

WITH WHICH IS
COMBINED
**The American
Appeal**
Founded by
Eugene F. Debs

NEW LEADER

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of the
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New York,
Maryland and
Pennsylvania,
and endorsed by
Massachusetts

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McLevy Begins His Second Term

Industrial Union Bloc Is Formed in A. F. of L.

Eight Big Unions Form National Organization To Promote Cause

John L. Lewis Heads Committee to Facilitate Unionization of Mass Production Industries — More Than 1,000,000 Represented.

Cooperation Keynote

Principles Enunciated by Group at Atlantic City Form Basis of Program—I. L. G. W. U. and Amalgamated Included.

WHAT will unquestionably prove to be an event of great historical importance for the American labor movement occurred this week in Washington when representatives of eight international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. formed a bloc for the promotion of the principle of industrial unionism within the A. F. of L.

An organization was set up to direct the educational work to be conducted in behalf of industrial unionism and stimulate formation and extension of unions founded upon the industrial principle in the mass production industries.

Heading the new organization, which is not to be interpreted either as a dual union movement or as an insurgent movement designed to fight the A. F. of L., is John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers. Charles P. Howard, president of the International Typographical Union, is secretary, and John Brophy, of Pittsburgh, is executive director.

The unions represented at the memorable Washington meeting, which was the direct consequence of the historic debate on industrial unionism at the recent convention of the A. F. of L. in Atlantic City, embrace a membership of more than 1,000,000 workers, or approximately one-third of the membership of the A. F. of L.

Represented at the meeting were the United Mine Workers, International Typographical Union, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, United Textile Workers, Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, and International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

In addition to Mr. Lewis and Mr. Howard, members of the committee selected to direct the work of the new organization are Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated; David Dubinsky, president of the I. L. G. W.; Thomas F. McMahon, president of the United Textile Workers; Harvey C. Freming, president of the Oil Workers' Union; Max Zaritsky, president of the millinery workers' organization; and Thomas H. Brown, president of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

A statement issued by the committee declared that it was its purpose to work in accordance with the "principles and policies enunciated by these organizations at the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor."

"It is the purpose of the committee to encourage and promote organization of the workers in the mass production and unorganized industries of the nation and affiliation with the American Federation of Labor," it added.

"Its functions will be educational and advisory and the committee and its representatives will cooperate for the recognition and acceptance of modern collective bargaining in such industries. Other organizations interested in advancing organization work along the

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Labor Board Hits at 300 Fake Unions

THE National Labor Relations Board, Second District, with offices in New York City, filed this week the first complaint against a manufacturing company in that region under the National Labor Disputes Act. The principle involved may affect the existence of 300 company unions, according to a statement issued by Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick, regional director of the National Labor Relations Board.

The complaint was against the Atlas Bag and Burlap Company of Brooklyn and charges violation by the company of the labor disputes act in that it has refused to bargain collectively with the Burlap and Cotton Bag Workers' Union, Local 2469, affiliated with the United Textile Workers of America.

The company is charged with forming a company union known as the Collective Bargaining Committee of the Atlas Bag and Burlap Company. It is charged also that the workers were forced to accept terms of employment which were ratified by the above committee and were threatened

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Dress Trade Fight Looms

TO forestall a possible exodus of dress factories from the New York metropolitan market to towns and cities in Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Massachusetts in the event of a strike next January when the present collective agreements in New York covering 95,000 workers and 3,000 factories in the dress industry expire, President David Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union issued an order this week to 75 union leaders and organizers from these states who met with him at I.L.G.W.U. headquarters, 3 West 16th Street, and Albany, Troy on Mt. Vernon, N. Y., reported of a number of new dress factories being opened in their localities and ascribed this fact to the forthcoming big strike in New York.

The conference was summoned to clear up persistent rumors that numerous New York dress manufacturers were making ready to remove their plants to out-of-town localities in anticipation of a general strike in the dress industry. The I.L.G.W.U. organizers, who came from Baltimore, Md.; Boston and Fall River, Mass.; Newark, Camden, Trenton, Passaic, Union City, Plainfield, South River, Elizabeth and Paterson, N. J.; Allentown, Harrisburg, York, Hanover and Pottstown, Pa.; New Haven and Bridgeport, Conn.; and Albany, Troy on Mt. Vernon, N. Y., reported of a number of new dress factories being opened in their localities and ascribed this fact to the forthcoming big strike in New York.

The conference decided to increase the staffs of organizers and open up ten additional offices in all these cities, especially in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. "The dress manufacturers who imagine they can run away from New York and open up competitive factories with cheap, non-union labor elsewhere will find that a union reception awaits them everywhere; dresses will be manufactured under decent working conditions if we can help it," were Comrade Dubinsky's final instructions to his out-of-town organizers.

Sanctions Noose Is Drawn Tighter Around Mussolini



Luigi Antonini

Anti-Fascists Hail Antonini At Pier Rally

More Than 5000 Greet Italian Leader Upon Return from Brussels Congress — Predicts Early End of Mussolini.

By S. Romualdi
OVER five thousand Italian workers waited for more than four hours at the French Line pier Tuesday afternoon to greet Luigi Antonini, first vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and manager of Local 89, upon his return from a trip to Europe on an anti-fascist mission.

Antonini made a tour of the major centers of Italian immigration and attended the Italian Congress against war, as the delegates of more than 200,000 Italian trade-unionists from all over the country.

According to pier officials there were over 10,000 demonstrators to greet him, the largest crowd ever assembled for a welcome-home demonstration. While waiting for the ship the demonstrators sang labor and revolutionary songs accompanied by a band.

Rumors had been circulated for many days that Italian fascists would take advantage of the war enthusiasm among the less intelligent among the less intelligent

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We print below a review of the international situation as affected by the Italo-Ethiopian crisis by W. Schevenels, general secretary of the Int. Fed. of Trade Unions. It emphasizes once more the attitude of Socialists and of organized labor on the situation and the role played therein by the League of Nations.

By W. Schevenels
General Secretary, International Federation of Trade Unions.

PARIS.—The provisional program of League financial and economic sanctions against Italy, the aggressor, has now been completed. The members of the League were asked to make known by October 28 their views on the most important measures. Non-member states also received the list and were informed that the Committee of Co-ordination for Sanctions, whose next meeting was called for October 31, would welcome any statement they cared to make or action they might notify.

The time has come for a provisional survey to be made. When the events and measures leading up to the compilation of the program of financial and economic sanctions are being considered, two things must be clearly differentiated—the policy pursued inside and outside the League by the capitalist-imperialist Great Powers, and the functioning of the League machine itself, as laid down in the Covenant.

Today as always the policy of the Great Powers is in each case one of self-interest, based on secret diplomacy and all kinds of extremely practical considerations, an opportunistic policy of present and future alliances, counting on all sorts of combinations, and often ascribing a definite value to factors which at the best are no more than a gamble, such as, for example, Laval's hopes of obtaining Mussolini as a definite ally in reward for having played his "yes-man" so well.

Among the practical matters, which are playing such a large part in determining the policy of the Great Powers are the very real considerations that it is a good thing to keep the League alive as the instrument of this policy, that care must be taken not to tread on the corns of the many small countries, which are sincerely in favor of the application of the Covenant, their future active membership being directly dependent on the results of this ordeal by

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Herbert Morrison
Labor Party Leader

Big Gains Seen For Labor In British Poll

Parliamentary Election This Week Expected to Add 100 or More Seats for Labor Party in Commons.

BIG gains for the British Labor Party are predicted as a result of this week's parliamentary election. As we go to press British voters are going to the polls to cast their votes for or against the government, which has finally divested itself of its "national" label and stands forth before the people in its true character. To be precise: Labor has succeeded in tearing the mask of "non-partisanship" from the Tory government and has forced consideration of the issue as it really is: Toryism versus Labor, Capitalism versus Socialism.

American correspondents in London have predicted a gain of 100 or more seats for Labor. Some predictions give Labor as many as 200, which would be a gain of 137 seats. It is considered certain that the top-heavy Tory majority in the last House of Commons will be reduced to much more normal proportions and that Labor will once more stand forth as the powerful Opposition. Any such victory as indicated by the correspondents

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Bridgeport Socialist Renews Pledges of Service to Masses

Celebration Of Victory In Reading

By Harry Grass

SPECIAL TO THE NEW LEADER
READING, Pa. — America's two Socialist mayors and its one Socialist mayor-elect will all be in Reading November 21 to help Berks county Socialists celebrate the local Socialist victory with a gigantic parade followed by a rally in the Capitol theatre.

The celebration will follow an election which made history in Berks County, the Socialists sweeping the city and crashing into the Court House. The election followed a bitter campaign based on the flag and the Bible and on the desirability of keeping out this "foreign influence." A campaign of lies, character assassination, and appeals to prejudice and fear. In full page ads ministers were urged to play My Country 'tis of Thee on the Sunday preceding election.

The bitterness of the two old parties was equalled only by the determination of the Socialists. In the words of Comrade J. Henry Stump: "For every lie they told we got an extra vote," with the

Ship Subsidy System Hit

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Vigorous condemnation of the continued violation of statutes to secure safety at sea by corporations which own American ships was expressed by Andrew Furuseth, president of the International Seamen's Union of America, in discussing the ship subsidy question before the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor in Atlantic City. "The Black Committee of the Senate," Mr. Furuseth said, "sat for months and examined into the payment of subsidies. It proved that the Government was paying out somewhere around \$30,000,000 in operating subsidies, and that by organization of some corporations, controlled by the shipowners' corporations, the money the Government appropriated for subsidies was paid to those corporations for services and supplies and then returned to the shipping corporations, leaving the vessels still operating in the red."

Stressing the misapplication of the subsidies, Mr. Furuseth pointed out that according to the report made by Postmaster General Farley to President Roosevelt the Post Office Department paid, as a result of mail subsidy contracts, about one million dollars more than the total cost of operating the vessels. "In other words," he said, "all the passengers and the freight that they carried was pure velvet—and it wasn't only velvet, but there was a million more besides."

In emphasizing his contention that despite the large amounts appropriated by Congress for ship subsidies, the shipowners pay practically no attention to laws enacted to protect the lives of passengers and sailors, Mr. Furuseth declared: "In the meantime, how do the ships run? By breaking every single law that has been passed by the Government of the United States, every improvement on the statute with regard to inspection service, ignoring every safety measure to such an extent that I, who have been for many years a sort of father confessor to sea-

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Colorful Ceremony Marks Induction of All-Socialist Administration — "Our Work Is Just Beginning," Says Mayor.

Cheers Greet Oath

Executive Praises Cooperation of Party Representatives in State and City—Thanks Citizens for Support of Party.

By William M. Feigenbaum

SPECIAL TO THE NEW LEADER
BRIDGEPORT, Conn.—In a simple but impressive ceremony in the big auditorium of Central High School, Mayor Jasper McLevy and the Socialist city administration were inaugurated for a second term before a large throng of Bridgeport citizens and Socialist visitors from other cities Monday at noon.

Particularly impressive was the fact that every elected official was a Socialist, with the exception of six Republicans; a member of the Board of Education, two selectmen and three sheriffs—the minimum number required by the law that assigns a certain number of officials to the second party in the polling. Not one single Democrat holds office in Bridgeport today.

Mayor MacLevy, in a short but moving inaugural address, declared that "Our job has just begun." He paid tribute to his associates, and especially to the five Socialist legislators in Hartford, who, he said, "have brought back more for Bridgeport than any group of men ever sent there."

On the platform with Mayor McLevy were 31 other city and district officials elected in the Socialist sweep of last week. Conspicuous was Mrs. Sadie K. Griffin, alderman from the Second District, first woman ever to be elected to office in Bridgeport. After the 15 other Socialist Aldermen were sworn in in a body she was separately introduced, and she received an ovation as she answered City Clerk Fred Schwartzkopf's query of her intention to serve the city faithfully with a clear "I will." There were rumors that she did not know whether to answer "I do" or "I will," but she was told that she was being sworn in to office, not being married.

Floral Tributes

Flowers from many Socialist and labor organizations bedecked the stage when the Socialist officials, headed by Mayor McLevy, fled to the accompaniment of hearty cheers. City Attorney Harry Schwartz then administered the oath of office to Schwartzkopf, who then called upon Mayor McLevy. The popular and well-loved Socialist workman, saying, "With pleasure I take this oath" to more cheering, delivered his address in plain, simple language.

"Two years ago," he said, "I had a feeling that the task before us was impossible. The financial condition of the city was bad, and we were hampered by the physical deterioration of the property of the city. We felt that we had a gigantic task before us, but nevertheless we have been able to accomplish many of the things we promised then."

The Mayor then paid tribute to all his Socialist co-workers for their loyal cooperation, and he gave them his thanks "for their unselfish devotion to the tasks to which they applied themselves."

He expressed gratitude to the voters for sending a full Socialist

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Women's Wages Slashed, Hours Lengthened Since End of N.R.A.

THE terrible effects upon working women of the edict of the United States Supreme Court declaring the National Industrial Recovery Act and its codes of fair practice to be in violation of the Federal Constitution were vividly described by Miss Mary Anderson, Director of the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, in an address before the 1935 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Sweatshop employers, according to Miss Anderson, took advantage of the "freedom" from Federal control which the decision gave them to fix wages as low as \$7 a week and to lengthen in some instances the 40-hour code week to 70 hours.

Less Than Living Wages

In reviewing the economic condition of women before, during and after the NRA codes, Miss Anderson said:

"You will remember that during the depression the women workers

were the ones who went the lowest in the scale of wages and worked the longest hours.

"We found during our investigations that women who were the sole support of families working full time were not making enough, and the family had to have relief besides the earnings of these wage-earners in the family. The wages went so low that purchasing power became almost extinct, as you know."

"Then came the Recovery program, the NRA, and during the time of the NRA we did a great deal in working for the same minimum for men and women, knowing that if we did not have the same minimum in the codes the women would get a good many of the jobs and the men would be walking the streets."

"I might illustrate that by calling your attention to one situation, that which prevailed in the automobile industry. There was a difference between the wages of the men and of the women. Women, as wages go, were receiving good wages as a rule, about 64 cents an

hour, but the men who were doing practically the same work were receiving 82 cents an hour.

Women Lower Men's Wages

"Then one day during the time of the codes, I received a letter from one of the men in Detroit saying that he had been laid off and that a woman had been put in his place and was receiving 64 cents an hour."

"He had been receiving 82 cents an hour and he said that there were rumors that all of the men in his department were going to be displaced by women."

"I wrote back to him and asked him to notify me if that happened. In about two weeks I got a letter from him saying that it had happened, that 62 men in his department had been displaced by that many women, probably at the lower salary."

"So it was an effort to keep one group lower than another group so that when the time came to put it into effect the group that had the lower wages would be the ones to get the jobs. The women were

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McLevy Sworn In For Second Term as Mayor

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delegation to the Legislature thus strengthening the hands of the administration. The Senators and Assemblymen, he said, helped win a certain measure of home rule, and aided in ending the chaos that had long plagued the city.

The scene was like a school commencement as Schwartzkopf introduced each group of officials and swore them in.

A curious situation has arisen because of the fact that there are only Socialists in the Board of Aldermen. The city charter provides that certain boards and commissions be divided evenly between members of the two largest parties in the Board of Aldermen. But there is only one party in that body, the Socialist party, and one leading Bridgeport daily wrote editorially that "Mayor McLevy must consult his City Attorney and perhaps the attorney general of the state for advice as to the way the charter requirement may be met—or ignored." The editorial goes on to urge a system of proportional representation to meet the issue.

By Abraham Knepler
Special to The New Leader

BRIDGEPORT.—This week the Socialist administration announced a few of its more immediate plans for the coming year. They include

Vote Republican! Antonini Hailed On His Return

By Alex Benedict
Special to The New Leader

GENEVA, N. Y.—Waldemar Isaac was one of the famous ultra-radical revolutionists who denounced Francis J. Gorman as a "seller out" and hoped that the San Francisco general strike would precipitate the revolution. Every piece of progressive legislation, such as the Wagner bill, was purely fascist. Moreover, he proclaimed every organization he asserted was to the right of the Communist Party, such as the Socialist Party, Technocrats, the I.W.W., etc., were called into existence solely for the purpose of misleading and confusing the workers and thus hampering the work of the only true revolutionary working class organization, the Communist Party.

