

## Teachers' Union Chiefs Announce Resignations; Denounce Left Wingers

Linville and Fellow Officers  
Issue Statement to Mem-  
bership Exposing In-  
trigues of Communists  
and Their Allies.

### Grievances Listed

Record of Misrepresenta-  
tion, Character Assassina-  
tion, Sabotage and Anti-  
Union Conduct of "Rank  
and Filers" and Love-  
stonites Exposed.

THE conflict within the Teachers' Union growing out of the activities of organized factional groups in the union has culminated in the announcement by Henry R. Linville, president; Abraham Lefkowitz, legislative representative; Max Rosenhaus, secretary-treasurer; Clara Naftowitz, recording secretary; three vice-presidents, and other members of the executive board, that they would resign their positions at a special meeting of the board Friday of this week.

In a statement announcing this intention the officers declare that "For more than ten years the leaders of the Teachers' Union who established the organization have endured misrepresentation, calculated character assassination, organized sabotage and the worst kind of anti-union conduct and 'leader baiting' by the left wing political factions, particularly the so-called 'Rank and File Group' and the 'Progressive Group.' The first mentioned group is known to follow the Communist Party 'line' and the second the Lovestone 'line.'"

### Six Grievances

The statement adds a brief review of "objectionable practices" at the last two national conventions of the teachers which have raised issues of democracy and clean unionism. These practices are enumerated under six heads:

1. Seating of delegates who were not teachers in the two conventions.
2. Election of some of them to the Executive Council in both years.
3. Seating of about twenty Arkansas locals that had paid no per capita, the locals dying soon after the 1934 convention.
4. Use of proxies in the two conventions by paid officers from scattered locals in violation of the constitution.
5. Changing election rules in the 1935 convention during the balloting on officers.
6. Evidence afforded in committee rooms and on the convention floor that a combination had been made between the extreme conservatives and extreme left wing elements to assure jobs for the first and the adoption of left wing measures for the second.

The grievances are thus twofold, local and national. Locals in other states opposed to the factional groups will make an effort to have the American Federation of Labor investigate the national organization and the New York conflict. It is said that a majority of the members of Local 5, New York City, will also leave the union and permit the factional groups to destroy what is left of it. Meantime the majority will build up a union freed from the discordant elements.

### Porter's Statement

Paul Porter in the name of the Socialist Party National Labor Committee issued a statement on the conflict. Porter declares that "Socialist members of the union have consistently sought to preserve unity of the union, and have opposed all efforts to foster disruption or splits from whatever source. The majority of Socialists in Local 5, while in strong disagreement with the tactics of some administration opponents, have been unable to give support to Dr. Linville and Dr. Lefkowitz because of their recent attitudes."

The original copy of the Porter statement read "dictatorial attitudes" and was changed to "recent attitudes." The accusation of dictatorship is the same as that made by the Rank and File Group and the Progressive Group, each following a Communist "line." Socialist members of Local 5, disagreeing with the "militant" Socialists, (Continued on Page Four)

## Dewey Report Backs Linville Group in Union

1933 Inquiry, Headed by  
Noted Educator, Revealed  
Conditions Which Now  
Find Expression in  
Threatened Split.

THE conflict in the Teachers' Union is of long standing and is due to organized factional groups seeking to control it. The situation had become so bad late in 1932 that a special grievance committee was elected in October of that year to investigate and report. Late in April, 1933, this committee headed by Dr. John Dewey as chairman made its report. Four months were taken for the investigation, over a hundred witnesses appeared, and the proceeding cost the union \$700.

A brief summary of that report is informative. There were two organized groups in the union, the Rank and File and the Progressives, the first supporting the Communist Party line and the second the Lovestone line. Each had its own officers, held open and closed meetings, and engaged in activities to control the union. Organized as factions, both treated the administration elected by the whole membership as just another faction.

While each faction criticized the other, both carried on a continuous war against the administration, making various accusations, repeatedly accusing Dr. Henry Linville, President, and Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz, Legislative Representative, with "betraying the union." They created confusion among the members, many of whom refrained from attending meetings as a result, and thus brought a paralysis of union life.

"The failure of the Administration to approve the ulterior aims and tactics of the minority groups is, the committee finds, the sole basis of the charge that the elected officials of the union are betraying the union and the labor movement." So reads the report.

The committee also found that the conflict arose out of fundamental differences as to the "proper functions and objectives of the union." The Rank and File leaders frankly declared that sincere believers in a political movement "would necessarily attempt to use the union as an instrumentality for promoting their special views." The Progressive leaders opposed the methods of the Rank and File but believed in "capturing" the union. Each held that it alone had the "correct line" and agreed that the administration had the wrong "line."

The two groups had not as yet constituted dual unions but the "strategy and the tactics of the leaders of these two groups tend definitely in the direction of dual unionism." The committee feared that "the union is doomed to be split into two or three competing unions" as a result of these special organizations and their activities.

If administration leaders pointed out the Communist beliefs of the group leaders the latter were accused of "red baiting." Evidence showed that the methods and accusations of the group leaders were the same as those reported in organs of Communist organizations. The accusations of "betrayal," of "bureaucracy" and other alleged offenses of the administration were continuous, encouraging widespread suspicion, bringing personal animosities, and making union work futile.

Finally, the committee observed, "it had seen and heard too much of the tactics that have come into use, to be under any illusion as to the probable effect of our appeal upon some of the leaders of the factions."

The committee recommended the creation of an assembly of delegates representing schools, business meetings to discuss and suggest policies, cultural and social meetings of members and more strict discipline by the chairman to order the removal of any members from meetings who indulged in improper conduct.

## Nazi Party Faces Extinction As Rule by Army Looms

### Unions to Vote On Labor Party In Connecticut

State Federation Sends Issue  
of Independent Political  
Action to All Union  
Members.

By Abraham Knepler

SPECIAL TO THE NEW LEADER  
DANBURY.—A state-wide labor referendum on the formation of a Labor Party was one of the few victories won by the progressive forces at the golden jubilee convention of the Connecticut Federation of Labor, which closed here last week.

The referendum resolution had been tabled earlier in the day, during a dramatic scene at which J. Nicholas Danz, president of the Federation and chief sponsor of the labor party movement, refused to put the motion to table to a vote, declaring he could not conscientiously put the motion when he knew it was only an attempt at steamrolling. Danz called Mayor John W. Murphy of New Haven, vice-president of the Federation, to put the motion to a vote. The motion to table was carried; but before the day's session was over the resolution was taken from the table and passed by a close vote.

The resolution, sponsored by Danz and signed by 92 of the 210 delegates, was in its final form somewhat modified from the original resolution. Danz won his point, however, in allowing 303 local A. F. of L. unions, not members of the Connecticut State Federation, to participate in the referendum, as well as the 303 locals which are affiliated. If the result of the referendum is in favor of a labor party, a special state convention of the C. F. of L. will be called before April 1, 1936, to organize the party. While locals not affiliated with the C. F. of L. will be able to vote as to whether they favor a Labor Party, only affiliated locals will be permitted to have a hand in actually organizing the party if developments should actually reach that stage.

The Socialist Party has taken no official stand with respect to the formation of a Labor Party. Some of the Socialists who represented labor unions at the convention voted for the Labor Party referendum, while others voted against it, because they are skeptical of the success of the proposed Labor Party.

J. Nicholas Danz, president of the Federation for the past year, refused to run again. Thomas J. Shea of Middletown, candidate of the "Conservative" forces, was elected president over George R. (Continued on Page Two)



Gerhardt Seger

## Unrest Is Rising High in Italy as War Nears

AMSTERDAM.—The powerful International Transport Workers' Federation, with a membership of well over 1,600,000 in 32 countries, has received an extremely interesting report from Italy describing the attitude of the Italian people toward the Ethiopian adventure of Mussolini. The report was drawn up after a careful investigation into all strata of Italian society and contains the following conclusions:

"1.—The Italian people have, generally speaking, a strong impression that fascism wishes to provoke a war in North Africa at all costs, and heedless of the conciliatory efforts of other countries.

"2.—War is unpopular not only amongst the workers and middle class groups, but also in certain upper circles which fear the consequences of a defeat.

"3.—It is generally felt that a war will be 'the grave of fascism.'

"4.—The vast military and economic preparations made by the fascist regime clearly prove that Mussolini intends to carry matters to an extreme.

"5.—Apart from those groups who are benefiting from the booming armament industries, the aversion of the people to war is general. This feeling is beginning to find expression in a spontaneous and unorganized manner, both amongst the troops and the civilian population. The discontent of the civilian population is so great that the regime has no alternative but to resort to increasingly drastic measures. The present situation may best be summed up by saying that a mood of growing defeatism is seizing wide sections of the people. Among the troops protests and desertions are becoming more and more frequent. Not for nothing are the troops unarmed until after their arrival in North Africa..."

Gerhardt Seger, German Socialist Leader, Just Back From Europe, Tells of Growing Demoralization of Hitler Movement.

THE Nazi conclave which opened at Nuremberg on Tuesday may be the last such meeting, for the Hitler party is on its way out, to be superseded by an army dictatorship now already taking shape, Gerhardt Seger, former Socialist member of the Reichstag, told The New Leader upon his arrival in New York early this week.

Comrade Seger, who toured this country last fall and winter, has just returned from Europe where he was in close touch with comrades from Germany, and obtained information casting an illuminating light upon the situation. From his base at Zurich, Switzerland, he was in communication with Socialists from all parts of the Reich, actively engaged in the party's constantly expanding underground activity.

The military dictatorship that is to supersede the Hitler regime, Seger said, will mark the second stage of the German counter-revolution. Stripped of Hitler's spurious "socialism," the military dictatorship now taking form behind the scenes will be easier to combat, Comrade Seger believed. The Socialists, their organization network restored and functioning on an ever-widening scale, are ready to take full advantage of the situation.

### New Dictatorship Rising The Dictatorship Being Formed to Take Over Power in Germany Will Center Around the Proposed Council of National Defense.

Formation of the council, which will be a state within the state, has been delayed because a number of high army officers, including Generals Von Seeckt and Ludendorff, have declined to become members unless the Nazi party is abolished. They are willing to admit Hitler and Göring as members of the council but insist that the rule of the Nazi party must be ended, the party itself dispersed and all power vested in the council. Hitler and Göring are to be accepted into membership for political reasons, the intention being to use them as clubs for the achievement of the ends set for itself by the army command. Both are today to all intents and purposes the prisoners of the army generals, with Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, president of the Reichsbank and economic director of Germany, as their representative in matters outside the immediate scope of the army. Hence Schacht's recent bold defiance of the Nazis. Slowly a new political situation is developing in Germany, the final crystallization of which will signify the end of the Nazi regime.

### Food Riots in Cities

This is being facilitated by a marked decline in Hitler's personal popularity. Heretofore the dis-

(Continued on Page Three)

## Soviet Russia Helps Mussolini's War Plans; Trade Deals Revealed

### Building a Socialist London

By Herbert Morrison  
Leader of the London Labor  
Party

THE work of the Labor majority on the London County Council, which I have the honor to lead, goes forward. Every week sees new housing and slum clearance schemes approved; a great three years' education program has been elaborated; the hospitals are being modernized and all Poor Law traditions removed; public assistance is being administered in a humane spirit but with proper regard to the use of public funds; all London is to be town-planned, and our great scheme for a green belt round London has met with warm approval; so I could go on but the story is too long for me to incorporate in this brief space.

Moscow Sends Huge Quantities of Wheat and Materials for Italian Army Assembled Against Ethiopia.

### Rouble Diplomacy

Bolsheviks Supply Italy with Essential Commodities While Communists Abroad Stage Anti-Fascist Demonstrations.

By Harry Rogoff

THE conduct of the Soviet Government with respect to the Ethiopian question has become a veritable scandal. Heretofore the Soviet Government has betrayed Ethiopia morally and politically. It now develops that Moscow is actually helping Mussolini by supplying him with foodstuffs and war materials for his Ethiopian robber raid.

At the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations previous to the one now in session Maxim Litvinoff, Moscow's representative at Geneva, uttered not a word against Mussolini's bloody conspiracy. He voted for imperialist resolutions characterized by Ethiopia's representatives as a plot to destroy her independence and integrity.

In this connection we have pointed out in The New Leader the contrast between Litvinoff's attitude on this question with his "advanced" and "revolutionary" speeches before Russia became a member of the League.

On former appearances in Geneva, when Russia was not yet in the League of Nations, we pointed out, he used to deliver fiery speeches against the "hypocrisy of capitalist diplomats," and made it his task to expose the selfish motives they were intended to conceal. We demanded to know why Litvinoff had failed to expose the true motives behind Mussolini's conspiracy against Ethiopia, of the sudden tolerance of France with respect to his colonial policy, and England's "concern" for the interests of the little African country.

Never since he has become commissar of foreign affairs did Litvinoff have such a fine opportunity to denounce the corruption of capitalist diplomacy as on the Ethiopian issue. Why did he fail to do this? In our opinion and in the view of radicals and liberals throughout the world the indifference displayed by the Soviet Government and its representatives in the League of Nations was a crime against morality and Socialism. But we have been mistaken. Our criticism was not severe enough, for it was confined to pointing out the failure of the Soviet Government to do its duty in neglecting to condemn wrong and to demand justice for the weak and the oppressed.

### Helping the Conspirators

Now it develops that the crime of the Soviet Government was a much greater one. Now it develops that Soviet Russia is playing a direct part in the fascist conspiracy to destroy Ethiopia. Not only is the Soviet Government keeping silent about the conspiracy, but it is actually helping the conspirators. Hints on this point appeared from time to time in cables of American correspondents from London, Paris and Rome. We have cited some of these cables in our previous articles on this question. One of them, for example, reported that Mussolini was confident he would obtain as much oil as he needed for his Ethiopian adventure from Soviet Russia. Another declared that Soviet Russia would oppose any embargo by the League of Nations on war materials for Italy. But details were lacking.

These details have now become known and they are more revolting than anything that could have been expected.

The first bit of information was made public last Wednesday. It was to the effect that Soviet Russia had signed a contract with Mussolini for the delivery to the Italian army in Ethiopia of 750,000 tons of wheat. The deliveries were to be made within a period of five months, from September to December. The wheat was to be sent direct to Africa, to the Italian military.

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## To End Hotel Workers' Serfdom

WAGES, hours and conditions of work for women and minors in the hotel and restaurant industry in New York State vary so widely and unreasonably as to constitute a chaotic industrial condition. The wiping out of these conditions is the goal of the movement for the unionization of all restaurant and hotel workers launched at a great meeting in New York this week under A. F. of L. auspices.

This is the conclusion set forth in the report of a survey of the hotel and restaurant industry made by the Division of Women in Industry and Minimum Wage of the State Department of Labor under the supervision of Miss Frieda S. Miller, Director of the Division, submitted to the Hotel and Restaurant Wage Board, appointed by Industrial Commissioner Elmer F. Andrews to recommend minimum fair wage schedules for the approximately 60,000 women and minor employees in the industry.

The report is based on payroll data for 16,934 women and minor employees in 2,021 hotels and restaurants located in 164 communities of all sizes throughout the state.

While the median net cash annual earnings for the women employees was found to be \$501, this average "covers up a range of individual annual earnings that go as low as \$34 and come up to \$2,000 and over. Even for women in the same occupation, earnings vary as much as they do between one occupation and another."

The survey showed that actual hours worked by two-thirds of the women were not known. For the one-third whose hours worked were recorded, the hourly earnings ranged from 10 cents to more than 50 cents an hour. Daily, weekly and monthly earnings varied similarly.

Rates of pay, not to be confused with actual earnings, were found not to reflect the skill or responsibilities called for by the occupation.

"Deductions" frequently wipe out cash wages and make almost meaningless the "rates of pay," the report states. "Certain practices, such as deductions for meals, have been strengthened and extended by the adoption of NRA codes, with the result that cash earnings are actually less for certain groups of part-time workers than previously." In one New York City restaurant waitresses' ex-

penses exceeded wages paid by 90 cents a week.

The report concludes with these words:

"The final conclusion which appears from the facts is that working conditions and wages in the industry as we have found them during the last year are still chaotic, varying unreasonably as between communities, individual establishments and within the same occupations. The codes have not eliminated oppressive and unreasonable wages, partly because their wage rates have not become effective for the whole industry, partly because some of the practices provided for in the codes have actually lowered cash earnings through the extension of certain deductions and partly because the omission from the codes of provisions for the regulation of so-called chiseling practices that have long existed among unscrupulous employers continues to give the latter an advantage over the reputable, stable, fair-dealing establishments."

"The result is that today, with rising costs confronting the industry, women in necessitous circumstances are finding their reputed bargaining power even more illusory than in the past."

## Amalgamated Is Victorious In Strike Battles in South

By E. Rabkin

NEW tactics, adopted because of the radically different traditions, and the economic and social background of the southern workers, have won notable victories for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Lynchburg and Norfolk, Va., and in Lebanon, Pa. The industrial front in the south, in sections of which strikes were unknown, presents unique problems to the union organizer with its race and sectional prejudice. Wage levels far below human subsistence standards have caused destitution and apathy, which coupled with ignorance of collective action are formidable obstacles for any large union.

Open soup kitchens and strike benefits characterize strikes in Norfolk and Lynchburg from their very inception. To overcome the reluctance of the factory hands to rally to meetings powerful loud-speakers blare union speeches from lots in the vicinity of the shops. Refusal of the unions to distinguish between whites and Negroes in its organization work often causes resentment among the former. Labor leaders have expressed amazement at the methods and the success the A.C.W.A. has achieved. The Norfolk campaign was the first energetic unionization that town has seen.

**S. and K. Strike Settled**  
LYNCHBURG, Va.—A strike against the large S. and K. Company here was rapidly concluded when Abe Miller, secretary of the New York Joint Board, refused to leave town at the insistence of the mayor. Miller led the strike and continued negotiation until there was an agreement wherein the

work week was reduced from 45 hours to 40 with a wage increase of 26%. A charter was later secured for the newly organized and recognized local union.

**Settlement in Lebanon**  
LEBANON, Pa.—This important shirt manufacturing center, which withstood organization during the NRA, was the scene of a hot strike against the Sam Kantor Company, which forced out several hundred men. John Sobczak, the first union organizer ever to enter town, was arrested every day. It is reported that even Mrs. Pinchot was not permitted to speak here for the union even at the time when her husband was Governor of Pennsylvania.

Emboldened by the passing of NRA Kantor exploited his employees by increasing the work day and cutting wages. Forced by the Amalgamated to accede to their demands, Sam Kantor's factory is the scene of the only unionized shop in this locality.

**Victory in Buffalo**  
BUFFALO, N. Y.—In Buffalo only the Faultless Pants Company remained unorganized despite energetic attempts by the Amalgamated. Last week the Buffalo Joint Board fought to a finish a strike against the corporation that had begun on July 30th. The company signed a complete union agreement.

Concentrating its work in Newburgh, N. Y., the Amalgamated is determined to smash the open shop markets. Chicopee, Mass., Richmond, Va., and many smaller clothing centers will be the battleground for a finish fight with the run-away shops.

## Socialists Again Arrested In Terre Haute Labor War

TERRE HAUTE, Ind.—Powers Hapgood, Leo Vernon and Aron Gilmartin were again under military arrest, taken prisoner Thursday by the army of occupation which has ruled "the military district of Vigo county" for over a month, since the peaceful three-day general strike which grew out of strikes at the Columbian Enameling and Stamping company and Terre Haute Malleable and Manufacturing company. They were later released on bond to be tried for "vagrancy" on Sept. 25.

A federal court hearing will be held Sept. 20 on a petition seeking injunctions to end martial law. Attorneys in the suit include Joseph M. Jacobs, Chicago, counsel for the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee, and the Chicago Federation of Labor, and Harlan Woodsmall, Harold D. Simpson, Maurice N. Cosen and Elmer F. Williams, representing the Vigo county Central Labor Union and the Indiana Federation of Labor.

Nominal plaintiff in this suit is Otis Cox, an official of the Enamellers' and Stammers' Union. Cox charges that he was arrested in his home, Aug. 8, by Terre Haute police and held until Aug. 12 without charges being preferred against him and without the right of counsel. He charges that the arresting officers told him his arrest had been ordered by Major Weimar, that the officers searched his home and examined certain private and valuable papers without his consent and against his express wishes and without holding any warrant.

