new Magna Charta. I know he will join me in disagreement with his words to this extent: It will be, by and large, just about what wage earners make of it. If they want to be free they can be free, and if they do not want to be free and are not willing to assert themselves, no law on earth can force effective freedom upon them.

Out through the country there are many strikes. There may be as many as 500 strikes in the United States at this hour. Letters I have seen tell of scores of strikes not reported to any official headquarters. There is plenty of protest, with such strikes as that in Tacoma standing out in bold relief, marking the high light of the spirit of militancy. But there is no national movement and none is in sight. It is not too safe to predict, but it can be said that there is now no great likelihood of any national strike movement within the next month or two.

If you put together in one picture the Wagner bill, the Securities Act, the proposed corporation tax, the proposed inheritance tax, the proposed licensing act and one or two other things, you will observe that vested wealth is going to live a new life in the future and one that will be neither so free nor so easy.

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as a major issue. And, whether you like it or not, the Constitution is today an issue, close to the heart of this thing which our program here tonight calls a crisis. The crisis, if we are to call it that, is economic; but some of the controlling factors are political, while others are judicial.

"We have had laws declared unconstitutional before. The process is not exactly a novelty. But when the court knocked out NRA, the whole issue was galvanized into something surpassing infinitely any purely legal question. The nation has swung past a fixed point in the long process of change from an agricultural nation to an industrial nation, past a fixed point in the long road from individual absolutism in industrial control to a certain degree of social responsibility. And it has sought to recognize this change in law. The court, looking only at law in the books—and looking none too well, many good lawyers believe—said, 'this is unconstitutional.' It is about as if the nation had been color-blind to a month ago and had then suddenly recognized that the Atlantic Ocean is green and, having written that recognition into a law, had encountered a still color-blind Supreme Court saying, 'this is not so and it cannot be.'"

### Must Defend Democracy

Solomon vigorously championed democracy against attacks from the left as well as the right as a means of accomplishing broad social changes. "The greatest menace to democracy arises out of increasing concentration of ownership and control of the nation's economic resources, on the one hand, and growing insecurity for increasing numbers on the other. We must use our democratic opportunities to end this condition or it will end democracy. In countries where democratic institutions and political liberty prevail it is our opportunity and duty to utilize them to the full for even relatively peaceful social change. Attacks on democracy in countries like our own, whether from the left or the right, lend aid and comfort to the proponents of fascism and reaction generally."

Other speakers during the sessions, which will end on Sunday, include such important labor and Socialist spokesmen as Harry W. Laidler, Algernon Lee, Dr. I. M. Rubinow, David Dubinsky, Sidney Hillman, Dr. Abraham Epstein, John F. Frey, Francis J. Gorman, Edward F. McGrady, Mark Starr, B. C. Vladek, Louis H. Pink and Max Zaritsky. John T. Flynn is chairman of the committee of sponsors of the conference.

## R.P.C. Confirms Leader Story on United Front

Confirmation of The New Leader story on the united front on May Day in Cleveland comes from an unexpected source. The "Revolutionary Socialist Review," organ of the R.P.C. insurrectionists, runs a letter from a Cleveland R.P.C'er saying that when Stalinists appeared at the May Day conference they were "seated unchallenged." Later there was a tie vote in the party County Central Committee as to whether the party should remain in the May Day conference after the seating of the Communists and an R.P.C'er in the chair cast the deciding vote in favor of remaining.

It is also admitted that some organizations withdrew from the conference after the Communists came in, how many not being stated, but among those deserting it were the Workmen's Circle and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Since that article appeared virtually every statement made in it has been confirmed from sources other than those consulted in writing it.

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## Communist Disruption Mars Labor Victories in Antipodes

WITH the arrival of newspapers from New Zealand, we are able to give some details of the sweeping Labor victories in the municipal elections in that country mentioned in these columns June 15.

In Auckland, the labor candidate for mayor failed of election by 400 votes, while 15 of the 21 seats on the city council were captured.

Christchurch retained its Labor mayor and elected four Labor members to the city council.

Dunedin elected a Labor mayor, and six of the 12 members of the city council. Results in the smaller towns were similarly encouraging and indicate a Socialist sweep at the next general elections.

A note of discord was sounded in Wellington, the capital city, where the Communists captured enough votes to prevent the election of a Socialist mayor. Commenting on the Wellington elections, the New Zealand Worker says, "A most regrettable act of folly was the casting of more than 3,000 votes for the Communist candidates for the city council. No one could reasonably hold for a moment that those 3,000 odd votes repre-

sent people who are convinced that the only method of securing economic emancipation for the masses is by resorting to armed revolution. These dupes of the Communists were deluded into believing that by preventing Labor from securing a majority on the council, they would be bettering their condition. Their disillusionment is certain.

"In passing it should be recorded that the Communist candidates," instead of attacking the capitalist parties, "applied themselves to vilifying the labor movement and its representatives."

In the same general line we read in the Western Worker of remote Western Australia that "at the last federal elections, the Communist party declared through the capitalist newspapers that it hated the Australian Labor Party as much as it hated the United Australia Party [the principal capitalist party]. Communists, by voting for U.A.P. candidates in preference to Labor candidates, gave Victorian Senate seats to representatives of Australian capitalism." A leader of the Western Australian Labor Party quotes the above, and says, "My executive was surprised to receive a request for

cooperation" with the Communist party.

The Labor Call of Melbourne, N. S. W., commenting on the elections said: "One thing, and one thing only, is responsible for Labor in New South Wales being in a minority inside the Legislative Assembly and in a majority outside, and that is the existence of two Labor Parties in that State, which are bitterly opposed to each other—to say nothing of the existence of an alleged Communist Party, composed mainly of men and women who are tolerated officially by anti-Labor and encouraged privately because of the very valuable assistance they render to its candidates both before and during election campaigns at the expense of Labor."

It all sounds very familiar to American Socialists.

### Socialist Sweep in Australian States

The forces of Labor and Socialism won striking election victories in the elections in two Australian states last month, according to figures available with the receipt of papers from Melbourne, N.S.W., and Brisbane, Queensland.

Despite the fact that the Labor party is unfortunately divided in New South Wales, the State Labor party, the faction headed by J. E. Lang, former Socialist premier,

## BOSTON PLANNING JULY FOURTH PICNIC

By S. Syrjala  
Special to The New Leader

BOSTON.—Socialists in the metropolitan district are planning to attend the annual Fourth of July picnic arranged by the City Central Committee at the Grape Arbor, Walpole.

John D. Connors, a new member of the State Executive Committee and vice-president of the New Bedford Central Labor Union, will be the speaker. There will also be games and sports as well as bathing. In the evening there will be dancing.

Arrangements are being made to charter a bus. Call the State Office for reservations.

For those going by car: Follow Route 1A through Norwood and two miles beyond Norwood Center Bullard Ave. is on the right hand side; follow Bullard Ave. a few hundred feet until you come to Grape Arbor on the left hand side of the road.

The women of the Allston Finnish local are preparing to serve sandwiches, coffee and other refreshments.

topped the poll and led the second highest party by 124,000 votes. The State Labor party, with 497,651 votes, plus the Federal Labor party with 58,103, together polled almost exactly half the total of 1,145,451 in the state. In addition a small though annoying Communist party polled 18,617 votes.

Despatches to this country, however, did not mention the great success of the Labor parties but only the fact that the Socialists failed because of their division to gain control of the government. State Labor has 25 seats for its 497,000 votes, while the United Australia Party with 373,000 elected 36, and the United Country Party with 142,000 votes elected 23 members.

In Queensland, with labor united and proud of the magnificent administration of Premier W. Forgan Smith, Labor gained 13 seats and now has 46 to the 16 held by the united opposition.

### Brownsville Workers Start Drive to End Slums

A conference for civic improvements in Brownsville and East New York, composed of representatives of the most important labor, fraternal and Socialist groups of the community, has begun a campaign to clear the slums and build parks, playgrounds and homes for workers.

At the organization meeting at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn, over forty organizations were represented and over ninety more are expected to join. An Executive Board was elected consisting of Louis P. Goldberg, David Brody, Harry Lopatin, Samuel Kantor, Ben Schurman, Samuel Rothenberg, Isaac Karp, Samuel Spivack, Mrs. Sarah Rutes, Yeshojohn Finkelstein, Miss Rose A. Hoffman, Morris Sherman and Mrs. Richstein. The executive committee elected the following permanent officers: Louis P. Goldberg, chairman; David Brody, vice-chairman; Harry Lopatin, secretary; Rose Hoffman, assistant secretary; Samuel Kantor, treasurer.

The committee is taking a leading part in sponsoring the Child Labor Amendment, and is supporting a "Youth Bill" in the New York Legislature to provide adequate financial, educational and recreational facilities for youth.

In the past it has backed a number of regional youth conferences, has brought youth groups together, has launched a campaign for 1,000,000 signatures for its petition for the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, and has provided speakers for many youth groups.

Its future plans call for pamphlets, a research division on child labor, an educational department, a radio hour, and an educational campaign to reach voters. The petition, when it is completed, will be presented to the New York State Legislature by a delegation of one thousand.

Addressing organized labor in

## Ely on 'Work for All' In the People's Money

By Prof. Richard T. Ely, dean of American economists, is the title of one of the leading articles in the July number of the People's Money, an ably edited magazine devoted to the discussion of economic and social questions.

"Now is the time," says Dr. Ely, "to get into the U. S. Constitution the right to work, the right to earn a living by honest toil." Dr. Ely is co-author with Frank Bohn, of the recently published work, "The Great Change," a sweeping survey of world affairs. The latter's contribution to the July number of the People's Money is "NRA and the Great Change." "Labor unions," says Dr. Bohn, "are going to exert greater power as rapidly as its majorities develop collective character and intelligence to make constructive use of their power. The next three decades will witness changes as sweeping in economic government as the growth of political democracy over a period of three centuries."

Several widely known economists including Edwin W. Kemmerer of Princeton University and W. M. Kiplinger, business writer, contribute to a symposium on inflation. The People's Money is edited by Irving B. Altman, who has contributed several articles to The New Leader which were widely commented upon. The magazine is unusually attractive in appearance and is certain to appeal to serious students of economic and social topics.

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## Labor Backs N. Y. Youth Committee Against Child Labor Exploitation

A New York State Youth Committee Against Child Labor has been issued by leading men in some of the most powerful Socialist and labor organizations in New York State. The letter says that "Mere reliance on public opinion is not enough when the fight on child labor comes into conflict with the interests of big business, which fully understands that the toll of children at low wages can be used as a constant threat against the demands of labor."

The fight against child labor is the fight of organized labor, the letter says, "just as it is the fight of youth. You have years of organization behind you, and have resources to help youth demand the freeing of children from industry, can help them insist that children belong in schools, not factories."

Cooperating with the committee are many conservative, liberal, Socialist and quasi-Socialist organizations, including the Greater New York Federation of Churches, the National Student Council of the Y.M.C.A., the United Parents' Association, the Young Circle League of America, the Young People's Socialist League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy. The committee is taking a leading part in sponsoring the Child Labor Amendment, and is supporting a "Youth Bill" in the New York Legislature to provide adequate financial, educational and recreational facilities for youth.

In the past it has backed a number of regional youth conferences, has brought youth groups together, has launched a campaign for 1,000,000 signatures for its petition for the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, and has provided speakers for many youth groups.

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Addressing organized labor in

## 'Alabama' Pitts Got a Break

By Gertrude Weil Klein

ALABAMA PITTS, graduate of Sing Sing and sensational baseball player, is permitted to play with a professional team. This decision has been hailed as a great victory for humanitarianism and as a testimonial to the power of public opinion.

Certainly, in common with all enlightened people, we believe the man or woman, and especially the boy or girl, who has come into conflict with the law, is entitled to a chance. But we wonder and grieve that public opinion—roused to such a furor in this case—is usually so dormant as to seem dead in the face of greater injustices.

We are glad that Pitts is to be given the opportunity to do so well. He is a lucky young man, lucky that in our country the highest rewards go to those who can help us kill time quickly and pleasantly; and doubly lucky that he is a graduate of Sing Sing Prison rather than of City College.

If I seem a little sour when I really shouldn't be—I wish Mr. Pitts all the luck in the world—it is because I am oppressed by the horde of eager and gifted young men and women who are clamoring for the opportunity that has been given to Pitts, the opportunity to show what they can do, and who may never have that opportunity—unless, perhaps they break into jail and get out again. Many of them after a long period of fruitless search and cruel rebuffs will, with their self-esteem and hope eaten away, adapt themselves to a cheap and meager life at some piffling job where their talents will be a hindrance rather than a help.

There are so many things I'd like to see people get excited about. For instance the Canadian Parliamentary Commission that recently investigated the F. W. Woolworth Co. brought out that the company, while making profits of 20 per cent, had reduced the wages of its employees 10 per cent. Some of the full-time clerks earn as little as \$7. When the manager of the Woolworth Co. was asked what justification there could be for a reduction in wages when the company was making such a handsome profit, the answer was that the reduction was demanded by the New York office because a similar cut was being made in the United States.

This, coupled with the spectacular purchases of the Woolworth heiress, should at least make the clerks in the Woolworth stores a little mad. But I'm afraid they

connection with the Youth Committee, President William Green of the A. F. of L. said: "Make the approval of the Child Labor Amendment... your chief legislative objective. Drive emphatically and drive hard for the achievement of this purpose. If you will coordinate your forces, engage in teamwork, and make a united drive, you are bound to win."

were much more excited about Alabama Pitts. Their fathers and brothers surely were. They inhabit a funny dream world, awake or asleep, a world to which the Barbara Huttons and the Doris Dukes bear no relation that they can see.

Here and there, however, one occasionally hears a realistic note. At a conference under the auspices of the Board of Education, one of the speakers connected with the New York State Employment Service told the assemblage that the era in which the office boy advanced to vice-president was over. Today when the office boy gets too old he is fired and the vice-president takes his place. Employers call on the New York State Employment Service, this gentleman said, to provide college and high school graduates for the dumbest, stupidest jobs. Competition from college graduates is gradually easing the uneducated person out of jobs the college graduate would ordinarily have passed up.

Alas, my poor gifted, cultured young friends, it all looks rather hopeless. There's no guarantee that a term in jail will do the trick, either.

## Brookwood Labor College Reports Progress in Annual Conference at Katonah, N.Y.

An increasing interest in workers' education by American trade unions made the 1934-35 school year at Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y., one of the best in fourteen years, Tucker P. Smith, director, reported at the annual meeting of the Brookwood Corporation in Katonah last Sunday.

Announcement was made of the appointment of three new staff members—Roy Reuther to the extension department, Lawrence Rogin to teach journalism and edit the Brookwood Review, and Ethel Lurie as librarian.