In fact, Waldemar was such a good Communist that he named his infant daughter Lenina.

During the last year and a half Waldemar had been active in organizing Unemployment Councils, thereby building up more or less of a personal following.

Waldemar ruthlessly exposed the petty-bourgeois nature of the Socialist Party. Like many ultra-leftists Waldemar was confident of becoming a commissar as soon as the revolution became an accomplished fact. Upon realizing that the revolution may be indefinitely postponed, he blew up. He has become a "seller out." On the eve of the recent election he issued a statement urging all relief workers to support the entire Republican ticket. This statement was mailed to all relief workers in the county. The statement, in part was also published in all county papers as follows: "Re-elect Harry K. Dibble as Commissioner of Public Welfare. Vote the entire Republican ticket to express your desire for efficiency, economy and sanity in government. Use your Republican ballot to express your dissatisfaction with an administration that prevents recovery and re-employment through promoting fear by tampering with industry agriculture and finance through contradictory laws that represent an attempt to destroy the American economic and political system." Nuf sed!

LECTURES AND FORUMS

INGERSOLL FORUM

PYTHIAN TEMPLE, 135 W. 70 ST.

SUNDAYS—8 P.M.

Admission: Debates, 35c; Lectures, 25c.

NOV. 17th:

"Individualism or Socialism"

Dan O'Brien vs. Timothy Murphy

NOV. 18th:

"The Department of Social Philosophy of Cooper Union"

(Formerly People's Institute)

IN THE GREAT HALL

8th Street and Astor Place

At 8 o'clock Admission free

FRIDAY, Nov. 15th—Thesis II:

EVERETT DEAN MARTIN

"Freedom, Culture and the Advance of Civilization Stand or Fall Together."

SUNDAY, Nov. 17th:

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"The Contemporary European System."

TUESDAY, Nov. 19th:

PROF. HORACE M. KALLEN

"The Individual."

NO MONEY

A ROMANCE OF RICHES WITHOUT MONEY.

The Voice of Economists who have not been heard!

Abolish money; cancel all debts; supply all our wants; abolish depression, insecurity, war and poverty.

The value of this 22-page booklet cannot be measured by a money price. 25 cents (to cover costs).

E. I. YODER, Worcester, Ohio.

a utility rate fight, discontinuance of the million dollar garbage and ash disposal contract to a prominent politician when his contract expires presently, and the establishment of a municipal collection and disposal system.

The administration also plans forcing the resignation of Angus P. Thorne, superintendent of welfare, who was the subject of attack by an aldermanic investigating committee last year.

Instead of waiting until shortly before the next municipal election to stage these moves as a vote-grabbing stunt the Socialist administration intends to push these plans to fruition at the earliest moment, so that the people of the city can obtain the full benefit of the program as soon as possible.

Other far-reaching plans are in the stage of preparation and will be announced as soon as they are undertaken.

Persons interested in attending the first meeting of the new Board of Aldermen, which will be composed entirely of Socialists, are reminded that the meeting will take place Monday evening, December 4, at eight, at City Hall. Senator John M. Taft, who is also one of the reelected aldermen, will be chosen as President of the Common Council at this meeting. In the absence of the Mayor, the President of the Common Council assumes the duties of Mayor.



Mayor and Mrs. Jasper McLevy

Frame-Up Victim Exonerated

By A. B. Potter

BISBEE, Ariz.—Jack C. Cornett, union man and one of the four frame-up victims of the powerful Phelps Dodge Mining Corporation and Cochise County officials, was exonerated of the felony charge against him despite the fact that there was a liberal sprinkling of scabs on his jury. He was found guilty of simple battery and sentenced to four months in jail.

The frame-up was the outgrowth of a fist fight between Cornett and a scab who prior to the time of the strike made his living as an agent for certain members of the other sex.

The fight was witnessed by Grover Windsor and Monte Reed, so they were also included in the felony charge. J. T. Woods, another militant union man, was also included in the charge despite the fact that he was at union headquarters in the company of about 40 men at the time of the fight. These men have been in the county jail since June 26 because bond was placed so high the union could find but few bondsmen.

Upon trial, Grover Windsor was acquitted. During the trial of Monte Reed one of the jurors left the jury room and went to his home in Warren. He was reprimanded by the court and found guilty of contempt of court. The trial developed a locked jury of 10 for acquittal and two for conviction. Reed will have a retrial and Woods has not been tried yet. Their liberty depends on the type of jurors they draw and not on the

case against them, for they have no case.

Thomas J. Croaff of Phoenix and John F. Ross of Tombstone represent the frame-up victims. We are badly in need of defense funds as the local lawyer who has dared to buck the powerful P. D. has received practically nothing for his services. Direct all donations to Box 10, Bisbee, Arizona.

LABOR PROGRESS IN NEW ZEALAND

The star of Labor is in the ascendant, writes the Wellington Standard, official organ of the New Zealand Labor Party. In 1905 only 3,478 people voted for Labor. At the last general election in 1931 this figure had increased to 241,991.

In 1905 there were only nine candidates endorsed by the Labor Party. In 1931 there were 53 candidates. In 1905 not one of the Labor candidates was returned. In 1931 Labor members of Parliament numbered 24 out of 80, and constituted the official Opposition.

Between 1928 and 1931 there was an increase in the Labor vote of nearly 50,000. The recent city elections scored heavy gains for Labor. Another 50,000 votes at this election will return the kind of government this country has been waiting for.

Labor intends placing 72 candidates in the field this year.

Swiss Socialists Largest Party In The Republic

Special Correspondence

BERNE Switzerland.—This rugged nation, pioneer democracy of the world and historic land of freedom, stood fast for liberty in the recent elections, threw back the well-financed fascist assault, increased the Socialist strength and returned the splendid Social Democratic party as the largest single party in the Republic.

For years Italian fascists have been carrying on a drumfire of terrorist propaganda in the Italian cantons against democracy; for three or four years Nazis and Austro-clerical fascists have been carrying on a heavily financed campaign for fascism in the German cantons. Referendums have been called for again and again to wear out the patience of this liberty-loving people. And finally a supreme effort was made in the recent national elections for 190 members of the National Council or Parliament.

The result was a stirring triumph for democracy and for liberty. The fascists suffered a stunning defeat. They lost votes heavily throughout the country, in some places as much as 60%. Nowhere are they an important political force.

In the face of the concerted drive of fascism the fact that the Socialists came up from second place to first and increased their vote and representation in the nation that is the seat of the League of Nations is of world-wide importance. Coming so soon after striking Socialist victories in Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands and France, the Socialist victory in Switzerland assumes the character of an historic event.

The following table shows the standing of the principal parties in 1935 and 1931:

Year	Socialists	Votes	Seats
1935	-----	254,002	50
1931	-----	247,946	49

1935	-----	210,038	48
1931	-----	232,562	52

1935	-----	182,943	42
1931	-----	184,602	44

1935	-----	99,717	21
1931	-----	131,809	28

1935	-----	12,382	2
1931	-----	12,778	2

	-----	14,055	

This is the answer of a free people to the fascist challenge!

Dual Organization Banned By New York Socialist Party

BY a roll-call vote of 69 to 47, the Central Committee of Local New York on Wednesday evening decided on firm action to put an end to the disruptive activities of organized factionalists within the party.

The resolution, which was earnestly debated for more than two hours before coming to a vote, refers to numerous decisions of the State Committee and the National Executive Committee dating from November, 1934, to July, 1935; recites the efforts of the executive and central committees to work out a basis for harmonious cooperation, which efforts were frustrated by the organized minority; declares that the activities of this dual organization "tend to demoralize and cripple and destroy the effectiveness of the party organization and to sabotage the party's recognized organs and educational institutions and to divert financial support from its work," and that their effect is shown in the results of the recent campaign in this city as contrasted with the "splendid gains made in such cities as Reading and Bridgeport, where factionalism has not been tolerated." It then proceeds to "instruct the City Executive Com-

mittee immediately to effect a re-organization of branches of Local New York, so as to put an end to factional organizations and disruptive activities, enforce the orders of the National Executive Committee and State Committee concerning the ineligibility to party membership of those advocating violence, armed insurrection, or dictatorship as means of achieving Socialism, and put Local New York in condition to carry on effective Socialist work."

At the outset of the debate, spokesmen of the dual organization gave notice of their intention to carry their fight against Local New York into the national organization of the party and to send a contesting delegation to the next national convention.

The Resolution

The following is the resolution adopted by the City Central Committee:

Whereas, on November 11, 1934, the State Committee of New York adopted a resolution as follows:

"In view of the deplorable condition prevailing in Local New York due to the existence of organized factions within the local, which has prevented its functioning constructively, and in view of the

responsibility of the State Committee under the State Constitution, we authorize and call upon the City Executive and the City Central Committee of Local New York to take whatever steps may be necessary to rehabilitate the Party Organization in the City of New York as a functioning constructive force for Socialism in that area"; and

Whereas, on December 9, 1934, the State Committee of New York after hearing the views and opinions of the differing groups and individuals desiring to be heard on conditions of the party in New York and the ways and means to improve the same, did "Order all organized factions within the party of this State to immediately dissolve, and all members and groups of members who fail or refuse to comply with this resolution shall be subject to disciplinary action"; and

Whereas, on that same day, the State Committee of New York directed "the locals to bring charges against those advocating policies condemned in the statement issued by the National Executive Committee and eliminate from membership in the Socialist Party all persons advocating armed insurrection as a means of bringing about Socialism"; and

Whereas, on December 12, 1934, the Central Committee of Local New York in an attempt to bring about harmony among the membership and activities of the local did in vain adopt a program which was immediately frustrated by an organized minority in the party membership; and

Whereas, the National Executive Committee on July 15, 1934, in agreement with the State Committee of New York recognized the evil of factional organizations, and sought their dissolution; and

Whereas, on that same day, in the agreement commonly known as the "peace pact" with the State Committee, the National Executive Committee agreed as to the ineligibility and against the admittance into party membership of advocates of communism and violence; and

Whereas, despite these instructions, orders and resolutions; and contrary to these declarations of party principle, organized groups within Local New York have continued their factional activities; and have prevented the carrying out of these instructions, orders,

Sanctions Noose Drawn Around Mussolini's Neck

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fire, and, last but by no means least, the certainty that the complete failure of the League would plunge the world into such chaos as would be worse than any other way out.

Right from the beginning of the League's handling of the Italo-Abyssinian affair, the workers offered the full support of their organizations for the complete application of the Covenant. They did this although they were aware that the strict application of sanctions which, as far as could be judged, would have brought certain success, would not take place today in view of the present composition of the League and the political and economic views of the State members; they gave their support in spite of the inevitable present-day combinations, alliances and intrigues of the Great Powers. The important point for them was not all these machinations, which they naturally condemn without further inspection, but the necessity of finding out how far the League and its Covenant could be preserved in spite of all these unfavorable conditions, the necessity of preserving peace, saving the League as such, and, above and beyond that, of gaining practical experience for the use of a real League of Peoples of the future.

Looked at from this point of view and with these limitations, the results of the first stage of the first trial by fire have exceeded expectations. It has been shown that the League Covenant is not a scrap of paper but a useful practical instrument.

League Actions

It must be admitted in limitation of this that before the Italian invasion started there was a good deal of foginess and vacillation about the steps laid down in the Covenant for adoption before an attack, Article 15 (arbitration of a dispute between two members of the League) being disregarded or only applied hesitatingly and incompletely.

On the other hand, the provisions of Article 16 for adoption after a war has begun, were applied extremely promptly and faithfully. The Italian advance started October 3rd; on October 5th the League Council heard the two parties. Italy persisting in her right to wage war and Abyssinia demanding the application of Article 16. As early as October 7th, Italy was named as the aggressor, and on October 10th a beginning was made with drawing up the program of sanctions. On the same day the recommendation was made, as the first sanction, of the embargo on arms against Italy and the raising of the embargo on Abyssinia (more than fifty governments have already replied to this recommendation in the affirmative).

On October 14th the second measure was taken—recommendation of the refusal of credit to Italy. In the meantime the number of sanctions has risen to five. The third proposal, called the British proposal, recommends that Member States should prohibit the import of all Italian goods, from wherever they may come. This proposal is the most stringent, because, if strictly applied and even

resolutions and principles; and Whereas, a group of members of Local New York have created and do within Local New York, maintain a dual organization, the activities of which tend to demoralize and cripple and destroy the effectiveness of the party organization and its work; and

Whereas, these factionalists have established dual agencies conducted in such a manner as to sabotage the recognized organs of Local New York and its educational institutions; and divert the financial support from the official party work; and

Whereas, these factionalists have established dual agencies conducted in such a manner as to sabotage the recognized organs of Local New York and its educational institutions; and divert the financial support from the official party work; and

Whereas, it is of the utmost importance that Local New York be immediately prepared to carry its important part in the work of the campaign of 1936; and

Whereas, the continuance of the present situation must result in the utter demoralization, destruction and disintegration of Local New York to the irreparable damage of the Socialist cause in city, state and nation;

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the City Central Committee instruct the City Executive Committee immediately to effect a reorganization of the branches of Local New York, so as to put an end to factional organizations and disruptive activities, enforce the orders of the Na-

if the non-Member States and the dissenting countries did not join in, it would rob Italy of two-thirds of her total exports, with a corresponding loss in foreign currencies.

The fourth (called the French) proposal extends the arms embargo, which had already been adopted, by the list of key products in which Member States have practically a monopoly (rubber, iron, ore, aluminum, tin, nickel, etc.). The Member States had until October 28th to state on which date they are prepared to put into practice the third and fourth proposals. The fifth proposal refers to the mutual aid of all Member States taking action against the aggressor.

Mussolini's Illusions

The later negotiations and attempts at contact between Italy, England and France show that Mussolini, having imagined that his adventure would be a kind of week-end ramble towards the enemy's capital, and having hardly today got beyond the frontier, is feeling a little less confident. He deceived himself both as regards his own strength, which he overestimated, and that of the League, which he underestimated.

Mussolini knows today what a profound mistake he has made and how catastrophic this mistake will be for his country and his regime. What he does not know, however, is how he is going to get out of the present impasse, for, irrespective of whether he wins more military laurels or not, he cannot finish off his African adventure without the League or against the League. This lesson will be useful to other dictators, such as Hitler, who are dreaming of world conquests.

The workers on their side know that the League can only be maintained if, with the support of all the peoples who are honestly and without reservation on the side of international justice and peace, it puts its present policy into effect with speed and energy. It is up to the workers of all countries to see that these forces of international justice and peace keep the upper hand in Geneva against the governments striving to compromise.

That such forces are at work is shown by Sir Samuel Hoare's speech in the House of Commons, in which he emphasized that any compromise must satisfy the League, Abyssinia and Italy. As long as the British government means by arrived at must be in complete accord with the provisions of the Covenant, there can be no agreement, but the danger consists in the means of forcing Abyssinia and the League to be satisfied with a compromise which does not fulfill these conditions.

It is therefore the workers' task to see that, in spite of the inevitable combinations and the private interests being pursued by certain capitalist states, the present action of the League shall fulfill its main object—the maintenance of peace and international equity. Only in this way can the League retain its position as the guardian of world peace, and only in this way can it go on to develop its full power so as to form at some future date a real League of justice and peace.

national Executive Committee and State Committee concerning the ineligibility to party membership of those advocating violence, armed insurrection or dictatorship as a means of achieving Socialism, and put Local New York in condition to carry on effective Socialist work; and that

Pending the accomplishment of these purposes, the City Executive Committee be instructed and hereby is empowered to carry on and transact all the necessary business and work of the Socialist Party of Local New York and select and appoint all necessary officers and committees to assist in such work and activities.

DISSOLUTION NOTICE

STATE OF NEW YORK, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, ss:

I do hereby certify that a certificate of dissolution of MODERATE CLOTHES, INC. has been filed in this department this day and that it appears therefrom that such corporation has complied with section one hundred and five of the Stock Corporation Law and that it is dissolved.

Given in duplicate under my hand and official seal of the Department of State, at the City of Albany, this thirty-first day of October, one thousand nine hundred and thirty-five.

EDWARD J. FLYNN,
Secretary of State.

By FRANK S. SHARP,
Deputy Secretary of State.

