

Fascist Dictatorships Face Monetary Collapse

N.E.C. Meets as Party Awaits Lead for Action

IN the thirty-four years of Socialist Party history the party has never had the rich opportunities for building the organization and reaching the working masses as today. "Let us get down to this job and prepare for the great political struggle of next year," this is the sentiment of party workers, and the National Executive Committee of the party, meeting in New York this week, has an opportunity to take the initiative in setting the party machinery to work in every state and so overwhelm the members with work of agitation and organization that the states will be knit into a cohesive national force.

The need of a program adapted to the present situation following the Supreme Court decision on the NRA, the fighting spirit of organized workers determined not to yield what gains they have won, to oppose the subsistence wage on public works projects, to cope with the demagogic and dangerous propaganda of the Kingfish and Father Coughlin, to make sound literature in large quantities available, to place devoted organizers in the field, to place the Workers' Rights Amendment into every working class home in the country—these are important factors that face us in the present hour.

Change in Labor Outlook

Any Socialist who has followed developments since 1929 will also be impressed with the remarkable change that has come over the entire labor movement in this country. There has been a complete revolution in philosophy and outlook in this period. This change of philosophy has touched even the most conservative labor organizations. It is a shift to a social outlook, the broadest ever reached by the trade union movement.

The result is more cooperative relations between the party and the unions in every city where Socialists have not assumed a superior attitude toward the unions. Here is to be found the class whose mode of life and economic position in society make it the most reliable fighter for industrial, social and political democracy. It is also the best barrier against any fascist demagogues. That the unions are taking more and more interest in the fight against dictatorship abroad also indicates the growth of a sentiment of international solidarity that is very encouraging.

Even masses of the working farmers, although not as easy to reach, may be touched with clear-cut Socialist teaching. Old-style populism does not fit into the modern system of agriculture with mechanized farming. The collective philosophy of Socialism is adapted to quite a section of the farming population and even many outside this range can be shown that there is no solution for their hopeless drudgery and privations short of a complete reorganization of our whole industrial life.

Members Eager to Work

One important reason for holding a conference of Socialist Party organizations in Eastern States a few weeks ago was the eagerness of the party members in these states to get down to the tasks that beckon us every hour. There is a vast work to do and a field more fertile than at any time since the beginning of the industrial depression in 1929. Many party members in other states feel the same way and they are certain to respond to a comprehensive program that promises a big revival of agitation and organization.

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Swedish Workers Rise to Power

TWO years ago one-seventh of Sweden's population was on some form of relief but today the number is about 1 per cent. The working masses of this little country within forty years have built up a powerful political, economic and cooperative movement which is supplemented with a youth organization of a hundred thousand young men and women, mainly the sons and daughters of miners, lumber workers, factory workers and other sections of the working class.

The story of the rise of this fine Socialist movement and some of its more important achievements will be told next week by Hans Rheinlaender, a German Socialist, who recently investigated the Socialist movement in Norway, Sweden and Denmark. What can be done by a well organized, disciplined and educated working class even with limited power is told in this article.

It is an inspiring story. Do not miss it!

Chicago Parley Moves Toward New Party

Federation Is Formed to Promote Political Action Of Workers and Farmers In Future Elections.

Special to The New Leader
CHICAGO.—A call for a national convention to set up a new party dedicated to the principle of production for use instead of for profit was overwhelmingly endorsed by delegates to the Chicago conference of July 5th and 6th to discuss third party prospects. This action was the climax of the two day session of delegates meeting at the invitation of a group of left-wing Congressmen.

The conference of some 200 delegates from more than thirty states represented every variety of radical opinion with the farm groups and third parties of the middle and north west sending the heaviest delegations. Like the Continental Congress of 1933, this was a convention of the rank and file. Officials of the trade union, farm and radical political movements were conspicuously absent, but men and women doing the spade work in their organizations, both old timers and new comers, made the conference a solid one.

A chill reception greeted a letter by Upton Sinclair in which he favored "boring from within the old party primaries" on a program of production for use for the unemployed, proclaimed his confidence in Roosevelt, and his faith that the President would eventually support this policy. The delegates also turned a deaf ear to Senator Gerald P. Nye, who warned against immediate action, saying it might throw Washington again into the hands of reactionaries, and urged that the delegates build for five, ten and twenty years. He also offered little hope that men like the LaFollettes, Wheeler and Norris would cut loose from old party ties. He felt he could be of too much service for the people in his present post to give it up for a "hopeless venture."

A resolution was presented by Nathan Fine of New York on behalf of the entire Platform and Resolutions Committee authorizing the setting up of a steering committee to establish contacts, broaden the base of the movement and to report back to a subsequent conference. Except for the support of a small contingent, including some Socialists, this resolution got little support and the recommendation of the Organization Committee favoring the calling of a convention in time for the 1936 election was enthusiastically acclaimed.

An issue which provoked much discussion was that of admitting Communists. The battle centered about point 10 of the Organization Committee's report: "That this organization affirms its belief in the democratic process and in the achievement of its end through peaceful means. Members and groups shall be admitted to the organization (American Commonwealth Political Federation) who support these principles." Among those who opposed the committee's stand were Alfred Wagenknecht, who admitted his membership in the Communist Party and others who disclaimed Communist beliefs, such as Hyman Glickstein of New York.

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Labor Offers Bill Licensing Business

A. F. of L. Measure Creates Industrial Commission to Improve Enforcement of Protective Legislation and Strengthen Collective Bargaining.

By A. F. of L. News Service
WASHINGTON.—The provisions of the American Federation of Labor bill, slated for early introduction in Congress, requiring Federal licensing of all business engaged in interstate commerce, with strong requirements to secure just labor conditions, were made public by President Green of the Federation.

Under the terms of the measure the channels of interstate commerce would be closed to employers who employ child labor, discriminate against women workers, resort to fraudulent trade practices, or who refuse to obey the provisions of the Labor Disputes Act, which prohibits employers from interfering with the right of employees to organize in bona fide unions, from discriminating with regard to employment so as to encourage or discourage membership in any labor organization, and from refusing to bargain collectively with the duly elected representatives of the workers.

Analyzing the proposed measure Mr. Green said: "The proposed Interstate Licensing Act, which is summarized herein, has been prepared over a period of nine or ten months by a committee working in connection with the American Federation of Labor. 'This Bill provides that no article or commodity shall be transported or delivered in interstate commerce, which has been produced by' (Continued on Page Four)

Cloakmakers Approve New Agreements

Workers Win Battle for Retention of Wage and Work Standards—Attack of Jobbers on Contractor Limitation Repealed.

MORE than 1,300 shop chairmen of the cloak and suit industry, without dissenting vote, at a meeting at Webster Hall, New York City, ratified the collective agreements concluded at the end of last week between the Joint Board of the Cloak Makers' Union, an affiliate of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and the three employers associations in the industry.

The associations are the Industrial Council of Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers, Inc., inside manufacturers; the Merchants' Association, the Merchants' Association of the jobbers, and the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association, the contractors. 40,000 cloak workers are involved in the agreement, which is to run for two years, and they are employed in 1,300 factory units in the New York metropolitan district.

The negotiations over the renewal of the collective agreement which expired June 1, began in March and lasted nearly three months. Twice discussion of terms were abrogated with the jobbers' group, the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association, which controls nearly half of the trade, and a general strike in the industry appeared imminent. The dispute centered chiefly on the question of contractor limitation, a clause adopted in the collective contract of 1933, and which limited jobbers to a fixed number of designated contracting firms sufficient to produce their seasonal output of merchandise. The jobbers strove hard to eliminate this clause, but the Union firmly defended it as indispensable to stability and uniformity of labor costs in the industry.

On July 1, in the face of the threat of a general strike, Governor Lehman summoned all parties (Continued on Page Four)

The Civilization Mussolini Would Impose on Ethiopia

By Girolamo Valentini
Editor, La Stampa Libera

VERY amusing, indeed, are the latest outbursts of fascist indignation against the British attempts to hinder Mussolini in his proposed invasion of Abyssinia. Following Il Duce's speech at Cagliari, where he reminded the troops of the Sabaudia Division sailing for East Africa of the unscrupulous role played by the British in building their empire, nearly all the newspapers controlled by the fascist regime published vehement articles denouncing the barbarous colonization wars of the British imperialists.

The Tevere of Rome in an article June 2 reminds its readers of the atrocities perpetrated by the British invaders against the Indians, the Boers and the Egyptians. "The task of recalling the history of the British empire is revolting," says the Tevere. Similar language has been used by Regime Fascists, *Giornale d'Italia* of Rome, *Gazzetta del Popolo* of Turin, and other fascist organs.

The fascist press is now engaged in convincing the Italian people that while other nations' campaign to conquer Colonial peoples have been unjust and barbarous, the planned fascist invasion of Abyssinia is a just, fair, necessary, historical enterprise. Fascist Italy is bound to bring culture and civilization to the Ethiopian people, the Mussolini mouthpieces declare.

What kind of civilization? we may ask.

In 1922, when the monarchy and the landowning, employing, clerical and militarist castes decided to stage a blackshirt dictatorship with the ex-rabid anti-monarchist, anti-militarist, anti-clerical Benito Mussolini as the titular dictator, they told the world that Italy at last was "safe from Bolshevism, safe from labor outbreaks, safe from the intrigues of those politicians who derived their power from the short-comings of an outgrown and corrupt parliamentary and democratic system of government." Representative parliament, democracy and liberty were deceased, and we were told that "law and order" with the establishment of fascism would reign supreme over the Italian Kingdom.

Thirteen years have elapsed since Italy was "saved" from Bolshevism and its "trains began arriving on time," but where is Italy today?

A ruined nation, Italy today is being led to slaughter by her "saviors."

Italy is one of the poorest countries in the world. Her people are starving. Fascist statistics place the unemployed at about 1,000,000 and it must be remembered that even if that number were exact, the unemployment situation is very serious, as Italy is still a semi-agricultural country. Most of those who work are underpaid and subjected to unrestrained exploitation; they are at the mercy of the employers and their henchmen, the fascist functionaries in the Corporations. Mussolini himself has admitted that the Italian people cannot afford eating three times a day. The cost of living in many cases has reached prohibitive levels. Amongst the Italian workers, under fascism, very few are the "privileged" ones who can afford buying cigarettes by the package. Most of them buy a cigarette at a time, for 4 cents, while the matches with which to light these cigarettes have become a luxury; they cost 16 cents a box. One can have a fair idea of the level to which the living standard of the workers has been reduced by their rulers upon learning that under the "blessed" fascist dictatorship Italy has gone back to *paine nero*—black bread—or war bread. It is an undeniable fact that the lot of an unemployed workman who depends on relief in the United States is much better than the employment of a skilled workman in fascist Italy.

Oppressive Taxation
The dictatorship that established "law and order" in Italy has cost (Continued on Page Three)



Right to Employ Scabs is Issue In Haverstraw

Hirsch Defies Injunction Against Breaking Union Agreement While "Defending" Local Workers.

Special to The New Leader.

HAVERSTRAW, N. Y.—A curious comedy is being played at Garnersville, near here, where is located one of the "runaway" shops that came to this Rockland County region to escape trade unionism, with the laughs all on the workers' side. A manufacturer who fetched his business here from Brooklyn in an attempt to dodge the terms of a union agreement he had signed is appealing to local pride and hometown feeling to keep out trade union organizers as "outsiders."

And for the moment he has made it appear to the Rocklanders that they must defend their sacred right to work for low wages and at long hours in the interest of the former Brooklyn business. The whole countryside has been aroused to keep union organizers away, by force, if necessary. The police are with them.

One Samuel Hirsch, who ran a sportswear business in Brooklyn, had signed an agreement with the Knitgoods Workers' Union, Local 155, affiliated with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. That agreement provided for certain minimum wages, maximum hours, union recognition and working conditions. When Hirsch, seeking to dodge his responsibility under that agreement, fetched his business to Rockland County he informed the local folks that he was doing them a favor by giving them employment under strictly non-union conditions.

Backed up by business men, clergymen and public-spirited citizens of all faiths, Hirsch successfully defied the attempts of the union to organize his shop, ringing the changes on the charge that these "outsiders" were seeking to outrage them when they tried to win higher wages, shorter hours, and union conditions for them. He was successful in arousing the prejudice of the local workers—many of whom had had no work in years—to defend their right to work for low wages at long hours, until the union went into the Supreme Court and secured an injunction restraining Hirsch from violating the terms of the union agreement he had signed in Brooklyn. The agreement, Supreme Court Justice Aron Steuer declared, was binding on him even if he had moved his place of business thirty or forty miles (Continued on Page Three)

Financial Disaster Looms For Germany as Bankers Struggle to Stem Inflation

Huge Arms Expenditures Bring Threat of Sudden Currency Debacle—Debts Up by \$6,000,000,000—Schacht Seriously Anxious Over Impending Crisis—Hitler Blind to Warnings.

By Francis Williams

Financial Expert, London Daily Herald.

Ethiopian War May Bring End Of Mussolini

Members of Bank of International Settlements Say Fascist Regime Courts Destruction Through Added Financial Strain.

THE prediction that Mussolini's Ethiopian policy will end in disaster for his regime was made by prominent bankers, members of the Bank of International Settlements, whose board of directors met in Basle, Switzerland, this week.

The views of the financial experts were presented in a significant cable, dated July 8, from Clarence K. Streit, correspondent of the New York Times.

"One gets the distinct impression that the bankers do not see how Italy can finance an Ethiopian war and that they await with misgivings the repercussions on other currencies and economies of the effects of the monetary and commercial strain they foresee sooner or later if Premier Mussolini continues his Ethiopian policy," Mr. Streit cabled from Basle.

"The Italian members of the board, Dr. Vincenzo Azzolini and Professor Alberto Beneduce, were very reserved and left Basle early, apparently without giving their colleagues any information as to how Italy would finance her Ethiopian policy. They seemed especially secretive regarding the total of the foreign stock and bond holdings recently mobilized in Italy—something the other bankers would especially like to know."

"This Ethiopian problem," said one banker, "is bad from every point of view. Even if Italy should succeed in conquering Ethiopia it would take a long time, and even then how can she turn any of her conquests into cash quickly enough to meet the bill?"

"Another banker said that the only dark cloud at present was the Mussolini policy. He said it alone was capable of wrecking everything, because it undermined currency and markets and trust in any kind of law and order."

"A third banker pointed out that a few months ago Italy's monetary straits had been so dire that she had established a strict system of import control similar to Germany's, yet now she was importing war supplies from everywhere. Italy, he said, has already taken such extraordinary measures as (Continued on Page Three)

Work Plans
Various state credit institutions are known to be indebted on this account to a total of at least \$245,000,000, while more than \$400,000,000 has been spent by the government on work plans, including roads.

The Reichsbank has been called on, much against Dr. Schacht's will, to carry through an ever-increasing credit expansion, and fear of inflation comes from the fact that 97 per cent of the Reichsbank's note cover is now represented by short-term state bonds, which may easily prove worthless unless the position is drastically improved.

Desperate efforts to better the situation by forced loans have been made.

Insurance companies and savings banks have been compelled to subscribe a total of \$81,000,000, while, earlier, householders were called on to accept government certificates in place of reductions on the house rents tax.

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Mayor McLevy in Report Of Progress in Bridgeport

Special to The New Leader
BRIDGEPORT, Conn.—In his annual report to the Bridgeport Common Council, Mayor Jasper McLevy, Socialist, has presented an interesting review of the problems and difficulties that have confronted the administration of this large industrial city. To finance relief for the families of jobless wage workers with bonded debts of over \$16,000,000 accumulated since 1903 has been a terrific problem for the city.

Nevertheless, despite this handicap, other work of extending playgrounds for children and improving the health and park facilities of the city has not been neglected. With the exception of the Welfare Department, all departments have operated within their budgets and the "operating efficiency of

the departments has, in almost all cases, increased beyond my best expectations," the Mayor reports. The Welfare Department has been compelled to over-expend its budget allotment, the total for a year being \$2,170,000. The city received to March 31, 1935, from the Federal Government in the form of FERA payrolls \$1,201,340.

Of this relief problem the Mayor declared:

Welfare Relief
"Due to the extraordinary demands for welfare relief and the terrific burden that it has placed upon the people of the city it was deemed an act of wisdom to seek permission from the legislature to fund the maturing bonds of the city for this fiscal year as well as for the next fiscal year, and issue refunding bonds. This permission was granted, and will at least temporarily relieve the burden (Continued on Page Six)

Wages Falling as Labor's Output Grows Fast

All Socialists Must Fight Racketeering in Unions

By August Claessens
Labor Secretary of the Socialist Party of New York.

CONSIDERABLE publicity has appeared recently in several New York newspapers concerning racketeering and corruption in some local trade unions. The scandalous details of alleged malpractices in these unions make lurid reading matter, and since these sheets cater to those who must have their daily feast of sensations these labor misdoings fit into the general scene of murders, hold-ups and corruption as part of our contemporary culture.

Both the casual and sophisticated readers of the "liberal" press are easily seduced to the plausible generalization—"everything is a racket nowadays, and so why not the trade union movement?"

There is a shade of truth in this careless conclusion. It is true that a large section of our society is infested with racketeering and corruption. The essential nature of capitalism is robbery, brutality, and utter unconcern for the finer values in civilization. The motif of exploitation and fraud is carried through every phase of our economic, social and political existence, and because of the terrible struggle for a livelihood and the fear of insecurity this corruption seeps down through every stratum of society. Having constantly before them many fine examples of the upper classes, the working class is often perverted with the ideals of getting easy money, to advance oneself by push or pull, to get there by hook or crook, and to get it while the getting is good.

Yellow Sensationalists

It would be an extraordinary phenomenon if the labor movement were entirely immune from this pollution. The truly amazing thing, so unknown to the readers of the sensation-mongering press, is that the vast bulk of the labor movement is clean in spite of its daily contact with social filth. Here is one more example of how exceptional cases are worked up to give the impression that this is the general condition. The sensational accounts of alleged racketeering in some trade unions are played up in the yellow press in exactly the same fashion as are the general attacks upon the labor movement emanating from the manufacturers' associations and their anti-labor allies.

That there is racketeering, corruption and gangster control in some unions is a fact well known. That the details elaborated by the literary scoop hounds are taken from the equally corrupt bosses' sources and are magnified and embellished in typical news-reporters' style is less known. And that serious blunders are often made in presenting legitimate trade union practices, such as forcing the employers into an association and refusing to deal with each one separately, or placing pickets before a shop wherein the union has no members or where there is no worker on strike—picturing these practices as racketeering misleads only the uninformed.

