

RED VIENNA SPECIAL NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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Rally to the Support of the Austrian Workers Fighting Fascist Bands!

New York Socialists Express Solidarity with Toilers Facing Black Specter of Despotism, Which Threatens All Europe

To the Working People of New York City.

AFTER fifteen years of terrible privations, the Austrian workers have become involved in a heroic struggle against Fascism. The Austrian Labor and Socialist movement has been an inspiration to the workers of all countries. It has been one of the best informed and best disciplined movements in the world. It brought hope to the Austrian toilers at the end of the World War, when their country was in ruins.

The workers of Vienna, ruling that city, erected model municipal apartment houses as homes for the masses. They established social insurance and services that brought medical aid, unemployment and sick insurance to the toilers. All this aroused the fury of the wealthy owners of capital and powerful landlords who determined to destroy this citadel of Socialist and Labor democracy. The reactionary minority forced the present general strike by an attempt to crush the trade unions and the Social Democratic Party by destroying a free press, freedom of assembly and the right of workers to strike.

In these tragic February days, the Austrian Socialists and trade unionists freely give their lives in a fateful struggle that means either freedom or despotism for the working masses. They have not resorted to physical conflict as a free choice. On the contrary, they have endured measureless provocations at the hands of a savage enemy. They have been patient, they have borne injustices, they have seen their civil rights and freedom of organization slowly taken away in the past few years. Every protest was followed by a new attack on the conquests they had made over fifteen years of hardships and struggles.

The Austrian workers had seen the Italian people placed under a Fascist yoke. Then Hitler Fascism gained power in Germany and its shocking brutalities and abnormal deeds revolted civilized mankind everywhere. Within Austria this foul thing, the spawn of black reaction, of hysteria and despotism, rose and found an ally in the regime of Chancellor Dollfuss. Austrian Fascism, led by a millionaire aristocrat, was permitted to direct his armed mercenaries against the organization of workers.

A restoration of the old aristocracy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, policed by armed gangs, faced the workers of Austria. If successful, workers would not have even those limited rights which they had under the old monarchy.

Austrian Fascism would destroy the free trade unions. It would deprive the masses of a free press. It would dissolve the Social Democratic Party.

It would crush the cultural and cooperative organizations of the workers. It would disfranchise the working masses. The toilers would become serfs held in bondage to the Fascist chiefs. It would destroy the wonderful apartment homes built for workers by the city which they controlled. All life would become a prison for every human being who loves freedom.

It is this awful fate against which the Austrian workers have revolted. They have been peaceful under frequent and increasing provocation. They have at times yielded reluctantly to avoid civil war. Every concession has only invited further encroachments upon the rights of the masses. Not till the Heimwehr Fascists had brutally invaded the buildings of the Socialists and trade unionists did the workers answer violence with a general strike. That strike led to conflicts and the conflicts led to civil war.

The workers of Austria, many of them having given their lives to the cause of human emancipation this week, are fighting not only the battles of their class; they are fighting against the spread of Fascism in Europe and

throughout the world. The Austrian toilers know the triumph of Fascism means the death knell for the working masses wherever it rules a nation. They give their lives in a heroic struggle that they and their children shall not be yoked to a galling bondage under the clubs of Fascist gangsters. Their fight is our fight, their defeat is our defeat, their victory is our victory.

The Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of New York, responding to that international duty which Socialists owe to the workers in all countries, appeals to the working masses and to all who appreciate the principles at stake in the

Austrian class struggle, to join in acclaiming solidarity with the workers who fight for us in the streets of Vienna and in the towns and villages of Austria. These toilers in this great human struggle appeal to us across all frontiers for aid and encouragement.

We urge all to join us in mass meetings of protest against the Dollfuss-Fascist counter-revolution. We urge friends and comrades everywhere to fight Fascism with renewed energy, to help hurl back this black specter of despotism that would destroy the conquests of human freedom which generations of struggle have yielded to the peoples of the world.

We send our fraternal greetings of solidarity to the workers of Austria and pledge to our dead who have fallen in this struggle that we shall do our utmost to make that noble sacrifice a fruitful one for human liberation.

City Executive Committee, Socialist Party of New York, Julius Gerber, Secretary

WHERE THE WORKERS DEFEND THEIR HOMES



Karl Marx Hof. A workers' apartment built by the Vienna Socialist regime. The largest apartment house in the world, and one of the finest. Here the men and women of Vienna, defending their homes, were slaughtered by Dollfuss' assassins.

Defend the Workers' Revolution in Austria!

★
**Madison
Sq. Garden**

★ Monster Mass Meeting! ★

Trade Unions Order All Members to Stop Work at 3 P. M.,
Friday, February 16th, 1934

MARCH TO MADISON SQUARE GARDEN!

PROMINENT SPEAKERS WILL ADDRESS THE MEETING

★
**FRIDAY,
February 16**
At 3 P. M.

★
Defend Democracy!—Demonstrate Your Solidarity with the Austrian Socialists!—World War Is Imminent!—On to Madison Sq. Garden!
CONFERENCE OF SOCIALIST PARTY, TRADE UNIONS AND WORKMEN'S CIRCLES

While the Austrian Workers Fight and Die!

OUT of the Communist camp came the usual barrage of advice and criticism this week, its central theme being the proletarian battle in Austria.

In Moscow the Communist Party organ, *Pravda*, calls for a "united front" of workers in Austria and France but also declares that "the only guarantee of a successful outcome" will depend upon the workers accepting the "leadership of the Communist Party."

The Moscow generals ignore the fact that in Austria, unlike Germany before the rise of Hitler to power, the workers have been and continue united in a determined solidarity against Fascist barbarism because the Communist International has had little following in Austria. For fifteen years Moscow did its utmost to sow discord and hate in the ranks of the Austrian working class. Had it been successful, the *Heimwehr* would have triumphed over divided workers on the day that it raided the buildings of the Vienna proletariat.

On Tuesday, Karl Radek is reported in Moscow Bolshevik organs as saying that "the *Heimwehr* has been carrying out its plans without resistance or even with the tacit approval of the Social Democratic Party."

This infamous statement made at the moment when the members and leaders of the Social Democratic Party were fighting behind barricades in the streets of Vienna, while their apartment houses were being attacked by the artillery of the Fascist reaction, while the workers in other cities were baring their breasts to the *Heimwehr* mercenaries' bullets, brands these Moscow heroes as insufferable cads.

Here in New York City the "Daily Worker" also lies about the proletarian dead and the living fighters against the spread of Fascist barbarism through Central Europe. "Our working class comrades," says this organ, "are now shedding their blood in life and death struggle against the monster of Austrian Fascism."

"Our working class comrades" indeed! It was only yesterday that YOU were traducing those who now yield their lives in support of the Socialist ideal.

The organ continues: "They are sweeping over the miserable, pettyfogging Social Democratic leaders, who, for over a year, have been keeping them from the fight by every conceivable, degrading trickery."

So! It was nearly a year ago that these

leaders prepared the Social Democratic workers for this conflict. Detailed instructions were sent to the party members as to how they were to act in such an emergency. If the party buildings were raided and the leaders were arrested before orders could be given to the workers, the masses were to act in accord with those instructions.

That is what happened and the Austrian Socialist proletariat acted in accord with the plans then prepared. During all this period Communism played the role of blackleg. From Moscow came the usual attacks upon the best disciplined Socialist movement in Europe. The little handful of Communists in Vienna played the role of conscript vassals of the Moscow leaders, sniping and snarling, and endeavoring to divide the Austrian proletariat before Fascism as they did in Germany.

Had the Communist movement been successful in dividing the Austrian proletariat, the Fascist banner would have been victorious throughout Austria within twenty-four hours after this struggle began. What is all this abnormal conduct but playing the role of hangman of the working class?

Not since the days of Bakunin anarchism has there been such conduct. One could have hoped that Communism would be sobered in these February days of street battles in Austrian cities but its revolting conduct has made it a pariah among civilized workers in all countries.

Disease Germs

FOR nearly fifteen years American farmers have been sinking lower and lower. Their depression began nearly ten years before the collapse that sent the workers into lengthening breadlines. Coolidge and Hoover offered them sweet sermons that buttered no bread and others continue this course.

At Cornell University this week Professor Warren, President Roosevelt's monetary advisor, passed some device on to hundreds of farmers who attended the annual Farm and Home Week. "He recommended that young farmers acquire property, keep out of debt and be satisfied with a conservative 4 per cent return on any investment they might make outside the farm." So reads a press dispatch.

We are now looking for the doctor who will advise the patient who is in an advanced stage of tuberculosis to acquire strong lung tissues and put on a lot of flesh. The farmer wants more of life and so does the t. b. patient, but disease germs plague both. What about getting rid of parasites first, professor?

The New Caesarism

IF you do not know Oswald Spengler we'll say that he is the author who wrote a ponderous work a few years ago bearing the title of "Decline of the West." It set our liberals and others all agog. It was so "profound." To this is added a translation from the German of "The Hour of Decision," also by Spengler. The last performance is being panned by the reviewers who find it easy to show that Spengler's ideal is a Prussian Junker of the classic thick-head variety known to intelligent people.

Our ruling classes are certain to have their magic-men as the old order declines. These literary footmen of bankers and capitalists cannot be scientists and candidly tell their patrons that their robber system is drifting to its end. No, Spengler serves them a mess of pretended science that reminds us of some of the Nordic "science" of Koo Koo Kleagles. What else can be served the ruling Babbitts of the world?

Spengler wants a Caesar. Not a Roman but a Prussian boss with a proper Junker view of the masses, a boss who will serve the aristocracy of banks and capital. There is nothing new in this. It is as old as Caesarism itself.

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

By the Editor

THE NEW LEADER AND THE A.S.Q.

With the great growth in circulation and influence of the American Socialist Quarterly, official theoretical publication of the Socialist Party, more and more New Leader readers are anxious to become subscribers.

The New Leader has arranged for a joint subscription rate for both publication to the effect of \$1.50 per year. Subscriptions on that basis, mailed to The New Leader or to the A.S.Q., both at 7 East 15th St., New York City, will receive prompt attention.

This offer applies only to new subscribers, not to renewals.

Socialists Act Promptly

THE proletarian struggle in Austria this week kept our heads in a whirl. On Tuesday it was decided to have a four-page supplement on the Austrian struggle, by Wednesday evening it was made up, and on Thursday it was ready for distribution. Our readers are thus served with four extra pages this week, and on Friday Socialists and trade union bodies met in Madison Square Garden in a vast protest meeting against Austrian Fascism. The party organization and the Yipsels responded magnificently to their international duty.

A Few Letters

Messages of approval of The New Leader continue to come in every week. Here are a few:

State Secretary of the Socialist Party in Kansas, John W. Piercey, writes that one duty of his office will be to increase the circulation of The New Leader.

State Secretary W. W. Norris of Minnesota sends appreciation of August Claessens' work and states that his cooperation in boosting

The New Leader can be counted on. Earnest James Bentell of New Jersey "enjoys The New Leader very much; it is certainly improving all the time."

C. R. Schneider of Erie, Pa., wants 200 copies to distribute at a Vladeck lecture and orders 24 sub books "at the earliest possible date." Will he get them? He will!

Donald J. Lotrich of Chicago recognizes The New Leader as the Socialist paper that stands "stanchly by the Socialist Party and its decisions. We want it to grow and expand."

Paul Porter, now ill upstate, is gratified at the "steady improvement of The New Leader," declares that Mark Khinoy's column "alone makes the paper indispensable," and likes the editor's interpretation of "Socialist experience here and abroad."

For Our Anniversary Number

Old material for our Tenth Anniversary Edition continues to arrive. Paul Fromholtz of Wisconsin sends an invaluable collection of photos of strikes that revive old memories. Packages of old Socialist publications and documents have been received from Al Lund, Montana; M. Morey, Massachusetts; S. R. Angel, California, and E. W. Gray of Niagara Falls, N. Y. Again, many thanks!

The Sub-Getters

We have much to report but little space for it this week. The following comrades and friends have sent subs ranging from 5 to 20: J. Winnen, M. Franklin and N. Ginsburg, Chicago; L. S. Davidow, Detroit; L. Cousins, New Mexico; Martin Heisler, New York; W. Peters, Milwaukee; N. Mravintz and R. Tillotson, Pennsylvania; N. Rosenbaum, Massachusetts; T. Coonrod, Idaho; I. Robinson, California, and Nick Weltlich, Ohio. So long till next week.