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Eight Big Unions Unite for Industrial Unionism

Industrial Union Consolidation Issues Out of Company Unions

DETROIT.—The revolt of workers in the automobile industry against the company union and against the methods of negotiating on wages, hours and other labor conditions set up by the Automobile Labor Board, has extended to the point where three groups of workers have formed an industrial union. The three organizations are the Mechanics' Educational Society, the Associated Automobile Workers of America and the Automotive Industrial Workers' Association which emerged out of some of the collective bargaining agencies selected at elections held under the auspices of the Automobile Labor Board. This organization is sometimes called the "Father Coughlin Union" because of the connection of the Detroit priest with its formation.

The merger will not be effected until ratified by the three organizations but it is believed that the members will approve it by a large majority. Matthew Smith, secretary of the Mechanics Educational Society, is one of the leaders in the amalgamation movement. He has had long experience in the British labor movement and he has been chosen provisional secretary of the merger.

Backgrounds of Merger

The founding of the new industrial union is not with the intention of making a fight against the American Federation of Labor, as its sponsors hope that some way will be found to effect cooperation with the A. F. of L. unions in the industry and work out a larger merger with these unions later on.

The labor situation in the automobile industry is somewhat confused as the collective bargaining agencies created by the government board formerly headed by Dr. Leo Wolman are "suspended in mid-air." When the Automobile Labor Board dissolved and the NRA reeled from the shock of the Schechter decision, the bargaining agencies certified by the labor board functioned for some months. Recently, however, representatives of these agencies have been resigning, and in the absence of the board's guiding hand no way has been found to fill these places. Instead there has been a movement

away from the agencies and in the direction of independent unionism, with meetings held outside the plant and with the collection of dues to make the new organizations more able to pay their way.

The automobile companies have given no indication as to their view on the future status of the bargaining agencies and there seems to be no movement among the agencies themselves to do anything but adopt an attitude of "watchful waiting."

The move toward independent unionism has been fairly rapid among the automobile workers in recent months. Disillusionment with the effectiveness of the company unions was followed by the men with hopes that the automobile board's bargaining agencies might be more effective, but the

men were quite generally disappointed with the possibilities of the new set-up.

The evolution of these organizations to the merger stage is a remarkable and unusual phase of American labor history. The Automotive Industrial Workers' Association grew out of meetings addressed by Father Coughlin and the organization spread from the Chrysler to the Ford, Chevrolet, Gear and Axle and Graham-Paige plants. The Associated Automobile Workers had its origin in the withdrawal of over 5,000 members from the A. F. of L. about a year ago. It did not believe in strikes, but it has since changed its by-laws to permit strikes. The Mechanics' Educational Society consists of production workers in the skilled tool and die-making departments.

Milliners' Strike Averted

By Marx Lewis

MILLINERY manufacturers who had voted to abrogate their agreement with the Millinery Workers' Union, and to shut down their plants to compel the millinery workers to accept a lowering of their standards, have withdrawn both decisions as a result of a conference which Mayor LaGuardia called twenty-four hours before the threatened shut-down was to be put into effect.

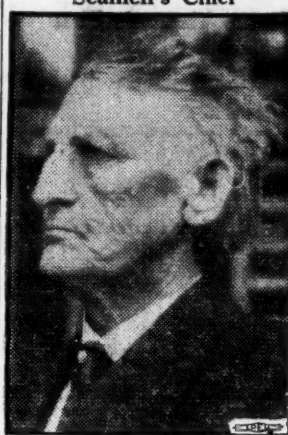
When the employers agreed to reinstate the agreement and withdraw the order for the shut-down, the union committee at the Mayor's office, headed by President Max Zaritsky of the International Union, announced the union would give up plans for a general strike and negotiate for a new agreement to become effective Jan. 31.

While representatives of the Eastern Women's Headwear Group, the association which provoked the

dispute, professed to feel thwarted by the Mayor's intervention, the announcement that there would be no serious labor trouble was greeted with enthusiasm by several hundred manufacturers who met to receive a report from the committee. Informally, many of the association leaders said they were pleased with the turn of events because of the association's inability to conduct a fight against the union.

Union officials, during the period when trouble seemed imminent, were unperturbed. Speaking for a union which he said, was better prepared than ever for peace or war to help the industry solve its problems, or to fight, if that is what the employers preferred, Zaritsky, in an address over Station WEVD, analyzed the problems he said were responsible for failure of the industry to function properly. He pointed out that with 900

Seamen's Chief



Andrew Furuseth

SHIP SUBSIDY SYSTEM HIT

(Continued from Page One) men, have been told over and over again that vessels were sailing, sometimes with a lookout and sometimes not, no man at the wheel and only one officer on the deck.

"D. N. Hoover, Inspector of the Marine Inspection Service, in his report on the Vestris disaster, said the human element had failed. 'You cannot operate vessels without more disasters of the kind we have had unless there is better safety legislation.'"

competing manufacturers in the New York market the union has been the only constructive force capable of rendering real service.

Formal conferences were opened at the McAlpin Hotel Wednesday evening. Union officials are confident that an agreement will be reached after several weeks of negotiation. But to be prepared for an eventual, 1,000 members of the union's organization committee, shop chairmen and shop chair-ladies, and other key members, assembled at the Manhattan Opera House Thursday evening to receive an official report of what had transpired.

John L. Lewis Heads Big Drive Of International Unions in A.F.L.

(Continued from Page One)

lines of industrial unionism, will be invited to participate in the activities of the committee and name representatives to join in its work."

Spokesmen for the committee have made it clear that contrary to assertions of Communists that formation of the committee constituted an act of revolt against the American Federation of Labor and declarations of "liberal" newspapers (of the type that tell labor what to do but don't hesitate to fight labor at all crucial moments) that the committee "declared war" on the craft unions in the A. F. of L., the object of the committee is one of cooperation and education rather than of conflict. This is clearly indicated also in the following constructive editorial in the current issue of "Justice," official organ of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which next to the United Mine Workers is regarded as one most important component element of the committee headed by President Lewis.

The editorial reveals the method and spirit in which the unions seeking to promote the progress of the industrial form of organization approach the A. F. of L., the parent body, and view the task before them. The editorial reveals that the issue involved is not one of "conservatism" versus "progressivism" in the labor movement but a question of promoting the natural organic growth of a form of organization found to be essential in certain fields.

The editorial says: "Was the 55th Convention of the American Federation in Atlantic City a 'progressive' convention or a 'conservative' one?"

"More than one observer on the sidelines in Atlantic City—especially of the kind with whom the wish is largely the father of the thought—had formed opinions one way or the other even before the convention got into full stride.

As we see it, however, the Atlantic City convention, like many other A. F. of L. conventions before it, could not be tagged either 'progressive' or 'conservative.' It was, in our judgment, a great convention, perhaps the most historic convention of the Federation with-in memory, and, despite rigorous adherence to parliamentary decorum, as flexible, responsive and democratic a labor assembly as may be found anywhere on this continent.

"Let us jot down briefly a few of the highlights at the convention:

"It registered for the first time a minority of 12,000 against a majority of 13,000 for unrestricted application of industrial unionism in mass-production industries.

"It empowered the Executive Council to draft an enabling amendment to the United States Constitution that would place social and labor legislation beyond the deadening hand of the Supreme Court.

"It referred the question of affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions for action to the Executive Council.

"It voted to continue its policy of unrestricted admission of Negro workers into the trade unions and of emphasizing a friendly pressure on the few remaining unions which still refuse admittance of Negroes, to conform to the attitude of the overwhelming majority of internationals which put up no bars of any kind to colored workers.

"It reaffirmed in as equally strong language as at two preceding conventions its abhorrence of the Nazi and fascist regimes in Europe and pledged its own support and the support of all its affiliated organizations to the Chest for Oppressed Workers in Europe. "It came out vigorously and uncompromisingly for the 30-hour work-week as the only practical

solution for decreasing unemployment and the creation of jobs for the idle millions.

"It reaffirmed its non-partisan political stand of 'rewarding friends and punishing enemies,' though it placed no obstacles to a discussion of a labor party, and to a vote on it on the floor of the convention.

"It resolved the dangerous jurisdictional snarl between rival building trades departments which, for a time, threatened to create genuine trouble for the unions involved and for the convention as a whole.

"Like at most conventions, there were lights and shadows in abundance at the Atlantic City gathering, though one must admit that the lights predominated. There were voices heard at the 55th Convention, mostly coming from a younger, up-and-coming element in 'new' industries, still inexperienced yet eager and mightily earnest voices, which are bound to have their influence felt at next conventions as their sphere of activity widens and they come to weigh in with greater strength at the gates of the Federation meetings.

"The debate on the question of industrial unionism, probably one of the greatest debates ever conducted on an A. F. of L. convention floor since its inception more than a half century ago, brought out with abundant clarity the fact that the Federation quickly adapts itself to changes, no matter how drastic, once it discovers that the majority of its component groups is not averse to such changes. Its profound shift of front on social security legislation within only a few years offers convincing proof along this line. It may take even less time than that for the Federation to swing around to the viewpoint of those who hold that the industrial union form is the only effective form of trade union organization for the mass production industries."

Newark Dressmakers Win Strike

NEWARK, N. J.—Recent settlement here of the nine-weeks' strike among employees of the cotton dress industry brought to a successful close what was probably the most bitterly contested labor battle ever waged in the cotton dress industry in the East.

The strike, which was sponsored by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, was provoked by an attempt of the employers to take advantage of the decree of the United States Supreme Court abolishing the National Industrial Recovery Act to reduce and deflate work conditions to sweatshop standards.

The agreement, signed in the office of Mayor Ellenstein, affects 21 shops, employing 1,500 workers.

When considered in the light of work conditions prevailing in the unorganized cotton dress shops of New Jersey, the agreement is a decided gain. It establishes the closed shop, a \$9 minimum weekly wage scale for floor girls and \$11 for operators, and stipulates that additional wage increases shall be made as soon as the contractors are able to modify present terms with their jobbers.

For the settlement of piece work rates price committees are created and impartial machinery provided for final disposition of discharged cases and other disagreements between the union and employers.

Working hours are to be limited to 40 a week. Overtime will be permitted only with the consent of the union, and limited to cases of



Scene from Philadelphia's big peace parade, November 8th.

emergency, at the rate of time and a half.

Other important clauses in the agreement, which is to remain in effect for one year, include the right to inspect the books and payrolls, to check up on complaints for underpayment or to discover jobbers or manufacturers supplying work to the contractor; equal division of work in each and every department; election of chair-ladies, etc.

Termination of the strike was celebrated with a big parade. Although many of the strikers were girls, new to trade unionism, they conducted themselves during the strike much like veterans.

Jury Disagrees in Green Textile Case; Aid Is Needed

Special to The New Leader

GREENSBORO, N. C.—The trial of Leonard Greene, national organizer of the Textile Workers, in the Superior Court before Judge Clements on a charge of inciting to riot in the strike at Mooreville resulted in a divided jury and a retrial of the case has been set for the January term of court. Considering the composition of the jury and the extreme methods of the prosecution to obtain a verdict of guilty, the outcome is a victory for Greene who represented him-

self in the trial.

The jury was made up of back-woodsmen whose idea of the devil is a "damn Yankee" labor agitator invading the South to disturb the happy conditions of southern workers. Greene spoke to the jury for an hour and various local attorneys and spectators declared that it was the most forceful and impressive speech ever made to a jury in that court.

Witnesses had testified that at the strike in Mooreville Greene had said, "I'd rather die in jail than be a damned scab." Greene told the jury that he did not remember making the statement but that if he did not it was only because he had forgotten to make it because it represented his point of view. Greene added that he had never advocated violence and that when it occurs in a strike it is started by elements who stoop to any foul means to prevent workers from fouling.

The charge of inciting to riot was based on the fact that several hours after Greene had spoken at Mooreville a few scabs were beaten up. Before calling Greene's case, which should have had first place on the calendar, three strikers were tried for assault on the scabs and were convicted. They were fined ten dollars and costs.

Strikers and others at the trial who knew the facts declared that never had they heard such willful perjury as the testimony of the state's witnesses who included the sheriff of Iredell County, the mayor of Mooreville and the Mooreville Chief of Police. They declared that Greene had said to the strikers, "If the law favors the company they would have to take the law into their hands." However, a scab surprised the prosecution by testifying that he had not heard

Tennessee Coal Miners Victors Against Operators

KNOXVILLE, Tenn.— Victory has crowned the efforts of union coal miners of Eastern Tennessee and Southeastern Kentucky, members of local unions comprising District 19, United Mine Workers of America.

A new agreement reached with the Appalachian Operators' Association, with only four operators left out, embodies all the features of the national agreement which resulted in calling off the recent national bituminous coal strike.

A convention of miners was held in Jellico, November 2, at which District President Turnblazer announced the terms of settlement.

The contract in its general features extends until April, 1937, and carries an increase of 50 cents a day for all day-wage men; nine cents a ton for all coal loaders and 10 per cent increase for all yardage and dead work.

Settlement in the Southern Appalachian coal fields brings every coal-producing area in the South into agreement with the national contract, with the exception of Alabama, Virginia, the Harlan and Hazard fields in Kentucky, then Southern Tennessee signed in the order named.

Greene say what was attributed to him.

Despite the impressive array of public officials whose prestige goes a long way with the kind of jury that sat in the trial, the prosecution failed to get the verdict it wanted.

The unfortunate thing about this important struggle is that the strikers are in a serious plight for

British Labor Expects Election Gains

(Continued from Page One)

would be a striking addition to the series of victories won by the Socialists in recent months in various countries—Sweden, Denmark, Holland, France, Switzerland. International Socialism is on the march.

The date chosen for the general election was dictated by the hope of the Conservatives that such a "snap" election would help them consolidate their power. There was no need for an election at this moment. Parliament still had a year to run and the Government's immense majority was not in danger.

Labor Manifesto

But the struggle has not found the Labor Party unprepared. Its election manifesto, signed by Clement R. Attlee for the Parliamentary Party, and by Jennie L. Adamson, chairman, and J. S. Middleton, secretary, for the National Executive Committee of the party, was issued the day after the dissolution. It declared that "The Government has now decided to plunge the nation into an electoral struggle in the midst of an international crisis. The Labor Party deplores this attempt to exploit for partisan ends a situation of grave international anxiety. It accepts the challenge and enters the election confident of victory."

The first part of the manifesto is an indictment of the so-called "National" Government. As regards home affairs, "not a single constructive step has been taken to improve the lot of the people," while by reason of its faulty handling of foreign affairs "the Government has a terrible responsibility for the present international situation."

Two other sections of the manifesto outline the Labor Party's constructive proposals for foreign policy and home policy. In respect of foreign policy the party "seeks wholehearted cooperation with the League of Nations and with all states outside the League which desire peace. It stands firmly for the collective peace system." There is also the significant statement that "Labor will efficiently maintain such defense forces as are necessary and consistent with our (Great Britain's) membership of the League; the best defense is not huge competitive national armaments, but the organization of col-

lective security against any aggressor and the agreed reduction of national armaments everywhere."

At home, the party "will pursue its policy of Socialist reconstruction." It seeks a mandate to carry out its program "by constitutional and democratic means, and, with this end in view, it seeks power to abolish the House of Lords and improve the procedure of the House of Commons."

In conclusion, the party "asks the nation for a parliamentary majority, in order to promote Socialism at home and peace abroad."

Standing of Parties

The last general election was held October 27, 1931, two months after the second Labor Government had been replaced by MacDonald's first "National" Government. The results of this election are given below, beside the results of the general election of 1929, which made the formation of the Labor Government possible.

—Votes—		—Seats—	
1929	1931	1929	1931
8,362,594	6,648,023	287	52
8,664,243	11,926,537	260	471
5,308,510	2,320,310	59	72
	Others		
293,880	764,534	9	20

In spite of its heavy loss of seats in 1931, the Labor Party's vote was the second highest in its history. On the other hand, the Liberals, who gained 13 seats, registered their lowest vote since the war. The combined votes of the Conservatives and Liberals in 1931 was only 281,864 more than in 1929, while the Labor Party poll was only 1,714,571 less, though this meant a loss of 235 seats. It will be noticed that "Other Parties" gained 470,754 votes and that the total poll dropped by 996,971. The huge turnover in seats was thus not explained by the relative gain and loss in votes but by the fact that Liberals and Conservatives combined forces. In proportion to the votes they polled, the Labor Party should have received more seats than the Liberals and, in fact, more than half as many as the Conservatives.