The Roots of Graft

There are evils in the labor movement, but I humbly argue that they are not curable by mere exposure and moral fulminations. And worst of all is the silly conclusion that the corruption is only at the top. As Socialists correctly contend in the case of political corruption, the remedy is not merely the conviction and jailing of the grafter. We must also remove the economic roots of graft, the bribery of public officials by corrupt business interests, and still

D. B. GIBBONEY NAMED FOR MAYOR OF ALTOONA

Special to The New Leader. ALTOONA.—The Socialists of Blair County and the city of Altoona will be represented with a full ticket in the forthcoming election. Nominations were made at a meeting where party members enthusiastically pledged themselves to conduct a live campaign. Frank Keirn was elected campaign manager and plans were formulated for the printing of literature, holding of public meetings and for the establishment of personal contact with the voters through house-to-house canvassing.

D. B. Gibboney and A. Berman, active Altoona Socialists of many years' standing, were nominated for Mayor and City Treasurer; for Controller, C. M. Detweiler; R. Knisely and Charles L. Olson for Council; Howard Woggin and L. N. Knight for School Directors.

The county ticket will be filled by E. Rosever, M. Berkeimer, Frank Keirn, Byron Forney, C. E. Smith, Karl Zimmerer, William Christner and W. C. Prosser.

Blair County Socialists and sympathizers who wish to participate in the campaign are urged to communicate with the campaign manager at 1115 5th Ave., Altoona, Pa.

more important, we must educate the average citizen out of the mood to tolerate graft and to expect a share of it in petty favors, etc.

In the labor movement there is great difficulty in removing the source of the infection until we remove capitalism. And because the average worker is in such a precarious struggle for his daily chance of getting a job, he is likely to be subject to temptation, to be corrupted. It is a lamentable fact to disclose, but we might as well face it, and that is that there is seldom a racketeer at the head of a union without a swarm in the rank and file sharing the fruits of the racket. And of course, they do so at the expense of other workers in the trade.

So what can we do about this problem? One thing we can not do, and that is to rush into print on every occasion when we smell something that is not sweet. We Socialists, particularly, are so closely related to the labor movement that it ill behooves us to cry from the housetops whenever one of our kin goes astray. Why make a holiday out of our own misfortune? Let us leave this to the capitalists and their scribbling prostitutes. Capitalists don't want unions. Clean or dirty, they have no use for them!

Do Job Within

The best attitude for Socialists to take is to insist that the labor movement must clean its own stables. For its own sake it must do the job from within. Only when all efforts fail, when all trade-union channels have been used, and when it is absolutely and desperately necessary, should Socialists encourage outside interference, general publicity, and the courts. If in the couple of cases now pending and aided by our Labor Committee we may be forced to this extreme action, it will be only because we have exhausted all legitimate trade-union agencies without getting relief.

Finally, there is one other prophylactic and an infallible one at that, namely: the education of the officials and the rank and file of a union to a better conception of the nature of the class struggle, the character of the economic system under which they labor; fire them with a militant spirit, uplift their morale, and give them a philosophy and an inspiring ideal to guide them, and the membership of a trade union will deal effectively with any corrupting influence. Of course, all this takes time, patience and hard work. It also requires an attitude of extreme devotion to the working class.

Self-chosen leaders, collegiate romantics, parlor Bolsheviks and thrill-seekers are too impatient and unsympathetic a folk to be of service in this great task. But the job has been done and is being done. The European trade union movement is remarkably free from corruption and racketeering. The vast bulk of the American labor movement is also clean. And where Socialists are numerous, they do work the miracle of laying a cultural foundation in the trade unions that makes difficult the toleration of corruption either in the leadership or in the ranks.

Let us increase our tribe!

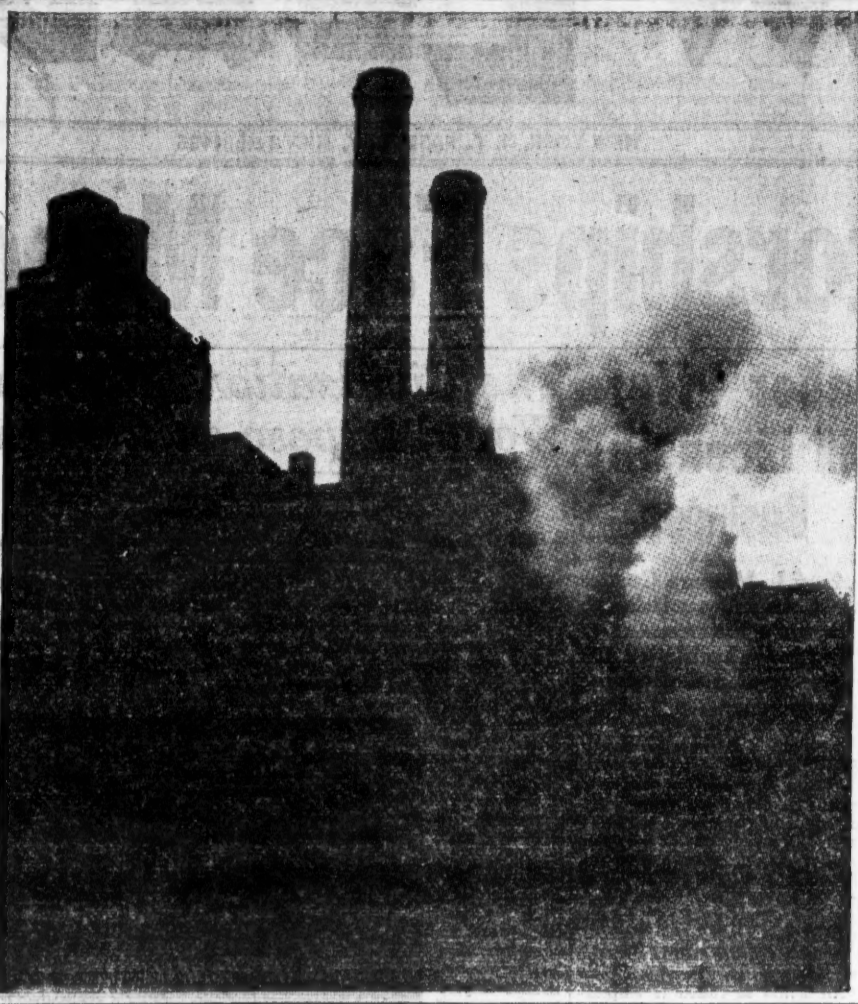
ITALIAN RADICALS HELD FOR DEPORTATION

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.—In protest against an order to deport two well-known Italian anti-fascists, a mass meeting was held here by the Socialist Party, the Northern California Civil Liberties Committee, Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee, I.W.O., Workers Party, I.L.G.W.U., and the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Vincent Ferrero, a resident of San Francisco for thirty years, and Dominick Sallitto, who has been here fifteen years and has a motherless child of three, were charged with being anarchists and, as aliens, subject to deportation, because as owners of a restaurant they sublet office space to the editor of the English-language anarchist newspaper, "Man."

Sallitto is now detained under \$2,500 bail awaiting a decision on a writ of habeas corpus, the outcome of which will also decide Ferrero's fate. They are being defended by Austin Lewis. If deported to fascist Italy as the Government plans, they are subject to a special law which says: "The citizen who, outside the territory . . . carries on activities detrimental to the national interests shall be punished with a prison term of from five to fifteen years." This makes deportation of anti-fascists equivalent to extradition under Mussolini's orders.

Workers organizations are urged to send protests to W.C. McCormack, Commissioner of Immigration, Washington, D. C., and to send notice of their action to A. B. Botti, 690 Duncan Street, San Francisco, Calif.



Colored Workers Called to Unite By Negro Labor Conference

MORE than 300 delegates from bona fide trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor will meet July 20 at the Renaissance Casino in Harlem in a great Negro labor conference, one of the most important events in local labor history in many years.

Credentials are pouring into the office of the Harlem Labor Conference, 2005 Seventh Ave., New York City, and representatives of 250,000 workers are confidently expected. Among the organizations backing the meeting are Local No. 8, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union; A. F. of L. Taxi Chauffeurs' Union; Amsterdam News Chapter N. Y. Newspaper Guild; Retail Hat and Furnishings Salesmen's Union No. 721; Local 1888, Carpenters and Joiners' Union; Local 280 and 290 Laundry Workers' Union; Union Mechanics Association; Ladies' Apparel Shipping Clerks' and Helpers' Union; Local 814, Teamsters' and Chauffeurs' Union.

The purpose of the conference will be to strengthen the labor movement among the Negroes, the most exploited section of the working class, and to work for greater unity of action between the white and Negro organized workers.

The Harlem meeting assumes great importance because of two recent events. The fine victory of the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph in winning recognition as the bona fide organization of the porters and maids was followed almost immediately by the conference between Randolph and President Green of the A. F. of L., in the course of which Randolph urged that the Federation intensify its efforts to win the 1,500,000 unorganized Negro workers, lest they be swept into company unions, or misled by glib Communist propagandists.

It is reported that pressure is being brought to bear on Federation officials to add Randolph to



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

the Executive Council as a representative and spokesman for the Negro workers.

Negro trade unionism is on the rise, especially since the Pullman victory, and the Harlem drive is being undertaken under the leadership of Frank R. Crosswaith to place union sentiment on a sound and permanent foundation.

Comrade Crosswaith, discussing the conference, said:

"It is progressive labor's opinion that only when Negro and white laborers are made to appreciate their common interest and to identify their common foe will the labor movement truly become the irresistible force for progress which the present chaotic social and economic conditions demand. The full and free admission of the Negro into the labor movement will result in strengthening both spiritually and physically that movement."

"With Negro labor standing side by side with white labor and the former not having to apologize

for being born black or to accept an inferior status because of being black will aid the labor movement to find its soul. If under the soul-debilitating conditions of chattel slavery the Negro could make such an invaluable contribution to American and world culture as indicated in our work songs and spirituals, what can we not do when we find our rightful place as an integral part of the bona fide labor movement!"

Julius Hochman, General Manager of the Joint Board of the Dress and Westmakers' Union of Greater New York, said: "In many instances the Negro has been forced into 'paper unions' that were hardly more than scab-recruiting agencies. Or he is led astray by hare-brained movements that use him as a cat's paw for demonstrative purposes. The Joint Board has a simple program for the Negro: Equal opportunity for the job at equal pay and conditions. Around some such program, as I see it, the forthcoming conference will revolve."

James J. Bambrick, President of the Greater New York Council of the International Building Service Employees' Union, said: "The conference has the fullest support of our organization, and in my opinion the aims of organized labor will be greatly advanced among the Negro workers by the proposed expanding of the splendid constructive services that have been rendered by the Harlem Labor Committee."

A. Philip Randolph declared "My union has just won a most significant victory against company unionism despite the activities of anti-union and impatient elements among Negro workers, in effort to discredit bona fide trade unionism. To further the advance of organized labor and achieve closer harmony of action of Negro and white workers, the conference and the establishment of an organization such as a United Negro Trades promises to be a timely and effective step."

B.S. & A.U. PLANNING ORGANIZATION DRIVE

ENGAGING in the most ambitious organization campaign in its history, the Bookkeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union No. 12646 has moved from its former office in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union building to 44 E. 23rd St., N. Y. C., where a suite of offices has been opened. Membership meetings will continue to be held in the I.L.G.W.U. auditorium, the third Monday night of every month.

The organization department is headed by Leonard Bright, former president of the union, and Leo Rosenblum. Working in cooperation with them is an active organization committee and a research committee.

The garment industry, where union spirit is high among the needle workers, thousands of circulars have been distributed in the effort to enlist bookkeepers and stenographers in the union.

Ernest Bohm, president of the union, who has participated in numerous organization campaigns



among office workers, is hopeful that the union will enroll thousands of members during the coming year. "The union is fortunate," he said, "in having two able and enthusiastic organizers in the field." He bespoke the cooperation of every unionist for their efforts.

Bohm pointed out that previous organization efforts had improved conditions for large numbers of workers in banks, insurance and other offices, but, he added, in perhaps only one instance, when the B.S. & A.U. organized the clerks employed by milk distributing companies some years ago, did they actually join the union. At that time, however, he said, there was no such law as the Wagner labor relations act to assure workers that they would be protected against discharge for joining a

Under Capitalism Plenty Is a Calamity, Says Frey

WHAT may be called the "calamity of recovery" is faced in this country by millions of distressed workers and farmers. This is the theme of an article by John P. Frey, president of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, in the current number of the "American Federationist," the monthly magazine of the A. F. of L. The calamity that is ahead, even if the industrial system recovers to normal, grows out of the fact of a continuing proportionate decrease in the purchasing power of the masses during the depression period.

Mr. Frey points out the "rapidly widening gap" between what workers produce and what they can buy. Labor produces more goods in a given time than ever before, and gets a smaller share for doing it.

Some of the data contained in this article was used by Mr. Frey at the recent Camp Tamiment Institute and was reported here last week. His comparisons and contrasts made a marked impression upon his audience. His study and conclusions are based upon an intense study of Federal and other sources and the article will be reprinted as a pamphlet by the A. F. of L. and will be made available through Secretary Frank Morrison. As an early step in finding what causes our disaster, Mr. Frey cites some much-talked-of factors which do not cause it. We are, he says, in substance, the most self-contained nation on earth. Our home market is by such vast odds our most important market that we can order our prosperity to suit ourselves.

FROM FREY'S FIGURES

Value of manufactured goods in 1923, \$60,555,000,000.

Value of manufactured goods in 1925, \$62,713,000,000.

Increase in output, in two years, \$2,158,000,000.

Decline in manufacturing wages in the same period, \$279,328,000.

How could labor, with \$279,328,000 less wages, take any part of the increase of \$2,158,000,000 in goods?

Wages Lose Ground as Output Increases

"Although the value of manufactured goods in 1925," says Mr. Frey, "had increased \$2,158,000,000 over that of 1923, the total volume of wages in manufacturing industries in 1925 was \$279,000,000 less than in 1923."

Mr. Frey tells us, with the Interstate Commerce Commission as his authority, that the total volume of wages and salaries paid to railroad employees and officials in 1929 was \$785,000,000 less than it had been in 1920. But in the same period, salaries of railroad officials increased about \$18,000,000; so that railroad labor had to suffer a grand total loss in wages of \$785,000,000 plus \$18,000,000, or more than \$800,000,000 a year.

"In the ten years ending in 1929," says Mr. Frey, "the number of wage earners employed in the manufacturing industries, railroad transportation and agriculture had been reduced by approximately two millions."

Output Per Worker Gains in Depression

Then Mr. Frey proceeds to show that this same process of edging out wages and workers from a due share in the national income has been going on all through the depression, and is going on now. "The National Bureau of Economic Research reports that increased production per worker in manufacturing industries from 1929 to 1933 was 27 per cent."

"The Bureau of Labor statistics indicate that during the two years from January, 1933, to January, 1935, the average workman's output had increased 7 per cent in leather, 13 per cent in petroleum refining, 23 per cent in rubber tires, 29 per cent in crude petroleum producing, 40 per cent in blast furnaces, steel mills and rolling mills. . . .

"The process of increasing the workman's per capita production has not stopped; instead, it is being stimulated in every industry."

Share of Worker is Steadily Falling

And, piling up facts which there is not room to quote, Mr. Frey shows that all through the period

since he launched his campaign for Governor, is published in his own organ, National Epic News, in the issue of June 17. It is in the form of a letter to the Young People's EPIC Club of Pasadena, which scored their leader for deserting in his latest booklet the principles of social ownership of the means of production and distribution.

The reply of Sinclair is a challenge to his young supporters to produce any statement made by him, or in the program of the EPIC movement, in which social ownership was advocated.

covered, the power of big corporations has grown greater while the share of labor has grown less. He takes up the astounding example of the tobacco trust—the Big Four.

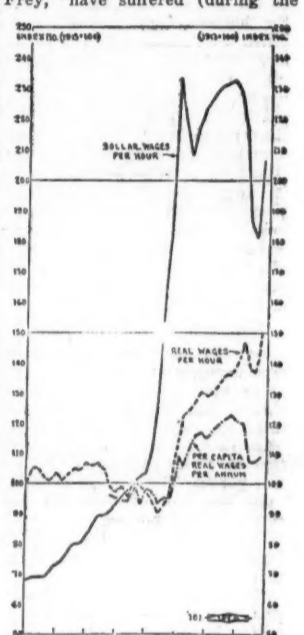
"Tobacco is grown by some 400,000 farmers. It is manufactured by a number of firms, the Big Four being credited with nearly 90 per cent of the total output. . . . The Department of Agriculture reports that tobacco farmers in the United States received a total price of \$107,821,000 in 1932. Moody's Manual of Industries reports that the Big Four made net profits in that year of \$104,000,000.

"It is in the division of the wealth created by industry that the trouble lies, the grievous, destructive trouble. The distribution of the annual volume of wealth created by industry has been so economically unsound that our country is now faced by what may well be the most serious crisis in its history."

Mr. Frey gives a series of charts which illustrate and demonstrate his facts. The one reproduced here gives dollar wages per hour over a term of years, real wages per hour—and then, real wages per year. It is the last that counts most."

Leaders Establish Record for Incompetency

"The wage earners," says Mr. Frey, "have suffered (during the



present depression) as never before. Millions have lost their homes and their savings. Workmen who felt a proper pride in their independence have been compelled to surrender their pride and live on relief. Millions of young people who would otherwise have gone into industry and commerce, many who had prepared themselves by years of study, have been unable to secure employment at a period of their lives when self-support was most important to the building up of self-respect and character."

THEN AND NOW

Where 100 workmen were employed to produce a given output in 1932, now—

Only 71 are needed in blast furnaces, steel works and rolling mills;

Only 83 are needed in the automobile industry;

Only 78 are needed in making cigars and cigarettes; and

Only 77 are needed in the woolen and worsted industry.

"Those who have had the operative control of our industrial and financial system have established a record for incompetency unmatched in the world's history. The business policy which they applied has been so disastrous that this, the world's wealthiest nation, became more sorely stricken than any of the European countries, all of which had been much more seriously affected as a result of the World War."

"The depression with which we are struggling is not the result of any act of nature. It is the result of policies, practices and standards applied by the captains of finance and industry. They are the ones principally responsible for wrecking the mechanism of prosperity which this country had developed. Since 1929, they are the ones principally responsible for the failure to place industry, agriculture, commerce and labor on the highway to better days and greater security."

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British Labor Party Rebuilding Old London

The Civilization Mussolini Would Impose on Ethiopia

(Continued from Page One)
the Italian people dearly, for under its "magnificent" rule the system of direct taxation has become the most exacting, the most oppressive they ever knew. Everything is taxed by the fascists in Italy: wages, bicycles, horses, mules, jackasses, lambs, sheep and chickens; eggs, the steps leading to doors of houses, the signs on windows—by the letter of the inscription—and the windows themselves. Yes, Saviour Mussolini is taxing even the air the Italians breathe, for as a result of the taxes being levied on the windows many workers—peasants especially—are doing away with windows to their dwellings!

Fascist Government Is Bankrupt

In spite of this all-inclusive system of taxation, the fascist government which boasts of its mili-



tary splendor, its daily parades of uniformed men, women and children, is running on an ever-increasing deficit. Its budget up to last May, according to Finance Minister Count De Revel, showed a total deficit of 154,000,000,000 lire (about \$12,800,000,000). This does not include the indebtedness being incurred in the Abyssinian war preparation, Count De Revel tells us.

