

# NEW LEADER

With Which  
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by  
Eugene V. Debs

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## World Depression and Mad Imperialist Intrigues Bring Danger of Another War

Far East and Central Europe Two Sources of Imperialist Domination and Greed; Socialist Hope of Emancipation Must Not be Consumed in the Flames of War

AS capitalism continues to shake in the convulsions of the world depression, it also drifts to the bloody abyss of war. The war danger grows every day. The two sore spots are the Far East, with Japan the aggressor, and Central Europe, where the German Nazis seek to imprison other populations in their slave pens. In both the Far East and in Central Europe the League of Nations has been content to report and investigate, to talk and adjourn, while volcanic imperialist explosives accumulate and madmen prepare to touch the fuse.

Japanese imperialism turned bandit in raids upon China and set up the puppet state of Manchukuo. If it is running amuck, the Western Powers can thank themselves for teaching the Japanese ruling class the technics of the imperialist creed.

Meantime the Russo-Japanese conflict over negotiations for the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway has reached the danger point. Manchukuo representatives, really Japanese dummies, have refused concessions to the Soviet Union and in Tokyo the police seized nine Japanese reactionaries on their way to demonstrate against the Soviet Embassy. The day before the Soviet Ambassador officially protested to the Japanese Foreign Office against the rioters in Harbin who demonstrated against the Soviet railway administration.

Huge war stores are being accumulated at Vladivostok by Russia, including war planes, in anticipation of Japanese attack. That city is only 700 miles from Tokyo, within easy reach of airplanes, but Japan

has an equal advantage in this respect. Communist leaders assert that the army is ready for attack. In London and in the European capitals it is no secret that the official view is gloomy of the danger of war.

With the rise of Fascism in Germany, French imperialist policy has changed on the Continent. Having established a string of little allies across the continent, including Poland, as a buffer against Russia, French policy has assumed a more friendly attitude towards Russia, and its allies are now arrayed against the expansion of German Fascism.

Austrian Socialism is isolated and surrounded by monarchist, clerical, and Fascist forces, holding Vienna as a Red fortress and living in apprehension of a final conflict against big odds. Mussolini intrigues with the Austrian Chancellor, Dollfuss, for an Austrian Fascist State but opposes the expansion of Hitler's brand as a danger to Italy.

Fascist Germany has solved nothing of the depression riddle. The working class and the middle classes have sunk to lower depths of destitution. In such a situation Hitler and his gangsters yearn for military glory in the hope of diverting attention from home miseries. Not yet ready for a holy war, Hitler seeks arms and is putting large sections of the population through the familiar goosestep.

Awaiting The Day when Hitler's conscripts can be sent to the butcher pits, he in the meantime has dominated Danzig in defiance of the League. The Council of the League merely "took note" of complaints that the Nazis in Danzig had suppressed newspapers of the

workers, jailed their editors, and carried on a policy of terror.

The Saar is under the rule of a commission of the League and the population is to take a vote next year whether the Saar shall unite with Germany. Meantime Nazi gangsters armed with clubs terrorize opponents, and the lower courts, already under their control, afford no protection to the victims of Nazi thugs. Petitions of protest against all this are followed by a "study" by some committee of the League authorities and nothing is done.

German Fascism, on the other hand, has been suppressed in Czechoslovakia by disbanding its organizations. Seeking to destroy the freedom of others, cocky Fascist aspirations have been given a dose of their own medicine. It has made little headway in the Scandinavian countries and is not likely to make any there.

Two forces are driving towards war, Japanese and Nazi imperialism. Should it come, millions will die of hunger and in the trenches. Such a war is not likely to be localized. It may so expand as to involve the United States in what may be another struggle to "make the world safe for democracy." Imperialist capitalism may again seek renewed life in a blood bath of millions of workers.

The working masses must avoid hysteria in any tragic events that may occur. Our job is to conquer this capitalism, not to fight for and die for it. The Socialist hope is consumed in the flames of imperialist war; let us oppose war by all means at our command.

### McLevy Moves For Civil Service Reform

**Socialist Officials Won't Attend Meeting Behind Closed Doors—Party Organization Growing Fast**

By Abraham Knepler

BRIDGEPORT. — Following the policy of the Socialist administration in refusing to do the public's business behind closed doors, Jack C. Bergen, Socialist member of the Board of Education, refused to attend the secret joint meeting of the Board of Education and the Board of Apportionment and Taxation a few days ago. There are no Socialists on the Board of Apportionment.

In order to make certain that the public and representatives of the press would be excluded the two boards selected an exclusive club for the meeting place. Harry Schwartz, recently appointed city attorney by Mayor McLevy, was asked to attend the secret meeting give a legal opinion but also refused to attend.

(Continued on Page Three)

### Great Headgear Workers' Unions Amalgamate Into One Body

By Aleck Miller

THE long-awaited amalgamation of the two great unions of headgear workers was finally accomplished. During the past week through the intercession of William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor. Scheduled to take place over two months ago, the negotiations for the amalgamation failed of complete success at the last minute owing to certain differences that were outlined in the November 4th issue of The New Leader by Max Zaritsky, president of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

At that time, Zaritsky stated that the union which he represented was unable to go through with the alliance with the United Hatters because of certain changes insisted upon by the officers of the latter organization "which were contrary to the letter and spirit of our original understanding." These changes involved the appointment of a certain official in an executive

capacity to Local 42. "Our convention voted unanimously that under no circumstances could our organization accept as an officer this man who had betrayed our union," he wrote.

The differences have been satisfactorily ironed out and there now emerges a great new International Union, the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

Michael F. Greene, president of the former United Hatters, is president of the new organization, and Max Zaritsky is secretary-treasurer. Martin F. Lawlor of the Hatters is vice-president, and Nathaniel Spector is assistant secretary-treasurer. These four, together with ten others—five from each section—constitute the International Executive Board.

The former Hatters remain as the Men's Hat Department, while the others become the Cap and

Millinery Department.

The former United Hatters will continue to occupy their old headquarters at the Bible House, and the former Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' Union will remain at their 40th Street headquarters for the time being.

There is the greatest enthusiasm among the members of these two splendid unions for the step that has just been taken. While apparently the two organizations supplemented the work of each other in the headgear field, there were frequent jurisdictional points of dispute. This overlapping will be eliminated by the amalgamation.

The United Hatters is one of the oldest labor organizations in the country with a long and honorable career in the struggle for the welfare of the masses, notable mainly for the bitterly contested Danbury Hatters' case of thirty years ago. The Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union likewise has a long career and it has always maintained the closest and most fraternal relations with the Socialist Party.

#### CWA FACES COLLAPSE

Read Observer's inside story of what is going on in Washington on page 6.

### Senior Reports 88 New Locals During 1933

**N. E. C. Meets in New York To Plan Spring Organizing Campaign.**

A net gain of 88 Socialist Party locals and branches and 46 circles of the Young People's Socialist League was made in 1933, according to the report of Clarence Senior, executive secretary, to the National Executive Committee meeting in New York over the weekend.

Senior will recommend that a conference of party organizers be held prior to the party's national convention in Detroit at the end of May, with the education and agenda sub-committees in charge.

Illinois, Connecticut and California have shown the largest gains in membership during the past year, Senior's report shows; while Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Illinois have shown outstanding gains in forming new local organizations. A gain of 35 per cent in membership for California is especially noteworthy, in spite of Upton Sinclair and strenuous efforts of Communists to disrupt the state organization.



# NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper 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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## Income Returns

**A** REPORT of the Department of Commerce on the distribution of incomes since 1928 reveals some remarkable shifts. In 1928 there were 511 persons paying taxes on incomes of a million or more dollars per year, but in 1932 this number fell to 20. In 1928 the persons with annual incomes up to \$50,000 numbered 43,200, but in 1932 they declined to 7,430. Those with incomes of \$5,000 or less in 1928 numbered 3,060,000, while the same income group numbered 3,421,000 in 1932, an increase of 361,000.

The increase in the last-named group is what we would expect. While many have fallen out of this group in the depression period, it has been recruited by others who had received much larger incomes. Making allowance for tax-dodging in the higher brackets, the figures still show that Federal income from this upper section is certain to be much smaller at a time when the need for government revenue is enormously increased.

Where will the vast revenue required be obtained? It will be obtained from the middle classes and the lower economic sections of the population in general, thus increasing their dissatisfaction with capitalism. As the *United States News* points out, "if every cent of income of all persons in the United States earning \$10,000 a year or over in 1932 were confiscated by taxation, the money would not pay a third of this year's deficit." Think it over, fellow shrimps.

## Workers' Incomes

**W**HAT of the incomes of the working class in the period of 1928-1932? There was a "significant divergence" in the declining trends of property and labor income. That is, labor income suffered a heavier decline than property income, the latter falling 30 per cent and the former 40 per cent. Labor "got it in the neck" as usual. But a 40 per cent decline for workers is a greater hardship than a 50 per cent decline would be for property holders. Then note this regarding wages as a whole:

Wages have suffered the most severely in the general decline since 1929, with a falling-off of 60 per cent in those industries in which it was possible to segregate this item. Salaries dropped 40 per cent, much less rapidly than wages, with the most severe curtailment occurring in 1932.

This report on the distribution of incomes forms the text for forceful Socialist agitation against a capitalism that is rotten ripe for depositing in the garbage cart.

## A National Scandal

**G**RAFT, corruption and payment of political favors are linked with the Civil Works Administration throughout the country. The relief agencies of the Public Works Administration are also involved. Reports of this are flooding Washington from many states and it may prove a national scandal on a very large

scale. The New Leader is constantly receiving letters from victims who have suffered from this outrage.

Needy persons requiring a political "pull" to get relief; relief supplies that have mysteriously gone astray, and chiseling small amounts from relief funds appear to be a few of the methods employed by ghouls. It is bad enough when millions of capitalism's outcasts are required to accept rations and ill-paid jobs to keep them alive, but to have scoundrels pocket relief for themselves or to use it to intimidate voters is equal to a bully kicking a child in the face. It is a revolting revelation of how low capitalist politics can sink.

## Bankrupt Railroads

**T**HE report of Joseph B. Eastman, Federal Coordinator of Transportation, looking forward to ultimate public ownership of railways, is another flower laid on the grave of Hoover's "rugged individualism." However, it caused little repercussion in Wall Street. About seventy companies are facing acute financial difficulties and the mileage of railways in bankruptcy doubled in 1932, the total being in excess of 44,000 miles.

Having plundered these vast enterprises since the Civil War, we have little doubt that the gamblers would like to make a last deal with the New Deal to take them over under conditions that will give the gamblers one more juicy melon to eat. If taken over, the big shots should be told that they have enjoyed a skin game long enough and that they should forego a demand for compensation lest we demand restitution for the blackjacking that has continued since the outbreak of the Civil War.

## A New Sociology

**F**OUR volumes by Vilfredo Pareto, the Italian scholar, will soon appear in an English translation in this country. He presents a new sociology. A year before his death Mussolini made him a Senator, but he had formulated his views many years before Mussolini came to power.

A digest of Pareto's philosophy presented by his American publisher states that Pareto believes that "there must be a ruling class and a subject class." Being frank about this, his works are not intended for general circulation "as certain truths which history reveals can do more harm than good if they are known to the plain man. . . . Pareto therefore addressed his book to the ruling class of the western world," including the United States.

Now the only thing original in this philosophy is its frankness, for it is a basic concept of every ruling property regime in history. John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Fisher Ames, Harrison Gray Otis and others in the early history of the American republic expressed similar views. As the workers acquired the suffrage, these views were concealed from "the plain man." In the South similar frankness was observed in the last thirty years of the slave system.

That the old frankness now emerges in a system of sociology intended exclusively for the ruling classes and their retainers need not be surprising in these days of a stricken capitalism.

## Nazi Vandals

**A**USTRIA'S note to Germany this week brings the provocation of Hitler into the open diplomatic arena at a moment when Vienna is astray over plans of the Nazis to seize power on January 30, the anniversary of Hitler's assumption of the office of Chancellor. The Nazi criminals in Austria have for months indulged in bomb outrages that mark them down as the lowest creatures in our time.

Austria demands that Hitler abandon his broadcasting campaign, that the Nazi camps across the Austrian frontier in Germany which train Austrian Nazis be dissolved, and that the traffic in explosives and arms from Germany to Nazis in Austria be abandoned. If the German reply is unsatisfactory, Austria will invoke the League covenant, and this will be a final test of the League, whose authorities have conducted themselves as though in a coma while Europe has been drifting to chaos.

Socialists of the world will think anxiously of our Vienna comrades who for years have fought against terrible odds to avert the ascension of the Nazi vandals to power.

## Top o' The Leader Tower With Readers 'n' Boosters

By the Editor

### SPECIAL TO PARTY MEMBERS

Because of interest in the agenda resolutions adopted by the special meeting of the City Central Committee last Sunday as well as those that received a minority vote, it was decided to publish both in a special supplement of The New Leader IF THE COMRADES WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE BARE COST OF PUBLICATION.

The cost will be about \$65 or \$70 for a four-page supplement. The resolutions are intended for the consideration of the delegates to the national convention which meets in Detroit next May.

Get your contribution in without delay. Send to Julius Gerber, City Executive Committee, 7 East 15th St., New York City.

City Executive Committee Local New York

## NEXT WEEK

**W**HEN you cross a street you are often annoyed that taximen drive furiously without any apparent regard to your safety. You think that they think that they are kings of the highway. We know little of the economic urge back of the taximen who are among the worst exploited workers today. In the past few years they have struck in revolt against intolerable conditions in Pittsburgh and a few other cities. Next week Fred Harwood will tell our readers about these workers. It is a vivid story of long hours, shockingly low incomes, and heartless treatment. Get this story into the hands of any taximen you know.

### Still They Come!

Believe it or not, our special anniversary number of The New Leader will surpass anything we have ever issued. More and more old papers and documents relating to the early period of the movement are coming in from our readers.

Theodore Debs, brother of our late beloved 'Gene, heads the list with some rare material, and he also promises an article on the early days when he was national secretary of the Social Democracy. Among his contributions is a ribbon worn by workers when 'Gene was released from Woodstock Jail, and the constitutions of the Social Democracy and the Social Democratic Party.

Reinhold Werner of Pittsburgh sends a pamphlet containing the Platform, Constitution, and Regulations of the Workingmen's Party founded in Newark in 1877, and two other old documents. Henry A. Perinchief of Brooklyn leaves some old New York Calls and clippings. F. M. Dolizal of Minneapolis and R. E. Resler of West Palm Beach, Fla., send us material, the latter including two copies of the "Florida Socialist" of 1904. Again, many thanks, comrades.

### More Booster Letters

They're coming from all sections of the country and only a few can be mentioned. Jacob Winnen of Chicago renews, includes another sub, and adds: "Your paper is getting better and better every day and in every way."

S. Poznansky of Long Island City subscribed at the Madison

Square Garden meeting in November and is so enthused that he does not want a half-price sub and sends in \$2!

Philip Treibitch of the Bronx writes that the "Editor's Corner" is so good that he simply must renew, although he "can ill afford it."

J. G. Brinocar of Springfield, Ill., writes: "I am enthusiastic about your paper," and asks for special rates for six-months subs.

Mary Kieplak, a Bronx Yipsel, writes of the last issue: "It's great. In comparing it with The New Leader of a few months ago one can see the great advances our New Leader has taken. A few months ago I just waded through it. But today—it's entirely different; almost every article is timely and well written. The boxed article on the first page is excellent. One can't praise Comrade Oneal's column too much. The new policy of giving a lot of space to international news will teach us more about the rest of the Socialist world and will bring about more working class solidarity."

That will have to do for this week.

### The Sub-Getters

Well, the subs continue to roll in, but we still have a long road to travel to make up for cutting the sub rate in half outside of metropolitan New York.

George H. Goebel again carries off the honors by his appeal at the Holmes-Darrow debate. Despite the fact that large numbers who attended were different from those who attend Socialist debates, 46 subs were taken. Comrade Goebel followed this up by getting six subs at a meeting in Yonkers.

Next in order is M. Peters of Milwaukee, who sends in 16 subs, and the Staten Island party branch gets under the wire with 10.

Among those who send from 4 to 10 are L. Davidow of Detroit, S. White of Bakersfield (Calif.), C. Kuhlman of Cincinnati, Martin Heisler of Alden (N. Y.), B. Fogelson of Woodbridge (N. Y.), and S. Brangs of Ohio.

Never resist that impulse. Get that sub; then get more from your friends and acquaintances and bring Socialist arguments into their homes once each week for a year.

## NO, THE LOCAL DIDN'T SEND DELEGATES

The Friends of the Soviet Union is just another of the Communist "Innocents' Club" organized to catch non-Communist in the web of Communist intrigues by making an appeal for something that no decent person could honestly object to. And by appealing for support for intrinsically worth-while objects they seek to sow dissensions among Socialists.

For example, the FSU is about to hold a congress or something. Every Socialist local was invited to send delegates. New York replied very politely that the best way to render aid to a workers' government is to refrain from weakening the labor and Socialist movement by disruption.

However, the Communist press continued to hammer away, slan-

dering those locals that refused to send delegates, reporting that other locals (usually in small and out of the way towns) had defied the bureaucracy of the Socialist party and had elected delegates.