**Cites Denial of Rights**  
Cox further states that about 180 other persons were arrested under similar circumstances and that the suit is brought in their behalf as a class.

He specifically states that martial rule since July 22 "has denied the plaintiff and all others similarly situated the right to a habeas corpus, the right to know the charge of which they are accused, the right to counsel, the right to trial by jury, the right to speedy trial, the right to bail, the right to be heard in his own behalf, the right to judicial review of the capricious and arbitrary acts of the defendants."

Defendants in the suit are Governor Paul V. McNutt, Major Earl E. Weimar and other Indiana and Vigo county authorities.

Meantime picketing of the Columbian Enameling and Stamping company was resumed last week. More than 1,000 volunteers for picket duty were said to have been recruited for service. About 200 were on duty at the Malleable plant where a commissary tent has also been erected.

In Sullivan county, south of Terre Haute, where military rule has been in force about two years, a local unit of the Labor and Socialist Defense committee has been organized. It will wage a struggle to abolish this rule and cooperate with the work of the defense in Vigo county.

### Chicago Labor Pledges Aid Against 'Mussolini McNutt'

CHICAGO.—Demanding suspension of martial law in Terre Haute, the Chicago Federation of Labor, in regular meeting authorized Attorney Joseph M. Jacobs to represent it in legal proceedings there, and raised \$134 from delegates for strike relief and legal defense.

A mass meeting is being called for Friday night by labor and So-

cialist organizations of Chicago, at which speakers scheduled include John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, T. N. Taylor, president of the Indiana Federation of Labor, Powers Hapgood, trade union and Socialist organizer arrested by troops, and Mrs. Lois Conder, secretary of the Union of Terre Haute Strikers.

### Ethel Barrymore Aids Union Drive For Store Clerks

Ethel Barrymore, noted actress, will be one of the speakers at a mass meeting Monday, Sept. 16, called by the Department Store Employees' Union, Local 1250, of the A. F. of L., the League of Women Shoppers' and Consumers' League, to protest the proposed increase in working hours from 40 to 45 and 48, as announced by department store executives. Anne Revere, leading lady of "The Children's Hour" has also agreed to speak at the meeting which will be held at the Manhattan Opera House, 34th St. and 8th Ave.

Other speakers include Haywood Brown, president, American Newspaper Guild, Mark Hellinger, columnist, Daily Mirror, Elinore M. Herrick, chairman, Regional Labor Board, Anna Rosenberg, Director, NRA, Caroline O'Day, Representative-at-large, Helen P. McCormick, presidente, Catholic Big Sisters, Judge Jeanette G. Brill, and representatives from the American Federation of Labor.

"We are going to fight this increase in hours till every department store in New York and Brooklyn agrees not to lengthen hours," Benjamin B. Goodman, general organizer of Local No. 1250, said. "Increasing hours from 40 to 45 and 48 means throwing thousands of workers out of work and adding to the already critical unemployment situation. It means a wage cut to the already underpaid department store workers, most of whom are now getting \$14, \$15 and \$16 a week, actually less than unemployed workers are getting on Public Works Administration Projects. Because of our organized strength among the employees in the stores, and because of the splendid response and backing from some of the consumers organizations, notably the League of Women Shoppers and the Consumers' League, we hope within a short period to reach our goal in this campaign."

### Crosswaith Heads Bill at Upper West Side Ball

The Socialist Party's social season will open Monday night at the reception and social of the Upper West Side Branch at 100 W. 72nd St. Five-minute talks will be delivered by Frank Crosswaith, Algonquin Lee, Murray Baron and other local candidates and prominent Socialists including Henry Fruchter, Jacob Hillquit and Dr. Siegfried Lipschitz. Invitations have been extended to Norman Thomas, who was tentatively accepted and Harry W. Laidler.

The German New Theatre Group will make their first appearance at any English-speaking branch in skits, novelties and group singing. There will be dancing and refreshments.

## Shipping Clerks Win Gains as Strike Ends

THE strike of the Ladies' Apparel Shipping Clerks' Union, waged for more than two weeks with great energy and determination, was settled Wednesday with a partial victory for the union. The eight employer associations involved were compelled to grant the workers a 44-hour week and a \$15 minimum wage. Although the union failed to obtain recognition, it is felt that the struggle just concluded is only the beginning of a larger campaign that will ultimately result in the complete unionization of the 15,000 shipping clerks and allied employees and their incorporation in the great labor movement represented by the needle trades.

The union will launch at once a great organization drive the purpose of which will be to strengthen its financial resources and enlarge its membership and fighting capacity in preparation for the second, inevitable phase in the struggle for the unionization of the shipping clerks and recognition of the union.

The strike just concluded won the admiration and sympathy of the entire labor movement of New York and the whole-hearted cooperation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

### Communists Fail In Injunction Suit To Dissolve Union

AN attempt by a group of Communist members of the Men's Hat Department of the United Hatters', Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union to disrupt the organization and to render ineffectual the amalgamation over a year ago between the United Hatters of North America and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union into the present international union, was repulsed this week when Supreme Court Justice Samuel I. Rosenman denied an application by these Communists for an injunction against the Union.

The ostensible ground set forth by the Communists as the basis for an injunction was that an assessment levied by the General Executive Board in order to enable the union to pay its mortuary benefits, was illegal. To give some color to their argument they contended that the constitutions resulting from the amalgamation, which ended a bitter jurisdictional quarrel between the two former unions which had lasted over a period of twenty-five years, were also illegal. They contended further that the General Executive Board was illegally constituted and illegally elected.

The union, which was represented in court by Comrade David I. Ashe, an associate of Louis Waldman, pointed out, however, that the plaintiff Communists had been seeking for a period of ten years to seize control of the Union. Year after year these very plaintiffs had run for office on Communist opposition tickets and had been defeated. Now they were using this action as a pretext for disrupting the constitutions in the hope that in the resulting chaos they would be able to step in and take over the affairs of the Union.

### Neckwear Makers' Strike Is Successful

Paralyzing its industry in the metropolitan areas and New Jersey by a general strike affecting 2,000 workers, has stopped the movement of runaway shops to the rural districts. Seventeen shops in a dozen towns in New Jersey stopped production when thousands answered the strike call of Manager Louis Fuchs on Sept. 3rd. The owners of the two largest shops fell in line immediately, precipitating a series of settlements which clinched the strike for the union and gained full organization and recognition of the neckwear workers. All demands, including a wage increase of 30 to 50%, were conceded by the employers.

Fuchs indicated last week that organization work will not cease until New York City's surrounding territory is thoroughly organized. Hundreds of strikers are still out and picketing recalcitrant shops, members of the Association of Allen Street Manufacturers.

## TRADE UNIONIST AT HER POST



Mary Slate tries a new method of trade union propaganda. She got herself chained to a lamp post in the New York garment district, and urged passing shipping clerks to join the strike (just concluded) as police were unable to make her move on.

## Year's Notable Work Is Marked By the United Headgear Unions

MEETING on the first anniversary of the amalgamation of the men's hat and cap and millinery unions, the International Executive Board of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union last Friday decided to mobilize the resources of the entire international union for a nationwide drive completely to unionize the men's hat industry.

Representatives of the Cap and Millinery Department, headed by the President of the Department, Max Zaritsky, who is secretary-treasurer of the International Union, assured the representatives of the Men's Hat Department, led by Michael F. Greene, president of the International Union, that all of the locals of the Department, its officers and organizers will be enlisted in the drive to break down the resistance of a powerful group of employers in the men's hat industry who in the past had blocked the organization of their workers.

Representatives of the Cap and Millinery Department reported that agreements in all markets have been renewed. More than 85 per cent of the industry is unionized, and in the remaining 15 per cent organization campaigns are in progress. The feeling that the employers might provoke strikes rather than settle by granting the demands of the union had kept the

department prepared for any emergency that might arise. With that situation overcome, the department is free to shoulder with the men's hat department the problem of extending the unionization of the men's hat industry.

The Board voted \$1,000 to assist a number of individual strikes now in progress in the men's hat industry, and authorized the officers to render such additional assistance as may be necessary both for strike purposes and to undertake immediately the organization of the workers in the straw hat part of the industry.

A special two-day session of the Board was authorized for early in October at which the details of the drive, which will be considered in the interim, will be approved.

Among the other decisions of the Board were: 1. Approval of a pledge of \$5,000 made to the Chest for the Liberation of the workers of Europe, the anti-Hitler fund, of which \$500 was voted from the treasury. Local 24 of the Cap and Millinery Department has given \$2,000 of it, and pledged another \$1,000. The balance of \$1,500 will be raised by an appeal to the local organizations. 2. Establishment of a Research and Statistical Department as part of the machinery of the International Union. 3. Closer supervision of the union label, so that those handling hats and caps would have the union label in both.

Michael F. Greene, Max Zaritsky, Herman Finkelstein and I. H. Goldberg were elected as delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention, with Marx Lewis, S. Herszkowitz, Bernard Hollander and William Harding as alternates. The report submitted by Zaritsky showed that during the year the International has grown in numbers and resources, and will represent a larger membership than ever at the convention of the Federation.

## Connecticut Labor Backs The Hillquit Amendment

### Unions to Vote on Labor Party

(Continued from Page One)

Moffat of Stamford, "Progressive" candidate, 136, to 96. John J. Egan, leader of the "Conservatives," was reelected secretary-treasurer for the 12th consecutive year. For the first time since he has held the office, Egan had opposition, although he was reelected by an overwhelming majority. With one or two exceptions, the seven vice-presidents elected are strict conservatives.

What was termed as an attempt to "sound the death knell of industrial unionism" was defeated by a great majority, when the convention modified a proposed amendment to the constitution which would leave no person eligible for election to an office of the federation unless he had been a member for five years in a union affiliated with the Federation. The five-year "grandfather clause" was defeated, the convention adopting instead the resolution committee's recommendation requiring one year's membership to become eligible for election to office.

The proposed Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution was endorsed by the convention. A resolution was also passed condemning Nazism and fascism, and the tyranny of the German and Italian governments, and pledging moral support to the workers of those afflicted countries. The resolution also endorsed the action of the San Francisco convention of the A. F. of L. in urging a boycott of German goods.

Repeal of the intimidation law in the state was asked, and the secretary was instructed to work for its repeal at the next state legislative session. A special session of the state legislature was asked to provide for unemployment relief to municipalities.

The proposed amendment to the Federation constitution which would bar political office holders under the two major political parties from holding office in the Federation was killed.

Although the progressive element in the convention was in the minority, it was much larger and more vigorous than at the New Britain convention last year. It is expected that the coming year will see an increasingly large progressive element among the Federation

DANBURY, Conn.—By unanimous vote, the Connecticut State Federation of Labor endorsed the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment to the federal Constitution at its convention held here.

The resolution, introduced by Delegate Martin F. Plunkett of the Jewelry Workers' Union and State Chairman of the Socialist Party, reads in part:

"RESOLVED, that the Connecticut Federation of Labor in convention assembled goes on record in favor of said Workers' Rights Amendment, and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we request from the House of Representatives the Federation of Labor to do everything in their power to rally support for the Workers' Rights Amendment, and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we request from the House Judiciary Committee an immediate hearing on H. J. R. 327 when Congress convenes at its next session so that this amendment can be brought on the floor of Congress for action, and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be forwarded to Representative Hutton W. Summers, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, and to all Connecticut members of Congress."

Other state federations which have approved the amendment include those of Minnesota, Montana, Rhode Island and Wisconsin.

### More Labor Endorsements for Amendment

CHICAGO.—Three more central labor unions have joined the fight for the Hillquit amendment to take "veto power" of labor legislation away from the Supreme Court. The Racine, Wis., Trades and Labor Council, the Decatur, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly and the Kern County, Cal., Labor Council all announced their support during the past week.

Thirty city and county federations have now passed resolutions of endorsement, according to Leo Krzycki, chairman of the Labor Committee for the Workers' Rights Amendment.

membership, and that at next year's convention many progressive locals which had insufficient funds to send delegates to the convention this year will be represented.

## Connecticut Socialists In Big State Convention

Special to The New Leader

NORWALK, Conn.—With the brightest prospects for election success in its history the Socialist Party of this state is planning a rousing state convention to be held over the week-end in New Haven.

After nearly two years of brilliantly successful Socialist administration in Bridgeport, and with the splendid work of the five Socialist legislators in Hartford before them the workers of the state are turning toward political action as never before. The strong sentiment in the State Federation of Labor last week for the formation of a labor party can be traced directly to the success of Socialist political action.

Full tickets have been named in many cities of the state, with bright prospects everywhere. The main interest in the elections is, of course, in the reelection campaign being waged by Mayor Jasper McLevy and his associates in Bridgeport, but in town after town the Socialists are confident of heavy gains. A string of Socialist successes will go far in influencing the organized workers to vote for the establishment of a labor party in the referendum to be conducted by the State Federation of Labor.

The convention will open at 1:30 P. M., and will continue Saturday and Sunday.

After officers and committees have been elected, the convention will break up into conferences for the remainder of the afternoon. The conferences will be devoted to Organization, Labor, Socialist Education and Women's Work. All the Socialist Town Chairmen throughout the State have been requested to attend the organization conference.

The convention banquet will be held in Fraternal Hall at 7 o'clock, Saturday night. Speakers will be Mayor Jasper McLevy, Devere Allen and Celia D. Rostow. Charles O'Connell will be toastmaster.

The Sunday sessions will be devoted to reports of the various conferences, party officers and other matters. The major purpose of the convention will be to develop a practicable program for further building the Socialist organization in Connecticut.

At the State Executive Committee meeting in Bridgeport last Sunday the party took steps to get local Socialist organizations throughout the State to carry on a campaign for a special session of the General Assembly to secure the passage of legislation necessary to relieve the needs of the unemployed and needy.

Reports of tickets being entered in the October town elections in some of the State's farming communities, where Socialist tickets have never before been entered, were hailed by committee members as concrete evidence of the growing prestige of the party among the workers and farmers of the State.

### New Jersey Unions Discuss Launching Independent Party

Special to The New Leader

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—More than 500 delegates to the 57th annual convention of the State Federation of Labor in session here are turning their minds to political action as never before.

Of 33 resolutions introduced on the first day of the convention 29 called for the organization of a labor party, or of some other form of independent political action. The resolutions came from local unions and central bodies in every part of the state. Among the organizations introducing such resolutions are the New Jersey Building Trades Council, a number of county building trades councils and a number of local central bodies.

The Federation, however, made it clear it will not permit Communists to play any part in the labor movement, and to make their antagonism to Bolshevik methods the more pointed passed a resolution by an almost unanimous vote calling upon local unions to expel "all members who can be proven to be or are avowed Communists." Only 15 votes were cast against that resolution, which recited the fact that frequently appeals for funds came from organizations "disguised with high sounding titles or principles, but really Communist controlled and designed to aid and further the cause of Communism."

The labor party sentiment is the outgrowth of years of dissatisfaction with what delegates called the "run-around" tactics of politicians of the two old parties.

So deep-seated is sentiment for independent political action that in some communities the unions joined what appeared to be a bona fide labor party move, only to withdraw when it was learned that it was really a Communist "maneuver."

### MANHATTAN

17th-18th-20th A. D.—The following is a list of outdoor meetings: Saturday, Sept. 14, 11th St. and Lenox Ave.; Tuesday, Sept. 17, 110th St. and Third Ave.; Wednesday, Sept. 18, 110th St. and Lexington Ave.; Thursday, Sept. 19, 160th St. and Second Ave.

## AS 100,000 NEEDLE WORKERS STAGE DEMONSTRATION



A view of the great mass meeting of dressmakers in Madison Square Garden last Wednesday, when 100,000 workers quit their jobs in response to the call of Dressmakers' Union in a one-day stoppage and demonstration to emphasize the power and solidarity of the workers on the eve of negotiations for a new agreement in the industry. Only a small part of the crowd was able to crowd into the great Garden, the streets about being black with people listening to the speeches and music through loud-speakers. Wednesday's mobilization gave additional proof of the magnificent solidarity of needle trades workers in this city under the leadership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the parent organization.

# Nazi Regime Is Nearing Its End, Says Seger

(Continued from Page One)  
illusionment that has gripped the masses affected only the party and leaders of second rank. It is now being extended to the Führer himself, as working and living conditions become increasingly difficult and strikes and food riots grow in number.

Food riots have occurred in Berlin, Breslau, Königsberg, Stettin and other places. Significant was the fact that the police refused to make arrests. The revolt of housewives against mounting food prices and the reappearance of long food queues in the cities, reminiscent of the hardships of war time, have made a very painful impression

and have stimulated a growing desire for the return of normal political conditions.

Such, in brief, is the picture brought back by Comrade Seger. While cautioning against excessive optimism as to developments to be expected in the immediate future, he felt that a radical change will make possible a wider and freer activity on the part of the workers.

"The two outstanding political facts about Germany today are the complete moral and political demoralization of the Nazi party and the discredit suffered by the idea of dictatorship, Comrade Seger said. "The German people are fed

up with dictatorship. Whereas as late as a year ago there was much sentiment among the workers for revenge through a dictatorship of the left, the main current of thought and desire today is to have done with all dictatorship and to bring back to Germany the air of freedom.

"The recent congress of the Comintern in Moscow, with its pronouncements in favor of democracy, however insincere the pronouncements were felt to be, and the admission, for example, of Wilhelm Pieck, Communist leader, that had the Communists known what was going to happen they would have cooperated with the

Socialists, have taken the wind out of the Communist sails in Germany.

## Socialists to the Fore

"The underground activities of the Communists cannot be compared in scope and effectiveness with the activities of the Socialists. This is reflected particularly in big plants and factories, where former Socialist shop councils are again becoming the spokesmen of the workers in dealings with management. Everywhere the workers are turning with increasing boldness to the Social Democrats for leadership and representation. More than ever the German workers realize the value of democracy and

democratic institutions in their struggle for better things. The cry for dictatorship is thoroughly discredited. The German people have had a lesson in dictatorship they will never forget. The prestige of Social Democracy has been restored. Upon this moral foundation our party is rebuilding its strength and organization, preparatory for the day when it will again take its place in the political life of the country."

Details of the work being done by the Socialists in Germany, the extent and operation of their organization and thousands of active agents in the field, of conferences held recently with representation

from all parts of the country, etc., cannot be revealed for obvious reasons. Comrade Seger spoke with enthusiasm and confidence of these activities.

## Gradual Change Possible

While present indications point to a gradual return to a democratic regime in Germany, accompanied by the restoration of the Socialist and labor movement driven underground by the Nazis, Comrade Seger pointed out, a revolutionary solution is not excluded, depending upon circumstances and developments.

He was of the opinion that fearing revolution the army command and the conservative elements

which it represents will go very slow in plunging the country into war. The policy of these elements, unlike that of Nazi extremists, is to restore Germany's military might and obtain as much as possible in the way of economic and colonial concessions from Germany's former enemies by threats and negotiations. This is the old Bismarck policy. On the other hand, Comrade Seger said, the internal situation in Germany may become so tense that a war "diversion" may appear unavoidably necessary. It was his opinion, however, that Germany will not be ready for war for another two years.

## Mussolini's Adventure

"The only danger of war at this moment so far as Germany is concerned," Comrade Seger said, "is in developments that may arise from Mussolini's proposed march on Ethiopia. Should he be successful, some powerful elements in Germany, spurred on by Nazi leaders, may declare that 'if Mussolini can get away with it in Ethiopia without any resistance from other nations or the League, we can do likewise in Austria.' A German advance on Austria would mean at once a European war. It is my belief, however, that whatever may be the desire of the Nazis and other political elements in Germany, the army command is fully aware that a war at this time would mean the defeat of Germany and her dismemberment. For this reason the military clique in control of the German war ministry and army organization will do nothing rash. Their chief purpose at this time is to strengthen their hold upon the country, establish a military dictatorship, eliminate the Nazi party and pave the way for a political readjustment which would remove the tensions and hatreds now dominating the nation. All this is being aimed at by the conservatives because they believe their own interests demand it. Be that as it may, the German workers are preparing to say their word when the moment arrives."

As regards the situation in Europe as a whole, Seger described it as one of "uncertainty and apprehension." He said little hope was felt of the ability of the League of Nations to restrain Mussolini from his Ethiopian adventure. Mussolini himself, it is believed, is counting on a short and successful war. Should the war be prolonged, however, he will be faced with a serious political and financial crisis at home. Already the political situation in Italy is very tense, with thousands of desertions from the army accentuating the tension.