Reuther, formerly supervisor of workers' education classes in Flint, Mich., replaces Mark Starr, who retired to become educational director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Rogin, former director of the Reading Labor College, will replace Helen Norton, who retires after teaching at Brookwood for 10 years.

James H. Maurer, former president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and one of the founders of the school, was re-elected president of the board of directors, and Fannia M. Cohn, secretary of the educational department of the I.L.G.W.U., vice-president. Other members of the board of directors are A. J. Kennedy, president of the Amalgamated Lithographers of America; John Brophy, of the United Mine Workers of America; Phil Ziegler, of the Railway Clerks' Union.

Plans were made for increased activity during the coming school year both at the college and in courses taught by Brookwood teachers in the field.

The school will celebrate its 15th anniversary with a concert and luncheon symposium in January, and by publishing a labor almanac. Students are now being recruited for the coming school year. Those desiring information can get it by writing to the college at Katonah, New York.

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"Love Me Forever," the new Columbia photoplay starring Grace Moore, the Metropolitan Opera star, is current at the Radio City Music Hall.

As in her successful motion picture, "One Night of Love," Miss Moore's famous voice is given ample opportunity in the new feature, and she sings operatic selections from "La Bohème," "Rigoletto," as well as "Il Bacio," "The Bells of St. Mary's," "Rings on My Fingers" and a new popular tune written by Victor Schertzinger—the director of the photoplay—and Gus Kahn.

Miss Moore's supporting cast includes Michael Bartlett, young lyric tenor of the New York stage; Leo Carillo, Robert Allen, Spring Byington, Luis Alberni, Douglas Dumbrille and Gavin Gordon.

On the Music Hall stage is a new Russell Markert revue entitled "The Magazine Rack—Second Edition." In this smart and sophisticated show is featured Edwina Eustis, contralto; Felicia Sorel and Demetrios Vilan, modern dancers; Ben Dova, Robert Weede, baritone; Michael and Mimi; the Corps de Ballet, high-kicking Rockettes, Glee Club and Symphony Orchestra.

Another addition to the holiday program is the latest Walt Disney Silly Symphony in color, "Who Killed Cock Robin?"

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Intermezzo from the opera "Cavalleria Rusticana"—Granados  
"Pavane pour une Infante Defunte"—Ravel  
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**Monday Evening, July 1, and Tuesday Evening, July 2, at 8:30**  
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Overture to "Euryanthe"  
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"Adventures of Harlequin"—Beethoven

Choreographic Comedy by Michel Fokine  
Intermission  
"Le Spectre de la Rose"—Weber  
Ballet by Michael Fokine  
Spectre de la Rose—Paul Haakon  
The Girl—Dorothy Hall

**Intermission**  
Overture to "Prince Igor"—Borodin  
Polovetzian Dances from "Prince Igor"—Borodin  
Choreography by Michel Fokine

**Wednesday Evening, July 3, at 8:30**  
José Iturbi, Conductor  
Overture to "Rosamunde"—Schubert  
Symphony in A major  
(Italian)—Mendelssohn

**Intermission**  
Two Nocturnes—Debussy  
"Nuages"—Fetene  
Overture to "Leonore" No. 3—Beethoven

**Thursday Evening, July 4, and Friday Evening, July 5, at 8:00**  
"F A U S T"  
(In French)

Opera by Charles Gounod  
Alexander Smallens, Conductor  
Corps de Ballet under the direction of Alex Yakovlev

### 'Werewolf of London' Thriller at Albee—'Ra-Mu' Added Film Attraction

"Werewolf of London," a story based on the fabled legend which has been handed down through the generations and is said to be still prevalent in Central Europe, is the current screen attraction at the RKO-Albee Theatre. Henry Hull, Warner Oland, Valerie Hobson, J. M. Kerrigan and Charlotte Granville are among the featured players in this odd and daring production.

Another thriller of a different nature is "Ra-Mu" on the same Albee program. It is presented by Captain E. A. Salisbury, the noted explorer, and reveals life among the primitive Andaman Pygmies, the Toba and Kiam Bataks of savage Sumatra and the barbaric inhabitants of the "lost" empire in Africa. In "Ra-Mu," which means King of the Sun, the strange customs and rites of people never previously photographed are brought before your eyes. For lighter entertainment, Ruth Etting sings and Paul Terry offers his newest cartoon, "King Looney XIV."

## MUSIC

Lawson Stadium, Amst. Av. & 135th St.

### STADIUM CONCERTS

PHILHARMONIC-SYMPHONY  
Symphonic Programs  
Wed., Sat. and Sun. Nights at 8:30  
Conducted by ITURBI

Opera Performances with Star Cast  
Thursday and Friday Nights at 8:00  
Conducted by SMALLENS

FOLKIE BALLET OF 42  
Monday and Tuesday Nights at 8:30  
FRIDAY, 29-30-31—AUGUST 1-5-10-15

Osgood Perkins and Margaret Perry



In a scene from "Ceiling Zero," the aviation thriller, which Brock Pemberton has moved from the Music Box to the Vanderbilt Theatre

### "Sanders of the River" With Paul Robeson at Rivoli

"Sanders of the River," starring Paul Robeson and Leslie Banks, is now on view on the Rivoli screen. This London film production was filmed almost entirely in the heart of the African Congo and is based on the popular Edgar Wallace tales of the British Commissioners who rule thousands of natives in the African colonies.

Robeson, the famous Negro star and singer, was last seen here in "Emperor Jones." He has many new songs in "Sanders of the River." Nina Mae McKinney, who will be remembered from "Hallelujah," is also prominent in the cast. Weird and fascinating native rites and dances are shown during the course of the picture which at times shows thousands of blacks in the Congo scenes. Zoltan Korda directed from a script by Lajos Biro and Jeffrey Dell. It is a United Artists release.

### Henry Armetta, Famous Screen Comic in Person at Roxy—Sally Eilers on Screen

Henry Armetta, the celebrated screen comedian who was recently featured in "After Office Hours" and "Imitation of Life," will make his first personal appearance on any New York stage today when he will appear in person as the headliner of the new variety revue which opens at the Roxy Theatre. Mr. Armetta has appeared in more than two hundred films since he started his motion picture career twelve years ago.

In addition to Mr. Armetta, the new revue will include a number of well-known variety performers. The feature film starting Friday is "Alias Mary Dow," starring Sally Eilers.

### Edmund Lowe in "Black Sheep" on Fox Brooklyn Screen—Fowler-Tamara on Stage

"Black Sheep," the Fox film written and directed by Allan Owan and featuring Edmund Lowe and Claire Trevor, is the current film attraction at Fabian's Fox Brooklyn Theatre this week.

The dance team of Fowler and Tamara has been held over for a second week on the stage of the Fox. Al Gordon's Racketeers present "Going to the Dogs," a comedy act. The Three Dodge Brothers and Ben Nelson's orchestra offering new numbers make up the stage show.

### Capitol Holds Over "No More Ladies"—Stage Show

"No More Ladies" starring Joan Crawford and Robert Montgomery—having met with audience approval and box-office success, will be held over for a second week at the Capitol Theatre. Franchot Tone, Charlie Ruggles and Edna May Oliver give splendid support to Miss Crawford and Mr. Montgomery in this sophisticated comedy.

Laurel and Hardy's hilarious comedy, "Fixer Uppers," also continues for an additional week, as does Billy Rose's "Small-Time Cavalcade," which is the principal stage attraction.

### "America's Town Meeting"

The fifth in the series of free public forums known as "America's Town Meeting" took place last Thursday evening, June 27, at Town Hall under the auspices of the League for Political Education when the Hon. Ogden Mills, former Secretary of the Treasury, and Senator Alben W. Barkley discussed "Which Road to Recovery?"

**GOOD BAL-CONY SEATS**  
50¢ \$1.00  
\$1.50 \$2.00

**3 MEN ON A HORSE**  
A Knockout  
Sobel-Mirror

PLAYHOUSE 48th St. E. Ave. 8:45. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:45

**HELD OVER**  
M-G-M's Merriest Hit!

**2nd HONEYMOON WEEK**

**JOAN CRAWFORD**  
**ROBERT MONTGOMERY**

**NO MORE LADIES**  
FRANCHOT TONE CHAS. RUGGLES

ON STAGE—BILLY ROSE'S "Small-Time CAVALCADE" by Ben Hecht as presented for one year at Manhattan Music Hall

**CAPITOL**  
BROADWAY AT 51st STREET  
Major Edward Bowes... Managing Director

**Sally EILERS**  
in  
**"ALIAS MARY DOW"**  
A Universal Film with RAY MILLAND - STAR CAST

★ PLUS STAGE SHOW ★  
Laugh Star of 100 Film Hits  
**HENRY ARMETTA**  
—IN PERSON—  
Heading a Big Revue with MANY OTHER STAR ACTS

**ROXY** ANY DAY!  
25c to 2 P. M.  
35c to 7 P. M.  
1th Ave. & 50th St. ANY SEAT!  
SHOW VALUE OF THE NATION

**Shirley Temple**  
in  
**"Our Little Girl"**

Rosemary AMES - Joel McCREA

ON THE STAGE  
GEORGE BEA - ROY SNECK  
DOROTHY CROOKER & CO.  
CAPTAIN WILLIE MAUSS  
and other RKO Acts

**PALACE** B'way & 47th St.

### At Broadway Trans-Lux

In addition to a half hour of the latest newsreel news of the world, the Trans-Lux Theatre at Broadway and 49th St. is playing an unusual science subject, "Detectives at Work," which uses a special lapse time camera and microscope to reveal the physical and emotional life of plants, one of the Dumb-Bell Letters laugh series; the Mickey Mouse cartoon, "Mickey's Service Station," and "Hold That Shark," a "World of Sport" subject which contains an actual hand-to-hand fight between a man-eating shark and a man.

### Morris Gest's Biography to Be Done by Oliver M. Saylor and Marjorie Barkentin

Marjorie Barkentin will collaborate with Oliver M. Saylor, well-known author of books on the Russian and other modern theatres, in doing a biography of Morris Gest, according to an announcement by Mr. Gest. In authorizing this biography, which is as yet untitled, Mr. Gest is turning over to the authors all his vast collection of photographs, letters and other records, covering all phases of his own vivid and varied career as well as of the world's leading stages within the period involved. Intimate reminiscences and documents never before published will throw new light on scores of world personalities in the fields of art, society and even statesmanship, for Mr. Gest promises "to tell all"—not only about his friends and associates, but about himself.

In selecting Oliver M. Saylor and his associate, Marjorie Barkentin, to do his biography, since Mr. Saylor was closely associated with him during Mr. Gest's epoch-making engagements of the Moscow Art Theatre, the Moscow Art Theatre Musical Studio, Balieff's Chauve-Souris and the farewell tour of Eleonora Duse, as well as through the five years of "The

### On Strand Screen



Dolores Del Rio's newest starring vehicle "In Caliente" is a welcome addition to Broadway's new films and should give Strand patrons a film view of the colorful and much publicized Mexican resort

Miracle." It was during this time that he wrote "The Russian Theatre," "Inside the Moscow Art Theatre," and "Our American Theatre," and edited "Max Reinhardt and His Theatre" and the librettos of the Russian companies.

Important documents, letters or anecdotes related to the subject will be greatly appreciated by the authors, whose address is 11 West 42nd Street, New York, and, after being copied, they will be returned.

**EDGAR WALLACE'S Thriller**

**SANDER'S OF THE RIVER**

with  
**PAUL ROBESON**  
**LESLIE BANKS**  
NINA MAE MCKINNEY  
and a cast of thousands

Presented by  
**ALEXANDER KORDA**  
Released thru United Artists  
WALT DISNEY'S SILLY SYMPHONY  
"WHO KILLED COCK ROBIN?"

25¢ to 2 p.m. **RIVOLI** B'way at 45th

**The RADIO CITY MUSIC HALL**  
presents with pride

**The New GRACE MOORE**  
picture

**"LOVE ME FOREVER"**  
A Columbia Picture

First Mezzanine Seats are now being reserved—in person, by mail, or by phoning Columbus 5-6535

**GO HAY-WIRE WITH HEY-HEY**

**IN Caliente**

with PAT O'BRIEN, DOLORES DEL RIO, GLENDA FARRELL, Edward Everett HORTON, LEO CARRILLO—100'S OF OTHERS

Warner Bros. Tropical Romance! **STRAND** B'way & 47th St. 25¢ to 1 p.m.

**Fabian's** **Edmund LOWE - Claire TREVOR**  
in a Fox Picture Tintling with Action  
**"BLACK SHEEP"**  
with Tom Brown, Eugene Pallette, On Stage Adrienne Ames

**FOX** **FOWLER & TAMARA** 25¢  
FLATBUSH AT NEVINS  
3 Dodge Bros.—Frankie Hyers—Others

**ALL THIS WEEK**  
**"WEREWOLF OF LONDON"**  
with  
**HENRY HULL**  
**WARNER OLAND**

EXTRA FILM ATTRACTION  
**"RA-MU"**  
Reveals life among inhabitants in "lost" empire of Africa

**ALBEE** Albee Square BROOKLYN

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**ALBEE** Albee Square BROOKLYN

## A 'LEADER' SNOBOCRACY PROPOSED FOR PARTY MEMBERS IN JERSEY!

WHEN the membership of the Socialist Party in a state declines over 60 per cent, divide the remaining members into a caste system of a group of "leaders" and a group of members who pay dues! That is the way in which the problem is to be met in New Jersey.

Such a plan has actually been sent to the party members in that state by the "militant" State Committee. The "leaders" are to be ranged in an "active" class and the rest into a "membership" class. These members are to pay dues and assessments, vote the Socialist ticket, vote on party matters and attend public meetings.

The "active" group of "leaders" are to be selected by a travelling organizer who will issue "identification" cards to the "leaders" and register members according to the caste to which they are assigned. The organizer is given exclusive powers to disqualify "members" regardless of their rank and call for the substitution of any officers whom he decides are not qualified to serve as an "active."

Then a boy scout program of doing one or more good deeds for the party is outlined for the "actives." This is outlined under ten heads. As the organizer is the supreme Pooh-Bah who selects the "actives" for branch officials, who also has the power to remove such officials, the general membership is reduced to ciphers. It is not for them to say; it is their duty to obey—His Highness, the organizer!

It is easy to trace this idea of an official snobocracy in the party. It stems back to the Communist Party and extends through the R. P. C. and into the New York Yipsels who recently adopted a similar program. The latest number of the "Revolutionary Socialist Review," organ of the R. P. C., carries a leading editorial on this theme, although it does not work out the idea in the detail presented in the New Jersey program. It was first taken up by the Stalinites in this country about 1924 in what was called "bolshization" of the party. They did such a thorough job of it with so much detail that many of the boys complained of difficulty in finding the place in the hierarchy assigned them by the "leaders."

This is further evidence of a party going haywire in the hands of utopians. All that is required to complete this program is to order the common herd to remove their hats and salute His Highness, the organizer, when he turns up to tell the members just where they belong.

