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Eugene V. Debs

Mussolini's Blood Bath Reveals Fascism's Soul

ON Wednesday, October 2, Benito Mussolini, fascist dictator of Italy, broadcast a bombastic address to his vassals throughout Italy. When he finished this address he ordered a march upon Ethiopia.

At the end of the World War, Mussolini said, "only the crumbs of colonial booty were left for us." He went on to say that "Twenty million Italians are at this moment gathered in the squares of all Italy. It is the greatest demonstration that human history records. Twenty millions! One heart alone! One will alone! One decision!"

Yes, it was one heart, one will, one decision; it was the heart, will and decision of Mussolini which no one in all Italy dared question without going to a prison cell.

That demonstration shows what can come of a dictatorship. One man, the dictator, decides upon some course that involves the future weal or woe of millions of human beings and they have no voice in deciding that course. They are compelled by terror silently to acquiesce in the will and the decision of the dictator.

Nay, more. They are compelled to listen to words that mock them in their helplessness, compelled to accept in silence the assertion that his will is the expressed will of all. Obsessed with a megalomania for leadership and power, the despot even ventures upon a course that may envelop the whole world in flames, sacrifice millions of human lives and even wreck what remains of modern civilization.

And what is the noble ideal that induces the dictator to attack little Ethiopia thousands of miles away? Mussolini is frank about it. He cynically declares that this attack is inspired by the desire for "booty" which Italy failed to get at the end of the World War. Booty for whom? For the dictator, for the madman who thinks in terms of a reincarnated Caesar who is to be the head of a new Roman Empire.

This is insolence and robbery compounded. So all the modern instruments of human and physical destruction are directed against a little Negro community living on a little segment of territory in Africa. Little mud villages with thatched huts are bombed from the air, machine guns are used against the simple weapons of tribesmen, and tanks move over the terrain to mow down everything in their way.

It was only yesterday that Mussolini was saying that an excess population in Italy required overseas colonies and yet, while making this plea to the world, he also urged Italian women to bring more children into the world. Regarding himself as a new-style Caesar, Mussolini desires more human beings to serve as cannon fodder for his appetite for fascist conquest.

He wants to bring "civilization" to what he calls "barbarous" Ethiopia. That is to say that he wants to export barbarous fascism to Africa. Even the tribesmen of Ethiopia, despite the survival of some primitive customs rooted in folkways that are centuries old, are free men and women as compared with the people who live under the regime of Mussolini.

He who wants to "civilize" Ethiopia marched into power in Italy over the prostrate bodies of men and women whose lives were devoted to the realization of a free world in which war and economic conflicts would no more disturb Italy's social life. Trade unions and cooperative societies of workmen and women were destroyed. Their publishing houses were looted and in some cases put to the torch. Gangsters armed with clubs and guns struck down dissenters in the streets. Thugs whetted their sadist appetites by forcing castor oil down the throats of their victims. Freedom of organization, press and assemblage were destroyed. The cultural life of Italy was made the servile instrument of this bombastic new-style Caesar. All resistance to Mussolini's will was crushed by long terms of imprisonment assessed against those who disagreed.

It is this despotic regime that Mussolini wants to impose upon Ethiopia and the rest of the world in the name of "civilization." His civilization is the epileptic phase of a capitalism gone mad.

We hope that Mussolini and his fascist despotism will perish in the flames which his megalomania has kindled.

Italian finances are in a precarious condition and this military raid in Ethiopia is certain to add to the strain on Italian finances and resources. If it leads to fascist bankruptcy and the ousting of the fascist regime we shall rejoice in the liberation of the Italian people and congratulate the Negro fighters in Ethiopia for their aid in bringing civilization back to the land of Dante, Mazzini and Matteotti.

German Unrest Grows as Wages Fall and Living Costs Mount

BERLIN.—Germany's economic life of today is characterized by a steady rise of the cost of living while wages at the same time are forcibly driven down by the Nazis. All attempts of the masters of the Third Reich to deny these facts are dispelled by official figures presented by the Reich Statistical Bureau and other governmental departments. The decline of the purchasing power of the masses is strikingly demonstrated by a table presented by the Statistical Bureau which proves that the rise in food prices between 1933 and 1935 amounts to 3 to 4 marks per week (\$1.20 to \$1.60 at present exchange rate) for an average family. A similar increase is reported for so-called luxuries as coffee, tea, beer, etc., and also for clothing and rent.

Considering that 40 per cent of the German workers earn less than 18 marks (\$7.25) and 25 per cent 18 to 30 marks per week, it is easily understood that the workers are not able to shoulder these new heavy expenditures. Deductions and "voluntary" donations to the Nazi cause amount to approximately 15 to 20 per cent of their meager wages. In total the purchasing power of the German workers has decreased 12 to 20 per cent, with the result that mass consumption is steadily falling off.

The general unrest of the German working masses finds its ex-

Indiana Courts Uphold Martial Law in Terre Haute

Special to The New Leader
TERRE HAUTE, Ind.—In a sweeping decision which virtually gives power of life and death to the governor under martial law, a three judge federal court today denied the application of the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee to restrain violations of the Bill of Rights in Vigo County, which has been ruled by the military rule since July.

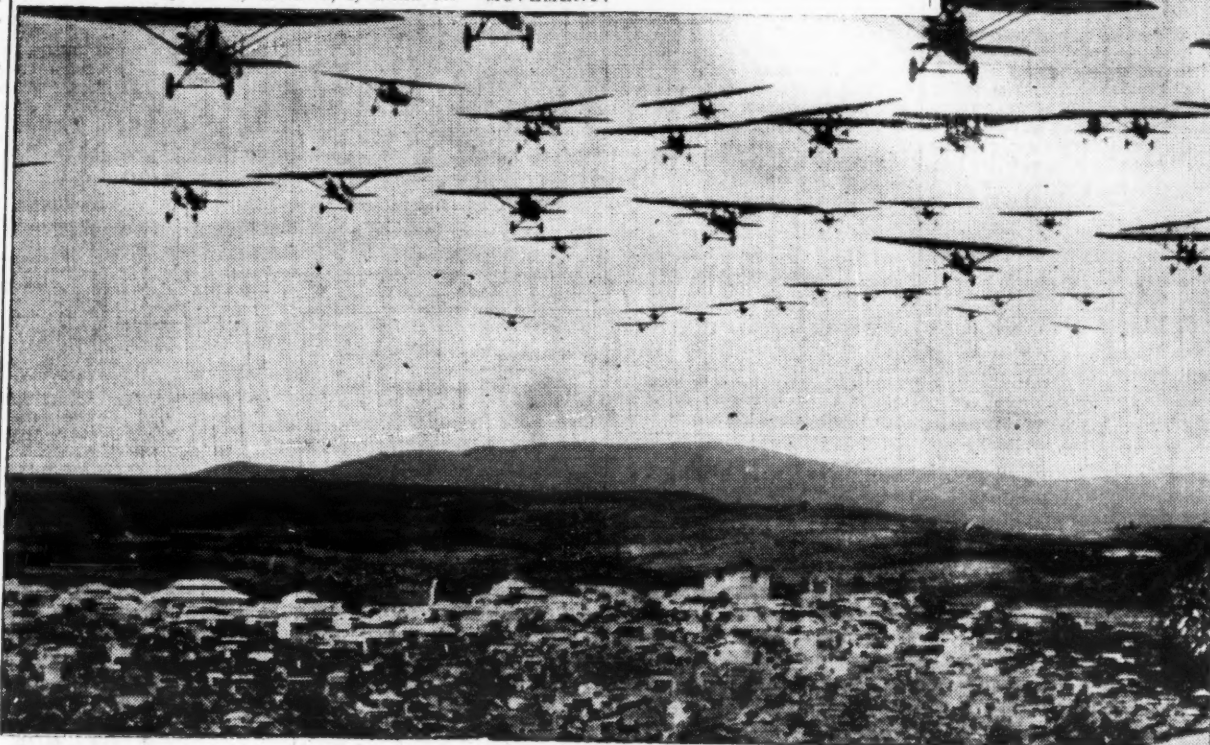
Constitutional and statutory safeguards were set aside by the court, which ruled that since Governor McNutt has sent troops into Terre Haute at the request of the mayor and sheriff, his action had not been arbitrary.

Mussolini's Wings of Death

The downpour of fire and death unleashed by Italian fascism upon little Ethiopia threatens to engulf the world. At last the civilized nations of the earth perceive clearly the true nature of fascist dictatorship. A mighty, irresistible wave of protest mixed with horror is sweeping the earth. The legions of fascism may rejoice in their victories over the helpless African tribes to whom they are carrying their perverse "civilization" in streams of poison gas and on the points of bayonets. But the decent opinion of mankind, of which the

organized workers of the world are the strongest bulwark, sends to Mussolini and his cohorts its profound contempt and detestation. From all parts of the earth where freedom and humanity still prevail comes the cry:

DEATH TO FASCISM! DEATH TO THE REGIME OF BENITO MUSSOLINI! DOWN WITH THE BLOOD-BEGIRRED DICTATORSHIP AT ROME. LONG LIVE FREE ITALY! LONG LIVE DEMOCRACY! LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOR MOVEMENT!



Ferrero Denounces Fascism As World's Greatest Peril

Noted Italian Historian, Living in Exile, Calls on Nations to Strike Evils of Dictatorships at their Roots.

GUGLIELMO FERRERO, the distinguished Italian historian, is firmly convinced that fascism, brought into its most sinister light by Mussolini's proposed subjugation of Ethiopia, is the outstanding menace to the entire civilized world.

One of the first victims of Mussolini's dictatorship and now an exile in Switzerland, he gives, in a copyrighted article in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the following analysis of the development of Mussolini's despotism based on military force and the suppression of civil liberty:

"A war between Ethiopia and Italy might have the greatest repercussions. But has not the Italian government been preparing for twelve years, before the eyes of the world, openly, almost ostentatiously, if not for this war, at any rate for a war?"

"Italy has not concealed it. We must at least give it credit for the merit of frankness. It announced and proclaimed it in all directions."

"Italy has spent huge sums on armaments which were not justified by any necessity of defense. It has militarized the whole

population from 12 to 55 years. It has placed guns in the hands of children."

"It has made conquering imperialism into an official doctrine, taught in the schools."

"It has imprisoned, deported, exiled all the pacifists, burned their books, suppressed their newspapers."

"What more could it do to inform the world of its intentions?" Signor Ferrero deplors the fact that the democratic nations of the western world have permitted the principles of fascism, which he describes as a resurrection of Prussian military imperialism of pre-World War times, to go practically unchallenged, so that now, although the war was fought to end military dictatorships, that evil has arisen in new strength under diverse forms and seriously menaces democratic governments and institutions.

He expresses the hope that Mussolini's preparations to make war on Ethiopia will focus attention of the democratic nations on the menace of fascism as never before and will lead them to take the necessary steps to strike the evil of military and other dictatorships at their roots.

Italians in Exile Meet to Plan Future

THE Italian workers, organized in underground Socialist and trade union organizations, are preparing to take steps to play a vital and possibly decisive role in the moment the Mussolini dictatorship falls.

Plans for the conduct of the organized workers on that day, universally believed to be not far distant, were made at a recent secret conference in a locality in Europe, reports of which have just reached The New Leader.

It was the first international gathering of Socialist and trade union organizations composed entirely of Italian workmen in the history of the world.

The conference, which was held in a locality that of course cannot be revealed, was a fighting gathering of the stalwarts of the great Socialist and Labor movement crushed to the earth 13 years ago by Mussolini's thugs. They had summoned the conference because they felt certain that the fall of Mussolini was imminent.

Report Scores All Company Unions in U.S.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The worker belonging to a company union has 1.2 per cent chance of becoming a partially free workman—at the pleasure of the company, reports the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor, after the most searching investigation yet made of this subject.

The standards of "independence" set by the Bureau are both mild and modest. They must have dues; for unless the union collects its money from its own members it is a pensioner on the company. They must have regular membership meetings, written agreements, contacts with other workers' organizations, and the right to demand arbitration of differences—and get it.

"Independence" in Company Unions
Many trade union workers have protested that this is too feeble a definition of independence. But of the 530,388 workers found belong-

Big Gains Made By Socialists in Norwalk Poll

Party Wins Place as Serious Political Factor in Connecticut Towns—2,017 Votes for Arnold Freese.

Special to The New Leader
NORWALK, Conn.—The Socialist Party emerged as a major political factor in Monday's city election here, following a remarkable campaign for the election of Arnold E. Freese as Mayor.

For the first time in its history Norwalk finds the Socialist Party up near the top, and in a position to strike for complete victory when next the voters are summoned to the polls.

Coming up from far behind, the Socialist Party made a spirited campaign on a fine platform. The final vote for Mayor was:

Stack, Democrat	4,021
Lyons, Republican	3,520
Pughman, People's Party	2,073
Freese, Socialist	2,017

The Socialist vote was 54 only five years ago, and in four years after persistent propaganda and Socialist education it was run up to 1,250 last year. Monday's vote shows that the tide is still rising.

The president of the central labor body and many other prominent labor officials were candidates on the Socialist ticket.

DARIEN.—The Socialist vote in the town election Monday showed a 50 per cent gain over the record vote cast in last year's state election.

Big Gain in Hamden

Special to The New Leader
HAMDEN, Conn.—The Socialist candidates in Monday's town election received from 245 to 270 votes.

Two years ago the vote for the same offices ran from 90 to 100. This increase is in line with the general increase of Socialist sentiment throughout the state.

NORTH HAVEN.—The Socialist ticket, the first ever placed in the field here, received 35 votes.

WEST HAVEN.—For the first time in twenty years a Socialist ticket appeared on the ballot and received 252 votes.

WALLINGFORD.—Although the Democrats carried this town, the Socialist Party put up a stiff fight and its ticket received 106 votes.

MILFORD.—In Milford the Socialist vote ran as high as 203.

Green Says A. F. of L. Will Back Labor Party When Workers Want It

Political Action Depends Upon Developments—The Idea Is Seen Gaining Much Ground.

Big Membership Rise

Executive Council's Report Reveals Marked Advances on Economic and Legislative Fields—Industrial Unionism Vital Issue.

By Marx Lewis
Special to The New Leader

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—Labor in the United States will have its own political party just as soon as it wants it, and no sooner than the millions which constitute the organized labor movement demand it.

This, in substance, was the answer of William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, in opening the 55th annual convention in this city, to one of the two major questions involving a change in the traditional policies of the Federation. The other centers around the question of industrial unionism.

Speaking for the largest peacetime membership the Federation has had in more than its half century of existence, President Green, as well as the Executive Council report, showed that neither the ravages of the depression, nor the attacks of the ruling class with which it has been battling over a wide variety of fronts, nor the disruptive and destructive elements that have sought to wreck the Federation have been able to prevent its advance or divert it from its purposes to give labor a powerful weapon for its protection.

Big Rise in Membership
The membership has passed the 3,000,000 mark. That does not include a million or more for whom per capita payments have not been received, but who, though out of work, help to make up the membership of the Federation. If employment were better, the membership might be found to exceed the wartime peak of 4,000,000.

Impressive gains, some of them through legislation, but most of them through bitter struggles waged on the industrial battlefield, are recorded in holding to improvements won for the workers through a generation of effort. Wherever organizations have relied on their own economic strength rather than on legislation to organize the workers—wherever the unions have taken advantage of the opportunities which have been afforded them—there the unions have made notable progress, and have been able to defeat every effort of the employers to tear down their standards.

Numerous legislative victories were cited. They bore an intimate relation to the pronouncement by President Green on the prospects of the Federation changing its non-partisan political policy in favor of independent political action.

Craft vs. Industrial Unionism
On the other policy, which involves the issue generally labeled craft vs. industrial unionism, departures in the traditional position of the Federation are already under way. They were taken at the San Francisco convention last year, and while the movement in

Kautsky's Articles on War and Peace to Appear in New Leader

Once more the international Socialist and labor movement is confronted with the tragic question of war. Mussolini's bloody adventure in Ethiopia has created the danger of a new world conflict. With each day it becomes clearer that two irreconcilable forces, the force of democracy on one side and the camp of the fascist dictatorships on the other, are moving toward a head-on collision. What will international Socialism and labor do in this conflict? What will be the attitude of Socialists? Iron discipline and clarity of thought will be required more than ever if the organized workers of the world are to play an effective, perhaps decisive part in the momentous struggle, which may de-

cide the fate of the world for generations.

Karl Kautsky, the author of a four-volume work of "Socialism and Democracy," has written a series of three articles on the question for The New Leader. Their publication will begin in an early issue. Coming from the pen of the outstanding living Socialist thinker they will constitute a most valuable contribution to the discussion and will undoubtedly help shape the policy of the International Socialist Movement.

Do not miss these articles and tell your friends and fellow workers about them.