Martial Law—Terror—Fear

With this picture of economic plight before us, when we turn to the political state of affairs of Italy today we realize the unhappiness, the agony of the Italian people. With all civil liberties strangled, with all the best minds, the noblest souls either killed or imprisoned or exiled by the fascist regime, with the reign of terror raging unintermittently, with the "Special Tribunal for the Defense of the State" working overtime to doom hundreds of intellectuals, students and workmen and distribute thousands of years in prison sentences, Italy must be considered the land of continuous civil war, the land of pain and sorrow.

The fascist dictatorship—law and order—has reduced Italy to a great military field with its concentration camps, dungeons and firing squads. There are no longer

citizens in Italy; there are human machines, slaves, soldiers, special guards, secret police, plainclothes spies and automatons and agents—provocateur of all shades and descriptions.

Prison Rules for All

A man like the great philosopher Benedetto Croce must keep his mouth shut—as do millions of free men in Italy today. A man like the great historian Guglielmo Ferrero must stay in exile and all his books—old and new—according to a communication S. A. Fratelli Treves, publishers of Milan, sent him last April, have been confiscated. Men like ex-Premier Nitti, ex-Foreign Minister Count Sforza, Arturo Toscanini had best remain away from the land of "law and order." Nearly all the 42,000,000 Italians now under the dictatorship of Mussolini must obey orders, must read the newspapers and books that the chief of the press and propaganda bureau, Count Ciano (who happens to be Mussolini's son-in-law), chooses for them. In certain towns citizens are even forbidden from retiring home "too late." No one is free to travel from one town to another, or register in a hotel. Every one must carry his or her "identification card" and dare not elude the fascist police. Citizens are stopped while walking, while traveling by train, bus, tram, steamship, taxi or bicycle. Should one forget his "identification card" at home, when stopped on the streets in a town away from home, he would land in a police station and stay there until the wire convinces the blackshirt officials that nothing is wrong.

The Italian people are longing for honor, peace and liberty. They are longing to regain a place in the consortium of civilized and free nations. This explains why they do not approve Mussolini's present war plans against Abyssinia.

The enslaved and despoiled Italian people cannot favor Mussolini's plan to export culture and civilization to Abyssinia when the dictator and his armed black shirt bands still deny them the civilization that was forcibly taken away from them thirteen years ago.

To Dedicate Meyer London Memorial at W.C. Camp

A beautiful memorial to Meyer London, late beloved Socialist and labor spokesman and representative in Congress, will be dedicated Sunday morning at the Workmen's Circle Camp at Pawling, N. Y. The memorial is in the form of a splendid auditorium, in which the lectures, plays and musical events that take place in the camp will be given. Charles Solomon, who was London's secretary while he was in Congress, and Joseph Baskin, general secretary of the Workmen's Circle, will be the speakers.

The Workmen's Circle Camp, located at a beautiful spot in Putnam County, has been completely rebuilt and improved, and is now one of the finest and best equipped camps in the East. It has accom-



Even in faraway Alaska the struggle rages. This picture shows a strike scene in Juneau, with gold mine strikebreakers in a street battle with strikers.

Socialists Battle Union-Smashing Boss of Rockland 'Runaway' Shop

By Augustus H. Batten

Special to The New Leader.

NEW CITY, N. Y.—About four years ago, the Rockland Finishing Co., a cotton-goods concern, made the usual runaway from Garfieldville, N. Y., to the South in order to escape trade union organization, leaving its former employees jobless but in full possession of worthless stock which they had purchased in good faith. Since that date this community of 3000 inhabitants together with the neighboring village of Haverstraw had dreamt of the day when THE factory would open again.

But only hopes composed the diet until the business men and merchants felt the economic punch of low sales. Then the Haverstraw Terminal Co. was formed to save the people at any price—to the workers. Led by an ex-rabbi, attorney to the late NRA Compliance Board, the "best people" sought to rent the Terminal to various industries—offering one valuable inducement—low wages.

The theory was that after several years of marginal living, any wage should loom large to the workers. Here was cheap labor, willing to take the "half-a-loaf." Gradually the floor space was taken by small firms fleeing from organized labor. Among them came the Hiram Knit Sportswear, Inc., from Brooklyn.

But unlike others of these runaways, this company had a closed shop agreement with the Knitgoods Workers' Metropolitan Union, Brooklyn, Local 155, which it pro-

modations for about 400 children and 600 adults, and the programs for all age groups are of the highest order.

ceeded to violate by hiring local non-union workers at lower wages and longer hours than provided in their agreement. When the union through its business agent, Louis Nelson, sought to unionize the local workers, the company issued statements which offered protection against the union and exaggerated the cost of initiation and dues manyfold.

With the assistance of the A.C. W. of America and the Rockland Local of the Socialist Party, picketing was maintained. Injunctions, assaults and arrests followed—with public opinion directed in opposition to the union. Even the local Assemblyman recorded his opposition at a session of the State Legislature.

All efforts of the union at the

plant failed, but in the State Supreme Court, a victory was won when Judge Aaron Steuer signed an injunction which restrained the mill from violating the terms of a closed shop agreement under pain of contempt. This action has closed the factory to local unorganized labor. Sam. Hirsch, president of the company, and the officers and stockholders of the Terminal, have actively encouraged and taken part in arousing the local people to threatening gestures. A club has been formed of the discharged workers and friends with the avowed purpose of keeping the union out of the community. Behind this organization is the secret leadership of men who are the local "benefactors"—cheap politicians and petty capitalists. Police protection is assured to the company and the local workers.

But contrary to many news reports, there is no indication that the Ku Klux Klan has been revived for action. The local workers are misguided defenders of their "bread and butter," pawns in the hands of the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant small towns and capitalists. Desperation has dulled their minds and made them grateful for the crumbs which fall from the master's table. They are unaware of the double-edged sword of exploitation by which they receive inadequate wages from and pay excessive prices to the merchants who now control the Terminal.

The Socialist Party has given open support to the union throughout the struggle in spite of threats and promises from "liberal" Gentiles and Jews who had capital involved. It is planning a conference of conciliation between the local workers and the union to win these workers to the union.

Right to Employ Scabs is Issue

(Continued from Page One)

away, on the banks of the Hudson. The local supporters of the open shop have convinced the workers that the union is seeking to take their jobs away from them to give them to "outsiders" from New York, a belief carefully fostered by Hirsch, late of Brooklyn. The union, however, seeks to organize the people in the shop and bring the advantages of trade union conditions to the Rocklanders, not to take away their jobs.

The local Socialists are working day and night among the workers to break down the prejudices that have made them allies of the bosses in their open-shop campaign.

ETHIOPIAN WAR MAY BRING MUSSOLINI'S END

(Continued from Page One)

mobilizing private citizens' holdings of foreign stocks and bonds and withdrawing all silver coin. Such measures usually are necessary only toward the end of a war. If Mr. Mussolini has to do this before the war begins, he asked, what will he do afterward?

"The fact that one country—the Netherlands—already has become sufficiently doubtful of Italy's ability to pay for her imports that she has established a clearing arrangement with Italy to insure payment seems to have made a strong impression on the bankers here. This is particularly true because the clearing arrangements with Germany have been found to work so badly that they are now up for review and alteration in France, Belgium and other countries, and the system would not easily be extended to Italy.

"A fourth banker stressed that war against Ethiopia after months of careful and deliberate preparation would be 'a much more cynical' violation of the League covenant and Kellogg peace pact than the Japanese action in Manchuria. He feared that if the League or Britain, France and the United States did not do even so much to halt Italy as they did to halt Japan, there would be nothing left to rely upon except anarchy.

"There seems to be a general disposition among bankers to believe that Mr. Mussolini's policy is 'mad,' but that nothing strong enough to defer him will be done by any one and that his policy will end in disaster for Italy and a shaking of the fascist regime."

Socialist Council Planning To Make Over Great City

FOR the first time in its two thousand years of history London is to have a plan of development, thanks to the fact that a Socialist administration rules over the mighty metropolis of the British Empire. After centuries of haphazard growth, with political and historic accidents determining the lines the sprawling city was to follow, the London County Council, under Socialist leadership, has drawn up definite plans for the immediate future.

Herbert Morrison, leader of the Labor Party majority in the London County Council, the supreme governing body of the great city, has just made public the plans of the Labor Party to rebuild the city while at the same time safeguarding and preserving the flavor of its historic past.

"London is to be planned for the first time in its history," said Morrison. "The method of planning will be for the Council to lay down zones set apart for various purposes, such as residential, business or industrial."

"The Council will provide how much of each plot of land should be covered by buildings, what the height of buildings shall be, and what open spaces shall be provided—besides taking care of the great traffic problem."

Future Development

Morrison spoke on the decision taken by the Council to plan London as a whole, and said:

"For the first time it is possible to guide the future development of London by a central coordinating force, and the body to whom this inspiring task has been entrusted is the London County Council."

"London never has been planned. It has just grown."

"We cannot now rebuild London on virgin soil. But we can lay down a plan of future London. In the plan for London, the Council would lay down lines of progress designed to create, in the course of time, a new London, in which the good things we now had would be preserved, and the bad replaced by good."

"The Council hopes so to exercise their new powers, blended with their old powers, as to achieve, by the careful guidance and moulding of development in London, a new and orderly capital city which will be a source of pride and admiration for all time."

A Socialist London

London, with its monuments going back into centuries of British history, is interesting to visit, especially to students of history, but an uncomfortable city to live in. News reels of the recent Silver Jubilee of King George showed the king taking a sword in his hand as he entered the sacred precincts of the City—that is, the central core of London. That ceremony dates back to the conflict of Charles I and Cromwell. The Tower, now so interesting a historic monument but one so grim a fortress, was started by William the Conqueror, who gave the city its first charter. Lord Mayor Sir Richard Walworth struck down Wat Tyler with a dagger in the historic Rebellion of 1381 that was inspired by the great John Ball of Kent; hence the dagger in the Arms of the City. Every ceremony, every crooked street, every quiet custom, every outworn law goes back into history, all of which

makes fascinating reading but difficult living for Londoners.

It was not, however, until the Labor Party under the leadership of Morrison won control of the city last year that anything was done about it. With the glorious achievements of their Vienna comrades as their inspiration—during the election campaign they appealed to the voters to replace destroyed Socialist Vienna with a Socialist London—they have undertaken to preserve the charm, the beauty and the historic character of the old while making the city thoroughly up-to-date along modern scientific lines for the benefit of the masses.

The Labor Party promised a finer, better, nobler London; and they are keeping their promise.

Fitzpatrick Speaks At Gary Picnic

GARY, Ind.—Free transportation will be accorded to all who attend the annual picnic of the Lake County Socialists at Wicker Park, Highland, Ind., on Sunday, July 14. Three trips, at 10 a. m., 12 noon, and 2 p. m., will be made from the following points: State and Oakley, Hammond; 117 W. 5th Ave., Gary; corner 165th and Kennedy, Hessville; Court House, Crown Point; corner Broadway and Deodar, Indiana Harbor, and corner of 150th and Indianapolis Blvd., East Chicago. Likewise, return trips will be made from the park to the above mentioned points.

President John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor will speak at 3 p. m. on "The Necessity of Organization." Joseph N. Caldwell will speak on "The New American Standard of Living." Lillian Herstein, President of the Chicago Teachers' Union, will also speak.

"Book Union" Is Latest "Innocents' Club"

Book Union is the latest "innocents' club" founded by the Communists. It is a book-of-the-month club with Clinton Simpson as head of the publicity committee. Through this club the subscribers can get their monthly Communist trips at so much per month. The literature announcing the new club is sufficiently masked to lure in more "innocents."

A long list of sponsors appears on the letterhead of the club. There are enough "liberals," aspiring writers, poets who try to make the grade, mudcrackers, "progressive" novelists and essayists in the list to conceal the Communist curse. At the same time it is to be a "left-wing" club. In other words, it is a united front with the literary fry wandering in the phantom world of liberalism and the academic fringe hovering about the Stalinists.

Among the Communists listed the reader will find J. B. Matthews, Alexander Trachtenberg, Max Radacht, Anthony Binba, R. Palme Dutt, Ben Gold, Michael Gold, Clarence Hathaway, who tried to break up the Socialist-Trade Union Madison Square Garden protest meeting against Austrian fascism; Moissaye J. Olgin and John Strachey.

Here is "left" culture to be served each month. How many pounds will you order?

Hillquit Amendment Winning Wide Support Among Workers

CHICAGO.—The campaign for the adoption of the Workers' Rights Amendment got under full swing this week with increasing endorsements by labor and farmer leaders. Francis J. Gorman, textile union leader; Emil Rieve, president of the Hosiery Workers; Jos. Schlossberg, and others announced their support.

Endorsements have been received from the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly; the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council; the Railway Machinists District No. 73 convention; Local No. 66, I.A.M.; Pottery Workers No. 111; United Textile Workers No. 2170; Bricklayers No. 50; Pocketbook Makers, Chicago; Federation of Jewish Trade Unions, representing 25 A. F. of L. locals in Chicago; the United Furniture and Allied Trades Union, Gardner, Mass.; and the Electrical Employees Union, Lynn, Mass.

The Farmers' Committee for the Amendment reports support for the Amendment by the County Equity Convention held at Merrill, Wis., by the Sheboygan County Cooperative milk pool, as well as by prominent farm leaders. Many labor groups, including the Chicago, Baltimore and Maryland Federations of Labor, now are studying the Amendment.

St. Paul

ST. PAUL.—The Workers' Rights Amendment received the unanimous endorsement of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly. The legislative committee reported favorably on the Amendment and recommended that the American Federation of Labor be asked to approve it. The Assembly

called for a national conference of labor, farmer, and unemployed organizations to plan united action on the economic field.

Pressure on 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 Krzycki, national chairman of the Socialist Party. The Amendment, H. J. res. 327, is now before the committee, the chairman of which is Rep. Hattin W. Summers of Texas.

Fraternal Group

Support from all workers, fraternal organizations for the Workers' Rights Amendment will be the goal of the new Fraternal Committee for the Workers' Rights Amendment being set up with offices in the Moxley Bldg., Chicago. Leaders in these groups will announce the names of the officers of the committee soon.

Socialist Work

State-wide conferences of labor, farmer, fraternal and unemployed groups to back the Workers' Rights Amendment are being called in Maryland and Connecticut, a city-wide conference in Los Angeles, and plans are being made by hundreds of Socialist locals to secure support for the Hillquit Amendment.

Connecticut thus far is ahead in its preparations for gaining backing for the Amendment. Bridgeport, New Haven, and Wilton have set up special machinery to work on the mass organizations. The S.E.C. unanimously adopted special plans for an intensive

state-wide campaign. Socialist national headquarters here reported the above facts and added that petition forms to be signed by individuals were now at the printers and would be available for wide distribution within the week.

Sharecroppers' Union

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—The Workers' Rights Amendment to the Federal Constitution was unanimously endorsed by the executive council of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union meeting here last week.

The resolution also urges all members to actively support this amendment and bring it to the attention of farmers and workers everywhere.

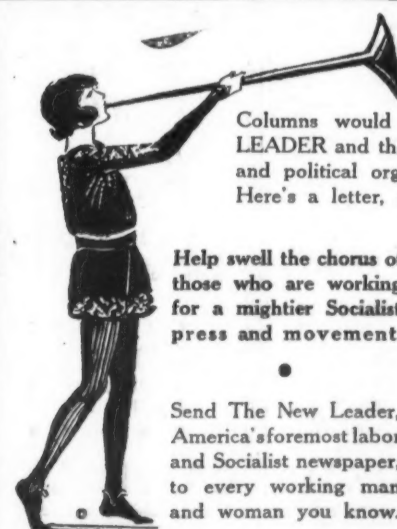
Chicago Labor Federation

CHICAGO.—The Chicago Federation of Labor unanimously adopted a resolution approving the Workers' Rights Amendment introduced into Congress by Representative Vito Marcantonio of New York.

The Federation referred the amendment to the executive council of the A. F. of L. which is going to consider various amendments to the Federal Constitution at its next meeting.

Ohio Labor in Line

WILLOUGHBY, Ohio.—A campaign for the Workers' Rights Amendment has been started by the Lake County Central Labor Union, the A. F. of L. central organization for this county. The Workers' Rights Amendment was endorsed by the delegates last week, and the official paper of the C.L.U., "The Solid Front," is pushing it.



If we tooted our horn..

Columns would be filled with letters praising THE NEW LEADER and the intelligent fight it is waging for the economic and political organizations of the wage workers and farmers. Here's a letter, representative of many on file in our office.

Help swell the chorus of those who are working for a mightier Socialist press and movement.

Send The New Leader, America's foremost labor and Socialist newspaper, to every working man and woman you know.

PAULINE M. NEWMAN, pioneer labor union organizer and director of the social and educational department of the Union Health Center of New York City, writes:

"The New Leader in its present dress is far better than it has ever been. Its make-up is what a Socialist Weekly should look like. Its interesting contents are accurately presented. The articles by John Powers are excellent and timely. Algernon Lee's comments are a delight. I hope our young comrades are reading them and profiting thereby. Congratulations to the editors and all the others responsible for a very much improved New Leader."

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Iturbi To Play Piano and Conduct At Stadium Sunday

Fokine Ballet to Present "Cleopatra," "Sylphides" and "Russian Toys" Monday and Tuesday

A packed house is expected tomorrow night (Sunday) at the Stadium when Jose Iturbi appears in the dual role of pianist and conductor. Mr. Iturbi will be at the piano and direct the Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra in the Grieg Concerto. He will also do a group of piano soli by Spanish composers: the "Sevillana" No. 3, of Albeniz; the "Goyescas" No. 4, of Granados; and the "Ritual Dance of Fire" from "El Amor Brujo," of De Falla. The program will open with the "Peer Gynt" Suite of Grieg and close with the Cesar Franck Symphony. In case of rain this program will be postponed a week, to Sunday, July 21, and tonight Mr. Iturbi will substitute an all-orchestral program in the Great Hall.

Monday and Tuesday, under the direction of Alexander Smallens, Michel Fokine will present the third of his ballet programs, consisting of "Cleopatra," a potpourri of music by Arensky, Rimsky-Korsakoff, Glazounoff, Taneiev, and Moussorgsky, with scenery after Maquetate by Bakst; "Les Sylphides," to music of Chopin; and a comedy ballet, "Russian Toys," to music of Rimsky-Korsakoff. Mr. Smallens will also conduct two orchestral numbers, "Night on Bald Mountain" of Moussorgsky and the "Russian Easter" Overture of Rimsky-Korsakoff.