Here, however, is one instance where a check-up was made: The Communist organ announced that Local Bristol, Conn., had defied the orders of the party and had sent delegates. But Local Bristol did not participate in the gathering. In fact, the local refused the invitation to send delegates in a letter in the possession of the Communists.

The rule still stands; whenever a statement appears in the Communist press derogatory to the Socialists assume it to be a lie until or unless proven otherwise.



## New York Planning Big CWA Protest February 15

Under the auspices of the Workers' Unemployed League and the Workers' Committee on Unemployment of New York a demonstration against continued starvation and misery despite CWA has been planned for Thursday, February 15.

The demonstration, arrangements for which are being made by a joint committee of the two organizations has as its purpose:

1. Protest by those workers who applied for CWA jobs but never received them;
2. Protest by CWA workers who are to be laid off beginning February 15.

Recent figures published of the CWA administration show that only 140,000 workers are on CWA in the city. Of these, 103,000 were taken from the rolls of the city's relief machinery, chiefly work relief. The CWA to this extent has been little more than a bookkeeping operation, transferring the workers from one relief administration to another. Only 37,000 jobs have been given to CWA applicants according to these figures.

CWA has now adopted the policy of cutting hours and wages, a procedure probably due in part to the complaints of industrialists that CWA wages which had been designed to provide a relief standard of living were "too high."

All branches of the Socialist Party have been urged to arrange local mass meetings and demonstrations during the week of February 12 to rally the workers in preparation for the big protest on February 15.

## FORWARD BALL TO BE HELD FEBRUARY 24

The greatest interest is being shown in the forthcoming Forward Ball which will be held Saturday, February 24, at the 71st Regiment Armory, 34th Street and Park Ave.

The Forward Ball is conducted for the benefit of educational institutions and for many years this event has attracted tens of thousands of workers. Last year David Rubinoff and his orchestra furnished the dance music and prominent artists appeared as guests. This year the same high type of orchestral music will be furnished and the outlook is certain that artists of the theatre, screen and radio will be present.

The committee offers a rich variety of prizes this year, such as a trip to Europe, a radio, several suits of clothes, and a great number of other prizes for the most attractive costumes, the lucky ticket number, etc.

Tickets are on sale at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, Forward office, 175 East Broadway and scores of other stations throughout the city.

## N.E.C. HONORED SUNDAY

THE National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party is holding its quarterly meeting in New York during the week-end of Saturday and Sunday, January 27th and 28th.

The local Socialists are tendering a dinner in honor of the members of the committee Sunday evening, January 28th, at the Park Palace, 110th Street and Fifth Avenue.

Every party branch in the city is expected to reserve at least one table, which means that there will be a representation of at least ten members from each branch. In addition, many unions and fraternal organizations will send delegations.

The dinner will be the largest and most impressive held by local Socialists in many years, it is expected.

The last N.E.C. dinner held in New York was in 1929, which coincided with the 60th birthday of the late revered Morris Hillquit, and it was in the nature of a vast birthday party to the party's beloved leader as well as his welcome by the party in his newly-elected capacity as National Chairman.

The guests of honor Sunday will be National Chairman Leo M. Krzycki and N.E.C. Members Daniel W. Hoan, Jasper McLevy, Lilith M. Wilson, Darlington Hoopes, Powers Hapgood, Albert Sprague Coolidge, Norman Thomas, James D. Graham, John C. Packard and John M. Collins, and National Secretary Clarence Senior.

Reservations are to be made at once at the Party Office, 7 East 15th Street.

## Socialists Point the Way for City to Save Itself from the Bankers' Grip

By William M. Feigenbaum

IN the crisis in which New York City finds itself the Socialists, AND THE SOCIALISTS ALONE, can point a way out that is not a surrender to the bankers who have the city by the throat.

That the city is faced with bankruptcy and financial collapse is no secret. That swift action is imperative is manifest. That there are only two possible alternatives to collapse is plain.

One plan is Mayor LaGuardia's, to save money at every point, to discharge city employees over 70 (without caring what happens to them), to refuse firemen an eight-hour day, TO CUT WAGES OF ALL CITY EMPLOYEES BY DOCKING THEM A MONTH'S PAY.

That plan may permit of a balanced budget, and as a result LaGuardia may be able to wangle money from the RFC. for subways and housing.

BUT THAT PLAN LEAVES UNTOUCHED THE LOOT THAT HAS BROUGHT THE CITY TO ITS PRESENT PLIGHT.

There is another way of saving the city, the Socialist way. It is the ONLY way the city can go to solvency and at the same time safeguard the interests of all the useful people.

In the city's desperate crisis it is the duty of the Socialists ceaselessly to urge the one method that will best serve the masses of the city and TO MAKE THEIR SENTIMENTS FELT WITHIN THE WALLS OF THE CITY HALL.

The city needs money. Even if every grafter were removed from the payroll, every padded expense account corrected, every fraudulent bill disallowed, there still would be a tremendous deficit. Ordinary sources of income have dried up.

What then? Is the city to retrench on its social services, close schools, abandon libraries, save money on hospitals, parks, public health? Is it to cut wages? THAT IS THE LAGUARDIA METHOD.

Or is it to INCREASE its social services, increase wages to meet the rising cost of living—AND FIND MONEY TO MEET THE INCREASED EXPENSES? That is the Socialist demand.

But where will the money come from?

There are two sources that have not occurred to the LaGuardia administration—or if they have, the Mayor dare not try them, his backing being what it is.

ONE is a steeply graduated system of taxation and super-taxation. WHY NOT? The bankers profited and are still profiting to the tune of hundreds of millions on the city's debt to them, money loaned to the city on the basis of hugely inflated valuations since collapsed. The Mayor wants some sort of dictatorial power. Very well—why not to use the powers of taxation to effect a readjustment of values in the public interest rather than to add to the burdens of those unable to bear them?

He won't do it; it is our job to create the public sentiment for it.

TWO, a drastic revision of the whole debt structure; the city's debt being \$2,294,688,191 UPON

### DEBATE ON FASCISM

This is the last reminder of what will be the most exciting debate of the year:

Lawrence Dennis, author of "Is Capitalism Doomed?", ex-diplomat and editor of the only frankly avowed Fascist paper in the United States, will debate Charles Solomon, the ace debater of the Socialist Party, on "FASCISM VERSUS MARXIAN SOCIALISM."

TIME, Friday, January 26th. PLACE, Rand School, 7 East 15th Street.

No quarter will be asked or given. It will be a debate with gloves off.

WHICH THE BANKERS COLLECT FROM \$92,000,000 to \$95,000,000 a year in interest, and about \$120,000,000 more is set aside for amortization.

The bankers have an agreement with the city by which they promise to help New York over the shoals ON CONDITION, among other things, THAT THE DEBT SERVICE AS A FIRST CHARGE IS NOT DISTURBED.

Very well for an administration that would rather slash wages of street cleaners and discharge men over 70 than risk a fight with the bankers.

But are the masses of New York satisfied that the bankers continue to get their blood money IN FULL?

Everything else has been revised downward—foreign debts, private debts owned American bankers by German industrialists, wages, salaries, the standard of living. Everybody else has had to take drastic cuts, from governments to the mass of working people and jobless.

WHY NOT THE BANKERS?

They think they have the law on their side. Maybe they have, but ways have been found in the past to induce people not to be so fanatical in their legalistic demands in critical times.

For example, many cities in other countries conduct municipal banks. WHY NOT NEW YORK? Why cannot our city do its own banking, and offer banking facilities to all our citizens? A mere threat to take such a step would bring the banks to their knees to consent to a drastic revision of the debt structure.

LaGuardia and Cunningham do not like the idea, considering who backed their campaign. But a lot of New Yorkers would like to see the bankers on their knees to the city upon which they wax fat.

All right; LET US CREATE A SENTIMENT FOR SUCH A PROGRAM IN THE CITY. LET US MAKE THESE DEMANDS FELT IN THE CITY HALL!

## TWO IMPORTANT CONFERENCES

On Friday, February 2nd, a conference of delegates from party branches and Yipsels Circles in New York City will be held at the People's House, 7 East 15th Street, to lay plans for Socialist cooperation with the big demonstration of February 15th. Branches and circles are urged to elect two delegates each and send their names to the Party office.

A conference of trade unions, fraternal bodies and subdivisions of the Socialist party has been called for February 15th to draw up demands to serve upon the city administration for unemployment relief.

same arena—probably Japan and America. The Far East has become an arena. It has become what the Balkans were before 1914, but bigger, more serious, more highly charged with dynamite."

Mr. Pepper called attention to the danger of basing a policy of resistance to war on lack of real knowledge of the intricacies of the situation. "The fight against war must be based on better knowledge, on disillusionment and a facing of facts rather than on sentiment or desire."

The last speaker, James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, demonstrated that war has been imminent since the adoption of the peace treaties. The danger of war will continue as long as capitalism survives, he pointed out. "Even the United States has made some original contributions to the imperialist philosophy which had been accepted by the old German and other European imperialists."

He cited Admiral Mahan's imperialist philosophy, the arrogant imperialist speeches in the Republican convention of 1900, and the modification of constitutional theory by the Supreme Court when the United States became an overseas power. Turning to the present period, the speaker said that our main hope lies in the Socialist and labor organizations of the world. Although in many countries they had been caught in the hysteria of war, grim disappointment at the fruits of the struggle should make the bonds of international opposition stronger than in 1914, he concluded.

The schedule for the two succeeding luncheons follows: February 3rd, Langdon W. Post, Charles Solomon, and Supreme Court Justice Harold Riegelman, former Borough President of Kings, will discuss "Our City Under Fusion." February 17th, Matthew Woll and others will speak on "Labor Under the NRA."

## Is War Probable? Inevitable?

WAR is imminent but can be averted if the workers of the world rouse themselves to its danger, was the consensus of the speakers at the second discussion luncheon of the Rand School and Educational Committee of the Socialist Party in the new Debs Auditorium last Saturday afternoon.

An audience of over 300 listened

to Kirby Page, Nathaniel Pepper and James Oneal sound out the probabilities of conflict and outline the steps to be taken to avert such strife. Louis Waldman, state chairman of the Socialist Party, acted as chairman and toastmaster.

Kirby Page, editor of The World Tomorrow and author of "Individualism and Socialism" and other books, the first speaker, said: "War is possible; war is probable, but war is not inevitable. The Disarmament Conference is dead or dying. The Economic Conference is already buried. As for the League of Nations, nobody knows how long it will survive the onslaughts upon it from every side. There is a danger to peace in the Hitler situation. The French military establishment is also looked upon with fear by the rest of Europe.

"Socialists must be on their guard against minimizing the psychological, emotional and political elements in the war situation." In concluding, Page stressed the necessity of building up a psychology of resistance to war which would help to stem the tide swirling the world into a new conflict.

Nathaniel Pepper, for eight years a resident in the Far East as editor and foreign correspondent and author of "The White Man's Dilemma" and other volumes, devoted his talk mostly to the situation in the Far East. "The conflict there, gathering for many years, is coming

to a head," he declared. "Japan and Russia may fight this spring—or they may wait. In all probability, they will not wait long."

"If they do, other adversaries will arise to try conclusions in the

## HOLMES AND DARROW AGREE THAT CAPITALISM MUST GO

A CROWD that literally jammed staid old Mecca Temple to the rafters and filled even the speakers' stage, listened with rapt attention last Friday night while Clarence Darrow, world-famous lawyer, and Dr. John Haynes Holmes, eloquent pastor of the Community Church, argued the question of whether civilization can be saved.

Fannie Hurst, novelist presided as chairman and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise acted in the capacity of honorary chairman. The debate was held under the auspices of the Brooklyn Forum, with Harry Kritzer and Abe Belsky deserving great credit for its success.

Dr. Holmes, his shock of iron-grey hair bristling as his silver-tongued voice boomed out over the audience, advanced the theory that civilization is doomed if the present capitalist system continues. "Only through the socialization of our economic forces can we hope to drive out the cancer that is now

destroying our present civilization," he declared.

Clarence Darrow, characterized by Miss Hurst "the arch-rebel," and apparently suffering from a bad cough, was forced to use a specially-installed microphone. In marked contrast to the brilliant oratorical style of his adversary, Darrow chatted informally with his audience. "This isn't much of a debate," he declared. "Dr. Holmes and myself agree on too many points. We are doomed if the present capitalist form of government remains. Our only real difference lies in that Dr. Holmes is optimistic and I am pessimistic on whether Socialism is adopted before we revert to barbarism."

"Picture it as a race, if you will. I am afraid that savagery is too speedy. There are all the signs evident in our civilization that were evident in the great civilizations of the past that we are in a state of decay. Fortunately, and the 76-year-old Chicagoan smiled a bit sadly, "I won't be here to welcome barbarism when it does come."



## Union Directory

**BONNAR, SINGER EMBROIDERERS' UNION, Local 66, I.L.G.W.U.,** 7 East 15th St. Phone ALgonquin 4-3657. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union. Z. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; Joe Goff, Secretary-Treasurer.

**BRICKLAYERS' UNION, Local 9** Office and headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone STagg 2-4621. Office open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening. Fred Pfau, Pres.; Al. Bayerle, Vice-Pres.; Charles Pfau, Fin. Sec'y; Milton Rowcroft, Rec. Corr. Sec'y; Frank F. Lutz, Treasurer; Andrew Streit, Business Agent.

**CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA,** New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th St., New York, N. Y. Phone TOMpkins Square 6-5400. L. Hollender, J. Catalonotti, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

**CAP MAKERS UNION, Local No. 1,** Tel., Orchard 4-9860. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, New York City.

**CLOAK, SUIT & DRESS PRESSERS' UNION, Local 35, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,** 60 W. 35th St., N. Y. C. — J. Breslaw, Manager; L. Biegel, Chairman.

**FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union, Office and headquarters,** 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn; STagg 2-0794. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice Pres., Stephen Tobasko; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Heib.

**LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U. Office,** 60 W. 35th St., Phone WIs. 7-8011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmund Perlmutter, Mgr.-Sec'y; Louis Stolberg, Asst. Mgr.; Maurice W. Jacobs, Sec'y to Exec. Board; Nathan Saperstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.

**LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, 3 West 16th Street, New York City, Phone CHelsea 3-2148** David Dubinsky, President.

**AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1, Offices, Amalithone Bldg., 205 West 14th St.; Phone WAtkins 9-7764.** Regular meetings every second and fourth Tuesday at Arlington Hall, 19 St. Marks Place. Albert E. Castro, President; Patrick J. Hanlon Vice-President; Frank Sekol, Fin. Secretary; Emil Thenen, Rec. Secretary; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

**MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, Downtown office,** 640 Broadway, phone Spring 7-4548; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St., phone WIsconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 P. M. Manager, N. Spector; Sec'y-Treas., Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodas.

**MILK WAGON DRIVERS' UNION, Local 534, I. U. of T., Office:** 259 W. 14th St., City. Local 534 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Beethoven Hall, 710 East Fifth St. Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at Beethoven Hall 210 E. Fifth Street. Thomas O'Leary, Pres.; Chas. Green, Business Agent; Max Liebler, Sec'y-Treas.

**NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11018, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone ALgonquin 4-7054.** Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

**NEW YORK TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6, Office and headquarters,** 24 West 16th St., N. Y. Meets every 3rd Sunday of month at Stuyvesant High School, 15th St. East of 2nd Ave. Phone TOMpkins Sq. 6-7470. Leon H. Rouse, President; James P. Redmond, Vice-President; James J. McGrath, Secretary-Treasurer; Samuel J. O'Brien, James P. Redmond and James J. Buckley, Organizers.

**WAITERS & WAITRESSES' UNION, Local No. 1, A. F. of L. and U. I. T., 200-7th Ave. M. Gottfried, Pres.; R. Gottesman, Secretary.**

**WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 62 of I. L. G. W. U. 3 West 16th St., New York City. Phone CHelsea 3-5756-5757. A. Snyder, Manager. S. SHORE, Executive Supervisor.**

## HOOPES IN THE BRONX

The Bronx Labor Forum announces that Darlington Hoopes, Socialist member of the Pennsylvania legislature, will speak Friday night, January 26, at the Hillquit Auditorium, 809 Westchester Ave. Hoopes is serving his fourth year in office. He is considered one of the ablest parliamentarians in the Pennsylvania legislature. His subject will be "How We Passed the Child Labor Amendment." Samuel Orr will be the chairman.

## PARTY SYMPOSIUM

**THE** regular monthly party symposium will be held next Thursday evening, February 1, at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street.

The subject will be "Party Discipline," with Haim Kantorovitch and Julius Gerber, Executive Secretary of Local New York, leading the discussion. Party and Y.P.S.L. members are urged to attend. Admission only on membership card.

## BAZAAR TO BE HELD MARCH 23-25

**THE** Socialist Party has arranged an International Bazaar to take place Friday, Saturday and Sunday, March 23, 24 and 25, at 7 East 15th Street.

A large committee, representative of the entire city organization, has been formed to handle the various phases of the bazaar, and the outlook is good for a very successful undertaking from both a financial and organization point of view. Plans have been devised by which the various branches can share in bargain sales, music, dancing and the profits. The three-day bazaar festival will be days of festivity, bargain sales, music, dancing and general good fellowship.