Among the Illinois Coal Miners

By August Claessens

ONE often wishes that there were some one book on the history of trade unions that could be used to prevent the constant repetition of blunders. And wouldn't it be just ideal if by some compulsory process all new Socialists or radicals were forced to study this subject so that they really could benefit by past experiences? This may be a vain hope. The lure of high sounding phrases, the charm of "revolutionary" programs and of smacking criticism of existing organizations may after all entice the innocent for some time yet to come.

I spent several hours among some of the active spirits of the Progressive Miners in Gillespie

and met others, else where. I heard from them the story of the tragic situation now facing them and the costly and painful experience they went through in organizing their new union and defending its existence. The Progressive Miners of America is an organization born in a great revolt against the leadership and tactics of the United Mine Workers of America. The old union has been and still is pregnant with plenty of trouble.

It is generally said that its leadership is reactionary and that the rank and file are victims of constant betrayal. It is also the fond hope of every observer that a change in leadership would work miracles and that miners generally, if given full democratic rights, would speedily improve their condition. Well, it is not as simple as all that and the sad tale of the

Progressive Miners illuminates the situation and adds one more lesson to the primer of false hopes.

When it was born, the Progressive was a union radical enough to thrill every rebel. It was appraised as a new hope and a challenge not only to the old miners' union but to the whole A.F.O.L. as well. To every romantic, the Progressive Miners' union was a militant, radical, honest-to-goodness clean and democratic organization. Those who were a bit skeptical about this immaculate conception were immediately derided as "old fossils."

The picture I got is as follows: Its ranks are diminished, the leadership is conservative, its press is viciously reactionary, the radicals (Continued on Page Eight)



August Claessens

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 not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

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NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement

JAMES ONEAL, Editor
Wm. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

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which was found day school.

Austrian Workers' Revolt Climax Of 15 Years' Struggle for Socialism

Faced Incredible Hardships To Build Great Workers' Movement in Republic

By James Oneal

AFTER fifteen years of terrible hardships, struggles, dangers and magnificent heroism the Austrian working class, facing a Fascist noose that was slowly coiling round their necks, revolted against this fate. Fortunately, there are practically no divisions in the ranks of the Austrian workers, which accounts for the unity and discipline they have displayed. The story of the Austrian proletariat is one of the most inspiring in the annals of labor history.

The Austrian revolution began in the last days of October, 1918, when workers and students demonstrated before the Parliament building in Vienna. The Hapsburg monarchy collapsed as the soldiers went over to the revolution and Karl Renner, Socialist, became Chancellor while Otto Bauer took over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

However, Austria was cut off from some of her industries and raw materials and was dependent upon Allied countries for industrial

and financial aid to prevent large sections of the population from starving. Insufficient food took a heavy toll of workingmen, women and children, especially in Vienna and other cities, and Austria became a helpless ward dependent upon the charity of her conquerors.

The Entente guardian of Austria stood as a constant threat against any full program of socialization and only a few industries were nationalized. The currency depreciated, prices soared and profiteering by capitalists added to the misery of the masses. Because of differences with the Christian Social (Catholic) party the Social Democratic members of the Cabinet withdrew in July, 1920.

Despite the fearful economic conditions the membership of the trade unions and of the Social Democratic Party increased while the workers build up an armed force to protect their organizations against any reaction. In later years this precaution was justified when Fascism developed and the armed workers defended Red Vienna a number of times against Fascist attacks.

Illegal Acts of the Government

As Austria was drifting to bankruptcy, late in 1922, the League of Nations reorganized Austrian finances. This helped, but the nation continued in the throes of a permanent economic crisis, with unemployment of gigantic proportions and the working classes enduring intolerable miseries. However, the workers have displayed wonderful endurance and fighting spirit.

Several times in the past ten years the workers in arms have beaten off Fascist attacks and in July, 1927, they carried out a 24-hour general strike in protest against the acquittal of a Fascist who had murdered a Socialist worker and a child. As the report of the Austrian Social Democratic Labor Party to the Vienna Congress of the Labor and Socialist International in 1931 declared, henceforth the Austrian workers and Socialists were required to show "iron discipline and indestructible patience" and a "readiness to defend the democratic republic against the Heimwehr Fascists at the risk of life and limb."

In 1930 the Fascists tried to provoke the masses into premature risings. A general election was due on November 9 and it was hoped that by provoking physical retaliation the government might be induced to intervene in the election. The report to the International declared:

"A month of incredible provocation of the workers by the Fascists followed; illegal confiscations of the Labor press, threats of a coup d'etat and the arrest of Social Democratic leaders, illegal searching of houses and the confiscation of weapons in the meeting places of the Schutzbund throughout the country, followed one after the other. But the workers refused to allow themselves to be provoked; with iron discipline they followed the advice of the party not to provide the Fascists with any ex-

cuse for acts of violence and to make sure of the elections under all circumstances."

The result was that the Socialists gained one seat, the Christian Social (Catholic) Party lost 7, while the Heimwehr Fascists obtained a total of only 8 seats, exposing that "popular movement" as a small minority.

Vienna Chief



Dr. Robert Dannenberg, head of the Vienna City Council.

The reaction was favorable to the Socialist working class and excitement subsided for a time, but the world economic crisis brought even greater hardships to the workers. Unemployment increased and intolerable misery spread. Austrian exports rapidly declined and the government faced an unbalanced budget. The collapse of the Credit-Anstalt, the largest financial institution upon which many medium-sized and large industrial enterprises depended, made the crisis even more devastating in its effects upon the workers than before.

In September, 1931, Dr. Pfrimer, Heimwehr leader, proclaimed himself dictator of Austria and pro-

OTTO BAUER



Austrian Socialist leader, now fighting on the barricades.

ceeded to seize public offices in Styria. Chancellor Buresch, Clerical, remained inactive whereupon the Socialists told him that if the government did not suppress the revolt the Socialist Schutzbund would. Regular troops were then sent and the revolt was suppressed.

In the meantime Fascism was rising in Germany while Mussolini was becoming adviser to Fascists in Austria. The severe economic crisis did not abate. The heavy taxation levied by the Socialist administration of Vienna upon the wealthy classes to provide the workers with modern apartments and other social services roused the furies of the wealthy. Some big capitalists helped to finance the Fascist bands and the latter became bolder with the rise of Hitler to power in Germany. The Austrian workers knew that a Fascist Germany meant new dangers for them, and when Hitler became Chancellor the Socialist executive called upon the workers to exercise the greatest vigilance in the face of the "agents of German Fascism."

Meantime in May, 1932, Dollfuss was called to office as Chancellor and after March, 1933, the political situation became worse. Dollfuss tried to dispose of the National Council and to obtain more power for himself. At a great mass meeting Otto Bauer charged him with Fascist intentions. A meeting of the National Council in March was sabotaged by Dollfuss, Socialist papers were repeatedly censored, some issues were confiscated, and the Republican Schutzbund (armed workers) was ordered dissolved while the Heimwehr Fascists were made auxiliary police. Much of the income of the Socialist government of Vienna was illegally withdrawn by the government while decrees were issued to nullify the social legislation of Red Vienna.

In April the Social Democratic Party held its annual conference in Vienna. Louis de Brouckere and Frederick Adler attended as representatives of the Labor and Socialist International while the International Federation of Trade Unions was represented by Walter M. Citrine and Leon Jouhaux. The conference was followed by a tremendous May Day celebration in defiance of the government which called out troops and erected barricades in some streets.

The Austrian Socialists had favored union with Germany, but the Fascist dictatorship in Germany made necessary a change in this policy. Last May the representatives of the party and the Union of

Schutzbund Organized to Defend the Fruits of Their Revolution

Socialist National and Federal Councilors issued a joint declaration which declared:

"We have striven to secure union with the German Republic—but we refuse to have anything to do with union with a Fascist prison-house."

The declaration also affirmed that Austria must be independent of Italy and Hungary.

On May 26 the Communist Party, which had never become large or influential among the masses, was suppressed and the Socialists protested against this illegal act. Meantime the Socialists were circulating a petition in favor of summoning the National Council and this was confiscated by a Vienna Court on account of one passage it contained. Another draft was prepared and this was also confiscated. Another was circulated and 1,216,327 men and women signed it.

Austrian Nazis, the Fascists supported by the Hitler dictatorship, became bolder, but because of their Hitler connections the Dollfuss government declared their seats in the Provincial Diets and

city councils vacant and their activities throughout Austria were prohibited. However, the Heimwehr Fascists continued active while Dollfuss prepared concentration camps for the Hitler gangs.

In September, 1933, the Austrian Socialists prepared a manifesto to be sent to the masses and a white space in the Socialist daily, the Arbeiter-Zeitung, on September 27 indicated the censor had prohibited publication. This manifesto cited the history of previous months in which the government by various measures had filled local and provincial bodies with its tools, sanctioned illegal arrests of persons on suspicion, and had called upon railroad workers to join the "Fatherland Front." This was intended to eliminate the railroad unions and Socialist workers. The manifesto declared:

"The Austrian working class has seen the terrible fate that has befallen their comrades in the German Reich. Taught by that lesson, they will not submit to Fascism without a struggle. The working class threatens no man, neither townsman nor peasant..."

Approach of the Final Conflict

Last November 12 was the anniversary of the founding of the Republic which had always been observed as a national holiday by the masses in general as well as the Socialists. The Socialists announced a celebration and the Dollfuss Government prohibited it.

The elimination of legal guarantees was becoming more

First President



Karl Renner, first Socialist president of the Austrian Republic.

and more intolerable for the workers as the year closed and throughout the Socialist and other workers' organizations there was a growing conviction that the "final conflict" was approaching.

Despite the Dollfuss prohibition some 400 meetings were held by the workers in factories and workshops on November 10 and 350

branch meetings of the party were held. On the following day, the anniversary of the death of Victor Adler, thousands of workers tried to enter the Central Cemetery where he is buried and were obstructed by armed police. Despite the provocation the workers maintained discipline and about a thousand gathered at the grave and sang the "Song of Labor."

Orders and decrees of an arbitrary character continued to be issued by the government as the new year arrived and even "International Information," the mimeograph press service of the Labor and Socialist International, was prohibited distribution in Austria. Dollfuss more and more became the ally of the Heimwehr. He also paid visits to Mussolini and, while protesting against Hitler's propaganda by radio and financing of Hitler's agents in Austria, Dollfuss has helped to encourage Heimwehr Fascism as a counter-revolutionary force against the Socialist working class.

Provocations against the workers came to a climax when early last week the Heimwehr and Vienna police occupied Socialist buildings and the building where the Socialist daily was published. Chancellor Dollfuss was in Budapest consulting Hungarian reactionaries when these raids occurred and Vice-Chancellor Fey, a Heimwehr Fascist, undertook the raids.

The Austrian proletariat in these February days have exhibited a heroism that will become an epic in the struggles of the working class for liberation from class rule. No matter what the final outcome may be the Vienna proletariat will be recorded in Socialist history with imperishable glory.

Follow the latest developments in the Austrian tragedy in The New Leader every week. Write to The New Leader, 7 East 15th Street, New York City, for a free sample copy.

French Strike Against Fascism

Workers Warn Rulers to Try No Tricks

PARIS.—While the workers of Vienna and other Austrian cities were preparing to defend their very lives their great achievements, the masters of France were given a solemn warning not to try any Fascist nonsense in the most impressive general strike that turbulent country has ever seen.

For twenty-four hours France knew there was a working class, because the millions of workers stood by with folded arms and by their silent might warned the new reactionary government not to try the Dollfuss game.

On the day the Vienna workers were taking down their rifles to defend their homes from the Fascist savages Leon Blum, great leader of the great French Socialist Party, was heading a mighty procession of 100,000 workers in a monster anti-Fascist demonstration.

The French 24-hour general strike was not a domestic affair; it was notice to the world that in the land of the great revolution of 1789 there still dwells the breed of those who razed the Bastille and drove out four kings and two emperors.

It was an event of the profoundest significance, especially in the face of the constitution of the reactionary Doumergue cabinet that contains Fascists and military men—but no representatives of the workers.

The Socialist Party is the only major political organization of the Republic to have come off unscathed and unsmirched by the malodorous Stavisky scandal. But like all other parties, it has felt its effects.