On Wednesday evening, Jose Iturbi will introduce as soloist in the Liszt Piano Concerto in E flat a young Philadelphia musician, LeRoy Anspach, who is due to make a New York recital debut at Town Hall next October. On the same program Mr. Iturbi will conduct "Les Preludes" of Liszt, the "Bird Suite," and the "Petrouchka Suite." The last named work will have its first performance in New York in the final corrected version as made by Stravinsky last year when he was in this country. The composer made several changes in Iturbi's score of "Petrouchka," signed them with his initials, and said he hoped the work would always be played in the future with these instrumental improvements.

Thursday and Friday bring the opera "Boheme" under Alexander Smallens. Nina Morgana, the Metropolitan Opera soprano, will sing the role of Mimì, and the American tenor, Edward Molitor, will be heard as Rodolfo.

Toscha Seidel at Unity on Sunday

Toscha Seidel, world-renowned violinist, is certain to meet with an enthusiastic reception when he plays at Unity House, Saturday and Sunday. Another outstanding feature will be given Sunday evening when scenes from one of the greatest stage successes in many years, the play, "Porgy," will be presented. Principals who appeared in the original production, will take part, among them being Frank Wilson, Jack Garter, Rose Clendon and Rose Harvey.

Last week, enthusiastic audiences attended the Group Theater's production of "Awake and Sing" and the Chicago Opera Company's presentation of "Cavalleria Rusticana."

Artists and Chamber Music Recital Series

The usual Artists and Chamber Music Concerts will take place at the Washington Irving High School, under the auspices of the People's Symphony Concerts of New York City. There will be six Artists Recitals by prominent artists, and six Chamber Concerts by internationally renowned organizations. The price for six recitals will be \$1.00—or \$2.00 for both courses. Those desiring information and application blanks can address the People's Symphony Concerts, New York City.

William Powell in "Escapade" Holds Over at the Capitol

"Escapade"—starring William Powell, and featuring Louise Rainer, Frank Morgan, Virginia Bruce, Mady Christians, and Reginald Owen—will be held over on the Capitol's screen for an additional week, starting today.

The stage revue headlines by Sid Gary and featuring Florence and Alvarez, Helene Denzin, Paul Gerrits, Prosper and Maret and a group of the Danny Dare Girls also continues for a second week.

MUSIC

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Ann Sothorn



Who co-stars with Gene Raymond in "Hooray for Love," the Roxy's new film attraction.

"Love Me Forever" Holds Third Week at Music Hall

The only film to equal the celebrated record of "Little Women," Grace Moore's photoplay "Love Me Forever" holds for a third week at the Radio City Music Hall. Miss Moore's new film is the second motion picture in the history of the 6,200 seat Music Hall to have its engagement extended into three weeks. "Little Women," which has previously held the record, played a similar engagement during the Thanksgiving holiday season of 1933.

The Music Hall also will hold over its stage show, a Russell Markert production "The Magazine Rack—Second Edition," in which Edwina Eustis (contralto), Felicia Sorel and Demetrios Vilan (modern dancers), Ben Dova (comedian), Robert Weede (baritone), Mimi (French chanteuse), the Music Hall Rockettes, Corps de Ballet, Glee Club and ySymphony Orchestra are featured.

"Becky Sharp" Remains at RKO-Albee for 2nd Week

Miriam Hopkins' new starring picture, "Becky Sharp," the first feature film to be made in the newly perfected Technicolor, is being held over for a second week at the RKO-Albee Theatre.

Supporting the star in this picture is the character of Alan Mowbray as Rawdon Crawley; Sir Cedric Hardwicke, brought from London to play the Marquis of Steyne; Frances Dee as Amelia Sedley; Nigel Bruce, also from England, as Joseph Sedley; Alison Skipworth as Miss Crawley; Colin Tapley as Capt. Dobbin; May Beatty as Miss Briggs; G. P. Huntley, Jr., as George Osborne; George Hassell as Sir Pitt Crawley; Charles Richman as Lord Barchin; William Faversham as the Duke of Wellington, and Doris Lloyd as the Duchess of Richmond.

Next Monday night a Brunette Beauty Pageant will be staged, and on Wednesday evening a second of the Albee Amateur Frolics.

"Front Page Woman" with Bette Davis at the Strand

"Front Page Woman," in which Bette Davis and George Brent are co-starred, is current at the Strand Theatre. The film was produced by Warner Bros. from a story by Richard Macaulay. Roy Chansler, author of "Hi! Nellie," the newspaper story which starred Paul Muni, and Lillie Hayward adapted the Macaulay yarn. Laird Doyle wrote the screen play, which was directed by Michael Curtiz. The large supporting cast includes Winifred Shaw, Roscoe Karns, Joseph Crehan, Joseph King, Dorothy Dare, June Martel, J. Carroll Naish and Mike Morita.

ALL THIS WEEK "OIL FOR THE LAMPS OF CHINA"

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VIRGINIA BACON
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"Back Street," with Irene Dunne and John Boles, in Return Run at Fox Brooklyn

Fannie Hurst's popular novel, "Back Street," which found its way to the screen as one of the cinema's most successful pictures; starring Irene Dunne and John Boles is now playing a return engagement at Fabian's Fox Brooklyn Theatre.

"Back Street" tells the intensely affecting story of a woman who gave up everything in her life for love, and a man who gave nothing but love. The screen play is an adaptation by Gladys Lehman, and was directed by John M. Stahl for Universal Pictures Corporation.

Important supporting roles are played by June Clyde, William Bakewell, Doris Lloyd, George Meeker, Walter Catlett, Zasu Pitts, Shirley Grey and Tom Kerrigan.

The stage show at the Fox is headlined by Carleton and Juliette, internationally famous dancers; Bill Keating, the blues chaser; the Hart Sherman Girls are held over a second week, and with Ben Nelson and his orchestra providing the music.

J. Edward Bromberg



Who appears in the Group Theatre's hit, "Awake and Sing," at the Belasco Theatre.

A Letter and Reply

The State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Ohio requests publication of the following reply to what was said in The New Leader of June 15.

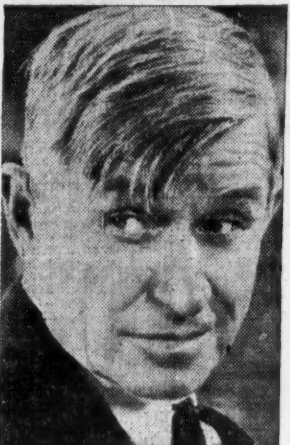
1. No faction "captured" the Ohio State Executive Committee in 1934. A general dissatisfaction with Sidney Yellen's methods as state secretary led him to announce that he was not a candidate for re-election. His successor, Robert Dullea, was chosen with his approval.

2. The failure of the Party to get the state ticket on the ballot arose from three causes; first the delay and confusion arising from the Sharts episode; second the inexperience of Robert Dullea in political work; and third, the fact that two of our three state organizers were in jail or otherwise completely occupied with the union strike, and so unable to assist with petitions.

3. Not one, but twelve Socialist Congressmen got on the ballot in Ohio in 1934. Some county tickets were on the ballot for the first time since the war. It may be appropriate to mention that "the minister named John Sommerlatte," who was nominated for Governor in place of Sharts, was organizer and treasurer of the Rayon Workers' Union, Local 2036, United Textile Workers of America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and received more votes in some counties than the Communist candidate whose name was printed on the ballots.

4. A "United Front" was not

"The Mirth of a Nation" on Rivoli Screen



Above you see none other than Will Rogers, whose latest film effort, "Doubting Thomas," is the Rivoli's new tenant.

sought by the Ohio Socialists, either directly or indirectly. Communist delegates to the conference on the Cleveland May Day demonstration were seated on recommendation of non-Socialist and non-Communist trade unionists, and without a dissenting vote. Not a single union organization voted to withdraw its delegates. It has been agreed generally since that the affair reflected to the credit of Leo Krzycki and the Socialist Party, rather than to the credit of the Communist Party.

5. Since May Day, the Cleveland Trade Unions have been fully as cooperative as before. No labor unions in Ohio, to our knowledge, have required their members to withdraw from the Socialist Party, nor have withdrawals from the Socialist Party for other reasons been frequent.

Paul Jones, State Chairman, State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Ohio.

Answer

1. The "general dissatisfaction" with Yellen was carefully cultivated for a number of years by the "militants" until Yellen could stand it no longer. He agreed to Dullea's position because he thought Dullea capable but because there was practically little else to choose from the "militants."

2. This concedes that Dullea was incompetent. Dullea did not undertake to collect signatures immediately after the nominations but let the job slide for more than a month. Joseph Sharts was nominated for Governor despite his platform which was twice criticized by the editor in The New Leader and our recollection is that he did not leave the party until after the Declaration was adopted in a national referendum. Three or four organizers, even if free, could not collect the required signatures. That is a job for all the members and they were not effectively mobilized.

3. Comrade Feigenbaum may have been in error in stating that only one Congressional candidate was able to get the ballot but this does not answer our main contention of incompetence which was emphasized in the article.

4. The fact is that a united front with the Communists was effected. The Workmen's Circle, local unions of the I.L.G.W.U., and of the Amalgamated declined to participate. The Central Labor Union was to consider participation and then did not. The participation of about a dozen small unions whose type and affiliation are not indicated while there are about 100,000 organized workers in Cleveland and many large locals, is not a credit to the Socialists.

5. Our information is otherwise and we think that it is reliable.

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A Fox Picture with
BILLIE BURKE
ALISON SKIPWORTH

MIDNITE SHOW
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JOHN BOLES • ZASU PITTS
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Labor Offers License Bill

(Continued from Page One)
duced, manufactured, processed or distributed by any business not licensed under the Act.

"The Bill does not apply to agriculture or to the shipment of unprocessed agricultural products. 'Business' means an entrepreneur, partnership, corporation, association, trust, or any other business unit.

"There is created a National Industrial Commission, consisting of five members, appointed by the President with the advice and counsel of the Senate, to be paid \$12,000 a year each. Members representing labor and industry shall be appointed from panels named respectively by recognized national organizations of employees and employers. The Commission is specifically authorized to grant licenses to businesses to engage, in the shipment of their products, in interstate and foreign commerce, subject to the following conditions:

Labor Provisions

"(a) All licenses issued under the Act shall provide that no persons less than 16 years of age shall be employed, or 18 years in a hazardous occupation, or between 7 p. m. and 7 a. m.

"(b) That female employees shall not be discriminated against as to wages or rights.

"(c) That the licensees shall comply with all of the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act.

"(d) That employers, in arriving at rates of pay, hours and other conditions, shall bargain collectively with the organization of employees, in which shall be considered the productive efficiency of the industry, technological improvements, etc.

"(e) Prohibition of dishonest or fraudulent trade practices or unfair methods of competition.

"(f) In production and distribution of natural resource products special provisions may be prescribed to the end of conserving and allocating such products and fixing the price thereon.

"The Commission may, after notice and hearing, prohibit transportation or delivery in interstate or foreign commerce of products not eligible as not having been produced in accordance with the requirements for all licensees.

"Provision is made for revocation of licenses and, upon proper legal steps, for the appointment of public trustees to operate businesses whose licenses have been

It's The Screen Scoop of the Year! BETTE DAVIS GEORGE BRENT

FRONT PAGE WOMAN

Warner Bros.' Headline Hit at the AIR-CONDITIONED STRAND

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Cloakmakers' Accept Agreement

(Continued from Page One)

to Albany, and after a hearing proposed that the contracts be renewed with the retention of the contractor limitation clause. The negotiations which followed resulted in the formulation of agreements. The threat of a strike was thereby definitely eliminated.

The meeting of the shop chairmen was presided over by Reuben Zuckerman, chairman of the Cloak Joint Board, and the terms of the new contracts were read and explained by Isidore Nagler, general manager of the Joint Board and a vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U. When asked as to the time the cloak workers will return to the machines, Nagler took occasion to correct a report that a "stoppage" of 20,000 had been ordered by the Union in the trade, in the following statement:

revoked, with full power to manage and conduct such business in accordance with the requirements of the Commission.

Products Banned from Interstate Commerce

"When an organization in any craft or class of employees in any trade or industry, or subdivision thereof, exists in accordance with the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, the Commission may direct the representatives of employers and employees to meet for the purpose of establishing, through collective bargaining, hours, rates of pay, and other conditions, and when such standards are agreed upon by a majority of employees of any craft or class in said trade or industry, or subdivision, the Commission may order that no article or commodity not produced, manufactured, processed or distributed, by members of said trade or industry, and in accordance with the said standards, shall be shipped, transported or delivered in interstate commerce.

"The Commission may impose minimum wages for the lowest-paid classes of unskilled labor, which will assure employees a decent standard of living, regardless of the financial ability of the employer to pay. The Commission is given the power of investigation of all business subject to the Act, the right of subpoena of their books, and also subpoena of witnesses.

National Planning Council

"There is also created a National Planning Council of five members, appointed in the same manner as the members of the National Industrial Commission. The salaries are \$10,000 a year. The Council is authorized and directed to develop for the Commission a general program for the coordination, stabilization and orderly development of the basic industries of the United States, and to make recommendations to the Commission as to the feasibility of its system of taxation or other plan which shall encourage the maximum industrial performance of industry through an equitable distribution of profits, through increases in wages and decreases in hours.



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CHICAGO PARLEY PLANS FOR NEW PARTY

(Continued from Page One)

York. The committee's recommendation won virtually unanimous support.

Following the failure of this Communist maneuver a telegram was received from Representative Marcantonio of New York, one of the five Congressmen calling the conference, announcing his withdrawal. He favored a new political party but withdrew from the conference because he believed its action taken toward the formation of a new party at this time "is not only premature, but also wrong, and the conference is not at present so constituted as to fully express the opinions and demands of such groups as organized labor, unemployed organizations, veterans and farmers of this nation."

The announcement of the withdrawal of Congressman Marcantonio caused little more than a ripple of surprise, and the delegates proceeded to a discussion of the program.

Harold Loeb, Secretary of the Continental Committee, presented to the delegates a Preamble embodying the best thought of the conference, which was unanimously adopted as read.

The platform presented by Nathan Fine for the committee and as amended by the delegates comprises 14 sections. A slate of officers for the organization brought in by the Nominating Committee was unanimously endorsed.

Features of the Week on (1200 Kc.) WEVD (121 Mc)

Sun.—11 a.m., Forward Hour, music and sketches; 12 noon, "Child of His People," songs; 12:15 p.m., Variety Show, featuring Cella Budkin; 12:45, Art Quartet; 2:30, "Uncle Nuchem and His Kids," children's program; 3, Edith Friedman, pianist; 3:15, Don Carlos, poet-philosopher; 10, Symposium.

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

Tues.—8 p.m., Dolores Hanford, soprano; 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, The Varieties of Music.

Wed.—8:15 p.m., Dr. Leroy E. Bowman, "Politics in Education"; 8:30, Premier Instrumental Trio; 10, Radio Drama Group, "The Story of the I.L.G.W.U."; 10:15, National Labor Scene; 10:45, Charity Musical Clock.

Thurs.—8 p.m., Panel Discussion, Citizens' Union; 8:15, Eugene Byron Morgan, baritone; 10:15, Newspaper Guild on the Air; 10:30, Ruth Robinson, soprano.

Fri.—8 p.m., WEVD String Quartet; 8:30, Amateur Variety Show; 10, Max Wechsler, violinist; 10:15, The Church in Action for Peace; talk; 10:45, "Coriander, Ham and Cabbage," trio; 12, Symphony Hour.

Sat.—8 p.m., "Jewish Events of the Week"; 6:30, "Annie and Benny"; 8, Metropolitan String Ensemble; 8:15, Vera Rosanska, sketch and songs; 8:30, Don Avlon's Orchestra; 10, Chicago Symphony Company.

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Cooperative Movement and the Trade Unions

The Mighty Volume of Business Done by the Workers' Cooperatives Shows What Can Be Done in America---How the Coops Serve the British Labor Movement - - - By Mark Starr

UNDOUBTEDLY there have been faults on both sides to explain the lack of harmonious relations between the cooperative and the labor movement in the United States.

The majority of cooperators in the United States have been exceedingly naïve in their approach to the problem. They have been "pure-and-simple" co-operators. They have indulged in the pipe dream of hoping to be able to buy out the competitive system by accumulating their savings. They have been trying to raise themselves by pulling at their own shoestrings and very weak shoestrings at that. They have over-emphasized the citizenship approach and tried to ignore the alignment of the class struggle. Cooperators who think that the workers can emancipate themselves by cooperation alone are just a hindrance to the Cooperator's Movement.

The First International (the I.W.M.A.) and Cooperatives

A quotation from the minutes of the First International shows how Karl Marx and his colleagues received the co-operators:

"(a) We acknowledge the co-operative movement as one of the transforming forces of the present society based upon class antagonism. Its great merit is to practically show that the present pauperizing and despotic system of the subordination of labor to capital can be superseded by the republican and beneficent system of the association of free and equal producers.

"(b) Restricted, however, to the dwarfish forms into which individual wage-slaves can elaborate it by their efforts, the co-operative system will never transform capitalist society. To convert social production into one large and harmonious system of free co-operative labor, general social changes are wanted, changes of the general condition of society, never to be realized save by the transfer of the organized forces of society, viz., the State power, from capitalists and landlords to the producers themselves."

All the capital and assets of the cooperative movement in the United States are only a very tiny amount compared to the capital and assets owned by such great corporations as General Motors and U. S. Steel. The Rochdale pioneers would have been paralyzed if they had had to face the competition of the A. & P. It is nonsense to think that the principles of the cooperative movement can be applied to the regulation and ownership of the railroads. Cooperators must think out their relation to public ownership.

Coop. Strike Aid

Having said all that, the question remains whether there can be any touching points between existing organizations of consumers and organizations of wage workers. We cannot ignore in this the lessons of other countries. In Great Britain I have seen strikes carried through to a successful finish largely because the cooperatives gave the unions credit and sold them bread and other necessities at cost during the strike period. In the General Strike of 1926 when the Big Five banks refused to liquify the assets of trade unions, it was the Cooperative Wholesale Society Bankers, Limited, the co-operators' own bank, which came through and issued checks cashable in food at its nation-wide system of stores. It was the Cooperative Movement in England which first gave the biscuit workers at Crumpled the 8-hour day. In the retail trade it is the sales clerks in the Cooperative shops who are the backbone of the clerks' union. When the Tories wanted to tax the so-called dividends of the Cooperative Movement the cooperators had to set up a political party and this party has worked in close cooperation in the House of Commons with the British Labor Party. In the constituencies the co-operators and the Trade Unionists (who are in many cases the same people) cooperate in nominating and supporting parliamentary and other candidates.

These are only a few instances of cooperation between the unions and the cooperative movement drawn from the facts of life within the experience of one person. I see no reason why an adaptation of such joint action is not possible in the United States.