Communications are being issued to all branches in the city and Socialist organizations in the outskirts of the greater city; also to labor unions and fraternal bodies, to cooperate in making this bazaar the most outstanding and successful affair in years.

All information in connection with the projected affair will be supplied in personal or by mail by the International Bazaar Committee, 7 East 15th Street.

## Bromberg Organizing Branches in Kings County

On behalf of the Organization Committee of the Socialist party of Kings County, Emil Bromberg, chairman of the committee, has been making a tour of the Brooklyn branches during the winter season.

Bromberg visits six or eight branches a week, addresses them on work that is going on, instructs the newer branches on their activities and in general coordinates party work in the various sections of the borough.

As a direct result of the work of Bromberg and the Committee a number of new branches has been organized, and older ones strengthened.

The present task of the committee is to prepare the branches for nominating conventions and to secure the strongest possible local ticket for the 1934 elections.

## All Brooklyn at the Labor Lyceum Ball

Virtually every Socialist Party and Workmen's Circle branch in Brooklyn is supporting the annual ball of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum that will be held Saturday, February 3rd, at 219 Sackman St.

The ball will be, in effect, a mid-winter reunion of Socialist Party workers and other Socialists who will foregather for a good time, and at the same time to support the great Socialist and labor institution that has played so important a role in the life of that section of the city.

Many unions, those that use the Labor Lyceum as a meeting place and those that meet elsewhere, are supporting the affair with all their resources.

Tickets are said to be still available at the office of the Lyceum and at other Socialist headquarters in Brooklyn.

## Socialist Forum Calendar

(All meetings begin at 8:30 p. m., unless otherwise indicated.)

### FRIDAY, JANUARY 26

Eleanor Levenson: "Labor in Palestine"—Brighton Beach Forum, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., Brooklyn.  
Herbert M. Merrill: "Technocracy and Socialism"—18th A.D., Branch 1, Forum, 1886 President St., Brooklyn.  
Dr. Joseph Slavitt: "Socialization of Medicine"—East Flatbush Forum, 539 E. 95th St., Brooklyn.  
August Tyler: "Essence of Marxism"—4th-14th A.D. Forum, 241 So. 4th St., Brooklyn.

Jacob Panken: "Democracy and Fascism"—Bensonhurst Forum, 6618 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn.  
Samuel A. DeWitt: "The Influence of Poetry on Revolutionary Movements"—Mid-Bronx Forum, Elmsere Hall, 170th St. and Morris Ave.  
Julius Gerber: "Organization of the Socialist Party"—8th A.D., 226 East 10th Street.

### SATURDAY, JANUARY 27

George H. Goebel: 7th A.D., Bronx, 789 Elmsere Place.

### SUNDAY, JANUARY 28

J. J. Corneil: Study Class in Socialism—6th A.D., 95 Avenue B.  
William Karlin: "The New Epoch"—Yorkville Forum, 241 East 84th Street.  
Haim Kantorovitch: "Democracy and Dictatorship"—Sunnyside Branch, Foster Ave., 43rd Ave. near 49th St., Sunnyside.  
Dr. Joseph Slavitt: "Social Psychology"—Queens Labor Center Forum, 137-18 Jamaica Ave., Jamaica.  
Henry Fruchter: "The Road to Power"—Sheepshead Bay Forum, 2046 Ave. X, Brooklyn.  
George S. Schuyler: "The Negro and the New Deal"—3:30 p. m., People's Forum, 2005 7th Avenue.

### MONDAY, JANUARY 29

Dr. Siegfried Lipschitz: "Germany and Socialism Today"—Flatbush Branch, 2307 Snyder Ave. (Colby Academy), Brooklyn.

### TUESDAY, JANUARY 30

William M. Feigenbaum: "Dictatorship vs. Democracy"—2nd A.D. Jewish Branch, 579 Dumont Ave., Brooklyn.  
Jessie Wallace Huggan: "The Future Socialist Society"—Midwood Forum, 1404 Kings Highway, Brooklyn.  
Gus Tyler: "Inflation and the Worker"—2nd A.D. Branch, 1 East 167th Street.  
William Diamond: "The Labor Movement in America"—Greek Branch Forum, 206 East 96th Street.

### WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 31

Debate: David P. Berenberg vs. A. J. Muste: "Are the Principles and Aims of the Socialist Party the Solution of the Problems of the American Working Class?"—Bridle Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves., Bronx.

### THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 1

Symposium: "Party Discipline"—Haim Kantorovitch, Julius Gerber; Rand School, 7 East 15th Street.

### FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 2

Gus Tyler: Subject to be announced—Brighton Beach Forum, 1113 Brighton Beach Avenue, Brooklyn.  
Julius Umansky: "Socialism and War"—8th A.D. Forum, 226 East 10th Street.  
Jacob Axelrad: "The Menace of Fascism"—18th A.D., Branch 1, 1636 President St., Brooklyn.  
David Cory: "Basis of Socialist Success"—Bensonhurst Forum, 6618 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn.  
Alter E. Fischhof: Subject to be announced—East Flatbush Branch, 539 E. 95th Street, Brooklyn.

## A.S.Q. DISCUSSION

The second anniversary of the founding of the American Socialist Quarterly will take the form of a symposium and discussion Monday evening on the Socialist Party situation in the United States.

Several of the editors of the Quarterly will lead a discussion on "Problems Facing the Socialist Movement" at the meeting, to be held at the headquarters of Rebel Arts, 22 East 22nd St., after which there will be a general discussion from the floor.

The discussion will be led by David P. Berenberg, Haim Kantorovitch, Anna Berenowitz, Harry W. Laidler, Maynard C. Krueger and National Secretary Clarence Senior. It is scheduled to begin at 8 p. m., Monday, January 29th. There will be no admission charge.

The Quarterly, founded as a theoretical publication, has been taken over by the Socialist Party and is the official theoretical organ of the national organization.

## Y.P.S.L. NOTES

### NEW YORK

The second session of the 15th annual convention of the YPSL takes place Sunday, Jan. 28, at the Forward Building, 175 East Broadway, from 10 a. m. to 5:30 p. m. The first reports of committees will be considered. After the third session, Saturday afternoon, Feb. 3, the convention dinner will be held at 6th A. D. headquarters, 95 Avenue B. Julius Bertman will speak on "The Road to Power" at Circle 2 Srs. Kings, Sunday, Jan. 28, at 8:30, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn.

Morris Cohen will speak on "Radical American Literature" at the Midwood Youth Forum, 1401 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, Sunday, Feb. 4, at 8:15. A lecture on Socialism will be given at Circle 17 Srs. Kings by David Rosenzweig at 1574 St. Marks Avenue, Sunday, Jan. 28, at 8:30.

Max Rosenberg speaks at 6 Sr. Manhattan, 54 East 105th St., Sunday, Jan. 28, at 8:30.

A talk on "Principles of Socialism" by Henry Gomberg will be given at the New Rochelle circle, Friday night, Jan. 26, at 8.

Circle 8 Srs. Brooklyn, Sunday, at 8:30 p. m., Louis Yagoda on "Violence in the Class Struggle," at 27 Arlon Place.

## Party Notes

### New York City

Labor Committee, Socialist Party, New York City, meets 2nd and 4th Saturdays of the month, room 600, 7 East 15th Street. The Action Committee of the Labor Committee meets the other Saturdays.

Women's Committee. Lecture by Mrs. Fausler of the Museum of Art, "The Renaissance and Michelangelo," Saturday afternoon, January 27. Meet in lobby of Museum of Art, 5th Avenue and 82nd Street, 3:30 p. m. sharp.

### MANHATTAN

4th A. D. Dance at Rand School, 7 E. 15th St., Saturday evening, Jan. 27. Morningside Heights (Room 7, 600 West 125th St.). Business meeting Tuesday, Jan. 30, 8:15.

Washington Heights. Executive meeting postponed from Monday to Wednesday.

19th-21st A. D. (2005 7th Avenue). Branch meeting Monday, Jan. 29, 8:30. Election of officers.

### BRONX

2nd A. D. (1 East 167th St.). Educational meeting Tues., Jan. 30. Discussion on resolutions submitted by NEC on N.R.A.

Amalgamated Cooperative Houses. New branch officers were elected at the last branch meeting. Educational program being arranged.

### BROOKLYN

Downtown (157 Montague St.). Business meeting Thursday, Feb. 1, 8:30, at headquarters. Delegates to various committees to be elected. Dance under auspices of branch and YPSL. Circle Saturday evening, Feb. 24, at Apollo Studios, 381 Carlton Avenue, corner Greene Ave.

11th A. D. Meeting Tuesday night, Jan. 30, in the home of Evelyn Cohen, 201 Eastern Parkway.

16th A. D. Kritzer, Bromberg and Shainblum elected to Kings County Committee. Hyman Nemser and Kritzer elected to City Central Committee. Theatre party will be held Wednesday, Feb. 7, at Walker Theatre.

21st A. D. (2307 Snyder Ave.). Business meeting postponed.

Brighton Beach (1113 Brighton Beach Ave.). New branch officers elected at last meeting.

Midwood (1401 Kings Highway). Forum every Tuesday night at headquarters. Friday evening, Jan. 26, 8:30 p. m., entertainment and bridge at Flatbush Club, 1576 Ocean Ave.

Bensonhurst Unit, Women's Section. Luncheon held in the Brooklyn Eagle Home Guild Jan. 24, attended by 54 members and friends.

Brownsville Unit, Women's Section. Meeting held Jan. 25 at home of Mrs. M. Weisberg, 10 Hegeman Ave. Eleanor Brannon speaker.

### QUEENS

Astoria. Sunday, February 11, the branch will hold its first Entertainment and Social at new headquarters, 399 Steinway St., near Grand Ave. Sam DeWitt will be master of ceremonies. Special feature will be presentation of two sketches by Circle 5, Astoria, YPSL. This notice inserted now to request all Queens branches to refrain from arranging conflicting affairs.

## LECTURE NOTES

The schedule of the People's Institute Cooper Union lectures follows: Jan. 26, Everett Dean Martin, "The French Revolution"; Jan. 28, Professor A. A. Berle, "The Ethical Base of Foreign Relations"; Jan. 30, Professor Frederick Barry, "The Experimental Study of Life." Leon Rossier Land will speak on "The Pacific War" at the Bronx Free Fellowship, Azure Masonic Temple, 1591 Boston Road, Sunday evening. At the forum which follows, Vincenzo Vacirca will speak on "Will Spain Go Left?"

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## Features of the Week on WEVD (1330 Mc.)

Sun., Jan. 28—11 a. m.—Forward Hour; 8 p. m.—Modern American Composers, direction Adolph Weiss; 8:30—Psychology Clinic of the Air, Dr. Jacob List; 8:45—Concert Series; 10—Symposium.

Mon., Jan. 29—4:30 p. m.—Actors' Dinner Club; 4:45—Musical, featuring Edith Clemens, mezzo soprano; Charlotte Tonhazy, violinist; Carlo Lanzilotti, bass; 5:15—Kitty Conroy, crooner.

Tues., Jan. 30—8 p. m.—Herman Bernstein, Editor, Jewish Daily Bulletin; 8:15—Elvira Helal, soprano; 8:45—WEVD University of the Air, Michael Strange on "American Poets and Poetry"; 10—Barbara Barnes' Light Opera Group; 10:15—WEVD University of the Air, Philosophy Course; 10:30—"Around the World," Zinola Nicolina, Vladimir Radeef, Edna and Annabelle, Simon Philippoff and Zam's Gypsy Orchestra.

Wed., Jan. 31—4:15 p. m.—"America and Germany," Siegfried Jungnickel, Editor of the "Neue Volkszeitung"; 8:30—Hunter College Musical; 10:15—Eugene Byron Morgan, baritone; 10:30—Half Hours with Shakespeare, "Richard III," Edward D'Ozle and Associate Players.

Thurs., Feb. 1—5:45 p. m.—Marjorie Harris, songs, and Conrad and Fremont, piano duo; 8—Metropolitan Ensemble; 8:45—Foreign Affairs Forum, talk; 10—Mildred Anderson, contralto, of Chicago Opera Company; 10:30—Grand Opera Excerpts, Bizet's "Carmen."

Fri., Feb. 2—4:30 p. m.—Samuel H. Friedman, The New Leader; 8:15—Anna Farber, soprano; 10—"Roadside Singers"; 10:15—WEVD University of the Air, "Current Literature"; 10:45—"Songs My Mother Taught Me," Elizabeth Andros.

Sat., Feb. 3—5 p. m.—"Author Reviews His Book"; 5:15—"Labor Marches On," dramatic sketch; 6:45—Eva Miller, contralto; 8—International Exchange Concert, under direction of Dr. Karl Lorenz; 8:30—Music Hall Program, Helen Steele, contralto; Del Casino, baritone; "The Three Cheers."

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Sunday, January 28th—

PROFESSOR A. A. BERLE

"The Ethical Base of Foreign Relations"

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# No New Deal for Pullman Slaves

## Ladies' Garment Workers to Start Their Own University

I.L.G.W.U. Resumes Notable Educational Work Under Direction of Fannia M. Cohn—Centers in All Cities.

WITH the tremendous recent growth of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union under the leadership of President David Dubinsky, the activities of the Educational Department have been widely extended.

Miss Fannia Cohn, Educational Director, in a special statement to The New Leader, outlines the program of her department.

"Our educational program," she says, "is already beginning to function. We have been busily engaged for the past few weeks in starting our activities in various new centers, and, in accordance with our program, there will be discussions of some of the complex problems of our industry, such as the jobbing and the contracting system, and of the permanent union features such as our agreements and the various codes adopted for our trades. This will involve, of course, a discussion of the NRA.

"Our program also includes discussions of the economic, social, and political problems of the present turbulent period and of the plans suggested for leading us out of the current depression. In the headquarters of some of our local unions, groups are already meeting weekly to review the highlights of past and recent history of our International Union. This should help them to understand our past struggles for the right to organize and to compare these with our present position, aiding them not only to visualize the future, but to work for it.

"To serve as guides for discussion leaders and lecturers, we are now revising the outlines on (1) the economics and problems peculiar to our industry and our International Union; and (2) the history and the structure and functioning of the I.L.G.W.U. from shop meeting to the final authority, the biennial convention; (3) the history of

the American Labor Movement; and (4) trade union policies and tactics; (5) how to run a union meeting. The educational program will be gradually broadened and more subjects will be added.

"In many places the Educational Department has made arrangements with local labor colleges and classes for those of our members who wish to study more intensively. Plans have also been made with Brookwood Labor College to present in the various localities specially prepared dramatic skits.

"Our members everywhere are heartily endorsing the suggestion to have in the headquarters of each local union a room equipped for education and social activities. Such rooms are to be attractively furnished, with reading tables, book cases and supplied with current literature they can read there or take home.

"Workers' education again comes into its own in the I.L.G.W.U. There was never a greater need for it. It is destined to make its contribution to the Labor movement by assisting the local union in its important task of helping our new recruits to interpret their daily experiences, to become conscious members of the great army of organized labor to which they belong, to function intelligently and effectively within their local union, their International, and the labor movement, in support of both immediate achievements and wider goals, and finally, to develop a sound workers' ideology and new social and cultural values."

At the same time the Dress-makers' Local 22, is developing its educational work, and President Dubinsky will lecture on "The Future of Unionism in America," at the Washington Irving High School, New York, Sunday night at the opening of the educational forum of that branch of the International.

### Psychology for Socialists

There have been some changes in the schedule of Monday night lectures on Psychology at the Rand School, and fear that some Party members may miss lectures which they wish to hear has prompted the School to issue a new announcement with regard to the course.

Excepting for the addition of one lecture the course is being given as planned. The list of lectures to be given is as follows:

Jan. 29—William Moulton Marston, "Emotions Which Disrupt Society."

Feb. 5—Kurt Koffka, "The Ego and the Group."

Feb. 12—Everett Dean Martin, "The Crowd and the Future of America."

Feb. 19—Abraham Myerson, "Excitement and Fatigue as Social-Psychological Problems."

Feb. 26—Morris S. Viteles, "Psychology and Unemployment."

THE NEW LEADER, a Socialist publication, supports the Socialist Party and the struggles of the organized working class. 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. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

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### Shipping Clerks Find Many Code Violations

The Ladies' Garment Shipping Clerks' Union has filed complaints with the Dress and the Coat and Suit Code authorities charging wholesale violations of the codes. They specify over 250 concerns as examples of violations.

Amicus Most, president of the union, said, "It is almost unbelievable the manner the ladies garment industry is brazenly violating the codes as far as the non-manufacturing employees are concerned. Shipping clerks, porters, errand boys, etc., are guaranteed a forty-hour week, a five-day week, and a minimum of \$14. After an investigation we find this class of workers is almost universally working 50 to 60 hours a week, and many are receiving salaries as low as \$8 and \$10. All work on Saturdays. Our membership is in open revolt against these conditions. Unless the Code authorities give us immediate action, we will take more drastic action. If necessary we will call a strike. Even these conditions that the code provides are entirely below decent working conditions."

Shipping clerks, porters, etc., in the ladies garment industry whose employers are violating the code are requested to get in touch with the union at headquarters at 131 West 33rd Street.