In a word, the masses were fed up with the ruling politicians. For years they had seen the same group of politicians shuffle themselves around and form cabinets, and in the expressive French phrase, the more things changed the more alike they were.

The Chamber was a talk-shop, its dreariness mitigated only by the large Socialist bloc acting as a brake on the recklessness of even the left parties. Nothing came out of the Chamber except laws that meant nothing. And the crisis continued to deepen, and the war-danger grew.

The Socialists were unwilling to join any government and accept responsibility for the acts of other parties. They paid a heavy price for their steadfastness to principle in a serious split in their ranks. But they have their self-respect, and vastly increased esteem in the country.

The cheap Stavisky grand larceny was the last straw for the French masses. They were sick until death of cheap politics and of politicians who talked like patriots and accepted bribes from vile crooks like the Pawnbroker of Bayonne while the world collapsed about them.

Talk led to riots—FOR THE FRENCH REMAIN FRENCH.

And in those riots Communists battled the *Garde Republicaine* shoulder to shoulder with royalists shouting *Vive le Roi*, and with Fascists already practicing a Gallie version of a Fascist salute. For Communists, too, remain Communists.

The riots led to the call for a "strong man." And the "strong man" turned out to be as "strong" as Dollfuss, ready to shoot his

World Labor Movement Swings Into Action for Austrian Workers

THE whole world labor movement is swinging into action behind the heroic Austrian workers in their glorious struggle.

True to the pledge of world labor at the recent Congress of the Austrian Social Democracy, the International Federation of Trade Unions called an emergency meeting of the Executive at Paris Wednesday, and immediate action was discussed along these lines:

1. Financial and moral support for the Austrian workers.
2. Focusing public attention upon the situation, with special attention to arousing public sympathy through resolutions, mass meetings, etc.
3. Pressure upon all governments not to aid Fascism either of the Hitler, the Mussolini or the Dollfuss brand, through parliamentary pressure and the united force of vast mass meetings.

Among those present at the meeting were men important in the political life as well as of the trade unions of their countries, including Cornille Mertens and Walter Schevenels of Belgium; Leon Jouhaux, who recently led the magnificent general strike of the French workers as a warning against Fascism, and Walter M. Citrine of Great Britain.

The British Labor Party and Trade Union Congress immediately opened a drive for financial support for the Austrian workers.

Julius Gerber, Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party of New York, cabled the Labor and Socialist International:

American Socialists proudly express solidarity with embattled Austrian comrades fighting for World Peace, Democracy and Civilization. Advise how we can help.

MILWAUKEE.—The executive committee of the Milwaukee Socialist Party issued the following statement on the Austrian situation:

"The Socialist Party of Milwaukee hails with admiration the refusal of their Socialist comrades in Austria tamely to submit to the domination of Fascism. In their splendid housing developments and social services introduced at the most of the capitalists, the Austrian Socialists have set a model in comfortable living for the working class of the world. In their devotion to Socialist ideals and their willingness to fight even to the death to protect them, they are again leading the workers of other nations toward the establishment of a cooperative commonwealth.

"Equally inspiring is the example set by our French comrades in the general strike and demonstration of recent date to warn the French government that they will not tolerate Fascist dictatorship and are prepared to resist any move in that direction in the same manner as the Austrian Socialists.

"The menace of Fascism hangs heavy over Europe. Signs of its approach appear already in America. While our German and Italian brothers languish in prison camps or exile, while our French brothers prepare to resist reaction in France, while our Austrian brothers are barricaded in the magnificent workers' homes they have built, our duty lies clearly before us. We must build now, build quickly, a Socialist party strong enough to withstand the violent death struggles of capitalism, so that we will be able to take possession of the resources and facilities of our great country and lead the workers forward to a Socialist world."

Taximen Build Big Union with Socialist Aid

PROGRESS towards the strengthening of the Taxicab Drivers' Union of Greater New York proceeded last week under the guidance of Socialists, who have been the vanguard of the struggle for existence of New York's 67,000 hackmen during and since their spectacular strike two weeks ago.

The attempt to consolidate the gains made as a result of the strike, just as the efforts to bring about an effective victory during the strike, are being hampered by a small but typically vociferous nest of Communists who have been pursuing their well-known rule or ruin policy. The Communists, however, have discredited themselves thoroughly with the rank and file and it is certain that they will do no ruining in this union.

As a result of the strike settlement brought about by Comrades Jacob Panken and Matthew M. Levy, hearings were held last week to formulate a code for the taxi industry in New York. It is the first time in the history of the NRA that a local code is being established.

The union is not looking for salvation through the NRA, according to Comrade Levy, but is using the hearings as a means of setting forth its case before the public. The terms of the code submitted by Comrade Levy for the union include the following:

Minimum wage for day men of \$23, for night men \$25. Maximum working time of 48 hours per week, which would mean three shifts of not more than 8 hours per day from the time of arrival at the garage; this provision would be completely dependent upon and intricately interwoven with the wage scale. Guarantee of 50 weeks per year employment. A system of unemployment insurance with contributions by the employers, administration by the union and enforcement by the municipal authorities. Complete abolition of the blacklist and discrimination of any kind.

the latest A. F. of L. monthly survey of business.

Pointing out that wages have declined more than living costs and that workers' buying power in 104 industries is scarcely more than half of its 1929 value, the survey says: "This spring is the time to drive for wage increases. As business gains and industrial earnings improve, workers must be alert to secure their share."

"It is most important that hours in industry generally be further shortened this spring. The average work week in 103 industries covered by the Labor Department was nearly 38 hours in December. We have made progress under the codes, but hours are not yet short enough to put the unemployed back to work."

The Civil Works' Program is proving a very hot potato for the Roosevelt Administration. It wants to drop it but fears the worst if it does.

Frank R. Kent of the Baltimore "Sun," one of the best informed of the Washington correspondents, says the desire of administration leaders to abandon the CWA experiment is much greater than they have shown on the surface.

"The Administration problem," says Kent, "is to keep the appropriation within bounds, taper off from now on to an end May 1, and still not leave without means of (Continued on Page Five)"

Administration Gambles on Hope Conditions Will Improve

By Observer

Our Washington Correspondent

THAT White House "spanking" given Harry Woodring, Assistant Secretary of War, for his "Liberty" article was not very severe, it is learned. Harry does not have to take his meals from a mantel and is feeling quite chipper.

However, Harry will not write any more articles for "Liberty" declaring, in effect, that the army is ready to keep the workers in their place. If the urge to write gets the better of him he will be more guarded in his language than in the article which brought a deluge of complaints and protest to the White House and fellow-citizens.

The French remain French, and no man dares fire on his fellow-Frenchmen UNLESS LIKE THE TWO NAPOLEONS HE IS PREPARED TO GO THROUGH WITH IT.

Daladier was not the stuff of which Bonapartes are made, and he was promptly hooted out of office. At that moment there was danger of a Fascist or even royalist coup, made easy by the support in the boulevards by Communist gangs.

And at that time the Socialists uttered a solemn warning that if an attempt were made to foist a Fascist dictatorship upon their country they would know how to emulate their brave Austrian comrades.

France knows. The French workers are prepared for whatever may befall. They will not stand by and allow a Fascist reaction to be foisted upon them.

drew the fire of the Socialist Party's National Executive Committee.

Woodring told Stephen Early, one of President Roosevelt's secretaries, that he did not intend to enroll the Civilian Conservation Corps in the Army. "With that explanation," in the words of the Associated Press, "an incident in the President's official family was quietly passed over."

The Assistant Secretary of War said he did not intend his references in the article to mean militarization of the CCC. Early said of the explanation:

"It was a question of not expressing his views clearly and for

that Mr. Woodring is sincerely regretful. It was a failure to make his intended meaning clear."

The White House, it is reported, accepted the explanation. What it thought about Woodring's assertion in "Liberty" that the army stood ready "to cope with social and economic problems in an emergency" was not revealed.

Woodring, of course, talked a little too frankly. He was not a "bad boy," only "indiscreet." His views, if confined to the "select few" would have been all right but a magazine of general circulation was no place for them.

Organized labor leadership here is more and more concerned over the failure to shorten hours of work to provide jobs for the millions of workers now idle.

The NRA now seems committed to further reduction in hours. Gen. Johnson has indicated that he favors the 32-hour week as a first step and it is expected this will come before the gathering of between 275 and 300 code authorities to be held in Washington March 5. The NRA plan is for industry "voluntarily" to shorten hours.

But Gen. Johnson apparently feels that the 32-hour week would be inadequate, as a final solution of giving work to the jobless.

"If you went back under modern conditions to the prosperity of 1926, you probably would still have a couple of million people unemployed even on a 32-hour week," he recently said.

Labor is disposed to give the NRA a chance to move for early shortening of hours, but it believes the spring must see some action. The labor attitude is made plain in

ARRESTED



William Ellenbogen, editor of the Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung, among the Socialist leaders arrested by Dollfuss' hangmen.

Wide Support Is Given Solomon in Wage Plea

The speech delivered by Charles Solomon over Station WEVD in reply to Mayor LaGuardia's plea for his so-called "economy" program received wide notice, and his statement of the Socialist position in the issues involved was discussed throughout the city.

The speech was particularly well received in civil service circles, and "The Chief," organ of the city's civil service, reprinted it in full, including the ringing appeal for united political action in a working class party with which the speech concluded.

Teachers and other civil servants have been showing increasing hospitality to the Socialist appeal especially since the LaGuardia "economy" measures turned out to be wage and salary slashing devices, and Socialist sentiment is said to be making considerable headway in those circles.

11th A. D., Manhattan

By Leon Gibson

This is the second of a series of articles on our Socialist Party Branches. The material is based on facts gathered by the Committee of Survey and Statistics, of which Gibson is chairman and George Turitz, Secretary.

THE territory extending south of Columbia University to 102nd Street between the Hudson River and Eighth Avenue; and in some portions as far east as Seventh Avenue, is the 11th A. D. The most prominent landmark of this district is the Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

The population west of Amsterdam Avenue between 116th and 102nd Streets is predominantly middle class. To this can be added the transient student population from the nearby Universities. The population east of Amsterdam Avenue, covering an area of about 30 square blocks, comprising the southeastern portion of the district is mostly of a proletarian type—Irish, Spanish and Puerto Rican.

The vote for Norman Thomas for mayor in 1929 and for Borough President in 1931 was good and so was the straight Socialist vote. The Socialist enrollment should be encouraging material for the active Branch workers.

Up to the middle of November, 1932, the 11th A. D. was part of the Upper West Side Branch, but due to its vast territory the U. W. S. B. felt it advisable to split the territory. The idea of forming a new branch was in the minds of active members of the U. W. S. B. for some time. Not until Wm. T. Hade, an active party worker who moved into the district, was a final decision made. Wm. T. Hade became organizer and took full charge of the newly organized branch. In December, due to pressure of other activities he was forced to resign and the branch elected Carl Fichandler in his place.

Numerically the membership of this new branch is quite small, but of a very fine calibre. Of the twenty-two members, eighteen are in good standing and nine are actively engaged in all phases of party activities. Five out of seven members of the executive committee are college graduates with a fine Socialist background and of Socialist parentage.

The canvass of the enrolled Socialists in the district will be started as soon as the new enrollment lists are available. The only serious obstacle to the branch activities, at the present, is the scarcity of suitable meeting places in the neighborhood at a reasonable price. This, however, will be overcome when the membership increases and the Branch is in a better financial condition. From what I know about some of the

The I.R.T. Unwittingly Points The Way to Debt Revision

THE city's financial problems are not solved, and they will not be solved even if the Mayor's "economy" bill is carried and put into effect with all its wage and salary slashes.

The city is in a financiers' "straitjacket"—Mr. LaGuardia's own expression—with heavy obligations to the bankers, totaling well over \$200,000,000 every year, an obligation the Mayor insists is a "first lien" upon the city's income.

So long as it is such a "first lien," and that payment is met before everything else, the city will be in the "straitjacket," and balancing the budget will require increasing salary and wage cuts and slashes in the social services and relief appropriations.

Only by revising the debt structure and lifting the unbearable burdens—as the Socialists have constantly insisted—can the situation be saved without fearful hardships to the millions.

That "first lien" is a contractual obligation and the bankers are going to fight bitterly to safeguard its sanctity.