Watch The New Leader, the leading journal of Socialist thought in America!

A. F. of L. Reports Great Gains During Past Year

Labor Will Back Its Own Party When the Workers Demand It

(Continued from Page One)

the direction of industrial unionism has been gaining momentum more slowly than its proponents desire and as the exigencies of the industrial situation, as they see it, seem to require, it was evident, even before the convention got down to discussion of the concrete cases in which this issue is involved, that there will be no turning back.

And while, actually, the answer of President Green to those favoring immediate independent political action appears on the face of it a reaffirmation of the position the Federation has steadfastly maintained—a position that in one form or another has been a subject of discussion at times was bitter—advocates of a labor party professed to see in it none of the determination or decisiveness by which the Federation has in the past repudiated all thought of departing from the non-partisan political policy which the convention has repeatedly endorsed.

No effort was made by President Green to justify the non-partisan policy per se, nor was there anything to indicate that the Federation feels in duty bound to continue to support such policy irrespective of changing conditions. Nor was independent political action ruled out as being injurious. To many, the impression created both by the address of President Green and by the reaction which it created among the delegates was that the labor party idea was a card which organized labor must for the present hold in reserve, the use of which may become necessary almost any time.

Although disappointed that the formation of such party of labor is being deferred, delegates representing organizations on record as favoring a labor party, which include the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the United Textile Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, and a dozen other state and national unions, felt reassured by the tendencies they have noted that on the question of a labor party, as on the question of industrial unionism, organized labor will not act precipitately, but will act favorably as soon as the bulk of the millions composing the Federation are ready and willing to make a change.

Fight for Labor Party to Go On

These organizations will continue to urge a change. Even though the position of most of them is well known they have all presented resolutions again this year, citing developments of the past year to substantiate their contention that labor can hope for no real relief from either of the

two major political parties, although they may occasionally throw to labor the crumbs that fall from their tables, or the tables of the rich who own those parties.

Viewed realistically, the proponents of a labor party know that as yet they constitute a minority of those who have any mandate from their organizations to stand for a change of policy. If, by any use of a magic wand, that minority could be converted into a majority at the convention, the problem would not be completely solved, because back home, where workers had for years been trained to take minor concessions from the old parties now rather than insist on fundamental changes that could not be realized in years, the mere adoption of a resolution at the convention might not create a party.

As in the case of such measures as old age pensions and unemployment insurance, which the same organizations fought for years to have the Federation endorse, they can see now, as they saw then, that the drift is in the direction of a new policy. Indeed, President Green, in his address, and perhaps as an effort to convince those who believe in a labor party that organized labor will change as rapidly as its members demand it, cited these changes in policies as evidence that the Federation will be open to conviction on labor going independently in politics.

That the outcome of the fight on the issue of industrial unionism, on which a more aggressive conflict will be waged because of the jurisdictional questions that will help make this an immediate issue, will have an important bearing on how soon—or whether—the Federation's position on a labor party will be changed is apparent in the way the convention is constituted.

The organizations behind the fight for industrial unionism are not identical with those favoring a party. It is safe to say that all those favoring a labor party believe the Federation must resort more and more to industrial unionism, differing perhaps as to the rapidity with which the change should be made. But the reverse is not true. The United Mine Workers, for example, has led the fight for industrial unionism, and its 400,000 members are a powerful influence in determining the outcome of the fight. Moreover, the achievements of that organization under the leadership of President John L. Lewis are regarded by many as evidence of what can be accomplished when industries, rather than crafts, face their employers. But labor party advocates cannot count on that organization's support.

Profound Changes Looming

If, as many who have attended these conventions for years feel, there is a noticeable change in the personnel of the convention because of last year's decisions broadening the base of the membership and bringing in an element that is less securely bound by the traditions and policies of the past, any further changes along the same lines made this year will have an important bearing on the Federation's policies during the next few years.

How profound these changes will be, it is too early to foretell. Advocates of craft unionism, who believe that labor will best be served by assigning workers to crafts wherever such crafts exist, even in the basic industries, are determined to make a firm stand against any further concessions to the advocates of industrial unionism, while the latter, displeased with the way in which the Executive Council carried out last year's decisions for the organization of several basic industries intend to assume the offensive. President Lewis is expected to again assume the leadership of that fight.

Efforts to count noses have resulted in a calculation reached by some that of approximately 31,000 votes in the convention, 13,000 may be counted on to support the industrial unionists. But such calculations are subject to revision, for two reasons: in the first place, some believed to favor industrial

Exiled Italians Meet To Plan Future

(Continued from Page One)

lini will not be long delayed, whatever the outcome of his Ethiopian pirate raid, and they came together to discuss plans to make the transition to a free Italy as painless and bloodless as possible.

There was the greatest enthusiasm among the delegates, who felt at last the Day of the workers was about to dawn.

Among those present was Luigi Antonini, 1st Vice-President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, who had gone to Europe to aid in strengthening working class resistance to Italian fascism. In every city he visited, Antonini was given a tumultuous welcome, not only by Italian Socialists in exile but by the whole working class movement.

forms of organization are inclined to do so with reservations in specific cases; secondly, there is a possibility that a give-and-take policy may be adopted by some of them, where there own organizations are involved.

At this writing, it seems that the jurisdictional dispute between the brewers and the teamsters, which has been put up at several conventions and which was decided in favor of the teamsters, may come up again. The brewers have refused to turn over the drivers affiliated with their organization to the teamsters, although ordered to do so by the Council and the previous convention. Federation leaders had hoped to keep the subject off the floor, but the brewers are making an effort to bring it up. It is one of the questions which is tied up with the industrial unionism issue. Recognition of one of the two Building Trades Departments is another issue due to come up. And there are numerous others.

Committees appointed on Tuesday will be the original battling ground covered by several hundred resolutions that have been introduced. Considerable interest is being manifested in the recommendation of the Executive Council that Communists be excluded from official positions in unions, at the penalty of these organizations being barred from representation in delegate bodies. Its adoption is considered certain.

Unions in R. I. Move to Form A Labor Party

(Continued from Page One)

introduced by the Socialist progressive group, the other by the Brewery Workers. Both resolutions were reported together, with a recommendation of non-concurrence. A hand vote to accept the report was lost 41-49. On the motion to endorse the resolutions, a secret ballot roll-call was demanded, and the resolutions were defeated by a vote of Aye 44, Nay 73 and blank 1.

Sales Tax Denounced

A resolution protesting the planned imposition of a sales tax, introduced at the request of the Socialist Party, was passed unanimously.

A resolution condemning the Democratic Party, pledging support in the future to the Republican Party, was reported by the Committee with a recommendation of non-concurrence, and the Committee report was accepted without debate. A resolution protesting against the employment of enlisted men on jobs formerly held by civilians at the Newport Training Station was passed without dissent. Four resolutions protesting payment of less than union wages on WPA projects were reported favorably by the Resolutions Committee—one to write the President "requesting" that he direct the WPA Administrator to pay union wages, and two calling for State Branch support of the attempts to organize the unemployed, and endorsing joint strike action if union wages are not paid. All four passed unanimously, and with applause.

WOMEN WARRIORS OF ETHIOPIA



An incident in the spreading of civilization into darkest Africa.

Socialists Back Labor Ticket in Newark Election

Ten Party Candidates Withdraw in Favor of Union Candidates to Make Up Labor Slate.

Special to The New Leader
NEWARK, N. J.—In accordance with the decision of the Essex County local of the Socialist Party, all but two of the party candidates withdrew their candidacies to support the Labor Party ticket.

In order to present a full workers' ticket to the voters the Socialist Party will run Henry Green of Newark and Ruby Smith of East Orange for the Assembly. The Essex Labor Party ticket includes only ten of the twelve possible assembly candidates, but has placed candidates for all of the other places on the ticket.

The Labor and Socialist Ticket

The combined Labor and Socialist parties' ticket consists of Henry Wendrich, State Senator; Herman J. Dumpert, Sheriff; Emanuel Pfeiffer, County Registrar; Hilding Nelson, County Clerk; Henry Hebler, James R. Geddes, Dr. Mary P. Crilly, George Powers, Freeholder.

Lee Ella Head, Fred C. Reiner, John J. Crowley, John A. Fuller, Peter Yablonsky, Bones Nites, Edward C. Miller, Philip Goodman, Albert S. Walton, Oscar Chinich (all on Labor Party ticket) and Henry Green, Ruby Smith (on Socialist Party ticket), all for Assembly.

Socialists Name Campaign Committee

The active direction of the Socialist Party end of the campaign was placed in the hands of a committee consisting of Milo C. Jones as campaign manager and Geo. H. Goebel, Simon Smith, Karl Bert-

hold, A. Heck and Dr. Louis Reiss.

The first big gun will be a dinner and reception to all the candidates at 6 p.m. Sunday, October 20, in the W. C. Lyceum Ball Room, 190 Belmont Ave., Newark, with Judge Jacob Panken, Congressman Thos. R. Amle and Samuel E. Beardsley as guest speakers, for which many party and W. C. branches and unions are reserving from one to six tables and every indication of capacity attendance.

Reservations at fifty cents per plate can be sent to Milo C. Jones, 127 Isabella Ave., Newark, N. J.

To date 27 unions have already endorsed the Labor Party ticket, with daily additions to the list.

Lindemann Company Takes the Hint and Closes Its Factory

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Simultaneously with the official publication of the Bancel ordinance on Wednesday (which made the ordinance legal), directors of the Lindemann-Hoverson Company voted to close their factory.

The Bancel ordinance is a measure pushed through the City Council by Socialist members and urged by Mayor Hoan, authorizing the Mayor to close any plant whose management refused to deal on a basis of collective bargaining with striking workers. The ordinance was directed at the Lindemann-Hoverson Company, makers of toves.

As The New Leader goes to press a conference was being held between A. J. Lindemann, president of the firm, and Robert Mythen, federal mediator. This was the first time Lindemann had been willing to meet the federal agent.

As a result of this conference it was expected that Lindemann would agree to a second conference with Otto Jirikowic, business agent for the machinists, and other labor leaders would be present.

Here's Something for Busy Women in Their Spare Time

By Gertrude Weil Klein

THE woman's page editor of one of our metropolitan dailies recently suggested that we women should make one magnificent gesture at least once in a lifetime, such as buying a sable coat.

I know; it isn't even funny. But I sympathize with the impulse behind the suggestion just the same. Translated into terms that come within our comprehension, it might mean shaking ourselves out of our daily rut by doing something special.

Something that spells luxury, if not in the expenditure of money then in the expenditure of time and energy. And that is something we women should certainly do.

Groove and Grave

Even in our work for Socialism we tend to follow the pattern that has been laid down for years as a pattern for women's work. There's not a great deal of difference between a groove and a grave, simply a matter of a few feet in depth.

This is not glib advice handed out from Mt. Olympus. I know exactly what it means to run a household, raise youngsters, carry on your share of Socialist activity—usually the most uninteresting part of the activity—and at the same time remain a human being alive to all that is going on around you, because it's part of my own daily grind, in addition to earning the family's living. And I know what a luxury and almost what a crime it is to take time out for something extra, something that doesn't seem, at first glance, to belong in the program of a busy housewife and mother. But it's a luxury or a crime, whichever way you look at it, that I want most earnestly to urge upon every woman.

Substitute for Sables

It's not a sable coat, but it will keep you warm. It will do.

I have suggestions to make, activities to recommend that will be definitely and personally yours. Even if they do not redound to the benefit of the Socialist movement—though usually they do—they are something you owe yourself; your sable coat.

I am referring, first, to the afternoon classes for women arranged by the Women's Committee, in conjunction with the Rand School. Started with much doubt and apprehension three years ago these classes, which are specially adapted for women with little or no academic background, have proved a great inspiration. According to the Rand School staff,

Report Scores All Company Unions in U.S.

(Continued from Page One)

ing to company unions, only 6,515 had all these privileges, meager though they are. This comes to 1.2 per cent, 12 persons out of every 1,000, in the group of company union members investigated.

The investigation covered 1,935,556 workers employed in 14,725 plants or establishments. Of these, 593 were company union establishments; 4 per cent of the total by number of plants. The 530,388 company union workers studied, however, formed 30 per cent of the 1,935,556 workers covered by the survey. Obviously, company unions have been ordained chiefly by the larger corporations, steel, for instance.

It is pointed out by labor leaders that the survey shows no such overwhelming strength for the company union as has been claimed. The utmost efforts of employers by the survey have left 70 per cent of the workers still outside the company union fold. Also, 97 trade unions were found functioning in the 593 company union establishments.

The NRA and Company Unions

Going into details, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that of the 530,000 company union workers listed, 411,000 had no provisions for dues or for other means of raising funds from the so-called "members." Of those who did have company union dues, 69 per cent were paying 40 cents a month or less.

Of the 593 company unions studied, 377, or 63.5 per cent of the total number, were formed in the NRA years from 1933 to 1935. Big employers saw the chances for real union progress by NRA, and tried to vaccinate the labor movement against trade unionism by company unionism.

these women students are among the best the School has ever had within its walls. The program is divided into classes in public speaking, Socialism, History of Labor, and a Symposium on practical political problems.

The Forgotten Woman

An important feature of the Women's Committee work is the formation of the Conference Against the High Cost of Living. With living costs up 33 per cent since May 1933, and wages wholly out of step, the Women's Committee has determined to bring consumer pressure where it will be felt. In all of the agitation about the "forgotten man," the real forgotten woman has been the forgotten woman who has to market on an almost non-existent pay envelop.

Consumer representation in the administration of government policies has been practically nil, and the Women's Committee has determined to organize this scattered, leaderless, weak, but potentially powerful group. A start will probably be made by organizing women's auxiliaries in the labor unions where none as yet exist, and by drawing those which do exist into a federated group of some kind.

To this end a series of Conference Teas will be held, the first one at the home of Mrs. Vera Hillquit this week, to which keywomen in various organizations have been invited and at which a tentative program will be outlined. The culmination of this series of Conference Teas will be the Conference Against the High Cost of Living, which will be held at the Hotel Pennsylvania, Dec. 14th and 15th. A great deal of necessary and important preparatory work must be done in between. If you have any time to spare, you will be welcome any afternoon in the Women's Committee office at the People's House, 7 E. 15th St.

Reception to Women Candidates

This Friday evening, Oct. 11th, the Women's Committee will have its annual reception to women candidates in the studio of the People's House. This is always an enjoyable evening and you are cordially invited. You will be the guests of the Women's Committee which means that in addition to being entertained and edified, you will be fed the best tea and cake you ever ate.

And now if you have a little time and energy left, there's Rebel Arts, where you can fulfill your subconscious dreams and be a chorus girl—a chorus girl who sings in a chorus, in case you're getting the wrong impression. You don't have to have a trained voice, you don't have to be able to read music. You will be taught how to sing. There are dance groups that will take care of that bulge wherever you may have it, without disturbing the bulge in your pocketbook if you have one. There are other activities at Rebel Arts that will take you out of that groove and afford you more fun than two sable coats. There's a guarantee goes with that. Try calling Esther Friedman at ALgonquin 4-2620 for more information about any of the women's activities.

Women's Activities

Friday, October 11—8 p.m., at the Rand School Studio. Reception to Socialist Women Candidates, Entertainment.

Saturday, October 12—2 p.m., outdoor meeting at Utica Ave. and Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn. Speakers, Esther Friedman, Julia Primoff, Pauline Karaloff.

Monday, October 14—1:30 p.m., Women's Conference Against the High Cost of Living, at the Rand School. Guest speaker, Sophie Udin, National Secretary of the Pioneer Women's Organization (for Palestine). Subject, Report of the Socialist Women's International Executive Committee, held recently in Brussels.

Tuesday, October 15—2 p.m., Midwood-Brighton Unit. Speaker, Esther Friedman. Subject, Our Educational Program, followed by Bridge Party and Tea, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave.

Wednesday, October 16—2 p.m., Bensonhurst Unit. Out-door meeting near headquarters, 2268 Bay Parkway. Speakers, Clara Rothstein, Julia Primoff, Esther Friedman.

Samuel A. De Witt Named For Congress in Queens

A vacancy occurs in the Second Congressional District, Queens County, due to the resignation of Congressman Brunner.

The Queens County Committee, Socialist Party, nominated Samuel A. De Witt, former Assemblyman, as a candidate. Comrade De Witt has been a candidate in the district and promises a warm campaign.

INGERSOLL FORUM

74th St., E. of B'way, N.Y.C. Take elevator
Sundays 6 p.m. All welcome. Adm. 25c

October 13—
THOMAS WRIGHT
"Why Circumcision Should Be Prohibited"

Send for list of lectures for season.

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Tenth Anniversary Meetings THE BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP

SUN., OCT. 13, 5 P.M.—Avenue Masonic Temple, 1591 Boston Rd.—Le Roy Bowman, J. H. Lathrop, and others.