## McLevy Moves For Civil Service Reform

(Continued from Page One)

Bergen also declared that he was opposed to the holding of such meetings in a private meeting place instead of a public building.

Mayor Jasper McLevy has been empowered to appoint a civil service commission to study the merit system with a view to its establishment among Bridgeport's municipal employees. The report of the commission, when completed, will be submitted to the Board of Aldermen for approval, and to the public in a referendum at the next election. The commission of seven includes the Mayor and six others appointed by him. Mayor McLevy has asked the teachers to select one of their number to the commission, and the policemen and firemen to do likewise. A third member will represent the Board of Aldermen, and three others will represent the public.

Denouncing the manner in which the police and fire departments have been "used by politicians to pay off political debts," Captain P. T. Blansfield, one of the spokesmen for the policemen, said: "I want to thank Mayor McLevy for bringing the merit system, one of the best moves for Bridgeport I have ever seen."

Three new Socialist Party branches have been granted charters since the election in November. The First and Second District Socialist Club, organized Tuesday night at a meeting at which Mayor Jasper McLevy and City Treasurer John Shenton, town chairman and assistant town chairman respectively, of the Bridgeport local, welcomed the new club into the Socialist fold, unanimously adopted a resolution expressing complete confidence in the Socialist city administration.

### 72-Hour Week Imposed On Hospital Employees

PUEBLO, Col.—A scathing protest against unreasonably long hours of employment was adopted by the Colorado State Hospital Employees' Union in a resolution demanding relief from the state legislature. It was declared that nearly all the 800 State Hospital employees are required to perform an average in excess of 72 hours' duty each week.

The resolution asked the legislature to remedy the long hours "without impairment of the present wage schedules," and urged that an investigation be made to "compare hours of service required of the state employees with those of commercial and manufacturing establishments whose hours are either fixed by statute or governed by codes assigned to their respective classes through the National Recovery Act."

### Warbasse to Speak at Union Health Center

Dr. James P. Warbasse, president of the Cooperative League of America, will be the featured speaker on the program at the twentieth annual meeting of the Union Health Center on Friday, Jan. 26, at 131 East 17th St. Dr. Warbasse is one of the foremost authorities in the world on the cooperative movement. Dr. George M. Price, director of the Union Health Center, will present his annual report on the present status of the institution. Preceding the meeting a luncheon will

## Green Denounces Sweating of Pullman Porters and Maids

Hardest-Working Railway Workers Cruelly Exploited and Have No Redress—A. F. of L. Head Demands They Be Placed Under Emergency Transportation Act.

WASHINGTON.—"The Railway Emergency Transportation Act should be extended to protect the thousands of Pullman car workers, maids, and porters employed in an industry which is practically 100 per cent an interstate one," declared William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, in a statement criticizing the low wages and long hours established by the Pullman Company.

"These employees," he said, "naturally have cherished high hopes that the federal laws ushering and developing the 'New Deal' would at last open the way to a shortening of their cruelly long hours, an amelioration of the other working conditions injurious to health and efficiency which they so long have endured without complaint and some fair readjustment of their depression-depleted incomes.

"These incomes have hardly sufficed to meet the barest requirements of the approximately fifty thousand of our colored population, whose bread-winners, these Pullman workers, find themselves truly the 'forgotten' ones.

"The National Industrial Recovery Act does not affect nor can it come to the aid of these workers. They are the employees of a common carrier, and common carriers are excluded from this Act. On the other hand, it seems that the Pullman Company escapes the jurisdiction of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, on the theory that it is not a carrier by railroad."

In justification for his demand that the Pullman workers should come under the protection of the Railway Act, President Green cited

be served, commencing promptly at 1 o'clock. All representatives of organized labor and friends of the Union Health Center have been invited to attend.

Local 89, the Italian Dress-makers' Union numbering over 30,000 members and comprising the largest single unit in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, has recently installed a sick benefit fund for its membership. All new members will henceforth receive medical care and examinations at the Union Health Center.

### Anti-Union Employer Wins Decision by NRA Board

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Union workers here hardly know what to expect from the NRA Compliance Board judging from the way the employer members shift their position on labor controversies.

After sustaining the charges of four employees of a local packing company that they were discharged because of their union affiliation, and recommending that they be reinstated, the Compliance Board reopened the case on appeal from the employers and reversed its previous decision.

In its first decision the vote of the Board was unanimous. The company immediately asked to have the case reopened for further evidence. John J. Scully, attorney for the employees, agreed to this.

At the second hearing the company put up the feeble claim that the workers were dismissed because of their inefficiency.

wage data from a petition presented to President Roosevelt by the Sleeping Car Porters' Union:

"Not only are their earnings very low in these days of limited travel and curtailed tips, and their occupational expenses unreasonably high; but, as is well known, that part of their earnings going for the rent of their own homes is unusually large due to profiteering landlords operating in districts restricted in area due to race prejudice, particularly in Northern cities.

"Forty-six per cent of the wages paid the porters goes to defray occupational costs; this courteous, trained, faithful worker having to pay for his own polishing materials and equipment, his meals en route, and uniforms. In 1926, an average of \$33.62 had to be taken out of the porter's monthly wage of \$73.11.

"The average rent for his home and family was \$37.47. This left him a balance of \$1.82 per month for food, clothing, medical care and other personal and family expenses. There has been no decline in the cost of shoe blacking materials, very little decline in the cost of uniforms, only a relatively small reduction in the cost of meals on railway diners; while rents are about the same. In addition, costs of living are now rising.

"Since 1926, however, the income from tips has dropped almost to the vanishing point. And in February, 1932, the porters' wages were cut \$5 per month.

"If the run of any porter or maid is less than 11,000 miles a month, he or she receives a minimum wage for his or her class, depending on years of service. The wage is paid upon time actually made; and sometimes a porter will get a pay check as small as 87 cents."

### Union's Arbitration Board Sustained by Court

Judge Richard P. Lydon, sitting at the Special Term Sessions of the New York County Supreme Court, has recently confirmed an award of Dr. Paul Abelson, Impartial Chairman of the Board of Arbitration established by agreement entered into last October between the Bakery and Confectionary Workers' Union, and the Specialty Bakery Owners of America.

In commenting upon the decision, Matthew M. Levy, of Panken & Levy, counsel for the union, said in part:—

"This is the first case that has come to my attention in which labor has succeeded in enforcing an award in which the Board of Arbitration has granted both an injunction against future violation by a nonemployer of the contract entered into with a labor union and also damages for past violations. In my opinion, it will be a landmark in the establishment of enforceable arbitration machinery in collective labor agreements."

### WEVD New Leader Speaker

Samuel H. Friedman of The New Leader editorial board, will be the speaker of The New Leader period of Station WEVD on Friday, February 2nd, from 4:30 to 4:45 p.m.

William M. Feigenbaum, associate editor of The New Leader, speaks on Friday, Jan. 26, at the same time.



## Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

#### The Socialist Commonwealth

OCCASIONALLY we receive inquiries regarding precise details of the organization of the future Socialist society. The writers assume that the Socialist movement has everything arranged like puzzle blocks. Each is to be fitted into its proper place and when completed the net result will be a Socialist Commonwealth. However, we have no such final answer and it is not even necessary.

In his book on the Erfurt Program, "The Class Struggle," Karl Kautsky wrote that "A new social form does not come into existence through the activity of certain especially gifted men. No man or group of men can conceive of a plan, convince people by degrees of its utility, and undertake the construction of a social edifice according to their plan."

That is true of all periods of fundamental social change. This does not imply that Socialists have ignored these problems. On the contrary, Kautsky in the work mentioned devotes an entire chapter to them and the book is still worth reading although published 42 years ago. For us of the living generation these problems are speculative and provisional. Our task is one of education and organization to win power so that we can socialize production and distribution.

#### Greeley's View of Depressions

IN his lecture on "Reforms and Reformers," Horace Greeley presented some economic contrasts and contradictions of the industrial depression of 1857. This has a modern ring.

"I write in sad and chill November. . . . The shop windows and doors are choked with ship-loads of wares adapted to their (workers') urgent physical needs,—everything requisite to eat, and burn, and wear. All these were produced by labor; and the needy are most willing to give labor in exchange for them. The owners, on the other hand, want to sell them—bought them for that purpose, and must break if the end is not attained. Yet here the two classes stand eyeing each other—a thin plate of glass dividing them—the man within anxious to sell, and he without eager to buy—yet some malignant spell seems to keep them still blankly, helplessly, staring at each other."

"Perhaps a mere combination of the hungry, thin-clad thousands who wishfully, fruitlessly gaze into those windows, would secure the desired result; for here are persons of all kinds as well as grades of ability anxiously seeking work—that is, seeking opportunity to coin their own exertions into the bread and clothes and shelter they so pressingly need. Say there is no work for them, and their own hunger and rage give you the lie: they themselves collectively afford that very market for their labor for want of which they severally shiver and famish."

"Legislators! . . . There MUST be some way out of this social labyrinth. . . . If you cannot or will not solve this problem, at least do not defame or impede those who earnestly seek its solution!"

The Tribune editor wrote that 75 years ago. We pass it on to the Brains Trust at Washington.

#### Two Civil War Shots

WHILE this historical mood is upon us, let us call your attention to a tragic human episode in the passing of the old slave order. Edmund Ruffin was a proud and cultivated Virginia owner of plantations and slaves. He fired two shots in the Civil War, the first one at Fort Sumpter, the beginning of the war, and the second one through his head when his beloved regime collapsed in ruin about him! Like many others of his class he believed that his social order was perfection and that Northern vandals had wrecked all hopes of social peace. Greeley and the utopian Socialists of the North were disgusting to fine old gentlemen such as he.

Before his passing Ruffin had contributed something to that notable literature of his class that presented human bondage as the solution of all social problems. His "Political Economy of Slavery," like the writings of Hammond, Fitzhugh, Stringfellow and others, included a scathing criticism of northern capitalism. He called labor subjection in the South "domestic slavery" and in the North "class slavery."

Ruffin contended that Northern wage workers were dependent upon factory owners for a living; that competition between workers reduced wages to a subsistence level, rendering them dependent upon the owners of capital. Therefore, wage workers had to be content with a small wage while the excess produced above this wage enriched the exploiting capitalists. He had no objection to exploitation but he protested against the hypocrisy that criticized direct exploitation in the South but accepted indirect exploitation in the North.

In both sections, he contended, leisure, the cultivation of the mind, the refinement of manners, and the patronage of literature and the arts were impossible without a working class subjected to toil. Negro bondage had one advantage over wage bondage. When textile plants closed in the North workers were turned adrift to starve; when slaves working in tobacco plants in Virginia could no longer be employed their owners provided shelter, clothing, meals and medical attendance. Ruffin's view was supported by other southern writers and there was no real effective answer to them.

Edmund Ruffin's two shots fired in a titanic class struggle were the beginning and end of it. If the old aristocrat is peering through the veil we wonder what he is thinking of capitalism.

# HOW HITLER FOLLOWED

The old saying that "history repeats itself" is not true, but occasionally one will find a striking parallel in events of two epochs. Karl Marx in his "Eighteenth Brumaire" described the usurpation of power by Louis Bonaparte in France, elected President of the Republic in 1848, when he made himself Emperor Napoleon III in 1851, a usurpation "ratified" shortly after by a referendum vote. Our readers should remember Adolf Hitler's ascension to power in reading Marx's account of the usurpation of Napoleon the Little. The analogy is of extraordinary interest.

By Karl Marx

A BANDIT, aided and encouraged by other bandits, has seized, by a desperate trick, the unlimited power of the state.

Through a revolution? No, indeed! In revolutions the existing authority is swept away by the people. Bonaparte succeeded

## Karl Marx Describes the "Election" by which Of His People, —An A

in sneaking into the highest office of the republic.

When he, in utter disregard of his oath to uphold the constitution, decided to strangle the republican constitution, he knew that the entire armed power of the state, the army, the police, the gendarmerie, were behind him, and opposed to him were only the political parties, fighting each other, paralyzing each other, partly, too gullible, partly outbluffed and consequently incapable of effective resistance.

The world was amazed how easily the mantle of power could be bestowed upon an ignominious adventurer.

But despite the fact that he was in control of all bayonets and can-

nons, he had an inner feeling of uncertainty. Despite his supreme contempt for democracy, the bandit coveted the idea of having his brigandage sanctioned by a mandate of the nation. Therefore, in a bombastic and well-oiled proclamation, he called an "election." A plebiscite of the masses should determine whether their usurper should be entitled to the supreme power.

People go to the voting urn! If an overwhelming vote of "yes" should rise out of the voting urn, the world would be forced to recognize the usurper as the so-called highest legitimate power of state.

#### "Besotted by Propaganda"

Unnerved by the years of unrest and misery, and besotted by a propaganda that had sunk to the lowest level of unscrupulousness, a considerable part of the people was like a sick man who in desperation runs to a quack when the physician seems to prove ineffectual.

Even if the lavishly promulgated phrases of "national honor" and "community of the people" should not pull satisfactorily, millions would nevertheless vote "yes"—the capitalists who perceived in the new man the most reliable sentry in front of their vaults, the manufacturers who hoped that through him the threatened economic crisis might be averted, the bourgeoisie whose meager savings ran through their fingers, and also many laborers who were dissatisfied with the republic because it had not kept its promises, and especially the farmers who had been enchanted by agitators of the bandit with all sorts of promises—tax

exemption, high prices, arce ad v. nuu as the paste-bo the stage is lik In order to c in a sion of the w the solute liber Freedom of as, assembly in p and above all, and agricultu produ There were disagreeing v openly said: power through the old parties only possible Should he fa civil war, ch fatherland. criminal, but to

## The Workers Cheered Hitler They Were Told When to Cheer

ADOLF HITLER chose to make his final appeal for votes in the November 12th "election" at the Siemens works in Berlin, delivering his harangue from a huge dynamo to the workers assembled before him. A picture of Hitler making the speech to the vast audience of workmen was printed in every paper in Germany, as well as the text of the speech.

The speech was broadcast throughout Germany, and every "loyal" German was instructed to listen in on pain of heavy penalties. The fact that a proletarian audience assembled to hear the Führer just before the balloting was strongly stressed by the Nazi spokesmen, to indicate what they called the working class character of the Nazi regime.

The pose fooled no one, but there is now available definite proof of

the methods used by Hitler's hoodlums to create the outward effect of working class support for his murderous regime.

No worker was allowed to enter the meeting place without a card, upon which detailed instructions were printed. The instructions provided for "Entrance to the dynamo hall only in a closed file, bearing the number . . . and only in working clothes (not brown shirt). . . . Participants will be shown their places, which may not be left until the gathering is completely ended."

Even the storm-troopers, mixed among the workers to see to it that the spontaneous enthusiasm for the words falling from the lips of the beloved Leader was forthcoming at the proper time, were not allowed to wear their brown shirts. It is understood that even the S.A. are no longer trusted with arms in the presence of the Great Man.

The feeling of huge masses of the German people for "their" leader is remarkably reminiscent of the affection of the Russian masses for "their" Czar once upon a time.

And that incident serves to give point to the story told in the article by Karl Marx herewith printed and shows the amazing parallel between the seizure of power by the nephew of the Emperor Napoleon and by the crowd surrounding Adolf Hitler.

## London Herald Has World's Largest Circulation

The "London Daily Herald," organ of the British Labor party, closed the calendar year with a certified average circulation of 2,030,000 copies per day, the largest daily circulation of any newspaper in the world.

The figures cover the last six months of the year, and are exclusive of all free copies, exchanges and returns.

The present management of the "Daily Herald" took over the paper three and a half years ago when the circulation was about a third of a million. It was then published directly by a joint committee of the Labor party and the Trades Union Congress, and the trade unions were required to meet heavy deficits. In the latter part of 1930 a commercial organization took over the paper, leaving 49 per cent of the ownership in the hands of the Labor party and pledging itself to continue the old editorial policy.

## THE BRAY of THE WEEK



Now We Know Where  
All Our Troubles  
Are Coming From.

At last we have the low-down on the cause of the economic ills, unemployment, low wages, closed banks, breadlines and other troubles of the past few years from the lips of that great philosopher, theologian, economist and gentle soul, the Rev. Billy Sunday, D.D., who spits on his hands, lets out a war-whoop, and yells:

"Business depressions are caused by dissipation, dishonesty and disobedience to God."

(Submitted by Charles N. Young of New York, who wins this week's award.)

## There Are No Rigid

## Short Cuts May Be

Conditions Differ So in All Countries That  
Another—Le

By James Oneal

IN concluding this consideration of Socialist tactics and how they have been influenced by changing material conditions in an abnormal period, the writer has been able to consider only some basic factors because of the limitations of space. In reviewing tactics in nine nations last week it is evident that they varied throughout Europe and within each nation according to changing conditions except in Italy and Germany. In these two countries opposite policies were followed and yet the workers of both nations met defeat.

In Spain we find striking and rapid change in tactics which include boycotting national elections a number of times, rebellion, an electoral alliance with Republicans in city elections, coalition, anti-coalition, temporary toleration and again threat of rebellion. In Spain it is obvious that conditions made rapid change in tactics possible.