BUT WHEN PROFITS ARE MENACED, BANKERS ARE

NOT SO EAGER TO SAFEGUARD CONTRACTUAL OBLIGATIONS.

They do not like the idea of revising a debt agreement when such revision will interfere with their profits—even at grave danger to the city and its millions of inhabitants.

BUT LET A CONTRACTUAL OBLIGATION INTERFERE WITH THEIR PROFITS AND THEY WILL SING ANOTHER TUNE.

For example:

The Interborough Rapid Transit Company took over the property and securities of the old Manhattan elevated thirty years ago on a 999-year lease, guaranteeing to pay 10 per cent on the (fantastically swollen) capitalization of the latter until October 27, 2903. Now, 970 years and 9 months before the expiration of that contract the I.R.T. is going into court to have it abrogated because it is no longer profitable.

That suit is a hint to a city administration that can take a hint. And if it is not able to—WE CAN MAKE THEM SEE THE POINT!

If a profit-making corporation can legally seek revision of a con-

tractual obligation because it no longer pays, we can hammer home the demand that another contractual obligation must be revised to safeguard the interests of millions.

It is a choice of one of two ways: either payment in full UNTIL THE WHOLE STRUCTURE COLLAPSES, or drastic revision—with incidental hardship to those who invested in the people's needs, in the interest of the larger good.

The Socialists demand for debt revision has had its effect. Application of the Socialist point of view will ease the present situation and make clear the way for further and more fundamental changes, looking toward final emancipation of the masses from the thralldom of the bankers and their political agents.

That is the Socialist program, and that program must be urged in season and out. For in these times the influence even of a minority party is magnified all out of proportion to its numbers. Our work already has had effect. Let us carry on to the end that the bankers' thralldom will be permanently ended.

Party Is Aiding Workmen's Circle English Branches

The campaign to build up the English-speaking section of the Workmen's Circle will be pushed at a conference of delegates from Socialist Party branches February 21st at the League Center, 3 West 16th Street.

Every party branch in and around New York has been asked to elect delegates, and many of them have already done so. The purpose of the drive is to build up the English-speaking branches of the Workmen's Circle already in existence and to organize more of them. Not only the English-speaking sons and daughters of the older members are eligible for the branches but also all men and women, whether Jewish or not, who are interested in this great Socialist fraternal order.

A general meeting of the English-speaking branches will be held March 9th, at which further plans will be made for building up the section of the organization.

Health Center Grows

Dr. George M. Price, director of the Union Health Center, 121 East 17th Street, announced recently that another fraternal organization, the Independent Order of True Friends, has become affiliated with his institution. This Order is composed solely of trade union members.

One of the largest organizations using the facilities of the Union Health Center is the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit. This organization, composed of wage-earners and their families, has a membership of over 20,000 in and around New York.

Miss Pauline M. Newman, Publicity Director of the Union Health Center, 131 E. 17th St., announces that the annual Theatre Party of that organization will take place on the evening of March 7. Tickets may be secured at the medical office at the above address or at the dental office, 222 Fourth Ave.

FALCON NOTES

Guides' Course to start February—register now. Ten lectures at Rand School, hikes and overnight hike. Lectures as follows: 1 and 2—Psychology of child leadership, discipline, etc. 3 and 4—Balanced program, how to arrange, samples, etc. 5—First aid, health, hygiene, safety, etc. 6—Camping, hiking, how to arrange and conduct outdoor work. 7 and 8—Problems of craft, handiwork, indoor work in general. 9—Games, singing, group and team work in general. 10—Summary and review, discussion of specific problems, etc.

All Guides are to report on following questions to City Office: 1. How many of your Falcons can go to camp for two weeks next summer at \$6 per week? This information is necessary to the camp committee's plans. 2. What are the numbers and sizes of uniform shirts required by the Falcons of your Flight? 3. What is your Flight doing towards preparing an exhibit for the Forward Ball? 4. Hand in your registration blanks.—Motion passed by Executive Committee that all Flights and Guides that have not sent these reports in by Feb. 1st will be suspended.

Brownsville leads the way. The Red Falcons there have already organized a Drum and Bugle Corps and practice regularly. They claim they'll be so good by May Day that they'll lead the whole demonstration. Other Flights are urged to organize similar Corps.

Who has not seen the new Falcon songbook? Choice collection of 72 Socialist and sampling songs, profusely illustrated. The cover is a gem, showing all the various groups that have influenced America's music, from the immigrant harmonica player to the rough-riding western cowboy, gathered round a friendly campfire.

Send in news immediately about your Flight for the Falcon Call, which will soon be issued.

LECTURE NOTES

Following is the program of the People's Institute Cooper Union lectures: Feb. 16, Nathaniel Peffer, "The Conflict of Nationalism"; Feb. 18, Dean Howard Lee McBain, "Law and Justice"; Feb. 20, Professor Henry J. Frey, "The Control of Disease".

Dr. G. Adolph Koch will lecture on "America's First Freethinker" at Steinway Hall, Sunday at 3:30, under the auspices of the Freethinkers of America. Rev. Leon Rosser Land will speak on "How to Save America From Fascism" at the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1561 Boston Road, Sunday at 3.

METROPOLITAN STARS SING AT THIRD RAND SCHOOL CONCERT

Lily Pons, Nino Martini, James Wolff, Giuseppe DeLuca and other favorite artists of the Metropolitan Opera Company will sing at the third annual concert for the benefit of the Rand School Sunday evening, March 18th. The event is sponsored by the Women's Committee of the Rand School, Camp Tamiment, and Sandyville.

In past seasons the success of these concerts has assured free scholarships for many young workers eager to study. It is hoped that this year there will be no let-down in the work of providing an opportunity for every qualified student to enroll at the Rand School. The Metropolitan has always been sold out on these occasions and early reports are excellent for this year.

For the first time, the Women's Committee announces the active cooperation and support of a newly organized Trade Union Committee including Julius Hochman, Manager of the Joint Board of Dressmakers, S. E. Beardsley of the Jewelry Workers' Union, Alex Hose of the Millinery Workers, Abe Miller, and S. Blumenreich of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Sam Perlmutter of the Cutters' Union, and others.

members willingness and sincerity to work and also the nature of the population of the district, there is every reason to believe that another active and properly functioning branch of the Socialist party will be developed on the west side within a year or so.

Next article will be about the Upper West Side Branch.

HENDIN IN IMPORTANT LECTURE AT U.W.S.

"Problems confronting the Socialist Movement" will be the subject of an important lecture Monday night at 100 West 72nd Street, at a meeting of the Upper West Side Branch.

The lecturer will be Dr. Louis Hendin, chairman of the Labor Committee of the Socialist party and one of the leading thinkers in the party. The lecture assumes particular importance in view of European events.

Labor Under NRA Is Luncheon Topic

"LABOR under the NRA" will be the subject of the fourth of the highly significant luncheon-discussions being run by the Rand School and the Educational Committee of the Socialist party, which will be held at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, Saturday afternoon.

The Socialist point of view will be upheld by Louis Waldman, State Chairman of the party and counsel for many unions operating under the Codes.

Other speakers will be Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, and Nathan Straus, Jr., ardent supporters of the NRA program.

The luncheon will start at 1:30, and speaking will begin at 2:15. For those unable to attend the luncheon there will be a limited number of places in the auditorium to listen to the speeches.

SHOW SOLIDARITY WITH AUSTRIAN WORKERS

INSPIRED by the heroism of their Austrian comrades, thousands of New York Socialists staged an impressive demonstration in front of the Austrian Consulate at 500 Fifth Ave., Wednesday.

Despite the fact that the demonstration had had practically no preparation, there were hundreds of shouting, cheering Socialists, bearing banners with mottos reading: "HAIL THE AUSTRIAN SOCIALISTS" and "DEFEND RED VIENNA" long before the scheduled hour.

For more than an hour the fashionable mid-town section of New York was treated to the sight of a seemingly endless chain of Socialists circling the block, singing the "International."

As usual, the Communists injected a sour note to the demonstration through their display of mass stupidity. They marched in carrying banners denouncing the Socialist party and the Austrian Socialist leaders.

When the demonstration passed the New York Public Library, they were shown an example of a home grown Fascism. LaGuardia's police savagely swinging clubs, and in some cases even brandishing revolvers, charged into the crowd time and time again.

Sam Friedman, jovial singer of Socialist songs, was mercilessly slugged after being thrown to the ground by the cops, and all for the crime of carrying a Socialist banner!

- Reserve the Date!
- Make No Conflicting Engagements!
- Friendly Organizations Take Notice!

APRIL 15th!

WATCH FOR FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS OF DETAILS OF
THE NEW LEADER

TENTH ANNIVERSARY DINNER

WEBSTER HALL

NEW YORK CITY

Union Directory Party Notes

BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS
TUCKERS, STITCHERS and PLEATERS' UNION, Local 66, L.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.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th St., New York, N. Y. Phone TOMpkins Square 6-5400. L. Hollender, J. Catalano, 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 Zankov; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Heib.

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, L. 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.

THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, 3 West 10th Street, New York City. Phone CHelsea 3-2148. David Dubinsky, President.

AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1, Offices, Amalgamated Bldg., 205 West 14th St.; Phone WAtkins 9-7764. Regular meetings every second and fourth Tuesday at Arlington Hall, 19 St. Mark's Place. Albert E. Castro, President; Patrick J. Hanlon, Vice-President; Frank Skol, Fin. Sec'y; Emil Fihen, Rec. Sec'y; 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. Goldberger, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodas.

MILK WAGON DRIVERS' UNION, Local 581, L. U. of T. Office: 259 W. 14th St., City. Local 534 meets on 3rd 14th St., City. Thursday of the month at Beethoven Hall, 210 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 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone ALgonquin 4-7081. 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., 290-7th Ave. M. Gottfried, Pres.; B. Gottesman, Secretary.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 62 of L. L. G. W. U. 3 West 16th St., New York City. Phone CHelsea 3-5758-5757. A. Snyder, Manager. S. SHORE, Executive Supervisor.

A Glimpse of South Africa

Jacob Bernstein, who has recently returned from a long stay in South Africa, will lecture on life in that little-known country at the Rand School Friday, Feb. 23rd, at 8:30. The lecture will deal especially with the labor movement in the Union of South Africa and with the race problem, but the lecturer will also pay some attention to the general economic and social development in that rapidly-growing country.

Both the labor movement and the race relations in South Africa have some peculiar features which make them interesting and important. Admission will be free.

New York City

City Central Committee. — Special meeting of City Central Committee Wed., Feb. 28, at 7 East 15th St.

DEBATE between Huey P. Long and Norman Thomas on "Capitalism is Doomed and Cannot Be Saved by a Redistribution of Wealth." Friday, March 2, at Mecca Temple, 133 West 55th St. Tickets on sale in the Party office, Rand School Book Store, 7 E. 15th St.; New York University Book Store; Columbia University Book Store; Theatre Ticket Service.

MANHATTAN

6th A.D. (95 Ave. B).—Carnival and dance, Saturday evening, Feb. 17. 12th A.D.—Branch meeting Tuesday, Feb. 20, at 71 Irving Place.

Upper West Side (100 West 72nd St.).—Meeting Monday, Feb. 19.

19th-21st A.D. (205 7th Ave.).—Executive committee, Tues., Feb. 20. The Sunday afternoon forum continues successfully.

Washington Heights (1148 St. Nicholas Ave.).—Executive committee meeting on Monday, Feb. 19.

11th A.D.—Branch meeting Tuesday, Feb. 20, at home of Conrad Sinclair, 21 Claremont Ave., followed by discussion of Austrian situation.

BRONX

BRONX BALL, MARCH 17, Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves. Ads are being secured for the Journal.

2nd A.D.—Mass meeting of unemployed, CWA workers and CWA registrants Wednesday, Feb. 21, at the Melrose Library, 162nd St. and Morris Ave., auspices Workers' Unemployed League. Branch is holding social Sunday, Feb. 25, in ballroom of 1504 Sheridan Ave. Dancing, cards, refreshments, and entertainment by Karl Marx Male Chorus. Tickets from Diana Hoffman, 1667 Grand Ave., Foundation 8-5289.

East Bronx Unit, Women's Section.—Dr. Marie Levenson of Birth Control Research Bureau spoke on "Sex Living" Feb. 14. Unit has organized a branch of the People's Cooperative Society.