While the American unions have not been interested in attempts to produce and distribute goods through cooperatives, they have tried to use the union label to increase the purchase of goods made in union shops and factories. This is an attempt to direct consumers' purchasing power as were the late lamented Blue Eagles of the NRA. However, the union label is usually a guarantee of higher wage

standards than was the Blue Eagle. The Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor was formed in 1909, and it gives publicity to the labels of the various unions and insists that trade unionists should use only labeled goods. Despite this, only 51 labels and 10 cards are now on the endorsed list. Some local labor groups issue lists to guide their own members.

In this Country

Some of the garment trades unions have suggested that union employers join them in developing the use of the "Prosanis" label which guarantees that clothing has been made under sanitary conditions and is of good quality. The American Federation of Hosiery Workers distributes attractive printed lists of union-made hosiery. Some local labor papers carry lists of stores and shops "fair" and "unfair" to union labor.

So far, trade unions, as we all know, have done very little to aid the consumers' cooperatives in the United States. On the other hand, outstanding leaders of American cooperation believe that cooperation based only on consumer interest can solve our economic problems. "Cooperation," the monthly bulletin of the League, however, in its May, 1934, issue, does make a special appeal to labor leaders and unions to promote consumers' cooperatives in the course of a general statement of cooperative principles in relation to other groups in order to "enable workers to take over the ownership of industry, become economically free, and enjoy the plenty they have produced."

Interesting and important possibilities of joint action by trade unions and cooperatives are suggested at Superior, Wis., in the summer of 1934. The milk drivers and dairy workers of the Russell

Creamery Company struck for higher wages and recognition of the union. At the same time there was an attempt to form a cooperative dairy in the town. The strikers enlisted their customers for the cooperative, which took them into its employ. This suggests a new field of trade union tactics, particularly in industries needing little starting capital.

To me these developments are exceedingly important. I think there are immense possibilities of joint action on a variety of fronts. For example, while traveling last summer in Oklahoma, I found out that 1800 farmers and workers had set up a Cooperative Hospital Association, which maintains a community hospital in Elk City, providing medical and surgical care and hospitalization for the families of its members for \$24 per year. For an additional \$6 they obtained ordinary dental work, with half

price for "store teeth" and X-ray pictures. The hospital was capitalized at \$100,000 in \$50 shares and the farmers and the workers are the stockholders. The Union Health Center run here in New York City by the trade unions also takes the profit motive out of medicine. And it deals with 200 cases daily. The Amalgamated Apartments in New York City and the Carl Mackley Apartments of the A.F.H.W. in Philadelphia are essays into cooperative housing by trade unions.

Some Suggestions

If the cooperative movement cares to get on the job I see no reason why, say in some of the big towns of the I.L.G.W.U., something could not be done to set up buyers' clubs inside the framework of the union. I think locals with lots of young American girls could, to begin with, form purchasing clubs for such articles as cosmetics and

hosiery. Where the union members live in the same neighborhood together they could be encouraged to set up a cooperative milk supply. Clothes and tobacco could also be collectively purchased. The A. C. W. in Rochester has already developed purchasing clubs. Another possible field is that in which the recreational facilities could be provided for the union for its members free from any profit motive. This is no pipe dream as the continuance of Unity House at Forest Park, Pa., by the I.L.G.W.U. proves.

But purchasing clubs can function only within limits. All the research carried on by the consumer is no permanent guarantee, because quality standards can be from time to time interfered with. Just as regulation of public utilities has been evaded, so can the quality standards set up by any consumers' bureau be tampered with unless eternal vigilance and

immense financial resources are at our disposal. In other words, regulation and the setting up of decent consumers standards must ultimately lead to the question of ownership and operation of the means of production themselves. That action will lead the sincere cooperator into the same pew as the active militant wing of the trade union movement. Just as soon as the cooperative movement becomes powerful enough to be noticed, we can be sure that the trusts will use all the political influence they have in the legislatures and in the courts in order to throttle a dangerous rival. The co-operators like the unions will be forced to protect themselves by political action.

Reaching the Masses

One advantage of joint action would be that cooperation would no longer be an import in the United States. The Firms of Pittsburgh have built their stores and run them successfully, but to a very great extent have failed until recently to orient themselves in their community. Cooperation, if it is to be successful, cannot be a mere carry-over of habits which have been formed in other countries. It must be adapted to the American scene and since 85% of the consumers of this country are wage workers, the Cooperative Movement can have no serious future outside of joint alliance with the mass of wage workers in the United States.

It is doubtful whether any government except one put in power by the workers and farmers, who represent the great mass of the consumers, will be able to utilize the government bureaus for the majority of the people as C.R. demands. Cooperative Distributors cannot supply the varied needs of consumers in competition with the nation-wide and powerful capitalist mail order houses. The cooperatives cannot thrive in the absence of a live and large-scale labor movement.

For all the reasons given above, it seems necessary to attain joint action and aim between organizations of workers - as producers (trade unions) and those devoted to the interests of consumers in general. The two roads are parallel and have the same aim - namely, to raise living standards and end the profit motive in production. When all consumers are producers, all the previous opposition between the two roles will disappear.

A Trinity of Weapons

There is also the immediate possibility and necessity of linking together the men who work by brain with those who work by brawn. Insofar as modern technical science and applied science take the tools out of the workers' hands, he must demand as a consumer the right to fill his empty mouth. The right to consume may be the base on which society will be finally organized - each according to his needs.

Thus, if the workers realize that they have a trinity of weapons - the trade union on the industrial field, an independent political party to exert pressure through politics, and an organization of workers as consumers - we shall make rapid progress. In turn, co-operators will have to realize the limitations of their own movement. They must see the dangers of "dividend hunting" - an ever-present danger in a capitalist world. They must be ready to insist upon fair conditions of labor as well as upon quality of products. They must be prepared to come along and lend assistance as a commissary in industrial disputes. They must help to build up a banking and credit system which will not suffer from the nonsensical ideas of labor banking as we have seen it hitherto.

If on both sides there is a willingness to envisage joint action, the practical details can easily be worked out.

British Labor and Coops Drawing Closer Together

LONDON.—Closer ties between the political forces of labor and the cooperative movement have been forged at a recent conference here, attended by representatives of the Labor Party, the National Cooperative Authority, and the Co-operative Party.

The millions of Cooperators in the Co-operative Party largely duplicate the membership of the Labor Party, and the Co-operative Party sends delegates to the Labor Party conventions. Cooperative Party members of Parliament are Labor M.P.'s, and one of them, A. V. Alexander, was a member of the last Labor government. But there have been reasons that have made it inadvisable for the Co-operative Party to give up its organic entity as yet.

For many years facilities have been provided for the coordination of labor policy by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, the Executive Committee of the Labor Party, and the Parliamentary Labor Party through the body now known as the National

Council of Labor. Contact with the cooperative movement has been limited on the one hand to matters arising in connection with industrial negotiations and, on the other, to points affecting political organization in the constituencies.

It has now been suggested, however, that the cooperative movement, through its appropriate representatives, should be brought into definite association with the National Council of Labor.

This would assure that accredited representatives of the industrial, political, parliamentary and cooperative sections of the working class movement would be provided with regular opportunities of collectively reviewing the activities of each organization, intimate consultation upon matters of common interest, and facilities for the shaping of national and international policy. This suggestion will now be remitted to the three bodies concerned for further consideration.

What the Cities Can Do for the Jobless

Mayor Hoan Tells the Powers and the Limitations Placed Upon Our Municipalities In Meeting Relief Problems - - - By Daniel W. Hoan, Mayor of Milwaukee

AT this time, when so many of our people are out of work, there is tremendous interest in the new federal Public Works Program. Prior to 1932 the federal government employed a "hands off" policy as far as the unemployment problem was concerned. It was its attitude that local government had always taken care of relief and that it was its job to do so during this grave crisis.

The U. S. Conference of Mayors, organized in 1932, was the first body of elected officials to take the position that while the states and local government might under normal conditions take care of the load of persons who for physical and other reasons were unemployed, it was the task of the Federal Government to assume responsibility and to make adequate provision for all those employable persons who were thrown out of work because of the depression.

As a result of the activity of the Mayors, Congress made appropriation of \$300,000,000 at the end of 1933, the first federal expenditure to assist in carrying this tremendous burden of relief. It was not until the spring of 1934 that we were able to bring sufficient pressure to bear to get the President and Congress to make the first appropriation of \$300,000,000 to create work. This expenditure financed the C.W.A. and the F.E.R.A. projects as well as the federal government's share of relief.

In December, 1934, the executive committee of the United States Conference of Mayors, of which organization I have the honor of being president, met in conference in the Mayor's office in the City of New York. We there formulated

John W. Kelley, Veteran Socialist, Dies at 78

SOCIALISTS of the older generation will be grieved to learn of the death of John W. Kelley of Marion, Indiana, at the age of 78. His health had been declining for several years.

Kelley was a merchant, one of the most enterprising in the state, but early in his business career he became interested in the works of Henry George. When Eugene V. Debs was sentenced to Woodstock Jail, he sent Debs a warm letter and offered his aid. He was one of the founders of the Socialist Party and was elected to the city council in 1900, was the Socialist candidate for Mayor in 1907 and for Governor in 1912.

Comrade Kelley took his place in the ranks, distributing literature on Sunday mornings, and although he won a state-wide prominence in the movement he never sought leadership or prestige in the party. His fine home was open to soap-boxers and he was a generous contributor to all phases of party work. He was thoroughly democratic in his relations with his comrades and friends and radiated an idealism that immediately won the confidence of workers.

A man of large physical build, with a glow of red in his handsome face, Comrade Kelley had that warm, wholesome personality that was typical of Debs, Hanford and other leading Socialists. Like Debs, Comrade Kelley helped many workers in distress, but this phase of his work was done so quietly that the extent of his generosity will never be known.

John W. Kelley was one of the really great men of the Socialist movement, but he was so modest in all that he did that he did not become generally known outside of Indiana. Humanity is the poorer for his passing and the Socialist Party has lost one of its most devoted builders.

A Wisconsin Bill

It is desirable to call attention to the fact that while the appropriation for public works may seem large, it is, nevertheless, no more money than was ordinarily expended by municipal governments in this country during normal years to carry out their usual public works program. It therefore will in itself adequately take care of the problem of unemployment only for a period of less than one year.

Having full knowledge of this fact, the Socialist Party of Wisconsin brought before the legislature the bill known as the Wisconsin Production Corporation, 305-A, introduced by Assemblyman Kiefer, Socialist. It would create a corporation to operate on a non-profit basis. Such a corporation would have authority to make work. In doing so, it would be empowered to purchase idle fac-

BAY STATE PLANS VITAL PARTY WORK

By S. Syrjala

Special to The New Leader
BOSTON.—The first meeting of the newly-elected State Executive Committee was held July 7 at the state office. In answer to an inquiry of Local Northampton it was decided to ask the NEC how far we can go in the state in starting a Farmer-Labor Party, under what terms we can cooperate with what may be started by other groups, and how far locals can go in cooperating with local Farmer-Labor parties that may be started.

Plans were made for a State Picnic at Saima Park, Fitchburg, on the 18 or 25, the date dependent on not conflicting with another Socialist picnic.

A State Labor Committee consisting of the following was elected: Max Hamelin, John D. Connors, Sylvester J. McBride, Benj. Grossman, Michael Flaherty, Leslie Richards, Tom Conroy, Harold Faulkner and Joe Massidda. The committee was instructed to meet before the coming Springfield convention of the State Federation of Labor.

Joseph Bearak, Leslie Richards, Max Hamelin, Kenneth Polman, and Louis Epstein were elected a sub-committee on organization.

Elon Arkin, Joseph Bearak, and John Suominen were elected to the finance committee.

A committee to push the Labor Chest for the Liberation of Workers of Europe was elected, consisting of Leon Arkin, Thomas Nicholson, and Max Hamelin.

A four-weeks speaking tour for Lena Morrow Lewis was planned. The Western Confederation of Socialists locals is planning a picnic on July 21 at Northampton.

Boston City Central Committee's third annual Fourth of July picnic at the Grape Arbor, Walpole, was a success. John D. Connors, vice-president of the New Bedford C.L.U., was the speaker. Kenneth W. Porter read some of his own poems. Beside a short program the day was spent in swimming, boating, dancing, and comradeship. A fine picnic was the opinion of all.

New Bedford is holding weekly open-air meetings after the baseball game Tuesday night at Brook Lawn Park.

Cambridge is holding open-air meetings every Thursday night at Central Square. Somerville open-air meeting every Saturday night.

tories and set them to work, while such a measure does not offer a millennium, it is certain that two or three times more jobs could be provided under such arrangements than with the money confined to the federal appropriation.

May I say that the problem of unemployment must be permanently solved. As an immediate step it is desirable that these works programs be effected and as promptly as possible, but none of these offers a permanent remedy for the problem involved. What are we to do when this four billion dollars is used up in about one year? Will we be able to keep on selling bonds until the real crash comes? Of course we look forward to some kind of old age pension system which will help. This, however, will fall far short of a real solution of the major problem.

Socialism Is Essential

We must never overlook the fact that unemployment grows out of the technological advance of the capitalist system. Socialists will never tire of stating that under capitalism we are producing millions of dollars more in food, clothes and miscellaneous products

than the people of the United States have the means to purchase. It is indeed a crazy system that results in millions of people being out of employment without means of livelihood in a land of such vast riches and such an over-abundance of supplies.

The Socialist party insists that it offers an adequate remedy and that ultimately it must be approved. It is our proposal that since private business cannot operate itself so as to furnish employment, the government must take over this task.

It is impossible for government to continue to sell bonds and levy taxes in order to feed millions of men. This is a system that requires half of us to work to feed the other half. The dole system crushes the morale of the recipients. Our people are entitled to an opportunity to work. They are also entitled to receive the full product of their efforts. This, we submit, can only finally be accomplished by changing this selfish and greedy profit system to one where we will produce for use and the welfare of the people. This is Socialism.

SHIPPING CLERKS VOTE ON GENERAL STRIKE

UNDER the leadership of Saul Metz, Manager of the Cloak, Dress, Drivers' and Helpers' Union, the shipping clerks of the Ladies' Apparel Shipping Clerks' Union, decided at a special meeting to hold a referendum on the question of a general strike. The referendum resolution was unanimously adopted after an inspiring address by Metz.

Discussing the question of the referendum, Metz said: "We don't want the bosses or any one else to get the idea that the strike has been forced upon the workers. The shipping clerks are the most exploited and underpaid workers in the industry. They are insecure in their jobs and a great majority of them are eager to quit work in order to enforce their just demands. We know that only too well, but we want the bosses and the general public to know it as well. That is why we decided on a referendum, so that no one can say that the strike had been forced upon the membership."

The strike committee was empowered to determine the date the strike should be called after the referendum vote is counted.

The minimum demands are a 35 hour week, higher wages, security of the job, equal division of work, closed shop and legal holidays with full pay.

Squirrel Hill Picnic

PITTSBURGH.—The Squirrel Hill Branch invites all members, friends and sympathizers to picnic with them on Sunday, July 28th, at Shenley Park. Fine program of speeches, sports and games.

Active Campaign in Punksutawney
PUNKSUTAWNEY.—An active county campaign has been launched in Jefferson County. Comrade Jeanette Spicher, secretary of the Punksutawney branch, reports that the local interest in the Socialist Party is growing and that the branch is prepared to take full advantage of this opportunity.



The Place of the Negro in American History

By James O Neal

Black Reconstruction. By W. E. B. DuBois. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. \$4.50.

In many ways this is an extraordinary book. A survey of the Negro's part in the reconstruction period from 1860 to 1880, it is a bitter criticism of the work of many historians and it presents the case of the Negro slave and Negro freedman in a new light. The author classifies the historians into anti-Negro, fair to indifferent, sympathetic and propagandist, who are all white, and the Negro historians. It is an interesting list although we would hesitate to accept some of his classifications.

The study is an interesting combination of economic, social and political interpretation with flashes of idealism, resentment and protest that grip the reader because of their poetic quality. Into more than 700 pages are packed a wealth of material the interpretation of which is based upon the view of an essential race equality and an attempt at a Marxian analysis of the economies underlying the complex social forces of these two decades. The author believes that an opportunity was lost for proletarian rule in the South because of Negro prejudice by northern and southern white workers, and the failure of one section of northern democracy to comprehend the full implications of democracy.

Here and there Dr. DuBois ventures beyond American frontiers in fine passages that pose the problem of world-wide exploitation of race and color and the emancipation of the laboring masses. "Out of the exploitation of the dark proletariat," he writes, "comes the Surplus Value filched from human brains which, in cultured lands, the Machine and harness Power veil and conceal. The emancipation of man is the emancipation of labor, and the emancipation of labor is the freeing of that basic majority of workers who are yellow, brown and black."

Race and Class

His presentation of the case for race equality and opportunities is sound, although it could have been made more effective. Even the white workers of this country were held to be "unfit" to vote and to hold office for several decades after the adoption of the Constitution and in the South the whole cult of "inferiority" was applied to blacks and whites of the working class in the last two decades before the Civil War. The assumption of an inherent race and color inequality rests, primarily, upon the interests of a ruling class which applies the cult of inferiority to workers in general, regardless of race and color, when its interests require this application.

DuBois assembles a mass of facts to show that without the help of the Negro it is doubtful whether the old southern regime would have been defeated in the Civil War. About a half-million Negroes, slaves and freedmen, aided the North, some by serving as soldiers, others in digging trenches and in the performance of other military services. It is by assembling information scattered in various reports and

DuBois' "Black Reconstruction" Tells a Tragic Story of Exploitation, and a Heartening Story of the Negro's Contribution To the Making of America

documents and interpreting it as a whole that the author makes out this case for the Negro.

Another effective service he performs is in revealing that the corruption, graft and chicanery in southern states where the Negro was a power in the reconstruction period were not solely due to the Negro. Many northern state and city governments dominated exclusively by

of human beings."

All of which is true, but it is doubtful whether the proletarian rule in the South which the author would like to have seen realized in the reconstruction period would have produced the results he desires. The mass of black and white workers were illiterate and they would have ruled in a region of rural economies, an economic set-

tings in his outlook. His Boston address in 1854 on the rise of the bourgeois class out of the feudal system, his admiration for Abbott Lawrence, big Massachusetts manufacturer of whom Emerson said that "cotton thread" held Lawrence and Calhoun in the Union and of Lawrence's Unitarianism that it was the best "diagonal line that can be drawn between Jesus Christ



A Slave Auction in Richmond, Va., in 1853.

white politicians were even more corrupt, Tweed and his gang in New York being the most notorious. But even in the South there were several states in which the Negro had little influence in this period and the same accumulation of large debts and corruption occurred. Corruption and graft were more or less general in this period in the North and South. In the North the bourgeois class had severed its partnership with the planter class in ruling the nation and this bourgeois class was also in the South sweeping aside the old canons of honor and decency in politics and replacing them with its own swine practices. The fine expectations of the abolition democracy turned to a drab ash heap. Of the prospects on the eve of the Civil War struggle, DuBois becomes poetic:

Battle of the West

"What an idea and what an area for its realization—endless land of richest fertility, natural resources such as Earth seldom exhibited before, a population infinite in variety, of universal gift, burned in the fires of poverty and caste, yearning toward the Unknown God; and self-reliant pioneers, unafraid of man or devil. It was the Supreme Adventure, in the last Great Battle of the West, for that human freedom which would release the human spirit from lower lust for mere meat, and set it free to dream and sing.