The Labor Party was able to gain its seats at a low average vote per member in 1929 (29,138 as against 154,406 in 1931) because there were so many three-cornered fights in which the non-Labor votes were split. On the other hand, the Conservatives were able to win their seats more cheaply still in 1931 because for the first time the anti-Labor forces combined in most of the constituencies to defeat Labor. In 1931 there were 409 straight fights and in 1929 only 99. The result of the present election will to a large extent depend on how far the anti-Labor forces combine again.

JACOB RUPPERT BEER

"THE TALK OF THE TOWN"

On the well-set table the dainty glass bottle of Ruppert's harmonizes with fine linen, delicate china and sparkling glass.

Don't say Beer, say Ruppert's

Battle-Cry of the Oppressed: "Let Freedom Ring"

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

GRINDING THE BONES

"LET FREEDOM RING." By Albert Bein. At the Broadhurst.

Down from the mountains into the mills crowded the poor whites of the Carolinas. Poor anywhere, at least in the mountains they were free. In the mill town they have to learn all over that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. By a bitter path they labor toward that learning: long hours, children broken with the toll, adults torn by the machines or worn with fatigue and pellagra, salary cut and recut despite promises of better pay; until the human spirit, however wormlike, turns at last—and there follow the brutalities and legalized injustice of employers meeting a strike.

Grace Lumpkin's novel, on which Albert Bein's play is based, takes its title from a famous negro song: "I'll grind his bones to make my bread"; and it is a grim picture of the negro capital grinding the bones of the laborers, that the play presents. The first act is especially effective, for the scenes—the McClures in the mountains, the hiring room of the Wentworth Mills, the McClure's mill company home, have been digested and revitalized as drama. The rest of the play is partly case-history of a strike, and mainly dramatized lecture: a thorough lecture on capitalism (not the man, not the machines, but the system crushes) and on strike technique.

"Let Freedom Ring" will therefore make few converts, and appeals to those whose sympathies are already with the oppressed worker. To these—to our readers—it makes strong plea for sympathy and indignation. Its power is weakened, we note, by a certain lack of freshness in the devices, by use of stock emotional tricks. As the hill-billies are being hired, a friend already at work, maimed by the machines, is borne on a stretcher by them. The capitalist and his henchmen are shallow villains, not developed, mere figures of oppression: even laughing the old-time villain's "ha-ha" when the naive mothers think to withhold their children from the jaws of the ogre. Of course, the strike organizer is killed, and it is over his coffin that the strikers resolve to carry on to victory—or death.

Excellent settings by Mordecai Gorelik, and a large and effective company, keep the action vivid and quick-moving; even the lecture is tense with the stir of impending strikes and lynching. The cotton mills of the South have always had a sinister reputation; the reason is graphically revealed in "Let Freedom Ring."

Big Cast in "Stars Over Broadway" at the Strand

James Melton and Jane Froman, radio stars, are headliners in the new Warner Bros. picture, "Stars Over Broadway," current at the Strand Theatre. Other featured players in "Stars Over Broadway," which was directed by William Keighley, are Pat O'Brien, Jean Muir, Frank McHugh, William Ricciardi, Marie Wilson, Frank Fay, E. E. Clive and Eddie Conrad. The musical numbers of "Stars Over Broadway" were staged and directed by Busby Berkeley and Bobby Connolly.

Dynamic Conductor of the Don Cossack Chorus



Serge Jaroff who will lead the well known Cossacks in a gala concert at Carnegie Hall on Friday evening, November 29th

Two New Features at the Brooklyn Strand

"They Payoff," a newspaper drama, spiced with romance and comedy, with James Dunn, Claire Dodd and Patricia Ellis in the leading roles, heads the double feature program this week at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre. The second feature is "The Spanish Cape Mystery" with Helen Twelvetrees, Donald Cook and Berton Churchill.

Three Members in the Group Theatre's First Play of the Season



Paula Miller, Phoebe Brand and Ruth Nelson as they appear in "Weep for the Virgins," which the Group Theatre will present at the 46th Street Theatre on November 29th

Theatre Union to Celebrate Opening of 3rd Season With Carnival, Mardi Gras and Ball

A one-night carnival and Mardi Gras will celebrate the opening of the Theatre Union's third season. It will be held Friday evening, November 15, in Webster Hall. Besides dancing to an Atlantic City orchestra (straight from the Steel Pier), there will be lively entertainment on a Miniature Midway. Sideshows, freaks, quintuplets, fortune tellers, games, portraitists and all the traditional and untraditional carnival diversions are being planned. The Midway will be run by actors of Theatre Union's new play, "Mother," and from the

casts of "Porgy and Bess," "Squaring the Circle," "Jumbo" and other Broadway shows, Robert Reinhardt, the magician, who gives Christmas matinees at the Theatre Guild

"Land of Promise," Widely Heralded Film Record of Palestine, to Have American Premiere at Astor Theatre November 20

"Land of Promise," a visual record of Jewish achievement in the Holy Land, will have its American debut at the Astor Theatre, next Wednesday, November 20. This film, which received the International Motion Picture Award at Venice several months ago and has been exhibited in many of the principal cities of Europe, ranges over the entire field of Jewish enterprise in Palestine. Boris Morros, who now heads the Paramount Pictures music department, has made a special arrangement of original folk songs and modern music for the musical background of the picture. David Ross, the radio announcer, speaks the narrative, which was written by the well-known author, Maurice Samuel.

Among the numerous features

every year, will be featured.

This novel affair, the first theatre ball of its kind, is for the benefit of the Theatre Union, the pioneer social theatre of America, which will present its fifth play "Mother," on Nov. 19. Tickets, which have been reduced in line with the Theatre Union's low policy, are on sale at the Theatre and in the usual book shops.

that have interested audiences abroad, are: a special performance of Haydn's Oratorio in a natural setting on Mount Scopus in Jerusalem; the contrast between the ancient forms of oriental dances and the more modern dances of the pioneers of Palestine; the views of the Hebrew University, which is rapidly assuming one of the most prominent educational positions in the Near East; the "shots" of the Ruttenberg Concession, which supplies all of Palestine with electricity; and Tel Aviv, the most modern city in Palestine, which al-

ready has almost 200,000 Jews. Although the premiere performance on Wednesday evening has been sold to the Palestine Foundation Fund at a \$2.00 top, the succeeding days will feature popular prices. Many celebrities have expressed their desire to see "Land of Promise" opening night. Among those expected are: Albert Einstein, Max Reinhardt, Franz Oppenheimer, world famous economist; Emil Ludwig, Louis K. Sidney, Adolph Zukor, Max Gordon, George Gershwin, and Nathan Straus.

ASTOR American Premiere WED. 8 P. M.

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Portraying the courage and heroism of a people who defied history! See the land of promise turn into a land of fulfillment before your very eyes! David Ross, narrator!

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PARNELL

with George Curzon, Margaret Rawlings, Effie Shannon
Staged by Guthrie McClintic Settings by Stewart Chaney
"LIFTS YOU OUT OF YOUR SEAT."—Hammond, Herald
ETHEL BARRYMORE

GUTHRIE MCCLINTIC presents MAXWELL ANDERSON'S

WINTERSET

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SOCIALISM AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

An Analysis of the Geneva Organization, Its Positive Features and Limitations--Democracy as Road to Peace--Plea Against American Isolation--Coalition Is Necessary

by K. Kautsky



This is the second of two articles on Socialism and War. The first, which appeared in last week's issue of this paper, dealt with the principles governing the Socialist attitude toward war and methods of formulating Socialist policy in event of war. The present article deals with the specific problem of the League of Nations and measures for the maintenance of peace. Both articles constitute the concluding chapter of a monumental four-volume work by Kautsky on "War and Democracy."

By Karl Kautsky

IN some respects our task of coping with the problem of war has been made easier by the establishment of the League of Nations.

At the beginning, the League was received with much mistrust, both by super-patriots of the defeated countries, who regarded it as the creation of the victor states, and by "revolutionary" Socialists, who denounced it as a bourgeois deception. The League has shared the experience of other institutions and organizations designed to serve a social or political need. On one side, their champions, easily inclined to overestimate their importance, endow them with functions they do not and cannot fulfill; on the other, the critics, perceiving the shortcomings, proceed to denounce them as useless.

Both approaches are erroneous. The same applies to such institutions as the universal franchise, cooperatives, trade unions, etc. No social or political institution or activity is absolute. It cannot be judged as an independent entity. Some may prove very successful and of great utility, but only under specific conditions, as part of a larger whole. Each has its definite limitations determining its capacity for good. Those who seek to bring these institutions into life and make them function must not remain unconscious of these limitations. Those conscious of these limitations can achieve great things through such institutions and methods. Without such consciousness, merely by striking out wildly into the unknown, we leave ourselves open to painful errors and disappointments.

On the other hand, those who do perceive the limitations of certain institutions and methods, as well as their utility and necessity within these limitations, may be compelled to mould their actions in accordance with changes and variety of situations, and thus run the risk of making themselves misunderstood. For example: when the importance of the universal franchise or of trade unions as means for the emancipation of the workers is being exaggerated, it is necessary to confront such exaggerations with sharp criticism. This, in turn, may subject the critics to the unfounded charge that they are minimizing the universal franchise and trade unions. But where such minimizing does actually exist, it becomes the duty of the very same Socialist to emphasize strongly the advantages and necessity of the franchise and trade unions. This was also the experience of Marx and Engels. There were times when they looked forward to armed insurrections and occasions when they warned against them. At all times, however, they were opposed to insurrections artificially connected by conspiracy.

Limitations of the League

What holds true of trade unions, democracy, parliamentarism and social legislation is equally true of the League of Nations. Only under certain conditions can the League be regarded as practical and useful. It is not an absolute instrument for the prevention of war. I have shown in my book that its success depends upon the existence of a collectivity of democratic states. This is certainly true with respect to its task of preventing war.

By democratic states we mean those who are not merely endowed with democratic constitutions, but dominated by independent and politically schooled masses supporting themselves upon wage labor or, at least, upon labor of a non-exploitative character.

A conflict between two democratic states is unthinkable today. It is unthinkable that any such states would permit a disagreement between them to become so acute as to make its solution impossible by arbitration of a group of other democratic, neutral states, rather than see it degenerate into war with all its horrors and uncertainty of outcome, except the certainty of complete ruin for both sides. For democratic states the League of Nations offers an instrument of adjustment which they actually seek and which it is not necessary to impose upon them. The problem of compulsion by the

League does not exist as far as such states are concerned.

Quite different is the situation with respect to despotic or semi-despotic states, controlled by elements subsisting not upon their own peaceful labor but upon exercise of power and exploitation. The urge for power and exploitation has always been limitless and violent. It always carries with it the danger of violent conflicts. A peaceful, democratic state coming into collision with a warlike, despotic state is placed before the alternative of yielding to the extortion of the despot, whose conduct corresponds to that of a gangster, to preserve the peace. But it is an old rule that concessions never satisfy an extortionist but serve only to increase his avarice, so that a violent collision of the two states proves inevitable.

How can the League of Nations prevent such misfortune in instances of this kind? The democratic state will readily yield to its decision, for in such a solution it perceives its own salvation. But the despotic state yields only to force.

In any such case the intervention of the League of Nations implies not a preventative of war, but action which may lead to war. The League must either take such action or abdicate.

Arming the League

It may become absolutely essential to give the League power of compulsion, although it will not be easy to organize such power. Should this come about, the danger is not excluded that the military forces placed at its disposal may not exceed those of the small states in the army of the Holy Roman Empire of the 18th Century or of the German Confederation of 1866, which played such tragic-comic roles.

This would not make for the elimination of war, but would merely give rise to another type of war, a kind of police war by the collectivity of civilization against some gangster-chieftain occupying a position of absolute authority in his own state.

But although since the tempest of 1914-1918 there has been an extension of suppression of democracy by dictatorship in a considerable portion of the world, resulting in weakening greatly the effectiveness of the League in the prevention of war, the League has by no means been rendered useless. It can still prevent wars between states not subject to the rule of despots. Such states, it must be remembered, still constitute the majority of the civilized peoples of the earth.

Nor is the League of Nations without significance even in instances where it cannot prevent a war. With the outbreak of a war it facilitates more speedy and clearer determination of the aggressor and the attacked. And this means that as long as the League exists there need no longer be any danger of a split in the Socialist International upon the outbreak of war. The split which occurred during the World War, as indicated in my first article, was due neither to any fault of organization nor to any excess of national over international consciousness in the Socialist ranks, but to lack of clarity as to the question of the war guilt of the respective belligerents. Such lack of clarity can in the future become a factor only in a clash between two despotic states, with neither of the two placing their case before the League of Nations.

Position of Soviet Russia

To be sure, complications may ensue within the League of Nations itself. For the situation confronting us is not one in which the despots face the League as a compact opposition. A military despotism, when it feels itself sufficiently strong, is a threat to every one of its neighbors. This leads also to the possibility of a clash between two despotic states. In any threat of such a clash the weaker of the two despots will readily seek the support of the League of Nations. This is demonstrated in the case of Soviet Russia, the greatest of the despotic states of our time, now being threatened simultaneously by two other military despots, Japan and Germany, constituting together a very dangerous opponent for Russia, despite the limitations which the Versailles Treaty places upon Germany. In this situation the Russian government found it advisable, after the rise of Hitler to power, to join the League of Nations, which previously it had denounced and repudiated.

Again, as in 1914, the question may arise as to which is the worst and most dangerous enemy of democracy and humanity: German or Russian military despotism. The despots of our time cannot

be viewed as one reactionary mass. They, too, are not without differentiations. No government, however absolutist its conduct may be, can divest itself entirely of the character of its origin. The Russian despotism of today emanates from a proletarian, anti-capitalist movement; the German despotism springs from anti-proletarian, capitalist origins. This alone compels us to differentiate between the two despots. The Socialists of any country must fight its despotism regardless of its origin. But in war our attitude must be determined not only by what we think of our own government but also of the opposing government. More than ever it becomes necessary to formulate our policy not on the basis of regarding the despotic governments involved as one solid reactionary mass, but on the basis of the lesser evil. We may oppose bitterly a despotic government under which we live, but when this government is attacked by a despotism still worse than ours and whose victory would be a misfortune for all mankind we cannot escape the necessity of halting our opposition temporarily until such time as the enemy is repulsed.

Socialists who consider it their duty to oppose the Soviet despotism in Russia in most emphatic manner will thus be moved to support Soviet Russia should it find itself attacked simultaneously by Germany and Japan. There can be no doubt that in such event the Socialist International, like the League of Nations, will be on the side of Soviet Russia.

UNDER CONDITIONS AS THEY ARE SHAPING THEMSELVES TODAY THERE NEED BE NO FEAR, THEREFORE, OF ANY SPLIT IN THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL IN THE EVENT OF WAR.

Fighting the War Danger

The Socialist International today has every prospect of preserving its unity upon the outbreak of war in determining and condemning the war guilt of any belligerent and the international enemy of human progress. It can also be united with respect to the measures to be applied in the event of threat of war. No international rules can be devised acceptable to all countries in all situations. The prevailing situation, however, leaves no room for disagreement.

In a democratic country a Socialist Party must bow to the will of the majority when it finds itself in disagreement with the pol-

icy of the majority. In such cases it must oppose the majority by education and propaganda, but to do so by violent means would not only contradict its own democratic principles but would be contrary to all considerations of wisdom. For to win its point by violence against a government controlling the apparatus of the state a proletarian party would require the support of even a greater majority of the people than would be necessary at the ballot box.

In undemocratic states, however, in which the government keeps the people down by force, the conduct of a Socialist Party in the event of any war to which the party was opposed would depend upon many varied and variable circumstances. Our opposition to the war in such cases would and must assume different forms, depending upon the difference in circumstances. We cannot formulate any rules in advance to meet such situations, except that no party must be called upon to do what may not be within its power to accomplish and that no party must be expected to do more than it can possibly do in extreme necessity.

