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Eugene V. Debs

Socialists Call Unions to Build Party of Labor

A New Declaration Of Independence

A CENTURY and a half have passed since the Declaration of Independence was adopted. Into that document was poured the philosophy of eighteenth century revolt against political despotism, against aristocracy of birth and inherited privileges. "All men are created equal," that document declares. All have the "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Of course, all men are not created equal. Some are morons who inherited vast wealth and live at the expense of others. Some are potential geniuses whose aptitudes are crushed by grinding poverty and who never have a chance to live normal lives. However, the assertion that all men are equal was an explosive that blew up many aristocratic pretenses. They passed out of the picture.

Some assertions of power and prerogative remained. Manhood suffrage was not won until fifty years after the adoption of the Declaration. Other abuses that bore heavily on the workers also remained for decades.

As for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness: Life is uncertain and precarious for millions of toilers today. Liberty is a frail thing when men, women and children lack bread and shelter. Happiness has not been realized for millions, although they and their fathers have pursued it for 150 years.

Nevertheless, there was one aspect of the American revolutionary period that is important. Historians agree that in no other period of American history was there so much original thinking. The American mind was fertile in new ideas. Real thinking became an art.

A Revival of Thinking Needed

THE history of peoples from the days of old Greece and Rome was ransacked for material and ideas to explain the changing world. It was a day when thousands of pamphlets were in circulation. The political gazettes were filled with informed discussion of political, economic and social questions.

Men were willing to break with the past. Every public meeting was a forum of education. Workers and farmers asserted their claims. They were active in organizing and directing the revolutionary committees. They obtained representation in them and in several instances they controlled them. In one southern colony they even elected five mechanics to the Assembly on an independent ticket of their own, probably the first instance of independent labor representation in the world.

It is this phase of the revolutionary period that has not been emphasized and that should be emphasized in this period of change and crisis. We lack a secured life; we lack the liberty that should be assured to all; we do not have the happiness which has been pursued for fifteen decades.

There is again need for fertile and original thinking. The old range of ideas that served the statesmen and politicians are as out of date as the political economy of Adam Smith. What is required is a revival of thinking by the masses who suffer from the frightful disaster that has overwhelmed them.

The Declaration of Independence was adapted to the age of the ox cart, the dirt road and household manufactures. It was a declaration which in the end revealed that while the upper classes wanted home rule, they also wanted to rule at home. They have had a century and a half of it. Now is the turn of the great laboring masses.

New Declaration Is Needed

THE Declaration of Independence was mainly a political document. Ours must also be political, but its economic and social emphasis will overshadow everything else. The first Declaration left the household and shop industries, the sailing boats and oxcart transportation in private hands. And rightly so. They could not be socialized. They had to first develop a social character.

Today they have this social character. The new Declaration of Independence will declare them social institutions to be socially owned and operated. It will declare our independence of the corporation owners. We also will want home rule, the rule of an industrial democracy that will take over stagnant industries, bring them to life, open the gates of employment, and liberate the millions who are locked out.

The new Declaration of Independence will also bring home rule to the working farmers. It will make them independent of the banking usurers, the grain and cotton gamblers, the manufacturers of farm machinery, those who control supplies, and those who stand by the side of transportation and distributing agencies and take a heavy toll of the farmers' products.

The new Declaration of Independence will declare our independence of upper class politics and parties and bring the masses into an independent movement of their own. The independent movement will send its couriers of emancipation into every legislative body, reach up into the courts and the executive powers of city, state, and nation.

All this will not make all men equal, but it will give them equal opportunity. It will guarantee a full and complete life of security and happiness. And the price is—to again think! Think in terms of a new age, new problems and new responsibilities. That is all that the Socialist movement proposes.

Garment Strike Called Off; Conferences Are Resumed

The threatened strike of 40,000 garment workers in New York City appears to have been averted as a result of the surrender by the jobbers organized in the Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association of their demand for abrogation of the principle of limitation of contractors and jobber responsibility for wage and work standards.

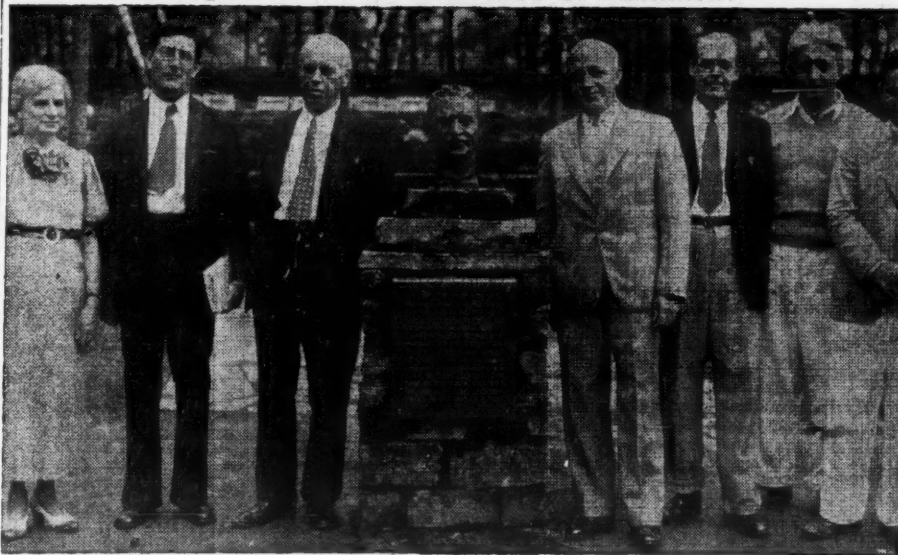
Upon intervention of Governor Lehman all parties to the dispute arising from the negotiations for a new agreement in the industry

have accepted a series of recommendations which will preserve the union's gains and maintain peace in the industry for the time being, at least.

The attack of the jobbers on principles which the union considers essential has been beaten off and the status quo as it existed under the old agreement, which expired June 1 will be preserved.

On Friday representatives of all factors concerned met at the office of the impartial chairman to discuss the basis of a new government.

Hillquit Memorial Dedicated at Tamiment



At the dedication of the beautiful Morris Hillquit Memorial Grove at Camp Tamiment, Pa., during the sessions of the Tamiment Labor Institute. Left to right: Mrs. Vera Hillquit, Charles Solomon, John P. Frey, George E. Roewer, Algernon Lee, Frederick H. Umhey, Louis Waldman.

Latimer Pledges Labor Policies In Minneapolis

Socialist Takes Office as Mayor; Replaces Anti-Labor Police Head.

By J. Siegel
Special to The New Leader.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—This great city of close to half a million people came under the rule of the Farmer-Labor Party with the inauguration Monday of Thomas E. Latimer, old-time Socialist, who was elected Mayor three weeks ago. It was a gala day for the labor and Socialist movement of the Mill City.

The Council Chamber was decorated with flags, banners and flowers sent by many working class organizations, including the Workmen's Circle District Committee and many branches of the Workmen's Circle.

Amid great cheering Comrade Latimer was escorted to the platform by a committee of three aldermen. In his inaugural address the Mayor outlined the program his administration will follow and at the same time he announced two important appointments. Frank B. Forestell was appointed to the all-important office of Chief of Police, and Andrew G. Cooper, prominent Socialist and a leader in the Machinists' Union, as his secretary.

One of the leading issues of the recent municipal campaign was the conduct of the police in connection with last summer's strike of the truckmen. Commissioner Forestell is known as sympathetic towards the Farmer-Labor movement. In the matter of relief, Mayor Latimer announced his intention of placing many of the unemployed upon vacant land.

In an exclusive interview Mayor Latimer spoke to me about the dreams of the past and the plans for making those dreams a reality in the future. Among other things he said, "You see those people around us now? They used to throw us into basement police jails. Now the situation has completely changed."

It is the widely expressed prediction everywhere that next year the neighboring city of St. Paul, capital of the state, will follow the example of Minneapolis and again fall into the control of the workers.

Lipschitz to Speak on New Leader Hour Tuesday Night

Dr. Sigfried Lipschitz, head of the Trans-Atlantic Service Bureau and of the Labor Chest Against Fascism, will speak on The New Leader period over Station WEVD on Tuesday evening, July 9th, at 10 o'clock. His subject will be "The Economic Situation in Germany." Dr. Lipschitz is one of the best informed men on Germany in the United States.

Hillquit Memorial Grove Dedicated at Tamiment

Protest Rising Against Nazis in Germany

First Anniversary of Blood Purge Finds Resentment Among Masses of Workers Growing.

BERLIN.—A year has passed since the Nazi blood purge of June 30th, 1934; but every day offers new proof of the bitter struggle raging underground the newly-laid structure of Hitler Germany. Outwardly Hitlerism reigns supreme. Many promises intended to satisfy the hunger of the German people for power and prestige have been fulfilled; rearmament and constant new military demands have created an artificial economic boom; industrialists and generals are the masters of the Third Reich; the middle class glorifies in Germany's new military power and her aggressiveness; the opposition within Nazi ranks has been drowned in blood; the German state for and of and by the Nazi party is slowly amalgamated and blended into the new structure that closely resembles the feudal Germany of pre-war days.

Yet while the masses groan under new and ever increasing burdens their resistance against the regime of tyranny and suppression is slowly growing. Prices are skyrocketing; scarcity of material is increasing; wages have reached new low levels. Germany's social legislation, a source of pride for decades, has been cut to the bone. The destruction of the powerful trade unions has been followed by the employers' despotic rule.

Living conditions have gone from bad to worse. Its reflexes are becoming visible in the growing dissatisfaction and grumblings of the workers. Unwillingly fascinated by the military glamor of the new masters, yet the masses fear the consequences of a new world conflict. No amount of propaganda has been able to wipe out the older workers' fearful memories of the last war.

The recent workers' councils elections offer convincing proof of the growing realization on the part of the workers that the fascist regime is implacably hostile to the aims of organized labor. The distrust in which the workers hold the new regime is best illustrated by the outcome of the council elections in the tramway and street car municipal enterprises of Frankfurt-am-Main. The slate of the Nazi candidates which last year received approximately 90 per cent of all votes cast, drew this year only 25 per cent, and this despite unceasing propaganda efforts. No wonder that thinking people view this result as a telling symptom of the change that is taking place within the ranks of the German workers. (Continued on Page Seven)

Frey Speaks of Services to Labor of Debs, Gompers and Hillquit at Notable Ceremony.

ON Saturday afternoon came the dedication of the Hillquit Grove to the memory of our late beloved comrade, Morris Hillquit. Beneath the trees in a beautiful spot gathered hundreds of men and women to pay their tribute of affection to the memory of one who had given devoted and invaluable service to the labor and Socialist movement.

Young guards stood at attention on the front edge of the platform, each bearing aloft a red banner. Back of them were the speakers and an orchestra which opened the ceremony with the "International" which the audience sang. Below the platform and some twenty feet beyond it was a bronze bust of Comrade Hillquit, presented by Mrs. Vera Hillquit and Nina and Lawrence Hillquit. The features bear a trace of the rare smile that was typical of a radiant personality.

Algernon Lee of the Rand School of Social Science presided. He declared that the ceremony was participated in by many organizations representative of the Labor and Socialist movement. "We are here to dedicate this beautiful grove to the memory of one who had helped to build the many institutions and organizations represented here," said Lee. "Morris Hillquit lives and will live in the hearts of many men and women in this movement. We have come to dedicate a monument to him and to resolve to carry on his work."

Vera Hillquit, widow of Comrade Hillquit, spoke for about a minute and under evident emotional strain.

Mrs. Hillquit said, "Morris Hillquit, who devoted his whole life to the cause of labor, believed that only by educating the workers can we achieve our aim—a world without exploitation of one's fellowmen—a world with war—a world of international comradeship and peace—Socialism. Morris considered the Rand School, the workers' university, one of the most important factors in bringing it about."

"When that day comes, when Socialism will triumph, I hope that some comrades will assemble right here in the Hillquit Grove to celebrate their victory."

At this point the orchestra rendered Handel's beautiful and solemn "Largo."

Will Be Remembered

George E. Roewer of Boston, a life-long friend of Comrade Hillquit, declared that Hillquit never lost the influence of environment and experience as a teacher which was supplemented by a brilliant mind and a scholarly knowledge of the Socialist philosophy. His range of interests included poetry, art and music. Roewer also recalled Comrade Hillquit's courage during the world war and declared that as long as the struggle continues he will be remembered. "He sleeps beneath the stars and in a new (Continued on Page Six)

Repudiation of Old Parties Is Keynote at Conference Of the Tamiment Institute

Noted Labor Leaders Join with Socialists in Demands for Constitutional Revision and Social Reconstruction—Thrilling Meeting Marks Beginning of Great Educational Enterprise.

Conference for 3rd Party Opens in Chicago

Progressive Congressmen Bar Fascists and Communists From Parley

By Emily N. Brown
Special to The New Leader.

CHICAGO, Ill.—Leading members of the American Federation of Labor, mid-western third-party groups, farmer organizations and cooperative are gathering here (July 5th and 6th) to discuss the prospects of a possible party of workers and farmers opposed to the two old parties, on a national scale.

The Socialist Party has a number of observers in attendance, watching developments but without authority to commit the party to any action taken.

The conference met at the special invitation of five Congressmen appointed at a preliminary conference in Washington some time ago, Thomas R. Amlie and George J. Schneider of Wisconsin, Ernest Lundeen, Minnesota, Vito Marcantonio, New York, and Byron Scott, California.

The conference meets upon the basis of the following fundamentals, assumed to be accepted by all in attendance and upon which there is to be no further discussion:

1. The old order is breaking down and must be replaced by a new economic system in which planning will be substituted for chaos, service for profit and abundance for poverty.
2. The present national leadership of the two old parties offers no hope to the people of the United States.
3. United action of all forces working for political and economic democracy is urgent in the present crisis.
4. Any action must be based upon a fundamental program, striking at the roots of the profit system.

Discussion is planned to follow an outline previously prepared, as follows:

1. A workable, acceptable statement of aims and policies, on which organized labor, organized farmers, cooperators, intellectuals, progres-

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AN inspiring union of Socialism and labor marked the conference of the Tamiment Economic and Social Institute which met at Camp Tamiment from June 27 to June 30 to discuss "America in the Face of Crisis" and concrete problems of immediate and larger political and social significance to the American people.

If the secret of Socialist success, as demonstrated by experience in many countries, lies in the union of Socialist ideas with the labor movement, the conference made a significant contribution to this end.

Meeting under the auspices of a group of New York Socialists responsible for the establishment of the Institute and its program, the conference devoted four sessions to intensive discussion of burning problems of the day and the task of rebuilding America on new social foundations.

More than 600 persons from many states attended the meeting and heard addresses by outstanding Socialists, labor leaders and progressives. Participation by the audience in the discussions gave the conference dynamic character and emphasized its educational and cultural importance.

Louis Waldman, New York State chairman of the Socialist Party, presided and directed the proceedings with a steady hand. The Institute is to be made permanent. It will meet regularly at Camp Tamiment, and promises to become the leading national forum for the discussion of problems of labor and Socialism.

Institute to Be Permanent

That it may well become something more than a forum and may prove to be a powerful instrument for the unification of the Socialist movement with organized labor in the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party was indicated in the keynote struck by Chairman Waldman at the opening session and addresses by others dealing with the necessity and prospects of a fundamental political realignment in the United States. Dominating the proceedings was this very idea.

While Chairman Waldman appealed to the American Federation of Labor to strike out boldly upon the road of independent political action, Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and former member of the National Industrial Recovery Board, emphasized the inevitability of a Labor Party should the American Federation of Labor and the (Continued on Page Three)

Struggle for Recognition Won by Pullman Porters

Ten-Year-Old Struggle Ends when Company Union Is Rejected by Big Majority—A. Philip Randolph Led Winning Battle.

Special to The New Leader.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—As a result of a nationwide election held by the National Mediation Board, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, affiliated with the A. F. of L., won by a landslide over the Pullman Porters' and Maids' Protective Association, a company union, and is now certified by the board as the legal representative of the porters and maids in the employ of the Pullman company.

Out of 8,316 porters and maids eligible to vote 5,931 voted for the Brotherhood and 1,422 for the company union. Of those who voted by mail, 555 voted for the Brotherhood and 181 for the Protective. Five districts in Chicago with 1952 men gave the Brotherhood 1496 and the Protective 296. The two districts in New York voted 1208

for the Brotherhood and 158 for the Protective.

The company union had hoped that the southern porters would cast their ballots in their favor since it was the popular belief that the Brotherhood was not organized in the South, but every district gave support to the Brotherhood except Houston, Tex., Memphis, Tenn., and Atlanta, Geo.

The movement to organize Pullman Porters and Maids began in August, 1925, when Ashley L. Totten, a porter, led a revolt against the vicious company union. Totten told the porters that they needed a leader independent of the Pullman Company with the necessary ability, honesty and determination of purpose, and selected A. Philip Randolph, editor of the Messenger, and a prominent Socialist.

Upon his refusal to cease his activities the Pullman Company fired (Continued on Page Three)

Labor and Socialists Join Hands at Tamiment

Capitalist Robbery Cause Of Depression, Frey Shows In Address at Conference

Says Decreasing Share Received by Labor Despite Increase in Productivity Responsible for Crisis — Gorman Demands Mobilization of Workers to Repel Attacks of Employers.

The fundamental cause of the depression is to be found in the exploitation of labor, in the wide discrepancy between increased productivity and the share received by labor, John P. Frey, head of the metal trades department of the American Federation of Labor, told the Tamiment Economic and Social Institute.

Mr. Frey presented some striking figures, based upon data culled from the United States Census on Manufacturers, showing that greed for profits, expressed in a decreased proportion of the value of industrial output paid to labor, undermined the purchasing power of the people and brought about cessation of production with its unprecedented unemployment.