### Street Meetings

**MANHATTAN**  
Wednesday—MacDougal and 8th Streets.  
Friday—Vandewater, Koppel, Gillen, Walsh, Cohn.  
Friday—Washington Sq. and Sullivan St.  
Friday—24th Street and 8th Avenue.  
Speakers same as above.

**BROOKLYN**  
Friday—Utica and Eastern Parkway.  
Friday—Hindale St. and Sutter Ave.

**Brighton Branch Dinnerette**  
The Brighton Branch announces a dinnerette and concert Saturday evening, June 29, at its headquarters, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

In addition to a musical program August Claessens will speak, as will Morris Waldman, just named as candidate for Assembly.

### Camp Eden Opens For Year June 30

Registration is now open for Camp Eden of the Jewish Socialist Verband. The Camp is ideally located at Cold Springs, New York, amidst the natural beauty of the Hudson River, and is one of the most beautiful vacation spots in the East.

Improvements of all kinds have been made this year for the benefit of the children and adults. New tennis courts, separate spacious and airy dining rooms for the children and adults, a well-planned library, an additional sleeping quarters have been provided. The children's colony this year will be directed by Comrade Raymond Gebiner with the assistance of a competent staff, all active Socialist Party workers, who will avail themselves of the most progressive methods in modern education and at the same time present the workers' point of view. A doctor, a registered nurse, and a camp mother will safeguard the health of the children.

Camp Eden is operated on a non-profit basis and the prices are very low. The Camp opening will take place June 30. Further information will be at 175 E. Broadway, N. Y. C., Room 303. Tel.: DRYdock 4-4972.

**Fine Programs at Unity**  
Outstanding artists from the fields of the drama, music and theatre are on coming programs of Unity House of Forest Park, Pa. Distinguished attractions will include the presentation of "Awake and Sing" by the Group Theatre, the Theatre Union, the Chicago Opera Company, and the eminent violinist Toscha Seidel.

## PARTY NOTES

### Missouri

Ray Burt will be the principal speaker at the St. Louis County Socialist picnic, July 4, at Farmers' Grove, Olive St. Road, one block west of Ballas Road. Speaking starts at 2 p.m. and will follow a morning of games, refreshments, concessions and entertainment. At 4 p.m. Fred Meyers' union orchestra will play for dancing until midnight. There will be tables for family parties. Tickets bought in advance from Hadley White, 34 N. Gore, Webster Groves, or from other party members, will be good for bus transportation to the grove from the end of the Delmar car line and for admission to the park. There will be attendance prizes.

### New York State

Up-State Picnic.—Local Elmira is planning a picnic next month. Local Glens Falls has taken the initiative in arrangements for a Capital District picnic and such an affair has already received the endorsement of Local Schenectady. The 34th Congressional District picnic, which Pierre DeNo is promoting, will probably be held in Delaware County early in August.

Speakers.—The State Secretary announces that Herman Robbe, William E. Duffy and other speakers will be available for summer picnics and outdoor and indoor meetings, and that tours will be arranged for them if there is sufficient response from locals.

Buffalo.—Local Buffalo will open the campaign with a picnic July 4th at Genesee Park, 2200 Genesee Street. The speakers will include Robert A. Hoffman, candidate for president of the city council, and Ernest D. Baumann, organizer of Local Erie County.

### New York City

**UNITED SOCIALIST DRIVE**  
We are again urging branches to hurry up their collections on the Drive. We cannot emphasize too strongly the urgent need for funds. The summer campaign brings full the need for money to tide us over to the beginning of the campaign is very pressing. It is amazing how few branches are planning to make a drive. Next week we hope to list the branches and the sums they have collected.

### Nominations

Are your nominations in? Only a very short time remains. We must prepare petitions and are urging all branches to rush in the names of their candidates for office.

### Picnic

A number of branches have not sent in their orders for tickets. We offer 125 tickets for \$7.50 to Socialist branches. Here is an opportunity to make some money. Secure your allotment now. The members may carry tickets with them. This year's picnic will be a grand affair!

### BRONX

Lower 6th A.D. Bronx.—Branch meeting, July 2 at 1638 E. 172nd St. Amalgamated Union—Monday evening, July 1, 8:30 p.m., branch meeting in Assembly Hall, report on the recent Eastern District Conference held Sunday, June 22. Julius Gerber will report.

### KINGS

At a recent meeting in the 16th A.D., Julia Primoff was nominated for Assembly and Alexander Kahn for Alderman. The members are planning to begin the campaign at the earliest moment.

### QUEENS

At a joint meeting of five branches at 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., the following were nominated: Morris Waldman for Assembly and William M. Feigenbaum for Alderman.

### Ridgewood

Socialist strawberry festival, Saturday, 8 p.m., June 29, at 1672 Stephen St., Ridgewood, 50 cents per person. BMF 14th St. Line to Haverhill Station, from Sunnyside: Take Ridgewood bus to Stephen St.

**Features of the Week on (1300 Kc.) WEVD (211 M)**

Sun.—11 a.m., Forward Hour, music and stories; 12 noon, "Child of His People," songs; 12:45 p.m., Jewish Art Quartet, folk songs; 8, Edith Friedman, pianist; 8:15, Don Carlos; 8:30, Chicago Opera Company.

Mon.—8 a.m., "Starting the Day Right," Jacob S. List; 3:30 p.m., String Ensemble.

Tues.—8 p.m., Slavavsky String Quartet; 8:15, Frank Bohn, news commentator; 8:30, Cec Burrows, baritone; 10, New Leader News Review; 10:15, Cecile Heller Miller, soprano.

Wed.—8 p.m., Travel Tru; 8:30, Premier Instrumental Trio; 8:45, Bishop Francis J. McConnell on "Vice and Crime"; 10:15, "National Labor Scene," University of the Air.

Thurs.—8 p.m., Panel Discussion; 8:30, Eugene Byron Morgan, baritone; Charlotte Tomahay, violinist; 10:15, News paper Guild on the Air; 10:30, Ruth Robinson, soprano.

Fri.—8 p.m., WEVD String Ensemble; 8:15, Frank Bohn, news commentator; 8:30, Leonard Liebling, music critic, guest, "Talent Detective"; 10, Max Wechsler, violin; 10:15, "Current Scene in Washington"; 10:30, Medical Hour.

Sat.—10 a.m., Voice of Local News; 10, Italian Variety show; 6 p.m., "Jewish Events of the Week"; 6:30, "Annie and Benny"; 8, Metropolitan String Ensemble; 8:30, Don Avlon's Orchestra; 10, Chicago Opera Company.

## Y.C.L.A. INSTITUTE BEGINS

After finishing its first week as part of the Hand School Institute, the Young Circle League continues its Organizers' Training School from July 1 to July 6. The second week, devoted to the official Y.C.L.A. Institute, will include courses leading to the development of efficient organizers. Many prominent speakers of the Workers' Circle are included among the discussion leaders.

The complete agenda for the Institute will be supplied to members applying to the Y.C.L.A. office, 15 Union Square, New York City.

**EASTERN ENCAMPMENT, JULY 20-21**  
The annual Eastern Encampment of the Young Circle League will be held at the W.C. Camp at Pawling, N. Y., July 20-21. Over 300 Young Circle League members are expected and they will travel to camp by bus, boat and hitchhiking.

The New York contingent has arranged transportation for its members by truck, and it is expected that six trucks will be chartered. Arrangements will be made to continue present athletic competition between New York clubs at the Camp, as well as special educational features.

In line with the present sentiment among the Workers' Circle for a very successful conference of Brooklyn W.C. branches was held at 1140 Eastern Parkway with 10 branches represented. The conference decided to carry on concentrated work among W.C. branches to get them to initiate Youth branches. Also a sub-committee was elected to devise plans for inaugurating district organizational work as well as the development of cultural centers in various parts of Brooklyn.

Feldman of Br. 461 was chairman; Bruckin, Br. 11, secretary.



# Socialists Demand Constitution for Needs of Today

Organic Act of 1787 Must Be Amended to Permit Social and Labor Legislation, and Sozialisation of Industries,—Vigorous and Constructive Program Adopted by Eastern States Conference for Action by Entire Socialist Party Organization.

This is the full text of the document adopted last Sunday by the Eastern States Conference of the Socialist Party. The states and federations there represented have agreed upon the National Executive Committee to back up the program here outlined with a national drive of the entire party organization.

**THE** decision of the Supreme Court in invalidating the National Industrial Recovery Act, and by implication nullifying any effort that may be made to deal adequately in the future with the economic and social problems which beset our people, has brought the American people face to face with the most momentous issue which has arisen since the Civil War.

Then, as now, the question which confronted the American people was whether new forces brought into being by industrial progress were to be thwarted and held in check by legal conceptions which had become obsolete. Then, as now, the Constitution of the United States was the instrument upon which the ruling power relied to justify a system of slavery which time and progress had outlawed. Then, as now, the Supreme Court was the last resort and bulwark of those who thought that the future would surrender to the past.

The decisions of the Supreme Court have so far given aid and

comfort to the ruling class, which has learned nothing and forgotten nothing from history, and to those extremists on the other hand who hold that no progress is possible except through an ordeal of blood and fire, for which they are agitating.

The state organizations of the Socialist Party of New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and sections of New Jersey and Michigan, and the Finnish and Jewish Federations, represented at this Eastern Interstate Conference believe that by prompt, effective, and drastic action, taken in accordance with the means that are already at our disposal under the Constitution, measures may be adopted that will make it possible to overcome the obstacles which the Supreme Court has created in the decision which it has just rendered.

**Constitutional Reform**

We are convinced that no legislation which will be either adequate to cope with the problems which face us or which will assure our people an opportunity to re-acquire the wealth of which they have been deprived through years of special privilege conferred upon the favored classes of our nation can be enacted and made constitutional under the present Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court. We recommend, and shall work for the adoption of a constitutional

amendment, which shall provide as follows:

Section 1. Congress shall have the power to regulate, limit, and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age, to regulate hours and conditions of labor and to establish minimum wages in any employment, to regulate production, industry, business, trade and commerce, to provide for the relief of aged, invalid, sick and unemployed persons, in the form of periodical grants, pensions, benefits, compensation or indemnities from the public treasury, through contributions by employers, wage earners, or from one or more such sources, and generally for the economic and social welfare of the people of the United States.

Section 2. Congress shall have the further power to establish laws for the ownership, operation and management through agencies and instrumentalities of the United States, of business, manufacture, industry, commerce and banking and shall have the power to raise monies through taxation for the acquiring and carrying on of such enterprises.

Section 3. Nothing contained in the Fifth and Fourteenth Articles of Amendment to this Constitution shall be construed to impose any limitations upon the legislative power of Congress or of the several states with respect to any of the subjects referred to in this article.

Section 4. Nothing in this article shall be construed to impair the power of the several states

with respect to any of the subjects referred to in this article, except to the extent that the exercise of such power by a state is in conflict with legislation enacted by Congress pursuant to this article.

**Policies Made Possible**

This amendment would give the national government the power it now lacks, under the construction which the courts have placed upon the Constitution, to cope with the economic and social problems of our time in six essential fields of activity:

1. It confers power to regulate production, industry, trade and commerce.

2. It confers power to regulate, limit or prohibit child labor.

3. It confers power to regulate hours and conditions of labor and to establish minimum wages throughout the country.

4. It grants power to establish a Federal system of social insurance and other social welfare legislation.

5. It grants power to the government through its own agencies and instrumentalities to own, manage business, manufacture, industry, commerce and banking.

6. It empowers Congress to enact adequate laws to enforce the principle of collective bargaining.

The adoption of this constitutional amendment leaves the American people free to decide which of any of these policies they wish to adopt. Rather than by seeking ways and means, as Congress now frequently does, to circumvent the Constitution in order to do the things that cannot be dispensed with, the amendment would clearly and unequivocally establish the right of the people, through their chosen representatives, to take such measures as they desire to determine their own destiny, instead of having that destiny determined by the nine men constituting the Supreme Court of the United States.

We believe that the adoption of such an amendment will appeal to the sound judgment of the American people, some of whom may not be convinced as yet of the soundness of the policies that are made possible of enactment by the amendment, but who nevertheless are in favor of enabling such measures to be taken if and when approved by the people.

To further the adoption of this amendment we call upon the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party to launch a nationwide campaign to enlist popular support for the amendment, to interest labor and other friendly organizations, to call conferences whenever and wherever necessary, to publish and distribute literature explaining the amendment and assigning the reasons for its adoption, and to call interstate conferences of Socialists in other states to take the initiative in urging the approval of the amendment within those states.

**Uniform State Laws**

The decision of the Supreme Court invalidating Federal legislation dealing with hours, wages, and conditions of employment does not relieve any of the States from assuming and discharging the obligations which the court has held are beyond the jurisdiction of the Federal Government.

Forty of the forty-eight states are under the control, in whole or in part, of the Democratic Party. If the professions of the Democratic Party nationally that it regards such legislation essential for the improvements of the conditions of the people are true it can proceed, in at least those states, to adopt measures and enact laws that will, until such time as a constitutional amendment can be obtained, retain the benefits of the more desirable features of the National Industrial Recovery Act, of which the establishment of minimum wages, maximum hours of employment, collective bargaining and the elimination of child labor are the most important.

We consider that obligation on the part of the state and administrative of the states represented at this conference particularly binding. These states are among

the most important of the industrial states of the Union. By reason of their close geographical connection they constitute for many purposes an economic unit. Employers seeking to escape the advanced standard that any one of them may establish in the interest of labor generally seek refuge in one of the others, because they are nearest in point of distance. The fact of such refuge has been used, very often unjustly, to stifle and destroy measures which labor seeks to obtain in any one of them.

**Measures Urged**

Among the measures upon which the administrations of these states may now agree to adopt in order to equalize conditions in these states we recommend:

1. A uniform anti-injunction law, based on the principles contained in the Norris-LaGuardia Federal Anti-Injunction Law.
2. A uniform unemployment insurance law, with provisions that are more adequate than those contained in the law adopted in the State of New York.
3. Minimum wage legislation.
4. A maximum 30-hour work-week law, along the lines of the Black-Canery bill now before Congress, but which is limited to interstate commerce.
5. Elimination of child labor.
6. A law guaranteeing collective bargaining with provision for adequate enforcement.

To accomplish these objects, we

call upon the Governors of the respective states to call special sessions of their respective state legislatures for the express and specific purpose of enacting these measures.

As a further step to bring about without undue delay the adoption of this program in these states we appeal to the governors of the respective states to hold a conference at the earliest possible date to consider ways and means of bringing about the enactment of uniform measures herein proposed.

We recognize that to be completely effective the enactment of such uniform measures should be extended to the other States.