The great misfortune of the Second International was that many of its members, as well as many outside, had believed it had the irresistible power to avert a war. A party that nurtures any such erroneous belief may easily fall into a situation in which it is confronted with a test under which it cannot stand up. Such a party is then placed before the alternative of dodging the test because it lacks the power to meet it, which may easily make it appear cowardly or ridiculous, or it may try to meet it, nevertheless, and thus bring about the destruction of its own organization.

We should never rouse expectations or undertake obligations which may maneuver us into any such position.

The Bolshevik Experience

However much I disagree on many points with Lenin, I do agree entirely with the viewpoint he and Trotsky ultimately adopted in the signing of the Brest-Litovsk peace, an act which has generally been regarded as a shameful capitulation on the part of the Bolsheviks. They believed:

"It would have been childish to have permitted ourselves to be guided by abstract revolutionary morality alone. The problem is not to perish with honor, but in the final analysis, to win." (L. Trotsky: "From the October Revolution to the Brest-Litovsk Peace," Bern,

1918, Page 115.)

It is our duty to avoid any struggle in which immediate defeat is inevitable if there is any prospect of facing the enemy and defeating him at a later date—under more favorable circumstances and with greater power at our disposal.

This policy is possible only, however, provided we do not bind ourselves in advance with respect to any possible conflict. This is the principle the Socialist International must prescribe for those of its member parties in despotic countries that may come into conflict with their governments on the question of war policy. The manner in which any such conflict is to be fought out must be left to the specific circumstances as they may develop. There is no absolute method of preventing the unleashing of war by an anti-democratic state.

Disarmament Problem

This is generally recognized today. And because of this the aspiration for unilateral disarmament by the democratic states, which at one time had been quite pronounced, has been entirely abandoned. Of course, disarmament is urgently necessary, but it must be general disarmament. It would be senseless for the democratic states to disarm while the undemocratic states remained armed to the teeth.

Moreover, general disarmament, too, is to be undertaken only with caution. In democratic states any measure of disarmament decided upon can be easily observed and controlled. But not so in despotic states. Such states know the art of secret armaments. We question the wisdom of general disarmament under present circumstances, which do not permit any satisfactory and secure control of what the dictators may be doing.

Universal democracy is an essential pre-requisite for the proper functioning of the League of Nations and for disarmament. Both are clearly related to the liberties of the peoples. In the light of the present situation the prospects for the League of Nations and the maintenance of peace do not appear to be encouraging.

But despite this the cause of peace is by no means lost. Nor is a new World War unpreventable. World peace can be maintained provided all nations interested in maintaining it stick together closely against any disturber of the peace. Collectively, these nations would constitute such a tremendous aggregation of power that no nation inclined to disturb the peace

would venture to do so. This is the only possibility presenting itself today for the maintenance of peace.

To bring about the creation of such a coalition is now the great task of any peace policy. Such a coalition must embrace not only all democratic states but also those undemocratic states (like Soviet Russia) which, for one reason or another, fear war and seek to avoid it. This coalition must not supersede the League of Nations but, rather, make its functioning more secure by placing at its disposal the tremendous instruments of power which the League does not now possess.

Thus, the League of Nations, born out of a coalition, will again become the instrument of a coalition, but of an entirely different one than that of 1919. The latter coalition dictated to a disarmed foe a peace of force. The coalition now required is one that would defend a general, democratic peace against a powerfully armed foe. Its functions and objectives would be entirely different.

Position of the United States

The establishment of such a coalition for the security of peace is confronted, among other things, by one great difficulty: the short-sightedness and lack of understanding on the part of the United States with respect to foreign affairs.

THE UNITED STATES HAS BECOME THE GREATEST POWER IN THE WORLD. IT IS THE REAL ARBITER OF WAR AND PEACE. BY JOINING THE COALITION IT WOULD RENDER IT ALL POWERFUL AND MAKE PEACE SECURE.

But because of lack of knowledge in the United States of the world outside the American people fear to become entangled in world affairs. It must be emphasized again and again that despite all visionary autarchic experiments (the efforts of various nations to become economically self-sufficient), the states of the entire world find themselves increasingly dependent upon one another, economically, politically, scientifically and culturally. Nor is the United States, the most powerful of all nations, an exception. And never does international interdependence appear more glaringly than in time of war. In 1917 the United States found itself drawn into the war. It will surely be involved in any new war. The disturbers of peace today are not confined to Europe alone. There is one in the Far East, by no means inconsiderable. We understand full well the desire of the American people to be let alone. This desire is shared by all other peoples. BUT PEACE CANNOT BE ASSURED TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BY WITHDRAWAL FROM ANY ASSOCIATION WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD. SUCH ASSURANCE IS POSSIBLE ONLY THROUGH EFFECTIVE COOPERATION WITH ALL LOVERS OF PEACE IN THE OLD WORLD. BY ISOLATING THEMSELVES THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MAKE A NEW WAR PROBABLE, INTO WHICH THEY WILL BE DRAWN DESPITE ALL ISOLATION. THEY CAN PREVENT A NEW WAR BY TIMELY COOPERATION WITH OTHER FRIENDS OF PEACE, BY RANGING THEMSELVES AGAINST THOSE WHO WOULD RESORT TO FORCE.

THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD DEPENDS UPON THE UNITED STATES, UPON ABANDONMENT BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THEIR STATESMEN OF THEIR PRESENT SHORTSIGHTED "REALPOLITIK" AND ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ACTIVE INTEREST IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE OLD WORLD, HOWEVER SENSELESS AND REPUGNANT THEY MAY FREQUENTLY APPEAR TO BE.

More and more it becomes the imperative duty of all democrats and Socialists to study intensively the whole field of international politics. As early as 1864, in his Inaugural Address, Marx declared that it was the duty of the working class "to master the secrets of international politics."

This is even more true today than it was seventy years ago. Internationalist sentiments are not enough. They may frequently lead us into error unless combined with understanding of international problems, with knowledge of affairs beyond our own frontiers. The more the working classes, including, of course, intellectuals and all other toiling elements who support the proletariat, perceive the interdependence of their own with all other states and the more they succeed, on the basis of this understanding, in attaining to a clear, unified, international policy, and the more they can influence the statesmen and governments in all democratic countries—in Europe as well as in America and other parts

of the world, notably the British dominions—to move in the direction of such an international policy, the stronger will be the foundations and the security of peace.

Peace and Socialism

Some Socialists like to assert that enduring peace, like true democracy, must remain a dream as long as capitalism is not superseded by Socialism. This sounds radical, but in reality it is quite unfounded. Only visionaries who believe that complete Socialism can be brought about at one fell swoop cling to this view, which obstructs the task of the prevention of war and postpones all serious efforts in behalf of peace to the distant future.

The development of Socialist production is neither a simple nor a speedy process. A dictatorial government can be overthrown overnight to be succeeded by a democratic government, but the building of a new system of production in place of the old, the development of which required centuries of time, is a slow, painful process. The example of Soviet Russia does not contradict this statement. What has been set up in Russia is the state economy of an Oriental despotism—not the socialized production of human beings. By adopting the extreme view that a Socialist system of production must be established in all important countries of the world before world peace can be made secure, that the establishment of Socialism is the absolute prerequisite of world peace, we are only obstructing and paralyzing the struggle for world peace.

Fortunately, this extreme view is as false as the view, with which it is coupled, that democracy—the maintenance and utilization of popular liberties—is possible only under a Socialist regime. WHAT IS true is that the establishment of democracy must precede Socialism and world peace. Neither is possible without democracy.

We must keep in mind the simple fact that many more people are interested in world peace than in Socialism. Socialism arouses the interest and enthusiasm of thinking workers, intellectuals, members of the middle class and peasants, but world peace is demanded today by virtually all classes of society, including capitalists, except the small group of capitalists interested in profits of the munitions industry. Not even all militarists are today in favor of war. They fear the attack of the enemy and demand that their countries be prepared to meet it, but only a small group of selfish, conscienceless politicians and gamblers, only fools and criminals, today have the temerity actually to advocate war. The consequences of modern war are too terrible to permit any strong support of war on the part of any large group, for modern war threatens the existence not only of individual classes but of all individuals, regardless of class, in any nation engaging in war.

Democracy Road to Peace

For these reasons, the general extension and strengthening of democracy would be sufficient to insure peace.

It is not true that capitalist competition leads to war. There were many wars long before the rise of capitalist production—dynastic wars, wars of the nobility, etc. For a long time industrial capital has been emphatically opposed to war. Not the period of free competition but the search for monopoly of markets and of sources of raw materials, which began about fifty years ago, moved SOME capitalist elements to a policy of war and aggression, thus adding another cause of war to those that had been at work in the past, but this warlike element in modern capitalism is now on the decline. The capitalists have learned to enter into understandings with each other on the question of monopolies. The exploiting and adventurous elements in democratic countries who still have an interest in war no longer possess the power to provoke war, especially if they are held in check by an independent, intelligent, well informed, organized working class. ONLY in undemocratic states can the warlike elements, if assisted by peculiar circumstances, still mobilize the power to make war.

UNIVERSAL democracy is synonymous with enduring peace. Universal democracy assures world peace, just as it leads to Socialism in countries where democracy is coupled with the existence and functioning of a numerous, intelligent, independent proletariat.

SOCIALISM is not the pre-requisite of peace and democracy. Democracy is much more the general root out of which, side by side and closely related to each other, come world peace as well as the enduring emancipation and satisfaction of toiling humanity,—which is Socialism.

All European Labor Backs Sanctions, Vladeck Reports to Socialists Here

By Victor Riesel

A STAND against sanctions by the Socialist Party of any country is a betrayal of the working class of the world, B. Charney Vladeck told a packed meeting of several hundred party members in the Rand School at the launching of a series of educational programs by Local New York. He deplored the position recently assumed by the National Executive Committee opposing such action by the League of Nations.

Comrade Vladeck has just returned from a nine-country tour of Europe, where he found an energetic Socialist movement, teeming with party newspapers and smoothly functioning headquarters, which had succeeded in beating back fascism. Communism is practically non-existent and has spent its force in every country but France, while the Socialists have received a minimum vote of 25 per cent in the democratic nations. Vladeck substantiated the optimism of his report by his experiences on the continent, where he observed that theoretical differences within the party do not interfere with its practical work.

The old-fashioned pacifism of the labor movement was ended by the last British Trade Union Congress, Vladeck discovered in England. Resolutions this year were in sharp contrast to the programs adopted in past years. Labor saw that war was now possible as the first chance for English democracy to strike at fascism. The Labor and Socialist Party, strongest in the world, voiced its new policy by the approval of sanctions in the last days of the congress. Only George Lansbury, Sir Stafford Cripps, left wing leader of the intellectual Socialist League which supported him, and a few others opposed sanctions.

"I toured nine countries of Europe and saw what fascism has done to labor. I approve of war to crush it," said Vladeck.

Workers, Not Intellectuals

Vladeck finished his picture of England by saying that "the Socialist movement there is based entirely on labor—not intellectuals."

Vladeck flew across the Channel to Paris, and into the contrasting French setup. While it is probable that the Socialist Party will suffer from the united front in France, its leaders felt it was impossible to refrain from entering it, in



B. C. Vladeck

order to block a possible putsch by the Croix de Feu. There is talk in official circles that Premier Laval is conniving with elements in his ministry to effect a fascist coup. Socialists fear that this may occur just before the general elections and want to replace Laval by Herriot, leader of the Radical Socialists, who is strongly anti-fascist and can be trusted. But the Communists hesitate to shake the government since such a move might affect the French military machine, the perfection of which is necessary to Soviet foreign policy while there is danger of a German-Russian war. A combination of the Socialist Party, the Radical Socialists and the Communists could

remove Laval. The Communists in France are the third party from the left. On the extreme left is the Socialist group led by Leon Blum, then Herriot's Radicals, and finally the Communists.

French and German Movements

The character of French labor differs distinctly from the British. The Socialist movement in France has always been political, not economic, while the attitude of organized labor, reared on syndicalism, considers the Socialist Party too conservative. The trade unions are now forced to participate in politics. Although a necessity in France, the united front was impossible in any other country, Vladeck declared.

During his trip through Germany Comrade Vladeck observed that the situation there made combined effort between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party inconceivable. Underground work could not be conducted on the basis of a united front. Subversive propaganda and organization is done by individual groups, since one band will not trust the other. The whole network is honeycombed with spies. A bulletin published regularly in Germany by the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party revealed the names and addresses of 500 spies in the Socialist Party alone. Units composed of former local trade unions—the tailors, needle workers, carpenters and others—work in total isolation. Punishment by the Hitler government for this work is death. Refusal to reveal the name of a man he had met a half hour before cost one person his head, while the possession of radical literature means three to twelve years incarceration if caught. Meetings of more than three people are impossible. Under these circumstances no Socialist would trust a Communist with his plans.

It was in Czechoslovakia, a nation completely surrounded by fascist countries, that Vladeck reports his most interesting and exciting days. Here is a strong Socialist movement (Continued on Page Six)

The Workers Abroad

Fascist Regimes, Thrown on the Defensive, Face Crisis—Vienna Government Reported Seeking Reconciliation With Workers—Swiss Elections Blow at Fascism

By John Powers

Fascism Everywhere on the Defensive

THERE can no longer be any doubt that in Germany, Austria and Italy fascism is passing through a severe crisis, political and economic, and that it is now definitely on the defensive, fighting for its life. By this we do not mean to say that the fascist regimes in question are likely to fall tomorrow, but it is quite evident that all of them are in a process of disintegration, the end of which will be their extinction. Nor can we be sure that before they go they may not "slam the door" violently and with catastrophic international repercussions. But their position is becoming more critical from day to day.

The weakest of the lot and the one first likely to go is the fascist regime in Austria. Austrian fascism was never the monolithic, homogeneous force presented in their beginnings and until recently by the regimes in Italy and Germany. The offspring of Italian fascism, and depending entirely upon the support of Mussolini, who now has his hands full both at home and abroad, Austrian fascism revealed the deadly fissures in its structure from the very first day of its birth. First, of course, there is the cleavage between the Nazi variety, supported from Berlin, and the Italian species. In addition, the clerical-Heimwehr group, which came into power in Austria after the crushing of the Socialist and labor movement on direct orders from Rome, never enjoyed the unity of purpose and command which every dictatorship requires in order to survive. The recent reorganization of the Austrian government, with the elimination of Major Fey, the butcher of Vienna, and the rise to apparent domination of Prince Starhemberg, served to emphasize the hopeless inner weakness and contradictions of Austrian fascism.

No longer able to count upon the support of Mussolini, who may soon find himself fighting for his life in Italy, hard pressed by England and the League of Nations for participation in sanctions against Rome, confronted with serious financial and economic difficulties which the League alone is in a position to relieve, the Schuschnigg government in Vienna now finds it necessary to seek reconciliation with the workers. That such reconciliation is in the minds of some members of the government appears from a significant report in the *Prager Presse*, well informed Czechoslovak organ.

According to this journal, the Austrian government has asked Dr. Karl Renner, former Socialist Chancellor of Austria, to mediate between the government and the workers. Dr. Renner is reported to have come from Austria to Czechoslovakia recently, where he conferred with exiled Socialist chieftains. Dr. Renner, however, denied that he had undertaken any mediation.

"The real background of these rumors, however, is the desire of some members of the Schuschnigg cabinet to come to some sort of reconciliation with the workers," reports the London Daily Herald, official organ of the British Labor Party, commenting on the information from Prague.

"This desire is prompted by the international weakness of Italy, by the increased Nazi danger, and by these cabinet members' distrust of their powerful colleagues of the fascist Heimwehr."

"Whether anything will come of these hopes for reconciliation remains to be seen."

"The preliminary conditions of the workers, for any temporary working arrangement with the government, would be:

(1) The release of all Socialist and Communist political prisoners; (2) The return of all confiscated property to the workers' cultural and athletic organizations;

(3) Free elections by the workers of functionaries within the government trade unions and in the administration of the insurance funds."

"At present all these functionaries are nominated by the government."

We are confident that the day is not far distant when the fascist regime in Vienna will disappear. Whatever concession it may see itself compelled to make to the workers will never be adequate to satisfy their determination to bring about the complete destruction of fascism in one way or another.

And this holds equally true of Italy and Germany.