"Summarizing, it may be said that no clear picture of what may happen in Europe is possible," Comrade Seger said. "Mussolini is playing with fire. A war involving all leading countries may well mean the end of the dictatorships everywhere. Only the event itself can supply the answer to the question: what next?"

Comrade Seger will make his first public appearance Sunday evening, Sept. 15, when he will lecture at the Young Circle League, 22 East 15th St., New York City.

## WORKERS CALLED TO COMBAT WAR PLANS OF ITALY

(Continued from Page One)

for waging war be stopped, and urge unions in the transport service to refuse to load ships or to carry such materials if bound for Italian ports.

Protest against any financial loans that Mussolini may seek in the United States and protest against the activities of any of his fascist bands in this country. Make it known that the refugees from fascist Italy and the fighters for liberty in Italy will repudiate any loans made to Mussolini when his barbarous regime is overthrown by the revolutionary masses.

Set up joint committees of co-operating organizations to issue public statements, to send speakers to explain our views, to act in any emergencies that may arise, and by continuous activities awaken the masses to the danger of fascism obtaining any prestige or power over other peoples and nations.

This crisis also offers an opportunity to carry to large masses knowledge of what fascism means in the countries where it rules and thus check the adroit propaganda of any little Mussolinis in this country.

We urge our comrades to act without delay, as a grave crisis may confront us at any hour!

National Executive Committee, Socialist Party of the U.S.A.

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# Teachers' Union Officials Resign Their Posts

## Biemiller Denies Charges By Lefkowitz on Teachers

By Andrew J. Biemiller

DR. ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ' article in last week's New Leader on the recent convention of the American Federation of Teachers is, to put it mildly, full of misstatements. So misleading are some of those statements that I deem it necessary to take up certain of the points he makes.

The average reader who had no other source of information on that convention save Brother Lefkowitz' article, would draw the impression that an unholy conspiracy had been formed by Mrs. Florence Curtis Hanson, Maynard Kreuger, the writer and other Socialists to ruin the Teachers' Union. Lefkowitz also implies our actions were in violation of the party's position on the trade union question. This is a strange accusation from Brother Lefkowitz, who has never been a member of the Socialist Party and who, at the Teachers' Convention in Milwaukee two years ago, told the writer that he would not join because he was too far to the left.

His accusations are absolutely unfounded. On the contrary we Socialists were fighting to prevent a serious disruption in the union and were acting in accordance with official pronouncements of the party.

In the first place a compromise agreement had been reached by the executive council on the handling of the situation in Local 5. This agreement was in strict accord with customary trade union practice and had been given the unofficial approval of many prominent labor leaders.

It provided that a committee of three, one to be a labor leader not a member of the A.F.T. and two members of the A.F.T., should take over control of Local 5 for a period of a few months and endeavor to work out a solution of the problems of that local.

### The Charter Issue

Lefkowitz was unalterably opposed to this solution. He insisted that the charter must be revoked and a new one issued to his associates. Had he been a little more conciliatory there is no question that this plan would have been adopted.

But Lefkowitz' adamant stand, plus the "red baiting" telegram received from William Green (which even Lefkowitz admits was a mistake even though it was undoubtedly inspired by one of his chief lieutenants) brought the issue on the floor in such a manner that one could only vote either for or against revocation.

Both Green's telegram and the speeches made by the official spokesmen for Local 5 clearly raised the red scare. The charter was to be revoked and 700 members expelled (call it by another name if you like but the effect is just the same) from the union on the cry of Communism.

Socialists have never believed that anyone should be excluded from a union on the basis of his political belief. The most recent statement of the National Executive Committee on this question was issued at the Labor Day, 1934, meeting. At that time certain leaders of the A. F. of L. were trying to raise a red scare.

In an open letter to trade unionists, which was adopted by the N. E. C. without a dissenting vote, appears the following statement:

"Uniform penalties should be provided for all members guilty of anti-union activities whether the members be Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, Independents, or Communists. We should never penalize members because of their political, economic, or religious views. In the words of Voltaire we say to the Communists, 'we disagree with what you say, but we will defend to the death your right to say it.'" [See article by James O'Neal on this quotation.]

In the debate on the floor of the convention I stated unequivocally that I would aid anytime in ousting union members guilty of obstructive tactics, but that I certainly saw no evidence that would warrant the expulsion of 700 members.

I repeat again the only cry raised against the 700 was that of Communism and I refuse to be party to red-baiting.

### The United Front

Brother Lefkowitz' assertion that "the militants led the fight for a union with the American League Against War and Fascism and independent political action with all

left wing groups" is an absolute misstatement. If the delegates of Local 5 had not walked out of the convention on the last day they would know better.

Several delegates, including the writer, went to the chairman of the resolutions committee and informed him that if the resolution reached the floor we would lead a fight against it. It never reached the floor. Along with many others it was referred to the incoming executive council. No action was taken on the motion by the council.

The labor party resolution was very poorly drawn. It met with many objections. On my motion it was referred to the incoming executive committee.

The final point in Brother Lefkowitz' article which I wish to discuss is his assertion that those delegates who voted against his wishes are anti-A. F. of L. and opposed to organized labor.

For one I know that I am still a delegate to the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council in good standing and that I am frequently called to aid a large number of local unions in various capacities. When I lived in the East I was also active in numerous situations. Many others are equally active in the labor movement.

We have never understood that loyalty to the A. F. of L. meant unquestioning acceptance of the personal views of its officers. Freedom of discussion of union policies and tactics has always been the cornerstone of trade union democracy. I trust that it will always continue.

It seems to me that service to the movement is the chief test of loyalty. And on that score Brother Lefkowitz is on mighty thin ice in his attempt to brand the progressive delegates to the A.F.T. convention as opposed to organized labor.

## Socialist Teachers Back Position of Dr. Linville

Statement of a group of Socialist members of the Teachers' Union:

WE who are members of the Socialist Party and the Teachers' Union wish to express strong dissent from the statement of the National Labor Committee that "The majority of Socialists in Local 5 have been unable to give support to Dr. Linville and Dr. Lefkowitz." We deny its accuracy. It may be nearer to the truth to write "a majority of the 'Militant Socialists'."

We are in sympathy with the present administration of the Teachers' Union and agree with their analysis that certain "militant" Socialists, by giving an air of respectability to the disruptive elements, and by giving a false notion of impartiality in the present crisis, have prevented a solution of our intolerable factional problems. By their encouragement of the disruptive left-wing forces in opposition to the Administration, by their organization of a "united front," they have gone over, hook, line, and sinker to that element in the Teachers' Union which has prevented the growth of the union into one really representative of the 36,000 teachers of the city.

We are convinced that only revocation of the charter and re-membership could save Local 5 as an effective instrument of the trade union movement among teachers.

From trustworthy reports and observations made at the convention, we are certain that the National Labor Committee has accepted a biased view of the facts.

The "militant" Socialists have organized a faction similar to the other left-wingers, thus tacitly endorsing a condition that led to the crisis.

The "militant" Socialists cooperated with the other left-wingers even though they never offered to disband their factions.

The intolerable factional condition existing in the Teachers' Union during the last ten years and the unconstitutional National Convention practices of the American Federation of Teachers during the last two years have caused the "open split" which the National Labor Committee is now beginning to recognize. We are astounded at the ignorance shown by the Labor Committee. We expected the National Labor Committee to have more knowledge of the situation in the Teachers' Union and in the American Federation of Teachers.

With the sole purpose of destroying the leadership of Local 5, Maynard Kreuger forced through a "rump meeting" of the Executive Council dishonestly assembled on Wednesday, August 28. Several members who favored the Administration's request were never no-

## Thomas Questions Lefkowitz Stand

By Norman Thomas

A continuance, still more an intensification, of a split in the American Federation of Teachers will be not only a great loss to the organization of teachers at a critical time when the support of teachers is necessary in the struggle against fascism; it will also menace any progress in the organization within the A. F. of L. of professional workers. Hence it is to be profoundly hoped that a satisfactory adjustment can be made of the differences that have developed within the union.

I have a great appreciation of what men like Henry Linville and Abraham Lefkowitz have meant to labor's cause in New York State. I have a little knowledge of the way in which over a period of some years Communist or near-Communist tactics within the New York City local of the Teachers' Federation blocked constructive action and the orderly growth of the union. But Socialists are to be praised, not condemned, who within the union insisted that it was a violation of sound labor as well as Socialist principles to deal with the situation by dissolving a local in order to reorganize it without Communists or near-Communists. As a precedent such action would be incalculably dangerous. The New Leader was, I think, unfair to the Socialists within the Teachers' Union who voted against what amounts to a program of expulsion of Communists from the union, for being Communists—remember that the N.E.C. condemned these tactics in principle in a resolution or statement originally drafted, if memory serves me, by James O'Neal. And The New Leader headlines over Lefkowitz' article, I am told, he now disclaims as different in implication than he intended.

(Note: See article by James O'Neal in this issue.)

## Helping the Communists

THE gag used by William Randolph Hearst when he attacks progressive legislation, seeks to discredit a labor measure or to rouse the mob against radicals is to denounce them as Communist.

Communists, parlor bolsheviks and confused liberals reply in kind and seek to paste the Hearst label on any and every criticism of destructive Communist and left wing activity in the labor movement.

An example of "liberal" demagoguery in this respect was offered by the New York Post in an editorial dealing with the unfortunate situation in the Teachers' Union. "Helping Mr. Hearst" was the title of the editorial, which attacked Dr. Henry Linville and Abraham Lefkowitz for the fight they are waging against a combination of Communist, pseudo-Communist, left wing and reactionary elements who are destroying the fine teachers' organization.

Those who, unlike the Post editors, have had experience in the labor movement and in the Socialist Party, know what this means. It is not our intention to give the editors of the Post elementary lessons in what happens to labor organizations where Communist and left wing elements are at work. But it does seem rather brazen for a paper like the Post, which stands for a goody-goody capitalism, a mild, wishy-washy, reformist circulation-hunting sheet, to assail as allies of Hearst persons who have devoted their lives to the labor movement and have a record that will stand open and honest scrutiny.

The Post also takes occasion to refer sneeringly to The New Leader which last week published a statement from Dr. Lefkowitz revealing the situation in the Teachers' Union, as "the Right Wing Socialist organ." The cheap, sensational, capitalist sheet undertakes to teach us what we ought to do and say about matters of vital interest and importance to a labor organization. The left wingers, always ready to avail themselves of the assistance of this capitalist organ, applaud. It is an alliance which more than once in recent months has amused the intelligent and the informed.

We leave it to the Post to hunt circulation where it wants and to use all the demagoguery its lack of intelligence and conscience may require. Those who know better, and particularly the labor movement of this city, will know how to judge the Post and its support of irresponsible elements working for the destruction of the labor movement. The cry "Helping Mr. Hearst" will not deceive those who unlike the Post are interested not in business advantage but in promoting the true interests of labor.

Incidentally we wish to point out that the Post circulated a downright falsehood when it declared that Dr. Linville and Dr. Lefkowitz had been repudiated by their organization. At the last election they received the support of two-thirds of the members.

When it comes to facts one may always expect them to be distorted in the Post. But on the score of demagoguery and intellectual dishonesty the Post is only a little behind the most scurrilous Communist sheets and the Hearst press.

## Where the Socialist Party Stands on Union Issue

By James O'Neal

THERE is a quotation in Andrew J. Biemiller's article from a statement adopted by the N.E.C. of the Socialist Party in September, 1934, which cannot be ignored. Norman Thomas also mentions it without quoting it and ascribes it to me. He is right. I drafted the statement. The quotation is as follows. Emphasis is mine.

"Uniform penalties should be provided for all members guilty of ANTI-UNION ACTIVITIES whether the members be Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, Independents, or Communists. We should not penalize members because of their political, economic, or religious views."

That is good Socialist and good union philosophy and ethics. Biemiller, however, adds that "Freedom of discussion of union policies and tactics has always been the cornerstone of trade union democracy." Thomas declares that The New Leader was "unfair to the Socialists within the Teachers' Union who voted against what amounts to expulsion of Communists from the union for being Communists."

The assumption of the Biemiller and Thomas comments is that we are not in accord with the quotation from the N.E.C. statement of ethics. The reverse is true. That quotation deals with two things, activities and opinions. The Teachers' Union never at any time questioned the right of members to hold any political opinions. It has protested against ANTI-UNION ACTIVITIES and these have been practiced by the Communists.

The Biemiller-Thomas view of the N.E.C. statement really makes it read as follows: Uniform penalties for all members guilty of anti-union activities EXCEPT COMMUNISTS."

The exhaustive Dewey report of two years ago brought this out. Biemiller and Thomas know that this is not something unique in the trade union movement. It is as old as the Communist International. Trade union history is littered with the wrecking activities of Communists. If they were content with only expressing their philosophy there would be no harm done, but when they engage in the intrigues, slander and sabotage for which they have become notorious then their activities become of grave concern to all the members. Such activities cannot continue without driving members away in disgust, without preventing new members coming in, and without paralyzing the normal functions for which unions are organized and maintained.

In the case of the Teachers' Union an endless civil war has been waged within it by Communist groups for years. The situation became so bad that responsible members and officials had come to the conclusion that a surgical operation was necessary to save the union. He who doubts this should read the Dewey report. Here is bared all the tricks of low cunning, craft and chicanery of anti-social human beings bent upon a policy of literally destroying all those who do not follow their party "line."

For example, what is to be said of creatures who again and again charge that officials have "betrayed the Union"? The person who makes that statement is a coward if he does not make the charge in writing and face those whom he accuses. He is himself a betrayer of the union if he does not follow the accusation by attempting to prove it for his failure to do so act makes him an ac-

## Dr. Lefkowitz Makes Reply To Biemiller Criticisms

By Abraham Lefkowitz

Andrew J. Biemiller, in answer to my indictment of the "militant" Socialists at the Cleveland convention of the American Federation of Teachers, ignores practically every basic charge and bit of evidence in my article in The New Leader last week. Instead, he proceeds to introduce other items wholly irrelevant, or proceeds to draw unwarranted deductions to confuse the situation still further. My New Leader article made the following charges:

1. That the left-wing element in the Teachers' Union, led by Communists, and pursuing left-wing tactics, had been charged with and found guilty of character assassination, deliberate misrepresentation, sabotage and anti-union conduct. The testimony before the Executive Council, which Mr. Biemiller never troubled himself to read, and the evidence of repeated sabotage presented on the floor by Mr. Smallheiser and other Local No. 5 speakers showed clearly that the issue was not one of political beliefs or affiliation, but conduct. Our position is the position Mr. Biemiller professes to believe in, but which he did not follow at the convention. Why Mr. Biemiller persists in befuddling your readers in the face of our records from which ample testimony was submitted concerning the suspension of left-wing leaders, and the censure of the groups by the Teachers' Union for anti-union conduct, still remains a mystery.

2. I charged that these left-wingers sought to ally our local with Communist controlled affiliates and thus endangered our labor affiliation. Mr. Biemiller ignores this vital charge, and also the fact that at one time the union was saved by two votes from being forced to line up with the Communist Party and the Manufacturers' Association in opposition to labor's unemployment insurance bill—the Byrne-Killgrew Bill in the New York Legislature.

3. I charged—and my charge is

complice in the "betrayal."

This is an old offense in the union. To seek to eliminate such anti-social and anti-union creatures is not to expel them because of their beliefs but for their activities. To take the other view is to raise a smoke screen and defend actions that will destroy the union. Free speech does not mean the right to be a cad or a scoundrel.

Moreover, it comes with poor grace for members of our party to object to the Teachers' Union trying to eliminate persons of this type when our own party has had the same trouble with persons who have acted in the same way. In Biemiller's own city, Milwaukee, last year a party member was expelled because of his activities in a Communist "innocents club." I am certain that Biemiller did not quote the N.E.C. statement as a reason why the party should not expel that offender.

There cannot be more than one sovereignty in any organization. If there are two or more, each claiming allegiance of some members, then the parent sovereignty set up by the members becomes paralyzed. Civil war and disintegration are the results. Nobody wins; everybody loses—including the factional groups.

Assume that the supporters of the administration leave the union. They are the majority but they are thinking of doing so. What remains will be Stalin Communists, Lovestone Communists and "militants." Will there be peace and a bigger and better union? It is utopian to think so.

The three groups will then turn to destroy each other. Any person who knows the composition of these groups knows that this is true. The stable elements will be outside, no longer fired upon by a precarious group alliance which is held together only because of its common opposition to the stable elements.

This whole situation is so vital that it is necessary to speak out. It has all the possibilities of ranging the Socialist Party and the trade unions of the country into opposite and opposing camps if Socialists take a wrong course, and some have already taken that course.

The New Leader, well knowing the penalty to be reaped by a wrong course, remembering some sad facts in the history of the Socialist and trade union movements in this country, takes its stand against intrigues and disruption in the trade unions. We do not believe that making deals with discordant elements or condoning anti-social and anti-union activities in the name of free speech will bridge the gulf that still yawns between the political and economic movements of the working class. We shall oppose any such suicidal course in the party and we will have a majority of the members with us.

supported by the oldest and largest locals which left the Cleveland convention on August 30—that last year our convention was captured by "paper" locals which were illegally represented and that this year similar tactics were pursued, aided by "militants." Again this "champion" ignores the charge and the irregularities he himself supported.

Mr. Biemiller not only ignores my basic charges but submits the following arguments:

### The Compromise Proposal

1. That the adamant attitude of the writer prevented the adoption of a compromise proposal of the Executive Council which would have saved Local 5. What are the facts? First, the offer he discusses and knows only secondhand was never presented to the convention for action because the Executive Council rejected it at a subsequent rump meeting to which the friends of Local No. 5 had not been invited.

2. The proposal he reports had no legality, because Local No. 5 had autonomy, and the only way the Executive Council could deal with the situation was to have the convention revoke the charter—the very request the "militants" opposed.

3. The acceptance of an illegal proposal which they could not even finance would have merely complicated and delayed action. Throughout his letter Mr. Biemiller ignores the Dewey Report of 1933 on the factional situation and its findings, the futility of all past compromise, the history of wreckage the left-wingers have left in their wake, and the fact that the solution offered by Local 5 was the result of 13 years of experience and analysis by its ablest leaders. Verily, fools thrust themselves into places where more experienced and better informed persons are reluctant to tread.

### The Consequences

Mr. Biemiller makes the unsupported assertion that "one of my lieutenants" was responsible for the Green telegram, which was responsible for the demand for revocation. How Mr. Biemiller ignores facts! The Executive Council at the beginning of the session was unanimous that the Local 5 matter should be kept off the floor of the convention until all business had been transacted. Instead, a "rump" meeting of the Executive Council suddenly reported the telegram in open session and proceeded to confuse the situation—a confusion made possible by the speeches of the "militants."

Mr. Biemiller states that my article is full of misstatements, but scrupulously refrains from being specific. This new and uninformed addition to our ranks shows a complete ignorance of the facts relative to two resolutions—one relating to the American League Against War and Fascism and the other with reference to independent political action with all political groups. What does the record show? That the Committee on Policies discussed the resolution and approved it by a 12 to 11 vote, because of the solid support of the militants and a few reactionaries. Not only did the "militants" and reactionaries unite on this issue, but also in the voting in the election of officers as examination of the ballots by the tellers showed.

With reference to the resolution for independent political action I have been informed that many "militants" supported it. The only objection was not to the intent but to the wording which seemed to some of them to be "too strong." It was then referred to the Executive Council which contrary to its duty—took no action. Does Mr. Biemiller deny that "militants" argued for the policy it embodied? If so, another denial of a fact should not worry an "infant" in our organization whom so far as I know I had never previously met and to whom I did not say I was to the "left" of the Socialist Party. This is just a figment of his unruly imagination.

Mr. Biemiller ignores Mr. Kreuger's nomination for the presidency which was used to club Mr. Lowry, candidate for reelection, into line. He ignores the "unholy alliance" of militants and reactionaries; he ignores Mr. Kreuger's statement in the Executive Council that he would never give the new charter to the present leaders of our local if the old charter were revoked; he ignores everything, injects irrelevant things and dares to speak in the face of the record. There are none so blind as those who refuse to see or to read. The militants and their "unholy" allies sided with our left-wing groups knowing it meant the death of the outstanding fighting militant teachers' organization in the country because that was clearly stated on the floor. They made their choice, and now stand aghast at the consequences. Well they may—if they have a conscience.