It is also obvious that those who favor some rigid tactical formula regardless of objective conditions will have both to approve and oppose the Spanish Socialist Party because it has followed not one method but every possible method within the range of Socialist tactics. What made this possible in

Spain? The w faced with a m a strong Com der the contr these two im present the Sp not have had choice in m changing situ class alignm of Fascism Com Germany the Den not have the rang They were c in a They were li arava our western in with a hostil of the right, an assab the left, and rie fi Halted in a obje morale of the Social workers was destroyed choice in tact was re the narrow rage of defe ish Socialists were able again and then precise fewer barrer obstru activities. This is mans ma of what the per also se evident errors months possibl comple term



# THE LEAD OF NAPOLEON III

by which Louis Napoleon Secured the Support  
in An Amazing Historical Parallel

criminal who assures us peace and order for civil war and chaos."

## Election a "Farce"

Now, will the number of voluntary yes-sayers be sufficient for a gigantic triumph so essential? The super-bandit and his sub-bandits did not seem to care. Only a vote of the people could become a vote. But nothing of that sort happened in this peculiar plebiscite. As all important Republican newspapers had been suppressed, there remained only a press as the speaking tube of the regime, vociferously warning the voter day by day that only a traitor to his country could vote "No."

It was an easy matter to stuff the unsuspecting public mind with thick lies; only a few knew of the crimes committed by the bandit in assuming power; nothing was reported in the papers. But the bandit had also in time "cleaned out" the staff of officials; all decent Republicans were thrown in the street and their places were filled with submissive creatures. They danced as he whistled.

## At the Polls

From the highest government official down to the common gendarme every one had to work so the election would show the desired result, and all officials were warned that absence from the polls would mean immediate dismissal, and woe to the man who dared to vote no! But also the citizen who was not eating his bread from the public manger of the state suffered under the dreadful oppression. In a country ruled not by law but by rude despotism, where no one was safe from snoopers and informers, there were thousands of infamous methods used by the government to

intimidate the voters. A proclamation of a provincial magistrate warned: Yes—means life! No—means death by suicide! You are confronted by this alternative. Vote! . . . Thousands of suspected opponents were arrested, the prisons were filled to overflowing, many were confined in concentration camps and held there for a long time without trial, without a chance to vindicate themselves, without a judge.

## "Like Cattle to Slaughter"

Those who still adhered to the Republican party were denounced as Communists, and the Philistines found in such oppressive measures the confirmation of the assertion that the coup d'etat of the "savior," of the "man of providence," prevented a gruesome and dark at-

tack by the "reds" on the government. The gloomy silence of the churchyard reigned on the day of the election. "The nation went to the polls like cattle to the slaughterhouse."

The voting places were carefully manned with partisans of the regime. Policemen, gendarmes, and others in uniform were stationed in and around the voting booths. A secret ballot was ordained, but the counting of the votes was done secretly behind closed doors with absolute exclusion of the public.

Fraud reigned supreme. In one district with 1,500 registered voters, 1,600 "yes" votes were counted. . . . With such machinations Louis Bonaparte was successful. On December 21, 1851, a total of 7,439,216 Frenchmen sanctioned by their vote the usurpation of the national government committed three weeks before, while aside from 36,280 invalid ballots, 640,737 had voted "no."

The triumph was overwhelming. Only the world—the world laughed over this joke of a popular election.

## LET'S ALL GO CRAZY AND RESERVE A PADDED CELL

AND so, Boys and Girls, don't watch the clock, work hard, save your money, and you'll help build a great, prosperous nation of hard-working, God fearing people.

You remember the line; you heard it if you went to school when the local banker or other Big Shot came around to make a speech at graduation time. This country was made by hard work, by people who weren't afraid to work up a good sweat. . . . Millions of young Americans were sent into the world with that sort of advice ringing in their ears.

And what? So they grew up to find the most highly bepraised national administration in decades spending hundreds of millions of dollars as a bribe to farmers not to work, to destroy their crops, plow under their produce, to slaughter their hogs and bury the carcasses, to go easy; urging the nation to work not quite so hard, to loaf "urselves into riches."

And so, Fellow-Citizens, vote for an administration that will be economical and save money. . . . You know that line, too. And you also recall that it was the highest patriotism to save money, soak it away in the savings banks so that some time you might grow up and become a banker and be able to play golf, too.

And here we have an administration seeking to spend the country out of the red, that rejoices in piling up ten billion in additional debts, that urges people not to save money but to squander it.

When the night of depression settled down upon us, and a lot of us began losing our jobs and tearing our hair, we were told that we should have saved our money so that we might have had something for a rainy day. That is, for a while. Then we were told that we ought to take the rubber band off the bankroll and shoot the works, that the way to get back prosperity was to spend all we had. And a lot of people did just that—and found themselves broke just before they, too, lost their jobs and had nothing left to fall back on.

This merry period we are passing through showed us many things, but nothing so strikingly as the craziness of the ethics of conduct we used to be taught.

Every dear little morality that used to be held up as a high and a noble ideal was tossed into the garbage can and we were told to do something diametrically opposite.

Save our money and spend it; work hard and create wealth, and loaf on the job and destroy what we make; save our money and be thrifless and looney.

## Who's crazy now?

What the world needs is goods to eat, wear, live in and otherwise enjoy. When we have what we need, we ought to have brains enough to stop. But we haven't. We go right on until we stop because we have too much, and the professional moralists tell us to try a somersault.

The whole issue of the morality with which our lives should be guided should be referred to a committee of Billy Sunday, Charles M. Schwab, Henry Ford, Bruce Barton and the editor of the Saturday Evening Post. Then when they render their report the order of business should be to toss it into the sewer and to adopt a resolution to use our brains and work for a sane system of Socialism.

Then we can teach our dear little grandchildren how smart we were in the Grand Old Days of the Goofy Era.

## WISDOM of the POOR FISH



Prices are always high during the good times. So let's boost prices now and we'll have prosperity again.

(Submitted by Philip Treibitch, 977 Simpson St., the Bronx, who selects "Swastika Over Germany" as his prize.)

## The Workers Abroad

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

By Mark Khinoy

### Belgian Socialists Reject Coalition

"POPULAIRE," principal daily of the French Socialists, in its issue of Jan. 4th, reports of a new coalition offer tendered by the Belgian government to the Socialist leaders. The offer was made to the president of the Workers' (Socialist) Party, Emile Vandervelde, and was promptly turned down.

The Socialist Party, declared the veteran Socialist, will observe strictly the decisions of its last congress. It will not consider participation in any coalition government unless each and every partner agrees to the "Plan of Action," the program of immediate realization of socialization recently adopted by the party. And since the present ruling parties are not ready to accept such a condition, the Socialist Party will continue its general attack on the government and hopes to achieve its objective in the next general elections.

These popular elections may not be far off. The present conservative government is a minority government. It is able to exist only because a few Liberal deputies tolerate it. Because of this the Cabinet leads since the last general election a very precarious existence. The conservative premier, de Broqueville, has proposed many times to the 70 Socialist deputies a governmental coalition. But it was refused each time. The latest rejection was even more emphatic. For the party is bound now by its decision not to accept any governmental collaboration except upon the basis of the plan of immediate socialization in all its details and by all the partners to the coalition.

### French Socialists Discuss Immediate Socialization

THE "Plan of Action" of the Belgian Socialists made a strong impression on all European comrades, "Le Populaire" of Paris, "Het Volk" of Amsterdam, "Die Arbeiter-Zeitung" of Vienna, the "Daily Herald" of London and the "Neue Vorwärts" of the German Social Democracy in Karlsruhe—all of them treat the "Plan" as a rare historic event in the annals of the international Socialist movement. Their comment is very illuminating and I may have to return to them in our next issue.

It found, however, its greatest echo in France, where the party leaders, Leon Blum and Jean Zyskowski, wrote a series of articles about this plan. What's more, the party decided to imitate the Belgian comrades. The National Executive Committee of the party, at its session of Dec. 27-28, elected a committee of six to prepare a similar plan for France. A general draft of this plan of immediate socialization will be ready for the coming convention of the party. The congress opens Feb. 11th and the plan is one of the three points on the agenda.

### 9 Communist Deputies Turn Socialist

THE same session of the N.E.C. of the French Socialist Party considered the offer of the 9 independent Communist deputies and their "Party of Proletarian Unity" to join the Socialist Party. Paul Louis and his Communist friends wanted to know the conditions under which the S.P. would admit them. The answer was: Welcome! You can join on the same basis upon which all the Socialist groups and parties united into one party in 1905, namely "freedom of opinion" accompanied by "unity of action."

With the 9 Communist deputies joining the party, the French Parliament will have 139 Socialist deputies to 10 Communists. What a change in the relative strength of the two movements since the Congress of 1920, when the Communist Party captured the Socialist Party, took over an overwhelming majority of its membership, got hold of its entire press, its local and national headquarters, homes and institutions together with a majority of its elected representatives! A little more of such progress and even the highly emotional, revolutionary and anarcho-syndicalist French worker will forget there ever was a Communist Party in France.

### The Austrian Drama Approaches Its Climax

A RECENT decree issued by Dollfuss abolished Shop Council elections in all the industrial establishments of Austria. The members of the Shop Councils will in the future be appointed by the government instead of being elected by a universal, direct, equal and secret ballot of the workers.

This order drew an immediate answer from the organized workers. Wage earners and employees of all the factories and shops adopted on Jan. 5th identical resolutions of protest against the appointed Shop Councils and expressed their determination to boycott them. In the resolutions the wage earners also reaffirm their loyalty to the Socialist class organizations of the workers.

The persistence of the working class to answer with a general strike and civil war any attempt of the present semi-Fascist but anti-Nazi government to deprive labor of its three fortresses—Free Trade unions, the Socialist municipality of Vienna and the Social-Democratic Party—found a new expression at the first session of the newly elected National Council of the party.

The 698,181 members of the party recently elected this National Council of 60. No officers of the party or the unions, and no public officers of any kind (congressman, assemblyman, alderman, etc.) could be elected to this new party institution. It consists at present of 47 workers, 10 employees, 1

(Continued on Page Six)

## Become Short Circuit

Successful Tactics in One May Be Disastrous in Another For Socialists

the working class was not fighting Fascism and destroyed the Socialist regime. In fact, they attempted this in Russia and failed. We know that fear of an Allied military raid was considered by the Germans, but had it occurred this would have been a challenge to the workers of the Allied countries to act against their own ruling classes. Moreover, the Allies did invade Russia, and they also destroyed the Socialist-Communist regime in Hungary.

The Germans hesitated. Divisions and rancor in their ranks followed and the sectarian policies of the Communist International accentuated them. In the last three years of the republic Fascism carried even large sections of workers into its ranks and tactics were still more narrowed to one of defense. If we do not take into account the background of changing material and human forces in that period and simply assume that the masses and leaders were simply stupid, that any and all methods of combat were possible, then we abandon that historical materialism that is basic to an interpretation of historical events.

It is the fashion of some to simplify such complex and gigantic forces and events by saying that leaders "betray" the movement. Marx paid his respects to such reasoning when writing of the failure of the Paris Commune. (Continued on Page Six)



## There Aren't Any Short Cuts to Victory

**Socialists Must Adopt Tactics Based on Reality, Not on Rigid Formulas—For Socialism Is a Living and Evolving Philosophy.**

(Continued from Page Five)

ure of the revolutions in 1848. He wrote:

"When you inquire into the causes of the counter-revolutionary successes, there you are met on every hand with the ready reply that it was Mr. This or Citizen That who 'betrayed' the people. Which reply may be true or not, according to circumstances, but under no circumstances does it explain anything—not even show how it came to pass that the 'people' allowed themselves to be thus betrayed. And what a poor chance stands a political party whose entire stock in trade consists in a knowledge of the solitary fact that Citizen So-and-So is not to be trusted."

Historical materialism is the philosophy of the proletariat. Against it is ranged the ideological, the theological and even the impressionistic interpretation of historical events. The latter three points of view too often find a place in our own movement despite the fact that they are the intellectual weapons of the ruling classes. They all have an element of mysticism and it is no accident that both German and Italian Fascism turn back to other centuries for their intellectual artillery.

Because of disappointment over events abroad there is a tendency to seek a solution of the Socialist problems involved in tactics in a mechanical reorganization of the international that will give centralized power over the movement each country. It is curious that at is often an emotional reaction events abroad seeks satisfaction in mechanical arrangement.

What more cohesion and solidarity between the world Socialist parties would be welcome may be conceded and that it may be fostered by some changes in the structure of the International may also be true, but it does not necessarily follow that centralized power over all the affiliated sections will effect this. Assume that such power had been vested in the Congresses and the Executive in the past few years of the Spanish Revolution. Will anyone contend that, in the rapid shifts in conditions and class forces in Spain, an International Executive in Zurich or Vienna would be capable of determining the course of the Spanish workers? Or would some rigid tactical formula enforced by the Executive have helped or injured the Spanish workers?

Another example occurs to me. In 1924 our party had to make a final decision regarding cooperation with the unions and organized farmers in supporting an independent presidential ticket. We made that decision. An executive in Europe could not have made that decision for us. Its members would have known little of the historical backgrounds of that movement. We on the ground and in contact with it were often puzzled in our course as situations emerged in the two years of our relations with it. Much as we may respect the knowledge and judgment of the best comrades who might be chosen to serve on an international executive with large powers, few of us would admit that they would be able to advise us intelligently.

If it is thought that one or two basic formulas regarding tactics should be adopted by the International and rigidly imposed upon the affiliated parties no matter what the situation would be in any country, this would differ little from the mechanical control exercised by Moscow over the Communist parties. It is not to

# Collapse Threatens C.W.A. Wages Being Drastically Cut

By Observer  
Our Washington Correspondent

**D**RASTIC cuts in civil works pay, through reducing hours, focused public attention on the danger of early collapse of the civil works emergency program and marked yielding of the Administration to low wage employers interests which have been protesting against civil works pay scales as "too high."

While lack of money was given as the primary reason for retrenchment in the civil works program, it is known that complaints against civil works wages were another factor. Civil works wages, low as they have been, were higher than the pay authorized under some NRA codes and also higher than farm wages.

President Roosevelt himself said in a press conference that complaints had poured in from all sides against "high" civil works pay and that Harry L. Hopkins, Civil Works and Relief Administrator, was "correcting" this condition by lessening hours instead of cutting rates of pay. The result, however, is the same as far income is concerned. The pay of many was cut to \$4.50 a week in small communities and not much more in large cities. This pay is hardly conducive to early "recovery."

*stifle our own thought and initiative, making us wooden automatons acting as a button was pressed across the Atlantic.*

"Though not in substance," wrote Marx and Engels, "yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie." That still remains true. In "substance" the struggle is not a national but an international struggle; in "form" it must be fought out by the workers in each nation because they are on the battlefield, they must choose their methods, organize their forces and formulate their programs of action.

Variation in program and methods, unity of aim in all nations, and cooperation of the workers of the world for the realization of our international ideal are the essentials of an effective International. Even within each nation it often occurs that some variation in program is necessary because of the difference in economic regions. In this country a farmer program suitable to the great wheat belt would not be adapted for the cotton belt and a program for the latter would not be suitable for the fruit growers of Florida and California.

Unless we keep in mind the material and objective forces in which the movement must function, and especially the changes we face in an abnormal period, what appears to be a short cut to victory may prove to be a short circuit that will destroy us and render our struggle more difficult than what it is.

## SWEDISH POLICE CLOSE NAZI HEADQUARTERS

Acting on orders of the Socialist government, the police of Stockholm, Sweden, closed on Jan. 10th the Nazi headquarters as an institution likely to disturb public order.

This decision was evidently taken in harmony with the new line of Democratic Socialism, i.e., not to permit enemies of democracy to utilize civil liberties in order to destroy them.

It is plain that someone blundered in estimating the money needed for the civil works program, which as a consequence faced breakdown. There was unnecessary delay in asking Congress for additional funds; nothing was done the first few days of the session. The announcement January 18 that the program was in danger of collapse in a few days brought action and the President this week asked an appropriation of more than a billion dollars to carry on to June 30.

## MILLIONS OF TOILERS TO BE DISCHARGED

Administrator Hopkins admitted there had been a "bad guess" as to the size of payrolls and average pay. A study of CWA finances revealed there was barely enough money to carry the program through another week. It had been planned to carry it to February 15 and then gradually "taper" it off. Hopkins cut the work period from 30 to 24 hours in cities and 15 hours in small towns and rural communities. Job giving under the program was ended immediately and purchase of further supplies was stopped.

The administrator said he had estimated the average weekly pay roll on a basis of \$12 per person. "It ran that way for a while," he added. "Projects calling for skilled labor came in and the average wage jumped to \$14.37. This indicated we were running behind from \$8,000,000 to \$9,000,000 a week."

Hopkins expects to return employment to 30 hours a week as soon as funds are available. It is planned, however, to reduce the civil works force 1,000,000 men every week after February 15. What will become of the men and women laid off is not explained. Even the Administration officials must know that private employment will be unable to absorb them, barring a miraculous jump in business and industrial activity.