That the struggle for raising wage levels and protecting the rights of the workers through unionization and collective bargaining will continue to occupy the center of the stage in the United States was the point emphasized before the institute by Francis J. Gorman, vice-president of the United Textile Workers; Julius Hochman, vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; and Mark Starr, educational director of the same organization. All three speakers stressed the need of more efficient organization on the part of labor, based upon the principle of industrial unionism, and a more aggressive trade union policy.

Pointing out that had wage levels existing in 1923 and 1924 been maintained, labor would have received many billions in dollars more than was actually its share and that this alone would have served as a cushion for the depression, Mr. Frey said:

Wages Lost Ground

"During the six years preceding 1929, finance and industry were applying economic policies which were rapidly driving the national economic structure to collapse. As the production of wealth increased, the total volume of wages continually fell behind, so that the people of the United States were increasingly unable to buy the products of industry and agriculture.

"The Federal Census of Manufacturers informs us that in 1925 the total value of our manufactured products was \$2,150,000,000 more than in 1923. Yet, the total volume of wages paid in the manufacturing industries in 1925 was \$279,000,000 less than in 1923.

"In 1927 the value of our manufactured goods had increased over 1925. Yet, the total volume of wages paid in the manufacturing industries was \$160,000,000 less than in 1923.

"As the value of our manufactured goods increased, the total volume of wages paid in the manufacturing industries continued to proportionately decrease.

"Dr. Wilford I. King, in his standard work, 'National Income,' indicated that in 1928 the volume of wages paid to all wage earners was \$649,000,000 less than in 1927. The wage earners in the United States were \$640,000,000 less able to purchase American products than they had been the year before.

Wages Play Vital Role

"The part that wages play in the national welfare is more vital to the United States than to any other industrial nation, for the United States exports a smaller proportion of its products than any other industrial country. The home market is much more important to American industries than the home

market is to the other industrial nations.

One Paramount Problem

"It is unnecessary to study all of the rapidly accumulating books written by economists to understand the part wages play in national prosperity. It is unnecessary for us to turn on the radio so that we may listen to those who advocate their particular plans for dividing up the wealth through currency, banking, and other types of legislation. After all, no matter what changes are made in our currency, regardless of whether currency is issued solely by the government or otherwise; regardless of whether the gold value of currency fluctuates; regardless of what legislative regulations may be applied to our banking system, none of these can solve the problem which is involved in wages, the purchasing power of the people.

"The economically sound distribution of the wealth we produce at any given time, is the basic factor which determines national prosperity. The wealth which the country has produced in the past is useful as the source of credit; but wages must come from the wealth being produced through each day and each year. It is the economically sound distribution of this wealth which is necessary to national recovery.

Buying Power All-Important

"This purchasing power of the wage earners is the all-important economic factor, for it is the wage earners and their dependents, representing approximately 80 per cent of our population, who keep the factories of our country busy. The total volume of wages being paid at this time is too small a portion of the wealth now being created by industry.

"Unless the proportion of the wealth now being created by industry which is paid out in wages, is sufficient to permit wage earners to purchase what is being produced, then instead of being on the way to national recovery, our country is heading toward further industrial and financial disasters."

An impressive plea for mobilization by labor of all the forces at its disposal and strengthening of its lines by means of improvement in organization and tactics was made by Mr. Gorman.

He predicted a widespread drive by employers against wages and hours as soon as Congress adjourns and warned that so far as the textile industry was concerned the orders given by the union were: strike against every wage cut and any attempt to raise hours.

Industrial unionism as against the craft form of organization has become a life and death problem for organized labor, Mr. Gorman said.

"Labor must in some way very shortly organize itself not merely into groups but so that the rank and file of the workers can be mobilized and brought into mass action in opposition to any power that dares to tear down what we have so laboriously built up," Mr. Gorman said. "The American Federation of Labor must change its tactics very shortly if we are going to compete successfully with organized capital. The whole power of reactionary capital is now being mobilized against labor."

It was Mr. Gorman's prediction that three months from now, with the adjournment of Congress, the employers' drive will be under way and that then "labor will demand

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Sidney Hillman speaking at the Tamiment conference. Seated, left to right—Francis J. Gorman, first vice-president, U.T.W.; Julius Hochman and Louis Waldman.

Rubinow Sees Promising Start In Social Security Program

By Dr. I. M. Rubinow

(From the address delivered by the noted authority on social legislation before the conference of the Tamiment Economic and Social Institute.)

A great deal has been said in criticism of the Presidential program for social and economic security. Much of the criticism may be justified if the program such as is now in the last stages of its enactment is compared with ideal standards of the complete scheme to make life secure. And yet sober judgment will not fail to record that with all its limitations and shortcomings the economic security bill marks a distinct and almost epoch making advance in the field of social legislation.

It may be worth while remembering that the program was attacked with equal vehemence from both extreme ends, by money and employing interests because it goes too far, and from the extreme left because it does not go far enough. Both extremes not only criticized the bill but definitely advocated its defeat—the Chamber of Commerce, on the right, and not only Miss Van Kleeck, but the New Republic and The Nation, on the left, thus creating once more the inconsistent but not unusual situation of both extreme sides joining against the middle.

It was pointed out by its enemies that the bill was being forced through Congress by extraordinary pressure, yet the very small number of negative votes both in the House and even in the Senate, is at least significant. The overwhelming majority in favor of the bill, even among its enemies, is explained characteristically by the fear of the legislators as to what the folks at home might think or say about a negative vote, which simply means that American people through five years of depression have learned perhaps more than in thirty years of agitation, and were determined that at least this first step should be taken.

Hopes and Realities

However, I would not want to be understood as presenting here an unqualified endorsement of the bill and its limitations. As one of the oldest advocates of economic security in this country, I can't deny my own feeling of disappointment arising out of these limitations. After all it is much easier to criticize a bill, as it is easier to criticize a book, for what it does not contain rather than for what it does. There are a great many things that we had hoped for, worked for and expected in a complete program of social insurance, which will not be found in the bill. The question remains as to how far we were justified in expecting a complete structure of security by one stroke of legislation.

Insurance and Security

Perhaps the real difficulty and the real cause for disappointment are that we were led to expect so much. This tendency to extravagant promises by the administration is one which is not limited to social security only. One may admire the faith and the courage and vision lying back of those announcements of sacred principles, but a certain feeling of disappointment is inevitable when from such principles we come down to practical proposals, legislative plans and legislative action.

Perhaps a certain degree of responsibility for this difference between the ideal and the real may be laid at our own doors. Its origin may be found in what apparently looked like an innocent shift of emphasis when we began to talk on social and economic security rather than social insurance. Social and economic security is an ideal. One may say that it is the fundamental striving of all civilization, and ideals cannot be realized in a day nor by one action of a legislative body. Social and economic security as an ideal includes every-

On the other hand, social insur-

ance is a very definite specific program. It presupposes the application of the insurance method. It has arisen out of the experiences of the wage system. Its founda-

Nye Foresees Nationalization Of Armament

Chairman of Senate Inquiry Committee Believes Private Control of Munitions Industry Menace to Peace

SENATOR GERALD P. NYE of North Dakota, chairman of the Senate Munitions Committee, declared in his address at the Tamiment Institute that nationalization of the munitions industry appears to be increasingly the only sure solution for the problem of controlling what he characterized as the pernicious influence of the industry making for international hatreds, suspicions and war.

The Senator expressed confidence that "a great deal will be accomplished at this session of Congress" in the task which his committee has set for itself.

"I feel confident that the bill taking profit out of war will become law and that other measures proposed to deal with this all-important question of curbing influences making for war will likewise receive favorable consideration."

On nationalization as against regulation, the Senator declared that, while he has not yet definitely made up his mind, he feels more and more that nationalization would be the only effective solution. "The will of the munitions industry for profit has so totally blinded it to ordinary decency," he said, "and our committee's record reveals so clearly that the industry breeds hate, fear and suspicion among peoples and nations to the end that there may be more profit for it, that no mere control would be sufficient."

The Senator charged that munitions makers were seeking deliberately to stimulate fear of war between this country and Japan in order that Congress might vote for ever larger naval appropriations.

Urging passage of several measures as essential, he said that in his opinion "there is greater danger of war now than ever before since 1914."

He deplored the fact that "the United States is setting the pace in the armaments race," saying that "no nation is spending as much as we are on preparation for war."

Mr. Nye pleaded for approval of the two resolutions proposed to strengthen American neutrality in the event of war. The first would forbid the use by Americans of belligerent vessels, except at their own risk, and the second would prohibit loans or credits by Americans to any nation at war or to the nationals of a belligerent nation.

Praising the two measures now before the Senate Naval Committee designed to prevent collusion on naval construction bids, the Senator asserted that "the shipbuilders have been looting the government and this is going to be stopped."

Socialists at the conference took occasion to emphasize that while the program outlined by Senator Nye was highly desirable and constructive, the question of war was tied up closely with the whole problem of capitalism, and that social control of our economic system aiming at the abolition of capitalism was an essential prerequisite to disarmament and preservation of peace.

tions have been laid by the wage workers themselves. Its methods are particularly applicable to those who work under a labor contract. It has a history of half a century of growth, progress and achievement. In that history the backward stand of the United States was so glaring as to be almost incomprehensible. We old advocates of social insurance had a definite program to advocate but we never offered social insurance as a panacea of all economic and social ailments of all the people in the country.

Inevitably utopians or general principles make a stronger appeal than sober discussion of measures. An acid test of the extent to which any legislative measure would meet everybody's longings for complete and ample economic security is bound to result in a very unfavorable verdict.

Provisions of the Bill

I do not mean to reject such criticism as absolutely worthless. It is obviously fair to point out all the things that are still left undone, but unless we still work under the naive assumption that the millennium is near, within our group an appraisal of the bill from this point of view alone is bound to be very one-sided and futile.

What does the bill contain? First, there is the provision for gratuity old age pensions. It isn't the \$15.00 pension. It aims to make a \$30.00 pension possible and perhaps even a more generous one in progressive states. The method is indirect. It is not a straight federal pension, which it might have been. It is impossible to estimate in advance what the maximum results of this provision will be. Much will depend upon state action. At worst those states which have no old age pension laws as yet may refuse to be tempted by the bait of a federal subsidy. Yet in view of the fact that even without this subsidy some thirty states have already enacted laws, this result would be highly improbable.

At best the states may give to their aged all the benefit of the federal subsidy by increasing the individual grant. Wherever that happens the grant may rise to thirty, thirty-five or even forty dollars as against fifteen or twenty-five dollars per month now. We must admit that a pension of such size, particularly when given to couples, will mean a degree of security for the aged such as this country has never seen before.

However, in other states, the result may be very much less affected. States may take advantage of the federal subsidy merely for the purpose of reducing their own tax load. As to what will really happen will depend upon you and me acting in our capacity as citizens in our respective states.

I am not here to defend the good old Constitution or the Jeffersonian principle of state autonomy. I can admit even a certain sanctity of that tradition in Rhode Island or Pennsylvania which has antedated the U. S. A., but I confess the sanctity of the principle of state autonomy and the residual state powers as applied to most of the states created by the federal government out of desert area with the aid of a pencil and ruler, leaves me altogether cold.

A Big Advance

But after all there it is, the good old Constitution. You and I may rail against it, but we cannot abolish it and it is a sound rule of reason to be able to accept situations as they exist unless there is a reasonable opportunity of changing them, and the situation being what it is with forty-eight legislatures, we must not get into the state of mind of blaming Washington for everything that remains undone and thus creating an iron clad alibi for ourselves for failure to perform our duties as conscious citizens of our states.

Waldman in Keynote Plea Summons A.F.L. to Join in Action for Labor Party

Time for Action Has Come, New York State Chairman Declares — "Labor Has No Time to Lose," Says Amlie — Hillman Predicts Political Realignment.

EMPHASIZING the cardinal fact that a Labor Party without labor was impossible, Louis Waldman, chairman of the Tamiment conference, appealed to the American Federation of Labor to strike out upon the road of independent political action.

Comrade Waldman emphasized that labor as an independent political factor was the outstanding issue now before the country. He stressed the point that the American people were determined to achieve a solution of the grave social and economic problems before them through democratic action and that neither fascism nor Communism would ever strike deep root in this country.

Waldman's Plea

Comrade Waldman said in part: "Contrary to the road followed in certain European countries, the road of dictatorship, the people of this country are determined to approach the problems before them from the traditional democratic viewpoint. The American people will never submit to Communism or fascism. Their road remains and will remain the road of democracy. The development of new democratic forms as the basis of an enlarged constructive Federalism, to be achieved by such amendments of the Constitution as may be necessary, is one of the tasks before them."

"This is one of the cardinal problems before the nation. Labor more than any other element of the American people is vitally interested."

"Neither of the two old parties is able to accomplish it. We are confronted now with one of those critical periods in the life of the American people demanding that they carry out a fundamental political realignment. A labor party is the instrument to accomplish this readjustment."

"It would be futile, however, to offer to the people a labor party without labor. It is up to the American Federation of Labor to take the lead in this party. Indications are rapidly accumulating that before very long the A. F. of L. will be compelled to take the initiative to this end."

Hillman's Address

Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, declared that labor was determined to sweep away the obstacles placed by the Supreme Court through Constitutional interpretation to the legislation and reforms required by the very life interests of the nation. He predicted that if found necessary, a new party would arise to carry out the task of Constitutional revision and basic social reconstruction.

At the same time, Hillman urged revision of labor's organizational form if its struggle on the economic field was to be successful. The craft union, he said, has for the most part outlived its usefulness, adding that industrial unionism was an essential instrument for victory, especially in the mass production industries.

Hillman also defended the NRA against criticism of left wingers. His address in part follows:

"The NRA was a great help to organized labor. The criticism against NRA, especially from the left wing of the labor movement, has shown itself to be groundless. It would have been practically impossible for organized labor to make the progress they made with the NRA."

"In the midst of 15 million unemployed wages have gone up from December, 1932, to 1934, 68 per cent, and compared with March, 1932, 72 per cent. Hours have been reduced in all industries. Reemployment is estimated between 3 and 4 million.

"Organized labor, wherever the

leadership was up to its responsibilities, made tremendous headway. The outstanding examples are the United Mine Workers and the needle trades. It is my contention, that in those industries where organized labor has not made much headway, the trouble was mainly the lack of proper direction and leadership. As to the form of organization, the craft unions have shown themselves incapable of taking advantage of a favorable situation. They are still in the 'horse and buggy' stage. Where there is the industrial form of organization, there has been most headway.

"Some groups expected the government to organize for them. That is silly. The NRA was the first step in this crisis to substitute planning for chaos. It is closely tied up with mass consumption and it is the duty of the Government to guarantee a minimum purchasing power. That has been accomplished through the minimum wage established in the codes. It is vitally important that maximum hours be provided to make for reemployment."

"The NRA has a record of slow but sure progress. It met requirements and was on the way to improving its administration. Now that the Supreme Court has spoken and declared the NRA unconstitutional, the question is 'What is ahead of us?' In my judgment the Supreme Court decision has settled nothing. The grave problems of unemployment and purchasing power must be solved and it is my prediction that it will take less time to over-ride the decision of the Supreme Court than it took in the Dred Scott decision of 1857."

"I am in favor of anything that will stop the Supreme Court from being in the way of progress. It is within the power of the people in a democracy to regulate itself. In my opinion the court decision definitely upholds property rights as against human rights and therefore it cannot possibly endure for long."

"Labor is now looking to the President for leadership. If in the near future the conservatives in both old parties will not permit the President to carry through the New Deal program, it is my judgment that labor, farmers and others who make up 90 per cent of the population of this country will turn to a new political party. The foundation of such a grouping would be labor and the farmers. I hope it will not go along the lines, however, of the 'share-the-wealth' groups and advocates of other overnight panaceas."

Solomon Gives Socialist View
Charles Solomon declared that the crisis through which America and the rest of the world were passing was due to the basic conflict in society between the "means of production and the mode of exchange."

"Our social organization dominated by the profit motive stands like a barrier between the masses of the people and the material resources and economic equipment of the nation," he said. "Our great problem is to so reorganize society as to make possible the fullest possible utilization of these resources and equipment in the interests of the whole American people."

"The struggle between those who would effect such a social reorganization and those who are opposed, the champions of the status quo, constitutes the greatest struggle in all the world today; in fact, it is the most decisive struggle in all history."

After quoting authoritative figures showing the increasing concentration of wealth in the United States, Comrade Solomon pointed out that the slogan of the conservatives "save the Constitution" in

(Continued on Page Five)

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Vital Problems Discussed by Experts at Conference

Make Housing Major Issue, Noted Authorities Demand, 14,000,000 Homes Is Need

Catherine Bauer, B. Charney Vladeck and Langdon Post in Brilliant Exposition of Problem at Tamiment—Private Enterprise in Building Industry Cannot Cope With Situation.

The collapse of private enterprise in housing, coupled with a demand that the federal government, in cooperation with states and municipalities, undertake to provide homes for millions of Americans living under sub-standard housing conditions, was emphasized at the conference of the Tamiment Economic and Social Institute, which devoted an entire morning session to the question.

Noted experts in this field assailed the hopelessly inadequate manner in which the federal government is approaching the question and declared that it would never be solved until it has been made a major political issue. The need of the nation for the next ten years was placed at 14,000,000 homes.

Leading in the study of this problem before the conference was Catherine Bauer, author of "Modern Housing," and a prominent authority. Miss Bauer was supported by B. Charney Vladeck, manager of the Jewish Daily Forward and member of the New York City Housing Authority, and Langdon Post, Tenement Commissioner of New York City and chairman of the Housing Authority.

Mr. Post, too, declared that housing on any appreciable scale would become a reality only when the people make it a major political issue and when it is approached not from the point of view of providing emergency jobs for the unemployed but as one of the most important tasks confronting the nation.