"And then some unjust God leaped, laughing, over the ramparts of heaven and dropped a black man in the midst. "It transformed the world. It turned democracy back to Roman Imperialism and Fascism; it restored caste and oligarchy; it replaced freedom with slavery and withdrew the name of humanity from the vast majority

ing inadequate for the emancipation of the working class. The planters on the whole discouraged the development of modern industrial enterprise, well knowing that in they would have been swept aside and have been replaced by the bourgeois class identified with this form of production.

Sumner and Stevens

DuBois regards Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner as the uncompromising advocates of his democratic ideals. It is true that both men sought utterly to destroy every vestige of the planter regime and went the whole length of full Negro suffrage but these two aims were fully consistent with the aims of northern capitalism. Stevens had advanced through the corridors of the Anti-Masonic and Whig parties into the Republican Party, was interested in the tariff, and his iron plant in Pennsylvania was destroyed by the rebel army. Sumner, with all of his savage hate of slavery, was fundamentally bour-

geois in his outlook. His Boston address in 1854 on the rise of the bourgeois class out of the feudal system, his admiration for Abbott Lawrence, big Massachusetts manufacturer of whom Emerson said that "cotton thread" held Lawrence and Calhoun in the Union and of Lawrence's Unitarianism that it was the best "diagonal line that can be drawn between Jesus Christ

and Abbott Lawrence," all indicated fundamental bourgeois ideas. "Say what you will," said Sumner in his Boston speech, "this is the day of the merchant. As in the early ages, war was the great concern of society, and the very pivot of power, so is trade now."

There is nothing in all this about proletarian aims, while it is notorious that in the old South the merchant was a suspect and capitalists of all types were regarded as such. Politicians of this type, representing the bourgeois class, played an important and necessary role in destroying planter property, but to assume that if all other statesmen and politicians had accepted their complete program proletarian rule would have been realized does not necessarily follow. Had such rule emerged from their program it would more likely have produced the reaction that mechanized farmer assertion of power in the American Revolution brought upon the thinking and action of radicals like Samuel Adams.

Republican Reaction

Moreover, the Radical Republicans went so far in their savage reconstruction policy that its results recall the effects of the stupid Versailles Treaty upon the German masses. If that treaty helped to drive the German people into the arms of Nazi reaction, so the Radical Republicans contributed to the rise of the White Camels, the Ku Klux Klan and other such organizations, which committed barbaric acts of repression that may be paired with the brutalities of Hitler's gangsters. In both cases, the program of "liberation" sacrificed the interests of the working class as a whole.

Nevertheless, DuBois makes out a good case for Negro achievements during the short period when they shared power with the whites in the southern states. Our dissent with his thesis is his interpretation of the roles of Stevens, Sumner and their kind and his assumption that proletarian rule would have been permitted for any length of time in the South or that such rule promised release of the workers of both colors from exploitation.

This study as a whole provides a corrective for other books on this phase of American economic and political history. The overwhelming trend of thought after the end of the war was that the southerners were a bad lot while the northerners were frost-bitten angels. A reaction against this point of view began some two decades ago and it has gone so far in recent years that some authors have portrayed the northern politicians as infamous and the southern politicians as wayward victims of their northern opponents. In both instances the real role played by the Negro has been forgotten or ignored, and Dr. DuBois has provided an excellent corrective. However, his article in the June number of "Current History" is disappointing. Here he comes dangerously close to developing a Negro chauvinism by advising a self-contained Negro nation within the nation. However much color prejudice still remains among white workers, there has been considerable improvement within the past ten years and the future lies not in a policy of self-segregation but more education to break down the current prejudice and the continued assertion of the claims of the Negro people to full economic, social, cultural and political democracy together with the masses in general regardless of race, color or nationality.

PROPERTY By Kirby Page

Capitalism is the Source of Class Struggles, Of International War, and Wreckage of Human Aspirations.



It would be difficult to devise a system of economic production and distribution that would divide mankind into hostile camps more sharply than does the prevailing profit system. The glories of competition have been sounded so eloquently for such a long time that the real significance of the competitive struggle has been obscured. Under pioneer conditions it was possible to move when the conflict became too severe.

Sometimes the situation was relieved by the losers moving fifty miles west, and sometimes the stronger and more daring sought new fields of conquest. When communities were small and life was simple the effects of economic competition were less disastrous, especially because of face to face relations. But that type of society has vanished from the United States and will never return. The units of production are becoming vaster and yet vaster. Simplicity and independence have been replaced by complexity and interdependence. Absentee ownership of vast industrial establishments is now the rule, and impersonality is characteristic.

In a complex urbanized, industrialized society economic competition assumes the form of economic actment of a special law constituting the Department of Public Purchases for the sole purchasing authority for the city. Following absorption of the Welfare Department purchasing the offices were moved to larger quarters in the Franklin Building, the staff augmented, and the system set up for complete centralization. Adequate room is available in the new quarters for the storage of office supplies, cleaning materials and other articles used by all departments, which are purchased in large quantities and distributed to departments as needed on scheduled deliveries three times a week. All divisions are thus supplied with products of uniform quality for specific purposes at minimum cost.

Additional playgrounds for children have been established and more property will be acquired for this purpose. The Public Works Department has made rapid progress in improving streets and providing employment for workers while the Health Department has given the city a leading position among American cities.

warfare. The intensity of the struggle is determined by the life-and-death character of the stakes involved. Business men are pitted against each other, workers must tear at each other's economic throats, organized employers are arrayed against organized workers, and organized citizens fight in the trenches against organized citizens of other lands. Conflict, class war and international war are the red harvest of a competitive profit system. The very idea that competition leads to the survival of the fit is derived from observation of life in the jungle.

The Class Struggle

That the class struggle becomes more intense as industrialization advances is readily demonstrable. The power of concentrated money in the hands of vast corporations can be resisted only by the collective power of organized labor. Thus the units of conflict become more titanic. In a complex society of delicately adjusted economic relationships, the wreckage of continuous class warfare becomes utterly calamitous. The proposal to minimize this peril by enacting legislation depriving labor of the right to strike, if adopted, would fasten the chains of tyranny tighter around the necks of workers and would certainly be followed by violent revolution.

That modern war among nations is primarily economic in origin is beyond dispute. The doctrines of nationalism transform economic quarrels among merchants, industrialists and financiers of various countries into controversies among their respective governments. These governments in turn are dominated by powerful economic groups which are continuously fanning the flames of nationalism through control of the press, the movies, the radio and other channels of reaching the public mind. So long as the profit system prevails vested interests will seek to enlist governmental armed support for their competitive struggles in other lands. And just this long will international war remain an imminent menace.

Thus it is apparent that the prevailing system of private ownership of production and distribution and their operation for private gain through the competitive struggle stands indicted on the following counts: it frustrates efficiency in the utilization of the national equipment first, by depriving the

masses of adequate purchasing power; and second, by the anarchy of competition it prevents coordination in the entire process of production and distribution; it exacts a terrific toll from the personalities of the winners; it plunges multitudes of losers into the abyss of destitution, despair and enmity; and on a vast scale it produces economic conflict, class war and international war. Persons who sanction and support this system of economic individualism are as blind as were the men of other days who defended slavery, serfdom and the divine right of kings.

CHAPTER III.

Values of Socializing the Primary Means of Production and Distribution

That some form of collectivism must replace unbridled individualism in a complex industrialized society is certain. The choice before us is therefore limited to alternate forms of collectivism. My own answer to this problem may be summarized briefly in this fashion: Private ownership in the following basic industries should without delay be replaced by socialized ownership and operation: banking and credit, the sources of electric energy, minerals and other natural resources, primary means of commercialized transportation, chief means of commercialized communication, and the steel industry. All essential industries remaining in private hands should be subjected to the degree of public regulation required in the public interest.

In my opinion it would be both impossible and undesirable to socialize all property immediately. Even if adequate public support were available, the sheer magnitude of the problem would make undesirable the complete abolition of private property at one time. The resultant chaos and increasing misery would quickly swing toward extreme reaction. Moreover, socialization of the basic industries listed above would be sufficient to secure efficiency through correlation and equalization of purchasing power.

Few intelligent students of economic problems would doubt the superior advantages of socialized ownership of the basic industries if they were confident that adequate incentives and motivations would be forthcoming under this system.

The Workers Abroad

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

By John Powers

Labor, the Prince of Wales and British Foreign Policy

THE Prince of Wales is known as a good fellow who means well but does not always know how to express himself. His recent address in which he suggested that a group of British war veterans visit Germany as a gesture of friendliness toward German war veterans was undoubtedly well meant, but gave rise to international repercussions not altogether conducive to the pacifist purpose the Prince had in mind.

Without developing an unnecessary hysteria over the incident, British Labor took the Prince to task, reminding him that the monarchy in Britain existed by the sufferance of the people. The incident itself would probably not have received the prominence accorded it if the Hitler government had not hastened (as was to have been expected) to interpret it as a gesture of British sympathy for the "Third Reich," and if it had not come as a link in a chain of events bearing on Tory foreign policy, a policy which has aroused the ire of Labor.

Writing in the Glasgow Forward, Herbert Morrison, leader of the London County Council and a possible future Labor prime minister, rejects the idea that the Prince of Wales entertains any pro-fascist sympathies, but adds, by way of polite warning:

"I am sure he knows if the monarchy were to set itself above the popular will and constitutional democracy, Labor would destroy it." Comrade Morrison believes that the Prince's address was "no doubt made in good faith." "Nevertheless," he adds, "it had better not have been made."

"The speech was inevitably exploited by the Nazis as a royal gesture of particular goodwill towards the 'New' Germany. And the British people, whilst feeling no enmity towards Germany as such, has nothing but contempt for the murdering, torturing, thieving tyranny of the Nazi regime."

"Any British ex-service man who visits Germany and forgets the concentration camps and the brown houses will have to be very ignorant."

"Probably the Prince had no intention of presenting Hitler with a first-class political stunt. Possibly he let his heart run away with his head. But neither princes nor responsible politicians should permit this to happen."

As regards recent developments in Tory foreign policy and the attitude of Labor, Comrade Morrison says: "Certain European countries raised their eyebrows when the Prince picked out Germany for friendly reference. And now this blundering Government of ours has hardly helped the situation by—

"1. Refusing to follow up Hitler's speech by dramatically getting the countries together for the purpose of converting his peace declaration into practical business or, if he was obdurate, letting him face the consequences; but instead

"2. Negotiating (notwithstanding the Geneva resolution!) separately with Germany an agreement on naval armaments only. "It is doubtful how far it is even a good naval agreement from the British viewpoint. But clearly the aerial menace is far more real than a naval one. And the general situation remains unchanged except that—

"1. This Government has surrendered the Treaty of Versailles as a bargaining factor—one of the few uses to which the beastly thing could now be put;

"2. It has abandoned the idea of general disarmament and substituted that of separate national agreements on particular arms of the services;

"3. It has made Russia and France feel that they have been sold by a hypocritical Britain that is concerned only with itself and does not care about the rest of the world. (This will come back on us, I fear);

"4. It has made it difficult for us to resume the position we enjoyed under the Labor Government—that of moral leader of the world."

"If this Government sees a chance to do the wrong thing in the conduct of foreign affairs, it nearly always takes it."

"What a bunch!"

All of which shows where British Labor stands, although it is not likely to stop Ludwig Lore, Trotskyist commentator of the New York Post on foreign affairs, and other professional traducers of International Socialism from continuing their practice of misrepresenting the position of British Labor and of Socialist parties elsewhere.

According to Mr. Lore British Labor has made peace with Hitler for purely political reasons. Mr. Lore is a true exponent of Leninism, which rests upon the principle proclaimed by Lenin that to lie about and to misrepresent political opponents is a legitimate weapon of revolutionary struggle. We congratulate Mr. Lore upon faithful adherence to his creed, of which he has given evidence on numerous occasions.

This question constitutes a high hurdle in the pathway of socialization and must be removed if sufficient public support to make possible a drastic change in the property system is to be secured. In a subsequent section I shall endeavor to grapple realistically with this problem. I have no doubt whatever that a satisfactory solution is at hand. Assuming that men and women could be induced to work efficiently and faithfully, what are the outstanding values of socializing the chief means of production and distribution?

Greater Equalization of Purchasing Power

Through social ownership of several basic industries and drastic public regulation of all others it would be possible to diminish both under-privilege and super-privilege. The length to which it would ultimately be wise to go in equalizing income can be determined only by experience, but it is certain that resolute efforts should be made to lift from the bottom and to press down from the top until the margin of difference is not great. Many students of the problem are convinced that so long as the minimum wage is not higher than \$2,000 the maximum income should not exceed \$20,000—and perhaps should be limited to \$10,000 or possibly even \$5,000. By reducing sharply the excessive flow of income into the coffers of owners and investors and by drastically increasing the proportion going to workers, the effective demand for commodities and services would provide additional employment, which in turn would still further increase effective demand.

(To be continued)

California

Los Angeles.—Following the speech by George R. Kirkpatrick on "Is Plenty Too Much," the second of a series of five lectures on the "Road to Abundance" will be held by the Socialist Party at the Jewish Socialist Verband, 126 N. St. Louis St., Monday, July 15, when Gardner Wells will speak on "As the World Turns," a discussion of the forces that change social and economic orders. The lecture will be followed by a debate and discussion.

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Mayor McLevy in Report Of Progress in Bridgeport

(Continued from Page One)

den of approximately a five mill-tax which, in my judgment, the people were in no position to pay during the present year."

Because of the weight of bonded debts inherited by the present administration it is difficult to offer a plan for debt reduction because of "the uncertainty of welfare relief from either state or Federal sources." The relief load shows no decline this year although payrolls show an increase.

Since assuming office the administration has been planning a more centralized and efficient system of government. Of this program Mayor McLevy says in his report:

"With centralization of municipal purchases as the goal, initial steps were taken by the administration during the fiscal year 1934-35 to consolidate all department pur-

"Mix and apply strange new plastic waste materials for floors, roofs, ornate, mantels, imitation brick, stone, or beautiful marble. CHEMIST, 610 S.W. 21st, OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA."

chases under the jurisdiction of the Department of Public Purchases. The close of the year found this Department ready to absorb the purchasing functions of all divisions of municipal government. The first move toward the accomplishment of this policy occurred in January, when the Board of Public Welfare delegated its purchasing authority to this department, including the buying of food and clothing for relief distribution. The transfer became effective on January 15. Savings of a substantial sum have since resulted.

A Leading Health City

"Negotiations were entered into thereafter with the three other departments having purchasing power under the charter, viz., the Board of Education, Board of Park Commissioners and Board of Library Directors. Their agreement to relinquish this power voluntarily was obtained. At the same time the administration succeeded in obtaining from the General Assembly the en-

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Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

Is It "Trumped Up"?

IN a recent number of the local organ of a dual party in New York City, Norman Thomas referred to the "trumped up" charge of Communism in the Socialist Party. In the same column he took occasion to criticize a Communist group of 14 in the local Yipsels while the exhibitionist, Sam DeWitt, dealt with it lightly in the same issue. It was the second eruption of Communism in the Yipsels since April. In that month 11 left the Yipsels to join the Trotskyists. Two of them tried to join the party. In the City Executive Committee two "militant" members voted against the exclusion of these two and the rest of us voted for their exclusion.

A few weeks ago a group of 14 signed a Communist document with all the frills of workers councils and armed insurrection "outside of parliament." It was this group to which Thomas referred to. The executive committee of the Yipsels slapped these crackpots on the wrist, accepted the resignation of two from the committee, continued them in office until their successors are elected, and then assured them of the "democratic right of every member to express his views." That is, the 14 can remain members of the Yipsels even though they are Communists! It is such crackpots that the "militants" want to feed into the party organization and it is these pseudo-revolutionists who are blessed by the Stalinite, Lovestone, and Trotsky organs. These same organs carry on a fire against the real Socialists in the party. We commend this united front to the party members for their consideration.

When any party member declares that the charge of Communism in the party is a "trumped up" charge, he is either ignorant of facts or he welcomes Communists into the party as his allies. It would require a pamphlet to present all the evidence, so we will have to confine this to some of the outstanding facts.

Since the Detroit convention the Bolshevik organs of all stripes have taken a sympathetic interest in the "militants." The Workers' Age, July 15, 1934, declared its intention to "lead the Socialist Party membership more and more to the left—that is, to Communism." Speaking to his robots last January, Browder, Commissar of the Communist Party, spoke of winning "the whole rank and file" of the "revolutionary" groups in the S.P. to the C.P., the "united front" being an important means to this end. In May, 1935, he spoke of helping to "build a strong left wing in the Socialist Party" and paid a compliment to Powers Hapgood of our N.E.C. for his services in the "united front."

The Revolutionary Policy Publishing Association, a little more nutty than the other Bolshevik groups, has members who are allies of the "militants" although not fully satisfied with them. The latest number of its Review declares its belief that a majority of the party "is not shocked to be told that there must be armed overthrow of the capitalist state machinery by the working class." Moreover, Franz Daniel, member of the N.E.C., is a member of the R.P.P.A. board of directors. William Chamberlain, Buffalo insurrectionist, is also a member. Others are Margaret I. Lamont, Irving Brown, George Streator and Francis A. Henson. Is all this "trumped up" evidence?

Workers' Age (Lovestone) of May 11 also carries greetings from four Buffalo insurrectionists. Daniel and Hapgood want to force the expelled members back into the local. The greeters are Jean Guthrie, E. Christensen, Y.W.C.A. secretary, P. N. Elias of the Buffalo Y.W.C.A., and Lucy Frucella of the Y.W. Assembly, three sympathizers. Here Christian philanthropy and insurrection form a united front. Whether the Stalinites or Lovestonites eventually get it in the lap of the gods. The combination of Y.W.C.A. and R.P.P.A. is not accidental. It is characteristic of the mushy pseudo-radicalism that passes as "Socialism."

Plenty of Evidence

Incidental to Buffalo, it should not be forgotten that Hahn and Chamberlain, leaders of the insurrectionists, declare that they are Communists with a small "c." If Buffalo is a "trumped up" case, then no evidence will be convincing to Thomas. The Allen report on the R.P.P.A. followed the course of the Yipsel Executive Committee in New York City. In substance, the report approves membership of those supporting the R.P.P.A. providing they do not publicly advocate armed insurrection. That is, Communists are acceptable as members of the Socialist Party.