## Teachers' Union Conflict Reaches Crisis

(Continued from Page One)

assert that it is not true that "a majority of Socialists in Local 5" did not support the administration.

The Porter statement adds that the "Socialist Party has no desire to interfere with the internal affairs of any local or of the national union of teachers" but as Linville and Lefkowitz had "publicly assailed" Socialists in the national convention the S. P. Labor Committee was impelled to reply. Porter declares that these Socialist delegates had opposed "a demand that Local 5 be reorganized in order to remove a small minority of Communists from membership." He hopes that the union members will exert every effort "to restore harmony" in the union and "retain within the union every present member."

Porter adds that The New Leader "has no authority to speak for the Socialist Party of the United States or for Socialist teachers. It is no longer an accredited paper of the Socialist Party of the United States."

**Misrepresentation**  
Here Porter engages in misrepresentation. The New Leader is

the official paper of the Socialist Party of New York State, of Pennsylvania and Maryland. The so-called "accredited" list was abolished by the National Executive Committee at its last meeting. As for the teachers, it does not pretend to be the organ of the teachers or any other union but it is recognized by many unions and tens of thousands of union members as an effective exponent of their cause and an opponent of disruptive elements in the trade unions.

Andrew J. Biemiller of Milwaukee sends a criticism of the Lefkowitz article of last week and the latter replies, both articles appearing in this issue.

Incidentally, Lefkowitz authorizes The New Leader to state that while the headlines given to his article last week were not his it is not true that he "disclaims" them and that the heading was in accord with the trend of his article.

A group of Socialist members of Local 5 who are opposed to the tactics of the "militant" Socialists in the union also issue a statement in answer to the statement made

by Paul Porter. This group, much larger than the number who sign it, declare that the "militants" by their "encouragement of the disruptive left wing forces in opposition to the administration, by their organization of a 'united front,' they have gone over hook, line, and sinker to that element in the Teachers' Union which has prevented the growth of the union into one really representative of the 36,000 teachers of the city."

This refers to the announcement of a joint meeting to be held by the two Communist groups of teachers, the Rank and File and the Progressive Group, and the "militant" Socialists on Friday of this week.

The discordant forces have been disturbing the Teachers' Union for years and an intolerable situation has developed to a crisis. It recalls the struggle in some of the needle trade unions a decade ago, especially in the International Ladies' Garment Workers when an order was issued disbanding all factional groups. The Socialists did but the Communists continued in a secret and furtive manner in group activities.

**NEW JERSEY**  
Passaic.—The following have been chosen to represent the Socialist Party in the forthcoming county election: For Assembly—Gerrit De Young, Irving Fischer, Adolph Dolder, Vetta Kallish. For Freeholder—Benjamin Kraft and Elmer Hamm.  
Girard.—Valenti, editor of "La Stampa Libera," will be guest speaker at the opening forum series sponsored by Branch 1, Friday, Sept. 20, at 8:30, at the Workmen's Circle, 50 Howe Ave. Open forums will be held on the first and third Friday of each month on subjects of current importance.  
County Committee.—Meeting has been called for Thursday, Sept. 12, at 3 p. m., at 66 Washington St., Paterson.

# Soviet Russia Aids Mussolini's War on Ethiopian People

## Trade Deals With Il Duce In Needed War Materials Yield Big Profits to Russia

(Continued from Page One)

itary encampments. The price was above the market price.

### Caught With the Goods

Last Sunday a cable even more shocking arrived from the Greek port Piraeus. It was published in the New York Times.

"For several months," the cable said, "Greek freighters have been taking cargoes from Soviet Black Sea ports to Massaua and Mogadishu (Italian ports in Africa). No report of the traffic has appeared in the Russian, Italian and Greek press."

"Most of the freighters carry cargoes of wheat from Sebastopol and coal tar from Nicolaiev for new roads, destined to cross the Ethiopian frontiers. The ships were sold by the Soviet through the federal monopolies. Coal also is shipped from Theodosia and Nicolaiev and oil from Batum, but most of the fuel goes to Italy."

"The Soviet insists on cash payments before the Greek freighters begin loading. The war business with Italy is more profitable to the Soviet than the trade with other Mediterranean countries, which demand reciprocal export balances where no political alliance exists."

"Until July Piraeus and the harbors of the Cyclades were choked with rusting freighters. Now more than forty are in Italy's service. Twelve were hired by an agent of the Russian marine monopoly exclusively for Soviet shipments to Africa."

"The Communist Seamen's Union is agitating for a labor boycott against vessels carrying war supplies. Only one such strike was successful among the freighters in Italian service. The sailors see no reason for not earning six pounds monthly in Italy's service when the Soviet is providing war supplies."

It is impossible to escape the shocking fact: while Communists throughout the world have been assuring their followers that Soviet Russia is the only country fighting earnestly and sincerely against Mussolini's war conspiracy, the Soviet government has been quietly supplying him with wheat and raw materials for war. While Communists in the United States have been calling Negroes to demonstrations against Mussolini's conspiracy to destroy Ethiopia, Soviet Russia has been supplying his army with materials for the building of roads for his tanks and cannons and with oil for its aeroplanes.

### Business Is Business

For months radicals and liberals in all countries have demanded an embargo on foodstuffs and war materials for Italy as the sole means of paralyzing his war preparations, and Communists have been demanding a united front of all those opposed to war. The first task of

his speech attracted attention and was taken seriously.

Equally serious was the impression produced by the Pravda editorial the day after Litvinoff's speech. The editorial went further than Litvinoff dared to go. It declared that if the League of Nations decided upon a boycott of Mussolini, Soviet Russia would cooperate in such a boycott, that it would have to do so despite Moscow's friendliest feelings for Mussolini and his regime.

Honest Communists abroad felt a sense of relief upon learning that their "fatherland" was at last acting in some measure in the manner in which a revolutionary government must be expected to act. But how disgusted and disappointed they must now feel. Indeed, it would have been better had Litvinoff and the Soviet press kept silent altogether.

### Duranti's Testimony

How cynical are Litvinoff's utterances about the necessity of preserving peace and Pravda's boycott warning when we learn that at the very moment when Litvinoff was addressing the League Council and Pravda was preparing its editorial, Soviet ports were teeming with ships being loaded with food and war materials for Mussolini's army standing at the gates of Ethiopia!

But do not imagine that this is the first time that the Soviet government has committed this crime, the crime of supplying materials to capitalist countries engaged in war. If you have any such illusion read what Walter Duranti, Moscow correspondent of the New York Times, published in that paper last Sunday. Mr. Duranti, as is well known, is a warm apologist for the Soviet government. Military and political relations between Soviet Russia and Turkey have been most friendly, writes Mr. Duranti, since the Soviet government had helped Kemal Pasha in the critical moments of his war with Greece. At that time the Soviet government sent Frunze, the late war commissar, on an important mission to Turkey, with war materials, arms, ammunition and money.

The war between Turkey and Greece was in 1921. The issue was territory ceded to Greece under the Versailles treaty and which Turkey was determined to regain. Helping capitalist dictators to wage war has thus become a tradition with the Soviet government.

First Kemal Pasha and now—Mussolini. And while we make this point let us not forget the commercial treaty concluded by Moscow with Hitler.

### Rebel Arts Planning For the Fall Season

Rebel Arts, the cultural organization of the Socialist Party, is casting several plays for the fall season. Those interested should call at Rebel Arts 44 East 21st street Tuesday and Thursday at 8.30.

Branches are informed that Rebel Arts is prepared to cooperate with their work by giving performances in their headquarters.

## British Expert Sees Financial Ruin for Italy

Cabling from London to the New York Herald-Tribune Francis W. Hirst, noted British economist, stresses the serious economic and financial situation confronting Mussolini as a result of his Ethiopian war adventure. Mr. Hirst writes:

"The financial strain on Italy is evidently causing alarm among business men and the well-to-do classes. This should cool whatever war enthusiasm that exists. The whole Italian population will be upset by the new list of prices which was affixed to shops throughout Italy last week by government order. According to the Rome correspondent of 'The Daily Telegraph,' better qualities of food have been raised 20 per cent. Bread, macaroni, dried beans, potatoes, cod, and other staple foods are all higher. Wage earners will be hard hit."

"This proves internal inflation of the lira and will accelerate dissipation of the country's gold reserve which is Mussolini's chief financial stand-by and is now declining rapidly. The Bolzano decrees include a new 10 per cent dividend tax to be deducted from the distribution of dividends and interest on bearer bonds."

"This is estimated to yield nearly \$5,000,000 a year. But the consternation and panic caused by these decrees and seizure by the Italian treasury of all foreign securities owned by Italians will cause immediate and severe shrinkage of revenue. Distrust of government securities already has spread through Italy and investors are finding them unsalable at anything like the quoted prices. Forced conversion of foreign investments into 5 per cent bonds will make the market for government securities worse than ever. On Friday the sensation of the Italian security markets was the fall of 102 points from 444 to 342 in Fiat, which is concentrating its production on airplanes for the govern-

## Socialist Teachers Back Position of Dr. Linville

(Continued from Page Four)

tions and procedures will definitely injure the movement for unionizing the teachers in areas like Portland, Oregon, St. Paul, Minnesota, Chicago, Ill. Memphis and Chattanooga Tennessee, New Bedford, Mass., etc and cause loss of labor affiliation. It is the labor support which after all, gives the Teachers' Union its strength.

The union is already split beyond reconciliation by left-wing groups plus the aid and comfort given them by the "militant" Socialist group.

Yet the National Labor Committee admits that Dr. Linville and Dr. Lefkowitz "have a record of labor progressivism in the past for which the Socialist Party has high respect."

How does the Labor Committee stand on the undeniable vote-trading between the reactionary job-holders in the convention and Kreuger's left-wing "paper local" forces? We want the answer: Signed: Esther S. Gross, Charles Haskell, Algernon Lee, and Maurice Levine.

### Public Speaking Class

NEW KENSINGTON.—Public Speaking classes will be started on Sunday, September 15th, at 10:30 A. M. at the Garibaldi Hall, under the auspices of the Socialist Party. Karl Pauli, organizer for the Socialist Party of Pittsburgh will be the instructor.

### TO ESTABLISH JUBILEE CRAWFORD STORE

In announcing plans for a "Jubilee" store, to be erected as a means of celebrating a 70% increase in volume, Joseph Levy, president and founder of Crawford Clothing Company, took occasion to thank his small army of workers for their whole-hearted cooperation and undiminished loyalty.

ment. The Bolzano decrees also will increase difficulties for British and other exporters in Italy in getting payment.

"Proposals are being considered in official and unofficial circles here for financial and economic restraints which would accelerate and aggravate Mussolini's difficulties. The possibility of closing the Suez Canal to warships and transports carrying troops or munitions might be justified as a precautionary measure, lest the canal should be damaged by Arab attacks."

## Socialists Explain Why They Left the Passaic Labor Party

Special to The New Leader

PASSAIC, N. J.—The county organization of the Socialist Party read a statement at the last meeting of the Passaic County Labor Party giving reasons for the withdrawal of the Socialists. The Socialist Party will nominate a full ticket for the November election.

The statement declares that the Socialist Party, always opposed to the capitalist parties which can never represent the working class, maintains that "only a working class party based on principles which will revolutionize and transform our social order can serve the needs of the workers and 'armers of America.' The statement continued:

"The Socialist Party recognizes the need for independent political action by labor itself. The Socialist Party hails the beginning of such a progressive attitude on the part of members of labor organizations. More than that, because it sees the vital necessity of workers repudiating once and for all the two capitalist parties, it agitates and works for the establishment of a party of labor, based primarily upon the economic organizations of labor—the trade unions."

"The present labor party development, however, does not have a wide base among the trade unions of Passaic County. This is proved by the withdrawal of several unions, including the Central Labor Union, which initiated the formation of the labor party."

"Therefore the Socialist Party of Passaic County hereby withdraws its delegates and declares its intention of running its own candidates and conducting its own campaign this fall. It will continue to agitate for a mass labor party in the State of New Jersey as well as in Passaic County."

## Rand School Is Launching High School Department For Youthful Students

THE Rand School announces the institution of a high school department, designed for the instruction of students in the regular high schools of New York. There will be four classes corresponding to the four years of high school instruction. It is planned to have graduates continue their studies for two years in the Rand School Workers' Training Course. They will then enter the Socialist and labor movement after six years of training in a workers' school.

The purposes of the high school are explained in the new Rand School Bulletin "to send forth students firmly grounded in history and economics, well acquainted with the main currents of literature, music and art; students skeptical of authority, possessing the desire and ability to think for themselves."

The classes will be held Sunday mornings, and the school year will run from October 13th to April 26th. The school is open to all high school students who are members of any section of the Socialist youth movement, including the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the Young Circle League. A special High School Bulletin may be obtained at the Rand School office.

On October 8th, the Rand School will begin its 30th year of service to the Socialist and labor movement. In building its program for 1935-36, the needs of the movement have had first consideration.

Scientific knowledge and practical training are offered in great variety. In these days of depression and of false remedies, it is essential that people who want to think straight should know history, economics, trade unionism. There will be several courses in Introduction to Socialism, a course in Current Economics and a more advanced course in Economic Doctrines of Karl Marx. The development of the working class in Europe and America will be covered in various history courses, and special courses will be devoted to the history of the Socialist parties of the world. Other courses will take the student into the fields of social theory and the history of economic thought.

The practical courses are designed to develop the personal aptitude of the student, and to teach him methods of work. In the first

category come the classes in English and Public Speaking and, especially, the course called Method in Socialist Education. This course, which has been given for two years by Frederick Shulman, has developed into one of the most popular and useful ever offered by the Rand School. In it a large group of comrades meet each week to learn by precept and practice the best methods of carrying on such classes as we have in our party branches and Yipsel circles.

Of the second sort are two classes in organization work. One of these takes up Organization Problems of Trade Unions and the other Organization Problems of the Socialist Party. The teachers are party workers and trade union workers.

Other Courses. Many other courses are offered, one of the most interesting being a symposium by a group of distinguished engineers, among the most famous in America. The course is called Technology and Revolution.

### The Workers' Training Courses

As in the past years the central corps of the Rand School student body will be made up of students pursuing a regular, systematic two-year program, leading to a Rand School diploma. Students are selected from among members of the Socialist Party, the Young People's Socialist League, the Workers' Circle, the Young Circle League or of a Trade Union. Only a small number of scholarship students will be accepted. Those who desire scholarship should apply at the office before the opening of school on October 8.

### Free Course to New Party Members

All persons who have joined the Socialist Party since the first of September, 1934, are entitled to take one course in a social science free of charge. Applicants must present their party cards.

### Women's Afternoon Courses

The Women's Afternoon Classes will be continued with an enlarged and enriched program. Esther Friedman, William E. Duffy and Rebecca Jarvis will be the teachers. The symposium course in Practical Politics is announced with a brilliant list of lecturers. These classes will start during the week of October 28.

### Women to Meet

TARENTUM.—The Women's Socialist Club will hold a social affair on Wednesday, September 18th, at the Socialist Hall, 605 Wood Street.

## Rand School Opening Thirtieth Year Begins on October 8th, 1935

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## THEATRE AS A SOCIAL FORCE

### THE THEATRE SPEAKS

III

Katharine Cornell

To "introduce" Katharine Cornell to the readers of this paper would be an impertinence; "the first lady of the theatre" has her crowding audiences ready throughout the land. Her faith in the public outside New York, off Broadway, a public to whom she has first shown some of her noblest work, has reawakened the road, and set many sterling players to recognize this wider, eager audience. Miss Cornell makes a clarion call for a true perspective of the wide social role of the theatre. Her words are spoken to Ray Henderson, long thoroughly familiar with her career and her theatrical ideals, in an exclusive interview for The New Leader.

Joseph T. Shipley.

### The Theatre Must De-Centralize

"This is a transitional period in the American theatre," is the opinion of Katharine Cornell. "One may seek and find various causes for the present state of the drama in this country, but chiefly I believe the speaking stage not yet has adjusted itself to the changing conditions of the twentieth century, or at least the changes induced by the first quarter of the century, by which is indicated the motion picture, the radio and the advancement in modes of transportation."

Much has been said and written about the effect of the silent and the talking picture and of the radio on the stage. Miss Cornell

thinks that the appearance of other means of entertainment being inevitable in the course of progress, the difficulty in the theatre has been the same as happens in any other field where new inventions have occurred to broaden and to increase the activity in any particular section of art or commerce. Neither the film nor the radio has yet felt its stride nor assumed its proper place, nor has the stage been able overnight to adjust itself to the new problems that have arisen.

"It was natural that both these discoveries should be looked upon as intruders and then as rivals by the stage, but as time goes on it is more and more apparent that this estimate is not the important one. There is no reason why these forms of entertainment should not be beneficial to the stage just as the stage has proven to be of inestimable value to them by furnishing them so much material and a ready-made audience. The pictures have imitated the stage too closely. They reach their importance chiefly when they are freest of our form of drama. The radio from its nature has had a wider range, but it has adopted much of the stage technique. It, too, is most effective when it depends on itself and when it more and more employs its own intrinsic qualities in its programs."

#### Two Forms Necessary

The automobile, which has provided people with easier transportation as well as another means of entertainment, has had a direct effect on theatre-going, but the actress sees in this, as was evident during her recent tour of the country, another means of bringing people from distant places to the theatre.

"I am convinced that what the stage must do is to look into itself and meet its own problems without too much weeping about the inroads of the screen and the radio. Having recognized that these two mediums can do certain things far better than the theatre, the point then is to increase the advantages of the stage which can not be usurped by either. One of the evils that has grown up in the centralizing of the speaking stage in New York City. Producers sooner or later will realize that by selling their product to the films and to the radio before they have exhausted the possibilities of the theatre itself throughout the coun-

try, they have not only lost important revenue, but they have stunted and seriously threatened the life of the stage itself.

"The fact that the road, which has been and always will be the backbone of the theatre, has almost been abandoned, is one of the tragic events of the past fifteen years. For one thing, playwrights now think too much in terms of Broadway, or of one public alone, and the result of this is too apparent to need much comment. Always the road has been more favorable to classic drama than has been New York. Edwin Booth used to say that only by the profits of his tours could he afford to act Shakespeare in New York City. Sothern and Marlowe, who quit the theatre with the largest fortune ever made in the theatre alone, had their enormously successful metropolitan seasons because they limited them and by their prestige drew the Broadway public to see Shakespeare when Broadway little cared about great plays.

**Dissimilar Audiences Needed**  
"The sophisticated or so-called sophisticated drama that has been prevalent in New York in recent years finds the road unresponsive. This is in itself nothing against this class of play; only it is important that since the field for the spoken drama has been limited so closely to New York and a few other large cities, it has incited so many playwrights to devote themselves to this kind of treatment to the exclusion of others.

"I grant I am generalizing and that everything I have said may be met with evidence to the contrary, but I can only speak in broad terms of broad conditions.

"The actors and the playwrights both need in the growth of their art the most dissimilar and extensive audiences possible. A year ago, when we toured 17,000 miles and acted from one corner of the country to the other, we discovered the untold advantage to ourselves of appearing before audiences of such contrasting nature. I know the invaluable experience I gained from this with 'Romeo and Juliet,' for each of these audiences taught me something about Juliet and about Shakespeare. At the end of the tour my performance was almost another interpretation, for the constant critical function of playgoers of all sorts had had its effect on my acting.

#### Provincial New Yorkers

"New York audiences are composed to a large extent of visitors from other parts of the country; but when these various elements meet in New York, we have still another kind of audience. Of practical value it is evident what it means to the player who is known in Dallas, Texas; in Tacoma, Washington; in Savannah, Georgia."

Miss Cornell's tour of the country already has had its immediate effect, for the success of her pioneering has induced other players and producers to venture on the road.

"It is a truism to state that the most provincial person is the metropolitanite who never has ventured beyond the city blocks of his own immediate life. The fact is, the theatre and its people cannot do without Broadway nor without the road; they act as correctives.

"It is impossible for anyone to predict the trend of any art. But

### Current Events of Day in Sight and Sound Always Seen on Embassy Screen

In the past five years a radical change has taken place in newsreels. With the advent of sound, the scope and appeal of the newsreel was vastly increased and a new force arose in the field of journalism. Just compare the newsreel of a few years back with that of today. Where formerly one saw Baby Parades, Horse Races and Battleships, one now sees actual historical records such as the League of Nations meeting at Geneva, a peace meeting at Oxford University, and an actual confession of a murderer in the District Attorney's office.