We therefore urge the Na-

tional Executive Committee of the Socialist Party that it undertake to launch the drive for the Federal amendment, that it take steps to introduce model acts in the legislatures of other states, and to organize the Socialist and Labor forces in those states for an energetic campaign to secure the passage of these measures.

At no time in the history of our nation has the need for such action been greater; at no time in the history of our movement have we had a better opportunity to perform a constructive service to the millions of victims of the present industrial system.

## It's Not in the Blood

By Raymond S. Hofes

ONLY a dupe who is gullible enough still to think that the World War was fought for dear old democracy or that Santa Claus comes down chimneys will place any hope in the voluntary co-operation of business.

It's not in the blood of the boot-lickers to miss a chance to take advantage. Why, even during the long dark night when the Supreme Court was asleep and Franklin D. Roosevelt was chiseling away at the Constitution, even then the codes were being violated in letter and in spirit.

Despite the warning that the

Blue Eagle would be removed from the front window, despite the danger of fines and boycott, home sweet home was little more than a sweatshop for many American families.

The legal NRA was SUPPOSED to regulate home work and prevent child labor—and failed. How can a skeleton of the thing succeed?

No, don't take my word for it. I refer you to the U. S. Women's Bureau, which made a study of industrial home work in Rhode Island. The Bureau finds that in 43 out of 179 homes, homework was the only source of income and 13 families were found to be earning less than \$5 per week from all sources.

## Eastern States Conference Points Way to Party Harmony

Five-Point Program Offered National Organization for End of Fratricidal Strife in the Socialist Party — End of Factionalism Demanded

**THIS** eastern conference of seven states and two language federations of the Socialist Party, representing a big section of the party membership, has met to consider the grave party crisis that has become acute since the Detroit convention one year ago. We note with regret that the morale of the party has materially declined, that the membership has continued to decline since the Detroit convention, and that the party vote has suffered a heavy decrease in a number of important states.

It is obvious that if the forces of disintegration continue another year there is little hope of the party waging an effective campaign in the national election next year.

Until the national convention in Detroit the party was slowly recovering from the long struggle with the Communists and the adverse conditions of the post-war period. The party vote and the party membership were increasing. Since the Detroit convention the reverse has been true.

The loss in party membership is heaviest in New Jersey where it is 61 per cent. In other leading states the loss is as follows: California, 49 per cent; Ohio, 32 per cent; Illinois, 26 per cent; Michigan, 24 per cent; New York, 22 per cent; Pennsylvania, 20 per cent; Connecticut, 17 per cent, and Massachusetts, 10 per cent. The decline of the party vote in some of these states is at least one-half and in others more than one-half. In a year of unparalleled opportunities for building the party and for constructive activities the organization has been permitted to remain stagnant, decline and disintegrate.

### Prospects Not Realized

Not only are the membership and the Socialist vote affected; the national drive for party funds has almost collapsed. The failure to respond to this drive affects practically all of the larger states irrespective of their views on party controversies. Party funds have been diverted to factional strife. The party members have lost interest in financing organization. They are uncertain of the future course of the party because of plans adopted since the national convention a year ago.

In spite of this period of unparalleled opportunities, the glowing forecasts of party progress made at Detroit have not been realized. The contrast between promises and results is all the more glaring when it is recognized that the labor movement is almost daily taking more advanced ground and its fighting spirit continues to rise. The Socialist Party, as a party of the masses, should also be advancing, instead of retreating. Instead of the party advancing with the labor movement it exhibits stagnation.

Since the Detroit convention the conflict between members of the Socialist Party believing in Social Democracy and those believing in

Communist methods and principles has become intensified. Under the policies adopted by the N.E.C. state and local organizations have been permitted to enter into a united front with the Communist Party and members of the Communist splinter groups were invited and admitted into the party.

There has even developed a group within the party advocating armed insurrection.

**N.E.C. Policies**

The distinction between Socialism and Bolshevism has become so vague in some sections of the party that it has been assumed by many that Communist principles are consistent with membership in the party.

The N.E.C. has also endeavored to assume jurisdiction over local, branches and even members in organized states in violation of the party constitution; no N.E.C. in the history of the party has assumed such power.

The results of the conflict over basic principles and methods and the violation of state autonomy by the N.E.C. have been the creation of dual factions within the various states. In the long period when former national executives respected the powers of the states, the state organizations developed harmoniously and the cohesion between the states and the national organization was productive of solidarity. Fearing executive usurpation, the states today lose more and more confidence in the N.E.C. These trends mean ultimate disintegration of the party unless they be checked.

This policy of interference in the states has wrecked the state organization of Indiana and produced two rival organizations there. It has gone so far in New York that members of the N.E.C. themselves have given aid and encouragement to a dual party organization in New York City, a factional organization which maintains its own headquarters, issues its own paper, holds its own meetings and tries to deal directly with the party membership.

### N.E.C. Gave No Relief

Party members from seven or eight states appeared before the N.E.C. at its Boston session last December and submitted a number of recommendations intended to stabilize the party, but the N.E.C. gave the party no relief. These party members urged that every factional organization be dissolved. Instead of sending this recommendation to each state organization the N.E.C. did nothing. It is evident that unless we create harmony within the Socialist Party it will not survive the present process of disintegration. This eastern Socialist Party conference, therefore, demands that the following measures be adopted by the N.E.C. as essential steps to the recovery of the morale of the party.

1. The National Executive Committee shall announce in unequivocal language that it will neither consider nor discuss any proposals that may come from Communists for a united front for any purpose, nor will it consider embarking upon any negotiations for such a united front. It will

also advise state organizations so to instruct their locals.

2. Unless members or former members of the Communist Party, or of any Communist group, expressly and unequivocally disavow Communist principles and beliefs, and all that Communism represents, give evidence that their applications are made in good faith, and state that they have abandoned their belief in Communism, they are to be denied admission into the Socialist Party. All state organizations are to be advised to abide by this rule, and so to advise their locals.

3. That members of the party who were formerly members of the Communist Party, or of any Communist group, who have not expressly and unequivocally disavowed Communist principles and beliefs, be required to do so. If refusing to do so such members shall be excluded from the Socialist Party. All state organizations are to be advised to abide by this rule, and so to advise their locals.

3. That the National Executive Committee call upon all state organizations to take steps immediately to dissolve all factional organizations in their territory, and members of the National Executive Committee who are identified with such factions shall cease to give aid to or cooperate with them and assume aggressive leadership in dissolving the groups with which they are affiliated or identified.

5. That the National Executive Committee arrange to hold a conference with representatives of important state organizations to agree on a Declaration of Principles to be submitted to the party membership for a referendum vote.

We submit that these five measures will do much toward checking the disintegrating influences now at work in the Socialist Party.

These five measures must be supplemented with a cessation of the interference by the N.E.C. in organized states.

The future of the party lies not with alliances with Communist elements but in developing closer ties with the labor movement.

## To Promote the Cause of Civilization



"We shall give to Ethiopia herself an opportunity to participate in modern civilization."—Mussolini.

## PROPERTY By Kirby Page

Plenty for All Cannot Be Attained While Our Present System Lasts—About Human Exploitation.



**THE** evidence is cumulatively convincing that plenty for everybody will not be available so long as the present property system is retained. By maldistribution of purchasing power and by inefficiency in correlation, the competitive profit system is inherently unable to provide an adequate physical basis for the good life.

Depression has followed boom throughout our history. Extreme instability is a marked characteristic of capitalism. From 1854 to 1930 there were 13 periods of serious depression. In the 36 years from 1890 to 1925 there were 15 years of prosperity, 10 years of depression, and 11 years of decline and recovery. Through excess eagerness to defend the profit system, its upholders maintain that we are certain to pull through the present depression because we have extricated ourselves from many previous bogholes. But what a commentary on the boasted efficiency of capitalism to exult over the fact that it is stuck in the mud only one-third of the time!

Even at the peak of prosperity, however, an appalling large proportion of the American people were unable to earn enough to provide a decent standard of living. In 1929 only four adults out of a hundred in the United States paid any income tax whatever, in spite of the fact that inhabitants of this country were compelled by law to file an income tax return if, as a single person, an income of \$1,500 were received, or \$3,500 as head of a family. The number of returns filed was 4,044,327, and due to various exemptions only 2,458,049 paid an income tax. In that year nearly 93 per cent of the total Federal receipts from income tax came from less than 3 per cent of income tax payers, that is from the 102,578 persons who reported incomes as high as \$25,000 for the year. In that period the proportion of the tax paid by persons with incomes under \$5,000 was less than one-half of one per cent.

### Workers' Income

In 1929 at the moment when the American people had reached the highest level of living in their history, about 12 million families or more than 42 per cent of the total in the nation, had incomes of less than \$1,500 from all sources. This tragic fact is taken from a highly authoritative volume published by the Brookings Institute in Washington, entitled America's Capacity to Consume. Here is the way in which the evidence is summarized by the compilers, Messrs. Maurice Leven, Harold G. Moulton and Clark Warburton.

- "Nearly 6 million families, or more than 21 per cent of the total, had incomes less than \$1,000.
- "About 12 million families, or more than 42 per cent, had incomes of less than \$1,500.
- "Nearly 20 million families, or 71 per cent, had incomes less than \$2,500.
- "Only a little over 2 million families, or 8 per cent, had incomes in excess of \$5,000.
- "About 600,000 families, or 2.3 per cent, had incomes in excess of \$10,000.

"The aggregate incomes of the 6 million families at the bottom of the scale, even when the negative incomes shown by some families are eliminated, amounted to 3.5 billion dollars. In other words, about 21 per cent of the families received only 4.5 per cent of the income. The 11,653,000 families with incomes of less than \$1,500 received a total of about 10 billion dollars. At the other extreme, the 36,000 families having incomes in excess of \$75,000 possessed an aggregate income of 9.8 billion dollars. Thus it appears that 0.1 per

Group	Income Range		Number		Percentage of Total Population
	Families	Unattached Individuals	Families	Unattached Individuals	
Wealthy	\$25,000 and over	\$15,000 and over	160,000	66,000	0.6
Well-to-do	10,000 to 25,000	5,000 to 15,000	471,000	241,000	1.8
Comfortable	5,000 to 10,000	2,500 to 5,000	1,625,000	632,000	5.9
Moderate circumstances	3,000 to 5,000	1,500 to 2,500	3,672,000	1,900,000	13.7
Minimum Comfort	1,500 to 3,000	750 to 1,500	9,893,000	3,649,000	35.7
Subsistence and Poverty	Under 1,500	Under 750	11,653,000	2,500,000	40.6

**Income Groups**

Let the fact be shouted from the housetops that in the day of greatest prosperity 40 Americans out of every 100 lived on the subsistence-and-poverty level!

The National Industrial Conference Board has estimated that in August, 1934, in 25 manufacturing industries average hourly earnings were just under 59 cents and that a average weekly earnings were \$19.59. This means that if a worker were employed at these rates without interruption his annual income would be \$1,018.68. The significance of this figure will be better understood when the fact is recalled that few workers are able to find continuous employment. Moreover, this is the average wage, which means that a large proportion of workers fall short of this amount even when they are lucky enough to secure regular employment.

But even this miserable income is now denied to a vast proportion of the American people. The number of unemployed at the present time is variously estimated at from 12,000,000 to 15,000,000 persons. At least as many more workers are employed only part time or at tragically low wages. The appalling evidence is summarized by E. Wight Bakke in a recent issue of the Yale Review under the title, "Fifth Winter of Unemployment Relief." Listen to his data: "The total public obligations—Federal, state, and local—incurred strictly for unemployment relief in the year 1933 and the first half of 1934 averaged \$894,302,510 for a twelve-months' period. This is exclusive of the \$824,000,000 spent upon C. W. A. projects. It is exclusive of the money spent by the Public Works Administration on emergency housing and other public works. It is exclusive of the money spent by the Department of the Interior for the setting up of subsistence homesteads. . . . In the early years of the depression private contributions for relief pur-

poses accounted for 30% to 40% of such expenditures. This proportion is now estimated at less than 5%. Equally startling is the proportion which is now being borne by the federal government in contrast with local or state governments. From the beginning of 1933 to the end of June, 1934, we spent strictly on relief \$1,540,000,000. Almost two-thirds of this amount (62.8%) was furnished by the federal government, 16% was furnished by the governments, and 21% by local governments.

as follows:

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### The System Has Failed

While one and one-third billion dollars is a huge sum, it represents a mere drop in the bucket in contrast to the lost earnings of the unemployed. Mr. Harry Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator, has estimated that during the winter of 1934-35 the number of persons living in homes receiving public relief varied from 17 to 20 millions. To provide these needy people with an average of \$10 each per month would require an expenditure of from 170 to 200 million dollars monthly, instead of the actual monthly expenditure of 74 millions during the past 18 months. No wonder the purchasing power of the nation is so low that the wheels of industry can barely be kept moving!

If the reader has a strong stomach and can endure nauseating stench, let him turn to Human Exploitation, by Norman Thomas, where he will find a 400 page summary of economic misery in the United States. The fact that the general standards of living in this country is higher than in other lands should not blind us to the indisputable further fact that, in spite of a rich continent with unparalleled resources of an endless variety and with superior technological equipment, the competitive profit system has failed miserably to provide a decent livelihood for vast sections of the people. Such a system stands indicted as grossly inefficient. (To be continued)



# An Open Letter to Mme. Leon Trotsky

By John Powers

DEAR MADAM:

In the New York Post of June 22 you published an appeal in behalf of your son arrested by the Soviet Government for no other reason than that he bears the name of Trotsky, an appeal which arouses our deepest sympathy.

As Socialists opposed to dictatorship and familiar with its morality and practices we were not surprised to hear of your son's arrest and the circumstances surrounding it.

What normal human being could fail to respond to the appeal of a mother anxious for the life and liberty of her son, innocent of any wrongdoing? And what decent person could fail to comprehend the enormity of the crime committed by a government in striking at a political opponent through his children? One must go back to the grossest practices of medievalism for analogies to fit such methods.

We join with you, madam, in your fervent plea for the liberation of your son. As you say, he has done no wrong. In fact, he has engaged in no political activity. His interests are purely scientific. In his chosen professional field he has well served the Soviet Government and the interests of the Russian people. And yet, because he is the son of Leon Trotsky, he has been seized as a political hostage on Stalin's orders. That a fate much worse than arrest may befall him is evident not only from your appeal but from the experience of thousands and millions of others in Russia who, from the very beginning of the Communist dictatorship, have been made to suffer loss of life and liberty for reasons no more valid than those involved in the case of your son.

But why do you confine the issue to your son, to your husband and his political associates? You are sufficiently familiar with the situation in Russia to know that the issue in question is not limited to Leon Trotsky, his family and his political friends. You must know that the principle and practice responsible for the arrest of your son, the exile and persecution of your husband, the slander heaped upon him by the Soviet Government in holding him responsible for the assassination of Kiroff and in connecting him with alleged White Guard conspiracies have been part and parcel of the conduct of the Communist dictatorship from its very inception. To be sure, in your appeal in the Post you seek to make it appear otherwise, but facts and history refute you.