Comrade Vladeck made the point that only by the abolition of rent interest and profit can the housing problem be solved with adequately.

A Basic Social Problem
"The housing problem is not just a temporary emergency, or a minor branch of social work, or something merely affecting a special group known as 'slum dwellers,'" Miss Bauer said.

"The housing problem affects everyone because it results from failure of a basic industry, the business of providing dwellings. The residential production business has been a speculative, fluctuating 'luxury trade,' whose potential market included only the upper third or upper quarter income group. Everyone else was condemned to live in a second hand third hand or twentieth hand dwelling."

"There has been no machinery for replacement whatsoever. An American dwelling, by the nature of its financial set-up, never dies. Imagine an industry responsible for the production of one of the three basic needs of humanity—food, clothing and shelter—which never writes off anything, never replaces its outworn products, never admits that anything is obsolete."

"This sick industry, now at its very lowest ebb, faces a very critical situation."
"According to recent studies made by myself and the National Association of Housing Officials, using scientific methods worked out by government population experts, 8,000,000 new dwelling units will be needed merely to take care of the net increase in families. In addition, at least 10 percent of existing dwellings should be replaced immediately because they constitute a proven menace to public health and welfare. At least 10 percent per year in addition should be allowed for obsolescence."

14,000,000 Homes Needed
"The total need in the next ten years, by very conservative estimates, is therefore around 14,000,000 dwelling units."
"But private enterprise produced only 6 or 6½ million units during its biggest boom decade, 1920-1930."
"A large section of housing production must therefore become a matter of public responsibility. But no sizeable or effective program will ever be undertaken unless there is an organized political, public demand."

"All 'housing' is not necessarily good housing. Only labor leadership can direct and make effective public demand."

Like Miss Bauer, Commissioner Post deplored the policy of the government in treating the housing problem as an emergency and relief problem instead of as a major economic and social problem.

"Until this is made a major political issue we are not going to get any housing in any substantial measure," Commissioner Post said. "The only reason we are getting some money in New York City from Washington (\$25,000,000) for housing construction is on the excuse of emergency, of putting people to work, or subsidizing industry. Until we have crystallized the need and justification of building houses in this country we will never get a housing program that even remotely approximates the need. The people must be taught to realize that government responsibility for housing must be placed on a par

Housing Authority



B. C. Vladeck

with government responsibility for education. What is needed is the application of pressure by the people on a national scale that will force the required action."

New York City's Program
Commissioner Post discussed the proposal and plans of the New York City Housing Authority for a comprehensive ten-year housing program for this city, to cost \$1,000,000,000. The program, if carried out, would supply new homes at reasonable cost for 500,000 New York City families now residing in slum and sub-standard dwellings.

Mr. Post pleaded for closer cooperation between the federal government and the states and municipalities in making such programs a reality. He assailed the lack of interest shown by cities in this problem and demanded that municipalities all over the country set up housing authorities to map and carry out adequate programs of housing construction with the assistance of public funds.

Approaching the question from a more fundamental Socialist viewpoint, Comrade Vladeck showed that low cost housing on a large scale was difficult, if not impossible, under the capitalist system. He cited striking figures intended to show that the elements of capital, land, amortization, interest and repairs make it well nigh impossible to construct houses for the great masses commensurate with their needs and their ability to pay rent.

"No real rehousing of the American people is possible until rent, interest and profit are completely abolished," Comrade Vladeck declared. "The workers and consumers must organize in a truly constructive effort for reducing the cost of land, money and materials if a comprehensive housing program is to become a reality."

That this can best be accomplished by the workers and consumers through a party of their own was stressed by both Miss Bauer



John P. Frey, Harry W. Laidler and John T. Flynn at the Tamiment conference.

U. S. Purchases Urged as Club Over Employers

Isador Lubin, Chief Statistician of Labor Department, suggests policy for government in efforts to maintain standards.

The use of government purchases and government credit as a means for securing the cooperation of American industry in maintaining high standards of employment was advocated today by Isador Lubin, Commissioner of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor, before the Tamiment Economic and Social Institute.

Pointing out that the United States Government is today the largest single consumer of industrial products, Mr. Lubin said that through its purchases for maintaining the Federal establishments, through its contracts for materials used in construction projects,

and Comrade Vladeck.

Maintaining that there can be no adequate rehousing until the time when the hold of the real estate interests on urban America is completely broken, Comrade Vladeck emphasized that land debts constitute the greatest obstacle at the present time because "they are not based on value but on speculation."

Comrade Vladeck sees a possible solution to the problem in the authority which the Zoning Commission can exercise by insisting that all new dwellings be restricted to 35% of the lot, allowing the balance of 65% for playgrounds and other recreational facilities. He also suggested that new buildings be no higher than four stories.

"This would cause the value of land to drop and would help the rehousing program," he said.

through its orders for the products to be used in its work program it can play an effective part in maintaining decent wage standards, in keeping hours of employment at reasonable levels and in preventing child labor. By compelling compliance with certain specified labor conditions it can serve notice on those who sell materials and services to Federal agencies that those who seek to do business with the United States Government will not be permitted to profit from the exploitation of labor.

Mr. Lubin further recommended that all firms having contracts to furnish goods to the United States Government should be compelled to undertake to make certain minimum standards of employment a condition of purchase when they buy materials or equipment to be used in producing commodities to be delivered to Federal agencies. Similarly, all projects undertaken by states and municipalities and all materials used in such projects, when financed in whole or in part with Federal money could be made subject to these standards.

"The Federal government could also exert great influence on labor conditions in American industry by using its vast credit resources," Mr. Lubin said. "The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Federal Housing Administration, the Home Owners Loan Corporation and other similar agencies are advancing large sums to business firms for use in innumerable ventures. The use of such funds could be definitely limited to those undertakings which agree to specified labor standards. Voluntary violations of such standards could even be made a basis for the automatic calling of loans."

Mr. Lubin referred to compacts between the individual states as an instrument for further widening the area of better labor conditions. Through agreements whereby a number of states undertake to maintain certain minimum standards, those jurisdictions which seek better conditions for their constituents will be relieved of the fear of unfair competition from other states.

Depression Due To Low Wages, Frey Declares

(Continued from Page Two)

aggressive leadership" to launch its counter-offensive.

"Every effort must be made to coordinate the ranks of labor," he said. "Labor cannot meet the problems before it with its present antiquated organization. Craft unionism has done great things in the past, but the problem of organizing the unskilled and the skilled in the mass production industries can be accomplished only on the basis of industrial unionism."

Coupled with the struggle on the economic field, Mr. Gorman said, labor faces the greatest battle in its history on the political field.

"Labor itself must now undertake to write the legislation it requires," he said. "We will be forced to do that in the very near future. Labor must act before Congress adjourns."

Mr. Gorman recalled the decision of last year's convention of the American Federation of Labor in San Francisco on the question of industrial unionism and declared that the time has come to put that decision into effect by launching a great drive for the organization of the mass production industries.

Speaking in the same vein, Mr. Starr deplored the lack of interest in social legislation exhibited by the American Federation of Labor in the past, a circumstance he considered responsible for the growth of company unionism and the existing limitations of labor's power in America. He welcomed the change of attitude in this respect shown by the A. F. of L. in recent years and urged that its activity be greatly increased if labor is to lay the foundation for a genuine system of social security in this country and the basis for a new social order.

Notable Conference at Tamiment

(Continued from Page One)

can people finally become convinced that they had nothing to expect from the two old parties.

Representative Thomas R. Amle, Wisconsin Progressive, warned that labor had no time to lose and must proceed at once to build a party of all who toil, on the basis of a clear-cut collectivist program. Mr. Amle was confident that the majority of the American people were ready to support a program of social control of the nation's economic life.

Pressure Politics Era Ended
"The era of pressure politics is definitely ended," Mr. Amle declared. "Labor must now realize that the only road to follow is that of independent political action." Mr. Amle's appeal was in line with the impressive address delivered by Charles Solomon, veteran New York Socialist spokesman.

The appeals for a Farmer-Labor Party found added force in the discussions of the concrete problems now agitating the ranks of labor and the minds of all socially thinking people. Constitutional revision, collective bargaining and the company union, labor and social security, and problems of wages and inflation, and housing occupied leading places on the program.

What was generally pronounced a brilliant performance was the address of Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota, chairman of the Senate Munitions Inquiry Committee, which dealt with the committee's revelations of the munitions racket. Senator Nye made a powerful appeal for control of the munitions industry and declared that he was becoming more and more convinced that nationalization of the industry was the only solution.

Labor Party Idea Is Keynote

As the conference proceeded to its conclusion it became increasingly evident that the solution of the problems before it was closely bound with the idea of independent political action by labor and that the call for a Labor Party had

behind it the force of implacable necessity.

Chester M. Wright, noted labor publicist and editor of the International Labor News Service, declared that the issue now before the American people was the issue of the social interest. Wright was confident that the issue would never be settled until it was settled right, and drew a parallel between the old struggle in America for the abolition of slavery and the struggle of today for industrial democracy.

"We are confronted by one of the grave and great questions of the ages," Wright said. "History will write of the outcome, and it will be as it has been through all the ages: progress would not be stopped. The outworn gave way and a people moved forward into another epoch."

This statement of Wright epitomized the spirit that dominated the conference, a spirit of high cultural research and determination to help find a way for militant and constructive action through cooperation of labor, farmers, Socialists and all progressive and socially-minded elements of the nation.

Tolerance and Cooperation
The conference was characterized throughout by a broad tolerance and a sincere desire on the part of all not to promote personal and group prejudices and notions but to help blast a broad highway of democratic procedure upon which all who search sincerely for a better world and a new day might meet in unity and constructive action.

To Socialists at the conference the most satisfactory feature was the presence of distinguished labor leaders who emphasized this characteristic in significant and eloquent remarks. Perhaps no one did this better and more convincingly than John P. Frey, head of the metal trades department of the American Federation of Labor. Speaking at the dedication of Hillquit Grove, which took place on

June 29 as part of the conference program, Mr. Frey stressed the common aims and ideals which governed Hillquit and Debs on one side and Samuel Gompers on the other, however much they differed in their conceptions of methods and programs. The mention of these three great leaders of American labor served to illumine as if in a flash the fundamental task confronting those who would build a new society in America: the unification of the American labor movement with the world of Socialist ideas. To this task the conference made a definite and significant contribution.

It was a source of deep satisfaction for Socialists to realize in the remarks of Mr. Frey and the active interest which other labor leaders took in the proceedings of the conference that trade unionists and Socialists were no longer thinking of the things that divided them and of feuds dead and gone, but were drawing closer to each other to fight for the one common ideal: the emancipation of labor.

The conference revealed that however much Socialists and trade unionists may still differ on problems of ideology and tactics, the development of a closer tie between the two was essential because they stood, as Mr. Frey said, for one and the same thing. Moreover, it was evident that the differences are of distinctly secondary importance and that beyond these differences lay the far greater element of their cooperation in the every-day struggle and the urge to rebuild the social system on new foundations. Also evident was the fact that closer cooperation between Socialists and trade unionists was inevitable in proportion as they find a common language. This common language was the language spoken at the conference.

The proceedings were reported by an army of newspapermen representing leading metropolitan papers and the press associations, which carried the discussions to all parts of the country.

Laidler and Flynn Demand Steps to Prevent Inflation; Cite Its Danger to Nation

Socialist Economist Urges Higher Income And Inheritance Taxes and Social Control of Industry—Flynn Says Government Borrowing Must Stop to Avert Currency Crisis.

A drastic program of increased taxation on the higher income and inheritance levels and on high profits as a means of preventing inflation was urged by Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Socialist economist and writer, before the conference of the Tamiment Economic and Social Institute.

Dr. Laidler urged also increase in wage levels, social control of credit, an adequate public works program, particularly in the field of workers' housing, and an increased socialization of industry.

Like John T. Flynn, author, economist and adviser to the Senate munitions inquiry committee, who spoke with Dr. Laidler at a session devoted to the problem of inflation, Dr. Laidler foresaw the possibility and danger of inflation in this country unless certain economic and financial factors now at work are effectively checked.

Both speakers assailed the panacea of inflation as highly detrimental to the social interest and particularly to the toiling elements of the population. The experience and effects of inflation in other countries, notably Germany, was cited as an example, although neither of the speakers foresaw the drastic type of inflation that occurred in Germany for this country.

Sources of Inflation
Discussing potential sources of inflation in the United States, Dr. Laidler said:

"When once business and finance comes to the conclusion that economic recovery is around the corner the 10,000 to 15,000 banks of the country may be depended upon to extend loans and issue large volume of credit. During the depression, when business needs to be stimulated, our individual banking system becomes over-cautious. Each bank tries to keep liquid. The billions of dollars on deposit are not utilized. The reverse is true during periods of prosperity. Each bank competes with its neighbors in the extension of credit. The amount of credit issued for new productive enterprises bears little relation to the economic needs. Business is likely to over-expand inflation to occur, the price level to shoot upwards, followed by another and worse period of economic collapse."

Dr. Laidler felt that another source of inflation was likely to be the immense amount of public borrowing for relief and public works projects. Should unemployment remain substantially as at present, there will likewise be an increasing demand for currency inflation.

"Such inflation," declared Dr. Laidler, "would be a tragedy to the worker and consumer. After the limits of expansion in employment and the rise in crop prices had been reached, there would be a distinct decrease in purchasing power among farm and city consumers, because all prices would have risen faster than wage-rates, and the prices of crops. Unorganized workers, government employees and similar groups would in particular be the losers."

Demands Borrowing End
Unless government borrowing is brought to an end and a means found to support the government's

recovery program, whatever it may be, without further plunging into debt, then nothing can prevent our whole economy from slipping under the control of inflation, Mr. Flynn warned.

"The notion that inflation will relieve the debt load is a naive one, indeed," Mr. Flynn said. "This could be accompanied only by raising prices. And raising prices would instantly cut the purchasing power of every citizen who works for wages. What debts has he—he and his white collar brother who works for what he calls a salary? He owes the mortgage on his home and that is probably his only long term debt. If he earns \$3,000 a year and has a \$3,000 mortgage on his home, his debt burden is the interest which he pays—\$180 a year. To cut down relatively that \$180 interest charge he will cut down his \$3,000 wages."

Mr. Flynn said that "danger signs of inflation are already hoisted."

"A decline in business for five months since February, accompanied by a rise in bank deposits, is a wholly abnormal phenomenon," he declared. "Dr. Kemmerer, of Princeton, says prices will have doubled in a year. I doubt if it will be that bad. But we are in that trend; we are under the influence of that force. And the time has come to check it."

PULLMAN PORTERS WIN
(Continued from Page One)

Totten and he took the field with Randolph making several trips all over the country in the interest of the Brotherhood.

The fight continued for ten years during which time the Pullman Company spent thousands of dollars trying to destroy the union. During 1929-1934 Brotherhood officials made great sacrifices to carry the work along. The old members of the organization had deserted in large numbers by reason of fear and all kinds of intimidation by the company. Randolph and Totten lost their homes and were evicted several times. There was no money even to make a telephone call. Yet they stuck.

When the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act came into being the Brotherhood officials discovered that the Negro workers on the railroad were not included in it. They protested to Railroad Commissioner Eastman. Randolph went before the Senate Committee and argued for an amendment which would specify the Pullman Porters and Mails and other Negro railroad workers, and secured the confidence of the Senators which resulted in the passage of the law, June 18, 1934. From then on the Brotherhood waged a vigorous campaign which brought in a large membership and gave the organization sufficient basis to appeal to the National Mediation Board, which has resulted in the victory for the Brotherhood.

The officers are A. Philip Randolph, National President; Ashley L. Totten, National Secretary-Treasurer; M. P. Webster, 1st Vice-President; Bennie Smith, 2nd Vice-President; E. J. Bradley, 3rd Vice-President, and C. L. Dellums, 4th Vice-President.

Abraham Cahan Reaches 75th Birthday July 7th

By William M. Feigenbaum

A PERSONAL event of interest occurs Sunday, July 7, when Abraham Cahan, Socialist, novelist and journalist, reaches his 75th birthday. No public celebration is being prepared, but hundreds of thousands of men and women in all walks of life unite in congratulating the veteran editor and fighter for Socialism upon the attainment of the ripe age.

Cahan at 75 retains the physical vigor of a man of 50, and his tireless mental and personal energy amazes all who come into contact with him. A writer and thinker of world renown, a novelist whose works have received the highest praise of critics the world over, he elects to be on the day-to-day job of editing a great daily newspaper rather than to seek the ease of retirement many men much younger and of lesser achievements would long ago have assumed.

Abraham Cahan has given over half a century of a full, active and vigorous life to the cause of Socialism and labor. For 33 years he has been editor of the Jewish Daily

Forward, and long before 1902 he was known as one of the leading journalists in the country. As long ago as the '80's he was a constant and welcome contributor to the great dailies of New York and to many of the magazines, winning high praise for his daily journalism from such men as Lincoln Steffens and for his virile and stirring fiction from such critics as H. L. Mencken and William Dean Howells.

Again and again leading publishers have urged him to retire from daily journalism and add to his shelf of novels interpreting the life of Jewish immigrants in America, but he has preferred to stay at his post in the Forward and in the Socialist movement.

A man of charm and world-wide culture, a world traveler acquainted with men and movements in many lands, a fighter for justice and liberty, a passionate partisan of those things he believes to be right, Abraham Cahan at 75 has fully earned the affection and admiration of the whole world, and there are many in every part of the world today who gladly do him honor.



Left to right—Chester M. Wright, Charles Solomon, Isador Lubin and Louis Waldman at the Tamiment conference.