Curtailment of the civil works program brought a tremendous flood of protest. Senators and Representatives joined in the protest and Senator Dill of Washington declared the program would not only have to be continued but enlarged with greater inheritance taxes to pay the bill. He added the project should be less permanent.

Dill was one of the few men high in Washington who have ventured to mention publicly the need of continued government work relief. From the President down, officialdom has professed confidence that expected business recovery would absorb the unemployed. It is true the President may have changed his mind since his earlier utterances, as he has stated that civil and public works have a definite place in his long-term plan, involving a possible expenditure of \$500,000,000 yearly out of current revenues when the budget is balanced again.

The general alarm over the curtailment of civil works was reflected by the executive committee of the United States Conference of Mayors who said warning had been issued to all municipalities that "the Civil Works Administration would begin tapering off." The statement denounced the hour reduction order as the "first blow against 4,000,000 persons who have been given work at regular wages." It added that "30 cents an hour for 15 hours means \$4.50 a week."

Mayor Walmesley of New Orleans, prominent in the mayor's conference, predicted riots in many cities

if the civil works program is not continued.

## ITALIAN FASCISTS ACTIVE IN U.S.A.

Nazi propaganda in the United States in recent months has somewhat overshadowed Italian Fascist propaganda here, which, however, is still going on, though more quietly than in the earlier years of Mussolini's advent to power.

The spotlight again has been thrown on Fascist activities by the demand of a group of Washington anti-Fascists that the United States Government deport Piero Parini, formerly head of the department of propaganda under the Mussolini dictatorship. Parini arrived here not long ago, ostensibly on private business. A petition presented to the Department of State by the Washington group charges that Parini is really here to push Fascist propaganda and that he is urging Italians in the United States to maintain allegiance to the Mussolini government. The petition declares that an organization already exists here with the avowed purpose of spreading the creed of loyalty to Fascist Italy.

The Washington anti-Fascists are prepared to back up their charges with documentary evidence. They point out that Socialists and organized workers have a direct interest in preventing the spread of Fascist ideas in America, as Socialism and trade unionism have been as ruthlessly destroyed under Fascism in Italy as under Hitler's brand of Fascism in Germany.

## CUTTING WAGES OF FEDERAL WORKERS

The fight for restoration of Federal workers' pay seems lost for the present, and the government will continue to cut the pay of its own employees, while striving to raise pay in private industry by means of the NRA. On the specious plea of "balancing the budget," the government is doing exactly what it condemns when done by private employers. The budget is no more balanced now than it was when the pay cuts went into effect, but a little thing like that doesn't phase the government's "economy" advocates.

The House showed, by its vote on the so-called gag rule, made to prevent a vote on the question of eliminating the wage cuts from an appropriation bill, that it favored continuance of a 10 per cent pay cut, as urged by the President. Labor will continue its fight in the Senate for restoration of Federal pay scales, but early victory is not in sight.

Friends of the government workers can gain nothing by kidding themselves about the pay cut situation. It is well to take into account that apparently a great body of public opinion favors continuance of the lower government salaries. Workers in private employment have had their pay cut so drastically that most of them can't get very excited over a 10 or 15 per cent cut in Federal pay. It is true that enforced furloughs have brought the cut to as high as 30 per cent in the case of some Federal workers, but even this is low compared to the pay slashes in private employment. Then, too, most of the government workers have kept their jobs, while workers in private industry have been laid off by the millions.

So it is not strange that people refuse to get indignant over Federal pay cuts. Many of them feel that it won't hurt the government workers to experience a little of what millions of other workers

## How CWA Jobs Go to Good Democrats

**That's the Way It Works Out in West Virginia—See Your District Leader and He'll Fix It for You.**

By J. F. Higgins  
State Secretary, Socialist Party of West Virginia

**T**HE CWA job-hunter finds that politicians hold the work key. A plaintive cry is heard on every side, "I need a job, but I don't know any politicians. Things don't look so good for me." In West Virginia every Democratic politician who can swing a block of votes is snugly berthed in the offices or in one or another of the Departments of the CWA. These appointments are made regardless of ability of the appointees.

Estimates are that only about 20 per cent of the jobless of this state are at work on the different projects. No new jobs are given the clamoring jobless unless they have the approval of their Democratic ward heeler.

Some of the workers hired in December, and summarily fired for political reasons, are unable to get their pay checks. Some of these unfortunates go twice a day to CWA headquarters seeking their pay. They are generally told to come back the next day when their checks will be waiting for them, but the next day finds no check forthcoming.

Day after day these unpaid workers besiege the offices of the CWA only to hear tomorrow, tomorrow. The rankest favoritism is shown and party politics are being played to the hilt. Many persons have been put to work by their Democratic political overlords who absolutely do not need the work.

An aged and well known Socialist of Lewis County, in his effort to find why he was not called out for work, was told by a CWA official that "If it wasn't for you damned radicals the country would not be in the shape that it is in."

The procedure to get a job is something like this: after being registered the worker must go to the local Democratic leader and swear undying fealty to this henchman, to the Democratic party, and faithfully promise that every voting member of his family will cast a straight Democratic ballot in the next election! If the local politician approves of the applicant he is told to go back to CWA headquarters. In the meantime a telephone message is received at the office telling the officials to put the applicant to work. He is called for work the next day. Need of work by applicants has little to do with landing a job.

This shameful mal-administration of the CWA is an eye-opener to those unfortunates who hoped to find deliverance from grinding poverty in this measure. Discontent and dissatisfaction with it are rife. Frequently, Government Investigators come to the different offices in this state, but as they invariably take the statements of the maladministrators they always report everything in ship shape.

The state press also is a party to suppressing the news. In glowing terms they report the CWA one hundred per cent efficient, that all the jobless are being taken care of, that all are receiving fat pay checks each week, and that the "Blue Eagle" honks high.

They do not see the inconsistency and hypocrisy of the government's policy, and they fail to recognize that instead of "promoting recovery," the government's policy is a factor in retarding it.



# Henry Hull Scores in "Tobacco Road" at the 48th

**THE HIGH-LOW ROAD**  
**"TOBACCO ROAD."** By Jack Kirkland. From the novel by Erskine Caldwell. At the 48th Th.

In this folk-drama of life in the back country of Georgia, a pathetic, even tragic, story of "white-trash" days is unfolded amid customs so alien, so hard for us to accept as actual, that the tension lapses to the easier flow of a picturesque, even amusing piece of local color. Although Jeeter Lester wants desperately to hold on to his father's land, everything else about him is so shiftless, all the usual standards of honesty and decency and marital and family love are so unconcernedly disregarded that the action seems to take place in a sort of back-wash of nowhere.

When Grandma Lester disappears, perhaps caught in the field-fire, perhaps unable to hobble out of the sedge—somewhere nearby dying, her son remarks: "I'll go out and take a look around for her, one of these days." He is the head of a family in which one boy marries an ardent woman preacher so he can blow her automobile horn (incidentally, he runs over and kills his mother) and one girl prefers running to Augusta (there, no doubt, to become a prostitute) to sleeping with her husband.

In the midst of this curious melange of pathos and shiftlessness, we note the ownership of the land passing from the pioneer who settled it to the squire who spread slaves over it, then to the bank. And in the midst of an excellent company that carries this tragedy in a mud-hole, we watch Henry Hull in one of the most effective characterizations of recent years, as the shiftless old farmer who cannot earn a living, but will die on the ground he was born on, and hope not to be laid in the corn-bin, where the rats will eat off his face. Meantime, his son drives around breaking off parts of the woman-preacher's new automobile.

**DeMille's "Four Frightened People" at B'klyn Paramount**

The "Four Frightened People" depicted in Cecil DeMille's latest production, at the Brooklyn Paramount this week, are Claudette Colbert, Herbert Marshall, Mary Boland and William Gargan. All of the others in the cast are natives of the Pacific islands where the scenes were actually "shot," for it is plain enough that here are no California jungles dressed up for the occasion.

As usual the Paramount has a new stage show with "Cookie" Bowers, the mimic, Benny Ross and Maxime Stone, the Four Franks, Carlos Romoro's girls and the Music Kings under the baton of versatile Stan Meyers.

**One of Broadway's Most Distinguished Producers Comes Back to the Field of Battle**



Above you see Arthur Hopkins, who will present Philip Barry's new comedy, "The Joyous Season," at the Belasco Theatre Monday evening

**Theatre Party Benefit for Children of German Refugees**

Eugene and Willie Howard and David Rubinoff and orchestra have added their names to the program of the theatre benefit for the children of German refugees, to be held Sunday night, January 28, at the 44th Street Theatre.

**WINTER GARDEN** 4th St. W. of Broadway  
 Evs. 8:30; Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

**ZIEGFELD FOLLIES**

with FANNIE BRICE  
 WILLIE & EUGENE HOWARD,  
 EVERETT MARSHALL, JEAN  
 SARGENT, PATRICIA BOW-  
 MAN, VILMA & BUDDY EBSEN,  
 DON ROSS, others  
 BALCONY SEATS \$1 to \$2.50  
 Orch. Seats \$3 to \$4 (ex. Sat.)  
 Matinees: Balcony \$1 & \$1.50  
 All Orchestra Seats \$2.50

★ ★ ★ ★ —Daily News

... The Group Theatre, and Sidney Harmon and James R. Ullman, present Sidney Kingsley's successful play

**MEN IN WHITE**

"Vigorous and exciting drama. Should be seen."—Lockridge, SUN  
 "Adorned with the most beguiling acting the town affords."—Atkinson, TIMES

**BROADHURST THEA.**  
 44th ST., W. of BROADWAY  
 Evs. 8:45 - 50c to \$2.50  
 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40 - 50c to \$2.00

John Krimsky and Gifford Cochran announce the first performance of

**GIRLS IN UNIFORM**  
 with DOROTHEA WIECK  
 HERTHA THIELE

English version of "Mädchen"

A fine picture that can now be completely understood and appreciated  
 Cont. Performance—Pop. Prices  
**CRITERION** BROADWAY & 44th ST.

Positively Last 8 Days... S. HUOK presents PODRECCA'S

**T H E PICCOLI**

HILARIOUS  
 NEW  
 NUMBERS

—Special Children's Perf. This Saturday Morn. at 11 A. M.—  
 EVERY EVE., inc. SUN., at 8:45, 50c to \$2. Sunday Mat. at 3 P.M.  
**AMBASSADOR THEA.** 49th STREET/500 GOOD 50c to \$1  
 W. of B'WAY SEATS AT

**"World a Million Years Ago" Continues at the Warner**

With the engagement of Messmore and Damon's "World A Million Years Ago" at the Warner Theatre, the interior of the Theatre has been stripped of all equipment and turned into a gigantic, prehistoric jungle, filled with the animated reproductions of all the creatures which have been mere names to everybody but those who have toured all the world's museums.

Therein will be found realistic forty-ton Pterodactyls, that devoured a 30-ton Tryannosaurus for one meal; giant lizards with 30 feet of neck who lazed in the warm waters when the earth was a mass of active volcanoes.

Also the Dinosaurs of the Mesozoic age, the strange mammals of the Cenozoic age and the development of humans through the recent ages, from the Ape Man down through the Piltdown Man, the Neanderthal Man, and the Cro-Magnon man, the immediate predecessor of the present race.

**Peace Film**

"Hell on Earth," anti-war film, is at the Acme Theatre.

**Barthelmess in "Massacre" At Brooklyn Strand**

"Massacre," the Richard Barthelmess starring picture for First National is current at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre. Barthelmess's leading ladies in the picture are Ann Dvorak and Claire Dodd and the supporting cast includes Dudley Digges, Henry O'Neill, Arthur Hohl, Sidney Toler, Tully Marshall, William V. Mong and three hundred Indians.

Heading the short subject program are Borah Minevitch and his Harmonica Rascals in a novel musical number; Dorothy Lee, in "Plane Crazy" with Arthur and Morton Havel, Brook Allen, and Stone and Bernon Foursome; and, "Little Miss Mischief," a screen novelty entirely in pantomime presenting a day in the life of a typical mischievous youngster.

**"Hotel Alimony" Due Jan. 29**

Franklin and Stoner have leased the Royale Theater for "Hotel Alimony," a comedy in three acts and nine scenes by A. W. Pezet, adapted from the farce by Adolf Philipp and Max Simon. The opening date has been set for Monday evening, January 29.

OPENS MON. EVG., JAN. 29th  
 ARTHUR HOPKINS presents  
 PHILIP BARRY'S new comedy

**"THE JOYOUS SEASON"**

with LILLIAN GISH  
 BELASCO Thea., W. 44th St.  
 Evs. 8:40. Mats. Thurs. & Sat.

RICHARD ALDRICH and ALFRED DE LIAGRE present

**BY YOUR LEAVE**

By Gladys Hurlbut and Emma Wells

with DOROTHY HOWARD KENNETH ERNEST JOSEPHINE  
 GISH LINDSAY MACKENNA GLENDINNING HULL

**MOROSCO THEATRE,** 45th STREET WEST OF BROADWAY  
 Evs. 8:40. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Lowest-  
 Priced  
**HIT**  
 in  
 New York  
 3rd MONTH

**THE ANTI-WAR PLAY**

**PEACE on EARTH**

JOS. T. SHIPLEY says: "True beyond any pleading of propaganda... As stirring a drama as one is likely to see for a long time."

**CIVIC REPERTORY THEA.** 14th & 6th Ave.  
 WA. 9-7450  
 Prices, 30, 45c, 60c, 75c, \$1, \$1.50, no tax.—Mats. Wed. & Sat.  
 EVERY EVENING AT 8:45

A JED HARRIS PRODUCTION

**KATHARINE HEPBURN**

IN "THE LAKE"

with FRANCES STARR, BLANCHE BATES and COLIN CLIVE  
**MARTIN BECK THEATRE** 45th St., West of 8th Ave.—Evenings 8:40  
 Matinees Thursday and Saturday at 2:40

"The Theatre has unleashed one of its thunderbolts under Jed Harris's direction."—Brooks Atkinson, N. Y. Times  
 Jed Harris Production

**The Green Bay Tree**

CORT THEATRE, 48th St., E. of B'way  
 MATINEES WED. AND SATURDAY

The screen hit critics  
 praised as her best!

**LILIAN HARVEY**

in  
**"I AM SUZANNE"**  
 with GENE RAYMOND

• RKO VAUDEVILLE •  
 GERTRUDE NIESEN  
 REGGIE CHILDS & Orch.  
 CASS, MACK & OWEN

**R K O ALBEE** Albee Square  
 BROOKLYN

On Screen

CECIL B. DEMILLE'S  
**'FOUR FRIGHTENED PEOPLE'**  
 with CLAUDETTE COLBERT  
 HERBERT MARSHALL  
 LEO CARRILLO

—On Stage—  
 JACK POWELL  
 VERA VAN  
 —BROOKLYN—

**PARAMOUNT**  
 Flatbush & DeKalb Aves.

**"IT 'GOT' THEM"**

says WINCHELL of

**False Dreams, Farewell**

"Lively and Engrossing"

says TIME MAGAZINE

**LITTLE THEATRE**  
 14th St. West of B'way—LAc. 4-1551  
 Evs. 8:45, \$1-\$3. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

The  
**"Bundling"**  
 Hit

**THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS**

"Spicy, impudent and genuinely amusing."—Kruich, Nation

**AVON Theatre** 45 St. W. of Broadway  
 Evs. 8:45, \$1 to \$2.50. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

**MUSIC**

**TOWN HALL**

Tuesday Eve., Feb. 6, 8:30

**Viennese Dancer** MARTHE KRUEGER  
 Louis Horst at Piano Steinway Piano

**PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY**

TOSCANINI, Conductor  
 AT CARNEGIE HALL

This Afternoon at 2:00  
 Saint-Saens, Tommasini, Wagner, Ravel  
 Thurs. Eve. at 8:45; Fri. Aft. at 2:30  
 4th PROGRAM of BEETHOVEN CYCLE  
 Sat. Eve. at 8:45; Next Sun. Aft. at 2:00  
 Bruckner, Beethoven, Brahms, Bach  
 ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)



# Of "False Dreams" Are Coral Made!

## The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

**NINE FATHOMS DEEP**  
**"FALSE DREAMS, FAREWELL"**  
 By Hugh Stange. At the Little.  
 "Grand Hotel" having been a great success on stage and screen, and the floating palace of "Luxury Liner" having graced the films, the stir of life aboard one of the great Transatlantic vessels was to be expected across the footlights. It comes—with stir of death as well—in "False Dreams, Farewell."

There is lively to do when the S. S. Atlantis prepares to depart, for on board are many persons of note: the American winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, a famous movie star who is abandoning her triumphal career, the doctor who has isolated the cancer germ, and a what-not of society more. But beneath the surface of these fine folks what passions simmer! The Nobel Prize winner (pace Sinclair Lewis!) is a hen-pecked scrivener, being driven to write (and driven to drink) by a grasping, dominating wife; the movie queen is having an affair with the cancer man; the cancer man hates his wife, whose fair face is hideously disfigured because she leapt in the way of an explosion that would have killed him. The husband retaliates by killing her the first night out, while she is sarcastic on his return from the cinema lay's cabin. There is a Winchellian sort of fellow, too, on his first holiday; the boat is scarcely a hundred miles out when his daughter is killed via radio in an automobile smash. But this all matters little—for the S. S. Atlantis, straining, over-strained, to break a record, goes down with all aboard.