TUES. EVE., OCT. 15—Community Church Center, 650 W. 119th St.—Dinner: International Entertainment; Dancing: J. H. Holmes, J. W. Hughes, August Classens, and others.

Tickets \$1.00 (50c without dinner) can be obtained from Leon R. Hand, 511 West 112th St. M.O.ment 2-1575.

The Human Race Moves On-- With Illogical Jerks

By Chester M. Wright

DOWN the long corridor of time the human race moves in what seem usually to be illogical jerks, haltings and confusion.

A Hitler yelps his half-savage notions into the arena through the trumpet of a controlled and subsidized national organization of press and people.

A Mussolini barks with something less than the intelligence of a Caesar, but with more force.

An American employer of men grows out the syllables of an ancient philosophy, hoping people will think it the virile view of individualism, which means all things to all men.

Churchmen and labor union leaders divide when they should stand in unity, each holding an opinion which he believes sound, both for the moment putting that view above all else.

And the world moves on, by and large, to better things, though often it seems otherwise.

The story is told of a fisherman who put a chalk mark on the side of his boat so that he might return next day to the same good fishing spot. And the next day he couldn't find the same boat.

There is, in truth, a good deal of just such foolishness in the human race. Sometimes it seems as if the funniest thing on earth is the human race.

Of course, all of this is leading nowhere, unless it be toward the bottom of the column, except that inasmuch and insofar as each individual takes thought unto himself about the state of the nation—and the state of his own affairs and the affairs of his union—by that much is the chance of sound progress increased.

So think, now and then, about the state of affairs. It makes for health.

Comes now the A. F. of L. convention. Once each year it happens.

Victory Is Seen In Reading, Pa. City Election

Socialists Called Upon to Re-elect J. Henry Stump as Mayor—Great Sweep Expected.

Special to The New Leader
PITTSBURGH.—Based on the exceedingly promising prospect of carrying the city of Reading on November 5th, and the heartening effect this would have on the Socialist movement everywhere, the State Executive Committee has issued a state-wide appeal for financial support for that campaign. All locals, branches, individual members and sympathizers are asked to respond immediately to make victory possible for the ticket headed by former Mayor J. Henry Stump.

The appeal reads:
 "Comrades and Friends—Do you recall the thrill and pride of satisfaction when, on the morning following the election of 1927, you learned that your party, the Socialist Party, rode to victory in Reading, the fourth largest community in this Commonwealth?"

"That victory in a three-cornered fight was won after years of tireless work. It was not a political accident but the fruit of an intelligent program of education and organization. During the next election, the Democrats and Republicans fused to defeat us. This year the old parties cannot openly

use and consequently the Socialist Party of Reading is again engaged in a similar municipal campaign, in which, as Comrade Darlington Hoopes puts it, 'the prospects of victory are very bright.'

"Again within the power of the Socialist Party lies the opportunity to take over the political administration of the city of Reading."

"Reading Socialists are campaigning with vigor and skill. They are determined that no effort within their power shall be spared in this fight. They do so not only for the sake of their own local organization but because they are fully aware that a complete political victory in Reading will be a tremendous impetus to Socialists throughout the state; that it will stimulate activity, give renewed courage, hope and determination."

"The State Executive Committee calls upon the locals and branches to come to the aid of these devoted comrades. We are confident that you will respond; that you will do more than cheer them on their way; that you will gladly and enthusiastically take it upon yourself to aid them financially."

"Money is needed for literature, for radio broadcasts, for a thousand and one other essential activities to insure victory. Money is needed immediately, if it is to be effective. It must be on hand within the next two weeks. Rise to the occasion, comrades! A victory in Reading will be your victory! Send money immediately to the treasurer, Dr. William J. Van Essen, 122 Ninth Street, Pittsburgh, Pa."

The appeal is signed by the State Executive Committee: Raymond Hofses, David Rinne, Jane W. Tait, Charles Sands, Joseph Schwartz, Sidney Stark, W. J. Van Essen, Julius Weisberg, Charles Young and Sarah Limbach, State Secretary.

New York Socialists Present Stirring Program to Voters

Seven-Point Plan for Relief Made Basis of Local Campaign—Tax Utilities, Abrogate Bankers' Agreement, Increase Relief and End Sales Tax, Party Demands.

A SEVEN-POINT program of relief for the unemployed in New York including a demand for a 40 per cent increase in relief has been issued by the Socialist Party as its program for the 1935 municipal campaign.

"We Socialists," declared the statement, "demand a 40 per cent increase in relief, to make relief equal to that proposed by the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment Relief. This increase should guarantee adequate provision for rent, clothing, carfare and other necessities."

"2. We demand jobs at union wages on WPA projects, with treatment of those on the relief payroll equal to that of those on non-relief. This means equality in the matter of salaries, vacations and sick leaves. We recognize that the WPA is under the control of the Federal government. We believe that the city, however, can exert a powerful influence in raising the standards of Federal jobs."

"3. We demand full cash relief for all those not given jobs under WPA."

"4. We demand that relief be given to all WPA strikers."

men on the Astor project with others on reemployment rolls. Such an action, as Vladeck maintained, was unfair to organized labor. Labor not only has the right but is in duty bound to fight against the so-called 'security' wage, which grants no security and endangers the whole wage structure which took over a generation to build at great sacrifice. We insist on the application of the prevailing wage principle to all public works."

"5. We demand that jobs wherever possible be substituted for relief for all able to work. We denounce the wholesale rejection by the Mayor of 44 out of the 46 white collar projects submitted by competent technicians."

"6. We demand the full right of the unemployed to organize and engage in collective bargaining on relief jobs."

"7. We demand that relief be given to all WPA strikers."

"We are convinced," continued the Party, "that money can be secured for this relief program. Time and again we have shown conclu-

sively that funds fully adequate to meet the needs for relief could be secured by taxing some of the great excess profits of our electrical, gas and other utilities, by placing a further tax on the net profits of the business corporations and commercial banks of the city, by tapping a few million from the enormous surplus—not the deposits—of the savings banks, by drastically reducing or wiping out the unreasonably high reserve which the bankers had forced the city to maintain against delinquent taxes, and by taxing the incomes and inheritances in the higher brackets."

LaGuardia Denounced
 The Party strongly criticized Mayor LaGuardia for imposing the sales tax. "The sales tax raises the prices of the things that the small wage and salary earner and the unemployed have to buy. It burdens the poor, who are the chief buyers of the commodities taxed, far more than it does those with high incomes. It lowers the purchasing power of the masses. As a result of its imposition, less goods are bought, less workers are employed in preparing goods, more workers are thrown on the breadline, more relief money is needed, and the vicious circle begins over again."

"The Socialist Party is the party of labor. The Socialist Party pledges itself to work for an adequate relief and public works program. It pledges its support of a taxation program in the interest of the masses."

"Its one concern in office will be the improvement of the condition of the masses, the strengthening of the forces of labor, the building of a cooperative order under which unemployment, poverty, exploitation and war will be things of the past and the common man—the useful worker by hand and brain—will, for the first time in history, enjoy the fruits of his labor."

Oneal Speaking At Six Meetings In Middle West

Enroute to Chicago to attend the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party on Oct. 12 and 13, James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, will speak at three meetings in two cities. Returning from Chicago he will speak at meetings in three cities, Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Olean, N. Y.

Thursday night Oneal spoke in Buffalo at a campaign meeting at the party headquarters, 433 Main St. On Friday evening, Oct. 11, he spoke at two meetings in Chicago, the first arranged by the Yugoslav and Bohemian branches at SNPJ Hall, 2657 South Lawrence, on "The Hillquit Amendment and the American Constitution." The second meeting was held in the West Side Workmen's Circle Lyceum by the Jewish Socialist Verband and 24th Ward Branches, where he spoke on "The Socialist Party in its Relationship to the General Labor Movement, particularly the Trade Unions."

On the return trip Oneal will speak in Cleveland on Tuesday, Oct. 15, then to Pittsburgh on Wednesday, Oct. 16, where he will speak on "Current Trends in the American Labor Movement" in the Labor Center, 122 Ninth St. The final meeting will be held in Olean on Thursday, Oct. 17, where he will speak at a campaign mass meeting.

Passaic Campaign Booms

Special to The New Leader
PASSAIC, N. J.—Branch One will hold its next business meeting Friday evening, October 11, at 50 Howe Avenue. Morris Hillquit's "Loose Leaves from a Busy Life" will be donated during the evening. Plans for a Passaic County New Leader Banquet are now in the making.

Campaign meetings will take place Friday evening, October 25, at Oakly Hall, Paterson, and November 1 at the Labor Lyceum in Paterson. Candidates and guest speakers will be heard.

Branches in Passaic and Paterson are making plans for a Eugene V. Debs Memorial Meeting to take place shortly.

Two Old Parties Demoralized in Bridgeport, Ct.

Re-election of McLevy and Full Ticket Seen as Certain—Record of Two Years Wins Masses.

By Abraham Knepler

Special to The New Leader

BRIDGEPORT.—An apparent undercover fusion of capitalist party forces to defeat the Socialist administration is seen in the caliber of the tickets nominated by the Republicans and Democrats for next month's municipal election.

The Democratic Party, the opposition party during the past two years, has nominated a very weak ticket. The Republicans have named a politically "strong" ticket. Behind these moves is evident a fusion of capitalist forces determined at all costs to "beat McLevy" and put an end to the Socialist administration.

The rank and file of the two old parties are thoroughly disgusted at these tactics and their discontent is not at all concealed. The Republican and Democratic candidates, with a few exceptions, are unpopular with the members of the respective parties. How the discontent will operate on election day is uncertain.

Socialists Stand on Record

The Socialist Party, however, is counting not on the disgruntled politicians, but upon the thousands of voters who feel that the Socialist administration has performed a creditable job in pulling a bankrupt city out of the mire and in making Bridgeport a better place for the workers to live.

The Socialists nominated their candidates almost a month before the other parties, who had no outstanding candidates and were undecided until the last moment.

What moves the two old parties will make as the campaign progresses it is as yet too early to predict. The speeches of Joseph F. Wieler, a former town clerk, will in all probability be written for him by others, as has been the Democratic custom before. Clifford B. Wilson, the Republican nominee, is an ex-Mayor and a former Lieutenant-Governor. His main characteristic a tendency to flag-waving, and of this the Socialists anticipate no little during the campaign.

In contrast to the discontent in the old parties, the Socialists present an excellent slate of candidates and a record of achievement in two short years of which they can justly be proud. Two years ago the Socialist Party was an untried and unproven contender for political office. Today the record of Socialist accomplishment in office is beyond anything the two old parties can show in a score of years of control of municipal affairs; a record was achieved in spite of all imaginable pitfalls placed in their path.

Mayor Jasper McLevy is again the Socialist standard-bearer, having been unanimously renominated at the city convention. For 35 years an active member of the Socialist Party, Mayor McLevy is today the outstanding political personality in the State of Connecticut.

City Clerk Fred D. Schwartzkopf, renominated for that office, has weathered many a political storm with Mayor McLevy, having been a running mate often in past years when the thought of possible election to office was utterly remote. Elected as the lone Socialist Alderman in 1931, Schwartzkopf ably kept the Socialist message before the public eye for two years until he was elected as City Clerk in the Socialist sweep in 1933.

Richard Schulze, renominated for Town Clerk, is a veteran in the labor movement, having joined the International Association of Machinists in 1894. In 1903 Schulze became a member of the Socialist Party, and when candidates willing to run on the ticket were a rarity was always willing to risk the discomforts that usually accompanied such candidacy.

City Treasurer John Shenton, renominated, has made an enviable record as a Socialist City Treasurer, and has proven that Socialists are as competent in fiscal matters as they are in other phases of municipal government. Shenton has enabled the city to obtain considerable financial advantages through a judicious policy of handling municipal funds. Comrade Shenton is also assistant town chairman of the Bridgeport local.

Candidates for Minor Offices

Other candidates include: Board of Education, John McDermott; Sheriffs, Isadore Kravetz, William Kasten, Stephen Havanich; Selectmen, Martin Lynch, Harry Rawlinson, John D'Agostino; Aldermen, 1st Dist., Michael Grant, 2nd Dist., Mrs. Sadie Griffin; 3rd Dist., Thos. Tennant; 4th Dist., Wm. Douglas; 5th A. Dist., William S. Neil; 5th B. Dist., Philip Schner; 6th A. Dist., Samuel Silverstone; 6th B. Dist., Louis Haeft; 7th Dist., Geo. Rosenbeck; 8th A. Dist., Clifford A. Thompson; 9th A. Dist., John Schiller; 9th B. Dist., John M. Taft; 10th Dist., Charles Mottram; 11th Dist., William Hutton; 12th A. Dist., Harry Oldfield.



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 943 8th AVE. Cor. 57th St.
 192 EAST 84th St. Near Lexington Ave.
 115 W. 125th St. Near Lenox Ave.
 1291 St. Nicholas Ave. Near 180th St.

BROOKLYN
 447 FULTON ST. Cor. Lawrence St.
 90 Flatbush Ave. Near Scherhorn St.
 1700 PITKIN AVE. Near Rockaway Ave.
 1512 PITKIN AVE. Opp. Loew's Pitkin Th.
 1622 PITKIN AVE. Cor. Hopkinson Ave.
 28 MANHATTAN AVE. Near Varot St.
BRONX
 18 E. FORDHAM RD. Near Jerome Ave.
 240 E. Fordham Rd. Opp. Kgsbridge Rd.
 378 E. Fordham Rd. Near Webster Ave.
 826 WILLIS AVE. Near 149th St.

JAMAICA
 160-05 JAMAICA AVE. Cor. 140th St.
 At the End of the "L", Jamaica, L. I.
JERSEY CITY
 4 JOURNAL SQUARE
 317 CENTRAL AVE. Cor. GRIMM St.
BOSTON
 595 WASHINGTON ST. Cor. Avery St.
PHILADELPHIA
 1225 MARKET STREET
 38 S. 69th STREET

NEW YORK'S LARGEST CLOTHING CHAIN

Greene Pleads Own Cases in Court; Wins One, Faces Trial in Other

Special to The New Leader

SALISBURY, N. C.—Leonard Greene, national organizer of the United Textile Workers, who was out on a bond of \$1,500 under a charge of "inciting to riot" in the strike at Mooresville, was found guilty of failing to pay a license fee of \$100 for a sound truck and for alleged use of improper license plates. These charges had been preferred by the Highway Patrol.

A North Carolina statute provides that a license fee of \$100 must be paid by those using "sound-amplifying equipped motor vehicles." Another statute provides that "any individual or foreign corporation, doing business in the state," must have North Carolina plates.

Following his practice for over twenty years as a union organizer, Greene defended his own case on these charges and appeared before the Attorney General with an argument against the decisions. Greene contended that his car displayed an Ohio registration, and that a union organizer is not engaged in "business," which implies buying or selling commodities.

The decision of the Attorney General approved these contentions of Greene and the judge immediately vacated his judgments on the two charges. The Mooresville judge had decided against Greene on these charges on Wednesday and by Friday Greene had them vacated!

In retaining Attorney Barringer

of Salisbury last week on the riot charge, it is important to understand that he was employed merely for the preliminary hearing so that reasonable bail might be set. When this charge comes up, Greene will present his own case, following the practice of many years when he has been brought before the courts in labor activities.

Some surprises may be awaiting the prosecution when the riot charge comes into court. Greene will oppose any attempt to dismiss that charge. The spirit of the strikers is fine despite the vicious methods employed to crush them. They are determined not to be provoked into doing anything that will play into the hands of the mill owners and their servile political tools in office.

The conduct of the strike is in marked contrast with the crazy conduct of the Communists in the South in the last several years. Communism is not only completely discredited in this region; it has served as an excuse for the worst forms of reaction against the organized workers.

However, the fine spirit of the strikers requires encouragement from trade unions and their friends. There has been a total of 28 arrests of strikers on various charges, and funds are needed to help them in their struggle.

Contributions should be sent to James Starr, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Textile Workers, Bible House, New York City. The need is urgent and there should be an immediate response.

Symposium at Dinner To Alexander Khan Sunday, Oct. 20th

The welcome-dinner and campaign dinner to Alexander Khan, Socialist candidate for Alderman in the 41st District, to be held October 20th, will take the form of a highly important symposium on problems facing the Socialist Party and the labor movement.

Kahn, who has been in Europe and Palestine for several months on a mission for the Joint Distribution Committee, returns October 17th, and will immediately plunge into his aldermanic campaign.

The dinner will be held at Central Plaza, 111 Second Ave., N. Y. C., and speakers will discuss every phase of the Socialist and labor situation in this country. Among the speakers there are announced B. C. Vladeck, Charles Solomon, Louis Waldman, Abraham Cahan, N. Chanan, Joseph Weinberg, and possibly David Dubinsky, President of the I.L.G.W.U.