News and Notes As the Broadway Theatre Enters Doldrums

Stadium Concert Programs

Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra

SUNDAY EVENING, JULY 7th,
at 8:30
José Iturbi, Conductor
Overture to "Oberon".....Weber
Symphony No. 7 in A major,.....Beethoven

Intermission
Overture to "Tannhauser".....Wagner
On the Steppes of Central Asia,.....Borodin
Rakocsy March.....Berlioz

MONDAY EVE, JULY 8th, 8:30
TUESDAY EVE, JULY 9th, 8:30
FOKINE BALLET
Alexander Smalens, Conductor
"Scheherazade".....Rimsky-Korsakoff
Choreography by Michel Fokine
Scenery and Costumes after Bakst

Intermission
Roman Carnival.....Berlioz
(for orchestra alone)
"The Sorcerer's Apprentice".....Dukas
Ballet by Michel Fokine

Intermission
Bohemo from "Midsummer Night's Dream".....Mendelssohn
(for orchestra alone)
"The Elvess".....Mendelssohn
(to music of Mendelssohn)
Overture to "Midsummer Night's Dream" and the Andante and Allegro from the Violin Concerto)
Ballet by Michel Fokine

WEDNESDAY EVE, JULY 10th,
at 8:30
José Iturbi, Conductor and Pianist
"Peer Gynt" Suite.....Grieg
Piano Concerto in A minor.....Grieg
Intermission
Symphony in D minor, Cesar Franck

THURSDAY EVE, JULY 11th 8:00
FRIDAY EVE, JULY 12th, 8:00
"BORIS GODUNOV"
Opera by Mossorgsky
Alexander Smalens, Conductor.

Harry Moses to Send "The Old Maid" on Tour

The United Booking Office completed arrangements for the forthcoming tour of "The Old Maid," Pulitzer prize play current at the Empire Theatre, the route delivered to Harry Moses, producer of the show, calling for engagements in 81 cities during the opening of the tour in Philadelphia on September 30th and the termination in Richmond, Va., next May. More than 12,000 miles will be traveled, embracing 33 states.

Both Judith Anderson and Helen Menken will appear on tour, and in lieu of a vacation period that would necessitate bringing the New York run to a close before the start of the road trip, Mr. Moses— at the request of the company— has agreed to eliminate Saturday matinee and night performances at the Empire Theatre during the next five weeks.

"Becky Sharp" in Technicolor Opens at the Albee

Inaugurating what many believe is to be a new era in screen entertainment, the first full color feature, "Becky Sharp," is now at the RKO Albee Theatre. Based upon William Makepeace Thackeray's famous fiction classic, "Vanity Fair," and the Langdon Mitchell stage play "Becky Sharp," it stars Miriam Hopkins. Produced entirely in the new three-component Technicolor, it promises a revelation in beauty, fidelity, life, and clarity.

As fiction's immortal coquette, the blonde and lovely Miss Hopkins has a role demanding both sparkling humor and tense emotion. She is ably supported by Frances Dee, Sir Cedric Hardwicke, Billie Burke, Alison Skipworth, Nigel Bruce, Alan Mowbray, G. P. Huntley, Jr., Colin Tapley, William Faversham, and other notable players.

Police Will Use 1,500-Volt Shock from Electric Glove to Subdue Strike "Rioters"

The New York Police Department has placed an order for quantity quotations on an electric glove to be used by policemen in subduing so-called "rioters" in strikes and other disorderly persons. The glove will give a 1,500-volt shock to persons who resist arrest or refuse to fade away when ordered to disperse.

The apparatus consists of a battery, carried on the hip and not larger than a revolver holster, a wire drawn through the sleeve of the carrier and an insulated glove designed to give the current to the obstreperous person.

The induction coil, which lowers the amperage and raises the voltage, is contained in the apparatus and through the glove passes an electric shock through an adversary by mere contact. The variable voltage of low and unburning amperage is regulated by the pressure exerted on the thumb-switch of the glove.

According to police department reports the shock submitted by the glove is strong enough to knock the recipient helpless. What next?

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

In "Love Me Forever"



Grace Moore's new film continues for a second week at the Radio City Music Hall

Strand Holds "In Caliente"

The Strand Theatre announces "In Caliente," in which Dolores Del Rio and Pat O'Brien have the leading roles, is being held for a second week. "In Caliente" was produced by First National on locations in Angua Caliente, Mexico, and at the company's studios in Burbank, California. The cast includes, in addition to Miss Del Rio and O'Brien, Leo Carrillo, Edward Everett Horton, Winifred Shaw, Phil Regan, Antonio and Renee DeMarco, Harry Holman, Luis Alberni, Judy Canova and many others. The film was directed by Lloyd Bacon, with dances created and staged by Busby Berkeley. The words and music were written by two tunesmith teams, Al Dubin and Harry Warren, and Allie Wrubel and Mort Dixon.

Herman Timberg & Company on Roxy Stage—"Raven" on Screen

Herman Timberg, with Herman Timberg Jr. and his entire company, will be seen as the headliners of the new holiday variety revue which opens today on the stage of the Roxy Theatre.

Mr. Timberg and his company have prepared a special comedy act called "The Laugh Factory" for their appearance at the Roxy. Audrey Parker, Oliver Harris and Leo Chalzel are among the entertainers appearing with Mr. Timberg and Mr. Timberg Jr. The Diganos, well known dancers, will also be seen in this new show opening Thursday.

The feature film opening Thursday is "The Raven," starring Boris Karloff and Bela Lugosi.

"Escapade" With Wm. Powell and Luise Rainer at Capitol—New Stage Show

"Escapade," starring Wm. Powell, and featuring Luise Rainer, Frank Morgan, Virginia Bruce, Mady Christians and Reginald Owen, comes to the Capitol Theatre's screen for the week beginning today.

Walter Jurmann and Bronislaw Kaper, composers of Vienna and Paris, contribute their first melodies for the screen in supplying an original musical score for "Escapade." It is based on the German script—"Maskerade," by Walter Reisch—with screen play by Herman J. Mankiewicz.

Don Albert conducts the Capitol Grand Orchestra in a tribute to many of the renowned Masters of Melody—which he has entitled "Endowments."

A pretentious stage revue supplementing the screen feature includes Sid Gary, Florence and Alvarez, Georgie Tappes, Helene Deizon, Prosper and Maret and a group of the Danny Dare Girls.

Warner Oland in New "Charlie Chan Film" at Fox Brooklyn—New Stage Show

Warner Oland's current screen success, "Charlie Chan in Egypt," the eighth of the Charlie Chan stories, is at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre. The supporting cast includes "Pat" Paterson, Thomas Beck, Rita Casino, Stepin Fetchit, Jameson Thomas, Paul Porcasi, Nigel De Bruiler and Arthur Stone.

The stage show presents various acts, including: The Hart Sherman Girls, presenting "A Galaxy of Girls"; Roy Benson, billed as "The Talented Trickster"; Jack and June Blair, and The Eight Grenadiers.

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"Free School of Professional Theatre" Progresses

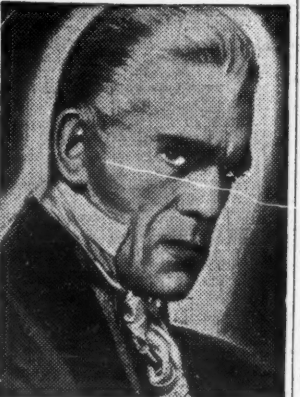
A new enterprise, the Free School of Professional Theatre, located at the Heckscher Theatre, 104th St. and Fifth Ave., presented its second free public audition last Monday evening at 8:30.

Founded for the ultimate advancement of the talented amateur interested in a theatrical career, the organization offers varied opportunities for the studious neophyte desirous of dramatic recognition. In other words, it is a concentrated central clearing house through which worthy but obscure talent may receive due recognition in the least possible time and thereby benefit by a short cut to the desired goal.

Public auditions will take place at the Heckscher Theatre weekly with admission free. All adults wishing to adopt the stage as a career are invited to apply for a hearing on Monday evening at the theatre or afterwards at the Free School headquarters, 1107 Broadway, after which they will be advised frankly whether or not they are fundamentally equipped.

Casting is now going on for "Cyrano de Bergerac," the organization's first production which will be presented during the summer.

Boris Karloff



Has one of the leading roles in "The Raven," which opens today at the Roxy Theatre

On Palace & Albee Screens



Cedric Hardwicke and Miriam Hopkins in a scene from the colorful "Becky Sharp"

Grace Moore's New Film Stays On at Music Hall

"Love Me Forever," the new Columbia photoplay starring Grace Moore, the Metropolitan Opera star, is now in its second week at the Radio City Music Hall.

The holiday program at the playhouse also includes Walt Disney's newest Silly Symphony, "Who Killed Cock Robin?", and Russell Market's smartly sophisticated stage revue, "The Magazine Rack—Second Edition."

In "Love Me Forever," which has been playing to capacity crowds since its world premiere, Miss Moore's famous soprano is given ample opportunity. She sings operatic selections from "La Boheme" and "Rigoletto," as well as "Il Bacio" and "The Bells of St. Mary's," "Rings on My Fingers," and a brand new popular tune, written by Victor Schertzinger—the director of the film—and Gus Kahn.

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

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

At Broadway Trans-Lux

W. C. Fields in "The Fatal Glass of Beer" is featured at the Broadway and 49th St. Trans-Lux for the week beginning today. This is the short in which he says his immortal lines, "Tain't a fit night out for man nor beast." The Pop-eye cartoon, "Be Kind to Animals" and "Turbulent Timber," a foreign film of timbercutting in the Carpathian Mountains of Roumania, in which the lumberjacks sing their native songs, will complete the half-hour program of all the latest news of the world.

PARTY NOTES

New York City O. and P. Committee

Meeting of the organizers on Monday evening, July 8th, 6 p.m., in the party office.

No Central Committee Meeting Until July 17th

Owing to the holiday period the meeting of the Central Committee has been set for July 17th, which will permit of a City Executive Committee meeting on July 10th. Delegates to the Central Committee will receive notices from the office stipulating that they are to appear for a meeting on the 17th. All committees having business with the City Executive Committee are informed that a meeting will be held on the 10th.

Picnic and Bazaar?
This year we will conduct a miniature bazaar at the picnic grounds and hope to enable the thousands of picnic guests to buy bargains. We are securing considerable donations of a variety of articles for this purpose from labor unions and individual dealers. New Leader readers who are in a position to donate useful articles are requested to communicate with the Joint Picnic Committee, 7 E. 15th St. Members of the party who know of liberal-minded merchants who might be induced to make such donations should impart that information to us.

Women's Activities

Monday, July 8, Executive Committee meets at 1 p.m., 7 E. 15th St. to outline the summer campaign. Thursday, July 11, West Bronx Unit will hold a picnic, meeting in Van Cortlandt Park. All comrades and friends are invited. Meeting point, 11 a.m. sharp, at foot of station at Moshulu Parkway subway station.

Comrades holding petitions on the High Court of Living please get them filled without delay and send them to 7 E. 15th St. in care of Women's Committee.

Workers' Unemployed Union, Local 19

This local will install its officers at a social to be held Saturday, July 6, 8 p.m., at its headquarters, in Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St. Free beer. Admission 10 cents.

The officers elected were: B. Gutchen, chairman; B. Polak, S. Sarnansky, vice-chairmen; E. Brown, sec'y; I. Speiser, fin. sec'y; R. Seligman, treasurer.

CAPITOL

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Her name is
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POWELL
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HELD OVER ANOTHER WEEK!

Grace Moore
in
Love Me Forever
with Leo Carrillo, Michael Bartlett, Robert Allen
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THEATRE PARTIES

Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of THE NEW LEADER. Phone ALgonquin 4-4623 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 West 15th Street, New York.

3,000 Attend Fine Picnic of the Finnish Socialists at Fitchburg

By S. Syrjala

FITCHBURG, Mass.—More than 3,000 Socialists and their friends attended the annual summer festival of the Finnish Socialist Federation of the New England District at Saima Park, the beautiful park of local comrades, June 29 and 30.

The festivals, which have been held annually for more than 30 years without a break, began Saturday afternoon with the playing of the Internationale by the combined bands of the Socialist locals under the direction of Chas. Matson. After William N. Reivo, secretary of the Finnish Federation, delivered a speech of welcome in Finnish, state secretary Alfred Baker Lewis brought the greetings of the party to the Finnish comrades. Axel Mattson of Quincy spoke in Finnish, following Lewis.

After the speeches there was a swimming meet arranged by the local Workers' Amateur Athletic association, in which swimmers and divers from W. A. A. clubs throughout New England and New York participated.

Saturday evening at the Saima Hall the dramatic club of the Finnish Socialist local of New York presented a four-act drama based on Finnish history. At the dance hall the American-born young people danced to the music of a jazz orchestra and at Laurel Park the old-timers danced the polka, schottische and waltz.

Sunday was a beautiful day and the people began streaming into Saima Park in cars, busses, and on foot. By means of loud speakers the program was carried to all parts of the park.

Oscar Tokoi, editor of "Raivaaja," in Finnish and Lena Morrow Lewis, veteran socialist lecturer and writer, in English brought the Socialist message to the thousands attending the festival.

Richard Siren of New York delivered an effective working class recitation. The combined bands under the direction of Oscar Tofferi of Maynard played and combined choirs under the direction of Arvo Oikemus of Gardner sang many songs.

Field and track events under the auspices of the W. A. A. throughout the day held the attention of those interested in sports.

A special feature of the festival was the participation of a group of German athletes of a W. A. A. club in New York who took part in the sports and also presented a gymnastic exhibition Sunday afternoon.

Throughout the festivals the State literature agent of the party, John Brooks Wheelwright, did a good business in Socialist books, pamphlets, and papers.

Henry Puranen of the Raivaaja

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Features of the Week on (1200 Kc.) WEVD (231 M)

Sunday—11 a. m., Forward Hour; 12:15 p. m., Variety Show featuring Celia Budkin; 12:45, Jewish Art Quartet, folk songs; 8, Edith Friedman, pianist; 8:15, Don Carlos, poet-philosopher; 8:30, Chicago Opera Company; 10, Symposium.

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

Tuesday—8 p. m., Salsavsky String Quartet; 8:15, Irving B. Altman, editor, The People's Money; 8:30, Cecil Burrows, baritone; 8:45, WEVD University of the Air; 10, New Leader News Review; 10:15, Three Rogues; 10:30, Travel Talk.

Wednesday—8 p. m., Travel Talk; 8:15, Paul Blanshard, "The Fusion Administration"; 8:30, Premier Instrumental Trio; 10:15, University of the Air.

Thursday—8 p. m., Panel Discussion: Mrs. Rosalie Low Whitney, Deputy Commissioner of Licenses; 8:30, Eugene Byron Morgan (baritone), Charlotte Tonhazy (violinist); 10:15, Newspaper Guild on the Air; 10:30, Ruth Robinson, soprano.

Friday—8 a. m., "Starting the Day Right," Jacob S. List; 3:30 p. m., Day Neesen, "The Street Beggars," songs; 8, WEVD University of the Air; 8:15, Irving B. Altman, news commentator; 8:30, Amateur Variety Show; 10, Max Wechsler, violinist; 10:15, "The Church in Action for Peace," talk.

Saturday—10 a. m., Voice of Local 88, Italian Variety Show; 6 p. m., Jewish Events of the Week; talk; 6:30, "Annie and Benny," sketch; 7:30, "Jolly Rendezvous," music and sketches; 8:30, Don Avloni Orchestra; 10, Chicago Opera Company.

STREET MEETINGS

MANHATTAN

Wednesday—MacDougal and Gill Sts.: Farrell, Vandever, Kopp, and Gillan, Walsh, Cohn.
Friday—Washington Square and Sullivan St.: Same speakers as above.
Friday—24th St. and 8th Ave.

BROOKLYN

Friday—Utica Road Eastern Parkway.
Friday—Hinsdale St. and Sutter Ave.: Plattoff, Smilkin, H. Sapkowitz, Emil Sapkowitz.

Nominations

There are still a number of branches and districts which have not turned in their nominations. Do so immediately! The petitions are being prepared and only a few days remain for their completion.

Lena Morrow Lewis in Massachusetts
Lena Morrow Lewis of California, veteran Socialist propagandist and the only woman who has brought the message of Socialism into Alaska, is expected to make a brief speaking tour of Massachusetts. Her lecture will be held at Lynn and Somerville, and at the annual festival of the Finnish branches in Fitchburg.

staff, acted as master of ceremonies while Hugo Erickson had charge of the athletic program. The festival closed Sunday night with a concert at the Saima Park theater and a second showing to a capacity house of the play.

A number of comrades of the American branches who attended the festival were inspired by the size and the orderly manner in which all the arrangements were made and carried out in all details. It was indeed a grand socialist festival.

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PROPERTY *By Kirby Page*

Struggle for Profits Debases Masters While Pushing Rivals to Lower Level of Incomes and Dependence.



4. Effects Upon the Winners

LET us now consider another aspect of private ownership of the basic industries. This system stands indicted also because of its devastating effects upon the personalities even of those who win its chief prizes. The wear and tear on the successful contestants in the present economic struggle is terrific beyond exaggeration. In times of economic crisis the physical and nervous strain upon business men becomes almost unendurable, with the result that heart disease is rapidly increasing and suicide is frequent. Many financiers and industrialists are so completely engrossed in the struggle for profit that they devote little time to intellectual and cultural pursuits.

Ethical sensitivity likewise is dulled by the intensity of economic competition. In the heat of industrial conflict that which appears necessary is likely to be accepted as legitimate, and the nature of the modern corporation tends to diminish personal moral responsibility. Investors often having nothing whatever to do with management and are concerned primarily about interest and dividends. Corporation officials are therefore under the necessity of securing profit for absentee owners, with the consequence that ethical principles usually play a minor role in the determination of economic policies. The basic assumption that a man is entitled to all the money that he can lay hands upon makes difficult the maintenance of moral standards in the distribution of the national income. Few investors suffer qualms of conscience because they are privileged to dwell in luxury from the proceeds of industries which pay workers less than a living wage. Mr. Samuel Insull defined honesty in such a way as to permit himself conscientiously to buy a certain block of stock for \$10,000 and to sell it for \$5,000,000—an increase of 5,000 per cent!