7th A.D. (789 Elmsmere Place).—Branch meeting Tues. evening, Feb. 20.

BROOKLYN

Midwood (1401 Kings Highway).—Branch elected as delegates to City Convention: Louis Epstein, Louis Sabloff, William M. Feigenbaum. Branch meets on 2nd and 4th Mondays.

Brighton Beach (1113 Brighton Beach Ave.).—Suppressed Russian film will be shown Saturday, Feb. 17, followed by refreshments. Membership meeting on Monday, Feb. 19. CWA meeting held last Tuesday, Feb. 13.

6th A.D. Branch is forming unemployed league. Mass meeting last Monday night, about 100 unemployed attended, many signed application cards making possible permanent jobless local. During the week, Party members and Yipsels aided Laundry Workers' Union picketing the Sunshine Laundry. Dance will be held April 20. Social affair Sat. night, Feb. 17, at 167 Tompkins Ave.

Borough Park (Borough Park Labor Lyceum, 14th Ave. and 42nd St.).—Joint meeting under auspices of Jewish and English-speaking Borough Park branches and the Y.P.S.L. will be held Friday, Feb. 23, at which James Oneal will speak. Meeting being held principally in interest of The New Leader and Wecker subscription campaigns, and a drive for new members in the Party.

16th A.D. Branch 2 (844 Utica Ave.).—Following delegates elected to City Convention: B. Sokoloff, H. Rivkin; to City Central Committee: Mrs. R. Sokoloff, H. Rivkin; to Kings County Committee: Mrs. R. Sokoloff, H. Rivkin, Mrs. Rutes. Package party and dance Saturday, Feb. 24, at headquarters.

23rd A.D. (219 Sackman St.).—Branch will picket Woolworth's store selling German goods, cooperating with Y.P.S.L. and Workers' Unemployed League. Sam

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Psychology and The Social Problems

The last two lectures in the course on "The Psychology of American Life," being given at 8:30 on Monday evenings at the Rand School, will be among the most important in the entire series.

On Monday, Feb. 19th, Dr. Abraham Myerson of the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston, will lecture on "Excitement and Fatigue as Social-Psychological Problems." Dr. Myerson is recognized everywhere as one of the leading experimenters in the field of physiological Psychology.

Monday evening, Feb. 26th, Dr. Morris Vitell of the University of Pennsylvania will discuss "Psychology and Unemployment."

Friedman and William Gomberg to lead picket line. All report to Chapman, Sat., Feb. 17, at 1 p.m., at Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Yipsels please bring armbands.

Downtown (157 Montagu St.).—Bridge and dance Sat., Feb. 24, at Apollo Studios, 381 Carlton Ave. corner Greene Ave.

Bensonhurst Unit, Women's Section.—Card party Feb. 27, afternoon, at branch headquarters.

Brownsville Unit, Women's Section.—Highly successful luncheon and card party Feb. 13th at 844 Utica Ave. Many non-Socialists present.

11th A.D.—Permanent headquarters will be at 500 St. John's Place, basement of Dr. David Breslow's home. Branch meeting Monday, Feb. 19.

18th A.D. Branch 1.—Branch meets Tuesday evening at home of Dr. Stark, 1636 President St.

QUEENS

Flushing (Room 221, Terminal Building, Roosevelt Ave., near Main St.).—Branch is having series of four lectures by Haim Kantorovitch on "Towards Socialist Reorientation."

Jackson Heights-Elmhurst (3741 82nd St.).—Branch meeting Thursday, Feb. 22, at 8:30. Mollie Tarter will lead discussion on "The United Front." Branch adopted the following resolution: "We, the members of the Jackson Heights-Elmhurst Branch of the Socialist Party, join in mourning the loss of such a shipmate. We feel we can truly do him honor by dedicating ourselves to renewed effort for the cause for which he gave so much."

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RESTAURANTS

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Socialist Forum Calendar

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

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16

Jacob Panken: "The Truth About the Taxicab Strike"—Brighton Beach Forum, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., Brooklyn.

Henry Fruchter: "Are We Menaced by Fascism?"—5th A. D., 226 East 10th St. Jacob Axelrad: "The Menace of Fascism"—Williamsburg Forum, 241 So. 4th St., Brooklyn.

Nathan Fine: "The Middle Classes and Socialism"—Bensonhurst Forum, 6618 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn.

Lecturer to be announced—East Flatbush Branch, 539 E. 95th St., Brooklyn.

Herbert M. Merrill: "Technocracy and Socialism"—23rd A. D., 1574 St. Marks Ave., Brooklyn.

Harry Finkelshtein: "Fundamentals of Socialism"—19th-20th A. D., home of Joseph A. Weil, 88 Harmon St., B'klyn.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 18

Dr. Simon Berlin: "Socialism vs. Capitalism"—Yorkville Branch, 241 East 84th St.

James Oneal: "Labor Today in European Countries"—Sheepshead Bay Branch, 2061 Ave. X, Brooklyn.

J. D. Sayers: "Esperanto—Its Growth and Value in the Socialist New World"—6th A. D., 95 Ave. B.

Haim Kantorovitch: "Socialism and Politics"—first lecture of four—Flushing Forum, Room 221, Terminal Building, Roosevelt Ave., near Main St., Flushing.

Ira De A. Reid: "The Fundamental Problems of the New Deal"—3:30 p.m.—People Forum, 2005 7th Ave.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 19

Dr. Louis Hendlin: "Problems Confronting the Socialist Party"—Upper West Side Forum, 100 West 72nd St.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 20

William E. Bohn: "How America Got That Way"—Midwood Forum, 1401 Kings Highway, Brooklyn.

Herbert M. Merrill: "Technocracy and Socialism"—Borough Park Forum, Borough Park Labor Lyceum, 14th Ave. and 42nd St., Brooklyn.

Jessie Wallace Hughes: "Realism and Revolution"—7th A. D. Forum, 789 Elmsmere Place, Brooklyn.

August Tyler: "The Money Question"—second lecture in series of six—Bensonhurst Forum, 6618 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn.

Jean J. Coronel: "The Paris Commune"—Flushing Branch, Room 221, Terminal Building, Roosevelt Ave., near Main St., Flushing.

Dr. Siegfried Lipschitz: "International Affairs"—12th A. D., 71 Irving Place.

Esther Friedman: "Labor and the Industrial Revolution"—18th A. D., Branch 2, Forum, 844 Utica Ave., Brooklyn.

Prof. Max Winkler: "Menace of Hitlerism and How to Meet It"—West Bronx Socialist Forum, Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves.

Murray Baron: "The Socialist Commonwealth"—Washington Heights Forum, 1148 St. Nicholas Ave., Brooklyn.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23

James Oneal: Topic to be announced—Joint meeting, Borough Park Labor Lyceum, 14th Ave. and 42nd St., B'klyn.

Symposium: "Crime and the Criminal"—Asst. Dist. Attorney James J. Wilson, Max Delson, Magistrate Jonah Goldstein—Brighton Beach Forum, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., Brooklyn.

William Karlin: "Labor and the Law"—East Flatbush Branch, 539 East 95th St., Brooklyn.

Herman Salzman: "Is Proletarian Art Possible?"—23rd A. D. Branch Forum, 1574 St. Marks Ave., Brooklyn.

L.I.D. Discussion on Vienna

The League for Industrial Democracy will give its luncheon-discussion program at Town Hall Club, 123 West 43rd St., Saturday, Feb. 24, at noon. Dr. Harry W. Laidler, secretary of the League, will lead the discussion, "The Struggle in Vienna." Leroy Bowman will serve as chairman.

FORWARD BALL

The greatest interest is being shown in the forthcoming Forward Ball which will be held Saturday evening, Feb. 24, at the 71st Regiment Armory, 34th St. 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. A 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, etc.

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

Y.P.S.L. NOTES

YIPSELS RISE TO OCCASION IN CRISIS—New York City Yipsels, together with the Student League for Industrial Democracy, in arranging demonstration at Austrian Consulate for last Wednesday at 5 P.M., also picketed the consulate for three hours.

The Yipsels urged all other YPSL groups to do likewise. Circles are urged to get their local papers filled with the news.

Send out mailings announcing Tag Days for the Hotel and Restaurant Workers. Call at once for your circle cans. The American workers need as much aid as do our Austrian comrades.

Yipsels needed every single day to aid at the strike headquarters, 815 8th Ave. Report to Paul Gertz in charge.

Yipsels needed to aid the Shipping Clerks' Union, organized and run by members of the YPSL. Report to 131 W. 33rd St., Local 102.

Circle 2 Sr., Manhattan, will hear Bill Diamond, ex-Yipsel, talk on the Food Workers' Strike Sunday, Feb. 18, 8:30 p.m., at 1148 St. Nicholas Ave.

Circle 2 Sr., Bronx, will hear Alfred M. Bingham Thur., Feb. 15, 8 p.m., at the Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Ave. On the 22nd, an Anti-War Rally with Samuel H. Friedman and Bill Gomberg.

Circle 1 Sr., Kings, will hear Max Eisenberg on "Trade Unionism in Theory and Practice" Sunday, Feb. 18, 8:04 Sutter Ave., Brooklyn.

BRONX YIPSELS!! General membership meeting: Sunday, Feb. 18, 2 p.m. sharp, 809 Westchester Ave. Julius Umansky the main speaker.

Circle 9 Jr., Bronx, will meet Friday, Feb. 16, 8 p.m., at 789 Elmsmere Pl. Ethel Schachner will speak on "Present Status of N.R.A."

Circle 13 Sr., Manhattan, applying for a charter, will hold a Charter Dance on Wednesday, Feb. 21, at their headquarters, 126 Delancy St., New York City.

Circle 13 Sr., Manhattan, a promising group, is applying for a charter and holding a Charter Dance on Wednesday, Feb. 21, the eve of Washington's Birthday, at their headquarters, 126 Delancy

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LECTURES and FORUMS

The Debate That Will Thrill New York!

Resolved that—"Capitalism Is Doomed and Cannot

Now Be Saved by a Redistribution of Wealth"

HUEY P. LONG says: NO

NORMAN

Shiplacoff Is Buried as Whole Movement Mourns

TO the singing of the International by thousands of his comrades standing bareheaded in the bitter cold, the body of the beloved A. I. Shiplacoff was borne to its rest among his comrades at Mount Carmel Cemetery Friday afternoon, Feb. 9th, after an impressive funeral service at Forward Hall.

For two days the worn body of the Socialist fighter had lain at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, surrounded by a Guard of Honor of young comrades bearing red flags. On Friday morning it was taken to Forward Hall, where again it lay under a canopy of red flags borne by the Y.P.S.L. guard. After a number of speeches delivered by his close associates and friends in the Socialist movement, and by representatives of every section of the labor movement, the cortege formed to bear the body to its last rest.

Burial was in the Workmen's Circle plot at Mount Carmel, in the front row among Socialist heroes of other days, the so-called Socialist pantheon, where lie Meyer London and Ben Schlesinger, Max Pine and Julius Halpern, A. Litwak and B. Feigenbaum. And there, after a sad farewell was spoken, he was buried.

Jacob Panken, long Shiplacoff's intimate friend and co-worker, wrote the following tribute for his departed comrade for The New Leader:

PANKEN'S TRIBUTE

"Comrade A. I. Shiplacoff is no more. He lived for Socialism. Our cause to him was all that life held.

"As our first Assemblyman from New York City, his voice thundered for the workers. As a member of the Board of Aldermen, he served the working class and the Socialist ideal.

"None of us could match his unselfishness. None of us could compare in the kindness which was his. His love of Socialism, his devotion to the working class gave him the language of the prophet and the spirit of the crusader. Lovable, generous, tolerant, he was an ideal for both young and old in the Socialist movement. Love for his fellow men sent him into many fields of endeavor. An orator, an organizer, a social worker—all these into one life.

"No one was too lowly not to be to A. I. Shiplacoff brother. None was too high but Shiplacoff was his peer. Indefatigable in the service of the cause, he found time to give of himself to the individual. The suffering of a single tubercular human being awakened in him not only sympathy but a participation.

"His last service to man was

to look after the tubercular in Deborah Sanitarium, and how he looked after them! A father; a brother; a doctor; that was his attitude, and that is how he lived with the tubercular in the sanitarium.

"We have lost a great soldier in the cause of the common good."

On the Death of A. I. Shiplacoff

By Eleanor Levenson

WARMTH and radiance,
Wisdom and love.