## Why Single Out One?

You now reside with your husband in Norway, a free country, ruled by "yellow" Socialists, whom your husband has so cruelly slandered, but who gave you asylum after the regime in which Leon Trotsky played so conspicuous a part had cast him out, outlawed as "an enemy of the people." Would it not have been appropriate in this moment of your personal grief to think of the thousands upon thousands of other innocents subjected to the same tyranny and injustices, languishing in jails and in remote places of exile for no other reason than that they entertain views objectionable to the dictatorship? We refer to the innumerable Socialists, Communists, liberals, workers, peasants, whose crimes consist entirely in daring to think for themselves and refusing to follow blindly the commands of the dictatorship to the establishment of which your husband made so illustrious a contribution.

In your effort to bolster your plea for your son, you make reference to the conduct of Lenin and Trotsky with respect to political opponents, and as an example you cite the trial of the Social Revolutionaries in 1922. You contrast the conduct of Lenin and Trotsky in that trial with the conduct of Stalin in the case of your son.

We quote the following from your appeal:

"When the Social Revolutionaries, the organizers of attempts on the lives of Lenin and Trotsky, were being tried in 1922, the Central Committee under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, afforded Vandervelde, Kurt Rosenfeld and other adversaries of the Soviet Government the right to participate in the trial as defenders of the accused terrorists."

"This was done precisely in order to dispel in the mind of the international proletariat any doubts as to the fairness of the trial."

## A False Appeal

By this statement, madam, you have weakened your appeal enormously. In fact, you have forfeited your moral right to address the decent opinion of mankind. As a mother and a human being you retain the natural right to plead for your son and to be heard, but as a Communist uttering falsehoods you do not come into court with clean hands.

For the statement quoted above is based upon falsehoods. It is not true that the accused Social Revolutionaries had organized attempts on the lives of Lenin and Trotsky. There is no more basis to your slander against these Social Revolutionaries than there is to Stalin's

**The World Sympathizes With Your Grief at the Persecution of Your Son; But It Was Your Own Husband Who First Started Holding Political Hostages in Russia—The 1923 Moscow Trial Recalled As the Perfect Example of That "Justice" With Which the Name Of Trotsky Is Forever Identified.**

slander concerning the participation of your husband in the assassination of Kiroff. Why, then, do you respect the slander against your husband's Socialist adversaries? Where is your evidence?

Nor is there any basis to your assertion that Lenin and Trotsky afforded the Social Revolutionaries an opportunity of defense by foreign Socialist attorneys. What is true is that, upon the demand of the Socialist International and of the then existing Vienna International, Lenin and Trotsky permitted Vandervelde, Kurt Rosenfeld and Theodore Liebknecht, brother of Karl Liebknecht, to come to Russia for the ostensible purpose of defending the Social Revolutionaries. This was in accordance with an agreement reached in Berlin between representatives of the two Socialist Internationals and the Comintern. But the Socialist attorneys were compelled to abandon the case because Lenin and Trotsky would not give them a chance to present a defense and would not give the accused an opportunity to defend themselves in accordance with civilized procedure.

## The Real Facts

We have before us a document

which flatly contradicts your assertions. It is the report the very same attorneys you mention submitted to the Socialist parties of all countries after they had been compelled to leave Moscow because Lenin and Trotsky failed to keep their promise. We need not quote the entire lengthy document, but the following details will be sufficient:

"The manner in which the trial was conducted failed to satisfy our expectations. From the very beginning it became obvious that contrary to the promises made in Berlin the accused were brought not before their judges but before their political foes, whose purpose it was to convict them for reasons and considerations of state. Particularly significant was the declaration of the presiding judge, immediately upon the opening of the trial, that this court was a class court and that it would consciously mete out class justice. Before the opening of the trial, Krylenko [President of the Supreme Tribunal] personally offered resolutions at public meetings demanding conviction of the accused."

"On our arrival in Moscow we were met with demonstrations pre-

viously organized. The demonstrators carried signs and banners, with inscriptions insulting us. Threats and abuses were hurled upon us, combined with demands that we be thrown into jail. The Government resorted to the utterly false assertion that the attitude exhibited toward us in the demonstrations reflected the attitude of all the workers in Moscow and, with this as an excuse, the government put us up at a place two hours distant by train from the city, and surrounded us by officials whose purpose it was to spy upon us. For this reason we felt ourselves prisoners in Moscow, which we were."

## Trotsky's Real Role

This report of the Socialist attorneys you mention in your statement, madam, is only a small part of the picture. We have no space to give many other, even more revealing details.

We could cite also utterances of Lenin and Trotsky in the Soviet

press condemning the accused even before they had been tried and demanding their ruthless destruction. One of the hostile demonstrations of which the Socialist attorneys in question speak was led by Trotsky himself. It was because of the conduct of the trial and the failure of Lenin and Trotsky to keep their promise that the accused would receive a fair trial that the Socialist attorneys told the Soviet court that it was impossible for them any longer to participate in the comedy and left Moscow. And they so stated in their report, in which they paid tribute to the courage of the accused and pronounced them innocent.

Twelve of the accused were sentenced to death and it was only the ire of the Western European proletariat that prevented Lenin and Trotsky from carrying out the death sentences. They were committed to imprisonment.

On page 475 of your husband's autobiography you will find a clear confession of his cruelty and mercilessness against the accused Social Revolutionaries, qualities he displayed throughout his entire career as Soviet grandee and war lord. There he states frankly that it was he who suggested to Lenin that the Social Revolutionaries, pronounced innocent by trusted representatives of International Socialism, "must be held as hostages." What he chose for them was a living death.

"It was instantly and with relief that he (Lenin) agreed to the proposal that I made: 'Quite right, there is no alternative,'" writes Trotsky.

As you see, madam, the author of the idea of political hostages under the Communist dictatorship was the father of your son.

## Socialists Plead for All

Such was the justice the dictatorship meted out to political opponents when Leon Trotsky was in power. We will not refer to other instances. We will mention only the bloody, savage suppression, led by Trotsky in person, of the revolt of the Kronstadt sailors, all Communists, in the winter of 1921, the sailors whom Trotsky himself had once termed "the pride and beauty of the Russian Revolution," and whose sole crime consisted in demanding democratization of the Soviet regime.

Your husband has not yet advanced to this demand. From your appeal we note that you, too, have not yet grasped the idea of liberty for political opponents. What Leon Trotsky wants in "democracy within the Communist party," freedom for himself but not for others.

We believe we had said enough to illustrate that neither you, madam, nor your husband, have the right to speak in the name of humanity and political decency. Speak as a mother and we will understand you, but do not cite the conduct of Lenin and Trotsky as an example to follow.

The dictatorship in Russia reflects in every way the principles which Lenin and Trotsky gave it. It is from them that Stalin learned and improved upon the use of slander, character assassination and barbarous cruelty against political opponents, the instruments of dictatorship everywhere.

In the name of democratic Socialism and humanity we demand the release not only of your son but of all political prisoners. May your personal tragedy, madam, be an additional lesson to those who still fail to understand the true nature of dictatorship and consider it the road to a new and better world.

To help them to this understanding, and to clear once more the Socialists whom you continue to slander, is our purpose in writing this open letter.

## Radio Commission Hears WEVD Full Time Application

Station WEVD, the Debs Memorial Radio Station, made an impressive appeal to the Federal Communications Commission June 24 and 25 for full time, to be able to satisfy the pressing need of radio facilities for organized labor and Socialist and cultural organizations in the New York metropolitan district.

Louis G. Caldwell and Alexander Kahn, attorneys for WEVD, urged the commission to recognize the great need for a free and open forum for discussion of great problems now confronting the country. It was pointed out by the attorneys that besides the high-grade musical, dramatic and cultural programs WEVD is the only radio station in the country that concentrates on educating public opinion on social welfare and labor legislation supported by organized labor and all progressive and liberal elements.

It was proven by the record that labor leaders, senators and congressmen have used the facilities of WEVD in popularizing the labor and social welfare legislation now before Congress to an extent greater than on any other station. Among those who have used the station are President Wm. Green of the A. F. of L., Secretary Frank Morrison, Vice-President Matthew Woll, Francis J. Gorman of Textile Workers, George Meany, Chester M. Wright, David Dubinsky

# The Workers Abroad

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

By John Powers

## The United Front in England

A STRONG stand against any united front with Communists was taken by the Socialist League of Great Britain, the organization headed by Sir Stafford Cripps, M.P., at its annual conference at Bristol June 9. The action is particularly significant since the league, an integral part of the Labor Party, plays the role of the left-wing opposition within the party. Sir Stafford is a member of the Labor Party executive.

The London Daily Herald of June 10 reports that by an overwhelming majority the conference reaffirmed the position taken by the league's national council in a circular previously issued to branches.

"The league is an integral part of the Labor Party," the conference declared. "Our declared objective is to assist the organized labor movement to become the effective 'united front' against capitalism and war. In our view it is of cardinal importance that we should devote all our energies to this essential. The task is admittedly difficult, but we must not allow ourselves to be diverted into activities definitely condemned by the Labor Party which will jeopardize our affiliation to and influence within the party."

The Socialist League does not represent any appreciable numerical force, but it contains elements of the type of Sir Stafford himself who in the past had been inclined to flirt with Communist and pseudo-Communist ideas. Such elements, more virulent in their pro-Communist or pro-united front inclinations, are at work also within the Socialist Party of the United States. It is gratifying to note that in England the Socialist League has come to recognize the danger of any association with the insidious enemies and wreckers of the labor movement. Of particular significance to American Socialists is the statement in the League's resolution declaring "We must not allow ourselves to be diverted into activities definitely condemned by the Labor Party which will jeopardize our affiliation to and influence within the party."

This is precisely the position taken by the Socialists of the Socialist Party when it maintains that we must not allow ourselves to be diverted into actions and alliances which will jeopardize our connections and the development of our relation with the American labor movement and destroy all chance of extending our influence upon the trade unions. Without the support of organized labor, against whom Communism and the Communists are waging incessant war, there can be no Socialist movement worthy of consideration.

While we are on the subject of the united front in Great Britain it may be interesting to cite the following figures:

The membership of the British Communist Party, according to latest available data, is approximately 5,000. The membership turnover continues to be a matter of grave concern to the Communist leaders. Although a certain number of new members are annually attracted to the party, this is invariably offset by defections. As in the United States and elsewhere, the party is unable to retain its adherents or to build a stable organization. Moreover, the majority of members consist of unemployed. In a pamphlet entitled the "Road to Victory," Harry Pollitt, British Communist leader, declared: "This simply shows how isolated we are from the factories and the trade unions."

While the British Communist Party remains in its state of splendid isolation, the Labor Party continues to grow. The membership of the Labor Party, led by "Old Guardists," consists of 400,000 men and women holding individual cards and about 4,000,000 workers affiliated with the party through trade unions and other organizations.

## The United Front in France

THE attitude of the British Labor Party and the Socialist League on the question of the united front with Communists is the attitude of Socialist and Labor parties everywhere, except in France. It is definitely the attitude of the International Federation of Trade Unions. In all countries where there is a powerful trade union movement working in close cooperation with the Socialist and Labor parties, i. e. in all countries where the Socialist movement has a firm working class foundation, the united front has been rejected uncompromisingly as a destructive and reactionary policy.

In France alone the Socialist Party has seen fit to enter into a united front for which, as we showed in last week's New Leader, the party is paying the price of loss in membership and of setbacks in the recent municipal elections.

One reason why the Socialist Party in France has permitted itself to be lured into that united front is to be sought in the fact that the French Socialist Party has never developed the same ties with the labor movement which Socialists in other countries have been able to establish. This, in turn, is determined to a large extent by the fact that France is essentially a middle class country and that the labor movement, as such, does not play the same role in France with respect to the Socialist Party as in other countries. The French labor movement has no use for the Communists.

Because of the social composition of France, Jean Jaures always emphasized the importance of cooperation with the middle classes as an essential factor in the development of French Socialism, a necessity now recognized by Socialists in other countries as well, but particularly true of France. A brief analysis of the social differentiations in France will serve to emphasize this point.

The population of the country is divided into the following classes: The propertied class who controls industry, trade and transport, 7 per cent; peasant proprietors employing labor, 23 per cent. Occupying a position midway between these classes and the workers are small producers, employing no help, petty tradesmen and artisans, 14 per cent; and white-collar employees in government, municipal and private organizations, 12 per cent. As we move to the left, we find agricultural laborers comprising 14 per cent of the population, many of whom dream of becoming peasant proprietors and few of whom are animated by a purely proletarian consciousness. On the extreme left flank stands the industrial proletariat, 30 per cent.

From this simple analysis it is quite clear that the political and social struggle in France depends upon the forty per cent of the population standing between the thirty per cent on the right and the similar percentage on the left. The side that will be able to bring to its support the forty per cent in question will determine the outcome of the struggle for Socialism. That the French fascists are aware of this fact is evidenced from the statement of their leader, Colonel de la Rocque, pictured as the French Hitler.

"France stands neither to the right nor to the left," he said. "The rejuvenation of France will be accomplished neither by the left nor by the right, but by those who are coming from all corners of the political horizon will unite for concentrated practical activity. It is such people that I seek to unite."

At the last parliamentary elections the Communists polled 8 per cent of the vote and the Socialists 21 per cent, a total of 29 per cent of the 9,600,000 votes cast. It is obvious that the struggle against fascism in France is essentially a struggle for the control of the aforementioned decisive 40 per cent, far removed from fascism to be sure, but not likely to remain uninfluenced by fascism if threatened by a growing Communist movement. A united front of Socialists and Communists in which the Socialists inevitably lose strength in membership and votes to the Communists, as evidenced in last month's municipal elections, is not a way to avert the fascist danger. To continue the united front is to play directly into the hands of the fascists.

The Mulhouse conference of the French Socialist Party, held from June 9 to 12, mentioned in this column last week, reaffirmed the united front and decided to continue the experiment for the time being. There were clear indications, however, that the united front is cracking but that before the experiment ends it may cause a split in the Socialist Party.

When that happens the Communists will have achieved their purpose and the fascists will rejoice.

and many others representing labor, and Senators Wagner, Costigan, Wheeler, LaFollette and Congressmen Connery, Kvas, Maverick and many other leaders in the Senate and House of Representatives; that the educational and cultural programs were conducted by men like Hendrick Van Loon, Professor John Dewey and 200 other men and women connected with the universities all over the country. The attorneys urged the commis-

# Terror Sweeping USSR; 90,000 Are Exiled from Moscow, Leningrad

(Continued from Page One)

Nevsky, editor of its department of memoirs and documents.

"What became of Gudzy [another prominent member of the publishing house] is not known. Nevsky is arrested. It is reported that his wife committed suicide in despair."