The Bigger the Better!

The prevailing business morality assumes that investors will seek the highest possible profits for themselves, even if workers continue to receive a mere subsistence wage. During the speculative spree from 1922 to 1929, the incomes of the prosperous rich sections of the population increased at an amazing rate. "The top 400,000, who in 1929 reported incomes of over \$10,000, had increased their revenues by 76.6 per cent; the top 40,000 by 129.5 per cent; the top 4,000 by 207.5 per cent. And the 400 real rulers of America increased their incomes by 234.5 per cent in these six years. The bigger the ownership the better it did." On a single day the stock held by George F. Baker, Chairman of the First National Bank of New York, increased in value to the extent of \$1 million dollars! The rise in market value of the total stock of the General Motors Corporation from the low point in 1928 to the high point in that same year was \$1,200,000,000.

Speculative profits produce blindness and distortion. Not only do masses of speculators become frenzied, but even the most sober business analysts are afflicted with dizziness. Mr. John Moody, for example, is widely known as one of the ablest financial counselors in this country. Yet he wrote an article which was published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, in August, 1928, which contained utterly unreliable predictions. He began by summarizing the astounding rise in values from 1922 to 1928 and continued: "There is every indication that the steady growth in the wealth and savings of the American people which has been going on without material interruption for years, and is still persisting, will continue for many years to come..."

Oh Yeah!

"We are only now beginning to realize, perhaps, that this modern, mechanistic civilization in which we live is now in the process of perfecting itself... there seem to be many reasons for believing that the coming period may prove quite as stable and constructive in this country as have the five past years, if not more so. And, though the prices of investment securities of standard quality look high to us today, they easily may, by 1933, be quoted in many cases at far higher values..." The mistake that many, no doubt, make is to assume that times have not fundamentally changed. They have changed. We are living in a new era, and Wall Street, in its present condition and activity, broadly stated, is simply reflecting this new era."

Successful business men are easily blinded to the extent of economic misery in the land. Their own prosperity tends to make them optimistically see all life through rose-colored glasses. On the afternoon preceding Thanksgiving Day,

1924, the editor of the *New York Sun*, for example, wrote: "Poverty—real poverty—is absent. There is not a flaw in the picture of plenty on which the American people will gaze tomorrow. Even the demagogues must be silent before the evidence of national well being. He will be a crabbed sort of citizen who does not sit down to his turkey with a heart full of thanks to that benign Providence which deals so gently and so generously with the inhabitants of this fortunate land." A year later, Mr. Samuel Crowther wrote in *Collier's Weekly*: "... dire poverty is as rare as smallpox and so obsolete..." We have in this country practically no poverty... there is no poverty other than voluntary or due to accident and disease, and this is negligible." Even Herbert Hoover said, "We have not yet reached the goal, but, given a chance to go forward with the policies of the last eight years, we shall soon, with the help of God, be in sight of the day when poverty will be banished from this nation."

Yet we know that even at the height of prosperity 40 Americans out of every 100 lived on the subsistence-and-poverty level!

Blind Beneficiaries

The competitive struggle tends to blind its beneficiaries to the realities of life and to deaden their moral sensibilities. Listen to a comment by Donald Richberg, right-hand man to President Roosevelt: "The outstanding characteristic of Samuel Insull was ruthlessness. Anything which blocked his path must be destroyed by any available method. Is this not a quality of successful business which we have practically defied? Do we become indignant at corruption of government, at private treachery, at callous cruelty, which are made the means of amassing great money power? The answer of the last twenty years is quite clear. We do not... most unhealthily of all popular attitudes is our acceptance of the unwritten law that power brings release from the responsibilities and obligations of the humble..." Let it be granted immediately that we have thousands of business men entirely unsympathetic with the Insull aims and methods. Let it be granted that we have a few large figures in nation-wide business and finance who are hostile to Insullism. But at the same time we must also grant, if we are honest and well informed, that a large percentage of the most influential and powerful controllers of our money power are law-evading and law-defying to the full extent compatible with personal safety."

There is abundant justification for the blunt declaration of a high official of a huge department store in New York City: "We have worn shipped greed and profits at any price to the point that we have established this standard in the minds of the American people, a standard which is gradually infiltrating the political and social life of the country." Yet the President of the National Industrial Conference Board, in a recent issue of the official journal of the American Bankers Association, writes:

"... if we really want to treat ourselves to a New Deal, after many years of steadily wider drifting away from its basic principles, it would be worth trying a dose of pure, unadulterated American capitalism in the United States. But it must be taken straight, and it should be used well before shaking." Unadulterated—profit motive, competitive struggle, minimum governmental interference!

5. Effects Upon Losers

The percentage of partnership and corporate enterprises that are thrown into bankruptcy is extremely high. During the prosperous years from 1924 to 1929, the number of commercial failures in the United States varied from 20,615

to 23,842 annually. In addition to the commercial and industrial failures that are registered in bankruptcy courts, a substantial percentage of business and financial institutions continue to operate with a bare minimum of income for their owners. The figures for recent years of corporations that showed no profit whatever even in prosperous years follows: 1929, 186,591 corporations; 1928, 174,828; 1927, 165,826; 1926, 197,186.

The number of business men able to secure an income in excess of \$5,000 annually has never been large. Income tax statistics show that even in 1928 the number of incomes from all classes of individuals that reached the \$5,000 level was only 1,010,887. Comparable figures for more recent years are as follows: 1929, 1,032,071; 1930, 810,431; 1931, 556,120; 1932, 356,442. The intensity of competition has confined large incomes to a small section of merchants, manufacturers, and financiers. And from now on small units are destined to be crowded to the wall even more ruthlessly by titanic corporations and chain stores.

(To Be Continued)

Let Us Have Peace!

By Bebee

PRODUCTION of airplanes and battleships keep pace with the unctuous peace professions of professional patriots.

Another flourishing business in all civilized countries is the spying industry. Were Adam Smith alive he could write a book on the "Stealth of Nations."

To our immense relief the Republican politicians' personally conducted convention of the grass root farmers took a firm stand for the Constitution.

The fifteen and a half hour speech of Huey Long cost the Government \$5,000. Little wonder that there is a growing demand for lower duties on nitrates and other fertilizers.

Ah, Pardon My Brickbat!

The recent Russian decree in which Communists are ordered to be polite to each other will bewilder the old-fashioned folks who continue to howl for free speech, while breaking up meetings of other groups.

The codes worth maintaining and strengthening are those which labor unions have established through years of struggles and sacrifices.

"Let the police force of every community run the country," advised

Workers Boycott the Olympic Games in Berlin

A recent meeting of the Executive Committee of the British National Workers' Sports Association passed a resolution urging all workers' sports associations and individual members of all workers' organizations "in view of the anti-worker attitude of the German government in suppressing the trade unions, labor and Socialist political organizations and the workers' sports associations, to boycott the Berlin Olympic Games of 1936, to refuse to compete there, or to assist in any way, either directly or indirectly."

vises Henry Ford. No wonder Colgate University conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws on the discoverer that "all history is bunk."

Democracy Goes Forward

Washington press conference succeeded in securing an interview with Mrs. Roosevelt, containing the astounding statement, the President "just loves hot dog and toast-and cheese sandwiches."

The Brain Trust Unmasked

Dr. Charles A. Beard advised a graduating class at Union College to read Alice in Wonderland, quoting a passage from that immortal work to the effect that if a thing is said three times it becomes a fact beyond dispute.

Surplus Value?

The average price for 114 fur coats displayed at the New York Fur Show was about \$10,000 each. Beats all how wealth is extracted from the hides of animals.

Consolidated Gas Co. put on a fancy financial acrobatic stunt by making over \$14,000,000 without the outlay of a cent. Fourteen million dollars will pay for a few gross of college and club lectures and oodles of text books so that we may be warned against the stifling of individual initiative.

used to make a grant to the Swiss delegation to the Berlin Olympics. The bourgeois *National-Zeitung* writes in this connection that "the Swiss people have never stood so unanimously behind their representatives in Bern as when they show that Switzerland is not going to lie down and let itself be walked over, even by the great powers. This House, which in its earlier session had to deal with the German transgression of Swiss sovereignty in the Jakob case, is showing that it has logic and character."

BRONX

The meeting of the Bronx County Committee, originally scheduled for Thursday, July 11, has been postponed to the evening of July 18. 8th A.D. Bronx-James Onal, editor of *The New Leader*, will lecture on the party situation Tuesday, July 9, at 8:30 p.m., at the Bronx Labor Center, 909 Westchester Ave.

London Herald Nails Brazen Lie That Labor Party Smiles on Hitler

The following editorial from the *London Daily Herald*, Labor Party organ, of June 19, is interesting especially in view of the statements that have appeared under the signature of a certain ex-Socialist in a New York capitalist daily to the effect that the British Socialists have made their peace with Hitlerism for purely political reasons.

Ludwig Lore, ardent admirer of Leon Trotsky, in his New York Post column recently made it appear that the British Socialists were more interested in winning political advantage than in striking a blow against fascism and therefore were soft-pedaling their attacks upon Hitlerism. This leading editorial article is an answer to that typical anti-Socialist slander.

"Germany's ex-Soldiers"

By Bertrand Russell

IT was natural that the German Government, well pleased by the Prince of Wales's suggestion, should promptly invite a visit by British ex-Service men.

The hope on both sides is that such a visit should help to rid both nations of relics of wartime bitterness.

That is a fine purpose. And if the result of the Prince's proposal is a better understanding much good will have been done.

But the German Government would be wise to remember that the strong feeling which exists in this country today about Germany is not to any appreciable extent a "hang-over" from the war-days. If they so sincerely wish for the

friendship and the goodwill of British ex-Service men and of the British nation, then they have indeed to rid our minds of certain memories. But these are not the memories of the war years. They are recent.

How can there be a genuine fraternization while the British guests have in mind the fact that other German war veterans, no less gallant than their hosts, are held, and some tortured, in concentration camps?

They may say no word, being bound by the laws of politeness. Or, if the subject is mentioned, they may politely accept the explanations and assurances given to them. But, though they may accept, they cannot believe: for the facts are too notorious.

The irony of the situation is that many of these men, be they Socialists or Communists or Jews, have suffered imprisonment or worse precisely on account of their devotion to these ideas of peace and international understanding of which Herr Hitler is now so eloquent.

If he desires the friendship of Britain for Germany, the opening of his political jails and concentration camps will do more to achieve his end than a hundred visits.

A letter to the New Republic of July 3rd by Bertrand Russell indicates that the canard alleging support for Hitler by the British Labor Party is widespread, presumably traveling in Communist circles. The distinguished philosopher takes exception to a previous article in the New Republic by one Werner Hegeman in which reference is made to "Hitler's most perverse bodyguard; the English Labor Party," to which Russell

replies: "These words are either very ignorant or very thoughtless, and are surprising in a pacifist context. The English Labor Party abominates Hitler and all his ways, but is anxious not to be hurried by indignation into support of war, or into abandonment of its previous demands for justice to Germany."

"It is all very well for American radicals, at a safe distance, to urge Europeans to go crusading while their own country remains neutral. But for sane Europeans other considerations must be dominant. We know that war, if it comes, will destroy everything that we value, however the Powers may be grouped and whoever may enjoy 'victory.' We feel little doubt that, in the course of the war, what remains of democracy in Europe would disappear. We expect disaster to civilization through the maddened terror of urban populations."

"In these circumstances, we resent being scolded for attempting to preserve all that we care for (both publicly and privately) rather than ruin our Continent to gratify the resentments of men who will remain spectators of our possibly heroic folly."

This incident is but one of a series of slanders and misstatements about the Socialist movement repeated in his column by Ludwig Lore. In his Post column he has repeated a number of lies from Communist and from Nazi sources all tending to discredit the democratic Socialist movement. There have been occasions when he hastened to print slanders from Nazi sources and was compelled to carry retractions within a week. But his apparent hatred of his former party causes him to carry on regardless of exposures of former stories.

Labor Called to Political Action

(Continued from Page Two)

the 1936 campaign would be of little effect.

"With about 12,000,000 unemployed and more than 22,000,000 on the relief rolls of the nation, the great masses of our people cannot be expected to become excited over such a slogan," he said.

Discussing the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court scuttling the New Deal, Comrade Solomon said that the decision served to emphasize the fact that what the Court termed "our constitutional system" must be brought into harmony with the economic and social facts of life if serious consequences were to be averted.

"The Constitution groans under the strains imposed upon it by the pressure resulting from rapidly changing economic and social conditions," said Comrade Solomon. "Its letter will have to be squared with objective economic and social facts and conditions. If interpretation will not serve, then drastic amendment will have to be resorted to."

In the 1936 campaign, said Comrade Solomon, the Socialists will urge amendment of the Federal Constitution so as to confer upon Congress the power to legislate for the social control of the economic life of the nation in the interest of the masses of the people.

Comrade Solomon expressed the belief that states rights in the traditional sense would not be saved by the Supreme Court decision invalidating the N.I.R.A. He continued: "On the contrary, this decision, by directing attention in a dramatic way to the inadequacy of what the Court called our constitutional system, will probably ultimately accelerate what has come to be called 'centralization,' although this is not an adequate term."

"The inexorably increasing economic unification of the nation has sealed the doom of states rights in the orthodox political and juridical forms. Political and social forms are ultimately determined by material and economic realities."

Comr. Solomon vigorously championed democracy against attacks from the left as well as the right as a means of accomplishing broad social changes. He said: "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."

Wright States the Issue

Chester Wright's address, a brilliant and telling analysis of the issue of human rights versus property rights, presented in vivid form the underlying forces struggling for supremacy in the United States, the effect of the Supreme Court's NRA decision, and the importance which the issue of con-

stitutional revision will play in the struggle. Wright's conclusions were:

"The Supreme Court has attempted to say to the nation—that these millions of Americans who are digging and battling their way through one of the greatest periods of change ever faced by any democratic nation—that within the portals of its magnificent temple there is a bottleneck through which must pass the legal recognition of this whole vast and penetrating change. And the thing is impossible. Human relationships are not made that way. Economic progression is not wrought that way."

"We have another phase to the problem. The Court, if we believe the lawyers, is proceeding in its present course in order to maintain the structure of a Federalized state—of a republic made up of independent, but related states. There has been something magnificent about our states. They have taught the world great lessons in the art of living in peace and of cooperative steps toward a better day."

"But the economic machine becomes more national each day. There is no dividing line between states where United States Steel is concerned, nor where Mr. Mellon or Mr. Rockefeller are concerned. Our great industries follow economic lines, not political lines."

"The whole process which we have had here under consideration is a process of moving toward economic freedom, economic security and economic self-government. We cannot have forty-eight industrial democracies. We cannot have forty-eight conceptions of an economic life that runs as a unit through all the states and into the territories that lie bejeweled in the seas. We shall have one or none."

"The Constitution, heroic document that it is, model for freedom in political life that it has been, must come to recognize the needs for a new freedom or it must cease to dominate our nation. Now I do not see the need for abolishing the Constitution, though we should mostly know little difference. If the foreman says to you, 'You're fired,' that means more than any court decision at the moment."

"But we do have a political life and we do have an industrial life and somewhere there is a line marking off the one from the other and the functions of the one from the other."

"The Constitution is attempting, through the Supreme Court, to bind everything in the one blanket, which, while it may warm and nurture the one, strangles and suffocates the other."

"As a nation we are seeking our way through by the processes of democracy. We are doing an unprecedented job. We are determined that we shall live and that we shall live better than we have lived, through new rules applied, not where the Supreme Court wants them applied, nor as it wants them applied, but where the trouble is and where they have to be applied."

"We are confronted by one of the great and grave questions of the ages. History will write of the outcome and it will be as it has been through all the ages: Progress would not be stopped. The out-worn gave way and a peo-

ple moved forward into another epoch."

Amle's Plea for Labor Party

Repr. Amle of Wisconsin insisted that the time was ripe for the launching of a Labor Party and, like Comrade Waldman, appealed to the American labor movement to join in the enterprise.

"The ideal of a so-called enlightened capitalism under which labor and the common people would benefit to any appreciable extent was dead long before the Supreme Court's decision on the NRA," he said, "and so was the NRA and the entire New Deal."

The time was ripe, he declared, for elements seeking a fundamental social readjustment on the basis of democracy to join in the task of organizing a third party. He predicted that the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill and other social measures now before Congress would suffer the same fate in the Supreme Court as the NRA, and he warned the American Federation of Labor that the day of "pressure politics" in this country was over.

He voiced confidence that the majority of the American people were ready to give their support to an out-and-out collectivist program aiming at comprehensive social control of the nation's economic life.

By implication, he excluded the Communists from his invitation to the various elements who, he believed, should cooperate in launching a Farmer-Labor Party.

"I am convinced that the advance of sentiment for a third party has been much greater and much more rapid than some have believed," he asserted.

Among the first steps necessary for the realization of the program of a larger social control of economic life, he designated revision of the Constitution.

"At this time," he went on, "steps ought to be taken without delay to effect a federation of all those groups that are committed to the democratic process as a means of effecting this change, such as Farmer-Laborite clubs, the farmers' unions, farm holiday associations, technocrats, veterans of industry, the various radical groups within the Christian and Jewish faiths and generally all those groups and individuals working toward a new social order through democratic means."

"Such a federation, if properly supported by the constituent groups, could become a powerful national force giving direction to all these various movements now groping their way uncertainly in a common direction. To begin with, such a federation ought to cooperate with the groups in the various states supporting candidates to the United States Congress and Senate and to respective state legislatures on a 'production for use' platform and on the party ticket decided upon by the leaders in the various states."