These he had in abundance.

These he gave

To all who came to him

And seeing him

Saw there must be goodness

Since man could heal

By such words as his,

Such deeds as his,

Could glow as he did,

Give of himself with no thought

to self

And as a savior

Bring to all he touched

Gentleness, compassion and understanding.

SINCE this is man

Let us not despair.

The madman who would

Purge Christ and Moses

To worship blood

Shall be conquered.

In a world of

Chaos and the confused rattlings

Of Death and War and Hunger

Even in such a world

There still is hope

Because he lived.

Workers' Cooperation in Belgium

ACCORDING to the report published last November by the Central Office of the Workers' Cooperative, there were in Belgium in the year 1931-1932 54 consumers societies with a membership of 298,779, with a total annual business of 631,958,267 francs.

These 54 cooperatives owned 1161 stores, of which 980 were handling groceries, food, and other allied merchandise, 22 were meat markets and delicatessen stores, 37 were clothing and furnishing stores, 10 were shoe stores, 23 were bakeries, 35 were drug stores, 20 were coal yards, and 34 stores handling miscellaneous articles.

To the stores should be added 418 Peoples Houses with their restaurants, cafes, and other activities, 67 baking factories (some of

While We Are On the Subject

The inflated dollar may be bad enough if it comes, but it will be the creation of inflated politicians hoisted into office by labor votes.

Socialism would destroy civilization, would it? Will there be any left for us to destroy after the ruling classes get through with it?

The mania for Blue Shirts, Silver Shirts and other shirts in some sections of the country shows that we still have many brothers of the ox.

Marx once said that capitalism came into the world oozing blood and dirt from every pore. It polished up from time to time, but now look at it!

We have often thought that an excellent comic opera could be written about the worker who goes to the voting booth with the same kind of ballot in his hand that his exploiter votes. A good title would be "Heeze Geezer."

While the air mail pilots were up in the air, the rich grafters remained on solid ground where the pickings are nice and plenty.

Socialism hasn't yet broken up the family, but capitalism is doing its best to prove that it is competent to do that job.

them among the largest in Europe) and 10 breweries.

During this third year of the depression the number of member shareholders increased by 10,503. The paid-in capital of these cooperatives amounted to 14,139,643 francs, but during the many years of their existence they accumulated a stock worth 130 million francs. They also own buildings, factories and real estate valued at 365 million francs—quite a sum at the present low prices.

A great percentage of the profits of the workers cooperatives is used for educational, cultural and general health activities. Thus in the fiscal year 1931-1932 the members received in the form of dividends on their purchases 26,341,262 francs, and 10,998,065 francs were distributed to different Socialist and cultural organizations.

This Is Where He Made His Big Mistake

READING about the air mail graft? Clever guys, we'll say. You have to hand it to them when it comes to pulling down the mazzuma.

Perhaps you may have read of another guy who tried his own game of get-rich-quick and failed. Robert Washington is his name. He's a Negro, an elevator operator. Not much money in that kind of a job.

Well, Robert saw an overcoat. He needed one and took it. There was 50 cents in cash in the coat and the total value did not exceed \$20. In some way Robert's crime became known. A trial followed.

Now Robert is under sentence of from 30 to 60 years for taking that coat. Let's say that he serves the lighter sentence. That means that during the 30 years of his imprisonment he will each year be caged for an average of 65 cents of the values he took when he got that coat.

That Negro worker made a mistake. He should have been born with a white skin and got in on the ground floor of the air mail graft.

No CWA Jobs for the Blacklisted W.Va. Miners

By J. F. Higgins

West Virginia State Secretary,
Socialist Party

THE following plainly written and sordid tale was received from the Recording Secretary of a Socialist Local made up of blacklisted coal miners of Kanawha County, West Virginia, where over 3,000 CWA workers have recently been reported on strike against working conditions and the present

wage scale.

"You asked me to tell you if they were showing any discrimination or playing politics in the CWA work here. They certainly are!

"First, I will begin with the Government flour distributed last winter by the Red Cross, when we had work on the R.F.C. at \$1.80 and only one day a week regardless of the size of our families. We could not get flour, but the coal companies received flour by the box car load from the Red Cross. Their employees were given from one to four sacks a week. Some of their help was making a hundred dollars a month in wages.

"It is the same old game with the CWA here. Some of mine stool pigeons are getting as much as \$80 every two weeks. Some of these men quit jobs on the C. & O. R.R. and the mines and were put to work at once by the CWA officials. Most of us blacklisted men have not been called for work. A project was started at Leewood and the carpenter boss for the coal company was put in charge. He picked out men who have been recently employed, most of them not registered but O.K'd by the mine superintendent. We blacklisted men have been registered for over two months, and no work. The men put to work at Leewood helped to break our strike of three years ago, and for which we are now blacklisted.

"Some of us are denied the Government issue of meat and butter, but the CWA workers who have the right backing get double allowances.

"In the meantime, nothing at all is being done for those of us who are suspect of entertaining radical political opinions. They have built a wall of steel about us. We suffer in this section of the capitalist hell without any hope of immediate relief. All agencies of relief including the CWA are controlled by the coal operators of this county. They are told to give us hell and we are held up as a frightful example to keep other workers in the mines submissive."

Honor Our Brave Comrades!

By Daniel W. Hoan

MILWAUKEE.—All honor to our brave comrades in Austria!

May they succeed in subduing the tyranny of Fascism!

It should serve warning on the workers of the United States as to what is in store for them unless they immediately strengthen the labor and Socialist party ranks. Solidarity alone will prevent unnecessary bloodshed, tyranny and oppression!

And Why Wouldn't the Air-Mail Produce an Ill-Smelling Scandal?

AND now we have the air-mail scandal. . . .

The mails were flown by a department of the government for a short time, until the air-mail was found to be practicable. Then it was taken away and turned over to private companies because the Government was in the hands of various administrations that believed sincerely in "no government in business."

The air-mail was turned over to private companies as a profit-making enterprise at a time when money was so plentiful that the Government used to sit up nights figuring out excuses for making huge income-tax refunds to big industrialists. The air-mail was turned over to private companies when the profit system was riding high, wide and handsome and no one but a minority of Socialists and other "eccentrics" questioned the divine wisdom of profit-making

and divine sanction of profit takers.

Now we have the scandals. When industry is conducted for private profit, and with the cooperation of governments that believe in the sanctity of private profit, there is the incentive to make all the profits possible regardless of results. It is not a crime of the particular crooks involved in the scandal or of the public officials who smoothed their way. It is a crime of the profit system.

Every breakdown, every collapse we have seen in these terrible years has been due to the profit system, and to that alone.

It is not enough to punish offending officials and to revoke contracts. There is no way out except to revoke the profit element. There is no way but the Socialist way.

Socialists could have told you all this before, but not enough people listened to us. Now will they listen when Socialists speak?

Administration Hopes for Miracle

By Observer

(Continued from Page Four)

subsistence a great army now getting a living wage from the Government. Its bet is that by May 1 private industry will be recovered sufficiently to absorb those now on the public payroll. Clearly it is a bet. If it is won, things will be all right; if it is lost, then a really bad condition will exist, because neither cities, states nor private charity are in a position to take over the burden. All these are strained to the limit now."

The "really bad condition" foreseen by Mr. Kent if the CWA is abandoned and there is no work in private industry for the millions it has given employment is realized by the United States Conference of Mayors, which said the other day:

"We recommend that this Congress provide funds to continue the

existing program until such time as a definite plan is devised regarding: (1) the 4,000,000 people now at work on civil works; (2) the 6,000,000 people who have registered for work but have not been given work; (3) the 3,400,000 families now on nothing more than a subsistence basis for direct relief. To shut this program off is to invite disaster."

Despite this and other emphatic warnings of the danger of disaster if the CWA is ended on May 1, the Administration is going ahead with its desperate gamble that there will be no need of the CWA. It marshalled all its strength to prevent the Senate from increasing the \$950,000,000 appropriation for CWA to continue the program and it seems determined to end it on May 1.

Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

A Trotskyist Resolution

A RESOLUTION has been adopted by a few Socialist locals which declares that the Labor and Socialist International, "commonly known as the Second International, has an unbroken record of disservice to the working class of the world, beginning with its support of the nationalistic and imperialistic ambitions of the bourgeoisie before and during the war of 1914-1918, followed by its attempt (altogether too successful) to restore order and harmony to the disrupted capitalist economy in the defeated nations, and this at the expense of the proletariat."

Then "the strategy and tactics of evolutionary socialism and reformism have proven its inability to withstand the advance of fascism" which has destroyed "all the reforms and advantages that labor unions and political action have gained in decades." Therefore, it is urged that the party withdraw from the L.S.I. and join the Fourth International.

Party members should understand that the Fourth International is a project of the Trotsky Communists and that it means that the Socialist Party should affiliate with a new Communist international. The resolution conceals this important fact.

The document's first premise that the L.S.I. has an "unbroken record of disservice to the working class" is not true. A few weeks ago I reviewed the struggles and tactics of Socialist parties in nine nations. That review showed advances and defeats; heroic sacrifices and even martyrdom of workers in some countries; wise decisions as well as mistakes; big concessions won by the working class and important conquests lost; tactics that were not uniform in all countries. So much for the first premise.

More Free-Will Reasoning

THE second one, that "strategy and tactics of evolutionary socialism" have not prevented fascism is true of SOME nations, but it is also true of Communist tactics which the resolution approves. It is Trotskyist Communism that is approved, differing only with Stalin's and the "party line."

Trotsky claims to be the heir of Lenin and Stalin claims to be the heir. The Fourth International is an enterprise of the Trotskyites and they want a "Leninist" international instead of one dominated by Stalin. The resolution, therefore, whether intended by its authors or not, seeks to obtain the adherence of the Socialist Party to an international that is Communist in theory and aim but which will follow Trotsky and not Stalin.

It is interesting that the resolution, offered as a "revolutionary" proposal, is of that free-will type of reasoning that in recent years is unconsciously offered as a substitute for the material realism of the Socialist philosophy. It assumes that in nations where the working class lost ground or had been defeated, the workers could have won but they did not will to win. Out of sheer stubbornness or ignorance they failed to discover right tactics. These mysterious tactics are known in the United States but millions of workers abroad have not discovered them!

That situations have been misjudged at times by the movements abroad may be granted, but that Communist ideology and methods have been wise and have served the working class is not true, as Bavaria, Italy, Hungary and Germany show. We may will to do a thing but the will does not function in a vacuum. It functions in a maze of objective forces that must be studied and estimated to determine whether what we will to do is possible in the given circumstances. If we proceed rashly to do what these circumstances show cannot be done, the objective of our will is not attainable. The Bolsheviks judged wrongly and paid the penalty in Bavaria, Italy, Hungary and Germany. The Labor Party in England miscalculated its duty in office and paid the penalty. The Socialists in Germany and Italy had not only their own choice to make but that choice was also limited by what the Communists decided to do.

The Austrian Socialist Crisis

AS I write, the Austrian Socialists, representing one of the best parties in the International, are faced with a crisis. Those who have followed the movement there for years expected this crisis to arrive but we could not predict its precise form or what action the Austrian workers would take. We hoped that the British Labor Party, more militant and more class-conscious as a result of its mistakes, would be in power when the Austrian crisis arrived; or, that the Labor Party in power would have been a warning to the Austrian Fascists not to "start something." However, that party is out of office and in the meantime Germany is ruled by Fascists, thus materially altering the circumstances and altering them by stacking big odds against the Austrian working class.

With my class facing life and death, living for years in apprehension of a volcano overwhelming it with Fascist lava, I cannot, in the comparative ease and security we have on this side of the Atlantic, play the role of a scolding fishwife. Wisdom after an event is easy—especially if you did not participate in it. It is when the volcano bursts and we are within the zone of a fiery hell that we must act. If it bursts here, the workers abroad cannot choose for us and for the same reason we cannot choose for them.

British Youth Rallies to Socialism

By Victor Riesel

THE Socialist Youth of Great Britain stands solid against dictatorship, whether Fascist or any other brand, and is equally determined in its opposition to war. We stand for Democracy, Disarmament and Socialism."

Thus was sounded the keynote of the fifth annual conference of the Labor Party League of Youth at Birmingham. So did the youth of England answer Lord Rothermere's fascist campaign in his newspapers which control a combined circulation of thirty-nine million readers.