This medium of news by sound and motion picture is most impressive in regard to personalities and character studies. After listening to Mussolini address a huge throng in Rome one feels that they have an insight into his character. When he smiles benignly at the King while watching the army maneuvers it leaves one with a very definite impression.

In this manner patrons of the newsreel theatre feel that they have met all the famous personalities. They feel they actually know the Prince of Wales, Ramsay MacDonald, President Roosevelt and others too innumerable to mention here.

The Newsreel Theatre thus becomes an educational force where one absorbs impressions. It is international in character. One sees from all over the world. One comprehends the feelings of the Russians, the Japanese, the Germans, and perhaps most of all at this time, the Ethiopians.

Behind this educational newsreel theatre are three young men, ages twenty-six, thirty-four and twenty-nine. Francis Carter Wood, Jr., is the general manager of the Embassy Newsreel Theatre of New York and the Newsreel Theatre of Newark, N. J., as well as treasurer of the Newsreel Theatres, Inc. Harold E. Wondsel is vice-president of the Newsreel Theatres and editor of Pathe News, perhaps the most aggressive newsreel of all. While W. French Gikens is president and organizer of the Newsreel Theatres Corporation; formerly managing editor of Pathe News, ex-managing editor of Trans-Lux Theatres, formerly on the staff of Fox Movietone News and before that having been connected with the American Embassy in Spain after graduation from Columbia University in 1927.

The newsreels become more important each week, each time an event takes place. The actual assassination of King Alexander is now preserved for posterity. A new newsreel history of World Events is being formed. And a group of intelligent young men are definitely taking their place in this new field of journalism.

#### "Goose and the Gander" at Strand Theatre

"The Goose and the Gander," Kay Francis's latest First National starring picture, is at the New Strand Theatre. George Brent appears with Miss Francis as her leading man.

one does feel that the speaking stage has before it its most critical and its most abundant opportunity now. There is an audience, and a vast one, for good plays and good acting, both in town and on tour, and for the health of the stage it is vital that neither audience be ignored."

Lilian Shapero



The well-known dancer and choreographer, who will appear with the "Zu-Lach-Ess" group at the Civic Repertory Theatre Saturday and Sunday, September 21st and 22nd.

#### Arthur Pierson in Musical

Arthur Pierson, stage and screen star, has just completed a featured role in the new William Rowland musical picture, "Sweet Surrender," shortly to be released nationally by Universal Pictures Corporation.

Mr. Pierson plays one of the romantic leads opposite Tamara, while Frank Parker, the famous radio tenor essays the other lead.

#### "Few Are Chosen" to Open Sept. 17th at 58th St. Theatre

A provocative play, daring in its treatment of the problem of religion and its relation to our modern civilization, will unfold for Broadway audiences on Tuesday evening, Sept. 17th, when "Few Are Chosen," by N. Lawlor, opens at the 58th Street Theatre (formerly the John Golden).

Courageously written and well cast the play has a number of well-known Broadway players, including Ara Gerald, who was last seen in "Revenge With Music." Alma Kruger, whose portrayal of the Prioress in Eva Le Gallienne's production of "The Cradle Song," won her critical acclaim; Mary Hone, Norma Downey and Alney Alba.

Though primarily a religious play, "Few Are Chosen" holds no brief for any particular brand of religion, nor is it a treatise on any one religious sect. Its theme is universal, its problem embraces all mankind. A story of the human conflict that exists in a convent this drama is written from first-hand information.

The cast, with one exception Coburn Goodwin, is composed entirely of women. The entire production of "Few Are Chosen" has been under the supervision of Gregory Deane.

#### Elissa Landi in "Without Regret" at Brooklyn Strand—Also "Manhattan Moon"

Another double feature program is being presented at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre this week. The two features are "Without Regret," with Elissa Landi, Paul Cavanagh, Kent Taylor and Frances Drake and "Manhattan Moon," a music studded romance, with Ricardo Cortez, Dorothy Page, Henry Molison, Henry Armetta and Louis Alberni.

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

### Robert Donat in "The 39 Steps" at Roxy Theatre

The Roxy Theatre this week offers as its feature film "The 39 Steps," new GB melodramatic romance, starring Robert Donat and Madeleine Carroll. On the stage is a new gala show, headed by Billy Hill, Mrs. Billy Hill, Tommy (Cecil) Mack and other variety artists in person.

Rounding out the three-hour stage and screen program are "Mickey's Kangaroo" and the Roxy Newsreel Review.

### Labor Theatre in Brooklyn Offers Double Bill

An organization calling itself the Labor Theater of Brooklyn is representing a couple of plays at the Brooklyn Little Theatre, one of which is called "Take Our Stand," by Miss Elizabeth England. The play itself, a one-act dealing with a strike in a southern mill, is one of the best propaganda plays we have ever seen. The lines are true to life, the situations highly plausible, and the acting is splendid.

The actors are working people who have contributed their services. They work at ordinary jobs during the day, and rehearse in the evening.

The group hopes to stay at the Little Theater for three weeks and then go around to the neighborhood of Brooklyn and Long Island for one-night stands. T. B. F.

#### CALIFORNIA

**Los Angeles.**—The local Socialists are planning a picnic and get-together at the start of the 1936 campaign, to be held at Glen Oaks Park in Glendale. In addition to sports and other amusement there will be brief talks by George R. Kirkpatrick and others.

**San Francisco.**—The local Socialists are sponsoring an attractive and instructive educational program at the headquarters, 1657 Steiner St.

#### NEW YORK

**United Socialist Drive.**—State Secretary Merrill, who has just returned from a vacation in New Hampshire, declares that the failure of New York State to raise its quota in the United Socialist Drive has seriously affected organizing work, and has again appealed to the membership to support the drive.

**Tompkins County.**—The Tompkins County local has gone over the top in raising its quota in the United Socialist Drive.

**Port Chester.**—The Finnish Branch is celebrating its 19th anniversary Saturday and Sunday. The Saturday celebration will be held in the evening at headquarters, and the Sunday celebration at the picnic grounds.

**Primary Day.**—The voting hours in New York City are from 12 noon to 9 p. m. Every party member who is an enrolled voter is urged to vote, thereby assuring the nomination of bona fide Socialists in every instance.

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# During the Breathing Spell by Sidney Hillman

President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

## To Safeguard the Gains Won Under NRA, and to Extend Them Is Labor's Great Task,—Death of NRA Brought Drop in Working Conditions Wherever Workers Were Not Well Organized

THREE months have passed since the Supreme Court, ruling on the Schechter case, declared the National Industrial Recovery Act unconstitutional. This decision was not justified, according to a layman's reading of the Constitution.

The United States of 1789 was entirely unlike the United States of 1935. In 1789 the whole population numbered less than half of the inhabitants of the New York metropolitan district; there was no railroad communication, no one had even dreamed of telephone, the power age; 90 per cent of the people were engaged in agricultural pursuits.

The founders could not possibly have had any conception of the problems in an age of machinery and mass production; and it is hard to believe that they intended to prevent the federal government from meeting such problems as would necessitate giving aid to labor in emergencies. Further, the Constitution certainly does not seem to grant the Supreme Court the power to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional.

But my present purpose is not to discuss the legal aspects of that decision; right now we are confronted with its consequences.

The decision removed government support from the minimum wages and maximum hours for labor that had existed in the codes. However, we find that in those industries where labor has been well organized, NRA rates have been maintained, at least for the time being. In some instances, this has been done by incorporating the rates into collective bargaining agreements between organized labor and organized employers. This has occurred in the cloak and suit industry, the men's clothing industry, and in coal mining.

The agreement signed the other day between the International Ladies' Garment Workers and the employers in the cloak and suit industry makes the labor provisions of the code in that industry a part of the collective contractual relationship. We in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have signed a contract with the organized employers in New York City which makes permanent for 30,000 employees the important provisions of the code of the men's clothing industry. The terms provide for the 36 hour week, maintenance of all the labor provisions originally written into the code, including the outlawing of child labor and home work. These provisions, in point of fact, now obtain throughout the unionized centers of the industry, and when the time comes for renewal of agreements in other organized centers the same provisions will be made part of the written union contracts. In the less than 20 per cent of the industry which is still unorganized, the employers are fearful of the power of the union, and consequently have maintained the code provisions with few exceptions.

The miners, organized in the United Mine Workers of America, have likewise been able to hold on to their working conditions. Their agreement was extended to September 16 and in the meantime they worked to get the Guiffey Coal Bill passed so that the conditions may be further extended under the bill, which will set up regulation of hours, wages and trade practices in the coal industry.

These three examples show clearly one thing: that labor can protect itself if it is well organized.

But what is happening to unorganized labor?

Unfortunately, only 10 per cent of American labor is organized; the remainder is the helpless prey to the forces that have been unleashed by the breakdown of the Recovery Act. In the unorganized industries, there was an almost immediate collapse of hour and pay schedules. Reports now available indicate that in retail distribution, and in the service industries, employing from eight to ten million workers, hours have been increased by 20 per cent and over. Wages have been cut and are going still further down.

### Judicial Reaction

Thus, the gradual improvement we had felt since 1933 has been not only checked, but reversed. From 1933 till the Schechter decision, millions of people had been put back to work. Wages were being increased. We thought that better times were ahead. But the nine Justices of the Supreme Court have attempted to turn the spiral downward, and if nothing positive and decisive is done to check the justices' reactionary course, we are more likely than not to revert to the conditions that existed from 1930 to 1933.

What can we expect from the near future?

At the moment, profits continue going up. But if the vital interests of labor and of the consumers are not adequately protected the

show of rising profits will be but a prelude to the decline of mass purchasing power. What will remain of profits if the market for the products of industry are undermined?

It is estimated that ten million men and women, willing and able to work, are unemployed. Some twenty million are on the relief rolls. The Administration is doing whatever it can to help the situation with the \$4,800,000,000 fund placed at its disposal by Congress. This seems like a big sum and yet it is very little if we take into account the number of people that need to be helped. The re-constructive tasks of the government have been made most difficult by the disastrous after-effects of the Supreme Court decision.

Temporary emergency relief, coupled with measures designed to increase employment, raise wages and subsidize purchasing power, is one thing. Relief for what apparently will be a permanent standing army of unemployed, with no prospects of re-employment in the

near future, is quite another. The four billion dollars appropriated for work-relief will soon be spent. Money for relief must come from some source. Surely we can't let millions of American people starve. Yet the very persons who praised the Schechter decision, who applauded the closing of the road that would have brought these people to self-sustaining employment, stubbornly oppose any measures that will provide for the maintenance of the people on relief.

### Tax High Incomes

At present, receipts from taxation come overwhelmingly from people of small means. The excise taxes, real estate taxes, tariff charges, iniquitous sales tax, all fall heaviest on those least able to pay. The sales tax even falls on those it is designed to provide for—the unemployed on relief rolls. The great masses are already burdened with more taxes than they can carry.

The only new possible source from which can be provided funds for relief is taxation of incomes



Sidney Hillman

in the higher brackets. But, curiously enough, those who are loudest in preaching the doctrine of "sound currency" and a "balanced budget," are the first to change

their tune as soon as the balancing threatens to touch their own incomes.

They fought NRA, and now NRA is done for. With a constructive re-employment program blocked there is little hope of the ten million finding jobs in industry. Twenty million people on relief means increased taxation, and increased taxation means that high personal incomes, rich corporate dividends, inheritances and gifts will have to be adequately assessed. The only escape from this logic might be that they would dare to say that Americans must starve. Will they have the courage to come out openly and subscribe to the old Hoover doctrine that the federal government must not give relief to starving men, women and children? Will some bright corporation lawyer read into the Constitution of the United States that relief for starving people is contrary to the wishes of the forefathers and is unconstitutional?

What are we to do about it? Labor has a definite respon-

sibility in this emergency. Labor must redouble its efforts to organize the unorganized, so that the standard of living may be raised.

It is not sufficient for the workers in one industry to organize and protect themselves. It is their duty and responsibility to extend assistance to labor in every industry.

### Labor's Responsibility

We know that, in the last analysis, we can look for help to no one but ourselves. It is a matter of record that even during the NIRA, when the government supported certain labor standards, unorganized labor did not receive the full benefit of what legislation sought to provide for the workers. We cannot look to the industrialists to solve our problems. It is labor's duty and labor's responsibility to organize for power, to protect the mass of the American people.

We must insist that Congress reenact legislation regulating hours of work and minimum wages. This is our strongest means to forestall

the return of sweat-shop conditions.

Of course, such legislation will again come before the Supreme Court, but a decision of the Court need not be the last word in a matter which so deeply affects the welfare of the people. The Supreme Court has reversed itself in the past, and it may do so again. I draw attention to a very interesting and instructive excursion into the history of the issue of the distinguished historian, Prof. Charles A. Beard, in the July issue of Current History under the heading: Social Change versus the Constitution. The Supreme Court, though it tried several times, at no time finally succeeded in thwarting the will of the American people, as expressed in legislation, if the issue at stake was crucial and the people's mind and will were clear in the matter.

The first and outstanding example was the Dred Scott decision when the Supreme Court, in 1857, decided that Congress had no constitutional power to abolish slavery in the territories. The Civil War was the court of higher appeal to which the American people took recourse, and the people won. Immediately after the Civil War, the Supreme Court again sought to block federal policy and to place restraints upon the President and Congress. Again the Court was defeated by Congressional and Presidential action through an increase in the number of members of the Supreme Court and the appointment of members known to favor the government's policy, and even the jurisdiction of the Court was curtailed.

### Last Word Not Said

In 1895, the Supreme Court again attempted to frustrate federal income tax legislation by declaring it unconstitutional. By process of federal amendment to the Constitution the objections of the Supreme Court were vetoed.

The latest effort of the Supreme Court to subjugate the people's legislative will in the case of the NIRA is by no means a closed chapter. The last word has not yet been said. The real question today is how deeply are the American people concerned with the issue at hand and whether or not we are prepared to let a great constructive legislative effort go by the board because of a twisted judicial approach to a basic social problem. I submit as my firm conviction that there is no power in this country that can prevent the people under a democratic government from legislation for themselves according to their needs and ideas.

In the past years we drifted and we followed the captains of finance and industry and we came to—1933, with 15 million unemployed, our financial institutions bankrupt, chaos staring us in the face. We shall not drift again. The labor movement must assert its leadership. We must organize ourselves, follow our program and head the country away from disintegration, demoralization and general collapse.

Labor's duty to itself is also its sacred obligation to the people of this nation; labor's fight for economic safety and security is the people's battle for a life worthy of America's possibilities. We shall not be found wanting in this day of crisis.

Selby, a Socialist poet, some thirty years ago. Here is the tale:

### He Saved the Moon!

When'er I hear the politician claim  
How that his party saved the ship of State,  
I think of Khodja (he of Eastern fame)  
Who saved the Moon. The tale I now relate:  
As Khodja sallied forth one night to draw  
A pailkin of cool water, it befell  
That, stooping o'er the parapet, he saw  
Fair Luna shining in the placid well.  
"By all the bearded prophets, 'tis the moon!"  
Quoth eager Khodja, and, with joyous cries  
He hastened to the house, returning soon,  
With rope and hook to load the gleaming prize.  
Then, bearing low, he gave the line full lay  
And tugged upon it stoutly, but alas!  
The hook caught on a stone, the rope gave way,  
And Khodja landed prone upon his back.  
"By Allah!" murmured he with puzzled brow,  
As Cynthia shone upon his upturned face:  
"I didn't get the moon, but, anyhow,  
I jerked her back into her proper place!"

## Jobs for the Jobless---Just Find Them!

The figures and promises of the New Deal politicians quoted below are authentic and can be used effectively by Socialist speakers.

IT'S all a mistake to think that the jobless are still jobless. Mr. Dooley once said that everybody either has an automobile or he knows where he can get one. The same thing is true of jobs. Everybody has work. In fact, there are more jobs than workers. How come?

Simply remember what the brainy boys of the New Deal have promised since 1933, add up each forecast of the jobs to be created, and there you are.

Begin with President Roosevelt's statement on June 16, 1933, that there would be 1,000,000 new jobs by October 1. There's a million to start with.

Then on June 22, Henry L. Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator, declared that 3,000,000 of the jobless would be at work by the following Spring. There's 4,000,000 already.

Then on July 26, still in 1933, General Johnson over the radio estimated that between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 unemployed would be at work by Labor Day. Let's take the smaller figure and add it to the above figures. By September, 1933, we now have a total of 9,000,000 of the jobless returned to work!

But hold on. The American Federation of Labor report of unemployment for September, 1933, showed 9,920,000 workers still jobless while Brain Trust predictions already had 9,000,000 returned to jobs!

Well, we'll forget this little discrepancy and let the Brain Truststers continue their magnificent work.

### Farley Wipes Out Depression!

Here's Postmaster General Jim Farley, a man of parts, a political broker of no mean ability, and chairman of the Democratic National Committee. He also had his eye on Labor Day. On August 11, 1933, sixteen days after General Johnson made his prediction, Farley swept Johnson, Roosevelt and Hopkins out of the picture with the following statement:

"Before Labor Day 120,000,000 people who a short time ago were in the slough of despair will have pulled the United States out of this terrible depression."

Ajax defying the lightning, Napoleon at Bull Run, Washington crossing the Wabash, and Casey at the bat never assumed the heroic

proportions that the Democratic dealer in pork did on that historic day of August 11, 1933. Mark it on your calendar as it ranks with only one other in depression history.

Charley Curtis was once Vice-President of the republic. As the year 1930 came to a close Charley made a prophetic prediction for 1931. The noble statesman declared that the new year would be known in history as "1931 A. D. A (fter) D(epression)." Instead, the political cyclone of 1932 swept over the nation and Charley woke

up in Kansas.

Prophets like Jim and Charley make us itch, like Hotspur, to brain each with his lady's fan.

But to continue the story of overcoming adversity. To do so we must imagine that the depression is not over, Jim and Charley to the contrary notwithstanding.

### General Johnson Speaks

In that same historic month when the pork merchant of the New Deal spoke, General Johnson, speaking for President Roosevelt, said on August 26, with Labor Day

still two weeks away, that the administration's Emergency Reemployment program promised to add 5,000,000 workers to private payrolls.

As the great man had said the same thing one month before we will be generous with him and not add this 5,000,000 to the 9,000,000 given jobs just before Farley knocked out Old Man Depression with an uppercut.

President Roosevelt then authorized the statement on November 8, 1933, that 2,000,000 would be put to work on Federal, State and

local public projects on November 16 and that as "soon thereafter as possible," 2,000,000 more would be employed.

We're still generous and we will make the number only 2,000,000. Added to the 9,000,000 on jobs, this makes 11,000,000 promised employment.

Now the jobless are all employed and the depression is over. Hear, Hear, Hear!

But who is this speaking? It's Donald R. Richberg who once wore a red carnation in the Christian crusade led by Teddy Roosevelt in 1912 B.D., B (efore) D (epression). The time is November 19, 1934. Mr. Richberg declared that we must reemploy at least 4,000,000 of the jobless. Obviously we seem to be back in the depression.

We turn to Donald's book, "The Tents of the Mighty," which tells the story of his crusade with a former Roosevelt and then with Woodrow Wilson. The World War was on and Donald was speaking for one of the Liberty Loans in a church. Leaving the pulpit an old Swedish minister announced that the services would end by the congregation singing, "Revive Us Again." We feel that way too.

Hoping that our readers feel refreshed we again take up this epic of the New Deal.

The next speaker is President Roosevelt. The occasion is his annual message to Congress on January 4, 1935. He asks for \$2,000,000,000 for direct relief for the destitute because "great numbers still remain unemployed." Whether he consulted Jim Farley before making this statement no man knoweth, but somehow the 11,000,000 provided with jobs seem to have faded out of the picture.

However, we will try again. In a radio address on April 28, 1935, he again returned to this great epic. In that month the problem was to "put to work 3,500,000 employable persons now on relief rolls" and this would be "in full swing by Autumn."

### June and July Promises

Then on June 17, 1935, he again mentioned the 3,500,000 but added, "Of course, we always will have a certain number of unemployed with us, but nothing like the present scale, WE HOPE." He wasn't sure! The month before this statement was made the American Federation of Labor reported that the number of the jobless was 9,711,000.