B. C. Vladeck is chairman of the arrangements committee and reservations should be made through Henry Greenfield, Treasurer, 175 East Broadway.

Thomas to Tour Corn Belt

Norman Thomas will make a tour of over two weeks for the Socialist Party immediately following the national executive committee meeting in Chicago October 12 and 13. The schedule will be: October 15—Davenport, Iowa; 16—Lincoln, Neb.; 17—afternoon, Ames, Iowa; evening, Des Moines; 18—Kansas City, Mo.; 19—afternoon, Picher, Oklahoma; evening, Joplin, Mo. Oct. 20—Debs memorial meeting in the gymnasium of the State Teachers College, Terre Haute, Ind.; afternoon, evening, Indianapolis; 21—LaFayette, Ind.; 22—Anderson, Ind.; 23—Louisville, Ky.

Crawford Clothing Co. Adds to New York Stores

The Crawford Clothing Company, largest clothing organization in the East, has opened another store in New York City, at 20 Cortlandt Street.

The decorative scheme and lighting fixtures of this new store represent a dignified expression of the modern feeling. Features of the plan include indirect lighting, interesting color harmonies and judicious arrangement of fixtures, to leave the greatest amount of floor space possible without losing the effect of roominess. There is a general atmosphere of comfort. It is a store where men should enjoy shopping.

(Adv.)

Beauties of Bali and Color Films Combine

Praise the Guild for a Daring Dream of Peace

THE WAY TO PEACE

"IF THIS BE TREASON." By the Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes and Reginald Laurence. The Theatre Guild's first in their 18th season. At the Music Box.

John Haynes Holmes has had a dramatic dream of peace on earth, a consummation devoutly to be wished, and the Guild has dressed it in terms of the theatre and set it down where all should see. The way to peace, it tells us flatly, is only on avenues of peace; to "prepare for war"—the old recipe—is to lead to war. To refuse to fight, not as individuals, "conscientious objectors" in a warring land, but as a nation, is to win the enemy also to peace. Have the treaty before the conflict, and cancel the war.

A great dream, a noble aspiration. If only the author's feet were as solid on earth as his head is lofty amid the stars! For the play, moving as its sentiments in themselves may be—winning frequent bursts of applause even from the Guild orchestra seats—has scant hold on reality. No such pacifist president as this Gordon (surprisingly played by McKay Morris) could conceivably be elected with such little support as this one has; and the picture of Washington and Tokyo ways lacks a natural tone. On the other hand, certain stage tricks are introduced: Walter Huston, in "Dods-worth" won a laugh by walking about in dress-shirt and drawers; to make sure of the laugh, the fellow who flaunts that costume in this play stands on a chair. Such telephone talk as "He is! . . . He did! . . . He will! . . . You don't say! . . . Goodbye!" has always seemed amusing to some members of an audience; but a few of these theatrical tricks suffice to create a sense of artificiality, and for the moment's laughter lose the larger hold of real life. Instead of an imaginary country, the aggressive enemy is Japan; the name is intended, not to stir racial animosity, but to add a real sense of close likelihood; instead, it makes us think rather of that great ogre of the good old melo-

drama, the villain Yellow Peril. An ogre, indeed, that when the little boy comes with marbles (as in the reformed fairy-tales Dr. Holmes admires) is no longer a great, horrendous ogre, but poof! just another little boy who also wants to play. So Cousin Fujiyama and Uncle Sam will sit down to a friendly little game of pretty peace.

Peace on earth remains a dream worth dreaming. In the present form, it was perhaps first dreamt by F. B. Copley, who, in "The Impachment of President Israel" (American Magazine, December, 1912) neatly anticipates the Holmes-Laurence story. But many have dreamed it since; and in the usual good Guild dress and excellent cast (save for the First Lady) "If This Be Treason" becomes as thought-provoking as it is a sincere, picture of what may come when man lifts himself by his own boot-strap into a better world.

(The Reverend Dr. Holmes may be interested to hear that, at his play which is a treatise against fighting, the man—a stranger to me—that slipped past after the first intermission, whispered as he went by: Baer was whipped all around the ring in the first round.) And toward the end of the second act of this peace play, a tipsy woman—also a stranger!—slipped into the vacant seat at my left, and whispered: "Baer was knocked out! . . . If this be treason!" J.T.S.

Town Hall News

America's interest in world affairs is definitely increasing as evidenced by the large pre-season registration of The League for Political Education, Town Hall, according to announcement made yesterday by Robert Erskine Ely, director, which is bringing to its platform this season such well-known international figures as Sir Norman Angell, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1933, who is to speak on the subject "Why a World Wanting Peace Gets War"; Emil Ludwig, the biographer, who

VALENTINE KATAYEV



Leading Soviet dramatist, novelist and author of "Squaring the Circle," new hit at the Lyceum Theatre.

Students Dance Recitals

Charles Weidman and his concert group will open the Students' Dance Recitals series Saturday evening, October 12, at the Washington Irving High School. The other artists to follow in this course: Nov. 2, Shawn and his ensemble of men dancers; Dec. 7, Miriam Winslow; Jan. 11, Tamiris; Feb. 1, Carola Goya; Feb. 15, Martha Graham; March 14, Jacques Cartier; April 4, Agnes de Mille.

Joan Crawford's New Film at the Capitol

Starring Joan Crawford and directed by W. S. Van Dyke, "I Live My Life," the new M.G.M. talkie opens today at the Capitol Theatre. In support of Miss Crawford are Brian Aherne, Frank Morgan, Aline MacMahon, Fred Keating, Eric Blore, Arthur Treacher and Jessie Ralph.

is to discuss "The Fate of Europe," and Andre Siegfried, author of "America Comes of Age." Mrs. Jackson Fleming, specialist in foreign affairs, will open the program on November 6, speaking on "The United States of America—The World Power Today."

RICH COLOR

"LEGONG," Film of the South Seas. At the World (49th St.).

Color photography should reveal its most beautiful effects, one imagines, in scenes of the tropics; and indeed we are told that beneath the brilliance of the southern sun some of these Balinese settings had to be shadowed for the camera. There can be no doubt that beauty had her birth beneath the southern sky; even those that have seen the earlier Balinese films will be surprised at the charm and vividness that color adds to the landscape and the bronze-bodied natives.

Even the story is colored by this change. Set in the black and white of Broadway, this tale would be a tragedy, of two sisters who love one man, so desperately that when one of them marries him, the other kills herself. Beneath the color of distant Bali, the same tale becomes an idyll of remote and quiet beauty. Its high point is the "dance of the virgins" that Poutou dances with her sister, the bride-to-be, when the necessity of her doom has come upon her, and the beauty of the dance is weighted with the poignancy of her approaching hour, the hour of marriage and death.

Effective shorts, as usual, accompany this unusual film.

"Java Head" and "Wanderer of the Wasteland" at Brooklyn Strand

Joseph Hergesheimer's well-known story "Java Head," with the exotic Anna May Wong and Elizabeth Allen co-starred, heads the double feature program at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre this week. The second feature is Zane Grey's romantic Western drama "Wanderer of the Wasteland."

In "Java Head," Anna May Wong essays the role of Tauo Yuen, the beautiful Manchu girl of high rank who marries the son of a well-to-do British shipowner. That "Blood is thicker than water" is proved by the inevitable consequences. In the end, her husband turns to the English girl whom he loved before Tauo Yuen came into his life, and the Manchu girl takes "the only way out" in order that her English husband may find happiness.

"Sketch Book" to Continue

As a result of the continued increasing attendance, Earl Carroll has just concluded a contract with Lee Shubert to retain the Earl Carroll Sketch Book in the Majestic Theatre for eight weeks, with an option for prolonging the engagement beyond that time if attendance warrants. There will be some important additions to the cast within a few weeks, Ken Murray remaining the featured comedian.

MUSIC

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ESCUADERO
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Program of Spanish Dancers
Tickets \$1.10 to \$2.50 Now at Box Office
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Return of PAUL
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First appearance in 3 years
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Lawrence Brown at the Steinway
Tickets \$1.10 to \$2.75 Now at Box Office
Mgt. Metropolitan Musical Bureau

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Cherubini—Wagner—Elgar—Frank
Thurs. Eve. 8:45; Fri. Aft. 2:30
Sat. Eve. 8:45; Next Sun. Aft. 3:00
Arthur Judson, Mgr. (Steinway)

RUTH MATTESON



Who has an important role in "Triumph," Elizabeth Miele's first play of the season, opening Monday at the Fulton.

Bob Murphy in Talkies

Bob Murphy, whose avoirdupois is only exceeded by his wit, humor and ability as an all-around entertainer, leaves for Hollywood next week, at the conclusion of a Loew tour, to begin work in motion pictures. Murphy has appeared with his son and daughter, Dick and Dorothy, in all of the leading vaudeville houses here and abroad. His previous motion picture work has been confined to "Broadway Gondolier," in which he essayed the role of the singing policeman.

"La Maternelle" New French Film at 55th St. Playhouse

"La Maternelle" (Children of Montmartre), the internationally acclaimed French film, is to have its American premiere showing at a gala opening on Monday night, October 14, at 8:45 p. m. Jean Benoit-Levy, the director of the film, has already sailed from France to be present at the premiere. Paulette Goddard, the child star of the film, is scheduled to follow him to New York in a few weeks.

Side-Splitting Circus Shakespeare with the Lunts

SHAKESPEARE'S FUN

"THE TAMING OF THE SHREW." By William Shakespeare. At the Guild.
With Reinhardt's spectacular "Midsummer Night's Dream" on the screen next week, New York will have the unusual chance to see our greatest dramatist in three quite different moods. Building up the Induction a bit (from Shakespeare's source-book) to give Richard Whorf more scope as the drunken Christopher Sly, Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne make merry indeed in a circus version of the tale of Katherine's taming. Without modern costumes or the broken-down Ford, the present version romps along with a zest unequalled since Gemier's French

company. Tumblers, songsters, dwarfs, mock-horses (and much horse-play) speckle the evening. Alfred Lunt can be as masterful and as vulgar as he loves (on-stage) to be; and Lynn Fontanne—in that friendly rivalry play after play, as "The Guardsman," has shown—holds something back in her surrender. Somehow, even in Kate's final lecture to the disobedient wives, she leaves lurking the thought that she has decided just to humor this stalwart but simple husband of hers, and to rule with a twinkle instead of a roar. Thus everyone has a glorious time, and the Guild has added one more to its long list of triumphant presentations—and Shakespeare shows that there's life in the old boy still!

FULTON STREET (BROOKLYN) TRANS-LUX REOPENS WITH PREMIERE OF SOVIET FILM

The premiere of "Moscow Laughs," first Soviet jazz musical comedy, will mark the reopening of the Trans-Lux Theatre at 561 Fulton St., Brooklyn.

An invited audience will attend a first showing tonight to usher in a new program of international films. Depending upon the selections made each week, to obtain the best of the European releases, the sound will be in Swedish, French, Italian, etc., with English titles interpolated.

To distinguish the theatre from

newsreel and American feature houses, it will be known as the Trans-Lux International Theatre. Its policy will be to present "in an atmosphere of refinement and serenity those pictures which have stirred the emotions of cinema art lovers."

TRANS-LUX INTERNATIONAL
THEATRE Fulton & Deloit, Brooklyn
presents for First Time
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All Titles in English!
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SHOW PLACE of the NATION
Francis Lederer
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Short Subject Program
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Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Color Cartoon:
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CAPITOL BROADWAY & 51st STREET

"BARBARY COAST"
SAMUEL GOLDWYN presents
with **MIRIAM HOPKINS** and **EDW. G. ROBINSON**
with **JOEL McCREA**
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Continuous performances from 9:30 A.M.—Midnight Show

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in the year's big comedy success
"SHE MARRIED HER BOSS"
— plus —
Ann SOTHERN "THE GIRL FRIEND"
25¢ to 6 P. M.

RAND PLAYHOUSE

An enthusiastic meeting last week launched the Rand Playhouse, as a progressive cultural center in the Rand School, to promote interest in the arts, to invite experiment in the theatre and in radio drama. With Bertha H. Mailly as chairman and George Field as executive secretary, the Playhouse should be sure of a large membership. \$1 a year entitles one to special lectures and to discounts on tickets for the productions of the cooperative theatrical group. This group, for which active members are being enlisted, will be directed by Mrs. Henry B. Harris, whose distinguished and long association with the theatre ensures effective work with the "Experimental Players" at the Rand Playhouse. Assisting her will be Spencer Binyan, stage manager of years' experience, and Nan Halperin, of variety stage fame, will be an active worker.

The usual program will consist of two one-act plays, one classical, one original; with other entertainment—music and dancing—to complete a cultural evening. The first production is scheduled for Saturday, Nov. 9. The Rand Playhouse (7 E. 15th St.) promises to be an outstanding development of the theatre as a social force, and memberships should be promptly and enthusiastically sent in.

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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.

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This astonishing play portrays the life of a youth moulded by women, destroyed by a man.
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With ROY HARGRAVE and George Colbourne
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Eves. 8:40. Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:40

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PAUL MUNI as "DR. SOCRATES" - 2nd SMASH WEEK - STRAND - 25¢
WITH ANN DVORAK — ROBERT BARRAT — JOHN ELDREDGE — HOBART CAVANAUGH — A WARNER BROS. HIT — MIDNIGHT SHOW — BROADWAY AND 47th STREET — TO 1 P. M.

FOR A REAL LABOR PARTY *by Francis J. Gorman*

Vice-President,
United Textile Workers of America

Only When the Workers Have a Real and a Militant Party of Their Own Will Their Vital Interests Be Noted at All Times . . . Lessons from Labor History.

"YOU can fool some of the people all of the time," Lincoln once said, and then went on to explain that you can't fool all of the people all of the time. It takes a long time, perhaps, for all of the people to get wise to themselves, but some of the people are right now. And the number is steadily growing in proportion and importance.

During the year 1934 there occurred 1,740 strikes and lockouts, which was an increase of 138 over the number in the preceding year. More important, however, is the fact that the 1,562 strikes and lockouts occurring in 1933 involved only 812,137 workers, but that the 1,740 occurring in 1934 involved 1,353,608 workers. More than 42 per cent more workers were ready to go out on picket lines, or to assert themselves to the point where the boss felt it necessary to lock them out, rather than give in to their demands. Workers are more militant now, more ready to defy the powerful, organized control of the bankers and financiers, than ever before.

Why is this? The reasons are not hard to find.

Murderous Opposition Grows

In the first place, open-shop, bitter, murderous opposition to organization is growing apace in industry today. As we move nearer and nearer to a world war crisis, the financially controlling interests redouble their efforts to keep labor docile in order that their

feverish war-time production may go on uninterrupted by economic struggle on the part of the workers that they may stack profits without sharing them with the people who create them.

In the second place (and these things follow one right on the other, one directly dependent on the other), the inevitable occurs when workers are not permitted to organize and bargain collectively, they become helpless to resist the rising prices and increase in the cost of living. Thus, real wages, or mass consuming power, falls; production, consequently, falls off, and we find ourselves in the same terrible, destructive, vicious circle.

In the third place, it becomes increasingly apparent that the Government cannot continue to support its ever-mounting army of unemployed without resorting to inflation. The alternative, stoppage of home and work relief funds would be an insurmountable catastrophe.

And what does inflation mean to the worker? Complete destruction. He cannot now buy more than the bare necessities of life. Under destitution can be the only result of any further inflationary move.

Dangers facing the Workers

In the fourth place, all the events of the past two years, all indications of what is going to happen in the next year, and the riches of the experiences of our brothers and sisters in European

countries, point toward the ever-increasing danger of fascism and world war.

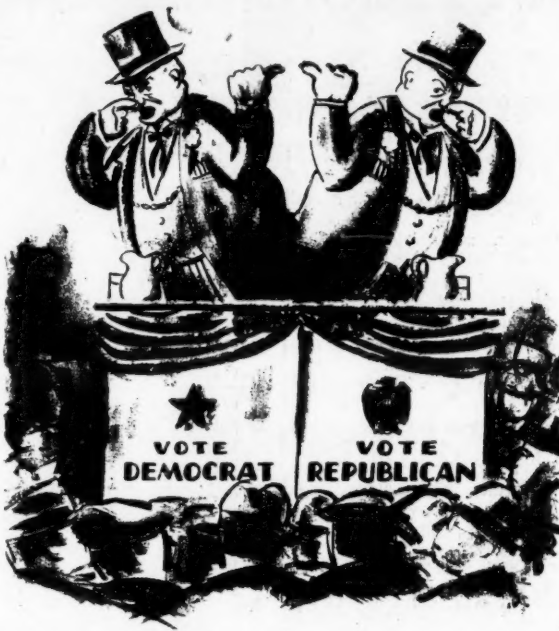
Hearst screams in rage at "unpreparedness"; at the danger of Communism; at the accomplishments of the Nazi barbarian, Hitler. The American Liberty League, with its hysterical "back-to-the constitution" campaign is a grave and unmistakable manifestation, the significance of which it would be folly to overlook.