"The American people are ready for such a movement. With a vigorous campaign in 1936 it should be possible to elect a dozen United States Senators and from fifty to a hundred Representatives in Congress. A national political realignment would follow, with the division of the electorate into conservative and radical probably in 1938—but also conceivable by 1936."

WE NEED SHOES



Lorraine, 8, Arthur, 6, and Edith, 11, haven't been going to school. The truancy officer called at their home and found they couldn't go to school with their shoes in the state they're in. And this is the third year of the New Deal.

The End of a Communist Illusion

By John Powers

(This is the third of a series of articles on the Communist International. The first two appeared on our issues of May 25 and June 8, respectively.)

THE Brest-Litovsk peace marked the first major defeat of the policy of world revolution as laid down by Lenin and Trotsky. Believing fervently that the world revolution was imminent (see The New Leader, May 25), the masters of the Communist dictatorship led Revolutionary Russia into a trap from which she was extricated only by the military defeat of Germany at the hands of the Allies ten months later, for, as stated previously, the Brest-Litovsk peace was annulled not by the world revolution so confidently expected by the Bolsheviks, but by the terms of the armistice of November 11, 1918.

Lenin called the Brest-Litovsk treaty a "breathing spell" for Soviet Russia. This was undoubtedly true, in the sense that it averted the immediate destruction of the Communist dictatorship by the German armies. Had Germany been victorious in the war, however, the "breathing spell" would have turned out to be only a respite before execution, the execution of both the Communist dictatorship and the Russian Revolution.

During the ten months of the "breathing spell," before the victory of the Allies released Russia from German domination, the Communist dictatorship continued to be Germany's prisoner, obeying all her commands.

Thus, for example, the Bolsheviks had to accede to the demands of Hohenzollern Germany for the withdrawal of Russian troops from Finland, where a bitter civil war had been in progress between the workers and the Finnish bourgeoisie and feudal landlords, a withdrawal that surrendered the Finnish toilers completely into the hands of their White Guard enemies under command of General Mannerheim. With military assistance dispatched to Finland by Ludendorff, Mannerheim crushed the Finnish workers, thousands of whom perished. Lenin explained that this, too, was an inevitable feature of the "breathing spell." In the light of Communist dialectics this may have been justified, but in the light of revolutionary principle and historical experience there was but one name for it: shameful betrayal.

Executing Revolutionaries

Describing later his reminiscences of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, at which he represented the German high command, General Hoff-

Bolshevik Maneuvers at Brest-Litovsk and After, Betrayed Interests of the Working Class and Fostered Reaction.

man said: "Trotsky would have gladly died at Brest-Litovsk if all the world had been there to see him do it." Trotsky paid no penalty for Brest-Litovsk, but thousands of Finnish workers died, as did revolutionists in Russia. We need refer only to the gallant group of Socialists—Revolutionists of the Left Wing executed on Lenin's orders.

It will be recalled that this group, headed by Kaleyeff, Marie Spiridonova, Kamkoff, and Steinberg, joined the Bolsheviks in the formation of the Soviet Government after the coup d'etat of November 7, 1918 (Spiridonova and others of her group have for many years now been languishing in Soviet jails and in exile). As revolutionists and Socialists they could not quite swallow what the Bolsheviks had done, and after the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty they withdrew from the government in protest. Unlike Trotsky who required a world audience for

the supreme act of sacrifice, they proceeded to make war upon the new German masters of Revolutionary Russia. Lacking an army they resorted to assassination. We will not discuss here the practical wisdom or expediency of their act, but what they did was to kill Count Mirbach, the Kaiser's ambassador to Moscow. Berlin's reaction was instantaneous. The Kaiser's government addressed an ultimatum to the Soviet Government demanding satisfaction and punishment of those responsible. Lenin yielded without hesitation. A large group of the Socialists—Revolutionists in question, headed by Alexandrovitch, were executed. The great leader of world revolution, sincere Marxist, and austere critic of Socialist "opportunism" responded to the command of Kaiserist Germany and slaughtered revolutionists with whom he had, only a short time before, sat at the same government table. Such were the beauties of Lenin's "breathing

spell"—desertion and betrayal of the Finnish workers left to be slaughtered like cattle by Mannerheim's White Guards and their German allies, and the execution of Russian revolutionists in compliance with the demands of German militarism.

Adventurism

These betrayals marked another milestone in the onward march of "world revolution," the road of which is sown with Communist treachery and crimes.

Other developments, ascribable directly to the Communist policy of "world revolution," were not long delayed. We shall mention them briefly.

The first inevitable consequence of the Brest-Litovsk treaty was Allied intervention in Russia. Allied troops had been on Russian soil, in the North and in the Far East, almost from the beginning of the war. At the time of the Bolshevik coup d'etat they were guarding large Allied military sup-

\$5,000 and recently the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America gave \$2,500. Other national and international unions have either paid or pledged substantial sums to the Chest.

The American Federation of Labor, at its San Francisco Convention last year, approved the Chest and urged fullest support by all trade unionists. The Convention also reaffirmed the boycott adopted at the preceding annual convention, and the A. F. of L. now looks to the Chest to emphasize the boycott as an important part of its activities.

Labor Is United in Struggle Against All Forms of Fascism

By Harry Lee Franklin
Executive Secretary, Chest for
Liberation of Workers of Europe

ORGANIZED labor is rapidly becoming aware of fascism through the intensive campaign waged the last month by the Chest for Liberation of Workers of Europe, whose chairman is President William Green of the A. F. of L., and whose other officials and executive members comprise outstanding labor leaders of the country.

Through bulletins, circulars, pamphlets, and public meetings fascism (Nazism) is being constantly emphasized as organized labor's most deadly enemy. Under that system, the labor unions are abolished and trade unionists deprived of their most valuable rights such as the right to strike and to collective bargaining. Nazi Germany and fascist Italy are classic examples in this regard.

A network of local Chest committees—through the city central labor bodies and directly affiliated local unions—is being organized throughout the country to participate in this educative onslaught against fascism, to promote and emphasize the boycott against Nazi German goods and services, and to raise funds to aid the Labor victims of European dictatorships. Such Chest committees have been set up in New York City, Boston,

Chicago, Milwaukee, Los Angeles, and a number of lesser centers. Several of the national and international unions are also cooperating in the work and activities of the Chest.

So far over \$40,000 have been contributed to the Chest, of which about \$30,000 have been sent abroad to aid Labor refugees from Germany, Austria and Italy. The United Mine Workers contributed

Portrait of a Mighty Nation Enjoying Great Prosperity

OUTGOING steamers, carrying vacationers in the last days of June, set a record for the past six years. Hundreds of millions of American dollars will be spent by tourists roaming over the various countries of Europe, a visible sign of "recovery" of a sort.

Close to half a million soft-coal miners are awaiting a call for a general strike to end some of the more hideous conditions in the bituminous fields.

Pittsburgh reports an increased demand for steel, a big rise being expected in September. The mills will be closed July 4, one of the two holidays in the year observed by the steel industry; otherwise the only way the steel workers can get a day off is to be laid off.

The number of unemployed is considerably higher than at this period a year ago.

The prices of cotton are the highest they have been in a month. Cotton futures touched their highest point since just before the NRA decision.

A corresponding improvement in the wages and living conditions of the share-croppers raising cotton has not been noted.

High pork prices, the financial pages report, are likely for a year. No corresponding increase in the

wages of workers who are expected to buy the pork, however, is reported.

Reports from business in June were reassuring, according to the monthly bulletin of the National City Bank. The evidence is "overwhelming," says the bulletin, that the fear of a general break-down in the price structure has been relieved. The bank reports that with respect to inventories and retail trade the situation seems healthy.

The National City bank did not get around to a report on employment, wages, hours and general living conditions, but it is assumed they, too, are "satisfactory"—that is, to the people who read the bulletins.

All this gives a good idea of the general healthy condition of the country at the mid-point of the merry year of recovery.

KINGS

The Socialist Party District Council No. 1, Kings County, is planning a mass demonstration and parade against the High Cost of Living in Brownsville and East New York on Saturday, July 13, at 4 p.m. Participants in the parade will gather at Pennsylvania and Sutter Aves. and march to Pitkin and Hopkinson Aves. where prominent speakers will address us. We invite active cooperation of party members, Y.P.S.L., Falcons, trade union and labor organizations.

Connecticut Pushes Hillquit Amendment

(Special to The New Leader)

NORWALK, Conn.—In accordance with a program adopted by the Socialist State Executive Committee, State Secretary Arnold E. Freese has inaugurated a vigorous state-wide campaign to secure favorable Congressional action on the Workers' Rights Amendment to the Federal Constitution. The resolution, prepared by Devere Allen and City Clerk Fred Schwarzkopf of Bridgeport and unanimously adopted by the committee, is in support of the Constitutional amendment, drafted by Morris Hillquit for the Socialist Party several years ago, to meet the anticipated failure of the Supreme Court to uphold labor legislation.

The amendment has been introduced in Congress for the Socialist Party, by Congressman Vito Marcantonio of New York.

Other important business to come before the committee included the granting of a charter to the newly organized Socialist local in Newtown. Temporary officers of the Newtown organization are Edward H. Smith, Dr. Maurice Corrigan and Frederick Mayer. Reports from many towns throughout the state indicate that Socialists will contest a record-breaking number of city and town elections this Fall.

The Socialist Legislative Committee was asked to meet at an early date in order to plan for the special session of the General Assembly which the Governor must call if cities and towns are to be in a position to take care of relief needs. The committee was instructed to inaugurate an aggressive campaign for state-wide support for the graduated income tax measure sponsored by the Socialist Party. Other proposed plans for taxation will be thoroughly investigated.

The Allen-Schwarzkopf resolu-

tion adopted by the committee, which is to be proposed to forward-looking groups throughout the state, to secure support for the Constitutional amendment is: "Under the ruling of the Supreme Court which gave to an already failing NRA its final blow, it has become clear that there is no hope of legislative progress in behalf of labor and all insecure people unless something more constructive can be found than the previous attempts to regulate a predatory profit system by administrative regulation or legislative tinkering. One constructive measure, made ready and advocated by the Socialist Party, and recently introduced in Congress by Congressman Marcantonio of New York, is the Party's Workers' Rights Amendment to the National Constitution. If passed, many of the most vexing problems of legislative progress could be solved, and the people freed from the present-day confusion and inability to move ahead with laws for protection of those who need it, for important reforms, and for fundamental economic change."

Workers and Farmers Approve

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—The Federated Trades Council has followed the lead of the railway machinists' District No. 73 convention and endorsed the Workers' Rights Amendment to the Federal Constitution.

MERRILL, Wis.—The Workers' Rights Amendment, sponsored by the Socialist Party and introduced into Congress by Representative Vito Marcantonio, was unanimously and enthusiastically endorsed by the delegates to the County Equity Union convention held here on June 28.

Milk Pool Endorses

RANDON LAKE, Wis.—Enrollment of farm and labor leaders in committees for the Workers' Rights

Amendment is promised by President Albert P. Schulz of the Sheboygan County unit of the Wisconsin Cooperative Milk Pool. The Pool unit and the labor unions of the county exchange speakers regularly so that city workers and farmers may keep closely in touch with their mutual problems.

Jewish Unions in Line

CHICAGO, Ill.—The Workers' Rights Amendment has been endorsed by the Federation of Jewish Trade Unions representing twenty-five A. F. of L. locals, according to Morris Siskind, president of the Federation. The Pocketbook Makers' Union started the ball rolling for endorsement by the Chicago Federation of Labor, which has published the Amendment in its official organ and taken it under advisement by the executive committee.

WASHINGTON.—Francis J. Gorman, First Vice-President of the United Textile Workers and leader of the general strike in that industry last summer, announced his support of the Workers' Rights Amendment here last Monday. Gorman has agreed to become an active member of the Labor Committee for the Workers' Rights Amendment.

Before Congress

CHICAGO.—Pressure by all worker and farmer groups to secure a favorable report by the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives on the Workers' Rights Amendment is urged by Leo Kryzski, national chairman of the Socialist Party. The amendment is now before the committee, the chairman of which is Representative Hattin W. Summers of Texas.

Schlossberg to Aid

NEW YORK.—Endorsement of the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment by Joseph Schlossberg, secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, is announced.

Hillquit Memorial Grove Dedicated at Tamiment

(Continued from Page One)

social order mankind will venerate his memory." Many messages were received from friends who were unable to be present, including Julius Gerber, David Dubinsky, Sidney Stark of Pittsburgh, Abraham Cahan, Joseph Baskin and Philip Golubet of the Workmen's Circle, Winston Dancs, National Secretary of the Y.P.S.L., Harold Bancroft of the Socialist Party of Allentown, Pa., and locals Universal and Luzerne County, Pa., among others.

Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, in part wrote:

"There are few now living who knew Morris Hillquit and were associated with him in our movement through so long a time as I was. It is more than forty-five years since I first met him, an ardent, intelligent, generous-hearted young man—I might almost say a mere boy—just arrived in this country. Our common ideals at once made us comrades and friends, and the comradeship and friendship continued till the day of his too early death."

"Morris Hillquit and I often differed over questions of policy and tactics in our movement. But he was a man with whom one could differ without bitterness. However sharply we might be opposed, he always kept my admiration, my trust, and my affection. And every great crisis in our movement brought us together again."

"We all miss Morris Hillquit. We miss his brave wise leadership and the great gifts by which he served our party and the whole labor movement so gloriously. We miss him more now than ever before, because we are again passing through a painful and dangerous crisis."

"We know where Morris Hillquit stood and where he would stand if he could be with us today. Hillquit had faith in the common people. He trusted the masses. He knew that liberty is the most precious thing in life. He counted upon a Socialist Party, devoted to the ideals of political and industrial democracy, and working hand in hand with the great movement of organized labor, to save and emancipate the world. In this hope and faith he lived and died."

"The beautiful grove which you are dedicating today symbolizes the real monument which perpetuates Morris Hillquit's memory—the monument composed of living men and women who hold allegiance to the cause of democratic Socialism, with its promise of a better life, of real liberty, fraternity, and happiness for mankind."

"My heart is with you on this unforgettable occasion in paying a tribute of love and honor to our great comrade, Morris Hillquit." John P. Frey, president of the Metal Trades Council of the A. F. of L., said that he had differed with Hillquit but that he (Frey) owed a debt to him and he was glad of the opportunity to pay his tribute to a really great man. Hillquit had never lost the fine quality of leadership. "He was the captain of his ship and was unafraid to the end," Hillquit and Gompers

had also differed but were united in their work to help the exploited masses. "Morris Hillquit is one of the immortals. He did not seek for himself but gave to others."

"He Is Just Away" Charles Solomon emphasized that Morris Hillquit never forgot that there can be no effective Socialist movement without organized labor. Quoting James Whitcomb Riley the Hoosier Poet, the speaker closed by saying, "I cannot say he is dead; he is just away."

Ben Josephson, representing Camp Tamiment, expressed the thanks of the Camp to all who had helped to make the memorial a success. He announced that arrangements will be made to plant any trees or flowers that may be offered by friends of Comrade Hillquit.

Sam Perlmuter represented David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, who was unable to be present because of negotiations with employers in the industry. Perlmuter reviewed in part the invaluable services of Comrade Hillquit to the union and gave a vivid account of him rising from his sick bed, flying to Washington, and serving the union in writing its code. "In Washington," said the speaker, "we knew that he had made his last speech." He concluded by turning to Mrs. Hillquit and her daughter, Nina, paying an affectionate tribute to Comrade Hillquit.

Louis Waldman was the last speaker. "This Hillquit grove was built in the spirit of love," said Waldman. "It is difficult to think of the Socialist movement without Morris Hillquit. His life and work touched every phase of the Labor and Socialist movement and we cannot measure his influence and achievements. His influence was marked in the change from individualist to social concepts. We can never forget Hillquit, the man and the logician. The United States is poorer because it has lost one of its great citizens."

At the conclusion of the ceremonies and before it melted away, the audience gathered around the Hillquit bust. It bears a bronze plaque containing a quotation in capital letters from his Utica speech at the state convention of the Socialist Party of New York three years ago. Those who heard the speech were moved to the depths. The quotation follows:

"AFTER FORTY-FIVE YEARS HAVING CHOSEN AND FOLLOWED THE UNPOPULAR COURSE OF A SOCIALIST PROPAGANDIST, I AM ENTIRELY AT PEACE WITH MYSELF. I HAVE NOTHING TO REGRET, NOTHING TO APOLOGIZE FOR. TO ME THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT WITH ITS ENTHUSIASM AND IDEALISM, ITS COMRADESHIP AND STRUGGLES, ITS HOPES AND DISAPPOINTMENTS, ITS VICTORIES AND DEFEATS HAS BEEN THE BEST THAT LIFE HAS HAD TO OFFER."

MANHATTAN

4th A. D.—Nominated Julius Green for the Assembly and Samuel P. Ulanoff for Alderman. Campaign headquarters will be opened on Delancey St. Branch decided to canvass Socialist enrolled voters and present each with a set of picnic tickets with compliments of the branch.

THIRD PARTY CONFERENCE IS MEETING IN CHICAGO

(Continued from Page One)

sive political movements, etc., can unite.

2. The form which united action is to take: A. Shall it be a new political party? (1) National in scope? (2) A union of regional parties?

B. Shall it be a movement to take over existing party machinery?

C. How far shall "pressure" political methods be pursued? How far can they be effective for our purposes?

D. What are the possibilities of a national federation of political organizations, regional political movements, economic organizations, etc., which are independently working for economic democracy?

3. The available support for a new political movement. (It is suggested that the delegates from various organizations and various parts of the country be prepared to answer this as accurately as possible.)

4. The educational problem. A. What literature is now available

for educational work? B. What must we prepare in the way of literature in the future? C. The problem of organizing our educational work. D. Cooperation between groups now issuing literature, and unification of their efforts.