The Elections in Switzerland

We reproduce the following report from the bulletin of the Labor and Socialist International on the recent elections in Switzerland, from which the Socialists emerged as the strongest single party and which marked a severe defeat for fascism:

The mere fact that unusually marked changes in the relative strength of the parties took place in the various cantons is a sign that the elections to the National Council and the Council of the States, which took place in Switzerland on October 27, were crisis elections. It is true that in many cases these changes compensate each other in the total result. But this apparent stability only conceals the fact that the economic crisis has set the Swiss electorate in motion to a far greater extent than has been the case at any other time since 1919.

The surprising success of a singular list of "Independent" candidates, who grouped themselves around a successful business man named Dutweiler in Zurich, points in the same direction. That in its first election this list was able to win five seats in Zurich, and one each in St. Gall and Berne, shows the inner uncertainty and restiveness of great bodies of electors who have so far supported the Radical Party, as well as of considerable sections of the Social Democratic electorate.

The breach made by this list spoiled the otherwise practically clear picture of a Socialist advance. The gain in seats in the cantons of Basle City and Basle County, Berne, Thurgovie and Valais—where a Socialist was elected for the first time—were balanced exactly by the losses in Zurich (two seats), Geneva, St. Gall and the Grisons. Of these, the losses in Zurich and St. Gall may be definitely attributed to the advance of the "Independents," whereas the two other seats were lost by a narrow margin as a result of the combination of lists by the bourgeois parties. Such combinations also prevented Socialist successes elsewhere by small majorities. The greatest losers by the advance of the "Independents" were the Radicals. They lost six seats and won two, with the result that they return to Parliament with 48 members. This means that the Socialists, with their 50 representatives, become the strongest party. The Catholic-Conservatives, who gained one seat and lost four, are now left with only 41. The Peasant Party, which has suffered severely from the attack of the Young Peasants, a body with Left tendencies, drops from 29 to 22, while the Young Peasants return to the National Council with four seats.

The fascist movements put up a miserable performance. They secured one seat each in Zurich and Geneva, lost votes heavily throughout the country, in some places as much as 60%, and are of no importance as a political force. Their total vote amounts to about 14,000.

The Communists retained their two seats in Zurich and Basle City. The Independent list, which possesses a total of seven seats, can hardly be defined politically. Its creator has always declared his full support for democracy. From the economic point of view he stands for free competition, the elimination of the middleman, and private initiative, and has repeatedly expressed himself against the policy of wage reductions. And that exhausts his program.

The Social Democratic Party slightly increased its vote—by 6,000. With its 254,000 votes it is by far the strongest party from the voting point of view. If the critical attitude which indubitably exists towards the government's lack of a program has not expressed itself to a sufficient extent in a Socialist advance, the reason is that the new groups had a greater power of attraction.

In the Council of the States [upper house] the Socialists will in future have at least two representatives instead of one, as Wenk (Basle City) has been elected in addition to Klöti (Zurich). With regard to the seat for Basle County, the Socialists are in a favorable position for the second ballot which has become necessary.

The election result as a whole is only unequivocal in a negative sense. The parties which have so far dominated—Radicals, Catholic-Conservatives and Peasants—have lost votes and seats. On the other hand, it was not everywhere possible to capture these votes for the Social Democratic Party. But at all events, the fascist movement has revealed its pitiable weakness, while democracy in Switzerland has shown the fullness of its strength.

The Eclipse of the Extremists

In one country after another both the fascist and Communist parties have shown themselves to be on the road to extinction in recent

(Continued on Page Seven)

How to Abolish Unemployment

By Charles Hohmann

Editor of the Bakers' Journal

THE strongest indictment against Capitalism and the irrefutable argument against its inability to protect the welfare of the people may be found in the fact that it cannot provide jobs for the many millions of workers who were thrown out of employment during the disarrangement period of its industrial process.

Capitalism must be given credit for having most marvelously developed and organized its technical production; the law of competition forced Capitalism to build its system of production and distribution of commodities upon the latest modern scientific methods and apply in its productive process the very latest and highly improved machines and other new methods which enabled the one capitalist to out-compete his fellow capitalist who would not, or

Capitalism as today in operation will never be able to again absorb this army of unemployed wage workers in its productive process, no matter how prosperous business may become. Perhaps 50 per cent of them may temporarily be re-employed, the other millions will remain on the out-of-work list. This inability to re-employ all those now out of work can readily be explained: the improved machines today occupy the places where formerly human hands would perform the work—and perform it much cheaper than human labor can do it.

Permanent Jobless Army

If we generalize by taking all countries into consideration we find that between seventeen and eighteen million wage workers will always be unemployed no matter how glorious the capitalist prosperity may present itself. Thus at least fifty million men, women and

the interests of the people. Even today the State by limiting the dictatorial power of the capitalist employing class and by enacting laws for the universal reduction of the hours of labor in public and private business, can considerably mitigate the unemployment situation.

President Roosevelt had made an attempt, by means of his Industrial Recovery Act, to improve the general labor situation. In the beginning he was able to record some cases of success; the prospects were promising. But these well meaning attempts were finally frustrated by the leading industrial corporations and employers. The fact that Roosevelt upheld the sacredness of private property in the means of production accounts for his failure to bring about the improved conditions he had been dreaming of. Thus the situation remained as dark as before and the solution of the unemployment problem remained in the status quo.

This solution reaches beyond the possibilities of capitalism; it touches the field of carefully planned social economy where production and distribution will be so organized and controlled that every human being willing and able to work will find remunerative employment.

Under such new system of production such a thing as overproduction would hardly be known, at least not in the present sense. When it is found that there is more produced than can be consumed, workers will not be laid off or kicked out of a job. The simple way to bring about the equilibrium is to reduce the hours of labor to such an extent that all able and willing workers will be absorbed in the industrial process. This private Capitalism could not afford to do because it would eliminate the principle of profit, which is the only thing that makes the capitalist heart beat. Under present conditions the profit rate becomes the dictating factor; in the new social order, with proper plans and organization, the good and welfare of all the people becomes the deciding factor.

The Solution

These means at the disposal of a commonsense and correctly planned economy can not be employed under Capitalism for the simple reason that such application would endanger the very existence of the capitalist system. For the rest, there are no other means to remove the evil of unemployment. HENCE IT IS ONLY THROUGH TRADE UNIONISM AND SOCIALISM THAT THE PROBLEM CAN BE SOLVED.

To clearly understand and recognize the truth of this conclusion is of most vital significance for the working class. To accept this aim and objective and work in this direction bestows an honor upon the proletarian. WHOEVER IS PERMEATED WITH THE THOUGHT AND CONVICTION THAT ONLY THROUGH THE TRADE UNION ACTIVITY AND SOCIALISM LABOR'S SECURITY AND FREEDOM AND HUMAN WELFARE CAN BE ASSURED, AND WHO IS WILLING AND READY TO PUT HIS SHOULDER TO THE WHEEL AND DO EVERYTHING WITHIN HIS POWER TO BRING THE GREAT IMPROVEMENTS AND HISTORICAL CHANGES IN THE WORKERS' CONDITIONS ABOUT, IS ENTITLED TO THE NAME OF A TRUE AND BRAVE SOLDIER FOR THE CAUSE OF THE WAGE WORKERS.

State Intervention

In other words: Capitalism cannot solve the unemployment problem; to do so would be suicidal. Hence the State, as a public social institution, must step in to protect

could not make use of the latest technical improvements in the means of production.

Thus the technical revolution was accelerated by the pressure of competition. The result of this revolution is that today we see over ten million men and women out of work—people who are able and willing to work. In our own country, of course; yet this unemployment is universal, it is in every other country where Capitalism got its foot-hold.

It is estimated that throughout our terrestrial globe there are fully 35 million people unemployed, and this army of workless men and women represent a population of about 100,000,000 human souls. In other words: An army of wage workers equal in number to the entire population of our United States of America is today, throughout the "civilized" world, condemned to unemployment, to poverty, to misery and want, and everything bad and demoralizing that goes with such hopeless conditions of life.

Here is the kernel of the grave problem; here we see in its most naked form and brutality the impotency of the capitalist regime and the incompetency of the capitalist political economy.

Labor Backs Sanctions

(Continued from Page Five)

cialist Party, notwithstanding potent racial forces and two neighboring fascisms. Socialists are part of the government and pursue the most active fight on the continent against Hitlerism. Here is the haven of political refugees from Russia, Germany and Austria.

In Austria

In Brunn, on the Austrian border, are headquarters of the exiled Austrian trade union movement. Fourteen thousand Austrian dues-paying trade unionists—officials and joint councils—evidence the strength of the underground movement in Vienna. It is a mass party, its work concealed, but ready to snatch back the government. The International Transport Workers' Federation receives dues from the Austrian railwaymen.

Recently the task of providing for the refugees in Czechoslovakia reached a crisis. It was then decided that those who were threatened with only one year's imprisonment should return to take their punishment, to relieve the burden in the refugees' camp and to participate, upon their release, more actively in the underground campaign. Two hundred and nine Socialists returned. All of Brunn is permeated by the optimism and idealism of the exiled Schutzbund.

In Vienna, Vladek visited Karl Kautsky, now 81 years old. He is

finishing his volume on war and will start upon his autobiography shortly. Later Vladek was driven to the Karl Marx Hof, which was shelled during the February uprising.

"They were like tombs—at 9 o'clock not a light in any window. I was told that Socialist families had been evicted—that rents were raised 100 per cent," he said.

In Poland, where his own repression had been suppressed, he saw the weakest party group. In Switzerland he encountered a strong campaign, the results of which have since been reported in *The New Leader*. In Holland he found the headquarters of a Dutch movement, with special newspapers to fight Communism and fascism. The Dutch Communist Party has disintegrated and Socialist trade unions are the leaders of labor. The Dutch standard of living is the highest in Europe.

In Belgium

Belgium is the scene of a Socialist coalition and the De Man "Plan." Determined that the unemployed shall not be alienated from the Socialists and trade unionists, the impasse which enabled Hitler to stride into power, Henri De Man, Socialist leader, devised his program, which has a strong psychological appeal—Socialism in our time—and which has forced down the number of jobless

"Can Such Things Be?"

By Adrien Gambet

AN admiration for bravery, wherever found, forces me to point with pride to the unsung heroism of certain American public school principals who have recently fought and conquered single-handed the anarchism that had raised its ugly head among some of our school tots of seven or eight.

Revolt in the Nursery

I refer of course to the recent incidents where children have been barred from schools in Massachusetts, New Jersey and other places for their refusal to salute the flag, and the tidings that no New York boy or girl will receive a high school diploma until he has pledged undying devotion to the Constitution. Thus is another black plot against American institutions uncovered. No doubt these kids are dangerous reds, intent on destroying the sanctity of the home and if some of our patriotic principals had not remembered that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, the whole country would now be in their hands and America would go down to a ruin such as can be described only by a Republican Chairman.

Education vs. Logic

However, I fear my gratitude to my saviors is something less than it ought to be for, to save my soul, I can't understand the logic of this treatment. Now either saluting the flag is something every normal child should want to do, or else it is something about which children would naturally have different opinions. If all children salute the flag, it seems obvious that those who don't are simply children who have lacked educational opportunities, and once those are given, pupils will see the sweet reasonableness of the salute and enter the fold. In that case, the last treatment he should get is being barred from school, since education is all that is necessary to bring him round. If, on the other hand, the subject is one on which differences of opinion can reasonably be expected it is obviously absurd to penalize a child for the opinion he holds. Either way, barring the child from school seems to be about the most unreasonable thing to do.

Campbell in the Soup

In New York the situation is a trifle different. The Superintendent of Schools is one Harold G. Campbell, famous for his pilgrimages to Italy whence flows all fascist grace, and whence he has always returned with a strengthened, if curiously confused, faith in a private blend of fascism and "Americanism." The draughts of this potent beverage have now apparently quite bereft this "educator" of what are charitably called his senses. He insists on the enforcement of an old law—a product of the war hysteria—which requires an oath of loyalty to the constitution before the student receives his diploma. He says he can't conceive of any American citizen being unwilling to take the oath.

An "Educator" Reasons

If he really means that of course there is no earthly point in asking any one to take it. But Mr. Campbell presents us with this gem of purest ray serene: "We believe that if a youngster refuses to sign the oath after the State has given him an education, that youngster is not one of good character." That, of course, raises the whole question of what education is for and it would be interesting to know Mr. Campbell's ideas, if any, on the subject. If the aim is to produce a succession of robots with identical sets of prejudices, then he is justified. But if, by any chance, its object is to stimulate the thinking capacities, then differences of opinion must result, even on the question of the government, and his whole argument falls to the ground.

Training in Hypocrisy

One of the worst aspects of this question of salute and oath is that the course of the educators is calculated to do nothing more than to train children in hypocrisy and mental dishonesty. A law compelling every one to hold the same opinions on any subject is absurd on the face of it and regulations compelling children to go through the outward forms of such conformity are not one whit better. It is a commonly accepted legal principle that what one does under compulsion is not responsible for. Thus children compelled unwillingly to salute the flag or to swear allegiance to the government may go through the motions, tongue in cheek, but they can only despise institutions content with such mechanical manifestations. The real way to command allegiance to institutions is to make them worthy of it: the rest will follow.

The Scientific Ideal

The whole matter is a searching exposure of what passes for education and of the intellectual bankruptcy of some of the "educators." The only scientific method of education is to inculcate the spirit of questioning everything, thorough analysis and belief only in the results of impartial investigation. Education is a training of the reasoning powers, not a cramming with facts or a stuffing with prejudices. Enforced beliefs and propaganda are no substitute

for this, just as bullies who become teachers to impose upon children the prejudices they cannot defend before adults are no substitute for educators.

Politics and Education

Their approach is even a complete denial of democracy. It is customary, even necessary, under the dictatorships of Germany, Russia and Italy, to substitute inoculation with prejudice for education. This method has its bases in two fundamental assumptions: a distrust of the intellectual abilities of the people which assumes that learning should be kept for the chosen few while the masses are automatized with the prejudices that will make them the useful servants of their rulers, and a realization that the teachings of dictatorship cannot stand up face-to-face with those of democracy. That this system, which deprives the intellectual muscles of all exercise must result in mental degeneration is shown by the fact that fascism has never produced a single idea and that communism has ceased to mean anything. It is obvious, of course, that the hypocritical "self-criticism" of communism, which merely allows the critic to show his assent to the general orders by questioning trivial details, is not the same thing as free debate.

Socialism and Education

The concept is in direct opposition to the teachings of Socialism. The very gist of Marx is that the conflict of two old ideas is necessary to produce a new and more valid one. In fact that is the very essence of scientific method and that is why we call our beliefs Scientific Socialism. And the method of Scientific Socialism, which is the only one which produces progress, is necessary to democracy and human betterment, just as repression, propaganda and censorship are necessities of dictatorship and bring about the intellectual degeneration which are in its very seeds. That is why the school principals who try to budge little children into conformity are not really educators and are not the representatives of advancing democracy but those of receding dictatorship.

Hearst, "Apostle of Democracy"

DEMOCRACY, however, sometimes gets herself some pretty strange lovers, and after listening to them for a while one begins to wonder whether they simply love her money or if the whole thing is merely a case of mistaken identity. Pre-eminent among these is that great thinker and journalist, William Randolph Hearst. Only the other day he editorially "exposed" Felix Frankfurter as the messenger from Moscow. Dr. Frankfurter, for whom Mr. Hearst's subtle and gentle sense of humor invents the name the "happy hot dog," was born in imperial Vienna, where, according to Willie, the ideal of communism were in high vogue. Mr. Frankfurter is a member of the communistic Civil Liberties Union and is thus trying to wreck American democracy.

Hearst Reveals Himself

If this sort of nonsense doesn't tell us much about Frankfurter at least it speaks volumes about Mr. Hearst. You will notice that to this champion of democracy the defense of civil liberties is communism. You may also remember that Frankfurter was one of the most active defenders of Sacco and Vanzetti while the lover of "democracy" was on the other side of the fence. If it were not for a slight discrepancy in dates I would advance the theory that Frankfurter might have brought tyrannical ideas from Vienna to Harvard but that Willie, in his brief stay there, before the authorities tossed him unceremoniously out for some of his unique ways of defending the sanctity of the home, took them all away from him and has kept them ever since.