In July, 1935, Harry L. Hopkins, Works Progress Administrator, admitted that only "a few hundred men" had been employed by the WPA. By the end of the month he hoped to employ 1,127,000 of the 3,500,000 which the President had mentioned in his message the previous January!

In that same July came the strikes against the subsistence wage on WPA projects in New York and other cities and the unemployed still numbered about 10,000,000.

Roosevelt, Hopkins, Johnson, Farley and Richberg have been employing the unemployed since 1933 and here are the A. F. of L. figures of unemployment in this entire period:

September, 1933, 9,920,000; January, 1934, 10,538,000; September, 1934, 10,218,000; January, 1935, 10,142,000; May, 1935, 9,711,000.

So here is the epic of the learned men who have been bossing the job of creating jobs and more is to be added to it. They will also ask for a reward from the workless in the election next year.

We wonder if they ever heard of that other great achievement by Nasir-Eddin-Khodja as told by Tom

## PROPERTY By Kirby Page

Communists May Not Seek Violence, but They Are Convinced It Will Come—Why Their Tactics Must Be Rejected.



### EFFECTIVE cooperation is

not possible between resolute pacifists who are seeking social change through non-warlike means and communists who are committed to the strategy of arming the workers, at a propitious moment, and seizing power by military weapons. In order to discuss this question intelligently certain facts must be emphasized.

Communists do not desire violence nor do they seek it. They are convinced, however, that the present owning class will not relinquish power until it is wrenched from them by the armed might of the workers and that therefore the proletarians must be trained and disciplined for armed seizure of power. This does not mean that American Communists advocate the arming of the workers at the present moment. On the contrary, they are convinced that the time is not ripe and that a long delay may be necessary before armed action can be successful. In the meantime the strategy of Communists is crystal clear: create class consciousness, transform this solidarity into class hatred, indoctrinate the workers with the idea that the owning class will not yield unless beaten on the field of battle, create a strong Communist party as a general staff of the revolutionary seizure of power, and remain vigilant for armed action in the decisive hour.

In 1931 the Communist International, of which the Communist Party in this country is an organic part, issued an official statement from which the following words are taken: "The Communist International openly announces to the millions of workers of the whole world that there cannot be genuine working class unity without a struggle for the violent overthrow of the whole existing capitalist order, for the establishment of proletarian dictatorship." This declaration has been published repeatedly by Communist organs in the United States. Concerning the purpose of the united front, Earl Browder, Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, said: "The united front is not a peace pact with the reformists. The united front is a method of struggle against the reformists, against the social-fascists, for the possession of the masses." Precisely so! A method of struggle against the reformists! Not a method of preventing war and fascism!

### United Front Tactics

The purpose of the united front was discussed with utter frankness in a long article in *The Communist International*, official organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, of which the Communist Party of the United States is a section, on December 20, 1934. In italics the following declaration is made: "This chief aim of the united front is to make it easier for the Social-Democratic masses to come over to the side of Communism for the conquest of Soviet Power. This was and still remains our chief objective in the new tactics of the united front." This unequivocal statement is preceded by a quotation from Stalin, also printed in italics: "The tactics of the united front were only put into operation by Lenin in order to make it easier for the millions of workers infected by the prejudices of Social-Democratic conciliation to come over to the side of Communism." The chief aim! To make it easier to win converts!

In *The Communist*, official organ of the Communist Party of the United States for January 1935, the leading article is entitled, "For Leninism—For a Soviet America!" The thesis maintained in this article is that there is no other road to power than that of a proletarian dictatorship established through armed action on the part of the workers. Concerning the united front, this article says: "... the united front is at the present time (the maturing of the world revolu-

tionary crisis) the main road along which the masses will be prepared for the struggle for Soviet Power under the leadership of the Communist Party." The main road! To civil war, not to the prevention of war and fascism!

The fact that the League Against War and Fascism has recently established a religious section and is now seeking to enroll ministers and other religious leaders makes it imperative that the true nature of this organization be understood. That Communists and near-Communists were prominent over exercise considerable influence over its activities, that Communists and near-Communists have constituted a heavy proportion of the personnel of its annual and regional conferences—these are unquestioned facts. It is true that non-Communists also were active in the formation of the league and that they are now playing an important role in its activities. Furthermore it is true that some peace agencies are officially represented on its committees. But it is conspicuously true that the Socialist Party has refused to participate and that the Student League for Industrial Democracy has likewise refused to enter into a united front with the National Student League, which is dominated by Communists. The Socialist Party and the Student League for Industrial Democracy have sanctioned a limited united front in local communities on specific issues under drastic restrictions.

The first chairman of the League Against War and Fascism was J. B. Matthews, who is frank in saying that he is nearer to the Communist Party than to any other political group. The present chairman is Harry F. Ward. He is not a member of the Communist Party, but one is fully warranted in saying that he is communistically inclined. Professor Ward's colleague, Miss Winnifred Chappell, signed a manifesto urging citizens to support the Communist candidate for President of the United States. Communist Party members have from the beginning been active in the league and are still in the forefront. If religious leaders desire to cooperate with the League Against War and Fascism they should do so with their eyes open. They are entering an organization in which Communists and near-Communists are playing a dominant role. This is an inconceivable truth.

One of my friends who is unable to accept fully the pacifist strategy in the class struggle is (Continued on Page Ten)

### CLERICAL LABOR FOE



At right is Father Charles E. Coughlin, greeting the head of the scab auto "union" launched by the eloquent priest as a rival to the automobile workers bona fide union.

## The Workers Abroad

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

By John Powers

### Congress of the Socialist Youth International

A GREAT demonstration of the growth of Socialist ideas among the youth was given by the congress of the Socialist Youth International, which met at Copenhagen from August 24 to 27. Burning problems of the day, particularly the problems of war and fascism, occupied much attention of the congress.

The discussions revealed increasing determination to fight fascism to the death. At the same time the congress turned down by overwhelming majority a proposal for united front negotiations with the Communist Youth International on the ground that any united front with the Communists would facilitate not the cause of peace and anti-fascism but the Communist task of destroying the Socialist and labor movement.

After approving the report of the Executive, rejecting the proposal, the congress defeated amendments authorizing individual sections in the respective countries to enter into separate united front negotiations. Any such negotiations will not have the approval of the Socialist Youth International.

By way of emphasizing its disapproval of any united front with the Communists, the congress elected H. Hansen of Denmark president of the Socialist Youth International. Hansen led the fight against the united front.

Scenes of great enthusiasm marked the opening and proceedings of the congress. Friedrich Adler, secretary of the Labor and Socialist International, was greeted with prolonged cheers as he rose to greet the congress. He denounced Mussolini's war plot against Ethiopia, saying: "The enemy of Italy is not in Addis Ababa but in Rome, and fascism is responsible for the present world crisis."

Referring to what he termed Moscow's belated change in deciding to give support to democracy wherever it is threatened by fascism, Adler declared: "The Soviet leaders have changed their views, but we have not, and our slogan to Moscow is: 'Hands off the labor movement!'"

Aising Andersen, president of the Danish Socialist Party, welcomed the congress to Denmark and described the great strides made by Socialism in that country, where a government headed by Socialists is in power. A stirring address was made by Jacobsen, who greeted the congress in the name of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

At a great demonstration held in connection with the congress, Miss Bacon, of England, declared it was fitting that the Congress of Socialist Youth should be held in a part of Europe where democracy was safe.

"I hope that very soon Great Britain will have a Socialist government and be able to cooperate with the governments of Scandinavia and all Socialist governments working for the cause of peace between nations," Miss Bacon said, pointing out that a Socialist government in Great Britain would prove of great help in the League of Nations in maintaining the peace of Europe.

"It is necessary for democratic countries to show the rest of Europe that democracy can be more successful than any other form of government," Miss Bacon said to the accompaniment of cheers from the many thousands of her audience.

The debate on the struggle of youth against fascism and war revealed a strong opinion in favor of stopping fascism by force and giving support to democratic countries attacked by fascist regimes. Kern of Austria and Papanek of Czechoslovakia presented exhaustive reports on the question.

"What could we do if war came and a democratic country is attacked?" Miss Bacon, who took a prominent part in the debate, asked. "We would do all we could to press our government to help that democratic country against the aggressor."

This was also the view of the entire British delegation, reflecting the position taken by the British Trades Union Congress at Margate last week. Everywhere the organized workers are determined to meet the assaults of fascism with cold steel.

The debate on the united front with the Communists was very lively. "The united front means the breakup of the democratic labor movement," Hansen declared. Referring to the heroic rising of the Socialists in Vienna in 1934, Hansen said: "We hoped that that would destroy all differences, but the Communists still attack the Austrian Socialists."

"What of the future?" Hansen continued. "We have only the past from which to judge, and our experiences with the Communists are not good. I shall oppose with my whole being any unity with the Communists."

Reviewing what he termed the record of destruction and treachery piled up by the Communists, Hansen declared that the Communist parties in all countries were to be regarded as instruments of nationalist Soviet foreign policy, which was not the same as the policy of the international labor movement.

"Our policy in this debate should be the liquidation of all Communist parties and rejection of any negotiations on unity," Hansen advised, a policy approved overwhelmingly by the congress.

Delegates from England, Belgium, France, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Latvia and other countries took part in the debate. French and Belgian delegates found little support for their position favoring united front negotiations.

An eventful day of the congress was the Sunday when all delegates took the boat across to Malmö, Sweden, where a demonstration attended by 50,000 young Socialists was held. There was an impressive parade through the streets of the town, culminating in a spectacular mass meeting. Speakers included Per Albin Hansson, Socialist prime minister of Sweden, Socialist Premier Johann Nygaard of Norway, Baldwin, president of the Icelandic Parliament, Tanner, chairman of the Finnish Labor Party, and other outstanding leaders of international Socialism.

The scores of thousands participating in the demonstration pledged themselves to unrelenting war on fascism and defense of freedom and democracy as the foundation stones of Socialism.

The Copenhagen meeting was adjourned amid scenes of great enthusiasm and solidarity, with the strains of the "Internationale" resounding through the hall.

### British Unions, Communists and Fascists

By overwhelming majority British trade unions have struck a telling blow at both fascists and Communists. Some time ago the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress sent out a circular to all affiliated labor organizations suggesting that they change their by-laws so as to exclude members of fascist or Communist organizations from occupying official posts in the trade unions or participating as delegates in trade union meetings and conventions.

The General Council also informed all trades councils (analogous to the central trades and labor councils in the United States) that any council admitting fascist or Communist delegates would be excluded from the British Trades Union Congress (analogous to our American Federation of Labor).

We now learn from the London Daily Herald, official organ of the British Labor Party, that forty-one national unions have endorsed the stand of the general council, while only ten such unions have expressed themselves against it. Of the more than 300 trades councils, 283 declared themselves unanimously in support of the general council. Only thirteen trades councils expressed opposition.

The stand taken by the British labor movement, like that of the American Federation of Labor, is that fascists and Communists enter labor organizations not for the purpose of promoting the legitimate purposes of trade unions but in order to capture them for their own political purposes, and that failing to do that they invariably strive to wreck and destroy the unions. Fascists and Communists work under instruction from their parties to follow this policy and failure to do so means expulsion from their respective parties. Because of this attitude the British labor movement, like the American labor movement, is determined to rid itself of these internal enemies. No question of political views is involved. The labor unions are not interested in the political views of their members provided they act and behave as loyal trade unionists, but in self-protection and for the protection of the higher interests the labor movement seeks to serve it cannot afford to pass without resistance the efforts of those whose

## Is There Socialism in Russia?

An Analysis of Social and Economic Conditions Under  
Communist Dictatorship in the Light  
of Socialist Principles

By Raphael Abramowitch  
Member, Executive, Labor and  
Socialist International.

NOT only among Communists but also in certain Socialist circles it is asserted that Socialism is being built in Russia. There are serious Socialist writers who believe that the stones of a future Socialist society are being laid one by one in Russia. Such, for example, is the opinion of Otto Bauer.

On the other hand, we find outstanding Socialist theoreticians like Karl Kautsky or the recently deceased Russian Marxist Potresoff who insist that what is taking place in Russia is pure counter-revolution.

What is the truth? What is the direction being taken by the Russian Revolution, so brilliantly begun in 1917? What is the social system being born in the depths of Russian life?

A political party must not be judged by what its leaders believe and desire. The decisive factor, so far as history is concerned, is not the will or the wish of individual leaders or parties but the result of events, the actual consequences of events.

If you had asked Robespierre, Marat and other leaders of the Great French Revolution, and even the people who danced about the guillotine as the heads of aristocrats were falling into basket beneath it, they would have told you they were building a republic of "liberty, equality, fraternity." But what was the actual upshot of the Great French Revolution? First, the militarist empire of Napoleon and, then, a capitalist monarchy of bankers, financiers and industrialists in which the people were stripped of all rights. And this lasted forty years. Later, too, there was little evidence of "liberty, equality, fraternity."

Similar results will be observed in following the course of other revolutions.

### Objectives and Results

There is a big difference between the objectives of human beings and the actual results of their actions. On this point the analogy made by a Russian professor is particularly appropriate: Columbus, he pointed out, sailed forth to discover a sea route to India, but he discovered America. When he landed on San Salvador he was convinced he was in India, and so firm was his conviction that he was in India that he called the inhabitants "Indians." The term has persisted to this day, although the Red Indians Columbus saw had nothing to do with India. Although his aim was to reach India, Columbus arrived in an entirely different world, of which he knew nothing and which was not his destination.

The same principle applies to Russia: What is Russia? What is its social order? We cannot obtain the true answers to this question by asking the Bolsheviks what they are aiming at. To be sure, their objective is the land of Socialism, just as India was the desired destination of Columbus. The question, however, is: where will the ship actually land?

Before we undertake to answer the question as to what we do find in Russia let us first determine what we do not find in Russia. First, it must be stated that there is no capitalism in Russia in the conventional sense of the word. There are no capitalist classes in Russia: no industrialists controlling the means of production in the form of private property; no bankers controlling large capital, no bourse magnates, no big business men—not even small business men; no people living on their capital, on interest, income from stocks, bonds, shares or loans. There are no great landowners in Russia—not even small landowners; and no landlords in the cities living on rent; there are no proprietors of coal and iron mines, oil wells, etc., etc.

All these groups and classes no longer exist in Russia. For this reason there is no capitalism in Russia of the kind existing in other countries. NOR is there any possibility of these groups and classes ever again arising in Russia. It is forbidden to private individuals to open a bank or start a big business. It is impossible to buy a house. Nor may private individuals build houses (except

aim is rule or ruin. Hence the attitude of the British trade unions which is completely in harmony with that of the American Federation of Labor.

The stand taken by the British trade unions is a vindication of the stand of the American Federation of Labor, assuming any such vindication was necessary. The time for argument with fascists and Communists is passed. The labor movement is determined to guard its organizations and unity against the assaults of enemies, no matter from what camp they emanate. That is its duty to itself and to the working class.

small houses for their own use) etc., etc.

The economic sources which might give rise to a new class of private capitalists are definitely closed. Private accumulation of capital is no longer possible in Russia, and the flow of capital, profit and "surplus value" can no longer be diverted into the pockets of private individuals. For these reasons Russia is no longer a capitalist country.

Any people in Russia possessing money, jewelry or any article of value cannot utilize them for economic purposes. They can spend the money or squander it on drink and high living but they cannot invest it in commercial or industrial enterprises. Money held by private individuals is no longer capital in Russia in the economic sense of the word. It is merely an instrument of consumption, not of production.

### Is There Socialism in Russia?

Much more difficult to answer is the question: is there Socialism in Russia? On this point we are immediately confronted with the question: what is Socialism? To answer the question we must first determine what Socialism is. Socialism presupposes, first, elimination of private property in the means of production and with it the abolition of capitalist classes living on profit and "surplus value" extracted from the labor of the working classes. But this alone is not Socialism. Socialism presupposes not only the elimination of private capitalists but also the presence of certain positive factors.

The first of these positive factors must be the transfer of the ownership of the means of production, of land, transportation, etc.,



Those who speak so glibly about "National honor" and war as a nation's need would do well to realize just what war means in human terms.

to the community, to the state, and their administration and management on a collective basis—by society as a whole. Superficially, it appears that this prerequisite for Socialism exists in Russia. Everything is nationalized, everything is in the hands of the state, the sole master of production, transportation and exchange.

Some Socialists believe that the basic principles of Socialism have already been realized in Russia because there are no capitalists and because the nation's economic life is conducted not upon a private but state basis.

To be sure, these principles of Socialism have been realized in Russia. But does that in any way imply that Socialism is actually being born in Russia? That is the question.

Among the positive attributes of Socialism—and no one will deny this—is the collective management of economic life. Is every form of state ownership of production conducted by paid employees, deprived of freedom, a collectivist form of production in the Socialist sense of the word? A collectivist economy implies definitely liberty and equality for all who work, a high standard of living (not equality in misery but equality in a higher and finer level of living), self-government for all who work and produce. In short, a Socialist collectivity is a republic of free, equal, contented citizens, among whom social differentiations no longer exist.

The question is: are these positive attributes of Socialism to be found in Russia—liberty, plenty for all, a higher standard of living, social organization and culture, and a sense of solidarity? And if these attributes are not yet fully developed, to what extent, if any, are they being developed, and what is the prospect for their development?

Not only Socialists but many honest Communists are compelled to admit that these attributes of Socialism are not to be found in Russia. I do not speak here of

professional Communist bluffers, of paid and unpaid agents who swear that Russia is heaven, that the Russian workers live in palaces, that misery, suffering and need do not exist in Russia.) The honest admirers of the Soviet regime of whom I speak say that all these positive attributes of Socialism are in process of being born, that they are developing, and that Russia is surely advancing to the realization of these attributes of Socialism.

But is this true? Can this be demonstrated to be a fact? I will not speak here of liberty and equality in the political sense. It would be ridiculous to argue this point, for it is no longer necessary to emphasize that there is no intellectual or political freedom in Russia, that the Russian people are ruled by an unbridled Communist despotism, that the Communist Party itself is dominated by the absolutist dictatorship of Stalin.

Intelligent, honest students of the situation know all this to be a fact. But let us put politics aside. Let us look into the economic and social life of the people. There are Socialists who share the Communist view that social equality and fraternity can be brought about through abolition of political liberty. Let us admit this, for the sake of argument, and examine the social and economic development of Russia as it has unfolded itself under a ruthless dictatorship aiming at the realization of Socialism.

Let us begin with the workers. What is the role of the working class as a whole in the social and economic construction of present-day Russia? On paper the work-

ing class is master not only of the entire nation but also of its economic life. But what is the actual fact? The proletarian in Soviet Russia is a human being without property who sells his labor to the state, who works at piece rates, who is subjected to a complicated system of premiums and bonuses (the most objectionable form of capitalist exploitation, abolished everywhere where free and independent trade unions are powerful enough to put an end to it), of groups receiving varied rates of pay, some less some more, of "shock brigades," contests, competitions, etc., etc. He is compelled to sell his labor power for a piece of bread and a dish of kasha without having any voice either in the management and operation of the plant in which he works or in the general development of industrial life.

The worker in Soviet Russia is hired in the same manner in which he would be hired by a capitalist, but with this big difference: against the private capitalist he may fight through his trade union but against the dictatorial state he is helpless. He receives wages for his labor (and very poor wages). He is shackled to his job by severe laws and penalties, not excluding imprisonment, and he has had no say whatever in the determination of his working conditions.

The condition of the Russian working class, not only in political life but in industry, is not the condition presupposed under a collectivist, Socialist order. It resembles much more the condition of the workers in capitalist countries in the early period of intense capitalist development seventy or eighty years ago.

But, the reader will ask, perhaps all this is temporary? Perhaps conditions are improving, so that there is hope that eventually they will become quite satisfactory? Those who know anything about conditions in Russia know that the opposite is true.

The condition of the working class under the Bolshevik regime

## Our Sacred Constitution

The Tories Would Make a State Religion  
Of Its Worship—But Its Real History  
and Origins Are Scarcely Known

By William M. Feigenbaum

SEPTEMBER 17th is the 148th anniversary of the signing of the Constitution of the United States, and the day has been seized upon by our Tories to utter pious statements upon that sacred document. Indeed, Constitution Day has been set aside as the occasion for an attack all along the line upon all thoughts, all ideas and all political conceptions more recent than 1787. It will be a field day for the Grass Rooters and the reactionaries of all complexions.