Workers were led to believe that they could depend on the Republican and Democratic parties to protect them against the bitter onslaughts of open-shop bosses. But what does the trend of the present indicate? Workers themselves are answering that. They have learned that night is right, and that now they discover that only the mighty can protect their "rights."

A Bitter Lesson to Learn

It is a bitter lesson to learn, and an acceptance of its implications is ever more bitter and difficult for most of us. However, the facts are before us, and we must look at them, and in looking at them not find ourselves afraid.

Time was, not so long ago, when it seemed sufficient to us to struggle for our rights in the economic arena alone. Once, when our economy was one of expanding capital, of ever new fields to conquer, it seemed that we might protect ourselves and our constitutional rights through the elected representatives of the Democratic or Republican parties.



Now that is no longer possible. Our economy is no longer an expanding one. It is, on the contrary, a contracting economy, in which arbitrary restriction of production, with its consequent rise in prices, is the only possible solution. Millions are still without jobs, with-

challenged by the mother of all colonies—England.

Even the United States awakened in shocked surprise to learn that our oil interests had played a dangerous tune on the high-strung fiddle of international relations and staked out enormous oil concessions in Ethiopia. Only the force of public opinion has saved us from becoming another ingredient in the seething cauldron of world war complications. Only the organized force of the workers can save us in the future.

In the face of these facts, what is labor's alternative? Must we relinquish, without struggle, our inalienable right to work; to feed and clothe our children; to enjoy, even, the benefits of a few hours of leisure? Must we allow ourselves to become obligated to send our boys to certain death in order that the property of a minority of selfish interests may be protected?

If not, then, what must we do? The answer is simple. If labor cannot successfully protect itself through the existing political machinery, labor must enter into the economic struggle with a party of its own.

There is no doubt that workers are beginning to look to a Labor Party as their only salvation. What, then, is the duty of the leaders of labor? To sit back and force the workers to make disconnected, diffused efforts at establishing Labor Party movements? The place of leaders is, of course, in the leadership. It is up to the

leaders of labor unions to coordinate the hundreds of independent movements in this direction; to give them continuity and a national significance.

There have been so-called third party movements in the past and there will be these movements in the future. It is up to labor to see that these movements have a trade union base, and that all these efforts to break away from the old party movements are consolidated into one homogeneous struggle to achieve our rights.

The United Textile Workers represent over 1,000,000 of the 40,000,000 wage-earners, and the United Textile Workers are committed to the support of a Labor Party. We cannot do it alone, however.

Unless the Labor Party is the movement of the entire trade union movement, it cannot hope to succeed. Therefore, we call upon all other labor unions to join us in the struggle to launch a party belonging to labor.

If the old adage, "Possession is nine-tenths of the law," be true, then this United States of ours has, for a long time, belonged to a tiny minority of our total population. If, however, the words of the martyred Lincoln—"of the people, by the people and for the people"—be true, then it is high time the American workers stepped into the picture and lent a little truth to the words of our forefathers. We can only do this with a militant, solid and courageous Labor Party.

A World Parliament of the Organized Workers

What the International Labor Office at Geneva Is Accomplishing

Dubinsky Recommends A. F. of L. Rejoin I.F.T.U.

Reaffiliation of the American Federation of Labor with the International Federation of Trade Unions will be one of the vital issues discussed at the convention of the A. F. of L. in Atlantic City. A resolution urging reaffiliation will be presented by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

This issue assumes practical importance at this year's convention because of the adherence of the United States to the International Labor Office and the representation accorded the American Federation of Labor in that body, where representatives of the A. F. of L. sit side by side with those of the I. F. T. U. and fight jointly for the interests of labor.

The issue was clearly formulated by David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U. and member of the executive council of the A. F. of L., upon his return from Geneva last May, where he attended a meeting of the International Labor Office as spokesman for the A. F. of L. Mr. Dubinsky said:

"My visit to Europe has confirmed me more than ever in my belief in the international solidarity of labor. Leaving aside the larger issues of international politics and peace, the American labor movement cannot afford to stand aside from the great, world-wide movement of labor if our own labor standards in this country are to be preserved and improved. Now that we are in the International Labor Office, in which the International Federation of Trade Unions is represented, it would be illogical for the A. F. of L. to keep aloof from affiliation with the I. F. T. U. I hope the next convention will take the proper steps in this matter."

The American Federation has not been affiliated with the I. F. T. U. since the close of the war.

By David Dubinsky

President, I.L.G.W.U.; Member Executive Council, American Federation of Labor

most important nations at that time.

The President of the Commission was the late Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, American labor and the philosophy of the American labor movement were in fact a vital influence at the very beginnings of the International Labor Organization. This can be seen from some of the general principles on which the Organization has been founded.

That labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce is one of the principles.

The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life is another.

The abolition of child labor! Equal remuneration for men and women for work of equal value!

An eight hours day or a forty-eight hour week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not al-

ready been attained. It should be remembered that this was formulated in 1919 and has now been superseded by the policy of much shorter working hours.

I should like to emphasize that workers' and employers' delegates are entirely free when voting on the issues before the conference, and are in no way dependent on the attitude of their governments.

The decisions in a session of the International Labor Conference are made in the form of labor treaties or recommendations. Both require for adoption two-thirds of the votes cast. Each member state undertakes, by the terms of the constitution, within a period of one year from the closing of the session of the conference, to bring the labor treaty or recommendation adopted by the conference be-

representing the workers. The Governing Body meets, as a general rule, every three months.

The main activity of the organization centers around the adoption of labor treaties and recommendations. A labor treaty is a measure of international enactment on conditions of labor. A recommendation, however, is exactly what its name implies.

Ratifying Treaties

The conference can act only on the items placed on the agenda by the governing body. A subject on the agenda, when approved at a conference, must be given further consideration at a subsequent session of the conference before it is finally approved for submission to the various countries for ratification. No member state is bound to ratify labor treaties adopted by the conference. However, those countries that do ratify must notify the International Labor Office to that effect. The ratification is registered and it is an obligation on the part of the country concerned to bring their national legislation into harmony with the provisions of the treaty. In addition, it is obligatory for nations who ratify labor treaties to submit yearly reports on the working of these treaties. These reports are examined by a committee of experts each year and a statement is considered by each session of the International Labor Conference, where it is open for any delegate to comment on what he may consider to be the inadequate application of the provisions of the labor treaty by any nation.

In the case, however, of a federal state, such as the United States, whose power to enter into labor treaties is subject to limitations, the government may treat a labor treaty as a recommendation only.

The International Labor Organization has been active for the last 15 years. The Conference has adopted at various sessions 44 labor treaties and 641 recommendations have been registered. The subjects embraced are hours of work in industry, unemployment, and recommendations on public works, social insurance, protection against accidents, and many other subjects in the field of labor legislation. When, in 1919, the International Labor Organization recommended the establishment of unemployment insurance, there were not more than five million workers insured against unemployment throughout the world, and approximately four million of those were in Great Britain. Today, more than thirty-eight million workers are compulsorily insured in nine countries, and more than three million work-

ers are insured by voluntary schemes in eight countries. No doubt the work of the International Labor Organization has contributed largely to the remarkable progress made in the field of unemployment insurance.

International Codes

These labor treaties have also resulted in greatly improved labor standards in many European and Asiatic countries. It is undoubtedly due to the prestige and activity of the International Labor Organization that a number of industrially backward countries have entered the field of labor legislation. In other words, the International Labor Organization is formulating international labor codes which will assure the security and well-being of the workers.

In 1919, the first Conference of the International Labor Organization adopted a treaty on the 48-hour working week. There is now a demand on the part of labor all over the world for a shorter working week. There is a determined attempt on the part of labor to place the question of the shorter week work for the textile industry and several other important industries, on the agenda of the 1936 Conference. The textile industry is of great importance because, ac-

cording to existing figures, it employs over eleven million workers throughout the world. It is hoped that at the 1936 Conference considerable progress will be made toward the application of a shorter work week in many other important industries.

The United States by joining the International Labor Organization recognized that many problems confronting labor are international in character. The American Federation of Labor recognizing its responsibilities pledged full co-operation to further the aims of the International Labor Organization. This Organization can lead to the American labor movement the support of its international information and observation in setting up labor standards in various countries. The American workers particularly, and the American public in general, are widely interested in raising the standards of the workers throughout the world, not only from a humane point of view, but for the protection of their own working conditions, as well as their industry. Higher work standards and a shorter working week in Europe will be a greater protection to the American workers and industry than protective tariffs.

Buffalo Relief Workers' Strike Affects 2,000

Special to The New Leader
BUFFALO, N. Y.—Over 2,000 relief workers have responded to the strike call of the Citizens' Unemployed Relief League, an affiliate of the Workers' Alliance of America, completely suspending work on 15 projects.

The strike started Monday when orders were received to transfer the workers from the ERB to the WPA, with a substantial cut in real income, for the WPA in Buffalo pays only \$55 a month net. The original order called for no supplemental relief.

The strikers with their wives and children are picketing all relief projects.

This is one strike that cannot be said to be lead by "foreign agitators," as the Chairman of the Citizens' Unemployed Relief League, Sargeon G. Johnson, is a full-blooded American Indian.

William F. Sidman is chairman of the strike committee and John J. Metselaar, Sr., Socialist candidate for Councilman-at-large, is in charge of the picket brigade. Thomas Dixon of Chicago, representing the Workers' Alliance national office, is assisting the strikers.

The strikers demand \$120 a

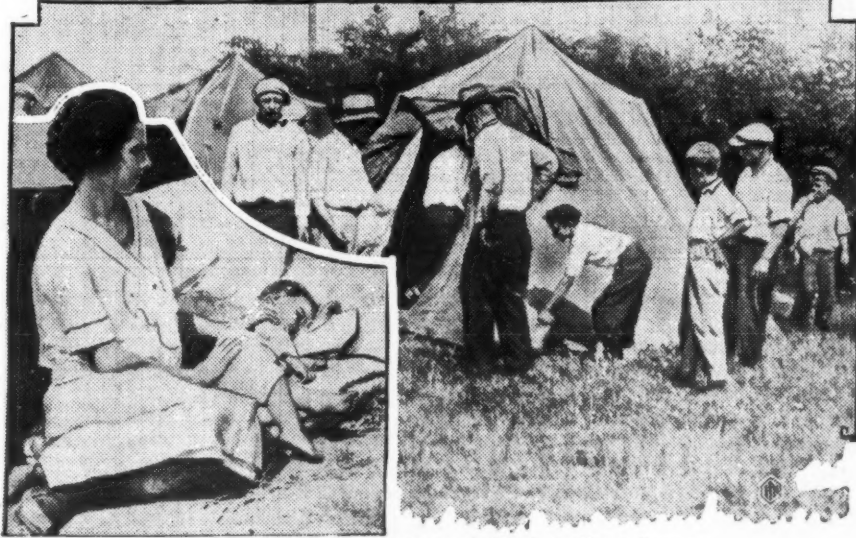
month or 75c an hour, or its equivalent in supplemental relief. Liberal forces have rallied to the defense of the strikers. The Rev. Rodney Heckman of Trinity Evangelical Church, Chairman of the Social Service Commission of the New York Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, has issued a strong statement backing the demands of the workers. The Buffalo branch of the American Civil Liberties union, whose chairman is Dean Julian Park of the University of Buffalo, has assigned its counsel, Francis Di Bartolo, well known anti-fascist attorney, to see that the strikers enjoy their constitutional rights to strike and picket.

The WPA officials have already been forced to make one concession. At first they declared that strikers would be denied home relief if they refused to work. They have now declared that home relief will be furnished.

Karlín on Judiciary on WEVD Tuesday at 10

WILLIAM KARLÍN, noted Socialist and labor lawyer and Socialist candidate for Supreme Court Judge in the Manhattan and Bronx district, will speak Tuesday night at 10 p. m. over WEVD on The New Leader period.

Karlín, who is faced in the election by Ferdinand Pecora running on both the Democratic and Republican tickets, will speak on the subject, "Why a Non-Partisan Judiciary."



Southern Textile Bosses sponsored "Back to Nature" movement when striking workers were forced to live in fields.

IN June 1934 the United States, by resolution adopted in both Houses of Congress, authorized the President to accept membership of the International Labor Organization. The invitation to join the Organization was accepted by President Roosevelt on August 20, 1934. The Workers' Group of the Governing Body of the International Labor Office elected William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor a regular member of that body.

At last spring's session of the Governing Body in Geneva, which might be well called the Executive Council of the International Labor Organization, the United States was represented by three delegates, namely, Mr. Saunders, of the Department of Labor, representing the Government of the United States; Mr. Dennison, representing the employers, and myself, acting as substitute for President Green, representing American Labor.

The principal aim of the organization is to maintain and improve the standards of labor and living, by affording the worker protection against social risks such as unemployment, accidents, sickness, etc. Another aim is to foster certain standards to prevent commercial competition being waged internationally at the expense of the people who toil.

The outstanding feature of the International Labor Organization is that it has brought together, in permanent association and co-operation, the Governments, employers and workers' representatives of no less than 62 nations embracing almost every continent. Through the instrumentality of this organization, has labor received for the first time official recognition and standing in the international field. Government rep-

resentatives have 50 per cent of the voting power. The other 50 per cent is divided on an equal basis between employer and labor groups.

No League Control

The International Labor Organization is entirely self-governing, and membership as accepted by the United States does not involve any obligations under the Covenant of the League of Nations. The League of Nations can exercise no control over the policy or decisions of the International Labor Organization. Its objectives are economic, not political.

The constitution of the International Labor Organization was drafted at the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919 by the Commission on International Labor Legislation, representing the ten

representatives have 50 per cent of the voting power. The other 50 per cent is divided on an equal basis between employer and labor groups.

Conference Functions

The Organization consists of a general conference of representatives of Member States and the International Labor Office. The functions of the conference, which must be held at least once a year, are legislative in character, while those of the International Labor Office are administrative and executive. The conference is com-

posed of four representatives of each of the member states, two of whom represent each government, and two others representing respectively the employers and the workers of each of the member states. Each delegate may be accompanied to such conferences by advisers, not to exceed two for each item on the agenda.

The International Labor Office is the administrative and executive part of the organization. It is under the control of a Governing Body consisting of 32 persons, 16 representing the Governments, 8 representing the employers, and 8

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The Workers Abroad

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

By John Powers

The War Crisis and International Socialism

IT IS as the international crisis appears to be because of fascist Italy's invasion of Ethiopia and the decision of the League of Nations to apply sanctions against Mussolini, as demanded by the international Socialist and labor movement, there is much reason for optimism and hope in the unity and clarity of vision being displayed by the Socialists and organized workers of all countries in facing the situation.

With the exception of small extremist groups who take the Trotskyist position that the Socialist parties and labor must reject any co-operation with democratic governments and the League of Nations in efforts to curb fascist Italy, organized labor throughout the world, through its political and its economic organizations, has taken a determined stand in favor of sanctions and armed resistance, if need be, to the war policies of Mussolini and Hitler, placing itself squarely behind the League.

The workers everywhere recognize that there is but one alternative before humanity: the catastrophe of war with all its implications and consequences as regards the fate of civilization and the international Socialist and labor movement, and the need of enforcing the Covenant of the League of Nations upon those who defy it for their own nationalist and imperialist purposes. The issue is clear: the rule of war or the rule of international law.

Only small groups of utopian isolationists embracing the Trotskyist position, and extreme Christian pacifists and non-resistants of the type of George Lansbury, fail to see the issue in this light. The influence of these elements upon international Socialist and labor policy is nil, as is being demonstrated daily by news from all countries. The resignation of Lansbury from the leadership of the parliamentary Labor Party, coming soon after the action of the British Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party in favor of sanctions and armed resistance to fascism, puts a finishing touch to the debate in England. The policy of British labor, which is the policy of world labor, is clearly defined in an editorial in the London Daily Herald. This policy is based upon three cardinal principles:

"Arbitration—insistence—the duty to insist that our Government settles all its disputes peacefully;

"Sanctions—assistance—the duty unflinchingly to support our Government in all the risks and consequences of fulfilling its duty to take part in collective action against a peace-breaker with the sole object of restoring the rule of international law.

"War-resistance—the refusal to accept our Government's unsupported claim to be using force in self-defense, and the refusal to support any Government committing aggression."

Commenting upon the well-nigh unanimous approval of this definition of policy by the rank and file of British labor, the Daily Herald, in its issue of September 26, writes:

"Only a small minority of the Labor Party now refuses to accept that definition.

"Revisionism from imperialism has led them into repudiation of the League and of the only law the world knows. It has led them into the company of the anarchists.