What Hearst Stands For

And if you will look into what Willie stands for I think you must agree with me. He has long been a notorious opponent of union labor. The owner of a California ranch of baronial proportions, Willie raises the red scare on the Pacific coast whenever the workers want more than 75c a day. So odorous is his reputation that even Al Smith refused to run on the same ticket with him thirteen years ago. Willie's ties with the worst elements in ammanly hall are close and binding. And what has Willie really got against Felix Frankfurter? The little that the New Deal has done for the working class. While Willie enthusiastically supports the sales tax as a means of loading more of the burden on the backs of the poor, he is moving out of California because the state income tax may take as much as 15% of the millions of dollars that pour in on him every year. No, Willie is no defender of democracy. He stands for only one thing. That thing can be named in three words, the initials of which are W. R. H.

Song Without Words

Headline on page 8 of last Sunday's New York Times: "Calls Food Costs Below 'Normal.' AAA Cites Figures." Headline on next page, facing it: "AAA Aims to Cut High Cost of Food."

Estelle Abramson Chosen Head Of N. Y. Party's Women Committee

By Viola Yavner

With a report of a year's activities showing the women of the Socialist Party have gone right on plugging, doing the necessary job of Socialist building, the Women's Committee opened their annual meeting Wednesday night, Nov. 6th. The report by Estelle Abramson, chairman-elect of the committee, included such outstanding events as International Women's Day, the successful second term of the classes in Socialism, Current Problems, and Public Speaking, and the organization of the Women's Conference against the High Cost of Living, a delegated body of 39 organizations to fight the H. C. of L. This same delegation held a demonstration at City Hall on May 14th and had a conference with the Mayor, at which their six-point program was presented.

The annual Parent-Teacher conference devoted to problems of special interest to parents of children of school age was held at Butler, N. J., at the home of Comrade Chaiken.

A two-day conference at the Hotel Pennsylvania Dec. 14-15 on the High Cost of Living will be in the form of a symposium on the problems of the High Cost of Food,

Housing, and Utilities, including speakers from the Department of Agriculture in Washington, the Commissioner of Markets in New York, and our own speakers to give the Socialist point of view, was one of the events outlined to complete the year's activities. Every branch is urged to send delegates.

A theatre party, "Mother" by Gorky, is being run at the Civic Repertory Theatre Dec. 19th.

Esther Friedman reported that she had served as chairman for three years and with the burden of the classes and other party work, she insisted on being relieved of the chairmanship. Estelle Abramson was unanimously elected. Clara Rothstein and Julia Primoff were re-elected Treasurer and Secretary respectively.

The meeting closed with an inspiring educational talk by Gladys Dickson, an out-of-town organizer of the Amalgamated who told of the problem of organizing, particularly women, in the small towns where large manufacturers take flight.

The Women's Committee urges more women members of the party to become active in its activities. Its work furnishes one of the bright features of Socialist work during the past year.

Levy, Oneal and Bohn At Passaic Meetings

Special to The New Leader
PASSAIC, N. J.—The next in the series of Workers' Forums sponsored by the party branches in co-operation with local unions takes place Friday evening, Nov. 15th, at 8 at the Amalgamated Hall, 585 Main Ave. The speaker is Matthew M. Levy, well-known labor attorney, on "The Wagner National Labor Relations Act."

Friday evening, Nov. 22nd, at the Workmen's Circle Hall, 50 Howe Ave., the Passaic Labor Movement will honor the Memory of Eugene V. Debs. James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, who lived and worked with Debs, will be the speaker.

The 3rd anniversary of Br. One will be celebrated with a banquet and entertainment Saturday evening, Dec. 7th, at 8 at the W. C. Hall. Dr. William E. Bohn will be the guest speaker.

Socialists Win Control Of West Lawn, Pa.

WEST LAWN, Pa.—Socialists won five out of the eight offices in Spring township at the recent general election. The results in the borough were:

Three school directors, Calvin Unger, D., 773; Cleve Long, S., 768; Harry Leinbach, S., 746; justice of the peace, George Kern, S., 550; McCueley, D., 496; road supervisor, George Leinbach, S., 455; Riley Weitzel, D., 438.

Auditor, William Schwenen, S., 541; William Smith, D., 500; constable, Ralph Gring, D., 534; Carl Rentz, S., 523; assessor, George Kershner, R. and D., 795; Roy Bowers, S., 553.

The township vote follows: School directors, Paul I. Speicher, R., 619; Grace W. Alsberge, R., 502; Earl D. Rothmel, R., 490; Charles H. Brossman, D., 738; Maurice Y. Zimmerman, D., 699; Clayton S. Bachman, S., 731.

I.L.G.W.U. Basketball Games

The I. L. G. W. U. Basketball League gets under way Saturday evening, Nov. 16, at Stuyvesant High School, 15th St. and First Avenue.

At 7:30 p. m. Local 89 Williamsburg Branch tackles the quintet from Local 89 Boro Park Branch. In the second game Local 10 Cutters meets Local 158, A.C.W. of A., who are making their debut in basketball.

Judging from reports from the Men's Clothing Workers, Local 10 is in for an interesting evening, and the Clothing Men are confident that they will upset the Cutters' five.

A dance will follow the games to round out the evening. Tickets are on sale at the offices of all the above local offices.

Cooper Union Lectures

The Department of Social Philosophy of Cooper Union announces the following program: Nov. 15—Everett Dean Martin, "Freedom, Culture and the Advance of Civilization Stand or Fall Together." Nov. 17—Joseph Wood Krutch, "The Contemporary European System." Nov. 19—Prof. Horace M. Kallen, "The Individual."

Attention Comrades in Penn. and New York

Through the kindness of Comrade Charles Blackman of Midwood Branch, Ben Lichtenberg is making an auto trip on behalf of The Leader, beginning Sunday, November 17.

He will visit the following cities in Pennsylvania and New York: Wilkesbarre, Scranton, Sunbury, Harrisburg, Johnstown, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Utica, Binghamton, Albany and Troy.

The New Leader will greatly appreciate any assistance rendered Comrade Lichtenberg in his work of building up our circulation.

LECTURE CALENDAR

All lectures begin at 8.30 p. m. unless otherwise specified.

Sunday, Nov. 17

William M. Feigenbaum, "Whither British Labor?", 204 East Broadway, Manhattan, 4th A. D. R. August Claessens, "Our Social Environment and Its Influence on Human Nature," 767 Allerton Ave., Bronx, Upper 5th A. D. Bronx, at 9 p. m.

Monday, Nov. 18

William M. Feigenbaum, "Whither British Labor?", Kingsway Mansion, 1602 Avenue P, Brooklyn, Midwood Branch.

Henry Fruchter, "What About the Future?", Studio WEVD, Hotel Claridge, 44th St. and Broadway, Manhattan, Chelsea Branch.

Tuesday, Nov. 19

George H. Goebel, "Political Mirrors of 1936," 798 Elmside Pl., Bronx, 7th A. D. B.R.

Friday, Nov. 22

William M. Feigenbaum, "Whither British Labor?", 1140 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, 18th A. D. Br. 1.

PARTY NOTES

BRONX

Amalgamated Cooperative Br. Important meeting Monday, Nov. 18, at Assembly Hall. Prominent comrades will report on results of last election. Plans for Comrade Seger's meeting and a course of lectures will be discussed.

KINGS

Midwood Branch, 2nd A. D., meets the 2nd and 4th Mondays in the month at Kingsway Mansion, 1602 Avenue P, Brooklyn. Branch will inaugurate its 1935-1936 lecture course Monday, Nov. 18, with William M. Feigenbaum delivering a talk on the British Labor Party. Future subjects will be announced. Lectures every 1st and 3rd Mondays at above address. Branch meeting Nov. 25th.

WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

Afternoon classes for women. Mon., Nov. 18, 1.30 p. m., Rand School. Subject: "The Thirty-Hour Week." Speaker, Joseph Schlossberg.

Mon., Nov. 18, 3 p. m., Rand School. "Public Speaking and Parliamentary Law." Rebecca Jarvis.

Tuesday, Nov. 19, 1.30 p. m., Rand School. "History of Labor in America." William Duffy.

Tuesday, Nov. 19, 1.30 p. m., Amalgamated Houses, Bronx. Social Insurance.

Wednesday, Nov. 20, 2 p. m., Brownsville, 1140 Eastern Parkway. Social Insurance.

Thursday, Nov. 21, 2 p. m., Brighton, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave. Subject: Social Insurance. Esther Friedman, instructor.

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

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Party Members to Hear of A. F. of L. Convention

The second general Socialist Party membership meeting has been called by the Educational Committee for Friday, November 15th, in the People's House, 7 East 15th St., to listen to an interesting interpretation of the significance of the recent A. F. of L. convention.

The speakers who will participate are Joseph Schlossberg, Secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Max Danish, representing the International Ladies' Garment Workers, and Marx Lewis, of the Socialist Party, who was also a delegate to the A. F. of L. convention.

Party members are urged to attend this symposium and listen to the three-sided viewpoint. The recent convention in Atlantic City was one of the most dramatic in years and after the presentation of the subject next Friday questions and answers will be encouraged.

Admission is free on presentation of party cards.

Chelsea Branch Plans Active Program

The Chelsea Branch of Local New York announces a fine series of lectures as part of its winter activities. The lectures, held every Monday evening in the studios of Station WEVD in the Claridge Hotel, 44th St. and Broadway, begin next Monday.

There will be refreshments and social activities at every meeting. The following is the schedule to date:

Nov. 18—Henry Fruchter, "What About the Future?"

Nov. 25—James Oneal, "Outstanding Personalities in American Socialism."

Dec. 2—William M. Feigenbaum, "American Journalism and its Effect on Society."

Dec. 9—Theodore Shapiro, "Results of the British Election."

Dec. 16—Mark Khinoy, "Socialists and Soviet Russia."

Dec. 23—An unusual debate on Ethiopia, the English Labor Party and Geneva. "Should Socialists and Pacifists Ever Approve Military Sanctions?" Yes—William H. Bohn, Dean of the Rand School of Social Science; No—Jessie Wallace Hughan, Internationally known pacifist.

At a meeting of the 17th-18th A. D. Branch of the Socialist Party, Local New York, the members adopted the following resolution:

"We wish to express our deep regret at the loss suffered by this branch and the Socialist movement in the death of Sarah Witkowsky, for most of her life a willing and active worker for Socialism. Comrade Witkowsky is gone, yet she has left our memory of her firmly impressed by what she has done, for she gave her best."

"An untimely death has discharged her from her task, and now, worn out by her task, she is gone. That task we will do our best to finish."

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Women's Wages Slashed

(Continued from Page One)

used in lowering wages all along the line.

"In 75 per cent of the codes the same minimum was carried for women as for men. It was the first time in the history of the employment of women that any such equality had been recognized."

"That, of course, meant that women received much higher wages than formerly. Sometimes their salaries were doubled, even though the minimum was very low."

Code Abolition Lowers Wages

"So you see how low we had gone during the depression. Since the NRA was declared unconstitutional we have been getting complaints practically every day that the hours have been increased. This is particularly true in industries that employ women."

"Hours have been increased to 48, 54 and up to 60 and sometimes even up to 70 hours a week, and the wages have been cut to six or seven dollars a week in many instances."

"We are on the downward grade again, because we have no guarantee and nothing from the Government to hold up the wages."

"That means, of course, that what we need in the first place is a strong organization. In the second place we need to have better laws in all the States of the Union."

"We also need much more of co-operation in the trade union movement between the men and the women. We must have the women in the movement. I know it is not easy, because I have tried to do some organization work."

Three Socialist Mayors in Reading

(Continued from Page One)

result that Stump polled 20,733 votes, or 8,199 more than Ermentrout, the Democratic incumbent and runner-up and 12,475 more than ex-Mayor Stauffer, Republican candidate.

Meeting in the Labor Lyceum on Friday of last week, Local Berks decided to celebrate in a big way. Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee and Mayor Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport, Conn., with mayor-elect J. Henry Stump will be the speakers at the rally.

Darlington Hoopes, one of Reading's two fighting representatives in the Pennsylvania legislature and member of the N. E. C., will be chairman. James H. Maurer, revered 73 year old veteran Socialist and labor leader, and the party's candidate for vice-president in 1928 and 1932, is expected to be on the stage as a guest of honor.

Although the primary object is to celebrate a victory, local Socialists, realizing the necessity of getting the Socialist message before the workers and farmers, look upon it also as a means of raising

funds for the national campaign of 1936. Tickets are being sold for 25c each with the understanding that the money is a donation to the national campaign fund.

The parade is expected to be several miles long, while the theatre holds only 3,000. Loud speakers will be erected outside the theatre to accommodate the overflow. The entire net proceeds will be sent to the National office.

It is expected that Reading's victory celebration will attract visitors from many surrounding states.

All city and county elected officials will be on the stage. The three mayors, however, will be the only speakers. There will be group singing and the YPSL's will be the ushers.

All labor unions and unemployed organizations in the county have been invited to join in the parade, with or without paraphernalia. Organizations will parade as a unit. The parade will start at 7 p. m.; the rally at 8:30 p. m.

Local Berks invites all Socialists and sympathizers to come to Reading Nov. 21 and participate in the celebration.

Browder Purrs Like a Liberal

BALTIMORE.—Despite threatening weather which brought rain, the Debs-Hillquit memorial meeting in the Workmen's Circle building here was a success. James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, was the principal speaker and his reminiscences of Gene Debs in the early years when he and Debs grew up in Terre Haute held the attention of the audience to the end of the meeting.

N. Chanin of the Jewish Socialist Verband also had a fine audience at the afternoon forum and Earl Browder of the Communist Party spoke the same afternoon to Communists and "radicals" regarding the "new line" of the Communist Party.

Throughout Browder's speech he had many honeyed words for the "left wing" in the Socialist Party, his text being that this wing and the Communist Party would soon be united into one political organization. Again and again he denounced the "old guard" for its opposition to this proposed union of "militants" and Communists.

Workers Abroad

(Continued from Page Six)

elections. This is true of Denmark, Sweden, Holland, France, Switzerland, England, where Sir Oswald Mosley, leader of the Black Shirts, found it advisable to refrain from putting up candidates in this week's parliamentary election, has ceased to be the white hope of the few ultra-reactionaries who at first saw in him the British Hitler. Nowhere is fascism more of a joke than in England.

The eclipse suffered by the Communists is only second to that of the fascists. The Communist and quasi Communist elements in England are in a state of utter collapse. Adding to the confusion in their ranks comes the news of another split in the insignificant Independent Labor Party, which has been moving rapidly in the direction of Communism, there to find its grave.

We read in the London Daily Herald that the Revolutionary Policy Committee of the Independent Labor Party, intellectual father of our own Revolutionary Policy Committee, has decided to break away from that body and apply for membership in the Communist Party. It is not to be expected that the adhesion of the new group will increase materially the forces of British Communism, which is the least important of the Communist groups in Western Europe, representing a membership of a paltry few thousand as against the 3,000,000 members of the British Labor Party.

Features of the Week on WEVD (1200 Kc.) (321 M)

Sun., 11 a. m.—Forward House. 1 p. m.—Bertha Kalish, monologues. 8—The Bakers' Union—talk by August Claessens. 8:45—Talk—International League for Peace and Freedom. 10—University of the Air Forum. 10:30—Gilbert and Sullivan Operettas.

Mon., 8 a. m.—Jacob S. List, "Starting the Day Right." 8:25—City Consumers Guide.

Tues., 8:15 a. m.—University of the Air. 8:30—"The Message of 91." Harry Greenberg. 8:45—Amateur and Tristine, violin and piano recital. 10—New Leader News Review. 10:30—Top Tat Parade, soprano.

Wed., 8 p. m.—Looneytone News, humorous news sketch. 8:45—Travel Talk. 10—Grace Castagnetta, concert pianist. 10:30—Gwen Morrow, soprano.

Thurs., 8 p. m.—"Sons and Daughters of Israel," talk. 8:15—University of the Air. 8:30—Amateur Variety Show. 10—Ed. Friedman, piano. 10:30—"The Crowd Speaks," Man-in-the-Street broadcast. 10:45—Sky-High Ranchers, hillbilly music.

Fri., 8:15 p. m.—Classic Art Quartet. 8:15—University of the Air. 10—Embassy Trio and Rosalind, songs. 10:15—Prof. Elmer E. Byberg, "The Drama."