Ever since the Senatorial debates participated in by Daniel Webster there has been a tendency to exalt the Constitution as a sacred instrument, only a little less divine than Holy Writ, to criticize which is sacrilege. It has suited our reactionaries to take that position, and today it appears that they are planning to use the Constitution as their major plank in their attempt to win America back to the good old idealism of Hoover, Coolidge and Harding.

And this is as good a time as any to recall that the Constitution grew out of the times in which it was drafted, that a large portion of it is obsolete, and an even larger portion has been set aside by amendments. That at the time it was adopted it was known to be merely a compromise, the best that could be secured in the face of conflicting political and economic interests, and that no one expected that it would be elevated into a sacred document, the core of what has become almost a state religion.

### Some Origins

It will come as a surprise to worshippers of the Constitution to learn that the Constitution as adopted by the Convention September 17th, 1787, was merely a set of amendments to an earlier constitution supposed to be still in force, and that when it was put into operation and George Washington elected President it was—at least technically—illegally in operation. Not that these things matter very much, except to give point to the fact that the Constitution was a result of conditions and circumstances of a particular time; that the times were changing rapidly; that when exigencies of the time so required the written constitution of that day was discarded without a tear and without a blast from Grass Rooters of that time.

It is well that the American workers know these facts, in order not to be moved by the lachrymose piety of reactionaries like Borah, for example, who has so often flooded the floor of the Senate chamber with tears for the downtrodden and oppressed wishing he could do something for them if only the letter of the Constitution permitted.

In 1781 the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, commonly referred to then as the Constitution, was adopted and put into operation. Within a short time it was realized that it was an unworkable instrument, and that under it there were 13 autonomous nations rather than a unified state. Especially did the merchants and manufacturers of that time feel the lack of a centralized government and of a unified set of tariff laws, currency legislation and other laws affecting business.

Merchants of Virginia and Maryland met in Mount Vernon in 1785 as guests of General Washington to discuss what could be done to safeguard their own interests. They there decided that a national conference should be held, and through their powerful influence induced a number of state legislatures to send official delegates to a convention that met in Annapolis in 1786; five states were there represented.

### A Secret Convention

The most active delegate was Alexander Hamilton of New York. Under his leadership the convention decided that the time had come "to amend the Constitution (that is, the Articles of Confederation) to render it more adequate to the exigencies of the time." It will be noted that the Articles had been in force only five years, and had already been found obsolete. But the Articles provided that amendments could be proposed only by Congress (then in session) and ratified by all the state legislatures.

Hamilton thereupon proposed

is becoming increasingly worse. Freedom in Russia has been circumscribed more and more with each year of Communist rule. Even in the period of 1921 to 1924 the influence of the Russian worker in the administration of industry through his trade unions was immeasurably greater than it is today. Through the Communist "party line" and as a result of the Soviet program of intensive industrialization the enslavement of the Russian worker has become more and more unbearable, and his social position has grown increasingly unenviable.

(To be concluded)

that all state legislatures elect delegates to a convention to meet in Philadelphia the following May, there to propose amendments to be submitted as suggestions to Congress. If Congress accepted them they were to be referred to the state legislatures. The legislatures elected the delegates, therefore, to draft amendments to make the Constitution "adequate to the exigencies of the time."

When the convention met on May 5th, 1787, General Washington was elected President, and it was promptly voted to hold sessions in secret and to destroy all the records at the close of the sessions. What we know about that convention is from full notes taken for his own use by James Madison, later published by the Government. Only 11 states sent delegates.

The delegates decided at the outset to throw the Articles into the waste basket, and to draw up an entirely new Constitution. Thereupon two New York delegates, Yates and Lansing, withdrew, refusing to have anything further to do with the business, and Hamilton spoke and later signed upon behalf of the state.

Other delegates, like Luther Martin of Maryland, likewise opposed everything that was done there. But the main body of delegates, over whom Washington presided with a grave dignity, went to work. Three "plans" were submitted: The "Virginia plan," drawn up by Madison and presented by Edmund Randolph, formed the basis of the Constitution that was finally adopted. Hamilton presented his plan that provided for a thinly disguised monarchy, and William Patterson of New Jersey likewise presented a plan.

### The Delegates' Work

With modifications, largely influenced by Hamilton, the "Virginia plan" was adopted. The Senate was placed outside the influence of "popular passions," the President was removed as far as possible from popular influence, and according to Gouverneur Morris, who as a Committee on Style actually wrote the Constitution, the sections on the Judiciary were made purposely vague.

The Constitution—which, it must be remembered, was technically only a set of suggested amendments later to be adopted as its own by Congress—provided that it would be in force as soon as nine states ratified. This was clearly in violation of the provision requiring unanimous ratification of amendments. But no one paid any attention to that; the delegates signed (you can see the original parchment with the 55 signatures in the Library of Congress today), Secretary William Jackson burned the books, minutes and papers, and the document was sent over to Congress.

Then the storm broke loose. Several states ratified at once; by a threat by the merchants of New York City to secede from the state, organize a new state and ratify independently brought the New York legislature into line, and finally General Washington was elected President of a nation of only 11 states, two having failed to ratify until after his election.

The Constitution as it stands and is worshipped today contains many obsolete provisions, such as provisions regulating the slave trade, the fugitive slave law, a section referring to piracy, and another allotting representatives to slave-holding states by counting all slaves, taking three-fifths of that number and to be added to the number of free people. Further, the provision for the election of the President became obsolete within eight years; and twenty-one amendments have likewise made other sections obsolete.

### The "Sacred" Document

This is a general picture of how the Constitution came to be drafted, how it came to be adopted, and what it means today. Only by stretching its provisions all out of shape can it be made to apply to an age of mass production, finance capital, railways and airplanes, radio and water power. Congress was given the power to draw up legislation governing post offices and post roads; under that provision the Interstate Commerce Law, governing railroads, was passed as well as laws governing radio. An amendment passed to safeguard the legal and constitutional rights of the recently emancipated slaves has been widely used to safeguard the property of exploiting corporations and "protect" them from trade unionism.

With this history back of it, the American workers of 1935 know their duty. It is carefully to examine the Constitution, to realize that it is no more "sacred" than a city charter or the by-laws of a trade union, that its purpose is to serve people, not to enslave them; and to do whatever is necessary to "render it adequate to the exigencies of the time."

The first step is the passage of the Hillquit amendment. After that . . . a Constitutional convention in which the working masses will be heard, as they were not in 1787.

# Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

## The Origin of Bolshevism

NOW that Bolshevism as a theory and a movement is decaying, it is important to emphasize that it did not have its origin in the October revolution of 1917. Lenin had worked out its basic idea in a pamphlet published in 1902, sometimes translated as "What is to be done" and as "What to do." It brought a split in Russian Marxian ranks the following year. Lenin's idea was oligarchy as a principle of party control on the ground that the working class is incapable of intelligent control of the party and, while it would reach a certain stage of class-consciousness, it is also incapable of emancipating itself.

For these reasons he favored rule of the party by an oligarchy of intellectuals and rule of the state by a similar clique. Communists generally ignore this period of Lenin, although R. P. Dutt, a British Bolshevik, devotes a page or two to it in a small book on Lenin. He approves the idea that the movement must be "led by professional revolutionists" into whose hands party power is centralized.

Rosa Luxemburg, in a pamphlet entitled "Leninism or Marxism," answered Lenin in 1904. She quoted Lenin's "Bureaucratism as against democracy" and analyzed the proposal with its necessity of blind obedience of party members to the orders of a central executive committee. She declared that this ordering of "all party organizations, with their activity, down to the last detail, under a central authority, which alone thinks, acts and decides for all—as championed by Lenin—appears to us for that reason as a mechanical carrying over of the organizational principles of the Blanquist movement of conspiratorial circles into the Social Democratic movement of the working masses." She adds the following brilliant criticism:

"As a matter of fact, there is nothing which so easily and so surely hands over a still youthful labor movement to the private ambitions of a bureaucratic centralism, which debases the fighting workers into a pliable tool in the hands of a 'committee.' And, inversely, nothing so surely preserves the labor movement from all opportunistic abuses on the part of an ambitious intelligentsia as the revolutionary self-activation of the working masses, the intensification of their feeling of political responsibility."

She reminded Lenin to "not forget that the revolution which we see in the offing in Russia is not a proletarian but a bourgeois revolution" and that the less scope conceded to the initiative of the working class, "the more it is politically well-weathered and drilled by a Social Democratic central committee, the easier will be the game of the bourgeois demagogues in the renovated Russia. . . ." She did not anticipate at that time that the Bolsheviks themselves would later play this role of the bourgeois class, but when it did occur she again protested against Leninism.

## Rule of an Intellectual Aristocracy

COMRADE LUXEMBURG declared that Lenin's thought "is patterned upon the CONTROL of party activity and not upon its promotion, upon narrowing and not upon unfolding, upon the hemming and not upon the drawing together, of the movement." This policy is in accord with a know-all intelligentsia which has no faith in a self-governed working class movement. Its requirement of blind obedience is fatal to the growth of the movement as its living cells are paralyzed. Again we quote:

"It is not by adding on to the discipline imposed upon it by the capitalist State—with the mere transfer of the baton from the hand of the bourgeoisie into that of a Social Democratic central committee—but by the breaking up and uprooting of this slavish spirit of discipline, that the proletariat can be prepared for the new discipline, the voluntary self-discipline of the Social Democracy." These considerations lead to a passage which even the author, when she wrote it, did not anticipate would have tragic fulfillment. We quote:

"In this frightened effort of a part of the Russian Social Democracy to preserve from false steps the aspiring labor movement of Russia through the guardianship of an omniscient and omnipresent central committee, we seem to see also the same subjectivism involved by which Socialism thought in Russia has frequently been imposed upon the past. . . . The ego which has been beaten down by Russian absolutism takes revenge by setting itself on the throne in its revolutionary thought-world and declaring itself omnipotent—as a conspiratorial committee in the name of a non-existent 'popular will.'"

She closed her rejection of Leninism by saying that the working class rightly insists on "making its own mistakes and learning historical dialectic for itself. And by way of conclusion, let us say openly to ourselves: Mistakes which a truly revolutionary labor movement commits are, in historical perspective, immeasurably more fruitful and valuable than the infallibility of the very best 'central committee.'"

The Bolshevik revolution in Russia disclosed to Rosa Luxemburg the fruits of Lenin's teachings and she wrote: "The implicit pre-supposition of the dictatorship theory in the Lenin-Trotskyist sense is that the Socialist overthrow is a matter for which there is a ready-made recipe in the pocket of the revolutionary party, which has only to put it into practice vigorously." The oligarchy of a ruling intelligentsia became a fact, she observed, and "the exchange of experiences remains only in the closed circle of the officials of the new regime."

Suppression of free elections, free assembly and speech crushed the free life of the workers. "A selected group of workers is invited to meetings from time to time to approve by unanimous vote the resolutions laid before them. What we have, then, at bottom, is a clique economy." A real Socialist economy "must proceed at each step with the active participation of the masses, be subject to their direct influence, stand under the control of unlimited public opinion, proceed from the growing political education of the masses."

In short, Bolshevism transferred the idea of bureaucratic intellectual rule to the party to the state, exacting blind obedience of the masses, and crushing the independent life of the workers. It is now the victim of its own despotic utopianism.

## I.L.G.W.U. Plans Education Drive



The New York locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have formed a Campaign Committee to carry through a workers' education drive during September with the aim of starting 300 classes in the first week of October. Special leaflets will be issued and a corps of speakers will visit locals. Radio broadcasts will detail the available teachers and subjects.

During the summer, in addition to running four ball games each Saturday, other labor sport activities, and union excursions on the Hudson River in which over 8,000 members participated, the I.L.G.W.U. Education Department maintained two classes

dealing with the history of the Union, four dramatic groups and one central choral group, and four training-for-trade-union-service institutes with 155 students. The Department has provided 25 scholarships for workers' summer schools, and will send five members to Brookwood for the college year 1935-36.

Outside the metropolitan area, the I.L.G.W.U. has educational directors in Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, San Francisco and Boston, with appointments to be made for Philadelphia and Cleveland.

Picture shows Julius Hochman with one of the groups whose members have learned what the union really means to them.

## Socialists Must Vote in Primaries Tuesday

ALL Socialists who are enrolled members of the party must vote at the Primary Elections Tuesday, September 17th. No Socialist candidate can appear upon the ballot unless he is nominated at the Primaries. Qualified primary voters are those who enrolled as Socialists at last year's registration of voters.

There are no contests in the Socialist Party. There is but one candidate for each nomination. Voters should ask for a Socialist ballot, and in the booth mark a cross (X) in front of every name, whether candidates for nomination for public office or for party committees.

Polls are open from 3 to 10 p. m. Voters who do not know where their polling places are should call the Socialist Party at Algonquin 4-2620.

## Rand School Press Issues Catalogue

The Rand School Press, 7 East 15th St., New York City, has just issued a catalogue in which is listed important books on economics, Socialism, sociology, philosophy, current affairs, fiction, drama and poetry. Readers are welcome to a copy.

## The Pennsylvania Front

### YPSL Encampment and Convention at Reading

THE Young People's Socialist League of Pennsylvania will celebrate Pennsylvania Socialist Youth Day Sunday, Sept. 29th with an all-day encampment at the Reading Socialist Park.

The morning will be devoted to the annual state convention. For the evening athletic contests and recreation of all types are being planned.

A discussion on the National Youth Administration will be the feature of the afternoon session. J. Henry Stump, Socialist candidate for Mayor of Reading, George Rhodes, President of the Federated Trades Council of Reading, Harold Libros of the Student League for Industrial Democracy, Milton Weisberg, State Secretary of the Young People's Socialist League of Pennsylvania, and others will speak.

State Secretary Weisberg reports that from all indications a large representation of young people will attend, many by auto-caravan from all parts of the state. Invitations have been issued to young people affiliated with Labor Fraternal groups, such as the Workmen's Circle, and the S.N.P.J., the Yugoslav Youth organization. For further information communicate with the office of the Young People's Socialist League, 122 9th Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

### Pauli Starts Tour Through State in October

Special to The New Leader  
PITTSBURGH.—The State Committee is planning an extensive speaking and organization tour for Karl Pauli, organizer of the Socialist Party of Pittsburgh. The tour will begin October first.

Branches throughout the state are urged to arrange meetings and take advantage of this opportunity to have an experienced campaigner at the cost of expense only.

Karl Pauli has been on the Socialist platform since 1911. Prior to coming to Pittsburgh he did organization work in Ohio, where he also actively participated in trade union work, and was instrumental in helping to launch the Onion Workers' union, the first agri-

## Labor and the Constitution

By Matthew M. Levy

SOMETIME at the end of last May, shortly after the Supreme Court declared the NRA Codes unconstitutional, President Roosevelt held a press conference during which, according to the New York Times, "his listeners drew the plain inference that the President felt that if the (Supreme) Court made his Federal program for regulating economic conditions impossible, the Constitution must be changed."

Was the President truly interested in the overhauling of our constitutional machinery to meet the requirements of changed and changing conditions? Then he, as the leader of his party and as the head of our government, was called upon to institute a vigorous attack upon existing governmental anachronisms.

Instead, however, there has been a curious silence from the White House. Even when that forgotten man of rugged or ragged individualism, Herbert Hoover, challenged Mr. Roosevelt to state his position, there was no response. Perhaps the reason for this silence may be gleaned when reading between the

lines of an inspired dispatch from Washington, under the headline, "President to Avoid Constitution Issue"; where it was significantly stated, "The President is by no means convinced that constitutional questions which have been raised strike close enough to the average citizen to fight a campaign over. Mr. Roosevelt has not had overwhelming evidence that the country wants constitutional revision." Tactics such as these stamp Mr. Roosevelt with the politician's aptitude, rather than with the statesman's vision. I deny most emphatically that the subject of social revision of the Constitution does not "strike close enough to the average citizen"; and my purpose here is to ask you to give Mr. Roosevelt such "overwhelming evidence" that the country wants constitutional revision.

### Excessive Legalism

The workers of this country have learned the bitterness of a narrow, oppressive and excessive constitutionalism. I will give but a few out of a long list of social welfare measures passed by Congress and by the Legislatures of the several states struck down by judicial pronouncement of alleged "unconstitutionality." In the Lochner case the Supreme Court held that a State could not limit the working hours of bakers to 10 per day or 60 per week. In the Adkins decision the Supreme Court held invalid a minimum wage law for women. In the case of Coppage vs. Kansas, the states were forbidden to make "yellow dog" contracts criminal; and in the Adair case Congress was inhibited from the enactment of similar legislation for the protection of the workers. Child Labor was held not to be the subject of Congressional legislation, either under the taxation (Bailey vs. Drexel) or interstate commerce (Hammer vs. Dagenhart) clauses of the Constitution. In the case of the R. R. Retirement Board vs. Alton R. R. Co. Congress was forbidden to establish a retirement and pension system for railroad employees in interstate business. In the Schechter Poultry case it was held that Congress could not, through the NIRA Codes, fix the hours and wages of employees in intra-state business. In Truax vs. Corrigan, the states were forbidden from adopting certain regulations favorable to labor limiting the use of injunctions against labor.

### And so I could go on.

A Momentous Issue  
The misnamed American Liberty League has organized a Lawyers' Vigilance Committee to scan all Federal enactments favorable to labor as the beginning of a Tory fight on their constitutionality. The recently signed National Labor Relations Act will be the subject of the first report. Among other programs to be thus condemned are those of social insurance, government ownership, and the like.

Labor is aroused as never before by the use of these assumed constitutional limitations to thwart human progress. In a country of tremendous possibilities for security and wellbeing, millions of workers and their families find themselves engulfed in misery and poverty, crying for relief and for a remedy. And what is the answer of our ruling plutocrats? We are bound hand and foot by our 1789 horse and buggy Constitution; and we must apply it unchanged to our present airplane conditions. The decisions of the Supreme Court have brought the American people face to face with the most momentous issue which has arisen since the Civil War.

As stated in The New Leader of June 29th, 1935: "Then, as now, the question which confronted the American people was whether new forces brought into being by industrial progress were to be thwarted and held in check by legal conceptions which had become obsolete. Then, as now, the Constitution of the United States was the instrument upon which the ruling power relied to justify a system of slavery which time and progress had outlawed. Then, as now, the Supreme Court was the last resort and bulwark of those who thought that the future would surrender to the past."

It required a Civil War to abolish physical slavery. The amendment to the Federal Constitution legalizing that abolition followed the Civil War. Perhaps we can help abolish industrial slavery by the enactment of a proper amendment to the Federal Constitution, without going through an ordeal of blood and fire.

### Workers' Rights Amendment

There is a clear conflict, growing ever more acute, between specific provisions of the Constitution and the welfare of the people. As an increasing obstacle to progress it is the Constitution which must yield to social change.

The Socialist Party has proposed the adoption of what has come to be known as the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This campaign to legalize social legislation and public ownership measures—"to make freedom constitutional"—is being supported by a growing number of labor unions, unemployed organizations, workers' fraternal societies, farmer groups and others.

What, specifically, does the Workers' Rights Amendment propose? Congress is given express

## McLEVY AND HOOPES MAIN SPEAKERS AT TOWN HALL, SEPTEMBER 29

Mayor Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport, Conn., and Darlington Hoopes, Socialist member of the Pennsylvania Legislature and member of the party's National Executive Committee, will be the guest speakers at the great ratification rally of the New York Socialists at Town Hall, 43rd St. and Sixth Ave., September 29th, at 2:30 p. m.

In addition to Hoopes and McLevy the speakers at this highly important rally will be Norman Thomas, twice Socialist presidential candidate; Charles Solomon and Harry W. Laidler, and Algernon Lee, New York City chairman of the party, who will preside.

Make no conflicting arrangements for the afternoon of Sunday, September 29th!

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## UNION DIRECTORY

Monday evening in the Council Room at 218 W. 46th St. Julius Hochman, Gen. Sec.; Philip Kapp, Secy-Treas.

THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, 3 West 35th St., New York City. Phone, CHelsea 5-2145. David Dubinsky, President.