Since the Detroit convention the N.E.C. adopted a statement inviting "unattached radicals" to join the Socialist Party. Gitlow and his splinter Communist group accepted the invitation and announced through the daily press that they would apply for membership in the party. At the same time the Gitlowites were coming in to teach us. What? "Revolutionary Socialism." Gitlow had spent years trying to destroy the Socialist Party from the outside; now he and his allies were invited as "unattached radicals" to come inside to "settle" their differences within the party! Naturally, he and his group become allies of the "militants." Is this "trumped up" evidence?

Albert Goldman and several others join the party in Chicago as a result of the invitation and he publishes a pamphlet that is circulated by the party. They had been active for years in the Communist movement. Did they renounce their views? Not at all. "Does joining the Socialist Party mean that we have renounced our principles?" they ask. "Decidedly not," they reply. They go on to also say that they still accept the Marxism of Lenin and Trotsky. Goldman adds that "it speaks volumes for the Socialist Party of Illinois when knowing that I was taken in as a member." We think so, too. It also speaks volumes when he states, "I EVEN EXPECT TO SEE SPLITS." Quite candid for a Lenin-Trotsky member of the Socialist Party, is it not? And is Goldman and his frankness merely a "trumped up" illusion?

When I made a motion in the N.E.C. to refer this pamphlet to the Illinois State Committee, a majority of the N.E.C. defeated the motion. In voting against my motion, Franz Daniel said: "The Illinois organization is perfectly able to protect itself without any advice from the N.E.C." But Daniel does not think that New York is able to take care of itself without the advice of the N.E.C. He voted consistently for an intervention policy in New York State because the Socialism of the majority is not of the Lenin-Trotsky type accepted in Chicago or of the insurrectionists with whom Daniel is affiliated.

Take the organ of the Thomas dual party machine, June 1, and Daniel is listed as a member of its board. So are Gitlow, Hapgood and Krueger. The latter two as members of the N.E.C. can never think of referring a Communist pamphlet to the Illinois State Committee, but they can reach across states into the heart of New York in the effort to make New York an image of a state that accepts Lenin-Trotsky Communism.

Not that we think that all of these elements are revolutionary or even too revolutionary. They are not revolutionary at all. They consist of a motley collection of the Communist splinter groups, Y.W.C.A. secretaries, contributions from impossible-to-classify groups, theological students feeling the Call of God, ghosts living in a fog zone between Socialism and Communism, intellectuals obsessed with a "leadership" complex, depression babies lacking basic knowledge of Socialist philosophy and the history of the labor and Socialist movement, deflated professionals looking forward to a "career" in the movement, and advocates of "armed insurrection" who haven't a pop-gun in their possession and if they faced one would scold under the bed.

A Question and Answer

J. V. D., Palm Beach, Fla. Glad to have your criticism of what we said of Bolshevism in this column. We will take it up in detail later. Here a few words. You think that the change to Socialism can only be brought about by force. Very well. Then openly advocate it, urge the masses to get arms, and see whether you will reap results other than those reaped by others who have advocated this folly.

You ask if we should have the Bolsheviks abandon their plans "because Marx was wrong in his survey of the situation." Not because Marx was wrong but because he was right. The capital structure which Marxists declared necessary as a basis for Socialism did not exist in Russia. Instead, there was an economic vacuum. There was no modern system of capitalist production to socialize. Because of this the Bolsheviks got into a terrible mess.

The Pennsylvania Front

5-COUNTY CONFERENCE HOLDS FINE MEETING

Special to The New Leader.

MENLO PARK, PERKASIE.—

The quarterly meeting of the Five-County Socialist Party Conference, composed of Lehigh, Northampton, Bucks, Chester and Montgomery Counties, was held here Sunday, July 7th. The morning and early afternoon were devoted to branch reports, conference officers and to the planning of future activities. Later in the afternoon a public meeting was held with State Secretary Sarah Limbach as guest speaker.

The conference, though in existence but a short time, has already amply demonstrated its usefulness as an organization medium and also as a means of developing cooperation and comradeship.

Conference organizer Stump's encouraging report was supplemented by reports on behalf of the affiliated branches. Four out of the five counties have already nominated local tickets and are rapidly completing their plans for the forthcoming campaign. During the last three months several branches have been organized, and a number are in process of organization. It was decided to continue the Newspaper Fund, which provides a number of free trial subscriptions to the Pennsylvania party paper, The New Leader.

The next quarterly meeting will be held in Montgomery County. Charles Young of Allentown, member of the State Executive Committee and chairman of the Five-County Conference, presided.

HERE AND THERE IN PENNSYLVANIA

Hopewell to Tour Pennsylvania.

PITTSBURGH.—Darlington Hopewell, Socialist member in the Pennsylvania Legislature, will make a one week speaking tour of western Pennsylvania during first week of August. The following is his tentative schedule: August 3rd, DuBois; 4th, Erie; 5th, New Castle; 6th, Jeannette; 7th, Pittsburgh; 8th, Clearfield; 9th, Altoona; 10th (afternoon), Center County; (evening) Williamsport.

Tomlinson at South Langhorne. SOUTH LANGHORNE.—The Socialists of South Langhorne will hold two meetings with Stewart Tomlinson of Reading, Socialist candidate for City Council. The meetings will be preceded by literature distribution.

Socialist Lyceum

The annual picnic of the International Socialist Lyceum, 805 James St. N. S., will be held Sunday, July 13th, at Knapp's Picnic Ground, Summer Hill, with plays,

Financial Disaster Looms For Hitler's Germany

(Continued from Page One)

This yielded about \$400,000. Industry has been forced to agree to a "voluntary" levy of more than \$55,000,000 to help subsidize exports, so that foreign exchange may be obtained for the purchase of raw materials.

Warnings that the position is reaching a danger point have been given, not only privately by Dr. Schacht, but publicly by his close associate, Dr. Dreyse, vice-president of the Reichsbank. But, so far, these warnings have not been taken.

It is, indeed, difficult to see how a recovery from the present situation can be made, so deeply in debt have the Nazis plunged the Reich.

Nazi Blackmail

Meanwhile, local Nazi organizations are operating an extensive system of blackmail of industrial leaders in their areas.

These industrialists are informed that they have been appointed to high honorary positions in the local Nazi organization, and that, in such circumstances, it is known they will be only too glad to make a substantial contribution to Nazi funds.

In most cases, the "benefactors" are told the amounts expected of them. And, if they refuse to pay, they know they will be accused of being anti-Nazi, and will have serious difficulties in keeping their works going.

So, with forced loans, levies, and Nazi contributions, many industries are coming to the end of their resources and it is difficult to see where the Nazi Government is going to find fresh sources of finance for its armaments schemes.

When it finds it cannot obtain more money, even by forced loans, then inflation seems inevitable.

Lipschitz Predicts Hitler Collapse

SPEAKING on The New Leader period over Station WEVD Tuesday night Dr. S. Lipschitz, representing the Trans-Atlantic Information Service and the Labor Chest Against Fascism, declared that the Hitler economic and financial policies are bringing Nazi Germany to disaster. "It is the duty of other nations not to support Nazi Germany by loans or credits,"

Mazer is Named For Mayor of Philadelphia

Special to The New Leader.

PHILADELPHIA.—Dr. Charles Mazer was nominated for Mayor at a well-attended general membership meeting at the Labor Educational Center. Dr. Kutikoc and H. Berger were named for City Commissioners; John Green, Receiver of Taxes; David Schick, Recorder of Deeds; Philip Van Gelder, Sheriff; M. Herbert Syme, District Attorney; Clerk of Quarter Sessions Court, Sonia Teitelman; Municipal Court Judge, Samuel Glassman. The magistrates nominated were Julius Huss, Samuel Colton, David Braginsky, Alice Hanson, David H. H. Felix, Kazimir Miller. Nominations were also made for 17 constables and election officers in the ward and divisions of the City of Philadelphia, also 22 candidates for City Council.

Thousands of signatures are required to have the Socialist nominees appear on the ballot, and committees from the various branches were elected to help with this work. All comrades who can assist are requested to get in touch with the Local Secretary at once.

Various methods of campaigning were discussed and the County Central Committee instructed to set up a campaign committee and speakers' bureau. It is planned to get a store front campaign headquarters in the center part of the city. The platform which is now being prepared will consider Housing and Slum Clearing on which Miss Catherine Bauer, Housing Authority, has promised to cooperate, Public Utilities, Public Works and Relief, Police Courts in Strike Situations, Education, Taxation, and a Consumers' Advisory Bureau.

The Women's Committee under the chairmanship of Rose Krouse has just completed a successful rummage sale, and is planning to hold a picnic Sunday, August 4, in Fairmount Park, near Sweetbriar Mansion. Food donations are needed.

The North Philadelphia Branch will hold a picnic Sunday, August 14, at the Farm of Comrade Freund in Collegeville. Transportation is being arranged for. Bring your lunch; some refreshments will be on sale.

singing, athletics and dancing. This affair is a gathering of young and old comrades and should be patronized by New Leader readers and friends as much as possible. Take Car-10, get off at Mt. Pleasant Rd. (3400 Block), then up the hill.

Financial Disaster Looms For Hitler's Germany

said Lipschitz. "It is precisely these financial and trade difficulties of Germany that offer a chance of quenching the fires of a European war at the point where it is most likely to break out."

The speaker declared that the Nazi policy of pouring billions of marks into industries, the tremendous accumulation of debts, the steadily mounting budget deficit, and fearful reduction of wages must bring a catastrophe. The boasted program of public works has only a military value. "The Germany of today squarely faces the question of what will happen once there are no more millions and billions to be squandered in this reckless manner."

"Retrenchment in its labor creation program means increased unemployment, notwithstanding the introduction of military conscription. The latter measure accounts for the removal of nearly one million young men annually from the labor market, and will therefore take care of only a part of the problem. To forego the Nazi program of labor creation and to retrench means simply giving up everything glowingly described as 'National Socialism in action.' The temper of the masses, deeply suspicious of the Nazi tendencies and their methods, will not be improved by it."

"However, Nazism seems willing to disregard these considerations, if the financial and industrial masters in the background will it so. Dr. Schacht, the guide spirit of German finances, and his industrial colleagues are unanimous in their belief that things cannot go on as at present if German economic is not to be precipitated into the disaster which already stares in their face. Only recently the vice-president of the Reichsbank, Herr Dreyse, stated publicly that the 'Reichsbank and the government both know that armaments do not help if their production does not give the producers any more strength to safeguard the weapons created at the price of financial breakdown.'"

"Dreyse's words mean by implication that either German rearmament will have to bear the responsibility for an economic and financial catastrophe, or that Hitler's economic policy up to now has been of no constructive character. Possibly they mean both."

PITTSBURGH IS HOST TO Y.P.S.L. CONVENTION

Special to The New Leader.

PITTSBURGH.—The Socialist movement of Allegheny County is prepared to welcome with all its resources the Young People's Socialist League to be held here July 19th, 20th and 21st.

All Socialist Party members, Y.P.S.L.s and sympathizers are urged to participate in the elaborate program arranged by the Convention Arrangements Committee. The following is the program for the three-day meet:

Friday, July 19th—10 a.m., organization conference; 8 p.m., opening mass meeting of the convention; speakers: Clarence Senior, William Adams, Arthur Mestelman, Winston Dancis, Clay McDowell, Clay Mestelman, George Griffiths.

Saturday, July 20th—9 a.m., commencement of regular convention business sessions; 1 p.m., sessions; 8 p.m., convention social.

Sunday, July 21st—9 a.m., sessions; 3 p.m., sessions; 6:30 p.m., banquet.

All sessions as well as the rest of the program will be held at the International Socialist Lyceum, 805 James Street, North Side.

Members and sympathizers who can volunteer to help with committee work should get in touch with the Convention Arrangements Committee at 122 9th Street or by calling Court 7965.

PARTY NOTES

Connecticut

Hartford.—The North Haven and Hartford locals will hold a joint picnic all day Sunday, July 21. The picnic will be held at the Castleton farm on Skiff St., North Haven. The farm can be reached from Whitney Ave. Handed through Skiff St., or from State St., North Haven, through Skiff St. Watch for signs.

This picnic is being planned to raise the local's quota for the National Fund drive. There will be games, refreshments, prizes, Arnold E. Freese, State Secretary, and Colla D. Rostow, secretary of the Third District Committee, will speak. Admission 10 cents.

Illinois

Chicago.—The Cook County Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has called a general membership meeting of all party members in Cook County for Wednesday, July 31, at 8 p.m., at the Workers' Circle, 219 Sackman St., Chicago. The subject will be the present situation in the Socialist Party.

Street meetings are in progress weekly in five different sections of Chicago and plans are rapidly going forward for the county picnic at Pilsen Park Saturday, August 24.

A downtown trade union branch has been formed, which will hold meetings in the Millinery Workers Hall, over 6,000 copies of the "Open Letter to Long and Coughlin" by Norman Thomas have been distributed in Cook County.

Port Chester.—George V. Vella has been elected organizer for the Finnish Socialist Branch. He reports that the branch is favorable to the suggestion by the State Secretary as to a special assessment to insure a "Socialist hour" on the radio Sundays. Also that the branch was again beginning to take in new members.

Olean.—The local here has made an initial contribution to the State Office to a radio fund.

Buffalo.—The July 4th picnic of the Buffalo Socialists was a big success. In addition to Organizer Ernest D. Baumann and Robert A. Hoffman, National Chairman Leo Krzycki addressed a huge throng at Leisler's Point. In addition to the propaganda picnic raised a large sum for campaign work.

New York City. O. and P. Committee. Notices have gone out to all branch organizers and secretaries to attend the next O. and P. Committee meeting in Room 308, Monday evening, July 8, 8 p.m. A number of very important matters will be taken up. Among other things, a photograph will be presented to photograph the entire attendance as representing the Picnic Arrangements Committee.

Central Committee Meeting July 17. Notices have gone out to Central Committee delegates to attend the meeting on July 17.

PICNIC AND BAZAAR. The response to the Joint Picnic work is very gratifying. Up to date over 200 organizations are represented and a rich program is being arranged of artistic, athletic and other activities. Prominent points in the Chicago Opera Company will perform. Socialist leaders will address the bazaar. As a result of the gathering of 25,000 workers at Ulmer Park will be used as the opening gun in our municipal campaign.

Women's Activities. Sat., July 13—Street meeting, 5 p.m., Brownsville, Saratoga and Pitkin Aves.; "High Cost of Living" speakers, Esther Friedman, Molly Weinart and others. Tues., July 15—Street meeting, 8:30 p.m., Kings Highway and East 18th St. Midwood; subject, "High Cost of Living," speakers, Jane Smol, Estelle Abramson, Julia Primoff, Jenny Goldmann.

Thurs., July 17—Street meeting, 8:30 p.m., Fordham and Walton Aves.; speakers, Kate Gerber, Arnold Lichtenberg, Esther Friedman, Mrs. Rosten.

MANHATTAN. Chelsea Branch.—August Classen will speak at 8th Ave. and 23rd St., Friday, July 12.

17th-18th-20th A.D.—Open air meeting, 100th St. and 2nd Ave.; Youngstein, Shagoloff and Kolklin.

BRONX. Amalgamated Branch.—Important meeting on Monday, July 15, 8 p.m., in Astor Hall. Final arrangements for joint picnic at Ulmer Park on July 27.

KINGS. Midwood Branch.—Branch must vacate headquarters at end of month. Special meeting has been called for Monday, July 15, to hear report of special committee on headquarters and future activity. We must have 100% attendance.

Parade and Demonstration Saturday, July 13, at 3:30 p.m., to protest against high cost of living. Parade will start at Pennsylvania and Sutter Aves., via Stone Ave., to Hopkinson and Pitkin Aves., where mass meeting will be held. Speakers: Esther Friedman, Molly Weinart, Jack Altman, Gilbert Ostrowsky, Labor and fraternal organizations will participate. Audiences: Women's Conference arranged High Cost of Living, Dist. Council, Socialist Party, Y.P.S.L.

McNAIR DIVERTS RELIEF FUNDS TO PAYROLLS

Special to The New Leader.

PITTSBURGH.—Pittsburgh's Single Tax Democratic Mayor McNair has indicated he would rather divert city relief funds into the payroll than spend them to supplement relief.

The Mayor made this announcement when a delegation of the Unemployed Citizens' League of Allegheny County called on him and requested that \$400,000 of the remaining \$1,200,000 in relief funds be used to provide the 44,000 Pittsburgh families on relief with 104,000,000 pounds of ice and medical care. These funds are a part of a \$3,000,000 bond issue voted by the people expressly for direct relief purposes.

In response to the plea of the unemployed, the Mayor in his usual irresponsible manner indicated the position he would take. Robert Lieberman, chairman of the Unemployed Citizens' League, threatened to take him to court for misappropriation of funds. "Go ahead," said the disciple of Henry George, "I just won't pay any attention to the court."

The unemployed are prepared to press their demands and are confident of success in spite of the Mayor. Close to two-thirds of the issue has already been spent for coal, gas, electricity, and maternity and medical care as a result of pressure exerted by the Unemployed Citizens' League.

Brownsville Council Meets July 17

The Conference for Civic Improvements in Brownsville and East New York, which was organized by a large number of labor, Socialist, progressive and fraternal groups on June 19, has issued an appeal to all bodies as yet unaffiliated to join.

The next full meeting of the conference will be held at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn, Wednesday evening, July 17. The executive board is meeting and preparing a wide program for slum clearance and playgrounds. This will be presented to the conference as a basis for the campaign which is to be launched immediately.

All Socialist Party branches, Workers' Circle and Young Circle League branches, Y.P.S.L. Circles, trade unions and the progressive groups are urged to elect their delegates now and forward the credentials to Samuel Kantor, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn.

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N.E.C. MEETS

(Continued from Page One)

The Camp Tament Institute two weeks ago revealed the possibilities of aggressive planning and management. The attendance at the conferences exceeded all the expectations of those who arranged the institute. The large number of workers who attended, the participation of responsible labor officials in the discussions, and the fraternization of men and women of the Labor and Socialist movement showed an approach to understanding and cooperation the most promising in American labor history.

It is also obvious that the Roosevelt program of unemployment relief has hardly touched the problem. This hell of unemployment is certain to continue right into the campaign struggle of next year.

A united, enthused, aggressive, fighting Socialist Party, mobilizing all its resources and plunging into the struggle will revivify the whole membership. Such intensive work will also tend to minimize internal differences in proportion as such work engages the party's attention.

Pioneer Youth Camp

Many parents are interested simply in a safe parking place during the summer for their children. The demands of intelligent parents upon camps have long ago passed the health and safety classification which continues, of course, to be important but may now be regarded as an assumption of a camp's existence. At Pioneer Youth the child's personality and social growth are the central concern.

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Executive Board meets every Tuesday night in the office of the Union, 7 East 15th St. President: Leon Hattab, Manager: I. A. Berkinsky, Secy-Treas.

CAP MAKERS' UNION, Local No. 1, Tel. ORchard 4-8860—Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Ave., New York City.