Sat., 10 a. m.—Voice of Local 89, Italian Variety Show. 6 p. m.—Jewish Events of the Week. 6:45—Jennie Moscovitz, sketch. 10—Opera.

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NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

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

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TOUGH FOR THE JOBLESS

ANNOUNCEMENT that direct Federal relief to the jobless has been ended in fifteen more states is grave news. This aid had already been abandoned in thirteen states, thus leaving twenty-eight states to their own resources. The experiments in production for use in fourteen states, a program by which unemployed are set to work producing for their families, is also abandoned. That program is a story by itself which will be told later but abandonment of the "dole" on the eve of winter means terrible privations for workers and their families.

Relief Administrator Harry L. Hopkins declares that it is up to the states to take care of the jobless and hungry while the state authorities declare that they cannot provide the funds. What is already happening in some states where Federal assistance has been withdrawn is heart-rending and is likely to lead to food riots in those states. Certain studies in Georgia show that unfortunates are cutting down meals because they cannot afford regular meals. One report declares that they are not interested in discussions of the standard of living. Their interest is confined to getting enough food to keep alive.

There are cases of unfortunates driven to beggary and others picking food in the streets and from garbage cans. Others are being put out of their miserable homes. "I never expected to live as long as I have lived or to suffer as my wife and I are suffering," said a man, 79 years old. "We are slowly starving to death."

Looking over these surveys of human wreckage, Administrator Hopkins remarked that the poor devils returned to the care of the states "have had a tough break." Then came the decision that in fifteen more states there would be a "tough break" for other jobless heads of families.

Does all this mean that the Federal authorities have reached or think that they are reaching the limit of Federal funds and that they are compelled to pass the buck to the states which had passed the buck to the Federal authorities in the first place? It is an ominous situation that may have dramatic repercussions before the end of the winter.

POLITICAL PUZZLES

PEOPLE who are interested in puzzles often ask what is the difference between the Republican and Democratic parties and they find it difficult to give an answer. We have found one difference in the fact that the big utility companies contributed \$468,900 to Republican campaign funds in 1924, 1928 and 1932 and \$120,100 to the Democratic campaign funds in the same period. There is a difference between the two parties of \$348,800 and the puzzle is solved.

Perhaps there are those who see another puzzle in the fact that the Republicans received more than the Democrats did. Perhaps the answer is that the Democrats have a cheaper rate than the Republicans and one cannot blame the utility magnates if they pay only the market rate established by this political firm.

There should be a "code of fair competition" established and enforced by law in this matter. It is possible that the cut-throat bids of the Democrats are ruining the business of investing in parties and politicians and something should be done to stabilize the market. The Democrats are chiselers, shame on them!

THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE

AFRIENDLY reader declares that his adherence to Socialism or Communism will depend upon the answer to the question whether "any ruling class will ever give up its powers without a struggle," which he in turn refers to as "terrible birth pangs."

His question is put wrong. He should determine whether he favors Socialism or Communism as his ideal goal regardless of whether its realization will be accompanied by "terrible birth pangs" or not. One means freedom for the working class and the other means a rigid dictatorship over the masses by a handful of party leaders. Communist dictatorship means death pangs for the working masses.

Should our inquirer decide for one or the other and also decides that it must come through "terrible birth pangs," then he should at least remember that there are more police, sheriffs, militiamen and soldiers in the United States than there are Socialist voters while the overwhelming mass of the citizens do not favor any kind of drastic reorganization of capitalism.

In short, don't worry about the future. Without educating many millions to the need of change there is no hope for any basic changes. Let us not get the cart before the horse.

THERE'S PLENTY OF BUTTER!



Any German who complains of the lack of butter is a Jew-Marxist, and a racial defiler into the bargain. So say the Nazi leaders.

Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman
Our Washington Correspondent

ARMISTICE DAY was celebrated last Monday in the nation's capital in more than one sense. The Supreme Court declared an armistice in legislative battles, at least temporarily, giving the New Deal a new "breathing spell."

In fact, the Roosevelt Administration won some important advantages last Monday in three test cases before the court. True, it was all just preliminary legal skirmishing between Government and business, but in these anti-administration days that is considered a triumph.

Victories were scored in tests of the Guffey coal act, the amended AAA (Agricultural Adjustment Act) and the Bankhead cotton control act.

In the Guffey case the Court rejected the plea of James W. Carter, West Virginia coal man, to restrain collection of the 15 per cent tonnage tax on soft coal mined under the "little NRA" (National Recovery Administration) set up by the Act.

The case is pending in District Supreme Court. Carter sought a short-cut to the highest court. His defeat means a final decision on the Guffey act will be delayed until next spring or later.

In the AAA case the Washburn Crosby Company attempted to appeal direct from a Federal District Court decision holding valid the processing taxes under the farm act as amended August 24. This was denied, the highest court upholding the Government's contention that the issue of constitutionality had not been properly raised. The AAA, before amended, is at issue in the Hoosac Mills case set for argument December 9.

In the Bankhead act the court permitted the Government to intervene without restriction in the challenge brought by Lee Moore, Texas planter, against the Texas and New Orleans railroad although the Government is not a party. The Government also urged the court to reject the request of Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia to restrain enforcement of the cotton control measure. An early decision is expected. Talmadge should have brought his suit against the internal revenue collector for Georgia and has no right to come directly to the Supreme Court, the Government argued.

Nazi Steel for Triboro Bridge
PWA (Public Works Administration) officials have declared they are powerless to revoke the New York Triboro Bridge Authority's contract for purchase of German steel. While the contract is yet to be submitted here for approval, indications are the PWA would raise no objections.

The law provides, officials pointed out, that Government contracts for materials must go to the lowest bidder. The only exception is that contracts may be awarded to American firms if their bids are not more than 15 per cent above offers of foreign producers. On the Tri-

Supreme Court Gives New Deal a New "Breathing Spell."—WPA Approves Use of Nazi Steel on Bridge in New York.

boro Bridge contract American steel companies asked 52 per cent more than the Nazi bid.

Eugene Grace, president of the Iron and Steel Institute and head of the Bethlehem Steel Company, warned last spring these regulations might result in foreign dumping of steel into this country, and he demanded greater protection for American producers. At that time President Roosevelt refused to consider Grace's demands. The President said American steel companies had the double protection of a high tariff and the 15 per cent differential.

Public Works Administrator Ickes also scoffed at Grace's warning and charged the high prices asked by domestic steel firms were retarding recovery of the building industry. All this may be true, but what about American steel workers? Have they no say in the matter? It may be "ungraceful" for Grace to talk against cheaper steel, but surely the labor movement ought to raise its voice.

THE "black hundreds" gained a victory in their "red" hunt in

Taylor, Socialist, Elected in Toledo

Special to The New Leader
TOLEDO, Ohio.—John C. Taylor, active member of the Socialist Party of Lucas County, was elected member of the Board of Education in the non-partisan election held last week in Toledo, Ohio. This is the first time in many years that a Socialist has held public office in this city.

John Taylor was a candidate of the Lucas County Labor Congress for Political Action, a delegated body composed of two members from each union and brotherhood, and the Workers' Alliance. The members of the Socialist Party of Lucas County have received permission from the National Executive Committee to enter into the activities of the organization.

Tim McCormick, also very active in the Socialist Party, is in 15th place among a slate of 56 for member of the City Council. Nine are to be elected. The election is under proportional representation and it will be several days yet before the final returns are known.

Township Goes Socialist

READING, Pa.—Cumru Township in Berks County went Socialist last week when three additional Socialist directors raised the party's representation to six in a board of seven. Formerly there were three Socialists out of seven.

Ithaca Vote

ITHACA, N. Y.—The Socialist vote for Assembly in Tompkins county was 477. Two years ago the party polled 346.

schools and colleges. Federal aid has been withdrawn from Commonwealth College. Last year FEHA (Federal Emergency Relief Administration) gave four scholarships to that radical institute of learning, but now it has been omitted from the WPA and also from the National Youth Administration benefits.

Explaining WPA's attitude toward the college, Dr. L. R. Alderman, educational director, said: "No scholarships will be granted to Commonwealth College this year. We act solely on the advice given us by the State boards of education and this year the Arkansas board did not include Commonwealth on the list of institutions eligible for scholarships. This decision of the Arkansas board was probably based on the fact that a college that does not require at least the equivalent of a high school education for admission is ineligible."

Big Business Sabotage

THOUGH Major George L. Berry, Federal "Coordinator for Industrial Cooperation," assured that on sounding out big business he found about 73 per cent favorable to the Industrial Conference he has called to be held in Washington December 9, the result would lead to entirely different conclusions.

In reply to 5,000 invitations Berry sent out, there have been 22 acceptances, ten replies indicating that those invited would not be present, and 28 replies classified as indefinite or indecisive.

Among those refusing to accept the invitation was the Southern Pine Association, which expressed its "unequivocal opposition to any revival of the national recovery act or a lumber code in any form."

Edsel Ford, president of the Ford Motor Co., declined an invitation to be represented with the statement that previous conferences have not convinced his company that any beneficial end will be served.

The meeting called by Berry for December 9 is expected to discuss legislation to supplant the NRA. In a letter to Ford, Berry told him that "your wealth of experience and position of leadership makes your counsel extremely desirable."

"Our experience and counsel, to which your letter refers, are always at the service of the Government," Ford replied. Hitherto unquestioning acquiescence, and not counsel, has been asked.

"We have not participated in such conferences in the past, and our observation of their effect upon the recovery of the nation's economic health has not convinced us that any beneficial end will be served by them now."

Berry replied that "incredible as it may seem, what I want is counsel and not unquestioning acquiescence."

In briefly rejecting the invitation to be represented at the meeting, Ford joined with the other automobile manufacturers, as represented by the Automobile Manufacturers' Association, in declining an invitation to be present.

Those who remember the meager results from other industrial conferences will not shed too many tears if this one meets with failure.

A Self-Reliant Class Party, Or a Leader and Follower?

By Algonquin Lee

HENRY STUMP, successful Socialist candidate for Mayor of Reading, needed only sixty more votes, in a total of over 41,000, to give him a clear majority over both his opponents. In Bridgeport the Socialist Mayor, Jasper McLevy, received more than 24,000

votes out of a total of nearly 44,000—an overwhelming absolute majority. In those two communities the time-worn trick of old-party fusion can have no effect, unless it be to open the eyes of some who still think there is a substantial



Algonquin Lee

difference between the Democratic and Republican parties, and thus to make still more converts to Socialism. In Berks County, of which Reading is the larger part, the old parties did fuse to keep Darlington Hoopes off the bench, but the growth of our vote outside the city has only to be continued at the same rate for another two or three years and we shall no longer talk of Reading, but of Berks, as the citadel of Socialism in Eastern Pennsylvania.

Even more striking than the vote cast for heads of the ticket is the fact that 82 per cent of the men and women who voted for Stump and 96 per cent of those who voted for McLevy voted also for every other candidate on the Socialist ticket. Our two mayors have a right to be proud of that, for the true glory of a Socialist standard bearer is not to run far ahead of his ticket, but to have behind him a body of class-conscious, self-reliant, self-disciplined comrades who vote straight and loyally back up the men whom they have chosen to represent them. One man who earns the confidence of such a rank and file as that is worth any number of personal careerists.

In Reading and in Bridgeport our comrades do not sing: "Whoosis is our leader, We shall not be moved." And when we get past that sort of political infantilism in New York and everywhere else our party will again begin to move forward.

If, instead of three good-sized industrial cities (for Milwaukee and Reading) we had thirty such with a vote as large and as solid as theirs, we should not be anxiously waiting for a Labor party to arise—the nucleus and backbone of a genuine Labor party on a national scale would already be in existence. For in these places where our party is really strong the basis of its strength is in the fact that we have the great bulk of the trade union membership heart and soul with us. There are plenty of other places where the mechanics, laborers, and factory operatives who have been wise enough to organize on the economic field are now ready to organize and act on the political field as well. But they are not inclined to join hands with us where they see us depending on leadership rather than on comradeship, catering to

elements which they know to be hostile to Organized Labor, or permitting our party to be either ruled or ruined by dual organizations inside its ranks, which bitter experience has taught them to forbid and suppress.

"Ours is a problem, not of sharing a little more equitably the wealth that we now have, but of producing and then sharing the abundance that we ought to have. . . . We must have not a New Deal, but a federation of the co-operative commonwealth of mankind."

Those words are contained in an article written by a prominent American Socialist for a magazine not much read by workmen, and are displayed on its front cover. Whether the author really means what those words plainly say is perhaps questionable. The probability is that his mind wavers between two very different ways of thinking, without his seeing the difference between them clearly enough to know that he is wavering.

Certainly, if the passage is to be understood as everyone who reads English has a right to understand it, it does not represent the vital interests or the normal thought-ways of the modern working class, and therefore does not represent the attitude of any Socialist movement which has got beyond the sectarian stage. Tell the men in the mines and mills that we stand not for more equitable distribution of wealth as now produced, but for more abundant production and then a sharing of the larger product, not for any "new deal" that is practicable under capitalism, but for world-wide co-operation after capitalism has been disposed of—what will be their response?

If they are very polite they may suggest that you set it to music. If not, they will use a briefer and coarser phrase. They are interested in steady employment, in higher wages, in more leisure, in safety at their work, in good housing for their families. If Socialists say that all this is "not our problem," they will think of us at best as faddists and at worst as enemies—and they will be right. They know that a working class which does not fight and win partial victories in the world as it is will never be able to make the world what it "ought" to be.

A still more prominent Socialist wrote a wonderful little book some fifty years ago—*Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, by Frederick Engels—in which the "not this but that" way of thinking is sharply criticized. It is inexcusable for a Socialist these days to suppose that, in order to stand for ultimate complete emancipation of the working class, we must ignore or minimize its immediate interests, or that, in order to stand for all practicable improvement of social conditions now, we must forget the need for basic and thoroughgoing change.

Bridgeport knows this. Reading knows it. Milwaukee knows it. They know it because in each of these cities they have a workingclass party. In places where we have "peerless leaders" and devout copies we wobble between two equally wrong attitudes.

The New Leader Book Corner

A Fine Socialist Type

"THREE FLIGHTS UP," by Helen Woodward, New York, Dodd Mead & Co., \$3.

A MOVING and affectionate picture of a long-vanished Socialist type is the central figure of "Three Flights Up," Helen Woodward's book of autobiographical reminiscences of her New York childhood.

There is much in the book to delight the reader, especially old New Yorkers, to whom Mrs. Woodward's pages will vividly bring back their childhood days, the games they played and all the folkways of an earlier New York. Mrs. Woodward writes with charm, and she captures her effects without apparent effort. Speaking as one who knew and lived in her New York, within a stone's throw of the section she describes, I can pay tribute to the beauty of a really lovely picture of an earlier day.

But for me the main interest in the book is Mrs. Woodward's gentle, idealistic and wholly delightful father. He was a German-Jewish cigarmaker, a staunch trade unionist and a devoted Socialist. Old time Socialists knew many such—Morris Braun was one of them, as was Isidore Phillips, although he was a watchmaker, not a cigarmaker. Fine idealists, men who lived their Socialism.

Mrs. Woodward's father learned his Socialism in Germany, and his idols were Bebel and Lassalle. In America he became an active member of the party and did a good job in the famous Henry George campaign of 1886; but his wife, who was pious, orthodox, and

wholly out of sympathy with her husband's ideals, made him quit his active Socialist work, and he took refuge in racetrack gambling! But to the end of his life he lived for Socialism, and it was from him that Mrs. Woodward learned her ideals; as a young woman she strayed from Socialism, but she came back and she is today again a Socialist.

The book gives a fine, vivid picture of a noble type. It fully repays reading, especially by those who know nothing of the background and the past of our movement.

W. M. F.

Oneal at New Leader Night In Allentown, Nov. 19

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—New Leader night in Allentown! A big mass meeting has been arranged by Local Allentown of the Socialist Party for Tuesday evening, November 19, in the American Federation of Silk Workers' Hall, 26 No. Sixth St. (Lyric Building), with James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, as the speaker.

The local comrades are preparing to get out a big crowd for the mass meeting in a Pennsylvania city that has a live local party organization. A drive will also be made for new subscribers to The New Leader as well as for the party.

Other live party organizations in Pennsylvania and nearby states may also have a good Socialist speaker in the coming months by arranging with The New Leader for such meetings.