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, I.L.G.W.U., Office, 66 West 35th St., New York City. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmond Perlmutter, Mgr. Sec'y; Louis Stobber, Asst. Mgr.; Mauris W. Jacobs, Sec'y to Exec. Board; Nathan Superstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, Downtown office, 640 Broadway; phone, SPring 7-4545; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St.; phone, WIscassin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 o'clock. Manager, N. Spector; Secretary, Treas., Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. L. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodoss.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11918, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St., Phone, ALgonquin 4-7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office, 82 Gettysman, Secretary-Treasurer.

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

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

JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAIST-MAKERS' UNION.—Office: 222 West 40th St., N.Y.C. Tel. LONGacre 5-5150. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening; Joint Board meets every Wednesday evening.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union, Office and headquarters, 949 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn; STag 2-9786. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice-President, Stephen Tobacno; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mendel; Treasurer, Albert Heib.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th St., New York, N. Y. Phone Thompson Square 9-5460. L. Hollender, J. Catalanoff, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

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# NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

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

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1935

## THE LOUISIANA TRAGEDY

THE assassination of Huey Long, no matter how violently we may disagree with his views and his rule over Louisiana, is condemned by every Socialist. However, like Mussolini, the Kingfish "lived dangerously." He knew that his amazing dictatorship made his life a stake in factional hates that extended to every village and cross-road throughout the state. Like every dictator, he surrounded himself with faithful vassals and armed guards. This of itself was his admission that his course had closed the democratic channels of meetings, discussion, and popular decisions at the polls and that personal violence might be expected.

On the other hand, the murder of Long solves no problem. It can only intensify the hates and make of the dead Senator a martyr in the eyes of the masses who followed him. They will not consider or understand the backgrounds of the tragedy or make allowance for the intense resentment felt by his opponents because of the arbitrary regime Long had set up. If pro-Long hate is fanned by the tragic deed of Weiss it will be countered by anti-Long partisans. Dictatorship is the road to madness which more men than the dictator travels.

## A CODE FOR CAPITALIST POLITICS

CAPITALIST political organization is being patterned after corporation efficiency. A few years ago the Democrats set up a corporation to collect party funds. The recent report of the Republican National Committee refers to the United Republican Finance Company of New York City which was set up for the same purpose. This corporation turned in the largest contribution to G.O.P. funds.

The next course in this evolution of the party machine should be the setting up of a "code of fair competition" by which each corporation will allot big shot contributors on a fifty-fifty basis. Banker Skinner will be allotted to the Democrats and Magnate Skinnem to the Republicans. Later each corporation might well agree to a code set of prices for the legislation each big shot wants. When he makes his contribution he can register the rate he wants for a steel tariff or anything else.

The more we go into this the more promising does it appear. When a big shot registers his wants it can be recorded and indexed and a duplicate sent to the other party corporation. No matter how an election goes, each corporation will have a record of all orders for legislation. The party that gets the job will hand the index cards to the Congressional brokers while the chiefs of the other party will check the legislation in Congress to be sure that the code of fair competition is lived up to.

We offer these suggestions to the national committees of both parties. Thus the Square Deal of Teddy Roosevelt and the New Deal of Franklin Delano Roosevelt will be merged in an alliance of brotherly love.

## SAVING THE CITY MONEY

THE Citizens' Budget Commission, an organization of "public-spirited" bankers, real estate operators and other big capitalists, is eager to save the tax payers of New York a lot of money, and its experts contend that \$13,638,490 can be cut from the budget in a single year.

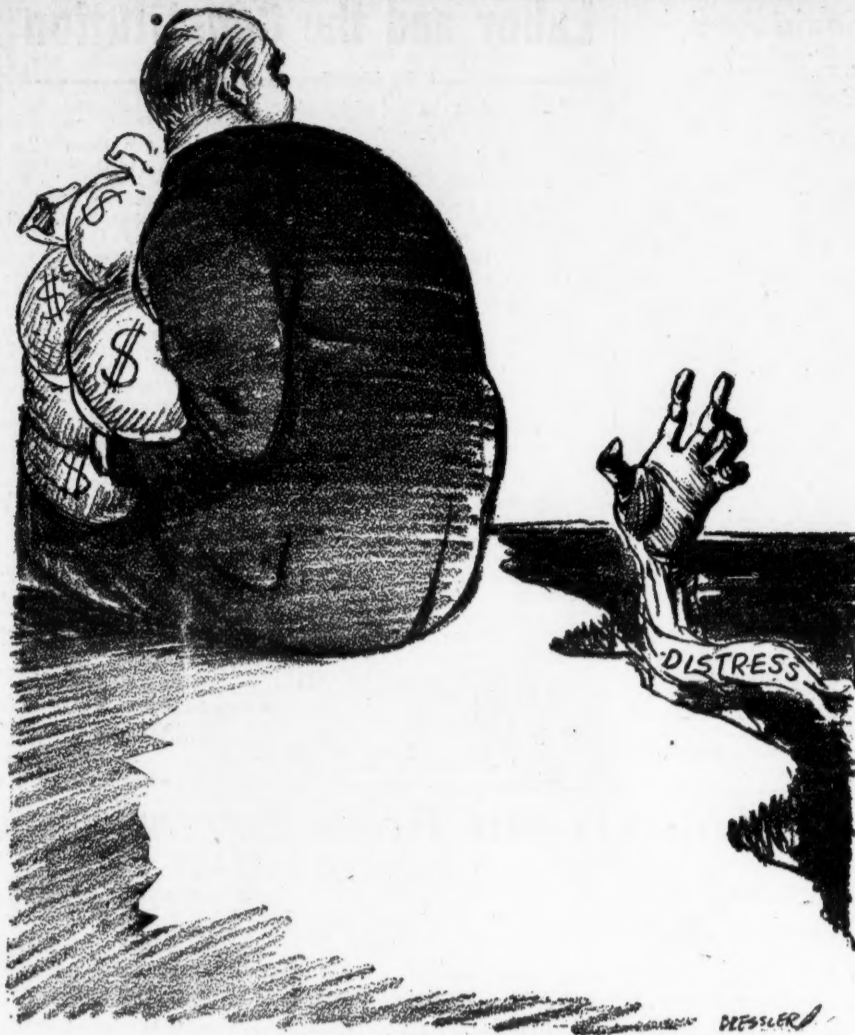
They propose to save money by reducing the salaries of the useless Aldermen and discharging their useless Sergeants-at-Arms, which is a good proposal. But they would also save \$2,250,000 by eliminating salary appropriations for vacancies in the city's service, which is another way of keeping the salaries of many civil servants low; an additional \$3,750,090 is found in proposed "reduction of wage scales for mechanical labor" to "approach more nearly prevailing rates in private employ"; \$4,500,000 for "readjustment" of the wages of elevator operators, telephone girls, chauffeurs and other workers; and a still further \$1,500,000 by suspending the law for mandatory increases in wages of teachers, policemen and firemen.

That is, these big business shots, in seeking to save a little less than \$14,000,000 find \$12,000,000 by cutting wages, principally of underpaid and overworked city workers!

This is the capitalist-banker idea of how to run a city. It does not differ from the view of running a corporation. They do not suggest a slash in the debt services, through which the city pays close to a third of a billion dollars a year to their class. They would cut elevator operators down to \$12 a week.

This handful of aristocrats is a minority. The elevator operators, chauffeurs and watchmen, together with other hundreds of thousands of workers, are the majority. Both minority and majority have votes to cast in November. We know how the minority will vote. Will this vast majority vote with the minority of big shots or for their class with the Socialist Party?

## HE NEEDS MORE THAN A BREATHING SPACE



## Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman  
Our Washington Correspondent

### The "Breathing Spell"

EVEN though the President's "breathing spell" to big business did not come from Washington I hope I'll be permitted to say a few words about it. My excuse is that while it came from the President's Hyde Park hide-out, it had its inception in Washington.

Contrary to general acceptance Roosevelt's promise to leave big business alone for a while and not harass them with objectionable legislation at the next session of Congress was not conceived as casually as it appeared to be. It was not a spontaneous outburst of generosity. For weeks it had been plotted and planned. Long before Congress adjourned Roosevelt's political advisers urged upon him the necessity of doing two things: (1) to make full and satisfactory explanation about his legislative maneuvers, and (2) to placate, appease and conciliate disgruntled captains of industry, commerce and finance, who felt aggrieved by his insistence on the passage of the "death sentence" to utility holding companies, the banking bill, the higher taxes on the rich, the Wagner Labor Bill, the Guffey Coal Bill and the Social Security Bill.

Even the form in which the President announced the "breathing spell" was suggested weeks ago in Washington. There were several applicants for personal interviews and statements along this line. Mr. Roosevelt finally selected Roy W. Howard, publisher of the powerful Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers, who supported him and his New Deal through thick and thin. The fact that the Scripps-Howard chain is a strong competitor of William Randolph Hearst may also have had something to do with the selection of Mr. Howard as the proper channel for this long awaited statement.

The "breathing spell" assurance is substantially the same as that given privately by the President to departing Congressional leaders. They did not doubt that the President hoped to afford it, that he was planning no important legislation for the January session of Congress, prior to the election. At the same time, they made no secret of their private impression that the duration of the proposed breathing spell is problematical.

What they had in the back of their minds was this:

Supreme Court decisions this Fall may make new reform legislation imperative from a New Deal viewpoint; the tax bill is obviously only an initial step in the program outlined in Mr. Roosevelt's tax message to Congress; the monetary situation must be settled eventually.

### Beginning of President's Swing to the Right

ALMOST all political observers expected President Roosevelt to make a swing to the right some time before the campaign begins. And—that's it! Is came!

Last Saturday Representative Amle, Wisconsin Progressive, chairman of the American Commonwealth Political Federation,

said President Roosevelt's signal of a "breathing spell" for business meant "the end of New Deal liberalism." Amle said the President apparently had decided to shut his eyes to the problems of the millions of unemployed and those living on charity, and added:

"The President's popularity among some liberal, labor and farm groups has been based on the hope that before long he would do something fundamental about the fact that although we live in an age of potential abundance, the people are forced to endure appalling and unprecedented poverty. The President has now blasted that hope."

"I have felt for a long time that the liberal supporters of the President were deluded by false hopes and I am grateful to the President for his clarification of his position."

Very few of the Congressmen are as progressive as Representative Amle, but in the main they agree with his statement.

### Trouble With All Three Dictatorships—Germany, Italy and Russia

OUR government's official adjuster of international troubles, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, has his hands full with trying to adjust controversial matters to appease wounded feelings of one or another of the three most prominent dictatorships in Europe: Germany, Italy and Russia.

Germany: It is fairly safe to assume that Secretary Hull does not intend to offer any kind of an apology to the Nazi Government. The best that Germany can expect is an expression of "deep regret" over the language used by Magistrate Brodsky accompanying the dismissal of charges against the five participants in tearing down the "flag of piracy" of the German liner Bremen.

Caught in a highly embarrassing situation, the State Department donned its softest diplomatic gloves, as study of the case convinced officials here that the Federal Government is powerless to take any punitive action.

While Secretary Hull planned to avoid an outright apology, he privately concedes the German government has ample justification for its official protest. Unable to satisfy the complaints by steps against a municipal judge, Administration advisers saw no other "out" than to tender a complete explanation to the Berlin government, that in this country the Federal Government has no authority over municipal magistrates. In addition to that a formal expression of "deep regret"—the usual diplomatic salve on wounded national pride, will suffice.

Italy: It was a bold stroke of Haile Selassie to turn over half of his Empire to American oil interests, but it was also a bold stroke of Secretary Hull to compel the immediate cancellation of those contracts. Insiders know that the cancellation of those oil contracts was chiefly to pour oil on the troubled waters that exist between the United States and Italy.

It so happens that the American-Italian trade agreement expired a few months ago. Negotiations for a new one have begun.

Our State Department experts got a hint from above to take their own good time in those negotiations of that new trade agreement with Italy.

The facts are that about three weeks ago Italy pointedly asked this government that negotiations be speeded up. The Italian dictator is apparently in a hurry to buy materials which may not be barred by the neutrality resolution. Also his suspicions must have been aroused. Informal talks about the treaty were started months ago, but nothing ever happened. Furthermore, Italy has been having considerable difficulty arranging credits and the Government here has decided Italy is not a very good risk just now.

Mussolini can never prove it, but there is good reason to believe that President Roosevelt has started out to invoke some very subtle economic sanctions against the Duce.

Russia: Nothing new has developed lately in the Russian situation except that Ambassador Bullitt left Russia on his vacation and rumors have it that he will not be in a hurry to return. Rumors also persist that plans to erect a new American Embassy at Moscow had been held up in anticipation, or fear, of an open break of friendship.

So it happens that our international trouble adjuster, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, is busy dodging brickbats from all three outstanding dictatorships of Europe.

## Socialists Act to Put Milwaukee in The Meat Business

MILWAUKEE.—Acting to curb the rising meat prices Milwaukee Socialists have moved to invoke a dormant unpassed ordinance to permit the city to enter the marketing business.

The Common Council, after mild objections from a non-partisan member, unanimously approved a resolution by Alderman Carl P. Dietz, Socialist, directing the Common Council's judiciary committee, headed by Alderman Leonard K. Place, Socialist, to remove the ordinance from its pigeonhole and report to the Council.

## PROPERTY

(Continued from Page Seven)

nevertheless vigorous in his assertion that Communist tactics are far more likely to fasten fascism upon the people of the United States than to create a Communist society. The more revolutionists threaten to arm the workers and to transform international war into civil war, the more likely are the citizens of this nation to turn in a frenzy of fear to fascism as a barrier to the terrors of proletarian dictatorship. The only way in which Communists can successfully cope with fascism is through victorious armed battle. Therefore it appears to me that non-warlike revolutionists fall into a tragic blunder when they enter into a united front with Communists or near-Communists.

(The End)

## No "Breathing Spell" in Our Fight for Thirty-Hour Week

By Algernon Lee

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT was hardly wise in adopting as his own Mr. Howard's words about "granting a breathing spell to industry." By so doing he put himself in the position of admitting—what he surely did not mean to admit—that his New Deal legislation has been burdensome and also harmful to industry. In the plain sense of the words, a "breathing spell" signifies relief from some evil or some danger. But what makes the phrase doubly unfortunate is that a breathing spell is not an escape; it is only a respite, a temporary release. To put it in colloquial language, it is as if the President had said: "Yes, I've been soaking you good and plenty; now I'm going to let up on you for a while—but only for a while." That was no doubt far from his meaning. But that is how the man in the street has understood him, and his reactionary opponents will see to it that the impression is not easily effaced.

Of course the fact is that industry has not suffered and is not suffering under the New Deal. There has been a considerable revival in the last two years. Measured by the volume of production, industry now stands about half-way between the low point reached in the spring of 1933 and the peak of 1928-29 from which it had so rapidly declined. How much of this recovery is due to the Roosevelt legislation is a debatable question; but there is at any rate no reasonable ground for thinking that this legislation has hampered it or prevented it from going farther. The industrial capitalists, as distinguished from their financial overlords, if they understood their interests, would not ask for a halt, but for continuance on the same line.



Algernon Lee

The working people, too—it would be folly to deny it—have fared better in the last two years than they were faring for three years before. Unemployment has been reduced—not so much as the President seems to claim, and certainly not in due proportion to the growth of industrial activity and output, but anyhow it has been considerably reduced. The level of real wages, which had been falling disastrously, has been slightly raised. And those still unemployed have been receiving more assistance than before.

The employing class has got more benefit than has the working class. And what benefit the working class has obtained is too largely a matter of temporary relief. That is our quarrel with the New Deal—that, so far as the present and future interest of the workers is concerned, there is too little in it that is basic and lasting. The chief exception is the so-called Security Program. But even this, though of a permanent nature, and well worth having, does not go to the root of the evil.

When the President says that his basic program "has now reached substantial completion," he makes it pretty clear that the one thing which is most vitally and urgently needed by the working class is not merely postponed till after the "breathing spell," but that it is not included in his future program. That one thing, which would go far toward wiping out unemployment and would in other ways bring untold benefit to the working people, is the Thirty-Hour Week. Without that, unemployment will again begin to grow with the continued displacement of labor by improved machinery. Without it, unless work relief and home relief and all kinds of emergency relief are kept up indefinitely, misery will again increase.

The fight for the Thirty-Hour Week must not flag. In this matter there must be no breathing spell.

## The New Leader Book Corner

NOTE—All books reviewed in The New Leader can be ordered through the Rand School Book store, 7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C.

By Charles Solomon

HISTORIC OPINIONS OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT. Selected, with a Preface and Introductory Notes, by Ambrose D. McKim. 537 pp. The Vanguard Press. \$4.50.

THIS volume appears at a time of relatively high current interest in the Supreme Court and when this tribunal promises to become a major political issue. It contains the opinions in sixteen outstanding cases decided by the Court, ranging from Marbury v. Madison (1803), establishing the power of judicial review, to A. L. A. Schechter Corp. vs. United States (1935), ending the NRA codes.

The cases are selected because the editor believes them to be essential to an understanding of our constitutional history and its system. Among the historic questions around which the respective opinions revolve are the power of judicial review, freedom of interstate commerce, impairment of the obligation of contracts, extension of the slave power (the Dred Scott case), the federal power over money, preservation of the line between the nation and states, price fixing and due process, federal regulation of child labor, minimum wages, state licensing of private business, mortgage moratoria, etc.

In an interesting preface in which a dramatic picture is given of the memorable session of the Court on May 27, 1935, when the decision invalidating the codes was handed down, Mr. D. McKim says this decision reached to the very vitals of our government. "Its full implications cannot be known until the Court has passed on more of the statutes . . . enacted by the New Deal."

The "phonographic" theory of the Judges' function—judges do not "legislate" but merely "declare," and apply pre-existing principles—is disavowed. " . . . the issues with which they are concerned are issues on which it is practically impossible for thinking men to be impersonal, especially men with the background of professional and political activity that brings them to the Court."

This very thesis is propounded by no one more unequivocally than by Judge Benjamin N. Cardozo, now a member of the Court, in his "Nature of the Judicial Process," published while he was distinguished associate justice of the New York State Court of Appeals. Acknowledging the vital part played in the judicial process by that "empire of sub-conscious loyalties" of which each judge is a subject, Cardozo wrote:

"I have spoken of the forces of which judges avowedly avail to shape the form and content of their judgments. Even these forces are seldom fully in consciousness. They lie so near the

surface, however, that their existence and influence are not likely to be disclaimed. But the subject is not exhausted with the recognition of their power. Deep below consciousness are other forces, the likes and dislikes, the predilections and the prejudices, the complex of instincts and emotions and habits and convictions, which make the man, whether he be litigant or judge. The great tides and currents which engulf the rest of men, do not turn aside in their course, and pass the judges by."

The career of John Marshall strikingly illustrates that judges "do not stand aloof on chill and distant heights." He was distinctively the judicial exponent of Federalist economic and political theory. His role in the Court is a conspicuous example of what President Theodore Roosevelt had in mind in his message to Congress, December 8, 1908:

"Every time they (the judges) interpret contract, property, vested rights, due process of law, liberty, they necessarily enact into law parts of a system of social philosophy; and as such interpretation is fundamental . . . The decisions of the courts on economic and social questions depend upon their economic and social philosophy . . ."

Notwithstanding the fact that the question of constitutional change is much to the fore, there is almost no discussion of this problem. Mr. D. McKim believes "the most fertile method of constitutional change" lies in the Court's ability to distinguish cases.

"Union Smashing in Sacramento" "Union-smashing in Sacramento—The Truth About the Criminal Syndicalism Trial," by Herbert Solow, has just been published by the National Sacramento Appeal Committee as its official pamphlet. This committee has been set up by the Socialist Party and nine other organizations to handle Norman Mini's appeal against a 14-year sentence.

Samuel S. White, Manager of the San Francisco Joint Board of the I.L.G.W.U. and a member of the S.E.C. of the California Socialist Party, wrote a preface calling on workers and enemies of reaction to support the appeal committee. White points out that the committee has made a good move in retaining as its attorney Raymond W. Henderson of Bakersfield, State Chairman of the Socialist Party, who is famous for his handling of criminal syndicalism trials and appeals.

Solow spent four months in Sacramento during the trial. The pamphlet includes an illuminating study of the economics of California agriculture, the history of struggles of the exploited migratory farm workers to organize unions, and the persecution to which they have been subjected.

Copies of the pamphlet by mail from the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, Room 707, 41 Union Square, N. Y. C.