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CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, New York City Board, 31 West 15th St., New York, N. Y. Phone TOMPkins Square 8-5400. L. Hollender, J. Catalonotti, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union, Office and headquarters, 845 Willsborough Ave., Brooklyn; STag 2-7938. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice-President, Stephen Tolosco; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Minkel; Treasurer, Albert Heib.

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LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 19, L.L.G.W.U., Office, 60 West 25th St.; Phone, WIs. 7-3931. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union. Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmund Perlmuter, Mgr

NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

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

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SATURDAY, JULY 13th, 1935

CODE SUBSTITUTES

THE NRA having been reduced to a skeleton by the U. S. Supreme Court, code substitutes are now being offered. President Roosevelt would have the masters of our economic life voluntarily agree to "fair trade practices" and not to violate anti-trust laws. They should be good boys and not play with marked cards.

The big boys are asking for a more free hand, especially to do things now forbidden by the anti-trust laws. If they get this they may promise to maintain minimum wages and maximum hours, but enforcement would be left to them through voluntary codes submitted to the Federal Trade Commission.

The American Federation of Labor demands a more far-reaching and drastic control of industry through an interstate licensing act which would deny interstate transportation to any article or commodity "manufactured, processed or distributed by any business not licensed by the government." It would also deny a license to any company that employs child labor, that opposes collective bargaining or wages, hours and other conditions determined by collective bargaining.

The labor program has the merit of social control, while the others are mere ropes of sand.

OUR GREATEST LANDLORD

AN unexpected outcome of the depression is that Uncle Sam has become one of the biggest landlords in the United States. He now holds mortgages through the Home Owners' Loan Corporation on 874,254 dwellings, almost equalling the number of dwellings in New York City, Chicago, Pittsburgh, New Orleans and Los Angeles combined. The value of all this property is not less than \$3,800,000,000.

No one anticipated that when the banking structure of capitalism tumbled upon the industrial ruins in March, 1933, Uncle Sam would emerge out of the wreckage the biggest landlord in this country. The continuance of the crisis means a federal overlord accumulating dwellings throughout the country. Old Van Rennselaer, once feudal ruler of the Hudson Valley, must look down from the battlements of the blessed with envy on Uncle Sam.

MERGER OF AUSTRIAN FASCISMS

FROM Vienna, capital of Catholic fascism, comes the news that the fascist Heimwehr, mainly Protestant, will be merged with Chancellor Schuschnigg's Sturm-scharen, his armed Catholic fascists. The latter are also known to the Austrian workers as the "Cathedral Cosacks." The merger of Protestant and Catholic fascists into a holy band enforcing the exploitation of the workers of both faiths and of no faiths is like an X-ray revealing the substance back of the "religious" struggle.

The ancient grudges between Protestant and Catholic aristocrats are real but more important to both is the maintenance of their power to pillage the workers and peasants. No doubt one will also find free-thinker and Agnostic capitalists in Austria who favor the merger. While not a part of the merger, these exploiters will be glad to have the united "Christian" fascists protect their privileges in any emergency.

All of which provides a lesson to the masses in all countries. Just as the exploiters of all faiths and no faiths think first of their class interests, so the working masses should think and act. Jewish, Protestant and Catholic exploiters often sit together on corporation boards breaking unions and strikes while each out of the loot sweated from workers contributes his mite to the support of his religious faith. "Workers of the world unite," is still the highest ethic to be observed by the working class.

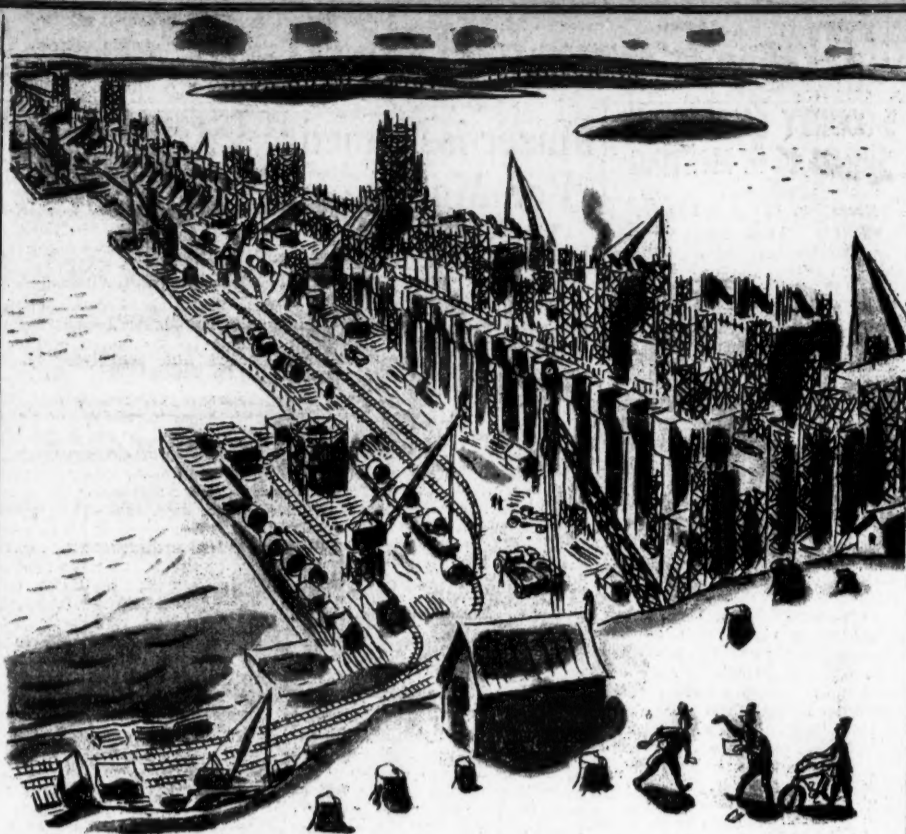
AN "INNOCENTS" ADVENTURE

LAST week the press carried stories of American "liberals" who were forced to leave Cuba. Their alleged purpose was to investigate the tyranny and suppression of civil rights in the island. Good. But who and what were behind this noble expedition?

It was organized by the American League Against War and Fascism, an auxiliary of the Communist Party. Earl Browder of that party, in a recent Pastoral Letter to the Faithful, said that the League "has been left by us in the hands of the middle class and church elements [but] we must say they are not doing a bad job despite our neglect." The League is an "innocents" club of the Communist Party.

Did the League "liberals" protest against the criminal attack by organized Communist hoodlums upon the Madison Square Garden meeting in February, 1934, organized by Socialists and trade unionists in solidarity with Vienna workers fighting the fascism of Dollfuss? On the contrary, the League had Communist members among the hoodlums armed with lead pipes, stink bombs and knives! Has the League ever said a word about political prisoners in Russian jails and concentration camps? About Communists breaking up other meetings?

The whole performance of the Communists in this Cuban affair, their masquerading as "liberals," their deception of their "innocents" and their unprincipled adventurism is disgusting. If their own gang were to control Cuba they would also rule the Cuban masses as ruthlessly as the present politicians do.



Courtesy of The New Yorker
"My God, now all this is unconstitutional!"

HISTORIC DECISIONS

By John M. Work

OUR liberal friends were amazed when the liberal justices of the United States Supreme Court concurred in the decision annulling the codes. They need not have been surprised. Liberals have a way of failing at crucial moments. Those two gifted men, Louis D. Brandeis and the late Oliver Wendell Holmes, are to be commended for some of their dissenting opinions, but it should not be forgotten that they failed to stick for freedom during the World War.

Holmes wrote the opinion of the court in the case in which the anti-free-speech, anti-free-press and anti-freedom-of-assembly part of the infamous Espionage Act was held valid. He also wrote the opinion of the court in the case which sent Eugene V. Debs to Atlanta prison. As there was no dissenting opinion in either case, Brandeis must have concurred in the decisions.

The case in which the constitutionality of the Espionage Act came before the Supreme Court was Schenck v. U. S. (heard and decided along with Baer v. U. S.), 249 U. S. 47, 63 Law. Ed. 470, 39 S. Ct. 247. The citations are given for the benefit of any who might want to read the opinions; and for the benefit of the mystified, it may be stated that Charles T. Schenck and Dr. Elizabeth Baer did not really sue the United States, as the titles of the cases might suggest, but were convicted in the lower court, in the cases of U. S. v. Schenck and U. S. v. Baer, and on appeal the titles were reversed, since the defendants then became the aggressors, so to speak.

Charles T. Schenck was secretary of the Socialist Party in Philadelphia. Dr. Elizabeth Baer was a member of the Executive Board of the local. They were accused of conspiracy to violate the Espionage Act, in distributing to conscripts a leaflet purported to be tending to discourage military service. They were tried and convicted in the district court of the United States for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, and appealed to the Supreme Court. Their attorneys argued that the Espionage Act was unconstitutional, in violation

of the first amendment of the constitution, which prohibits Congress from passing any law abridging freedom of speech, press or assembly.

It was clearly unconstitutional.

Of course I have argued, in season and out of season, that the Supreme Court does not have a legal right to pass upon the constitutionality of an act of Congress. If the court had admitted that fact, and based its decision on that ground, there could be no complaint. But it did not—and, since it assumes to nullify good laws, it should either nullify bad laws also or else admit that it has no power to nullify laws at all.

Holmes' opinion was brief. Naturally. There was little he could say. If the court had taken the right side of the question, and upheld freedom of speech, press and assembly during war time, it could have written a long and flamingly brilliant opinion. As it took the wrong side, the less said the better.

The gist of what it did say was, "When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and that no court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right." Which, if I can read English, is equivalent to saying, "We know the Espionage Act is unconstitutional, but what of it? We uphold it anyhow."

The Schenck and Baer cases were decided March 3, 1919. Exactly a week later, March 10, 1919, the case of Debs v. U. S., 249 U. S. 211, 63 Law. Ed. 570, 39 S. Ct. 252, was decided. Holmes also wrote that opinion. A few days after, they took "our" "Gene" to prison, which, to such a sensitive soul, was equivalent to being entombed in a medieval dungeon. His memory will outlive that of each and all of the justices whose erroneous decisions sent him there.

I have not "set down aught in malice." Gifted liberals should be given every ounce of credit that is due them. But, in making the inventory of their deeds, the liabilities should be counted as well as the assets.

Behind the Scenes in Washington



By Benjamin Meiman
Our Washington Correspondent

IN spite of the terrible blows he has received, President Roosevelt goes on hitting hard and fast. No sooner is one fight over than another begins. In fact many fights, on many fronts. And they aren't mere skirmishes, they are real battles!

There was the epic battle of the utility holding companies. Some thought the much-discussed "death sentence" aimed by the President at the holding companies proved to be a boomerang, a death sentence on the President's fighting spirit. But Roosevelt isn't that kind of a bird. Before the smoke clouds of the spectacular utility fireworks had faded away, the President launched another torpedo or sky-rocket, by directing Congress to pass the Guffey Coal Bill, even though its constitutionality is admittedly doubtful.

On Friday, when closeted with the sub-committee, Attorney-General Cummings was asked his opinion on the constitutionality of the bill, which would provide strict government regulation of the soft coal industry, conferring broad regulatory powers on a national coal commission to be set up within the Interior Department. It includes a 25 per cent compliance tax on the sale price of coal at the mine, with operators who agreed to abide by the bill's provisions entitled to a 99 per cent refund of the tax, and imposes a smaller

graduated tax to finance creation of a national coal reserve which the bill would create by retirement of marginal coal lands.

Asked his opinion, Attorney-General Cummings refused to offer a view, telling the members plainly that they should pass the measure and then leave it to the courts to decide its constitutionality. Backing up his suggestion, the President has written the committee saying that the measure should not be blocked by constitutional doubts, however reasonable. Let the court take that responsibility.

Labor leaders are elated over the President's definite stand in favor of the Guffey Bill and the signing of the Wagner Labor Bill, providing for collective bargaining under supervision of a Federal Board.

A Major Battle Started

THAT these two bills will start a major battle is a foregone conclusion. Already the business and industrial world was advised by the magazine Business Week not to obey the Wagner Labor Act. The act is "tyranny" and "is not yet law," since the Supreme Court has not passed on it, the publication asserted in an editorial captioned "No Obedience!"

The magazine's action was regarded as significant of a united front of organized business openly to resist the act. The office of Senator Wagner, author of the law, said it was informed that the National Association of Manufacturers had privately advised its

members not to comply with orders by the new Labor Relations Board soon to be appointed by the President.

"Nothing is law that is not constitutional," said the editorial, predicting "spontaneous resistance" by business and an eventual Supreme Court decision that the act is invalid. "It is manifestly the intention of Congress to unionize American business," it added.

Work Program Begins

THE nation's two major welfare projects—social security legislation and the work relief program—both remained in the status quo last week, one in conference between the two Houses to smooth out legislative differences and the other in the stage of administrative preparations where it has been stalled for three months.

But while officials admitted that only four major work relief projects have been begun, they declared that a vast amount of preliminary detail has been completed and predicted the start of the program on a large scale during the next few weeks. An initial step, to be taken this month, is the transfer of 1,000,000 workers and approximately half of the present FERA projects to the new set-up.

Among the preliminary steps completed last week were the definition by the President of the jurisdiction of Works Progress Administrator Harry L. Hopkins and Public Works Administrator Harold L. Ickes, announcement of

The Chicago Conference And Its Call for a New Party

By Algernon Lee

The tallest and slenderest word in the English language has been notable by its absence from this corner of the page for the last four months. It will usually be so in the future. This week, however, I write in the first person, so that there may be no question that I am speaking for myself alone, not for The New Leader nor any of those comrades with whom I am in general most closely associated.

BOTH within our party and in other so-called radical circles a good deal of interest has been aroused by the conference which met in Chicago last week and gave birth to the "American Commonwealth Political Federation" in the hope that by 1936 it will develop into an honest-to-goodness "third party." Some view it with disapproval or alarm, holding that it only complicates the situation and threatens to divide and weaken the Socialist party, while others think they see in it the beginning of a great movement for the emancipation of all who are suffering under capitalist exploitation and misrule. The possible danger will more likely be escaped and the possibility of good, if there be any such, will more likely be realized, if we avoid jumping to hasty conclusions. What we say at this time, on the one side or the other, we should say rather tentatively, keeping our minds open to fact or argument which may change our views.

Good Intentions Not Enough
I would be the last to question the sincerity of those who called the Chicago conference or participated in it. Sincerity is not enough, but it is very essential. Considered as a sign of the times, as a symptom of the ferment of opinion which is going on, the significance of this gathering cannot be denied. Farther than this I do not now find it possible to go. I really cannot see wherein this conference differs from, or is likely to prove more fruitful than, any one of a dozen or perhaps a score of such optimistic get-togethers that have been held within the span of my political memory.

I frankly admit that the repeated failure of similar efforts in the past does not conclusively prove that this one will be futile. It does, however, justify a cautious and critical approach. "If at first you don't succeed, try, try again" is not a bad maxim, but Davy Crockett's "Be sure you're right, then go ahead" is a better one. If one happens to be on the wrong path, no amount of cheerful going ahead will get him to his destination. It is worth while to ask whether this conference at Chicago is not one more instance of barking up the wrong tree.

Why the project of organizing a third party should have such a perennial appeal, I cannot quite understand. There is no great merit in running third—and anyhow, third place is already taken. What the third-party enthusiasts really have in mind is a new party—of the right kind, of course—which could make a better numerical showing than any but the two old parties has yet done. In that wish we all concur. What would be the right kind of new party is another question. And if we were agreed on that, the problem would be how to get it.

What kind of party the conferees at Chicago think desirable and practicable can be inferred only from their platform. In this, except for a few positively objectionable planks, I do not find any-

thing new. In the statement of the acceptable old things I find a great deal of looseness, which may be explained either by vague thinking or else by a notion that in order to win the masses we must avoid asking them to think things out.

What Do These Words Mean?
For example: "As a means of transition to economy of abundance, we favor unlimited production for use by and for the unemployed." Whether those unthinking masses will readily understand the terms here used may be a question. But it is surely not hypercritical to ask how people can be unemployed and at the same time be carrying on production for use, or for that matter any other kind of production. I think I can guess what the authors of the plank meant to say. And if, when they explain it, my guess proves to be right, I should have to say that the proposal is worthy of Rooseveltian or Sinclairian emergency-tinkers, but not of men who think they are aiming at a classless society.

Again: "We favor union wages for the unemployed." The sentence is self-contradictory. No one can get any kind of wages while he is unemployed.

Am I merely quibbling about words, emphasizing faults which a committee on style could easily correct? Not at all. The authors of the platform know how to write plain and correct English. That they have not done so may be due to their not being quite sure what they mean or to their thinking it inexpedient to say what they mean clearly and precisely, lest disagreements among them be brought to light.

A Bid for Votes, or What?
I might cite from this very short document other examples of such haziness of thought or speech, but these are enough. Space permits me only to mention these positively objectionable planks.

The conference declares for "immediate payment of the soldiers' bonus." If this is merely a bid for the votes of men who would not be attracted by the rest of the program, it is futile. Such men will ask themselves what chance there is of the proposed new party being able to deliver the goods in 1937, and they will not think the security at all adequate. Except as a bid for votes, the plank is indefensible. It just does not fit in with the rest of the program.

Two More Bad Features
Next: "We are opposed to the importation of farm products in competition with farm products produced in the United States." In other words, the conference accepts the protectionist policy by which our industrial capitalists have grown so fat, and proposes only to extend it also to the field of agriculture. Finance capital could ask nothing better. But what will then become of that famous "economy of abundance" mentioned in the first plank? And what will become of all our aspirations toward international peace and amity? Autarchy (to use the new word for an old idea) is a sure way to nationalism run mad.

Finally: "We favor a constitutional amendment providing that Congress shall have power to make all laws which in its judgment shall be necessary to provide for the general welfare of the people." Have the authors of this plank thought twice about what they are saying? No doubt their intentions are good—but we all know what road it is that is paved with good intentions. Heaven knows, the Constitution needs amendment, but not by way of eliminating every guaranty of civil and political rights it contains.

(To be continued.)

at all." Chuckling merrily, he went on to tell clustered reporters of the numerous differences between the present bill and the old one.

In the three matters most important to Gov. Eccles, the open market policy of the board; the reserve requirements and the rediscount rates, Senator Glass won legislative victories. The old bill had a committee of five Reserve Bank representatives conferring with the Reserve Board, in an advisory capacity only. The Glass draft makes the open market committee of seven board members, and five representatives of the banks, all of whom may participate in operations tending to ease or loosen the money market.

About this revamped banking bill Amos Pinchot said: "This bill in its amended form is, as a matter of fact, almost worse than the original measure and should be defeated at all costs. It divides control of money, banking and credit between the President and the Federal Reserve Board, placing the balance of power in the Board, which in effect means Wall Street."

John T. Flynn, noted economist, thinks and says almost the same about "the Glass banking bill," for, says he, "it is a Glass bill now and not an administration bill." He also says: "In the main it returns us to what may be called the old banking." So, President Roosevelt has another fight on his busy hands.