It all matters little—save that on the sinking ship are Glenn Anders and Lora Baxter and Frieda Ines-

### Well-Known Pianist in Recital



Alton Jones will play his new transcription of Bach's organ prelude and fugue No. 11 in D minor in his Town Hall recital Saturday evening, Feb. 10.

cort and all a goodly crew of splendid actors, who, even in the minor roles such as the movie star's agent, live a play that bears them all to final drowning death.

### "Cross Country Cruise" on Fox B'klyn Screen. "Russian Revels" Revue on Stage

"Cross Country Cruise" is the current screen attraction at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre. In the cast are Lew Ayres, June Knight, Alice White, Alan Dinehart and Eugene Pallette. The film was directed by

### "Girls in Uniform," English Version, at the Criterion

"Girls in Uniform," the recently completed English version of "Mädchen in Uniform," is being presented by John Krimsky and Gifford Cochran at the Criterion Theatre. "Girls in Uniform" is the third production of the Messrs. Krimsky and Cochran, who last year sponsored the American presentation of "Mädchen in Uniform" and more recently produced Eugene O'Neill's "The Emperor Jones."

The featured roles in "Girls in Uniform," played by Dorothea Wieck and Hertha Thiele, are spoken by Eleanor Phelps and Adele Ronson.

### Eddie Buzzell.

The new stage presentation, "Russian Revels," produced by Alexander Oumansky and a series of short subjects round out the entertainment program at the Fox.

"Sweden, Land of the Vikings," in color, will continue its successful run at the 55th Street Play-

### LIMITED ENGAGEMENT

simultaneous with its Broadway showing at the ASTOR, N. Y.



**Garbo**  
 in **QUEEN CHRISTINA**  
 with John Gilbert  
 Ian Keith Lewis Stone  
 Elizabeth Young  
 A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture  
**ASTOR B'WAY & 45th St.**

Twice daily 2:50-5:50. Four times Sat. 2:50-5:50. 5:50-11:50. Three times Sun. and Hols. 2:50-5:50-8:50. Mats. 50c to \$1. Evs. 50c to \$2.00.

5th WEEK SELL-OUT!

### MAX GORDON

ROLAND LAURA HOPE  
**YOUNG & CREWS**  
 (IN PERSON) in  
**"HER MASTER'S VOICE"**  
 A New Comedy by  
**CLARE KUMMER**  
 with ELIZABETH PATTERSON  
 and FRANCES FULLER  
**PLYMOUTH Theatre, 45th St.**  
 West of Broadway  
 Evs. 8:40, \$1-\$1.50-\$2-\$3  
 Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40, \$1-\$1.50-\$2

### JOHN GLORIA BOLES - STUART "BELOVED"

The Musical Cavalcade Through Three Generations! It's Superb Entertainment!  
 A Universal Picture directed by Victor Schertzinger

Plus Gala New Stage Show with  
**THREE SISTERS**  
 Ross & Edwards . . . Stanley Bros.  
 Balabanows . . . Gae Foster Girls  
**RUBE WOLF & GANG**  
 SHOW VALUE OF THE NATION  
**ROXY** 25c to 2 P. M.  
 35c to 8 P. M.  
 55c to Close  
 7th Ave. & 54th St. Children 15c

### Boris Karloff Comes to the Rialto in "The Ghoul"

Boris Karloff brings his newest thrill characterization "The Ghoul" to the Rialto Theatre with Dorothy Hyson and Anthony Bushell comprising the romantic interest in this chilly mystery drama. Although "The Ghoul" is less gruesome than some of the other pictures Karloff has starred in, it is said to be not less effective in its drama.

The story by Frank King and Leonard J. Hines, concerns an Egyptologist who has a jewel stolen from a tomb, which he believes can bestow the blessing of eternal life. He asks to be buried with the jewel clasped in his right hand. Others are anxious to secure the jewel and immediately following the professor's death there are many complications. The climax of the picture is the professor's return from the tomb when things get into a turmoil.

### "I Am Suzanne"—Brooklyn Vaudevillians at Albee

"I Am Suzanne" after playing at the Radio City Music Hall has crossed the Brooklyn Bridge and is now at the RKO Albee. Lilian Harvey has the leading role.

The stage show at the Albee abounds with home town talent.

### BORIS KARLOFF "THE GHOUL"

The combined thrills of "Frankenstein," "Dracula" and "The Invisible Man"

★

EXTRA  
**ROSS vs. PETROLLE**  
 Fight Pictures—10 Rounds

**RIALTO** B'WAY at 42nd ST.



WE'RE A HIT!—AND WHAT A HIT!

### "FASHIONS OF 1934"

WARNER BROS. do it again! DRAMA—COMEDY—MUSIC—SONGS—The Biggest Show New York has seen in years!

**HOLLYWOOD THEATRE • POP. PRICES**  
 BROADWAY & 51st ST. • CONTINUOUS • MIDNIGHT SHOWS

"THE ONE  
 IMPORTANT  
 PICTURE OF  
 THE YEAR!"  
 —POST



**B'KLYN STRAND** Fulton & Rockwell • N. Y. **STRAND** B'way & 47th St.

### THE THEATRE GUILD

presents

EUGENE O'NEILL'S Comedy

### AH, WILDERNESS!

with GEORGE M. COHAN

**GUILD THEATRE, 52nd Street, West of B'way**  
 Evs., 8:20. Mats., Thurs. and Sat., 2:20

MAXWELL ANDERSON'S new play

### MARY OF SCOTLAND

with Helen Hayes - Philip MERIVALE - Helen MENKEN

**ALVIN THEATRE, 52nd Street, West of B'way**  
 Evs., 8:20. Mats., Thurs. and Sat., 2:20

EUGENE O'NEILL'S new play

### DAYS WITHOUT END

**HENRY MILLER THEA., 43rd St., West of B'way**  
 Evs., 8:40. Mats., Thurs. and Sat., 2:40

"The assure of Mr. Hull's characterization of Jester Lester is as perfect a feat of acting as I have seen in forty years of playgoing."—Percy Hammond, Herald Trib.

### HENRY HULL

### "TOBACCO ROAD"

by JACK KIRKLAND. Based on Erskine Caldwell's Novel  
**48TH ST THEATRE—E. of B'way Pop. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40**  
 Bryant 9-1778. Evs. 8:40

**FOX B'KLYN** LEW AYRES-JUNE KNIGHT & 4 Stars  
**"CROSS COUNTRY CRUISE"**  
 "RUSSIAN REVELS" devised and staged by Alexander Oumansky and His CDS and His CDS ORCHESTRA  
**Freddie BERRENS**  
**BERNICE CLAIRE** - Other Headline Acts  
 25c to 5 P. M.  
 105 P. M. to 8 P. M.  
 105 P. M. to 8 P. M.

### MUSIC HALL

SHOW PLACE of the NATION

### WARNER BAXTER

in **As Husbands Go**

Popular Prices plus A BRILLIANT STAGE SHOW  
 First Box. Reserved Phone CO 5-4335

### THEATRE PARTIES

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

### ANN HARDING

### "Gallant Lady"

A Darryl F. Zanuck Prod.  
**CLIVE BROOK**  
 Otto Kruger - Dickie Moore  
 Tullio Carminati - Janet Beecher

### RIVOLI

UNITED ARTISTS B'WAY at 49th ST



## New York Socialists Debate National Agenda Proposals

**MEETING** in special session last Sunday in the Rand School Auditorium, the New York City Central Committee of the Socialist Party considered resolutions to be submitted to the agenda committee of the National Executive Committee. Locals all over the country are submitting proposals for the national convention which will meet in Detroit next May.

The discussions were carried on in a fine spirit and on a high plane, the two that brought out the most earnest debate being on international problems and on the relation of the Socialist Party towards the trade unions. The first three proposals, on Power, Banking, and the Railroads and Transportation were adopted by a unanimous vote.

Louis Hendin reported for the agenda committee a resolution on Economic Action and Socialist Policy in the Trade Unions, for which a substitute was offered by Amicus Most and a warm discussion was on. The Most proposal was defeated and the Hendin resolution was carried by a vote of 49 to 17.

James O'neal reported the resolution on International Socialism and Democracy and one on War and Disarmament, the two being considered together. Murray Baron offered the two resolutions submitted by the minority delegates to the Paris Congress of the Labor and Socialist International and

Ronald Duval offered a substitute for the O'neal and Baron proposals. Another lively debate followed and the Duval proposal was defeated by a vote of 52 to 4. The Baron resolutions were defeated by a vote of 42 to 21 and the O'neal resolutions were adopted by a vote of 48 to 22.

Louis Waldman submitted the committee resolution on the NRA, Labor and Socialism and a substitute was offered by A. C. Weinfeld. This subject also brought out a warm debate and the Waldman resolution was adopted by a vote of 41 to 25.

Algernon Lee presented a resolution on Inflation. All the proposals mentioned above were adopted by a show of hands but the Lee resolution, which opposed inflation, was adopted with only a few dissenting votes but without a show of hands.

The committee remained in session till 6 p. m. but it was evident that it would not be able to complete its work if it held a night session. The resolutions of the agenda committee upon which the City Central Committee could not act will be referred to the National Executive Committee with the statement that they were not discussed and did not come to a vote.

The committee decided to appeal for a fund so that The New Leader can publish a supplement carrying the resolutions that were adopted and those that were also defeated. Party branches are urged to take this matter up without delay so that the supplement can appear at the earliest date possible.

## United Socialist Drive Is Getting Under Way

**PLANS** for the United Socialist Drive of 1934 are rapidly taking form, and work is getting under way in every part of the country.

The Drive is under the chairmanship of Norman Thomas, and Clarence Senior, National Secretary, is Director. On the committee are Julius Gerber, Otto Hauser of Milwaukee, Simon Libros of Philadelphia, Darlington Hopes of Reading and Louis Waldman, New York State Chairman.

In every part of the country local Drive captains are being appointed to take charge of their part of the work, and concrete results are expected within a very short time.

Details of the progress of the Drive will appear here weekly during the entire progress of the Drive.

**A.S.Q. Asks Advance Orders.** It will be helpful to the American Socialist Quarterly if the literature agent in every local and branch immediately notifies Anna Bercowitz, 7 East 15th St., New York City, of the number of copies desired. The last issue was exhausted in three weeks. The next issue will appear during the first week in February and will contain articles by Harold J. Laski, Andrew J. Biehl, Kirby Page, Maynard C. Krueger, David P. Berenberg, Halm Kantorovitch and by S. Mendelson, representative of the Polish Bund, now visiting in the United States.

**California** The State Convention will be held Saturday and Sunday, February 10 and 11, at Angelus Hall, 1954 East First Street, Los Angeles. Hyman Sheanin, State Secretary, expects it to be the largest and most constructive convention in the history of the movement in California. Since the last convention, the membership has almost doubled. There will be two sessions held each day. Saturday night a banquet will be held at Convention headquarters.

The Convention will be climaxed by a large meeting open to the public. The principal speaker will be the Convention's nominee for Governor.

**Arizona** A large number of delegates attended the state convention of the Socialist party in Phoenix, January 13, 14 and 15. The convention was held in the new quarters of the Phoenix local on North Second Ave.

**Missouri** Edward J. Flynn, Secretary of the Kansas City (Mo.) local, reports excellent prospects of organizing locals in Buckner, Lexington, Higginsville and Deane, as a result of a Sunday's drive with Comrade Hodges over the country.

side. Contacts in all four towns are optimistic over prospects of organizing locals, and of excellent Socialist work when they are started. Comrade Hodges earns about \$1 a day net; yet he gave 25 cents of his wages to aid the work, as well as his day's work. It's the old pioneer spirit. Comrade Flynn believes if every comrade gave one Sunday a month to such party work the results would be gratifying.

**Wisconsin** Dane County local held their convention in Madison January 21. The convention adopted a platform and selected candidates for city and county elections. Despite the "non-partisan" character of Wisconsin city elections, the party has been successful in drawing the line between Socialist and capitalist candidates. Theodore Walker, who as candidate for mayor last year polled 6,000 votes to 9,000 for the winning candidate, was renominated to head the ticket. With him will run Emil Orne, Mrs. Bertha Franklin and Ross Stagner for city offices, and a number of candidates for aldermanic and supervisor positions.

**Michigan** At the State Convention last week at Bay City a resolution accepted Michigan's quota of \$1,000 as a minimum in the 1934 finance drive. The convention had Maynard Krueger and Roy Burt as speakers. Following are members of the new state executive committee: N. Burnett, Charlotte; H. G. Carlisle, Charlotte; Royal Hall, Albion; Arthur Kent, Detroit; J. Panzer, Detroit; J. J. McFarlan, Ann Arbor; J. Monarch, Battle Creek; Clara Naysmith, Detroit; and G. Lockwood, Charlotte. Francis King was appointed temporary secretary until the committee's first regular session.

**Wayne County.** The Forward Ball is to be held at Masonic Temple Jan. 27. The Nathan Fine Forum Meeting has been changed to Monday, Jan. 29, Northwestern High School.

**Branch 1.** Comrades are reminded of the dinner in the Fines' honor at headquarters, 225 E. Forest, Sunday evening, Jan. 28. Larry Davidow will speak at headquarters Saturday, Jan. 27, on "Reform or Revolution."

**Branch 2** meets at headquarters, 10302 Mack, Tuesday evenings for business and discussion; Wednesday, class in economics; and open forum, Friday. Speaker for Feb. 2 is Meta Riseman on "Housing Problems."

**Massachusetts** **BOSTON.** Dr. Harry W. Laidler will speak on "The Way Out: New Deal or Socialism?" at Gilbert Hall, Tremont Temple, Friday, February 2, under the auspices of the Boston local.

A series of four consecutive weekly broadcasts of Socialist speakers over the Boston station WHDH was decided on by the state executive committee. The decision was reached after many communications had been received from locals urging the use of the radio. The Boston members of the state committee, Alfred Sprague Coolidge, Joseph Bernak and Savelle Syrjala were elected a committee to cooperate with Alfred Baker

Lewis to plan the program. Announcement of the details will be made as soon as completed.

A general membership meeting of all the branches of local Boston will be held Monday, February 5, at 1 Stuart Street, at 8 p. m.

**Fall River.** Tucker P. Smith, director of Brookwood Labor College, now making a lecture tour for the L.L.D., spoke in Fall River before more than 450 people on "The Crisis and the New Deal." Comrade Smith held his audience spellbound. Next Monday, F. J. Schlink will speak on "One Hundred Million Guinea Pigs."

**Connecticut** **Hamden.** Plans are being made to bring one of the Bridgeport Socialist city officials here for a meeting early in February. **Hamden Socialists** will attend the McLevy-Thomas mass meeting in a body, Tuesday, Jan. 30, at Hillhouse High School, New Haven. Hamden Socialist party officials for 1934 are: Town Chairman, Walter E. Davis; Recording Secretary, Gustave Berquist; Financial Secretary, Treasurer, Lillian Ottoson; Organizer, Ernest Castiglioni.

**New Haven.** Norman Thomas and Jasper McLevy will address a mass meeting at Hillhouse School, Tower Parkway, Tuesday, January 30.

**Norwalk.** The local will celebrate its third anniversary at headquarters, 606 West Ave., Wednesday, February 7. Jasper McLevy will be the principal speaker. A musical program is being arranged. Profits of the meeting will be used to give Commonwealth subscriptions to unemployed workers.

**Stratford.** A card party is to be held at L.O.O.F. Hall, Main St. and Barnum Ave., Wednesday, January 31. Profits will be used toward securing permanent headquarters. Jasper McLevy will be the guest of honor.

**New Jersey** **Pasaic.** Business meeting Friday, Jan. 28, 585 Main Avenue, followed by open discussion on "The Shortest Road to Socialism." Final plans for a dance to be sponsored by all branches will be submitted.

**Drawing and Entertainment** March 4, proceeds for establishing branch headquarters. Yipsels meet each Wednesday at 8 p. m. at the above address, and Workers' Educational Class continues each Monday evening, at 8:15, with M. Goldbloom of Brookwood Labor College.

**Long Beach.** City Hall. Debate, "Production For Use or For Profit?" Geo. H. Goebel of Newark and Assemblyman Theron McCampbell of Monmouth County.

**Pateroson.** Anniversary Festival Sat., Jan. 27, at 66 Washington St. Entertainment and dance. Mon., Jan. 29, lecture by David Sappos "Highlights of Labor History," at the same place. Sat., Feb. 3, study class on "The Case for Socialism." **West New York.** Lecture, Frank J. Manning, "New Plans For a New Day," Feb. 4, 3 p. m., at Labor Lyceum, Tyler Place and 17th St.

**New York** **Buffalo.** Riverside branch meeting in Liberty Hall, Niagara near Austin Sts., have elected the following officers: Organizer and Delegate to local Executive Committee, Christ M. Hawklund; Assistant Organizer, Emil Anderson, and a complete set of other officers.

Gustave A. Strehl of Syracuse spoke on "Money and Finance" in Hotel Fillmore Thursday.

**New Rochelle.** S.R.O. sign was up at Debs Hall last Sunday night when Leonard Bright debated with Charles T. Murphy, outstanding orator of the Westchester Democratic Prominent figures in both major parties attended.