"They ascribe measures to protect peace to imperialist motives with which they say they cannot associate, though the Soviet Union and three Socialist Governments of Scandinavia promise complete co-operation.

"They cannot see the wood for the trees. And that perhaps is what separates them from the realistic Labor Movement."

Sanctions Do Not Mean War

The policy of the British labor movement reflects the line of thought and action laid down by the Joint Anti-War Committee of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions at its memorable meeting in Geneva on September 6 and in the manifesto of the executive of the L.S.I. against Mussolini. This policy has found an enthusiastic echo at great massmeetings held by Socialists and trade unionists in all parts of Europe.

The great massmeeting in Paris on September 3 signalized the unity of the French working class on the issue. Speaking there, Noel Baker of England correctly expressed the position of international Socialism when against Mussolini's slogan "With Geneva, without Geneva or against Geneva" he raised the counter-slogan "For peace, with the dictators, without the dictators, or against the dictators!" Sir Norman Angell, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, replied to the objection that sanctions meant war with the words, "Sanctions do not mean war—they ensure peace." The resolution carried by the meeting declared:

"War is an international crime that places him who perpetrates it outside the law and makes it the duty of all peace-loving nations to employ all means to render him innocuous."

The Joint Anti-War Committee of the L.S.I. and I.F.T.U. met again in Paris on September 27, with Senator Louis De Brouckere of Belgium in the chair, and again called attention to the very grave situation. The committee declared that it was even more obvious today that "only the energetic policy of collective security demanded by the two Internationals in their resolution of September 6 can still preserve peace." The committee appealed to the workers of all countries to prepare immediately to support to the utmost the sanctions which the League of Nations would decide to apply.

The attitude of the international Socialist and labor movement is clearly expressed in the following from the Bulletin of the International Federation of Trade Unions:

"A world-wide echo has been aroused by the action of the joint conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labor and Socialist International which, in dealing with the Italo-Abyssinian dispute, clearly expressed itself in favor of the League Covenant, and namely the application of the sanctions laid down in it, and expressed to the League and, through delegations of affiliated countries, to the governments also, its preparedness to 'fulfill them in their entirety'.

"It is evident that, as far as the collaboration and support of the workers is concerned, the League of Nations can fulfill its role of world arbitrator and world judge if it really wants to! For the first time a question submitted to it has roused the conscience of the whole world with one stroke and found in every country a firm and unified standpoint.

"Exactly what a failure of the League would mean is clearly shown by the approval which the Geneva Resolution of September 6 has called forth in such wide measure. Not only has it received the blessing of all the European Trade Unions, but great meetings of workers in favor of the Geneva resolution are being organized in all the non-fascist countries of Europe, and replies have been received from all parts of the world to the IFTU's cable transmitting the resolution.

"On behalf of the American Federation of Labor, President William Green cabled on receipt of the Geneva resolution that the American Federation of Labor, while insisting on strict neutrality, is urging the United States Government to exercise its good offices in an endeavor to promote settlement of the Ethiopian controversy on a just basis without resorting to war.

"The Trade Unions of New Zealand state that, as urged by the Geneva meeting of the IFTU and L.S.I., the whole question is being considered immediately. On behalf of the Trade Unions of Japan, Yonekubo cables that the Japanese Trade Union Congress willingly follows the IFTU decision and will bring pressure to bear on the Japanese Government although not a member of the League.

"Immediately on hearing word of the Geneva decision, the powerful Mexican National Trade Union Center got into touch with its government and expressed its solidarity with the Geneva decision of the workers; Trevino, moreover, states on behalf of the Mexican Trade Unions that Mexico's representative in the League of Nations demands the application of sanctions against those countries trying to provoke a new war.

"The League can and must act! It is the duty of the League—and that means the governments which compose it and which ought to be the spokesmen of their people and not the embodiments of a vacillating diplomacy's bad conscience—to see that this first great ordeal by fire is not the last and that the world is not cast into chaos. Public opinion will be inexorable if it is disappointed after having taken such a unified stand. It is the fate of the League ideal, which is at stake, as well as the prevention of a rapacious war. In full awareness of the duties and

THOUGHTS ON WAR AND PEACE

To Insure Collective Security at Home and Abroad

But Labor Must Always Reserve Freedom of Action

By Herbert Morrison

Leader of the London County Council; Former Minister of Transport in the British Government

LET us try to do some hard thinking about war and peace.

Jingoism, militarism, and imperialism tend to be unbalanced neurotics. I agree that in particular cases they may be cold-hearted scoundrels, but in main the jingo mind in crowds is unintelligently emotional; the passions run away with the head; a desire to say and do unkind things to others sub-consciously sets aside the work of forwarding the wellbeing of their own country; the capacity to reason—present in normal times—tends to desert them at the time of international crisis.

The jingo almost says to himself: "I will not think; it hurts; it will lead to dangerous conclusions; and I will discredit anybody else who dares to think."

Today, we who are the friends of peace must preserve the capacity for constructive thought. We are at a turning point in the history of the technique of peace. Much depends upon us. We must let our brains function; we must think, think, and, above all, we must not fear the consequences of thought.

And do let us Socialists try to radiate the kindness of Socialism in our arguments with one another.

I introduce this note because in some of the discussions about the League of Nations and the Italo-Abyssinian dispute there is a little tendency to assume that those who favor collective action against war have gone over to the militarists, the imperialists and the "National" Government. That they are pro-war.

And in the discussion about the attitude of responsible municipal Labor majorities and the National Executive of the Party to the Home Office Air Raid Precautions Circular there have been thoughtlessly made the most ungenerous suggestions of cooperation with the Government in its war plots. If confusion in debate is to be avoided, we must be clear about what is perhaps the fundamental issue of policy: Does the Labor Party stand for disarmament by international convention and regulation? Does the Party stand for the collective peace system?

The answer to both questions is in the affirmative. The Party has decisively rejected unilateral

sacrifice which it entails the Trade Unions have spoken boldly for the application of the Covenant. They have accepted their responsibility. It is up to the League to do the same.

Isolation of the Extremists

How completely isolated are those extremists in the international Socialist and labor movement who talk of the necessity of opposing sanctions and take the abstract "revolutionary" point of view that it is the duty of the workers to resist sanctions and any armed action to stop Mussolini may be gleaned also from the proposed program on war and peace made public by a group of prominent left-wing Social Democrats, including Otto Bauer, Theodor Dan, Jean Zyromski and Amedeo Dunois. We have no space here today to discuss this program in detail, but on one thing these spokesmen of left-wing Socialism agree with the entire international Socialist and labor movement: the necessity of supporting the democratic nations in any armed conflict with the fascist dictatorships of Europe. In taking this stand they accept fully the viewpoint expressed by others, namely, that "the fascist success of Italy will destroy all hope of armaments reduction," and that "it will be a prelude to a larger fascist success in Germany and to an immense reinforcement of fascist ideology throughout the whole world."

Which leads us to the logical conclusion that those who oppose the policy of the international Socialist and labor movement in this crucial matter and who seek to interfere with the application of this policy by urging opposition to the stand of the League of Nations and advocating revolution in democratic countries when they may be confronted with the necessity of taking up arms against the fascist dictatorships are, whether they know it or not, doing the work of Mussolini and Hitler. This type of "revolutionists" may expect to be swept aside like so much rubbish by the irresistible advance of international Socialism and democracy against the fascist oppressors of our time.

disarmament by Britain alone. The Party has rejected the policy of isolation.

If the Party wishes to reverse these declarations of policy, let it openly do so and face up to the political consequences. But if it does not do so it must not be cowardly and refuse to face the facts of its own policy.

Inevitably the mighty issues this Italy-Abyssinian business has raised have involved soul-searching on the part of all of us. They certainly have for me.

That is not unusually the case when general principles come to

perish by the sword." George Lansbury used that text in his confession of faith in a recent article. I use it here to point a different moral, which shows how adaptable texts are in the problems of practical affairs.

And if the police could not handle the situation, the military would have to be called in.

If George Lansbury were Prime Minister, and a Labor Government and democracy was similarly threatened by unconstitutional revolutionary force, would it not be his duty to instruct the forces of the State to resist? Could he

that. Socialists and trade unionists, let us hope, are less and less likely to be bamboozled by that kind of "national defense."

It is not our duty to get world opinion as far as possible to feel that "national" wars and "national" defense are analogous to the local internal private wars and private armies of centuries ago?

And, if that is so, then (subject to what I say below) must we not be ready to face up to the practical and immediate issue of the League of Nations (including the U.S.S.R. and apparently with the concurrence of the U.S.A.) telling Italy that if she will not submit her dispute to international conciliation and settlement she must be regarded as a disturber of the peace?

We have made so many declarations for the League, for the collective peace system, for the restraint of the aggressor who will not go to arbitration.

Only a few months ago the Parliamentary Labor Party, through Major Attlee and Sir Stafford Cripps, demanded similar action with regard to the Japanese attack on China, when the Japanese case was certainly no worse than Mussolini's case today.

If we funk the practical issue, we shall lead public opinion to feel that we are mere talkers who fear to implement our talk; that we have been engaging in political humbug; that we are men whose hands tremble when the hour to act arrives (hardly the kind of people to transform capitalism into Socialism!)

That's all right if we are con-

tent to be a permanent minority; but not if we want to be the strong Government of a great country, the capable guardians of democracy.

None of this, however, must mean our becoming identified with Tory foreign policy and its general imperialist frame of mind.

We did not trust the Government before the Geneva speech. We do not now. We shall not. We must watch it. We must be ready to pounce on it if and when it goes wrong.

We cannot deny that the Geneva speech of Sir Samuel Hoare was a good speech.

But that must not cause us to swing in without reservations behind the Government. The speech was shockingly late; so late that we cannot be sure of its effectiveness. We do not yet know how far any of the powers mean business, and the possibility of a mere Anglo-Italian war of the old type is not alluring.

We have not (as I write) got the report of the Committee of Five. If it is an imperialist report (even though Mussolini refuses to accept it) we must be free to withdraw all conditional approval of Sir Samuel Hoare's declaration to the League.

On the broad principle of Labor's international policy we can stand firm. The application of that policy by capitalist governments is another matter. The situation is not yet clear. We must be free to make new declarations of policy as the situation develops. We must be the willing instruments of no Government that we do not control.



Even the babies in Ethiopia must fight.

be applied to concrete situations; I experience such problems every day at County Hall [seat of the Government of London, of which Comrade Morrison is head]. That is why nobody has been ungenerous and intolerant towards George Lansbury following his recent emphatic declarations of Christian pacifism, even though such declarations from the leader of the Party shortly before a general election are bound to involve us in some embarrassment and confusion.

[This, of course, was written before Lansbury resigned as leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party.] If we were in power we could not evade the issues without bringing discredit on ourselves. The fact that we are in opposition gives us no right to be guilty of side-stepping such momentous matters. It is unthinkable that Labor should make no understandable declaration of policy at such a time. We have no right, even unconsciously, to deceive either ourselves or the country.

Here is the simple case for collective world security and, in the end, the super World State. Centuries ago, within the present geographical entity known as Great Britain, there was more or less perpetual internal disturbance. Wars between England, Scotland and Wales. Wars and civil commotion between different parts of England itself.

There was no collective security. All that has gone—gone even from the thoughts of men. It has gone for two reasons.—1. State official forces (police and military) and the rule of law have made unofficial force ineffective; and 2. Respect for internal civil peace and the rule of law has become a general instinct of the population.

Reason No. 2 was No. 2. No. 1 came first, and did much to help No. 2 establish itself. Such also—if we set aside the gangsters as irrelevant—has been the case with the United States and most of the civilized nations of the world.

Collective official force has been the price of domestic peace. When we are good enough, when Socialism has ended the struggles arising from private property in the means of life, that collective official force may be disbanded or much reduced.

Every one of us who has been a Minister of the Crown, every one of us who has exercised power in Local Government, has been supported in authority by public opinion and collective official force: the police, with the army in reserve.

If a fascist or Communist mob was marching on County Hall for the purpose of forcibly expelling the constitutionally elected Labor majority of the London County Council from power, I should expect the police to disperse them. If necessary, by force. Possibly heads would be broken and blood shed in the process. I cannot help it, though I should be sorry. "Those who take the sword shall

quietly walk out and let fascism take No. 10 Downing Street and Whitehall because he would not control unconstitutional force by constitutional force?

I do not think he would. I cannot think he would. Such an attitude would amount almost to a betrayal of the people and democracy.

Not only would such a fascist revolt have to be resisted; the fascist organization would have to be broken, destroyed.

All that should have been learned from the German experience. Democratic Governments that will not defend their authority die. They deserve to die. Democracy needs leadership.

So I do not see how Labor can accept the view that the use of state force is wrong in all circumstances. Organized force in this imperfect world may be a condition of civil peace and the maintenance of democracy.

NOW let us transfer the argument to the admittedly more difficult sphere of international affairs. More difficult because the consequences of force are more terrible. More difficult because the governments of the world have a mixed lot; among them are to be found motives that are good, bad and indifferent. We shall be wise to keep a sharp watch on our own Government in this dispute. Our independence must not be lost.

First, as to unilateral disarmament. Test it first of all not by argument directed against a capitalist Government here, but by the situation of a non-capitalist country. Should Communist Russia disarm? I can hear Lenin laughing in his tomb at the very idea. I can hear Nazi Germany and imperialist Japan chuckling at what would in that case be the prospect of their joint overthrow of the Bolshevik revolution. The Bolsheviks made a successful revolution by force. George Lansbury applauded the successful revolution. The Bolsheviks are not going to resign their power to capitalism.

The reasons which lead Communist Russia to oppose unilateral disarmament would create a similar view in a Socialist Britain. And, given a Labor Party with a bold, constructive and cohesive leadership, a Socialist Britain is a not distant possibility. In any case there is not the smallest indication that our electorate would accept such a policy.

Question is: How to promote and secure the peace of the world? There is no prospect of unilateral disarmament in Britain. The Labor Party does not advocate it. And even if it happened there are no rational grounds for the belief that the other great powers would follow the example. As things are it might well result in all Europe going fascist.

Group alliances, nominally for peace, but really for self-protection in the narrower sense, and often for progressive war, are no remedy. The story of the Great War and after amply demonstrates

The Theatre Speaks

Hollywood Star Describes the Hollywood Stools

VI.

Word From Hollywood

For reasons that will be clear, the author of the following article must remain anonymous. Yet the writer is one whose name, or whose face on the screen, will carry more weight than most—whose "box-office appeal" equals that of the most seductive of Hollywood's sirens. Intelligent acting and quick, ready humor win the wide audience; but the keenness that livens the screen playing is not lost in living; and here we have some fruit of the Hollywood observations of one of Hollywood's most valued performers. Set this story beside the comic pictures of Cinema Silver Shirts and Motion Picture Patriots; here is the less spectacular, less laughable corner of the lot, the other side of the Viva, Mussolini! sort of stuff that slips into the news reels.

Joseph T. Shipley.

Players Are Pigeons, Too

Dear Joseph T.: I have been racking the brain, such as it is, for something to send on to you. The things that keep occurring to me might serve to indicate an activity among the pinkish groups here, which, I assure you, does not exist. There is nothing actually happening, but, as you know, some people are rather easily alarmed.

The studios, I hear, have gone so far as to ask bids from detective agencies to supply operatives to work among the employees to root out subversive elements.

The studios are loaded with stool pigeons. They are to be found among the writers, actors, electricians, carpenters, painters and directors. Money apparently doesn't enter into it in a great many cases. The informers in the higher salary brackets are just weak sisters who are unhappy unless they are being patted on the head by the big fellow.

The only result they accomplish, however, is to upset the excitable front office men, all of whom suffer from chronic indigestion. There is a box of bicarbonate of soda on every desk and the stomach specialists flourish. What the tattlers fail to realize seemingly is that nobody, excepting those favored by the nepotism existing here, is unimportant enough to be fired. One does not hold a job in this business (I'm speaking now of those who actually work and produce), unless one is absolutely necessary for the work to be performed. If it were a matter of firing all those who incurred the displeasure of the big fellows, there wouldn't be an important actor or important writer on the payroll.

It is most amusing to watch the antics of a type of stool pigeon who has learned that he is on the

way out. Knowing that he is not delivering in his job, he is trying to set himself in with the powers.

One fairly well-known writer had himself appointed collector for the Merriam fund to defeat Sinclair. Previously he made some pretenses to a radical viewpoint, but his scripts haven't been doing so well up to the time of the Merriam-Sinclair clash. So he hopped on the bandwagon for the Long Beach Kleagle. He labored diligently, argued indifferent writers into giving their one day's pay, terminated old friendships with fellow writers on his lot when they refused to listen to him and, all in all, did a great job for the bosses.