## Exiling Suspects

"The cruel treatment inflicted upon such prominent Bolsheviks as Ionoff and Nevsky corresponds entirely with the spirit of the times. Never before has the regime within the Bolshevik Party been so savage. The murder of Kiroff served as the last straw. Before this assassination there was evidence of a beginning of a softening in the general as well as in the inter-party regime. After Kiroff's death the atmosphere changed radically. There began a mass exiling of 'undesirable elements.' As many as 30,000 have already been driven from Leningrad, and 60,000 from Moscow. Parallel with this, a veritable war was launched against old workers of the labor and Socialist movements, who declined, failed to show quickly or were simply unable to prove their one-hundred per cent loyalty to Stalin.

These elements are regarded as a nucleus around which all dissatisfied, critical and generally discontented elements might gather, and which, for this reason, might become dangerous. They are being mercilessly attacked by way of 'preventive' action. The most refined system of provocation has been unleashed against them. Most of them have long abandoned politics. Even the Society of [Czarist] Political Prisoners has not been spared. Thirty of its members have been arrested. Incidentally, speaking of institutions and societies, the Psycho-Technical Institute has been dissolved. The noted psychotechnician Schpilrein has been arrested and exiled to the Turuchansk region. For no known reason various historians are being exiled in groups to Siberia."

## The Roll of Victims

"You can well imagine the situation of our own party comrades [Socialists] in this atmosphere of war against those suspected to be opposed to Stalin or not sufficiently devoted to him. In ninety per cent of cases completion of a term of exile is now followed with new prosecutions and renewal of the sentences. More and more frequently we learn of the arrests and exile not only of old anarchists and syndicalists, who have long made peace with the regime, have become part of it and have even obtained prominent places, but of Communists, Russian and foreign."

"Zosia Unsicht, sister of the noted Cheka chieftain and until recently head of civil aviation, has been exiled for three years to the Verkhne-Uralsk concentration camp as a 'Trotskist.' Alexander Taratuta, son of the late Victor Taratuta [a veteran Bolshevik and close co-worker of Lenin], has been exiled to the same concentration camp for five years. The Yugoslav Communist Vooovitch, accused of Trotskyism, has been exiled for three years in the Urals. Among those arrested is also the former Trotskyist G. Andreichin, who had renounced his beliefs on two occasions and more recently had held a job with the Intourist. Among the anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists exiled are Kidava [sent to Karelia for five years], Schnurrieff, Barmash, who only recently had completed a term of six years in exile, Askaroff and others."

"Of particular interest is the ar-

rest of the Italian syndicalist Gadji and the well known anarchist Sandomirsky. Gadji has been exiled to Yarensk, and his wife, a Russian, has been sentenced to a Russian hard labor in Kazakhstan 'for failure to report her husband's anti-Soviet tendencies.' Sandomirsky has been exiled for three years to the Marinsk concentration camp, province of Tamboff."

## Bolshevik Counter-Revolution

"The Marinsk concentration camp has been designated as a central point of distribution and administration for all northern concentration camps, for the Solovetsky Islands, noted for their scenic beauties, are to be transformed into a tourist centre; from a financial point of view, apparently, this will be more profitable."

This letter, based upon authentic information from sources very close to the centre of affairs in Russia, serves to emphasize the growing moral and political degeneration of the Communist dictatorship and its rapid transformation into a purely Bonapartist regime.

While in other countries the Socialist and labor movement, and democratic institutions in general, have been destroyed by fascism, and the counter-revolution has established itself in power as the handiwork of reactionary-capitalist elements, in Communist Russia the counter-revolution is being accomplished by Communists themselves. Nor does the continued use of revolutionary phrases by the leaders and representatives of the Communist dictatorship able any longer to conceal its ugly, counter-revolutionary character.

# This Laboring Week

By Victor Riesel

GRADUALLY gaining momentum in his campaign to save the Constitution from being raped, Herbert Hoover, Rugged Individualist Number One, warned 1000 bright graduates of Stanford University that "the first of social securities is freedom . . . and that economic security is lost at the moment that freedom is sacrificed. Social security must be built upon a cult of work, not a cult of leisure." Hoover also assailed the "economy of scarcity." Still worrying about those chickens in every pot.

It is exhilarating to observe progress in Spain. The Labor and Socialist movement is rapidly recovering from the blow of the heroic but unsuccessful uprising last October. Great meetings once more stir the masses. Senor Azana recently spoke before 80,000 persons at Valencia. He indicated that the Left parties who hope to regain control of the government in the general election next year are staking everything on propaganda that they are the only authentic republicans and that the reactionary Right will restore the monarchy unless overthrown at the polls. Francisco Largo Caballero, Socialist deputy, who led the revolution, is still awaiting trial.

Thirty Socialist Deputies who have not been accused of any active participation in the October cataclysm continue to absent themselves from the Cortes sessions, having declared they will not return until all constitutional guarantees are restored. Meanwhile thirty-six Socialists were condemned to life imprisonment and four others executed in Asturias, where the Rightist government used Moroccan troops to quell the fighting miners.

War-scarred Italy is basking in the warmth of a benevolent dictatorial smile. Il Duce has abandoned his pugnacious frown and is now kissing babies. Everybody in Italy is commenting upon the striking change in the public manner of Premier Benito Mussolini. The Italian dictator's geniality is part of a campaign to popularize the unpopular maneuvers in Africa. Holy shades of Ivy Lee!

Financial Note: An item which will gladden the hearts of all good comrades is the annual report that

Hearst stock paid its 20th dividend last week. Gross income on yellow journalism last year was slightly over \$13,500,000. The New York Journal reported that it was again demonstrated that the ability of Willie Hearst successfully met the problems of adverse business conditions with his sound sense of management. Hearst Consolidated Productions, Inc., preferred, incidentally, is urged upon the employees of all his newspapers, money in payment for stock deductible from salaries.

Daring social innovations: The new Summer Social Register is out and instead of listing clubs as in the winter number socialites register the name of their yachts. There are 440 pages devoted to New Yorkers, and one can find out just where real New Yorkers go to escape the bothersome heat. Addresses range from Newport for the conventional to China, Mexico and that dearest of places, the U.S.S.R. Oh well, see you in the Palm Grove, just this side of Coney Island.

Confident that President Roosevelt's "soak the rich" tax program will be snaggled in Congress the stock market surged forward this week to the best levels since 1931. Our Wall Street agent conscientiously "tipped us off" that the "Street" was on the "in" and that the tax proposals would be rebuffed. The next day a seat on the Stock Exchange dropped \$5,000. You can now sit for as little as \$99,000.

Many conservative Wall Street financiers say they would like to see the evils of high finance eliminated, particularly as it involves haphazard juggling of corporations. A number insist, however, that the tax method is too drastic. Suppose, then, we just get together, close our eyes, cross our fingers and make a wish. That ought to help!

When 1,000,000 railroad workers asked that the government take over the management and operation of the railroads, the equanimity in the neighborhood of the Empire State Building was ruffled by the muffled trumpeting of our colleague Al Smith.

"Tell them," he belowed, "that the American railroads would be much better off if the government would keep hands off."



## Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

### Inviting Capitalist Exploitation

IT is not our purpose to consider various aspects of the Five Year Plan as that would require a book. A few general remarks are sufficient. Because Russia lacked the modern capitalistic means of production and distribution, the Bolsheviks faced the necessity of building it. In the final stages of the NEP they added to state exploitation of workers and peasants exploitation by capitalists in the form of concessions to foreign investors. These concessions yielded their owners profits of fantastic dimensions.

Granting concessions to foreign exploiters was not a huge success, but at least nineteen were granted. During the years 1925-26 to 1927-28 these undertakings yielded an average of 27.1, 53.8, and 85.2 per cent upon the invested capital. One realized 301.9 per cent and another 426.6 per cent! This granting of concessions to alien capitalists was another case of historical conditions dictating to the dictators. It was Bolshevik recognition of the need of building a capital structure, but in yielding to this historical necessity the Bolsheviks consigned the workers in the concession enterprises to intense capitalistic exploitation. Considering these backgrounds of state and capitalist sweating of surplus value from the working class, all figures of the building of manufacturing plants in Russia have no more significance than the building of such plants in other countries. The capital embodied in these Russian plants is obtained in the same way that capital is obtained in the capitalist nations—from exploiting labor power.

The fact that with this extensive exploitation "there is no unemployment in Russia" is also beside the point. There is no unemployment in a prison, but that is no recommendation of prison life. The Russian masses are kept within Russia by a vast espionage and police system so that it is almost impossible to cross the frontier. All of their knowledge of Russia and the rest of the world filters through the Communist press and other agencies of information. What this means may be imagined if the reader had as his only source of information of what happens in the world the "Daily Worker," the organ of the Communist Party in this country. We can imagine no torture more inhuman than this for civilized human beings.

The bourgeois soul of Bolshevism is obvious in its post-war history. It has lost its support of the workers in practically all modern countries. It has wooed and won certain sections of the middle class and "liberal" intelligentsia. It is no accident that such organs as the Nation and the New Republic are sentimentally fond of the "experiment," that romantic tourists and pacifists return from Russia stuffed with statistics but have no comprehension of the underlying economics of the regime.

### Bolshevik Collaboration With Nazis

The bourgeois soul of Bolshevism is also evident in the fact that it hates the proletariat that does not accept its dictatorship just as the capitalist class has always hated the proletariat that fights for its own independent life. Russian Bolshevism made its peace with Hitler when the latter came to power; and previously German Bolshevism had often cooperated with Hitler's Nazis in the German Diets and on important measures in the Reichstag. In April, 1935, the Soviet rulers signed an agreement with Hitler for a five-year credit of 200 million marks for Soviet purchases of German goods while the world's working class was boycotting Hitler's savage regime. Russian Bolshevism is also playing the imperialist diplomatic game of the "balance of power" by signing various pacts with the capitalist powers, the latest being an old-style military alliance with France in May, 1935.

Bolshevism considers the movement of the workers not, in the words of Marx and Engels, as "the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority," but as a collection of wooden figures, or conscripts, to be directed by the dictators of the Kremlin. It has sought to bring the workers of all countries under the dictatorship of Stalin through the Communist International. Thinking outside the skull of Stalin is a crime in the view of Bolshevism, both inside and outside of the Communist movement in all countries.

Issuing out of its basic utopianism is also the maneuver of the "united front." This was a kind of deceit and chicanery as Lenin himself acknowledged in his "Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder" and in a pamphlet for the American Communists in 1923. He advised Communists to "practice trickery, to employ cunning, and to resort to illegal methods—to sometimes even overlook or conceal the truth" in dealing with organizations of workers.

This was followed by the organization of what the Bolsheviks themselves cynically call "innocent clubs." These consist of sentimental workers and "liberals" of various types together with Communists who are collected into a group for a "united front." Such fronts have been formed to fight for civil liberties in many countries—always excepting Russia. Other fronts have been formed for "specific issues," such as defense of Tom Mooney, Sacco and Vanzetti, Negro rights, etc. In all cases a trusted Communist is wiggled into the office which receives and handles funds. Thus large sums have been obtained that have been diverted to Communist purposes.

### Bolshevism Justifies Low Cunning

Hundreds of these "innocent clubs" have been formed in the United States. In the case of Sacco and Vanzetti the club reported to Moscow that it had gathered a half-million dollars for their defense and yet the Boston committee in charge of defense declared it had received no reports from this club which is still known as the "International Labor Defense." Tom Mooney had a similar experience with a Communist "innocent club." This phase of American Bolshevism shows that racketeering can be reconciled with its "revolutionary principles."

Bolshevism plants cells or "nuclei" in the political, cultural and economic organizations of the working class to capture them. To accomplish this its agents, following Lenin's advice, sow suspicions among the rank and file; they engage in character assassination and reduce low cunning to a fine art. They destroy the tissues of human confidence. The work of the Communist in organizations he seeks to capture does not differ from the work of the spy planted in trade unions by detective agencies. One does not know where the spy ends and the Communist begins.

In this respect Bolshevism adopts the methods of the force Anarchists of the seventies led by Michael Bakounin who planted secret "nuclei" in the First International. Bakounin, like Stalin, was the supreme law-giver and dictator. He and his trusted colleagues, like the executive of the Communist International, were the "revolutionary staff" for the whole world. Bakounin, like Stalin, was to cultivate the "universal revolution." Bolshevism and force Anarchism considered the workers as clay to be shaped to their dictatorial will. Both envisioned a despotic regime for the masses, not the self-directed freedom and democracy forecasted in all Socialist literature since the days of Marx and Engels.

Bolsheviks try to reconcile dictatorship by leaders over the working class with the will of the working class itself. Thus Bukharin in his "Historical Materialism" writes: "The party is not the class; in fact, it may be BUT A SMALL PART OF THE CLASS, just as the head is but a small part of the body. But it would be absurd to find an opposition between the party and the class." Trotsky in his savage "Dictatorship vs. Democracy" wrote that "The revolutionary supremacy of the proletariat pre-supposes within the proletariat itself the political supremacy of a party, with a clear program of action and a FAULTLESS internal discipline." Zinoviev and other Bolsheviks have presented similar defenses of despotism.

It is the irony of history that these gentlemen have become the victims of the despotism they intended for others! Bukharin and Radek were ousted from official positions and were restored to grace after humiliating "confessions." Trotsky was expelled and exiled. So were Riasanov, head of the Marx-Engels Institute; Tomskey, head of the Trade Unions; Rakovsky, once Ambassador to France; Zinoviev, head of the Communist International; Kamenov, head of the Moscow Soviet; Rykov, Chairman of the Soviet Council, and numerous others. What is left of Bolshevik leaders are sycophants who crawl before Stalin, paying homage to him as serfs did to their lords. The dictatorship has devoured its own children, leaving Stalin undisputed heir to more power than Czar Nicholas ever had. This is what Communists call the "Workers' Fatherland!"

(To be concluded)

## The Pennsylvania Front

Masters of Steel  
Fire Union Men  
Among Workers

Discharged Men Appeal to Citizens for Moral Support in Their Fight

Special to The New Leader.  
TARENTUM. — Real evidence that the steel industry will not adhere to its public announcement respecting the code provisions of the old NRA and will take full advantage of the Supreme Court decision, may be seen in the discharge of employees known to be active in genuine labor organization.

On June 17th, the Allegheny Steel Company of Brackenridge, manufacturers of automobile and stainless steels and employing some 2,500 employees, discharged two employees with over 20 years' service in the company, because of their known sympathy and connections with the Amalgamated, the American Federation of Labor Union.

One of these, Michael Petrak, an active and well known Socialist in the Allegheny Valley enjoying the respect and confidence of thousands of steel, glass and mine workers in that district, issued a striking statement in behalf of himself and Edwin J. Wolfe, the latter with a continuous employment record of 34 years. Valley newspapers featured the statement and its reverberations are only beginning.