"We have a two-fold task," the declaration went on. "We must continue to educate ourselves in the meaning of our Socialist faith and we must stand shoulder to shoulder with the great Labor Movement of which we are part, so that we can combine vigor and enthusiasm with experience, and march forward to the final victory of Socialism."

Over 180 enthusiastic young Socialist delegates, representing over 200,000 members of the youth movement of England, cheered this reply to the recent Fascist newspaper barrage. The constructive work and rapid growth of the League is the reply to Lord Rothermere's raucous braying that "Fascism is youth."

While the British younger generation is actively engaged in productive work and intellectual pursuits, Nazi youth is swelling the gangster population of Germany, according to recent reports. In Berlin they have organized bands forming their own society, stealing, gambling, drinking and constructing their own unwritten penal codes. Approximately six hundred gangs of minors have sprung up, each of which have from ten to one hundred members, seeking subsistence in a dishonest way, finding haven from whatever law still exists in the ranks of the storm troopers.

Membership reports at the convention indicate that intensive Socialist activity has resulted in an increase of 112 branches, which now total 380.

The National Executive of the Labor party has completed negotiations for the affiliation of the League with the Socialist Youth International. In the future the League will have representation on the National Executive of the Labor Party. A full time secretary, series of study outlines and League summer and Sunday schools were provided for. Most of the convention, however, was given over to discussions of steps to be taken if there is an attempt to force fascism on the country.

An inspiring address was made by Arthur Henderson. In a vivid manner he pictured conditions warping and twisting the lives of youth. He exhorted the delegates to end war, abolish poverty and eliminate unemployment and insecurity. It was their place to carry the Socialist message of hope in the effort to build a new order of Society. George Lansbury, leader of the Labor party, said that strides made as a result of the present meeting would be a fitting monument to William Morris, whose centenary falls this year.

WEVD New Leader Speaker

Dr. William E. Bohm, educational director of the Rand School and frequent contributor to The New Leader, will be the speaker of The New Leader period of Station WEVD (1300 KC) Friday, February 23rd, from 4:30 to 4:45. William M. Feigenbaum, associate editor of The New Leader, is the speaker on The New Leader period Friday, Feb. 10th, at the same time.

Socialists Should Cooperate And Cooperators Should

By Oscar Cooley
Editor, "Cooperation"

SCRATCH a Cooperator and ten to one you find a Socialist. This is especially true in European countries, where to be a Socialist means almost sure to be also a Cooperator and a Trade Unionist. In England the closest of relations exist between the Cooperative movement and the Labor Party. Your true Socialist believes in the socialization of industry by any and every effective means, and so does your true Cooperator.

Both believe in revolution, and in gradualism; in direct action, and in education. Perhaps one of the strongest ties that bind is the belief that a perfect society can not be created out of imperfect individuals. But a characteristic of your Cooperator is that he is not so strong on "believing" as he is on "doing." In this respect maybe Socialism can learn from Cooperation.

Room for Both

Every Socialist can work for Cooperation without impairing his Socialist principles one whit, and every Cooperator can do the same for Socialism. If every Socialist would make a resolution to "buy cooperative," and every Cooperator to "vote Socialist," the Socialist-Cooperative movement in America would take a stride forward in 1934.

In the Cooperative ranks, there is ample room for forward strides, both in size and in aggressiveness. In the United States there are approximately 2,000 consumers' cooperative societies. But forget about half of these—they have long since forgotten themselves, being isolated, farmers' stores for the most part, with little or no ideology. Of the remainder, about 600 are farmers' gas and oil asso-

ciations; all formed within the last ten years, in competition with the largest oil companies; very wide-awake, aggressive and growing—growing not only in size but in belligerency toward capitalism. The balance are grocery and meat stores, restaurants, bakeries, dairies, apartment houses and miscellaneous types.

Total cooperative purchasing by farmers, according to the late Federal Farm Board, amounted to \$215,000,000 in 1931; that of town and city consumers may be estimated at \$30,000,000. Thus, when it comes to cooperative "doing" the farmers are way ahead. But in "believing," that is, in ideology, —well, most of your farmer-cooperators are still rugged Republicans or dogged Democrats, whichever their fathers were. Has the Socialist Party given any thought to carrying Socialist education direct to these farmer-cooperators? It should not be hard to show them the "radical" nature of what they are practicing and the necessity of extending this sort of thing into every branch and twig and leaf-bud of industry. There are 400,000 farmers in co-op purchasing, that is, consumers' cooperative, associations, a fair-sized audience.

Radical Action

Cooperation in fact is the only type of radical action which the American farmer has accepted to any extent. That is because it doesn't seem radical to him. It is coated with the sugar of immediate cash benefits. And the prescription is written not in foreign hieroglyphics but in American common sense. Cooperatives which were first sponsored by such a conservative outfit as the Farm Bureau have licked the fertilizer profiteers to a frazzle and today are preaching sturdy Socialism to their members without ever uttering the word. This is indeed a

thumping victory for of gradualism.

There are 10,000 kiting cooperatives million members last year of well dollars. This type does away with parasites in the field. Also, as the out of marketing co purchasing, or consti tion. Score again for

The Farmers'

For example, in Farmers' Union promoting cooperation through cooperative, livestock agency and creamery sumers' cooperation Farmers' Union State Omaha, Neb. has 200 local affiliated as handled a volume of 1932. In addition to business, it operates store in Omaha and stores, as well as a mess. Groceries and chandise are handled

How a Social

In the bloody turf fighting in Vienna, heroism of the Social out like a lion.

Dr. Meissner, Communist one of the brigades Schutzbundes was sentenced to hang. I do not know the other details, but he had ordered his men on the Fascists and himself had used his revolver. He walked calmly to the gallows, saying he was quite satisfied having done his best cause of democracy party.

He was hanged at



Cooperate with Cooperators Could Work for Socialism

ing victory for the exponents of gradualism. There are 10,000 farmers' market cooperatives, with over 2 1/2 million members and a business volume of well over a billion dollars. This type of cooperation is the only way to overthrow the hordes of profit parasites in the food distribution system. As the record shows, marketing cooperation grows rapidly, and consumers' cooperatives are again for gradualism!

The Farmers' Union
For example, in Nebraska the Farmers' Union promotes marketing cooperation through a grain elevator, livestock commission and creameries; and cooperation through the State Exchange of Farmers' Products. This exchange has over 100 affiliated associations and a volume of \$1,192,837 in business in addition to its wholesale business. It operates a large retail store in Omaha and several branch stores as well as a mail-order business. Groceries and general merchandise are handled, as well as

How a Socialist Died

In the bloody turmoil of the fighting in Vienna the glorious death of a Socialist stands out like a beacon. Meissner, Commandant of the Red Brigades of the 1st Division, was arrested and executed. He was a man who made any man who said that he would use his revolver to kill a man who was a Socialist. He was a man who walked calmly and coolly to the gallows, saying that he was satisfied to die after doing his best for the cause of democracy and for his people.

huge quantities of binder twine, gas and oils and other farm supplies. An auditing department department serves the local co-ops. A cooperative insurance company, the third largest, considering the amount of insurance in force, of mutual fire companies in Nebraska, is another item in the set-up. Cooperation is a genuine program of reconstruction to these Nebraska farmers. Constant propaganda is carried on through a lively twice-a-month paper and from the platform.

Finnish Coops

Even in the Lake Superior region, where Finnish cooperatives abound, 90% of the cooperators are farmers. The Central Cooperative Wholesale at Superior, Wis., has over a hundred affiliated societies with a total of more than 25,000 cooperators. Its sales in 1932 were \$1,310,149, of which \$9,090 was net gain. Founded in 1917 with 15 member societies, the Wholesale has made steady progress, helping to build up the local societies, which, in turn, gave the Wholesale their trade and helped it to grow, even during the depression. A steadily increasing number of the members are non-Finnish; both an English and a Finnish paper are published. A husky Youth League and an active Women's Guild are sponsored. A four-weeks' school is held each summer. The slogan of the Wholesale is, "We sell coffee with Cooperation and Cooperation with coffee." The sales volume of both is on the up. As a school in applied Socialism, the Wholesale is having an effect throughout that region.

The Superior group is a case in point in which industrial working-class cooperators have planted Cooperation in a region which is both industrial and agricultural and are educating the conservative agriculturists, or "hoosiers," in the cooperative ideology. A similar

thing has happened in Waukegan, Ill., where the farmers of the vicinity have been made members of the co-op society. They have a double interest, both as consumers and producers, since they supply the society with milk.

In Minneapolis we see the opposite phenomenon. There the Midland Cooperative Oil Association, a farmers' wholesale, has recently been instrumental in starting the Minneapolis Cooperative Oil Association, urban throughout, with a service station in the heart of the city and others projected. Fuel oil distribution is also provided. Thus the farmers are organizing the townspeople, not, be it noted, so that they can sell to them, but so that both may buy together, through the same wholesale co-op, in increasing volume. When city and country consumers pool their purchasing power (which is really their "production-for-use" power) in this way, it is time to sit up and ask ourselves, "Is not this, perhaps, the technique of uniting urban and rural proletariat which America needs?"

Consumers' Cooperation

Consumers' Cooperation can be and is used equally well by city and farm consumers. Credit Cooperation ditto. The credit associations in Germany, India and other countries are mainly composed of farmers. In this country the credit unions are found chiefly in the cities, but in the last year or two many have been formed by farmers and rural communities. The Credit Union National Extension Bureau of Boston reports a total of over 2,000 credit unions of all types, with approximately 300,000 members and resources of 50 to 55 million dollars. 457 new credit unions were formed in 1932. Credit unions have a record of almost 100% non-failure, while it is surely an incurable optimist who

No Foothold for Fascism in America!

By Leo Krzycki
National Chairman of the
Socialist Party

THE heroic struggle of our Austrian brothers against the Fascist forces should serve as a warning to workers all over the world that we must strengthen and consolidate our organizations at once. Fascism has become a worldwide threat. The forces of reaction grow more powerful day by day.

There is only one answer workers can give—a powerful militant Socialist organization. In America, particularly, we must work with renewed energy to strengthen our forces. A victorious Socialist movement here would be the greatest inspiration we could give to the masses now suffering under Fascism or battling against it in a life and death struggle.

Signs of Fascism in our own country are by no means absent. The growing militarization, the domination of the NRA by big business, the potential dictatorial powers of the Federal government are all straws in the wind.

Capitalism is on its death-bed here as everywhere else, the financial and industrial lords will stop at nothing to enslave the workers. Fascism is their last desperate hope.

Workers of America! Let the valiant fight of our Austrian brothers inspire us to fight now as never before to achieve a workers' world. Let us rally our forces before it is too late. Down with Capitalism! Down with Fascism! Fight now for Socialism!

continues to put his savings in the profit banks after their exhibition of the past year.

Often a skeptic throws out the question: "Can cooperative stores compete with chain stores? If not, why bother with Cooperation?" We usually come back with this one: "Can the Socialist Party compete with the Republican Party? If not, why bother with Socialism?"

Cooperative stores can compete with chain stores, and whether they could or not, Cooperators would continue to "bother with" Cooperation for the reason that Cooperation is too big a cause to be chained down by chain stores or any other capitalist manifestation.

Many Types

Cooperative stores of many sizes and types are, today, competing successfully with the largest chains. First, because size is not an invariable indication of efficiency. Second, because co-ops do not have to show any profit to stockholders. Third, because the profit chain stores are not the best beloved of all American institutions. And fourth, because Cooperation, happily, appeals to many people more strongly than penny-pinching. There are other reasons, but these will do. To see this phenomenon of successful competition with chain stores, go to Fitchburg or Maynard, Mass.; Superior, Wis.; Waukegan, Ill.; or Brooklyn, N. Y. Or go to Dillonvale, Ohio, where the New Cooperative Company (25 years of age), in spite of blackest depression in those coal fields and without the help of any cooperative wholesale, has established two new branches in the last year.

The feasibility of cooperative housing for urban working-class families has been amply proven in Europe, and by the two successful projects of the Amalgamated in New York City. The cooperator's lack of capital has always been the obstacle. This has been met in Europe, for example in Holland, by

(Continued on Page Eight)

The Workers Abroad An International Review of the Socialist and Labor Movement of the World

By Mark Khinoy

German Socialists Adopt New Revolutionary Program

IN discussing the "Labor Plan" recently adopted by the Belgian Socialists, the *Neuer Vorwärts* of Karlsruhe wrote the following about this Plan:

"What the Socialist Workers' Party of Belgium is doing now the German Social-Democracy should have done during the crisis."