Later on, when questioned by his more liberal co-workers, he claimed that his enthusiasm for Merriam was founded on a great desire to see Frank elected, so that standpat methods of government would obtain and thereby bring on the revolution that much sooner. They, of course, believed him to a man. Then he was let out. Poor dope! What he didn't realize was that they can buy stools for less.

Such behavior is not confined to any one group, but the chief performers always act strictly to form. One actor, who failed his fellow workers during the Equity strike of 1919, repeated his specialty recently when it looked as though producers pressure would cause things to go hard with any supporter of an Actors' Union. The poor boys just can't take it.

However, their presence does have a very definite effect on social and business life of the industry. Most people are averse to endangering their jobs, and, as a consequence, the Polyannas, backslappers and salve artists are legion. They are outnumbered only by the vast army of relatives. These last have made history in this business, but more of them another time.

Conley at Phila. Banquet

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Andrew Conley, general secretary of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers of Great Britain, fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention, will speak at the campaign dinner Friday, Oct. 18, in honor of Dr. Charles Mazer, Socialist majority candidate. Louis Waldman, Dr. Jesse H. Holmes and David H. H. Felix will be the other speakers. The banquet will be held in the Hillquit Auditorium of the Labor Educational Center.

Well-known trade unionists from various parts of the country returning from the A. F. of L. convention in Atlantic City, including James D. Graham, A. Phillip Randolph and Henry Ohl, president of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor, are expected to attend.

Reservations at the party office, Kingsley 9873.

Socialists In Trade Unions; A Reply to Norman Thomas

By James Oneal

IN the Call last week Norman Thomas took up the question of Socialism and trade unionism and included a criticism of myself and The New Leader. Obviously, an answer is required.

We may summarize his criticism as follows: As a "political party" we do not seek to impose our control over unions but we should stand for Socialist principles. These include "industrial unionism, the endorsement of working class political action, and genuine democracy within the unions" which means "war on racketeering, an end of trade union Hitlerism in office, and no racial discrimination."

We cannot let the Nemeser case "go uninvestigated" or "support Denise's trafficking in charters or be indifferent to the cause of progressive groups among the automobile, steel and rubber workers." Oneal's "hands-off policy" is not "the policy of pre-war Socialism." It is fatal to Socialism. To preach a hands-off policy and then in the name of opposition to "disruption" within the unions to support the faction in New York which has deliberately disrupted the Teachers' Union would be funny if it were not so serious. Then we are asked, "How long are our extreme right-wing friends going to make their first and last commandment read 'Thou shalt hate Communists'?"

We are glad to give this criticism a wider circulation than the Call can give it. First, let me congratulate Comrade Thomas who has finally come out for "working class political" action. This is a far cry from his efforts a few years ago to get a Republican United States Senator to lead us into a vague "third party." It is also a far cry from the campaign of 1932 when his "liberal" friends set up "voting exchanges" and asked Democrats and Republicans to cancel their votes and give them to Thomas. To this extent the "new Socialism" of which he was an exponent a few years ago has been surrendered after years of criticism by the "old fossils" in the party. Just how far "left" his position has been to that of the "right wing" on these matters may be left to the judgment of our readers.

The Communist Question

Before leaving this matter of the "right wing" we may well consider the question as to how long we will make our "first and last commandment read 'Thou shalt hate Communists'?" This question may in part be answered by asking "Shall we love the Communists?" One query is as good as the other, but neither adds anything to intelligent discussion of the problem. If I am asked whether I admire or hate Communists I will frankly answer that I hate them. Will Thomas say that he admires them? After each of us has given his answer, however, we have not solved the problem raised by the question.

Why do we find it impossible to admire Communists? Because of the incalculable destruction they have brought in the Labor and Socialist movement. It is necessary to recall the fact that it is fundamental "principle" with them literally to destroy every individual and every movement that opposes them by methods that do not differ from the code of gangsters, criminals and racketeers? Can Norman Thomas remember, to cite only one instance, that February, 1934, meeting in Madison Square Garden while we were mourning over our Austrian dead?

Our answer to the problem is complete isolation from Communists and unequivocal repudiation of their policies. Let them go their way to the oblivion that is certain to overtake them, but there must be no united fronts with them, but rather opposition to them and their methods by Socialists in unions where they are members. Just as human society isolates lepers, so should we isolate such anti-social creatures. They are little sects now; they will be still smaller if, instead of assuming a sentimental attitude toward them, we once and for all disclaim any relations with them.

If it is answered that French Socialists, because of an extraordinary danger in February, last year, made a united front with Communists we should not forget that the French comrades are very uneasy over this precarious bargain. On the other hand we have the very worst type of Communism in this country to deal with. It bears the impress of some of the most revolting phases of American life, the uncouth adventurism of the man-on-the-make, the cynical code of the speculating faker who rides roughshod over trusting victims, the gangster life of low cunning and intrigue, the undercover methods of employer spies in the trade unions, and whining for democracy when they are the victims of police usurpation while planning a phys-

ical attack on other organizations. It is no accident that one novelist has named them the "Stumunists." Most of them are the type that Marx and Engels warned against, a section of the proletariat more likely to serve as "bribed tools of reactionary intrigue" than as a progressive force.

Communists in Unions

As a result of Communist methods in the unions in recent months there is another uprising against them. This is the second general wave of resentment in ten years. In 1925 William Z. Foster reported that in many unions a policy of expulsion of Communists had been adopted, that they had to become secret cliques to avoid expulsion, and were compelled in many instances to sign pledges of good faith to avoid this penalty. Late in 1926 came the mass uprising against Communists in the trade unions in New York, representing over 300,000 members. Norman Thomas at that time was with the unions in this revolt and against inside organized cliques directed by a political party.

Another uprising against Communists is now on in the unions. Three national conventions of trade unions have taken drastic action against them. A proposal is now before the A. F. of L. convention to embody this policy in the constitution. Will any one contend that there is no cause for this feeling against them? He is blind who denies it.

The breaking up of the Madison Square Garden meeting by the Communists is an example of what is here meant. Socialists practice democracy, but facing thugs they did not hand the thugs a manual on democracy and ethics. We gave them what they tried to give us. Our conduct was extreme action to defeat extreme action. However, after reading the proposed A. F. of L. amendment, it is my conviction that it is not the way to handle the problem, but that some action should be taken to end the endless work of Communist destruction is certain. On the other hand, the Communists themselves and all who apologize for or defend their work in the unions are to blame for this extreme proposal. When extreme conduct is endured for years, one need not be surprised if extreme proposals are made to end it.

Just because the writer believes that the proposed amendment is a mistaken way of meeting the problem, he has suggested another method, and whatever influence he may have will be employed in having a less drastic and yet effective proposal adopted to make impossible the wrecking activities of Communist and other anti-social members.

The Nemeser Case

Before proceeding to the issue in the Teachers' Union, what of the so-called Nemeser case? Norman Thomas and the "militants" first broadcast accusations against Nemeser, but not one of them brought charges, although Nemeser demanded that they do so. Thomas is hot for democracy in the unions. Is this democracy in the party? Let us first practice it in the party before we knock at the doors of any other organization.

Finally an obscure "militant" was induced to bring charges. Then he wanted to withdraw them, but Nemeser objected, and now the charges will be heard. Comrade Thomas and others who have made the accusations are summoned to make good. Suspicion and rumor will not serve in the hearing. Only facts, or what the accusers claim to be facts, will be considered. They will have to face Nemeser as well. If they make good, the party will certainly condemn Nemeser; if they do not, it will condemn those who circulate gossip and suspicion in violation of the ethics of democracy.

The Teachers' Union

Thomas declares that Oneal's "hands-off" policy is not "the policy of pre-war Socialism." He must know that what I have written is not Oneal's policy but an interpretation of the party's policy and especially in the light of the party's statement to the Teachers' Union last November defining the duty of Socialist members of unions. Even "militants" at that time made no criticism of that statement; but they have departed from it in the Teachers' Union and have the approval of Thomas. What is at is-

isue is not Oneal's policy but Thomas's policy which is in conflict with every resolution adopted by the party throughout its history.

Here is the challenge to Norman Thomas. Will he please point out in the party's statement to the Teachers' Union any statement that justifies the "militants" forming an alliance with Stalinists, Lovestonites and Trotskyite Communists in that union?

Certainly not. The statement even warned that "there is danger of our group being charged with constituting a political clique interested solely in obtaining administrative power in the interest of our group's partisans." That danger has not only been realized; it has gone so far that the "militants" have made common cause with the three types of Communists who have wrecked the union.

Who Are the Disrupters?

Most astonishing is the statement by Thomas that The New Leader and myself have made common cause with "the faction in New York which has deliberately disrupted the Teachers' Union." This "faction" consists of Linville, Lefkowitz and over 600 members who have left the union after more than a decade of fighting with the Communists! The Thomas statement simply inverts the situation and stands it on its head! After years of Communist baiting of Linville, Lefkowitz and their supporters in the union as "labor fakers," "reactionaries," "stoop-pigeons" and "red baiters," these members leave the union and found another one. In the Thomas view those who used this language and created the situation did not disrupt the union. It was the Linville supporters who disrupted it!

In logic one starts with a major proposition, moves on to a minor premise or a middle term, and then comes to a conclusion. Norman Thomas begins with a conclusion without citing a major proposition and reasoning from it. An elementary course in logic would help some party members to reason more intelligently. The Thomas statement ignores ten years of history which should be cited as a major proposition before he ventures to draw any conclusion.

It is obvious that Comrade Thomas has definitely allied himself with the "militant" Communist alliance. He can yet extricate himself from this fatal mistake. Whether he will do so he alone can answer.

The Party Policy

The phrase "hands-off" policy is also disingenuous and related to "the policy of pre-war Socialism" is even more so. If it is meant that the party shall keep its hands off the unions I heartily agree with it as I do not think of union members as a lot of bores to be led by any party leaders. Supplementing this view is another one, that the unions should keep hands off the party. But hands off by a party organization does not mean that Socialist Party members in unions should be inactive and indifferent in union administration and activities. On the contrary, the party member in a union should be alert and active but not be part of an organized clique directed by the party or party leaders. The moment that is done two sovereignties are set up in the union, one established by the union members and one set up by the clique, and the inevitable result is conflict, demoralization and disintegration. This is the policy defended by Thomas and it was not the policy of "pre-war Socialism."

To conclude, we are again faced with an old issue in the movement and it is pathetic to observe Norman Thomas trying to adjust himself to a group in the party by reasoning that violates the rules of logic. He wants to be "left" while the rest of us want to be Socialists. It recalls the amusing lines of Ward Moore regarding the pink banana that vainly tried to turn red.

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New York City Registration Continues Friday, Oct. 11, and Monday and Tuesday, October 14 and 15

REGISTRATION for the November, 1935, election and enrollment for the 1936 primaries continues Friday, October 11th, and again Monday and Tuesday, October 14th and 15th. Polling places for registration and enrollment will be open Friday and Monday, October 11th and 14th, from 5 p.m. to 10:30 p.m. On Tuesday, October 15th, they will be open from 3:30 p.m. to 11:30 p.m.

To be eligible to vote you must be a citizen of the United States, and on Election Day you must have been a resident of the State one year, of the county (borough) four months and of the election district thirty days, that is, if you have lived in the State since November 5th, 1934; in the county (borough) since July 5th and in the election district October 6th, 1935.

Outside New York City registration and enrollment will take place as follows:

In cities and villages of 5,000 or more inhabitants: (personal registration), Friday and Saturday, October 11th and 12th, and Friday, October 18th, from 10 a. m. to 10 p. m. On Saturday, October 19th, from 7 a. m. to 10 p. m.

Outside of cities and villages of 5,000 and more inhabitants: nonpersonal registration takes place Sunday, October 12th, from 7 a. m. to 10 p. m., and Saturday, October 19th, from 1 p. m. to 10 p. m.

All new voters must submit to a literacy test before being permitted to register; a school diploma will be accepted as adequate proof of literacy.

ALL SOCIALISTS MUST ENROLL FOR NEXT YEAR'S PRIMARIES. After registering, voters will be handed a ballot with the names and emblems of all official parties. The Socialist emblem, the Arm and Torch, is in the third column. MARK A CROSS (X) IN THE CIRCLE UNDER THE EMBLEM, and you will be eligible to vote in next year's primaries.

REGISTER EARLY! DON'T WAIT FOR THE LAST DAY! Voters who have any trouble at the registration places should telephone AT ONCE to the Socialist Party office, ALgonquin 4-2620.

Bohn and Miss HUGHAN to Debate on Sanctions

The Women's Committee is launching its work for the coming year with a timely debate.

On Tuesday, Oct. 15, at 3 p. m., in the Studio of the Rand School, Jessie Wallace Hughan will debate William Bohn on "Ethiopia, Mussolini, and the League of Nations; Should Military Sanctions Ever be Approved by Socialists?"

Miss Hughan says "no"; Dr. Bohn says "yes."

Bronx Free Fellowship 10th Anniversary

The Bronx Free Fellowship is celebrating its tenth anniversary Sunday evening, Oct. 13th, at 1591 Boston Rd., and on Tuesday evening, Oct. 15th, at the Community Church Center, 550 West 110th St. The Rev. Leon Rosser Land, founder and leader of the Fellowship, will preside at both meetings.

The Sunday program includes addresses by Professor LeRoy E. Bowman and Dr. John Howland Lathrop. On Tuesday there will be a dinner, with addresses by John Haynes Holmes, Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan, August Claessens, Dr. Minot Simons, and others.

Expelled for Breach of Discipline

DETROIT.—At a special meeting of Branch No. 1, Local Wayne County, Tuesday, September 24th, Fay B. O'Camp, member of this branch, was expelled on the charge that he is running as a Socialist on the so-called "Labor ticket" in the forthcoming municipal elections. There is only one official Socialist candidate in the field, Douglas A. Strachan, and the action on the part of O'Camp was a serious breach of Socialist ethics. The members of branches wish to notify the public that O'Camp is not a member of the branch and is not a Socialist.

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STREET MEETINGS

MONDAY
Graham Ave. and Varet Street, Brooklyn.—Goldberg, Epstein, Claessens, Parness.

TUESDAY
125th St. and 5th Ave., Manhattan.—William Karlin, Rantanen, 6th St. and Avenue B, Manhattan.—Claessens, Nussbaum, and others.

WEDNESDAY
155th St. and St. Nicholas Place, Manhattan.

THURSDAY
Tremont and Prospect Ave., Bronx.—Karlin, Levy, Fruchter, Orr, Claessens, Perrin.

FRIDAY
146th St. and Broadway, Manhattan.—Claessens, Nussbaum, Weinberg, and others.

SATURDAY
Dyckman St. and Post Ave., Manhattan.

Merrill at Campaign Rally in Schenectady October 19

SCHENECTADY.—A campaign rally is to be held at the Albany Street Theatre on Saturday evening, Oct. 19th. Herbert M. Merrill, candidate for Mayor, and other county and city candidates will speak.

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Henderson to Lecture in Los Angeles

Special to The New Leader
LOS ANGELES.—R. W. Henderson, noted labor attorney and member of the S.E.C. of the California Socialist Party, will speak on the evening of October 21 at the Socialist Verband at 126 N. St. Louis St. on "The Function of the Socialist Party." The lecture will begin at 8 o'clock.

Comrade Henderson, who is well-known for his defense of workers' rights in the courts, is now working with the National Sacramento Appeal Committee in the appeal of the criminal syndicalism case of Norman Mini.

Hall Meetings in New York

All meetings 8:30 p.m., unless otherwise noted.

Wednesday, October 16
P. S. 84, Glenmore and Stone Aves., Brooklyn, Jacob Axelrad, Noah Walter, Carlo Marini, Harry Lopatin, Irving Ostrowsky, Fred Shulman, August Claessens.

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ILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, Downtown office, 640 Broadway; phone, SPring 7-4445; uptown office, 30 W. 27th St.; phone, WIshington 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 o'clock. Managers: N. Spector; Secretaries: Treas., Alex Rose; Organizers: I. E. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheimer; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodoss.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11914, 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. Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

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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, OCTOBER 12, 1935

AND THIS IS CIVILIZATION!

MUSSOLINI stands before a vast throng gathered in front of the Palazzo Venezia in Rome and strikes attitudes, shouting about the glory of Italy and the honor that must be restored to her standards by the Sons of the Wolf in Ethiopia.

The masses roar, and the Duce salutes. The banners wave and the bands play: "Giovanezza." There are dreams of glory, and memories of the triumphs of the Roman conquerors dragging behind their chariots the conquered kings of Africa. Doubtless the brave Duce, far from the hellish heat of central Africa, is dreaming today of a latter-day triumph copied right out of the first act of Aida, with the ruler of Ethiopia in chains walking behind the Duce's steed, . . .