"To all Fairminded Citizens of the Allegheny Valley.

"We, the undersigned, have been discharged from employment at the Allegheny Steel Plant, regardless of our employment service records of 22 and 34 years respectively. We were two of a large number of employees of the Allegheny Steel Company who were active in the effort to organize our fellow employees in a bona fide labor union, the Amalgamated Association, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The NRA guarantee of the right of collective bargaining was the law of our nation until declared otherwise by decision of the Supreme Court. We acted in good faith in what we believed then, and still believe, that no company dominat-

### HERE AND THERE IN PENNSYLVANIA

Strickland in Carnegie CARNEGIE. — Public meeting will be held at the Dixy Theatre Sunday afternoon, June 30th, at 2:30 p. m. Fred Guy Strickland will be guest speaker.

Meeting With Strickland UNIVERSAL. — On Tuesday, July 2nd, at 8:30 p. m., Fred Guy Strickland will speak at the Washington School.

Tarentum Meeting TARENTUM. — The Tarentum Branch will hold a public meeting on Monday, July 1st, 8:30 p. m., at Riverview Park, Tarentum. Fred G. Strickland will be the guest speaker.

Pittsburgh Rally PITTSBURGH. — Fred G. Strickland will speak at a public meeting Wednesday evening, July 3rd, at the West Park Band Stand, Sherman Ave. and West Ohio St., under the auspices of the Labor Problem Forum.

Pittsburgh Picnic July 14 PITTSBURGH. — The Socialist Party picnic will be held at Piney Forks Park on Sunday, July 14th. All party members are invited to attend. A program of sports, speakers and music is being planned.

ed employees representative plan can have effective bargaining power for the worker.

"On Monday of this week, we were called to the office of the Allegheny Steel Co. and were informed by Mr. Givens and Mr. Pollock, two officials of the steel plant, that the NRA having passed out of existence, our services, because of our past activities on behalf of the workers, were no longer required. This frank and bold statement by these officials, drunk with power over their fellowmen, power that has warped their souls, was a reminder that labor relations at the local plant thereafter would be based on the Law of the Jungle. To further show their arrogant attitude, they refused to give us letters of recommendation so that we could seek employment elsewhere in other steel centers.

"We believe this action to be unfair, un-American and un-Christian. This surely is not the America we are led to believe exists—the land of free opportunity, to

## Supreme Pretzel Shop is Picketed By Union Men

Reading Workers Support Pretzel Benders' Union in Fight Against Company.

By Forrest L. Good

READING, Penn. — Superior Supreme Pretzels are not only scab made, but are produced by workers organized in a company-dominated shop association who at the agitation and insistence of the management double-crossed the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Federal Government Representatives. At the same time, because of an agreement between the company and the union which was a number of times abrogated by the management, they attempted to keep A. F. of L. representatives out of the shop and conferences.

More recently, after proposing a strike settlement program of discharging strikers, to reinstate former striking employees, company officials did not have the moral courage to retain the scabs, but used the company "union" president to write a discharge notice signed by him and insert it in one of the reinstated strikers' pay envelope reprinted under the terms of the company's own proposed settlement.

Arbitration Board decisions, Federal and State government representatives and Labor Board decisions are just so many words of Dominic Chaffe, Manager of the Federal Plant, to be constantly broken.

These unfair pretzels are sold by distributors in Union City, Frackville, Mahanoy City, Wilkes-Barre, Chester and Philadelphia, Pa., Atlantic City and Newark, N. J.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Baltimore, Md., and Washington, D. C.

live and let live, to enjoy life and happiness, to care for and educate our children in a decent and Christian manner.

"We have written this letter for the sole purpose of arousing public opinion, so that this wholesale discrimination will be stopped. As for us, while they have deprived us of our livelihood, we will continue to fight on, not to be serfs, but to be free men."

(Signed) Michael Petrak, Edwin J. Wolfe.

## Shipping Clerks Ready to Strike

Word to the Shipping Clerks' Union, Local 1953 of the A. F. of L., to stand ready for a strike call was given by organizers and prominent labor leaders at a mass meeting at the Manhattan Opera House, N. Y. C. Saul Metz, veteran labor leader, and William Collins, N. Y. representative of the A. F. of L., spoke.

Metz pictured to the young men present the horrors of the sweatshop. He said: "Thirty years ago, before the garment trades got to know the meaning of organization, men literally slept on the floor of the shop near the machine. They would leave their wives and children in the tenement on Monday morning and return Friday evening for the sabbath. In busy season eighteen hours a day of steady grind was no exception. Men were too tired to go home after work and would fall asleep near the machine in order to resume the horrible work at dawn. It is thanks to strong garment organization that the operators, pressers, finishers, and cutters in the trade presently work thirty-five hours a week and are assured of a decent livelihood."

Thomas Young pointed out that the elevator men had been for years the most exploited of the lot. They had been bossed by the owners, tenants and office boys, but as a result of their recent strike the elevator men are now able to hold up their heads.

Benjamin Handsman, Secretary of the General Strike Committee, said: "A thorough study of the situation in the garment industry has convinced me that an overwhelming majority of the men are anxious to put an end to the intolerable conditions under which they are working today, the men in the shops stand ready to quit work at the first call."

The date of the strike has not yet been set. All the speakers stressed the importance of 100% organization. They held it vital to unionize the men in the various branches of the garment industry such as shipping clerks, packers, porters, stock clerks, push boys, sorters, charge clerks, etc.

The speakers contrasted the terrible exploitation, the long hours and miserable pay which prevailed in the garment industry before the great unions like the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and Building Service Employees' International Union took the situation in hand, and the vastly improved conditions today.

The mass meeting was the most weekly periods over Station WEVD to start Wednesday, July 10, at 10 p. m. Electrical transcriptions will be made so that the plays can be not only preserved for the records,

### Fitzpatrick at Hammond Socialist Picnic July 14th

(Special to The New Leader)  
HAMMOND, Ind.—John F. Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, will be the principal speaker at the annual picnic of the Lake County Socialists at Wicker Park in this city on July 14. Roy Lancaster, leader of the Indiana Unemployed Union, will also speak.

The recreational program of the picnic will include baseball, racing and jumping. Admission to the grounds is free. Refreshments will be served.

## Story of ILGWU On the Air

THE International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has already won a place in song and story and sound movie. Now it takes its place on the radio. Many unions have broadcast speeches and songs to arouse public interest and create favorable public opinion in times of strikes. But now for the first time the history of a union is being dramatized in a series of radio plays.

And what a story it is! Fighters for freedom in the Old World seeking the good life denied them. The Statue of Liberty welcomes them. But they find that it is a memorial stone. The women's garment workers build a union. They pull themselves up to higher standards of life; they compel the employers to respect them by their solidarity.

A real workers' League of Nations is built, transcending barriers of sex, race, religion and language. Wherever the industry goes, there goes the union—to Canada, to California, to Mexico, to Puerto Rico. The union uses its opportunity in the NRA period to swell its membership until it is the third largest in the A. F. of L.

This epic story has been dramatized by Florence Lasser in the radio plays to be presented by the L.I.D. Radio Drama Group and other I.L.G.W.U. members who will repeat their roles from life, in six but reproduced in every center where members of the I.L.G.W.U. are numerous enough to interest the local stations.

enthusiastic held by the Ladies' Apparel Shipping Clerks' Union since it began to prepare for the strike.

Others who spoke were Ashley Totten, Secretary-Treasurer of the Sleeping Car Pullman Porters' Union; Thomas Young Vice-President of the Building Service Union; Local 32B, James Corrigan, President of Local 164 of the Superintendents' Union, and Abe R. Cohn, President of the Coat and Suit Salesmen's Union.

## Central Body for Negro Unionists

FOLLOWING the recent great mass meeting of Negro and white trade unionists representing over 250,000 organized workers, all members of the American Federation of Labor, Frank R. Crosswaith, chairman, Harlem Labor Committee and general organizer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, has issued a call for a Negro Labor Conference to be held on July 20, in the Renaissance Casino, 7th Ave. and West 138th St., N. Y. C.

The conference will consolidate the work of the Harlem Labor Committee and establish machinery to improve the work and wage conditions of the Negro workers and effect greater unity between Negro and white labor.

"These desired improvements can only be achieved through organized action on the part of Negro labor in cooperation with white labor," said Crosswaith. "The situation calls for the establishment of an agency to serve the Negro workers as the United Hebrew Trades, and Women's Trade Union League serves their respective groups."

This conference is the fruition of a work begun 10 years ago at a similar conference which established the Trade Union Committee for Organizing Negro Workers, with Crosswaith as executive secretary and Mrs. Olive Margaret Elise Ayers as vice-president. Hundreds of Negro workers were brought within the folds of organized labor. This work was temporarily suspended in 1926 when the committee threw its full resources to the support of the Pullman porters' struggle and Crosswaith became special organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' Union.

The July 20 conference will represent the local bona fide labor movement through delegates from unions with Negro members and with jurisdiction over industries employing Negro workers. Each union will send two delegates. About 500,000 out of 750,000 members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in this city will be represented.

Speakers scheduled to address sessions include a representative from the Central Trades and Labor Council; William Collins, New York representative of the American Federation of Labor; A. Philip Randolph, president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Julius Hochman, vice-president, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Rose Scheidemann, executive secretary, Women's Trade Union League; Morris Feinstein, executive secretary, United Hebrew Trades, and Frank R. Crosswaith. The proposed plans to be pre-

## Portrait of Two Great Nations Speaking

A story in the New York Times gives a vivid picture of what passes for the relations of two great nations in friendly intercourse in these capitalist days.

A couple of days ago the former Chinese province of Manchuria declared (through its Japanese conquerors) that it was an independent state called Manchukou. They dug Mr. Henry Pu-Yi, formerly Hwang-Su, baby emperor of China, out of retirement, dined him off, declared him Ching Cheng, and a year later set him on a brand-new throne as Emperor Kang Teh, and then recognized him and the country as independent powers in the family of nations. And then they set down to wait for something to happen. But nothing did—no one else recognized Manchukou as anything but a puppet state of Japanese imperialism until a curious thing occurred.

In Central America is a tiny republic called El Salvador, with an area one-third that of New York State and a population approximately the same as that of Queens County, with an output of coffee greater than its normal markets can take care of. When Manchukou appeared on the horizon, (flanked on all sides by Japanese bayonets to keep the "loyal" Manchus from tossing their beloved emperor into exile again), the statesmen of El Salvador thought they might sell some coffee there; anyway, it wouldn't hurt them to try. So they sent a cable to Manchukou making inquiries about the local coffee thirst.

Manchukou's statesmen — all functionaries of the Japanese foreign office—seized upon that innocent inquiry with avidity, interpreting it as Recognition by the great people of El Salvador—probably 99 per cent of whom were blissfully unaware of the very existence of Manchukou. And since it didn't matter one way or another anyway, shortly thereafter El Salvador recognized Manchukou as one of the family of nations on a par with Costa Rica, Liechtenstein, the United States, San Marino, Japan, Nepal and Andorra.

The plot thereupon began to thicken. Leon Siguenza, as Salvadoran consul in Tokio, had first suggested looking into the market for Salvadoran coffee in Mukden and Hsingking and thus precipitated the inadvertent recognition of Manchukou, and when the Emperor Kang Teh paid his bread-and-butter call on Tokio Leon called upon him. It was an affecting meeting.

The first words of the emperor were, "How is the President of El Salvador?" Then he added, "This is the first time I have had the honor of treating with a member of the Government of El Salvador, for which I have in my soul a deep feeling of the fraternity that unites us by the recognition of my Empire by El Salvador."

And when Leon congratulated the ex-Mr. Pu-Yi on his promotion from Ching Cheng to Emperor, the latter replied, "When my people learn of these expressions of friendship what joy it will give them! . . . In the future, in order to comply with my patriotic duty, I shall dedicate all of my energy to the union and fraternity of three nations, Japan [he had better!] Manchukou and El Salvador."

This, dear reader, is not a scene from "The Mikado," but only a comedy played with a straight face, because the coffee planters of one country want to sell their product to the people of another. Long live the fraternity of peoples!

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The state secret police became so excited about the manifestation seemingly organized from nowhere that it ordered the arrest of eight former officials of the German Mine Workers' Federation accused of having communicated the date and hour of the funeral to many of the slain leader's friends. They were arrested when leaving the cemetery, as well as were others who came from nearby cities.

It is reliably reported that the police departments of all cities in the Rhineland sent secret agents to the funeral in order to ascertain all those who dared to come to Bochum and thus silently to register their protest against Nazi methods.

## HEIL! HELL!

On May First, Dr. Ley, head of the Nazi Labor Front, published Ten Commandments for German workers. The first says: "We greet the Leader in the morning and thank him at night for giving us once again the will to live and the hope of life."

Normal people might think that the modest Leader and Chancellor Adolf Hitler is averse to this kind of thing. Quite the contrary. Dr. Göbbels recently explicitly confirmed that Herr Hitler addresses other people with the greeting "Heil Hitler!" Whether the Leader and Chancellor also greets himself in the morning and thanks himself at night Dr. Göbbels did not add.

sent at the conference do not intend to establish a separate council comprising Negro workers, but to broaden the general scope of such work the Harlem Labor Committee has been conducting as an integral activity of the local bona fide labor movement of this city.

## Bad Breath is a warning—

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# NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

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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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## THE GAULEITER SPEAKS

YOUR proper gathering place," spake the orator to 14,000 boys and girls gathered on Hesenberg Mountain near Nuremberg in Bavaria, "is this mountain, where 2,000 years ago your forefathers gathered before the country had been infected by a race which at that time executed the greatest anti-Semite of all time, Jesus Christ.

"In front of this blazing fire dedicate yourselves to hatred of a people who goad nations into war to profit by it, to hatred of those who dishonor our women, to hatred of those who torture animals to death."

The orator, who was speaking of the race that has numbered among its members Jesus Christ and Heinrich Heine, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and Ferdinand Lassalle, Albert Einstein and Moses Maimonides, was not raving in his padded cell to his fellow-inmates; he was speaking as Gauleiter of Franconia, designated head of the government of millions of people—Julius Streicher, who is all the government there is in Bavaria and neighboring regions.

This is the Streicher who recently celebrated the fiftieth milestone in a misspent life, and to whose birthday there came as special guest to do him special honor Adolf Hitler himself.

And this incident gives a rough idea of what has befallen a once great country. And this is one of many reasons that civilized people cannot rest day or night until this hideous thing is torn up by the roots and extirpated from the earth.

## THEORY AGAINST FACT

ANOTHER constitutional amendment is proposed by Senator Norris, to prohibit the Supreme Court from nullifying any law except by a two-thirds majority. This would require seven of the nine judges to set aside a federal law. The amendment would also require that such proceedings to test the constitutionality of a law must be instituted within six months after it is enacted.