**Westchester Open Forum.** Debs Hall, Sunday night; Rabbi Lawrence W. Schwartz of White Plains—"The Menace of Hitlerism."

**Yonkers.** Westchester Open Forum, Wells St. and Broadway, opposite Odd Fellows Hall. Geo. H. Goebel on "Can Roosevelt Bring Permanent Recovery?"

**Yonkers.** William E. Duffy spoke on "The New Deal From the Socialist Viewpoint" at Westchester Open Forum, Brown Hall, Welles Ave. and North Broadway, Monday night.

**Mount Vernon.** Westchester Open Forum every Friday night at 201 S. 3rd St. All meetings have gone over with a bang.

**Hempstead.** Business meeting of the Hempstead branch, held Tuesday, Jan. 23, at 32 S. Spruce St., West Hempstead. Officers for 1934 were elected. Arrangements made for class based on Fred Henderson's "Case for Socialism" on Wednesday evenings beginning Wednesday, Jan. 31. Bridge party decided on during second week in February. Norman Thomas meeting announced for February 6th at Valley Stream High School.

**Poughkeepsie.** New officers of local Poughkeepsie: Edward H. MacDonald, Chairman and Organizer; Frederick Eyles and Hans Peters, Recording Secretaries; Michael Stefanik, Literature Agent, and Dirk Eyles, Corresponding and Financial Secretary. The local will meet hereafter at the headquarters of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, 404 Main St., the 2nd and 4th Sunday evenings.

**Niagara County.** Five of the eight speakers scheduled to lecture at the Christian Ethic Forum of Youngstown are Socialists. The course was opened January 17 by Robert A. Hoffman of Buffalo with a discussion of "Unemployment in the Machine Age."

**Olean.** Local Olean announces that the communication should be addressed to headquarters, 501 1/2 North Union St. Of 71 members on the books of the local 48 are in good standing, constituting a record, according to State Secretary Merrill, for proportion of members to population.

**Jamestown.** Local Jamestown is now meeting at the Nordic Temple. An effort is being made to get young people interested in party activity.

**Nassau Local.** Hempstead Branch. Will conduct for its January 30, Tuesday, Forum debate on "Can Child Labor Be Abolished Under Capitalism?" Mrs. J. Marion Doane, prominent Nassau County Democrat, will defend affirmative and Mary W. Hilmyer, Executive Board of New York Chapter of L.L.O., the negative. Odd Fellows Hall, Franklin Street near Front St., Hempstead, L. I., January 30, Tuesday, at 8:30 p. m.

## THE WORKERS ABROAD

(Continued from Page Five)  
artisan and 2 Lousewives. Of the 47 workers 7 are unemployed. And this Council not only imitated the last special convention of the party, which unanimously indorsed the policies, tactics and strategy of the Socialist leadership, but renewed its warning to the government that organized labor will stop at nothing in its defense of the revolutionary gains.

This valiant stand of the Austrian Socialists seems to be one of the main reasons why the Dollfuss government hesitates to play ball with its Fascist-Heimwehr allies and refrains from a direct attack on organized labor and its Socialist Vienna.

However, there are other reasons that form part of the Socialist strategy in the desperate struggle against a Fascist-Nazi united front. One of them is the fear of the ruling Catholic Party of the anti-Catholic Hitler Germany, whose army is at the border ready at any moment to join the Nazi terrorists in Austria proper. For in such an eventuality the help of the powerful Socialist movement will be of incalculable value.

And there is a third factor one must bear in mind when forming an opinion on the extremely complicated political drama of Austria. Foreign intervention—governmental and labor—looms continually on the horizon of the Vienna play. The very influential leader of the 130 Socialist deputies in the French Parliament, Leon Blum, the leaders of the powerful labor parties in England (Comp-

ton and Smith), Belgium (Vander-velde and Wauters), Holland (Albarda), Switzerland (Grimm) and Norway (Lie), as well as the leaders of the ruling Socialist parties in Czechoslovakia (Soukup, Stivin, de Witte), Denmark (Jorgensen) and Sweden, travelled especially last October to Vienna to tell the Austrian workers that Labor in their countries is ready to help them.

In expressing their solidarity with the Austrian workers, the leaders of international Socialism warned the Dollfuss government that their respective parties are exercising all the pressure they can on their governments with the object of preventing Hitlerism or Fascism in Austria. Some of them threatened with economic and financial boycott, others went still farther and intimated a possible military alliance with Socialist workers of Austria.

And they could easily afford to be outspoken. For they knew that in this case even the ruling classes of their countries, will support an intervention against a Hitlerist annexation of Austria. Neither France, nor Czechoslovakia or Italy could at present afford to have at their border a Hitlerized Germany with a population artificially increased by another 10 million.

**THE** Socialist daily of the German "Free" city Danzig, the "Danziger Volksblatt," suppressed two months ago by the local Nazi administration, re-appeared again this month. The permission, it is reported, was given after an intervention of the League of Nations commissioner.

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# In the Great North West

By August Claessens

**T**RAVELLING through Minnesota over some 600 miles of roads in an old Ford driven by our State Secretary Niels Nielsen, I had, indeed, a grand trip. It was an experience full of surprises and instruction. Here one finds an ideal cultural setting for a healthy Socialist movement.

If one is not too super-critical and impatient, this Socialist development in Minnesota is surely the most satisfactory in all the U.S.A.

Thanks to the dominant elements in its racial complex, the fine groupings of Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, Finns and Germans, we find in this state a rare transplantation of European ideals and working-class culture.



August Claessens

There are some 1,500 cooperative ventures; in every community one sees the "Co-op" gas and service stations, creameries and milk product establishments, farmers' produce exchanges, storage houses and grain elevators and numberless stores, all cooperatively owned and managed.

Then there is the militant Farmers' Holiday Movement, alert and aggressive, combining the many Farmers' Unions into an effective organization. True, if you look too sharply you will find limited farmers and middle-class objectives. Their immediate economic interests loom in the foreground of their daily struggles against the banker and mortgage holders, the railroads and the market combines. However, when you meet the remarkably fine Socialists among and often in the lead of them you lose your fears as to the future and quite possible development of this farmers' movement.

The growth of party locals, the spread of Socialist literature among these people is a wholesome corrective. The Socialist speaker gets a splendid reception. If we can continue and increase our propaganda among these farmers, we should be able to contact and develop an excellent mass of agrarian Socialists who would enable our party more effectively to understand the agricultural situation and at the same time improve our technique in bringing into closer union the farmer and industrial sections of our movement.

Then there is here a victorious and powerful Farmer-Labor Party. It holds most of the offices from Governor down and supplies Washington with a delegation of Farmer-

## "Rank and File Committee" Spreads Dissentions

**L**OS ANGELES.—What is called the "Rank and File Committee" in the Socialist Party issues circulars to the party members that are general in character. They spread suspicion but present no evidence. Their only effect is to develop suspicion and dissatisfaction which plays into the hands of an active Communist element.

The latest circular states that the party is "facing utter collapse," that members are being illegally deprived of their membership and that "constructive criticism" is stifled by "gag rule."

A few charters have been revoked because of intolerable defiance of party rules, decisions and discipline, and some members have been expelled for the same offenses. In some cases expelled members have joined other branches because these branches are unaware of what constitutes party discipline. If a union were to expel members for scabbing and another local union admitted them, the union might finally become filled with scabs.

Labor Party Senators and Congressmen! It is an honest-to-goodness combination of trade union and farmer elements and there are many good Socialists among its active leaders and workers. Of course, it is not Socialist in aim and philosophy, but the Farmer-Labor Party has a class basis and represents the economic interests and the social philosophy of these people. Logically, our party does not oppose the Farmer-Labor Party, and many of our members are also members of the Farmer-Labor Party. Although we maintain our separate party organization here, like the former I.L.P. of Great Britain, the Minnesota Socialists do not nominate candidates in opposition to the Farmer-Labor Party.

It is also necessary to state that our comrades are not wholly satisfied with the Farmer-Labor Party. It has in its ranks many former Republican and Democratic adherents, its ideology is no more revolutionary than the average trade or farmers' union, and the Farmer-Labor Party has among its higher-ups a number of careerists and political trimmers; and in national elections they support either an Al Smith or a Franklin D. Roosevelt or else talk about the formation of a third party. Obviously, our comrades in Minnesota are not wholly comfortable with this company, our National Executive Committee has its headache in this situation, and I sat in on a party conference in Minneapolis in which our comrades debated whether they should continue their relations with the Farmer-Labor Party or pull out, nominate a ticket and go it alone. I offered no profound advice except to urge our comrades to continue their fine work of organizing Socialist locals in all parts of the state. With a much larger aggregation of Socialists, well-schooled and held together, I believe the problem will be solved and they will either influence the philosophy of the Farmer-Labor Party from the inside or, if they are compelled, to oppose it as we would any other drifting, planless reform movement.

I had a number of very successful meetings during my five days in Minnesota. I addressed eleven gatherings. In addition to the meetings I described in last week's article, I spoke at a Hillquit memorial meeting for the Workmen's Circle in Minneapolis and to an audience of some 500 students at the University of Minnesota; also to a small group of students at the Y.M.C.A., and finally to a splendid mass meeting arranged by Local Minneapolis.

On Tuesday we travelled 100 miles north to Askov, a charming little village transplanted from Denmark, where I spoke to about 100 farmers and their wives, some of whom came long distances through snow drifts that clogged the side roads. Leaving these wonderful people and their fine co-operatives behind, we rode like old Harry to reach Duluth to keep a radio engagement. Thanks to the Duluth Trade and Labor Council, I was given fifteen minutes over WEVC. I used part of the time in a short talk on Socialism and the rest in advertising our State Office, National Office pamphlets by Comrades Thomas and Hoan, and a description of the character and contents of The New Leader. Later, I addressed a fine meeting for Local Duluth.

I was sorry to leave this strange and inspiring State of Minnesota after so short a stay. I learned infinitely more there than I taught.

By Norman Thomas

# TIMELY TOPICS

## C.W.A. Should Be Continued

**R**ECENT visits to Cincinnati, O., Cumberland, Md., and Keyser, West Va., make me surer than ever that with all its faults, C.W.A. is what has been holding things together. It is ridden with politics; some of the jobs are a ridiculous form of made work; it is bringing no fundamental cure to

our deep-seated diseases, but it is relieving human beings. It is highly important that it should be continued unless and until something better can be done. It should not only be continued but the amount of relief at the disposal of C.W.A. and F.E.R.A. should be increased far beyond the President's immediate proposals.

I have not yet visited a place where there were not from half to four times as many waiting to get on C.W.A. as were already employed. A sound labor program for dealing with the immediate unemployment emergency ought to go like this: (1) There should be a great increase in public works, especially housing, which is the most useful form of public works and ought to be tackled on a very large scale. (2) C.W.A. should be improved in localities which need it and weeded down to those projects that are socially valuable. They should be maintained with definite security ahead. (3) There should be cash allotments to the unemployed who cannot be employed at anything except morale-destroying made work. These allotments should be continued until a proper form of unemployment indemnity, with employers contributing, can be set up.

A government which can throw around money the way R.F.C. has been doing can take care of the unemployed. But, never forget, no care of the unemployed can take the place of the fundamental processes of socialization. What we have to do is not to redistribute the national income very badly by a policy of unemployed benefits and taxation, but to set up a properly functioning system.



Norman Thomas

## Negro Victims

**F**RANK CROSSWAITH and others have recently called my attention to the fact that the Negroes are the chief sufferers. N.R.A. hasn't done much for them. They get second-hand attention under C.W.A. They form a large portion of the cropsharers of the South. They and their white fellow-sufferers are simply going to be driven off the land, perhaps to the extent of 500,000 to 800,000, by this policy of holding land out from cultivation and paying the benefits thereof to the landlords. The more need to keep up our work among these people and push it diligently. Especially must we give the best of support in New York to our staunch Harlem friends.

## The Big Navy Program

**O**UR big navy program has to be considered in the light of its bearing on foreign affairs. Temporarily we have let up on imperialism in the Western hemisphere. Recognition of Cuba should be followed by a renunciation of the Platt Amendment that gives America a right to interfere almost at will. But no temporary renunciation of imperialism will mean much to the world when it sees us building up our navy when we are protected on both sides by oceans, have no unredeemed fatherland to reclaim, and no particular enemies in sight. In every foreign war that we have fought we were the aggressors in the sense that we were not first attacked. Our armament simply increases the armament rate. It is not enough to make us safe against war or sure of victory in war. It cannot be enough against any conceivable combination of enemies. It is enough to keep up our own military spirit and to alarm our neighbors. Socialists and workers! Our great fight must be against this new race in armaments!

## The Road to Power

**F**ROM time to time I expect to comment on some of the interesting resolutions now being presented for Socialists' attention. A good place to begin is the widely circulated statement by a group which so far as my copy shows remains anonymous.

I wish every Eastern Socialist and every young student could visit Wisconsin and Minnesota and witness a fine Socialist movement in the making and at work. It would turn their occasional blue into bright scarlet. Now I am in Nebraska and Iowa. Well, here is

another story and a different situation. About that, more next week.

## Claessens' Tour

Meetings for Comrade Claessens continue as follows:

Jefferson City, Mo., January 29-30; St. Louis, January 31, February 1-2-3-4-5; Springfield, February 6-

It is a compact and well ordered document. Nevertheless it is an amazing—even an alarming—document from a Socialist standpoint. I quote three sentences: (1) "The road to power for Socialists is through preparation for a workers' dictatorship." (2) "We do not object to the establishment of the workers' state without violence, but we must be prepared for violence if it is necessary." (3) "Just as we are opposed to capitalist war, so are we opposed to capitalist solutions for war, such as the League of Nations, Disarmament conferences, etc., because permanent peace for the workers can only come after capitalism has been destroyed." On the basis of these opinions the authors believe that the Socialists can achieve a united front with labor and with the farmers!

Let us look at them. They do not say that what we want is a workers' democracy, but a workers' dictatorship. They do not call attention to the imperfections of what passes for democracy. They do not insist that we should put Socialism first rather than a mechanical concept of democracy that would be worth while. But they simply proclaim the Communist principle, and this in a country where inevitably a workers' dictatorship would be a dictatorship of one party against other workers' parties.

Which party shall it be, and how shall it treat the other party? Does not the dictatorial principle help to divide, not unite, Communists?

What trust would farmers have in a workers' dictatorship when they know that the Russian workers' dictatorship, with all that can be said in its favor, by its mistakes in policy and blundering created a famine in the Ukraine and other fertile areas of Russia? There is no dispute that such famine was created, though there is a great dispute as to the magnitude of it. That famine is probably now over—thanks to some improvements in policy and to a good harvest last summer. It is not an example of the infallibility of dictatorship to invite farmers to join in urging it in America. Nor is there any proof at all either in this statement by Socialists or in world history that dictatorship rather than a proper expression of democracy is the line of progress for the workers now.

Still more appalling is the patronizing statement that we do not object to the establishment of the workers' state without violence. Again notice, our comrades do not say that workers have no right to renounce violence in a world that does not renounce violence. That would be a correct statement. They merely don't object to a peaceful achievement of a workers' state. As a matter of fact, unless a workers' state in modern times and under present conditions is achieved with a minimum of violence, it is not likely to be achieved at all. We shall go in for Dark Ages.

This everlasting threat of violence can have only one effect, to scare away our own natural supporters and to play into the hands of Fascists who, while they may proclaim a little violence, have shown a genius in managing its psychological appeal that Socialists and Communists have lacked. And finally, one may well point out from a Socialist standpoint the imperfections and inadequacies of the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference. But to say that we are opposed to these solutions for war, just as we are opposed to capitalist war, is the last way in the world to get a united front. It will alienate all those who want to do what they can even now to prevent particular wars while we seek to change the system that is the mother of war.

Perhaps our authors mean something more reasonable than they say, but their form of saying it is disastrous, and these mistakes in the way of saying things do much to vitiate the truth that is in their document. For instance, they have a pretty sound declaration on a trade union policy, but the way they say it is likely to alienate equally the A. F. of L. and the independent unions. All in all, were I a Communist, Fascist or plain follower of Roosevelt, I would want nothing much better than these particular statements I have quoted and some others that I might quote to go out and rouse the country not for Socialism and the Socialist Party but against them. As a Communist I should say: "If you favor our policy so nearly, why not join us outright or at least join one of our factions?" As a Fascist I should denounce the Red peril and make my denunciation sound reasonable. As a Rooseveltian I should plead that my way at least did not involve an acceptance of virtually unlimited violence under a dictatorship that is not even defined. If what I said was not a hundred per cent correct, it would be near enough to it to impress an audience.

We are responsible as Socialists both for what we say and how we say it. And we have a vital appeal to make to a real workers' democracy.

7; Chicago, 8-9-10-11-12; South Bend, 13-14; Indianapolis, 16-17; Cincinnati, 18-19; Elmwood Place, 20; Middletown, 21; Dayton, 22-23; Columbus, 24-25; Athens County, 26-27; Willoughby, 28; Canton, March 1; Akron, 2-3; Youngstown, 4 afternoon, 4 evening; Sebring, 5-