5. Shall a national convention be called to ratify the proposals and conclusions of this conference?

Conspicuous among those omitted from the list of those invited are the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, Senator Huey P. Long and representatives of groups that seek to achieve their aims by other than democratic and peaceful means. That is, the conference in its make-up specifically excludes fascism and Communism.

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Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

Socialist Conflict With Bolshevism

IN 1927 I wrote in my book on "American Communism" that Bolshevism is a special product of Russian history. "Russian economic and bureaucratic history weighs like a mountain upon the minds of Communists. They cannot shake it off. They think in terms of this history, they see the rest of the world through it, and everything else assumes the character, dimensions, coloring, and importance of an experience that is Russian. . . . The variation of climate, geography, language, customs, historical and psychic backgrounds that characterizes each nation does not appear to impress the Communist."

In this sense Bolshevism is a patriotic chauvinism, an insufferable arrogance which assumes that the dictators of the Kremlin have found the final answer to all problems. All who do not accept this answer must be clubbed to their knees. Stalin is the international law-giver. Pay homage to Stalin.

Socialism is in conflict with Bolshevism. Both differ in philosophy, historical interpretation, in program, in aim and in methods. Bolshevism makes a caricature of Socialist philosophy. It has debased every noble ideal of the labor movement. Its philosophy is not that of Marx and Engels; it harks back to the medieval inquisition with its "hodge-podge of sophistic quibblings, groundless distinctions, fanciful allegories." It twists the Marxian interpretation of history when it tries to transform a nation of handicraftsmen, peasant tillers of soil, tribesmen and nomads into a collective society. By low cunning and intrigue it strives to bring the Labor and Socialist movement of the world under its dictatorship. Failing in that, it strives to destroy the movement.

Its aim is also in fundamental conflict with the aim of Socialism. It does not trust the working masses who are regarded as cattle to be driven, not human beings who are to work out their own problems through self-directed organization, education and action. Bolshevism establishes itself as a dictatorship clique, as an organization, and puts the masses under a despotic yoke where it rises to power. It paralyzes their will through fear of imprisonment, exile or execution. Turberville in his "Medieval Heresy and the Inquisition" declares that when the crusaders blotted out the civilization of Languedoc, it was due to the order, "Kill them all, for God knows His own." This is the policy of the dictatorship towards Social Democrats, Social Revolutionaries, Anarchists and dissident Communists.

Even in trials of accused persons, one who acts as counsel for the accused becomes an outcast. In the Middle Ages Innocent III forbade advocates and notaries to defend heretics; and Eymeric, inquisitor of Aragon, ruled that while counsel were not denied to accused persons, yet advocates espousing the cause of a heretic were liable to prosecution before the Inquisition. This has happened again and again in Russia. This is the "Workers' Fatherland!"

Bolshevik Methods

This is not the aim of Socialism which takes for its ideal a self-governing democracy in all of the institutions of a collective civilization. The Bolsheviks have asserted that they will abandon their dictatorship after they have "built Socialism." They began their iron rule with the promise that when the civil war was over it would be abandoned. When the White Guard armies had all been defeated the dictatorship became more ruthless than ever. No reliance can be placed in the promises of the Bolshevik dictatorship or any other dictatorship. It is a law of dictatorship that power narrows into fewer and fewer hands until it becomes a one-man despotism. No despot ever voluntarily gives up his power.

If the Labor and Socialist movement is in conflict with Bolshevism in its philosophy, historical interpretation and aim, it is also in deadly conflict with its methods. It makes its dictatorship over the Labor and Socialist movement a fundamental principle. The organizations and members must prostrate themselves before the masters of the Kremlin and accept the orders of Stalin. If the masters order an adventure into conspiracy, or a venture into armed insurrection, or that a program be changed, or that officers be removed there must be instant obedience.

All organizations must adopt the dogma of "dictatorship of the proletariat," which in practice means dictatorship by a clique of Bolsheviks. Although not openly advocating an armed attack on the governing powers, the Bolsheviks reserve this for their inner circle. In this country in 1919 they again and again called for "armed insurrection" and were driven underground by a nation-wide raid by the Department of Justice. While engaged in this stupidity they took occasion to attack Socialists as "yellow" for not following them. Their own ranks were filled with government spies who urged this stupidity.

It is needless to say that those who urge the masses to venture into the streets with their bare fists against the enormous military and police powers in the hands of the government are either fools or police spies. Such methods mean the complete destruction of any labor organization that indulges in them.

Again and again in Europe and in this country the advocates of conspiracy and armed insurrection have brought their own defeat. In this country the Knights of the Golden Circle in the Civil War, the force anarchists of the eighties with their secret armed organizations of workmen, and then the Communists in 1919 all reaped the same results. In every instance agents of the government found their way into these organizations and easily became the masters of them.

Socialist vs. Bolshevik Aims

Dictatorship paralyzes the will of those who come under it, with the exception of a spartan band of heroic men and women who dare death to bring liberation. It makes cowards and sycophants of the courtiers who gather around the dictator. They may despise him but they are compelled to grovel before him. The most disgusting thing in Russia are the "confessions" of Bolsheviks who differ with Stalin, the admission of "errors," the servile promises to follow his "line." These are broken men, human beings cowering under the knout, transforming their despair and fear into flattery of a man whom they have every reason to hate. Here is human debasement as revolting as anything exhibited in Hitler's Germany.

Bolshevism is a degenerate offshoot of the Labor and Socialist movement. What will be the outcome of its regime no one can predict. Our opposition to it differs fundamentally with the opposition of the capitalist world. The world of capitalism has made its peace with Bolshevik Russia but it may again turn to a policy of intervention in Russia. To capitalist intervention in Russia all Socialists are opposed. It would not lead to the liberation of the masses from the dictatorship. It would more likely establish a reactionary regime supported by European bayonets. It would replace one despotism with another one.

The liberation of the Russian masses from the Bolshevik dictatorship is the task of the masses themselves. Underground propaganda for this purpose is carried on by workers under extraordinary difficulties. The dictatorship at times also reveals internal crises. Opposition after opposition is ruthlessly crushed, the last one with a "bloody purge," and yet new dissent follows each internal party crisis. The Bolshevik machinery of oppression and repression is the most extraordinary that has ever been organized, exceeding in efficiency even that of the old Czarism, and yet there are those who risk exile and death to strike off the fetters that hold the masses in chains.

Socialism seeks a democratic transformation of society, not a reversion to the old absolutist regimes of the past. It seeks to permeate the masses with the knowledge and the will to acquire power and to transform the economic, social, cultural and governing institutions into a collective society where the collective will is the source of decisions, not a despot with servile courtiers adopting his "line." How the Socialist democratic regime will emerge from capitalist civilization cannot be forecast. It may come in a normal period of peace, during an industrial crisis, or at the end of a war.

In any event, Socialists are not barbarians nor do they regard the masses as robots to be placed under the yoke of dictators. Once power is acquired to transform our highly organized industrial civilization into a Socialist commonwealth, the collective regime will know how to defend itself against reactionary conspiracy, but in effecting this defense it will not place the masses into a stry-jacket and bring a civil war into the ranks of the masses themselves.

The Pennsylvania Front

Y.P.S.L. Meet to Start in Pittsburgh July 19

Special to The New Leader.

PITTSBURGH.—Final plans have been completed for the eighth national convention of the Young People's Socialist League of America in this city July 19, 20 and 21. A joint committee of the Young Socialists of Pittsburgh and the Socialist Party is busy seeing that every detail is completed to record the most successful Y.P.S.L. convention in history.

Convention sessions will be held at the International Socialist Lyceum, 805 James St. (corner James and Foreland Sts.) North Side.

A large mass meeting will open the convention Friday evening, June 19, at convention headquarters. Clarence Senior, National Secretary of the Socialist Party; Arthur McDowell, National Chairman of the Young People's Socialist League; Winston Dancie, Y.P.S.L. National Secretary and spokesman of the State and County Committees of the Socialist Party, will greet the delegates.

The convention will officially open on Saturday morning when the routine business will begin. Sessions will continue all day Saturday as well as all day Sunday. The closing feature of the convention will be a large banquet, at which the new National Y.P.S.L. Administration will be feted.

The address of the local arrangements committee is 122 9th St., the headquarters of the Socialist Party and Young People's Socialist League of Allegheny County. All party members, friends and sympathizers in Allegheny County, who would like to extend hospitality to delegates, are urged to get in touch with the committee at the above address or by calling COurt 7965. Banquet tickets can also be secured at this address.

N.E.C. Meets in New York July 13 to Consider Big Problems

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party will meet in New York City on July 13, 14 and 15, and it is expected that it will prove to be an unusually important session.

The committee will consider the answer of the State Committee of New York to the statement of nine points adopted by the N.E.C. at its Buffalo session regarding the party conflict in this state. The Eastern States Conference of five states and two language federations will also present a program of action and propaganda and proposals to end the factional warfare that afflicts a number of states.

On Saturday night, July 13, a mass meeting will be held in Irving Plaza Hall, 15th Street and Irving Place. The party branches of Queens and Bronx Counties are making arrangements for the mass meeting. The city organization was unable to invite the N.E.C. to meet here or to assume the obligations of a mass meeting because of the practical boycott of city affairs by the dual party organization maintained in the city by the "militants."

Strikers Picket Consumers' Biscuit Co.

While the strike against the National Biscuit Co. was settled some weeks ago, another struggle is on against a smaller concern, the Consumers' Biscuit and Manufacturing Co., which is affiliated with the Sawyer Biscuit Co. These firms have plants at Clinton and Park Aves., Brooklyn, and at 32nd St. and First Ave., Manhattan.

Their products are sold principally in the cheaper chain stores and at the Woolworth, A. and P., Kresge and McCrory stores.

On June 13 about 300 men walked out of these plants in protest against speeding up, discriminations and a violation of agreements upon the part of the employer.

A previous strike against this firm ended last March and the workers gained slight concessions and the recognition of a committee of their union, the Inside Biscuit Workers' Union, Federal Union A.F.L. Local 19929. Immediately following the collapse of the NRA the firm became arrogant and reprisals were made against the workers. The strike is now in its third week and picketing is going on in good spirit.

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Hoopes at Erie Picnic

ERIE, Pa.—Darlington Hoopes, Socialist member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, is scheduled to speak at the Annual Socialist Picnic, which will be held on Sunday, August 4, at Lynch's Grove, Gore Road, Erie, Pa.

Pittsburgh Picnic July 14

PITTSBURGH.—The annual Socialist Party picnic will be held on Sunday, July 14, at Piney Fork Grove and Swimming Pool. Tickets are on sale at the Party headquarters, 122 9th St., Pittsburgh, Pa.

Jugoslavs to Hold Picnic

MOON RUN, Pa.—The Conference and the Yugoslav Branch 175 of the Socialist Party will hold a picnic in honor of the 30th Anniversary of Proletarec at Portman's Grove, Moon Run, Pa., July 13 and 14, 1935. A program of sports, speakers and music is planned.

Reynoldsville Names Ticket for November

REYNOLDSVILLE, Pa.—Socialists of Jefferson County met Saturday afternoon, June 29th, at Bohren's Rose Garden, Reynoldsville, and named the following candidates for office for the coming primary election:

Frank Reams, Punsutawney R.D., for Sheriff; U. G. Vashinder, of Brookville and L. T. Spicher, of Punsutawney, for Commissioners; Louise Ruth Snyder, M.D., of Brookville, for Register and Recorder; Ellett Reyber, of Sykesville, for Prothonotary; V. E. Hoffman, of Brookville, and Milo Zimmerman, of Sykesville, for Auditors, and Gerald J. Lyons, of Reynoldsville R.D., for Coroner.

A candidate for judge will be selected from those able to conform with the strict regulations of the Socialist Party before the primary.

Mass Meeting and Picnic Feature Denver Socialist School

DENVER, Col.—The Western States Summer School this year will open at party headquarters in 1026 17th St., Friday evening, July 19. The Denver sessions will end with a mass meeting Sunday, July 21, after which the school will move for four days to Pine, Colo., in Platte Canyon, for an open-air session.

A joint picnic of the Socialist Party and the Workers' Circle, to be held at the summer school site on July 28, will climax the summer school. Roy Burt will be in charge of the instruction at the school. Carl Campbell, representing Local Denver, is in charge of the administrative details.

The registration fee covering school expenses is \$1. Personal expenses of students attending will vary from \$7 to \$10, depending on individual purchases. Lodging will be furnished by Denver comrades for the sessions there. Applications for the school, accompanied by \$1 fee, should be mailed at once to Carl Campbell, 1026 17th St., Denver.

CALIF. SOCIALISTS START LYCEUM FOR SUMMER MONTHS

By Samuel S. White

SAN FRANCISCO.—A lyceum course of a series of lectures from a Socialist viewpoint is being dealing with present-day problems presented by the Educational Committee of the Socialist Party. The committee is headed by Raymond W. Henderson, labor and civil liberties attorney, of Bakersfield, who is also chairman of the Socialist State Executive Committee.

Locals Los Angeles, Bakersfield, Fresno, Stockton, East Bay and Palo Alto are participating in the series, which is entitled "The Road to Abundance." The lectures come monthly, and between the lectures each local is arranging a smaller study and discussion.

George R. Kirkpatrick, veteran Socialist, has just completed the first lecture tour, speaking on "Is Plenty Too Much?" an analysis of present-day economic conditions.

Gardner Wells of Los Angeles, member of the S.E.C., will follow him with "As the World Turns," a discussion of the forces that change social and economic orders. Lecture No. 3 will be an "Surplus Value," by Roy Burt. Then will be "The War of the Classes," by Will Goldberg of the Los Angeles Y.P.S.L. The final lecturer will be Henderson on "Come and Get It."

Phila. Leather Workers Win Fine Victory

By A. F. of L. News Service

PHILADELPHIA.—Employees of the H. Foerderer Leather Company after a short walkout won a victory which officers of the United Leather Workers' International Union said was rarely equalled in the organized labor movement.

The Foerderer Company is one of the largest producers of glazed kid leather in the world, a trademarked product called "vici-kid."

In an effort to reduce production costs the company imported "efficiency engineers," who applied the usual effort of cost cutting by victimizing labor. In the wet department the cost reducers displaced men by women, who were compelled to perform work unsuitable to them and at wages lower than men were paid. In the ironing department a woman was employed at \$11.80 a week in place of a man who was earning \$19.80 a week.

When this victimization was made effective the ironers struck. Although they were not members of the local union they turned at once to Bernard G. Quinn, general vice-president of the United Leather Workers' International Union, who told them that with only the ironers on strike they did not have much chance to win.

The following morning Quinn and John H. Landenberg, secretary of the local union, visited the plant and found all the other employees of the company had struck. At 2 p. m. over 300 of the strikers had joined the union. At 3:30 p. m. Quinn and a responsible committee of the union called on the officials of the company and negotiated a signed agreement, the main features of which are: Men will not be displaced by women; discharged men will be rehired; the women will be given jobs in women's departments when needed; no reduction in pay or lengthening of hours; recognition of and transaction of business with committees and a representative of local branch No. 64 of the Leather Workers' Union.

In a statement on the strike General President W. E. Bryan and General Secretary-Treasurer John J. Pfeiffer of the Leather Workers' International Union said that the agreement is a "wonderful trade union accomplishment" especially when the "demoralized economic, industrial and financial condition" is taken into consideration.

"For speed and thoroughness in transforming a large unorganized industrial plant into a union plant we doubt if it has even excelled and but rarely equalled or approached," the statement added.

Fine Programs Prepared For Unity House

It would be difficult to equal the talent which has been engaged by Unity House, the labor vacation resort at Forest Park, Pa. Outstanding artists from the literary, musical and theatrical world are scheduled to appear on the well arranged programs, including the Group Theatre which will present the success, "Awake and Sing," the Theatre Union, the Chicago Grand Opera Company and other features of the equally high quality.

July 13th, will see the appearance of the renowned violinist, Toscha Seidel.

The recently completed buildings, the last word in modern architecture, the new roads and athletic facilities and the many other improvements, more than fulfill the promises of those in charge that the New Unity House would carry on the best traditions that have made this famous resort the mecca for vacationists.

Ostrowsky and Lopatin Named in Brownsville

The Brownsville Socialist campaign has been launched with the nomination of candidates for the coming elections. Irving Ostrowsky was nominated for Assembly in the 23rd A.D., and Harry Lopatin for the Board of Aldermen in the 50th District.

Ostrowsky has been a Party member for a number of years and was a member of the Y.P.S.L. for many years. He is an active member of Local 1 of the I.L.G.W.U., and of the Workers' Unemployed Union, Local 19. He is a very able speaker and debater. Comrade Lopatin is the organizer of the Socialist Party of the 23rd A.D., a former President of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum Association, for over ten years a member of the Y.P.S.L., and active in a number of Socialist and labor undertakings.

How to Attain a New World.

Places and dates of coming lectures are: Los Angeles, Jewish Verband Hall, 126 No. St. Louis St., July 15, August 19, September 16, October 21. Bakersfield, City Hall Park, July 13, August 16, September 13, October 18. Fresno, Workers' Circle Hall, 1010 Echo St., July 12, August 15, September 12, October 17. Stockton, Socialist headquarters, 511 E. Channel St., July 10, August 14, September 11, October 16. Berkeley Teachers' College, July 8, August 12, September 9, October 14. Palo Alto, 636 Emerson St., July 9, August 13, September 10, October 15.

PROTEST OF MASSES IS RISING IN HITLER'S THIRD REICH

(Continued from Page One)

It is important not to overestimate these new tendencies. Many workers' groups are still filled with Nazi ideology and Nazi slogans, while others are already frankly expressing the new longing for freedom and independence that is gradually taking hold of the German working class. The dictatorship possesses unlimited means to fight the opposition and restlessness of the workers. Yet the fact remains that for the first time since the collapse of the German labor movement in 1933 growing masses of workers are freeing themselves from the state of hopeless resignation and are now displaying an active and militant spirit of resistance. And while the German ruling groups together with the middle class are becoming more and more identified with Hitlerism and fascism, the German working class is awakening and reorganizing itself by its own efforts.