But far away, in Africa, where the sun blazes and the heat is 135 at midday, there are no cheering throngs. There are dirt and grime and deadly insects and horrible death and destruction; there are impassable mountains, rocky gorges; there are wild savage tribes hurling poisoned lances into the bowels of the sons of those Italian mothers whom the Duce bade breed sons for just such an adventure.

It is not pretty, this war—nor any war. It is a terrible thing to have death rained from the clouds, to suffer dysentery and tapeworm, malaria and typhoid, to suffer the horrible uncertainty of living in a land when out of the blackness of the night howling warriors may dash and fling spears to disembowel those who are the bearers of what their chief chokes to call "civilization."

This is war at its most horrible. This is the war that this fascist chief deliberately, consciously and in cold blood, prepared to loose upon the world. This is the war that fascism has given as its finest flower to a world that was slowly and painfully climbing out of the mire and morasses of the last great war into which it had been plunged by a crazy and cruel system. . . .

And so the Socialist and labor movement is sworn to struggle to the death upon fascism and all its works. **WORKERS OF THE WORLD! UNITE!**

SOCIALIST OPPORTUNITIES

THE Socialist vote cast in Connecticut town elections, especially in Norwalk, shows very encouraging returns. In general, the results show an increase of 50 per cent and more. They are an indication of the increasing desertion of the parties of capitalism.

There is little doubt that the Socialist Party has its greatest opportunity and faces fruitful work of agitation and organization, providing that it gets its own house in order, closes up ranks, and goes to the job that confronts it. It faces the task of elementary Socialist education of millions who do not know the difference between Socialism and nudism. These masses do not care two whoops in a city sewer for the hair-splitting of the various pseudo-"revolutionary" sects. What the laboring masses yearn for is an intelligent program that will show the way out of the economic hell into which they have been plunged by the depression.

American labor history is strewn with the wrecks of sectarian movements led by theoretical Jacobins who were incapable of understanding the working class, although they pretended to speak in the name of that class. Their specialty was "leadership" of the organized workers, each being kind enough to do this "leading" without going through the formality of finding out whether the workers had chosen him for this role.

With the rising tide of dissent with capitalist politics we can build the party, providing we do not cultivate some old diseases.

OUR JUDICIAL SAINTS

CRITICISM of the U. S. Supreme Court since it set aside the N.I.R.A. has brought some interesting arguments in defense of the judicial veto, but we have rarely read anything like the sob stuff presented by David Lawrence in the final section of a full-page editorial of the United States News. One gets the impression that the author has qualified to participate in a religious ceremony at a totem pole. Note the following solemn observations:

"The Supreme Court of the United States is made up of men who have resigned themselves to a life of judicial piety."

"There is only to preserve the immutable principles of American jurisprudence as it has come to them through centuries upon centuries of ethics and morality."

We feel like shouting "baloney," for Lawrence certainly knows that, with few exceptions, the members of the Supreme Court had their training in piety by faithful service to corporations. In fact, such service has been considered by many Presidents as a necessary apprenticeship for promotion to the bench.

Then to speak of the "immutable principles of American jurisprudence" is to ignore the evolutionary character of all forms of law. They are not "immutable," not even in the most rigid of despotic states. The robed gentlemen of the bench who may read this Lawrence hokey may well ask him to "lay off" and not make them look ridiculous.



A Telephoto direct from the battlefield in Ethiopia.

The Gist of Socialism

By John M. Work

WEBSTER'S International Dictionary, edited by non-Socialists, defines Socialism as follows: "A political and economic theory of social reorganization, the essential feature of which is governmental control of economic activities, to the end that competition shall give way to cooperation and that the opportunities of life and the rewards of labor shall be equitably apportioned."

Not so bad for non-Socialists. Would that the capitalist press could or would do as well; but it is too much interested in lying about Socialism in order to delay as long as possible the coming of social justice.

What Socialists Want

The Socialists want the collective ownership and the social control of the great exploiting industries, so that they may be operated for the benefit of all the people, instead of being operated for the benefit of a few as they are under private ownership. They want these industries to be run for the common good, not for private profit. They want to guarantee employment and a high standard of living to all willing workers. They want to rid the world of the miserable competitive system which causes poverty, joblessness, crime and war. These, in brief, are their objects from an economic point of view.

Living vs Existing

But that is not all. The Socialists are aware that material things alone do not make individuals per-

manently or genuinely happy. An abundance of material things is necessary as a starter. Short hours of labor, ample incomes, and total freedom from worry about losing the job, are first essentials. This will free human beings from the necessity of spending all their lives in "making a living" and will give them a chance to live. It will free humanity from slavery to the securing of a mere existence. In this way it will open up to all human beings the avenue to the higher things of life. Availing themselves of these higher things, in the leisure afforded them by short hours of labor, and in the peace of mind afforded them by economic security, they will find genuine and permanent happiness. Eventually they will develop into a super race. Human brotherhood will be an accomplished fact. This is the larger view of Socialism.

Unbiased non-Socialists, such as the editors of Webster's International Dictionary, whose definition is quoted above, have caught something of the spirit of Socialism. The New International Encyclopedia defines it as "An ideal economic system in which industry is carried on under social direction and for the benefit of society as a whole."

Add to these definitions the vision of higher development and human brotherhood, and you have a general picture of what the Socialists want. To fill in the details of the picture, read Socialist papers and books.

Behind the Scenes in Washington



By Benjamin Meiman

Our Washington Correspondent

BY far the most important thing for this country—and at least partly for the world—is the prompt and bold action of President Roosevelt in answer to the unleashing of the war dogs in Ethiopia. The neutrality law passed by Congress made it mandatory upon the President to declare an embargo on "arms, ammunitions and implements of war" to belligerents when war breaks out, but a weak President, a timid executive, might have spent a lot of valuable time on the deep question of "when is a war a war?"

On October 3rd the Italian army invaded Ethiopia, but theoretically there was no war. The Italians merely sent a "civilizing force to uncivilized people." The League of Nations delegates at Geneva were not nervously fingering the committee report. Then from the State Department in Washington came the proclamation of President Roosevelt that "a state of war exists between Ethiopia and Italy." The shipment of war implements is forbidden.

This was last Saturday. On Sunday the State Department issued another Presidential proclamation warning all American citizens voluntarily engaging in "transactions of any character" with either of the belligerents that hereafter they shall "do so at their own risk."

In these words President Roosevelt served notice to his countrymen that the United States government would not protect or become involved in any conflict because of their commercial activities with Italy or Ethiopia. At the same time it was an indirect notice to the League of Nations that this government would not interfere with any punitive measures taken against Italy.

The President's statement was construed as an abandonment, so far as Italy and Ethiopia are concerned, of America's traditional insistence on neutral trading rights and freedom of the seas—a policy which twice has plunged this country into war, in 1812 and 1917.

Foreign Diplomats Applaud Roosevelt's Action

THE foreign diplomats in Washington look upon the bold and prompt action of President Roosevelt as an encouragement to the League of Nations to inaugurate sanctions against the fascist aggressor. This is so because Italy's whole case in resisting the appli-

cation of sanctions must rest upon the theory, successfully pressed by Japan in the Manchurian dispute, that she is not waging "war" but merely carrying on punitive operations against a turbulent people unworthy of being recognized as a nation. President Roosevelt has cleverly made it impossible for Italy to sustain this case. In the first place, he defines the present situation as "a state of war." Then he carefully places Ethiopia and Italy on exactly the same juridical basis, even following punctilious diplomatic etiquette by naming the African state first, because "e" takes alphabetical precedence over "i." Next, strict neutrality as between the two belligerents is emphasized, thus again declaring their complete equality in nationhood.

And, finally, the stigma of aggression is virtually laid upon Italy by the President. For if, as the Administration says, this is war between two equally sovereign states, there can be little doubt in anyone's mind as to which of the two must bear responsibility. This proclamation, from the head of a nation in no way involved in the dispute, will greatly facilitate the juridical task before the Council. It would be easy to overemphasize the value of this proclamation, with its excessively narrow definition of "implements of war," as a guarantee for the preservation of American neutrality in the troubles which may lie ahead. But it would be even more easy to overemphasize its value in helping the League to define Italy as the aggressor.

Neutrality Senator Not Fully Satisfied

THE only one that I know of not fully satisfied with the action of the State Department is Senator Homer T. Bone of Washington, who was second in command to Senator Nye for neutrality legislation. Senator Bone went to the trouble to investigate how the State Department is enforcing the Neutrality Act. He found that Munitions Controller Green was keeping a record of all arms and ammunition shipped to either Ethiopia or Italy, and that total shipments to the latter since January 1 were four sporting rifles and \$418 worth of sporting cartridges. There were no shipments to Ethiopia.

Not satisfied with this, the Senator began poking his nose into other diplomatic corners, found that actual Italian munitions purchases averaged about \$125,000 weekly. This included so many mules and horses that the National Guard in the Southern states has had to send West for its remounts. It included fifty lathes for the

manufacture of shells costing about \$50,000 each. It also included brass and copper gadgets which Connecticut plants are turning out in three shifts per day, and which, assembled in Italy, become shells.

The difficulty with the State Department, Senator Bone found, is twofold. First, its definition of munitions is narrow. It includes only a handful of the obvious munitions of war. Second, it has no power to compel manufacturers to report their exports.

So far, Italy has been paying for its munitions in cash and short-term credits. However, her rapidly dwindling gold supply will soon be exhausted. After that will come the test of whether the United States will once more run up a huge war sales debt and be left holding the bag.

Gold Flow to This Country

ANOTHER tidal wave of gold flows into the Treasury vaults, bringing America's stock to another all-time high of \$9,400,000,000. One factor that is not causing the renewed flow is in the need to pay for American goods purchased by foreign countries. The Department of Commerce reports sales abroad virtually balance purchases for the first 8 months of the year—a situation that has not occurred for 42 years.

What the country is witnessing, in the view of Treasury officials, is a flight of war-shy capital from Europe. Incoming gold brings with it an unanswered question—will the flood of gold unloose a vast credit inflation that will solve for a time at least the twin problems of depression and government deficits?

Page the Supreme Court

THE Supreme Court, which seeks to keep away from politics, is nevertheless looming more and more as a factor in the making of campaign issues next year. The court met Monday for the first time in its new marble home. And before many days it will be called upon to decide upon the constitutionality of the AAA and other of the important Roosevelt New Deal acts. Last May it struck down the NRA. The picture presented to the country, if the court invalidates the AAA, the Guffey coal act, the TVA in some of its activities, will be of an administration which has developed an unconstitutional program.

The Republicans are interested in that phase. The industrialists, the merchants and the bankers are chiefly interested in preventing government control and what is still more important—government competition to private business.

If We Really Pin Our Faith In Democratic Processes

By Algernon Lee

IS it good sense to urge the people to vote the Socialist ticket, urge them to vote for a municipal lighting plant, urge them to petition for amendment of the federal constitution, urge them to aid workers who are on strike, and almost in the same breath to declare that, so long as capitalism exists, no real improvement of conditions can be brought about by legal and constitutional methods? What have we reason to expect in response to such speeches as that?



Algernon Lee

The bulk of the people are not idiots, though some persons flatter their own egoism by thinking they are or pretending to think so. The men and women to whom we appeal can think for themselves. They know that striking and petitioning and voting in an election or a referendum are legal and constitutional activities. What inference can they draw, then, from such a speech? They have to conclude that the speaker is either unintelligent or insincere—that he is so dull as not to see that one part of his speech contradicts the other; or that he is deliberately advising them to use methods which he considers futile; or finally, that he does not really consider these methods futile, but just says so in order to make his speech sound "radical" and get thoughtless applause.

If the only result were to discredit the individuals who make such speeches it might be no concern of ours. But when they speak from the party platform they discredit and injure the party. That does concern us very much.

It is high time for our party to make up its mind and require its chosen spokesmen to present its views clearly and consistently. If we have faith in legal and constitutional methods of political and trade-union action, let us repudiate every speaker who, whether boldly or with sneaking innuendo, asserts or suggests the reverse. If, on the other hand, we believe these methods to be futile, if we believe in conspiracy and insurrection and dictatorship, let us have the manhood to say so and require our spokesmen to advocate those methods in unequivocal terms. Mr. Facing-Both-Ways may sometimes get a laugh—Heaven knows his position is ludicrous enough—but he does not win respect for himself or for the party.

President Green was abundantly right in declaring that Organized Labor should not and will not allow itself to be "stampeded" into independent political action, that it will launch a Labor Party only

if and when its membership, in the sober use of their judgment, and in view of changed conditions which prompt them to change the views they have hitherto held, are convinced that such action is right and wise. We can ask no more, we can wish no more. A Labor Party launched without such sober judgment, without the conscious approval of the organized masses, would be doomed to failure.

It seems a little unfortunate, however, that in saying this President Green laid such stress on rebuking the Communists and the Comintern. In so far as the Communists are would-be disrupters in the labor movement, let them be dealt with as the safety of the labor movement requires. But advocacy of independent political action should not be imputed to them as a sin. To advocate such action or to oppose it is equally the right of all elements, and that right should be respected.

The effect of this passage in the opening address at the Atlantic City convention is to make ill-informed persons suppose that it is only or chiefly the Communists who advocate independent political action by the working class, and that all who advocate it are allies or dupes of the Communists. President Green knows that this is not so. We may be sure that he did not mean to convey that impression, but in effect he did so.

As a matter of fact, the Communists are doing more than any other element to hamper the development of the American Labor movement toward political as well as economic self-consciousness and self-reliance. They do not really desire the establishment and success of a Labor Party in any true sense of the word. Lenin's famous pamphlet on "Left-Wing Communism" made that perfectly clear. He told the British Communists that, instead of frankly opposing the British Labor Party from the outside, they should worm their way into it in order to destroy it. The British Labor Party has "jolly well seen to it" that the Communists were kept outside, but its members and leaders have not allowed Communist lip service to the idea of independent labor politics to shake their own faith in that idea.

There was an anti-war demonstration in London last week. It had to be protected by an overwhelmingly strong police guard—protected, not against militarists and reactionaries, but against independent workingmen. It was led by Sir Oswald Mosley—Renegade Mosley, the cheap imitator and humble servant of Renegade Mussolini. Both of them were formerly too "red" to stay inside the Socialist ranks. We are much better pleased to see them in black, so that all may know them for enemies of democratic Socialism, of world peace, and of the working class.

One Million Youth Find No Jobs Awaiting Them

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Although the number of persons employed in industry is gradually increasing, the gain in jobs is not sufficient to take care of the more than 1,000,000 young persons who have attained working age during the last year, according to the current report on unemployment made by President Green of the American Federation of Labor.

"Although the Fall return in business has turned the tide of employment from decline to increase," President Green said, "the number of jobs thus far created in industry appears small when compared to the 11,000,000 still unemployed. "Some 264,000 persons went back to work in August. Trade union reports for September show that employment is still gaining, for unemployment among union members decreased from 19.4 per cent in July to 18.4 per cent in August and 18.0 per cent in the first part of September [weighed figures].

"We may expect the business world to hail the employment gains resulting from rising business activity and claim that they show what can be accomplished when business becomes more profitable."

"The 264,000 new jobs of August, 1935, however, make a small showing when compared with the 870,000 new jobs created in August, 1933, by shortening work hours."

"We may also expect public interest in the fact that in August this year there were 334,000 more persons at work in the United States than in August last year."

"This increase in jobs is encouraging. But when we consider that during the twelve months ending August, 1935, more than 1,000,000 young persons came to working age and that the total number of persons seeking gainful work has increased by nearly 450,000, it is clear that new jobs have not been enough even to take care of new workers and unemployment in August, 1935, was above last year by more than 100,000."

"Employment gains both in August and in September were

largest in manufacturing industries and in building. In August, 177,000 went to work in factories, 33,000 in building construction and 23,000 on roads.

"These gains more than offset summer dull season losses of 44,000 jobs in retail trade and 7,000 in agriculture."

"In September, trade unions report further gains in building, metal industry, clothing trades."

"Government emergency work reports show that more than 100,000 have been added to CCC rolls, while PWA remains about the same."

"The number on work relief and direct relief declined 4 per cent from June to July. By September 19, 344,000 persons had been given jobs on WPA projects."

WEVD Covers A. F. of L. Convention Daily From Atlantic City

Leading spokesmen of labor will speak on the issues facing the American Federation of Labor, direct from the convention in Atlantic City, every evening from 8 to 8:15 p. m. over WEVD.

William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, speaks Tuesday, Oct. 15th; David Dubinsky, President of the I.L.G.W.U., Wed., Oct. 16th; Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; George Meany, President of the New York State Federation of Labor; Frank Morrison, Secretary of the A. F. of L., will follow on subsequent evenings.

Chester M. Wright, Editor of the International Labor News Service, will act as commentator on the day's convention highlights, and will introduce the speakers during each of these broadcasts at 8 p. m. These broadcasts have been arranged by Morris S. Novik.