A review of U. S. Supreme Court decisions in the United States News recalls that the average length of time that "unconstitutional" legislation has remained on the Federal statute books is eight and a half years. There is one case of a law being set aside 56 years after its enactment and several instances where laws remained in effect a quarter-century or more before being killed by the court.

These cases and the average of eight years show the absurdity of the court nullifying legislation. At the same time it is in conflict with the idea that each department—executive, legislative and judicial—is independent of the others. When the court sets aside a law it is a legislative act in that it repeals legislation, a power that belongs to Congress. Theory clashes with fact and it is now giving the statesmen much concern.

## CLEVER PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S proposals for a graduated tax on large inheritances and gifts, higher taxes on large incomes, and revision of corporation tax rates so that large net incomes will pay more and smaller ones will pay a lower rate, are very interesting for a number of reasons. He drives a wedge into the ranks of our upper capitalist nobility and he punctures the balloons floated by Huey Long, Dr. Townsend and Father Coughlin. Will Rogers was not mistaken in saying that the President crawled in bed with the Kingfish and told him to move over.

Of course, the Roosevelt proposals are not the same as Huey's, but they deflate the Louisiana bladder. On the other hand, the business class that has in general opposed the New Deal policies is likely to be divided by the proposed revision of corporation taxes. The big corporations will pay more and the smaller corporations will pay less. In this way the ruling groups will be divided, and that is an asset for the Administration. This division on the one hand and deflating the utopians on the other is clever politics.

## SUBSISTENCE FRAUD GOES

THE program of subsistence homesteads has faded out of the picture. We shall not weep. The idea was to place outcast families, that is, families uprooted by the depression, in rural sections. Some of them, like one in West Virginia, tended to become company towns providing more opportunities for labor sweating. Others tended to isolate families in a low rural environment to become used to a low standard of living.

Something like this has been attempted in Alaska and already there are refugees from that region who tell stories of disillusionment. The masses have to fight against being pushed down to a bare subsistence level. The national resources and powers of production are ample to provide a comfortable living for every man, woman and child in this country, and we must insist upon this as we organize and educate to abolish capitalism itself.

## THE "PATRIOTS" ON GUARD



The "patriotic" orators are at it again. They're dusting off the terms of opprobrium of the war days, and trying to make it appear that there is something shameful in being opposed to war.

## Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman  
Our Washington Correspondent

A WEEKLY reviewer of Washington doings feels like a juggler with too many knives in the air. Share-the-wealth taxation, Social Security, labor's "Magna Charta," the congressional fight over the Holding Companies' "death sentence," the "farmers' friends" amending the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the hot coal bill, etc., etc. All knives for the juggler to catch, and he hates to miss any of them. They are all so important, and so interesting.

### Registration of Wealth

ON July 2, 1932, when Franklin D. Roosevelt made his speech, accepting the Presidential nomination, he said:

"Throughout the nation, men and women, forgotten in the political philosophy of the Government of the last years, look to us here for guidance and for more equitable opportunity to share in the distribution of national wealth."

Last week, in a surprise message to Congress, President Roosevelt, basing his suggestions on the desirability of a more equal distribution of wealth, asked Congress to enact the following legislation:

Inheritance and gift taxes on very large estates, in addition to the present estate taxes; restriction of very large incomes, particularly those over \$1,000,000, by "very high taxes," a graduated income tax on net corporate incomes, starting at 10% per cent for small corporations and increasing to 16% per cent for the largest companies, in place of the present rate of 13% per cent; use of the taxing power to force simplification of corporate structures through the elimination of "unnecessary" holding companies in all lines of business; discouragement of "unwisely and unnecessary corporate surpluses," and submission of a constitutional amendment for Federal taxation of income on State and local securities hereafter issued, in addition to State and local taxation of future issues of Federal securities.

Most of the press called it a "surprise message," "a bolt from the blue," etc. But those who now and then peep behind the scenes know better. To them the strong language used in the message may be astonishing, but the message itself was not a surprise. No one expected the President to go so far in condemning the "unjust concentration of wealth and economic power," and to say in effect that "wherever wealth accrues honorably, the people are always silent partners." Certainly no one expected in a Presidential message the preaching of a new social philosophy. Listen to these words of the President:

"The transmission from generation to generation of vast fortunes by will, inheritance, or gift is not consistent with the ideals and sentiments of the American people."

"Great accumulations of wealth cannot be justified on the basis of

personal and family security. In the last analysis such accumulations amount to the perpetuation of great and undesirable concentration of control in a relatively few individuals over the employment and welfare of many, many others. Such inherited economic power is as inconsistent with the ideals of this generation as inherited political power was inconsistent with the ideals of the generation which established our Government."

No wonder Representative Bertrand Snell, Republican leader, said: "I think it was a fine stump speech."

### Who Is Back of the Tax Message

SOME insiders credit Justice Brandeis with the main idea of the share-the-wealth message, but only on hearsay evidence. But many saw Prof. Felix Frankfurter darting in and out of the White House just before President Roosevelt sent his tax proposal to Congress. Prof. Frankfurter paid several visits to Hyde Park while the President was there, presumably for a rest. I am told that the original draft of the tax message was made at Hyde Park and that only a few finishing touches were made in Washington. The reason Mr. Roosevelt did not consult his party men on the hill was that he knew they would be against any such far-reaching proposal. They would have pulled wires to stop him. Now all they can do is to fume and fret.

The President did not indicate that the proposed legislation must be pushed through this session, apparently leaving it to the discretion of the leaders. So Friday morning newspapers reported that the new tax program would wait until next session. But by Friday night 22 Senators had signed a petition circulated by Senator La Follette, insisting that the Senate remain in session all summer if necessary in order to push through such a measure. Senator Borah added his voice to those who are in favor of immediate consideration of the tax measure.

La Follette was "encouraged" over the outlook, especially since Borah, often a critic of the New Deal, came out for the President's recommendations for an inheritance tax and higher levies on large individual and corporation incomes.

### President Demands Tax Law This Week

THEN came the real surprise: On Monday evening President Roosevelt called the leaders of Congress to the White House and virtually ordered them to perform the incredible feat of enacting the highest tax in American history by Saturday night.

After over two hours of wrangling with the President the Congressional leaders yielded and agreed to make an attempt to jam through Congress the most revolutionary tax-the-wealth program by Saturday night. On Wednesday the President denied that he had ordered the bill to pass by Saturday. What's what?

**Fight Over Guffey Coal Bill**  
OPPOSING ranks form in House committee hearings on the Guffey Coal Bill for making soft coal a "public utility" and for the set-

ting of wages, prices, and production quotas. Lining up in the bill's favor, organized labor and the National Conference of Bituminous Coal Operators say: "The bill is necessary to prevent cut-throat competition, starvation of labor, pauperization of mining communities, bankruptcy of the industry. Without it, no wage agreements can be negotiated."

Arrayed against the measure are spokesmen for one group of operators, steel manufacturers, railroads, and the National Association of Manufacturers. Say they: "First, the bill is unconstitutional on several counts. Second, it would raise coal prices to the detriment of other industries and to that of the coal industry itself, which will fall back even more rapidly in the ever-mening competition with other fuels."

What great patriots those manufacturers are, and how zealously they watch over the sanctity of our Constitution!

### Uncle Sam Becomes Super Social Worker

UNCLE SAM by virtue of Congress' approval of the Social Security Bill seems destined to become the world's foremost social worker. Other national legislatures and parliaments have taken decades and generations to accomplish what the Congress of the United States has carried out in a single session; namely, a broad social program intended to remove certain economic hazards of life from wage earners.

The instrument by which it is hoped to achieve this objective is the "Omnibus" Social Security Bill which establishes a system of Federal old-age benefits, and enables the several States to make "more adequate provision for aged persons, blind persons, dependent and crippled children, maternal and child welfare, public health, and the administration of their unemployment-compensation laws."

In effect, the bill, after it is adjusted in conference, where Senate and House differences will be ironed out and after the President affixes his signature, will place the Federal Government in a partnership with the States with the view of providing social safeguards for individuals from childhood to old age.

It has been estimated that there are 1,000,000 men and women more than 65 years of age dependent upon the public for support. The Federal Government will match the expenditures of the States for this purpose, with the limitation that its grant will not exceed \$15 per person per month. This does not limit the States to a pension of \$30 per month.

However, Abraham Epstein, executive secretary of the American Association for Social Security, a leading figure in the fight for old-age security in this country for 20 years, in testifying before the Senate Committee on Finance, stated that if this country affords to its old people an average income of \$30 monthly, "we shall have attained the highest state of old-age security of almost any other nation in the world."

Uncle Sam may be late in starting but once he starts he usually leads the parade. Go to it, Uncle!

## A Million Railway Workers In Demand for Nationalization

By Algernon Lee

SOME ten days ago the executives of the twenty-one brotherhoods and trade unions in the railway industry came out with an unqualified demand for government ownership and operation of the railways. This is one of the most striking and encouraging steps in the wonderful awakening of American Labor which has been going on for the last five or six years, widening its scope and gaining momentum and definiteness year by year and almost month by month. It has not yet been given the attention it deserves. But that does not matter much. The railway workers' demand will be heard, and it will have to be heeded.

The joint statement is a masterly document, worthy of the sort of men from whom it comes—men who move a little more slowly than some would like, but whose deliberateness is due to a habit of weighing their responsibilities; men whose words mean the more because they make it a rule to think twice before they speak. There is in it no plea for pity, no appeal to sentiment; neither is there any loose declamation or appeal to hot passion. It strikes the reader for the moment as a curious thing, that little is said in this document about the grievances of the railway employees as such—the sweeping reduction of working forces, the cutting of wages, the increased burden of labor. Instead of a complaint on behalf of the workers, justifiable as that would be, we have an indictment of the interests which now control the railways, backed by a keen economic analysis.

The labor executives go straight to the vital point—the transfer of control from industrial capitalists to financial capitalists, which has been going on for a good many years and is now practically complete. Whatever could be said against the old-style "railway kings"—and heaven knows there was enough to be said against them—they were at any rate railway men. Their interests were bound up with the earning capac-

ity of the roads. They knew that, in the long run, their profits depended upon the physical condition of the roads and their equipment and the efficiency with which they were operated. Some consideration had to be given to the shippers and passengers on the one hand and to the employees on the other—at least in so far as these elements had the wisdom to organize and demand consideration.

The railway capitalists, as such, have passed out of the picture. In their place, exercising an irresponsible control, stand the great bankers—men who know little and care less about railroading as an industry, who are not administrators, but profit-grabbers pure-and-simple. The contrast is like that between the resident landlord and the absentee landlord. The present masters of our transportation system have no permanent interest either in the efficiency of the roads or in the solvency of the corporations. They stand to profit by defaults and bankruptcies and foreclosures, which give them ever renewed opportunities to pile up interest charges. Squeezing out the last penny at every chance, they let the roads drift toward ruin in a physical sense and create over and over again a situation where the companies can hold up the government for loans such as were made on a gigantic scale by the Hoover administration—loans which go almost wholly to enrich the bankers and leave the operating companies in a situation in which they can neither give efficient service to the general public nor give decent treatment to the million men who work for them.

It is this change of ownership—an advanced stage in the normal development of capitalism—which now merges the labor interest in this industry with broader public interests. The conflict is no longer merely between employers and employees. The railway workers now stand forth, not only for their own rightful claims upon the industry, but as logical champions of efficient service to all whom the railways ought to serve.

Thus the labor question within this field ceases to be a purely industrial question for the workers to deal with as best they can by trade-union action. It becomes also a political question on a national scale. This the union executives clearly see and clearly say.

## Martin Dies Would Drive Out Millions of Alien Workers

By William M. Feigenbaum

CONGRESSMAN MARTIN DIES of Texas, according to the Associated Press, is starting a drive for a law to deport 6,000,000 aliens in the United States "as a partial solution to the unemployment problem."

The giant intellect of the Texas delivered itself of the thought that "If there were no aliens in this country we would not have an unemployment problem."

His idea seems to be that six million aliens are holding jobs that keep six million American citizens out of jobs, and if the aliens were sent back to where they came from six million Americans would promptly get to work and the army of jobless would instantly disappear. Mr. Dies appears to believe that the aliens in the country are all mature men and working women, not one of them having wives or children dependent upon them for support. He appears to believe that there are just so many jobs in the country, and the removal of one set of job holders out of the country would automatically leave just that number of jobs open for other people, presumably citizens (and consequently voters).

He does not realize that six million workers represent probably fifteen million people; or that six million aliens cannot include more than two or two and a half million workers. He does not realize that the removal of two million, or six million, or fifteen million people from the American scene would automatically make just that much less work to be done by those who remain; for the aliens and the jobless, and even the derelicts, must somehow be fed and clothed and sheltered; whether on jobs or on relief, on the breadline or by panhandling or in institutions, whether in comfort or in utter misery, the food and clothing and shelter are somehow found for them, and the finding of that food and clothing and shelter makes jobs for whatever workers find jobs. And with the removal of a certain number of persons—citizens, aliens, derelicts, floaters, stowaways or what have you—the number to be taken care of decently or indecently falls by two million or six million or fifteen million, as the case may be. And with that much less work to be done the number of unemployed among those remaining in the country will automatically remain at the same proportionate level.

Of course Congressman Dies never thought of this, and of

course nothing Martin Dies thinks is of the slightest importance, anyway, except that it illustrates one of the greatest failings of our "great" thinkers and statesmen. For aside from the stupidity and cruelty of the Dies proposal there is the fact that Dies (and millions of others like him) reason by the false analogy between a nation and a family, a country of vast extent with unlimited resources and a home of limited space; between problems affecting tens of millions of people, and those affecting families of four, five and six people.

If this fallacy of reasoning by false analogy were confined to Martin Dies it would be as unimportant as the Texas statesman himself, but it happens to be one of the commonest fallacies of mankind. For hundreds of years the world was misled by the economic fallacy of mercantilism, likewise reasoning by false analogy, a fallacy that caused many wars, including the American revolution. And nations have sought to extend their borders into other lands teeming with people because of the false analogy of their countries with a family outgrowing a small home, or a growing child requiring new clothes.

Thinking straight appears to be the rarest accomplishment of those who have the fate of millions in their charge.

## Ministers Are Urged To Use Union Label

The use of the printers' union label on all the printing done by Protestant churches and Jewish congregations was urged in a letter sent to 1,200 ministers and rabbis by the Ministers' Union, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor.

The Union Label Committee of the union, consisting of Rev. Leon Rosser Land, Rev. L. Bradford and Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein, said that especially since the nullification of NRA by the Supreme Court, a strong and aggressive labor movement is needed and that the churches owe it to the workers to back the unions.

"We should patronize organized labor," said the letter, "because organized labor is in many cases practicing what we are preaching, and is far more in harmony with the ideals of organized religion than those employers who are lowering the standards of wages."