Two years of fascist dictatorship startlingly prove that no dictatorship can in the long run win over the army or organized labor to its cause. The gulf between the two camps cannot be bridged, and even terror will not and must fail in face of the determination of the workers to regain their freedom and rights.

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MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION. Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. Downtown office, 640 Broadway; phone, SPring 7-4548; uptown office, 31 W. 37th St.; phone, WI 7-2700. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 o'clock. Manager, N. Spector; Secretary, Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. R. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodas.
NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone, ALgonquin 4-7022. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottman, Secretary-Treasurer.
WAITERS' and WAITRESSES' UNION. Local No. 1, A. F. of L. and U. I. T. 220-7th Ave. W. Lehman, Sec'y; Tel.: LACKawanna 4-5485.
WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION. Local 62 of I.L.G.W.U., 875 Broadway, New York City. Telephone, ALgonquin 4-1061. A. Shore, Manager.

NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

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

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A FINE CONFERENCE

THOSE who attended the Camp Tamiment conference reported in this issue left it with a sense of regret that it had come to a conclusion. Men with big responsibilities in the trade unions, Socialists and experts in certain fields, participated in a program that left little to be desired. From five to seven hundred persons attended the conferences, the attendance exceeding all expectations. It is a forecast of even larger conferences to be held in the coming years.

The topics were extraordinarily interesting, the speakers were able and informed, and the intimate fraternization of Labor spokesmen and Socialists in the conferences, under the trees and in the dining hall, was highly encouraging and a prospect of Labor-Socialist cooperation more promising than at any time in American history.

Congratulations to Tamiment Economic and Social Institute! It was a splendid beginning.

UTOPIA AND SCIENCE

THE depression has heaved up cranks who draw beautiful pictures of a utopian world. Hardly a week passes that The New Leader does not receive such pictures. Some are illustrated with mysterious symbols. Others confine themselves to an exposition in writing. They try to fit the world and its institutions into these fancy pictures. They are dream-worlds of the authors. They are phantoms bearing little relation to the world in which we live.

The Socialist considers human beings as they are, industry as it is, and the economic forces that largely determine what mankind can do. By taking all these factors into account, we place ourselves on the bedrock of science. This enables us to probe the sorry scene of human wreckage, of frustrated hopes, of damaged souls, of twisted men and women—the human material with which we must work. What is possible in this economic and political background with this human material? That is the question.

This is the difference between the utopian and the scientist. It is the difference between the street vender of patent medicine and an Einstein. It is the difference between a Huey Long and a Karl Marx.

THE BARON OF WIERBURG

THE National Labor Relations Bill providing for collective bargaining agencies by majority vote and eliminating the company union as such an agency has brought some interesting comments from members of the employing class. Whether it will stand the test of the courts is a question that only their robed highnesses can determine.

But of all the statements made by kings of capital regarding the measure, that of E. T. Wier, head of the National Steel Corporation, who fought the organization of workers in his steel plants, is worthy of special mention. Wier said: "The law will be contested for the benefit of millions of our workers."

Nearly ninety years ago Marx coined a delightful epigram when he wrote: "The bourgeois is a bourgeois—for the benefit of the working class."

Page the Baron of Wierburg!

SALTS FOR THE LADIES!

PERHAPS the Daughters of the American Revolution are storing up large quantities of smelling salts after learning that George Washington did not think that the Constitution was a perfect piece of work. He presided over the Constitutional Convention and a letter written by him to a friend, which recently came to light, carries the statement that "The Constitution that is submitted is not free from imperfections."

The Constitution has been Holy Writ to the ladies who believe that revolution—always excepting the one they celebrate—is just terrible, so there! The fact is, if the document had not been stretched by judicial interpretation out of all semblance to the original it would have had to be abandoned long ago. The late Woodrow Wilson was candid enough to also write that the document was framed by conservative gentlemen "informed by a solidarity of material interest." More salts for the ladies!

AN ECHO FROM THE TOMB

THE International Labor Organization at Geneva has approved the forty-hour week in principle, which induces the New York Times to observe that "the shorter work week must mean a reduction in the standard of living" and that workers "must choose between shorter hours and higher living standards." For more than a century this argument has been made and it was made when the hours of labor were from "sun to sun." A British economist went so far as to say that the profits of the capitalists are made in the last hour worked by the laborer, and to reduce the labor day by one hour would bring capitalist production to an end. The Times editorial is an echo from the tomb.



Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman
Our Washington Correspondent

IF one had to label the chief doings in Washington this week it would undoubtedly be, "The Battle of the Lobbies." President Roosevelt accused the utility companies of maintaining in Washington the largest and most dangerous lobby Congress ever had to contend with. The President said, "all other lobbies were mere infants compared to the utility lobby."

On the other hand the administration was accused of employing a "terribly powerful lobby to whip Congressmen into line to kill public utility holding companies."

At the moment of writing [just before the House voted] the highest point of intensity centers in the House of Representatives, which prepares to accept or reject the "death sentence" clause of the Wheeler-Rayburn Utility Holding Bill and will, within the next few weeks, pass on the question of hobbling or giving free reign to the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Enactment of the holding company bill, in the form approved by the Senate, would represent the curbing of the "private Socialism" of the power interests, as the President put it, while approval of the Senate bill on the TVA would clear the way for "Government Socialism" in the power field, as private utility men describe it.

Neither of the Senate measures, however, has been permitted to come directly before the House. Committee action has seen to that. They may, nevertheless, be voted on in the form of amendments.

"Death Sentence" Modified

THE Wheeler-Rayburn bill spent five months in committee. When it emerged the section making mandatory the dissolution or readjustment of holding companies controlling widely separated and non-integrated operating concerns was radically altered.

Such changes in company set-up, instead of being compulsory under the terms of the bill, were left to the discretion of the Securities and Exchange Commission. On the Commission would be placed the burden of deciding that the present status of the holding units is not in the public interest. As reported from committee, therefore, the House bill clearly lacks teeth in the matter of holding company dissolution.

In this form the measure received the approval of the United States Chamber of Commerce. Its President, Harper Sibley, sent a message to all representatives assuring that the task of regulating the utility industry had grown to such a size that unaided State authority was no longer adequate.

To other groups, however, the bill appeared in no wise satisfactory. First, to the committee of Public Utility Executives it still remained what it had been before, a direct step toward public ownership of all utilities. Second, to a large group of House members, including Representative Sam Rayburn of Texas, chairman of the reporting committee, the bill appeared wholly inadequate to cope with the "menace" of holding company control.

Mr. Rayburn declared that it gave no assurance of an end of "milking" of operating companies by the holding units' overcharging

them for services, inflation of property values so as to keep up electric rates, and political influence over regulatory bodies.

Finally, the House bill appeared totally inadequate to President Roosevelt, who described the Senate form of the bill as an Emancipation Proclamation for stockholders. At present, he indicated, it is the stockholder who is under a death sentence and elimination of the "parasitic" holding units would free him from this fate. Here rested the controversy.

Interesting Sidelights in the Political Battle

MR. ROOSEVELT is just a good enough judge of the popular mind to know that he can go the limit in pressing this issue, and he has. He has carried such strong support with him that the utilities have been pushed down to the extremity of making a fight on just one thing.

That point is simply whether Congress shall definitely order the elimination of holding companies, subject to certain exceptions, by January 1, 1940, or whether the Securities and Exchange Commission shall be allowed to use its discretion in the matter.

It is around this point that all the hysterical clamor is raging. Both sides are so affected by the heat that they have lost all sense of proportion. Those who oppose the "death sentence" are being threatened with political extinction. Mr. Roosevelt grows shrill over the "dangerous" utility lobby. Works patronage bait dangles overhead. Every wire is being pulled by both sides.

It is hard to see where the Administration's fate is at stake in this question of a congressional death sentence versus administrative strangulation by SEC or why the utilities are so agitated unless it is that they have been pushed so far that they are calling for the second alternative, as drowning men are said to snatch at straws.

The Administration, protesting against utilities lobbying while its strong-arm men themselves lobby in the House, looks as inconsistent as the utilities lobby. A good many who are now urging Congress to leave the discretion with an administrative board are the very ones who, a short time ago, were lambasting Congress for delegating so much power to NRA, AAA and other executive agencies.

The utilities realize they have lost their battle on the merits of the question and the strategy now is to get the power of decision thrown into a commission in the hope that in time the storm will blow over so that it will be possible to induce an appointive commission to be lenient in exercising it.

Ex-Progressive Comes to Aid of Utility Companies

REPRESENTATIVE GEORGE HUDDLESTON of Alabama, who was once considered a leading "progressive" in the House, brought members to their feet cheering last week when he showed the Democratic platform called, not for destruction, but for regulation of holding companies. He was aroused by the whip-cracking of the Administration lobby. He said: "It would be a public service to expose the situation. It is incred-

ible to me the way the Administration is lobbying."

Loss of patronage was the lash cracked at legislators who have fought the "death sentence" provisions. Huddleston demanded a Congressional investigation of tactics employed by the so-called "Roosevelt Lobby" in whipping Congressmen into line. The man who once fought Wilson is now fighting Roosevelt, though he is nominally a Democrat.

MacDonald Seen as U. S. Envoy

THERE are persistent rumors that J. Ramsay MacDonald, former British Prime Minister and now Lord President of the Council, may shortly go to Washington as a special British "ambassador-at-large," to promote closer cooperation between the two great English-speaking nations. It is assumed that MacDonald's presence in Washington would improve chances for a sort of balance against war threats in many parts of the world. Nothing official has been done by either side—not yet—but the talk in inner circles about the possibility, or even probability, of MacDonald's coming here "for the cause of peace," continues.

Youth Must Be Served

MOVING to "invest" \$50,000,000 of work-relief funds in the morale of the nation's young people, the President sets up a National Youth Administration, charged with the outlay of the money for the following purposes:

1. Searching out opportunities of employment for the young in private industry.
2. Training them for industrial, technical, and professional employment.
3. Provision for continued attendance at high school or college.
4. Affording work relief on projects designed to meet the needs of youth.

The entire youth program is surrounded by a thick fog impossible to penetrate by questioning officials for explanations just how and where they think they can find work for the youngsters in face of the prevailing unemployment. There are now ten million willing and able workers private industry cannot employ. Training does not seem to be needed. It's jobs for the already trained that are needed. Relief work can at best employ three and a half of the ten million unemployed, according to the President's own calculations. So it's hard to see where the "searching" and "training" can do any good. It's probably one of the many New Deal jingles that sound big and little.

Another Nazi Murder Victim

HAMBURG.—Information from Bavaria reports the death of Matthias Jacobs, former Social Democratic deputy in the Bavarian Diet and trade union leader.

Jacobs, who was 50 years old, had been arrested by the Nazis in 1933 and sent to a concentration camp where he was brutally mistreated and permanently crippled. Unable to walk, he was sent to a hospital, where he died after many months of suffering.

Democrats Rally to Defense Of Crooked Finance Capital

By Algernon Lee

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has again been wounded in the house of his friends, and this time more severely than before.

By an unrecorded vote of 216 to 146, the House of Representatives, sitting as committee of the whole, amended the Utilities Control Bill by striking out the so-called "death sentence" on holding companies; and by a roll-call vote of 258 to 147 the House itself then passed the mutilated bill.

More than one-half of the President's partisans have thus turned against him on a measure so important and to which he was so strongly committed that in a European parliament the action would have been regarded as a "vote of no confidence" and would have entailed either the resignation of the executive or else dissolution of the legislative body and the holding of a general election to ascertain the people's will.

We Socialists, who profess no particular friendship for Mr. Roosevelt, cannot in this case rejoice over his defeat. His proposal for eliminating the holding companies, while not a specifically socialist measure, was a blow aimed at the most dangerous element of the capitalist class. Had there been any Socialists in the Congress they would have voted on the President's side. The issue is so clear that it is hard to exonerate any of those members who voted against him from the suspicion of having in this instance consciously acted as a tool for the Insull type of crooked financiers. The charge of "intimidation" raised by Brewster of Maine only strengthens this suspicion. It looks like a smoke screen to hide a guilty conscience.

The Holding Company

In a general way, most fairly well informed persons know what the holding company means, especially in the field of public utilities. Those who have read the valuable book "The Modern Corporation and Private Property," by Adolf A. Berle and Gardiner C. Means, more vividly realize what a particularly vicious feature of up-to-date capitalism it is. It is bad enough that the holding company obscures the facts as to ownership and as to profits and how they are divided, and thus makes it difficult for public opinion to fix the responsibility for mismanagement of public service corporations. It is bad enough that the holding company is an effective device for evading and in effect nullifying laws which are intended to prevent combination of nominally competitive enterprises. On top of this, it is one of the principal means by which finance capital fixes its paralyzing grip upon industrial capital and by which the few large investors systematically cheat and loot the many small ones.

Even without this device, it was very often practicable for a small group of the largest stockholders in a corporation, who have altogether provided much less than half of the total investment, to elect all the officers and directors and thereby use the whole capital in such ways as will be most lucrative to themselves. There was always a possibility of an uprising of small stockholders which might at least temporarily upset such a minority dictatorship. The holding company prevents this. If the inside group actually owns a bare majority of the stocks of a holding company which in turn owns a bare majority of the stock of the operating corporation, it takes only 26 per cent ownership to give that group absolute control, and those who have put in 74 per cent of the investment may as well be

thankful for such small favors in the way of dividends as the insiders graciously confer upon them. In practice, especially where one holding company is superimposed upon another, even a much smaller minority group may, without doing anything that the law can brand as larceny or fraud, appropriate the profits "earned" on six, eight, or ten times as much capital as they have invested.

Our Concern

But, it may be said, this is no concern of ours. The Socialist Party is a workingmen's party. Only to a relatively very small extent do workingmen own corporation stock that can be affected by such a device. Big or little, the capitalists are exploiters of labor. Their property income is the difference between what the workers produce and what they get for producing it. Whichever way this surplus-value is divided among the owners of capital, the workers' income will be neither diminished nor increased. Why, then, should Socialists take any interest in preventing the large exploiters from re-exploiting the small ones?

Admittedly, this is not our primary nor our ultimate concern. But it is one of our concerns nevertheless, and we cannot rightly nor safely ignore it.

In the first place, we are and should be interested in common honesty. It is all very well for Communists to dub it "bourgeois honesty" and sneer at it to their hearts' content. That is not a working-class way of thinking. The mere fact that the Communists take that attitude should be a warning to us. It is from the normal maturity of capitalist society, but not from the economic, political, and moral corruption incidental to it, that the classless society of the future is to arise.

Cultivates Fascism

But even putting that question aside, there are other reasons. The super-capitalist crookedness of which the holding company is one of the favorite instruments is artificially speeding the ruin of the middle classes. At first thought, it may appear that this would favor the progress of Socialism. Further thought explains why, as recent experience has abundantly shown, it does nothing of the sort—that indeed it has just the opposite effect.

When a small property holder is ruined and has to look for a job, he does not, by falling into the economic status of the wage workers automatically and immediately acquire the normal workingman's ideals and trends. He does not accept his new place in the class system, give up his individualistic money-getter's ways of thinking and feeling, regard workingmen as his comrades, and join heartily and understandingly in their class activities. At best, it usually takes him several years to make this psychological adjustment. In many cases he never makes it, and it is only his children who begin to act like workingmen. For a good while, if not for the rest of his life, the ruined petty capitalist, shopkeeper, or investor feels ashamed of his new company; while he hates and envies the great capitalists, he hates and despises the working class.

If the proletarianization of middle-class elements goes on at a moderate pace, the working class is able to assimilate them without great difficulty. But when the still unassimilated victims come to be numbered by the hundreds of thousands and perhaps by millions, they become a formidable source of danger to the Labor and Socialist movement. The faster small capitalists are impoverished, the more opportunity is there for the specific kind of reaction which we call Fascism.

An equally important aspect of the matter is the domination of finance capital over industrial capital. But, if that is not exactly another story, it must anyhow wait till another time.

INITIATIVE UNDER THE PROFIT SYSTEM

HEADED by Senator Nye, the Senate Munitions Committee has again charged that munition and shipping interests promote war scares "in the interest of their own pocketbooks."

While gratifying, there is scarcely anything new about such a charge. Nobody should gasp with surprise. Socialists said the same thing during the World War—and were persecuted, prosecuted and jailed by the Wilson dictatorship.

The fact of the matter is that not only scares but real wars are promoted by racketeering profiteers. To promote their "pocketbook interests," that gentry will ravish a continent, kill millions of their fellows and even jeopardize civilization itself.

Here is an answer to persons who, parrot-like, repeat the fear that Socialism—the production of wealth for use instead of for profit—will destroy initiative. The fact is that the charge is true; Socialism will destroy the initiative to fool, cheat and kill which capitalism has fostered.

Under capitalism, deception

and fraud have become fine arts. Food and medicines have been adulterated, children have been exploited, homes have been degraded, people have been permitted to starve in the midst of potential plenty—all as the result of the kind of initiative which the profit system fosters.

To end profiteering on munitions will be that much to the good. But before society can free itself from the stigma of poverty, crime and war, mankind must end the whole profit system and adopt the Socialist plan of social ownership of wealth and social effort for the common good.—Reading, Pa., Labor Advocate.

The Day They Celebrate

The Nazi rulers of Germany devoted a whole day to a celebration of the anniversary of the Blood Purge of last year. Big mass meetings and parades were held and Big Shot Goebbels made a couple of his characteristic speeches about the Great Event of June 30, 1934. And that gives a rough idea of . . . whatever it gives an idea of.