Since this striking tribute comes from the official organ of the German Social-Democracy, it throws a singular light on the enormous work of self-criticism and self-education the active elements of the German comrades went through the fateful year of Hitler despotism.

In the 33 issues of their weekly *Neuer Vorwärts*, in the four issues of their monthly *Zeitschrift für Sozialismus*, in numberless Socialist publications in Austria, Czechoslovakia and the Saar district, the herculean work of re-valuation and re-orientation went on until now we have a new, rejuvenated Social-Democracy with a new leadership, a better understanding of mass-psychology, a firmer grasp of the revolutionary tasks of our time and a new program of revolutionary Socialism.

This new program has just been published. It bears the signature of the *Vorstand* (National Executive Committee) der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands and is dated Prag, Jan. 28.

It is an extraordinary document, unsurpassed in its content and form by any program of revolutionary Socialism, past or present. And like the newest programmatic expressions of Socialism in other European countries, it is based on the theoretical assumption that the present crisis, national and international, is, unlike the previous depressions not a crisis in the capitalist system but the crisis of the system—its last predicament that must end with a complete economic and social revolution.

In passing, let me say, that the most eminent thinker of orthodox Socialism, the venerable Karl Kautsky, was opposed to this new departure. In a special pamphlet "The New Program" he subjects it to a severe analysis and comes to the conclusion that "our party does not need a new program," the old programs of Erfurt, Görlitz and Heidelberg answer also present day needs.

Max Klinger, who, together with Ernst Anders, is among the spokesmen of the new leadership, answered Kautsky with a polite reminder that it is at present a question of Politics and not of Theory. The classic theories of Marxian Socialism and the classic programs are excellent, but the needs of the hour is for such a platform that would effectively oust Hitlerism and launch Germany on the road to Socialism.

The Revolutionary Struggle

THE new program consists of one short preamble and seven long sections—all in all, about ten Leader columns. It starts with the statement that in "the struggle against the Nazi dictatorship there is no room for compromise, reformism or legality. The Social-Democratic tactic is subordinated entirely to the goal of capturing the state, its strengthening and arming for the realization of a Socialist society."

"A revolutionary struggle," continues the program, "demands a revolutionary organization. The old form, the old party machinery is no more, and any attempt to revive them would not reflect the conditions of the new battlefield." New groups are being born that pay dearly for the experience and technique of professional revolutionists.

After giving the guiding lines for the organization of this illegal organizations of "chosen" ("Elite") revolutionaries, the program proceeds to an analysis of the social forces behind the Nazi movement and lays the foundation for the daily struggle and "immediate demands" under the Nazi dictatorship. It stresses, however, that this daily struggle is but a transitory stage in the revolutionary battle for State Power. It can come only as a result of revolutionary activity of the masses themselves.

No Repetition of 1918

AND since the new revolutionary government will not be the result of an accident, as in 1918, but the crowning of a long and bitter revolutionary struggle, the situation will be different. The first task of the workers in government will be "to secure and insure the governmental power for the victorious revolution, to uproot all possibilities of a counter-revolutionary resistance and to transform the economic and political machinery of the state into an instrument of the ruling working masses."

The new Socialist government will establish revolutionary tribunals and will put to trial the present criminals in power, their assistants and culprits in government, office and courts.

It will also make a clean sweep of the courts, the bureaucratic machinery of the state, army and police, throwing out all the possible enemies of the working class and replacing them with tried and reliable servants of the revolution.

In addition to this, the program pledges:

The re-establishment of all the liberty of organization and

(Continued on Page Eight)

THE VIENNA CITY HALL, LONG A CITADEL OF SOCIALISM

Here is the magnificent Rathaus of Vienna, for fifteen years the center of the greatest municipal service to the workers ever undertaken.



Lessons in Esperanto for Socialists and Workers

The following is an introduction to a series of four lessons in Esperanto, the international language that is interesting workers in many countries, planned shortly to be broadcast over Station WEVD in New York City (1300 K. C.). The lessons are scheduled to appear in forthcoming issues.

By James Denson Sayers

ONE of the greatest barriers between the world's workers is that of language. Over 7,000 different languages are spoken over the earth. In China alone there are scores of languages that bar the workers from a common understanding. That is why Esperanto has in recent years spread so rapidly in the Far East. In Japan over 50,000 workers are members of the Esperanto clubs and therein find a way to carry on their secret study of radical social philosophy in spite of the terrorism of the jingoes.

With gathering speed we are rushing toward the day when this dazed, chaotic world will throw off the obsolete, hateful tyranny of nationalism and build the co-operative commonwealth. The great world crisis is drawing so near that even the blind can see it. I am sure that we who live today will take part in building the new world order.

With that firm belief as justification, I urge all those who believe likewise, especially the younger ones who will surely see the New

Day, to give a little time to learning this common world language, Esperanto.

You can learn it quickly and enjoy its benefits. You can obtain them without slackening your other activities in the Socialist movement. You will have opened to you a great new world literature; you will be able immediately to exchange ideas with workers all over the world—an extremely valuable educational feature—and through the easiest medium possible you will have a much sounder knowledge of your own native language.

Beginning next week and for three weeks thereafter The New Leader will publish one Esperanto lesson each week. On the Saturday night following the publication of the lesson in The New Leader, I will review it with you over Station WEVD at 9:50 p. m. Instruction in correct pronunciation will be given and pave the way for quick mastery of this world language. Get together with others with a copy of The New Leader and form a Saturday night class for four weeks. You will enjoy and benefit from practicing together.

After the radio course is finished on March 17, there will be a gathering on Monday, March 19, 8:30 p. m., at Rebel Arts Center, 22 East 22nd Street, New York City, of all those who wish to continue their study. Japanese and European Esperantists will speak. Come and take part in this branch of the Rebel Arts cultural program.

The Workers Abroad

(Continued from Page Seven)

association that the Nazi dictatorship deprived the working class; Full political and civil right to all citizens without religious or racial discrimination;

Separation of church and state; Suppression of all counter-revolutionary propaganda;

Immediate publication by the revolutionary government of all social, industrial and financial laws (without waiting for constitutional or other legislative assemblies);

Immediate promulgation of laws, expropriating without compensation of the lands and forest of the large landowners, and their utilization in the interest of the landless farmers and farm cooperatives;

Immediate confiscation of the heavy industries;

Expropriation of the Reichsbank and of all other large banks.

Then follows the significant phase, that "only after the revolutionary power will be securely established, only after the capitalist-feudalist and political power of the counter-revolution will be ruthlessly crushed, will the government start the building of a free state through a representative body elected on the basis of a universal, equal, direct and secret ballot."

Section four contains an elaborate program of immediate industrial socialization and nationalization. Section five—a similar program of revolutionary measures to benefit the so-called middle classes, including the farmers, artisans, small traders, technicians, lower civil service employees and teachers.

Section six takes up the problem of the war danger and revolutionary working class tactics, in case the Nazis will draw Germany into war.

The last, seventh, section attempts to lay the foundation for a united, "totalitarian," working-class movement of revolutionary Socialism in Germany. It asserts in sincere and ringing notes that the Nazi tyranny destroyed all the known causes of disunity and splits among workers. All proletarian enemies of the Nazi dictatorship can merge now into one powerful force for a united struggle against the dictatorship and for a revolution that will bring Socialism and Freedom.

They Say . . .

By Leo Isaacs

IN the spring
We will have war, they say;
It will be a war fought
In the name of our nation's honor,
It will be a war fought
In the name of our mothers and wives.

AND next spring
We will have peace, they say;
It will be a peace bought
With the blood of a million workers;
It will be a peace bought
With our names . . . engraved on crosses.

IN the spring,
They say, when other lives begin,
Thousands who learned to create
Will destroy; we who have sought
And we who have loved, will hate . . .
All for affairs of state
We will have war — they say.

Place, 20; Middletown, 21; Dayton, 22-23; Columbus, 24-25; Athens County, 26-27; Willoughby, 28; Canton, March 1; Akron, 2-3; Warren, 4 (afternoon); Youngstown, 4 (evening); Sebring, 5; Wilkinsburg, 6; Rochester, 7; New Kensington, 8; Jeannette, 9; Uniontown, 10; Pittsburgh (Squirrel Hill), 11; McKees Rocks, 11 (evening).

Claessens' Dates

Speedway City, February 17; Cincinnati, Ohio, 18-19; Elmwood

Sad Days Fall Upon the Women's Movement

By Gertrude Weil Klein

THE voluminous reports in the form of "The Women's Supplement" which arrived regularly from the Women's Sections of the Socialist parties of the various European countries ended abruptly with the tragic destruction of the Socialist movement of Germany and the rise to power of the maniac Hitler. The Socialist women of Germany, together with the Austrian women, always very closely bound together, were the heart and soul, the driving force of the gallant and inspiring women's movement of Europe.

From Belgium, from France, Denmark, Sweden, England long

came no word. Germany was the central clearing bureau for all information about the activities of the Socialist women of Europe. We can only imagine the horror and despair that is now theirs with the core of their movement shattered and suppressed, or where as in Austria they are desperately battling against fierce odds for survival. Born out of bloodshed and catastrophe, the women's movement of central Europe has displayed a toughness that was almost virile, a courage that was sublime. Today we read of the Austrian women and their children battered to death under heavy artillery fire while fighting at the side of their men.

Owing to the rigorous censorship we can get but the meagrest reports, but we know that the beautiful municipal houses in Vienna have been under constant bombardment, that women dropped blazing coals on the Heimwehr massing in the streets, that Frau Sever, widow of the former governor of lower Austria, was among the killed. It is more than the mind can bear to think of these dear comrades of ours, think of

them as we met them—those of us who had that joyous experience—full of eager interest, warm, alive with their outstretched hands and their happy cry of *Freundschaft*, and to think of them now, fighting, fighting—and doomed to almost certain destruction.

Perhaps because I am a woman I am essentially conservative. Conservative of life first—the rest comes after. Perhaps I am just writing myself down a coward, but their terrible valor in this hour shrives my heart of any feeling of exultation or pride—only despair and sorrow.

Oh, beautiful Vienna, and my dear, beautiful comrades, what is there left?

I feel that people die sometimes because they can no longer bear to live. They almost will their own deaths. I had this feeling about Meyer London when he was knocked down by a cab and killed. I have the same feeling about "Ship". When an idealist and a fighter who has constantly made sacrifices for the movement he is helping to build sees that movement crumbling around him; sees schisms, misunderstandings, irreparable breaks; sees weakness and treachery in our own ranks; when in addition there is physical illness, personal disappointment or frustration, it sometimes becomes an unendurable strain to wake each morning and live through the endless succession of days.

I was secretary to "Ship" during the tumultuous days of 1921 and '22 when he was at the helm of the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated. This was the period of the open-shop onslaught, the "Americanization" drive it was called.

The 50,000 workers that "Ship" led were locked out of their shops for six months. Of those dark days, full of misery and starvation and of the toll of health they took from our great Comrade Shipplaff, I will write some other time. I can never forget those days, and the inspiration in knowing a labor leader like him, when the very words have fallen into disrepute, have carried me over many hard places and disappointing days.

Socialists and Cooperators

(Continued from Page Seven)

liberal loans from the State. Now, through Roosevelt's Public Works Administration, it appears that such loans are to be had here. Nothing is to prevent trade unions, Workmen's Circles, groups of workers in one plant or industry, or other working-class groups who can cooperate together, from forming a housing cooperative and applying to Public Works Administrator Ickes for funds to build their own homes. A two-million dollar project of this sort is already under way in Minneapolis.

The Cooperative League

Socialists, and especially secretaries of branches, may inform themselves fully on the cooperative movement by writing to the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., 167 West 12th St., New York City, or to either of its western offices, the Central States Cooperative League, 1410 No. Main St., Bloomington, Ill., or the Northern States Cooperative League, 2100 Washington Ave. N., Minneapolis, Minn. The League publishes the monthly magazine, "Cooperation," supplies information on how to start and conduct cooperatives of any type, supplies speakers when called on, and holds one-week summer schools in New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Minnesota. It also runs an auditing service and an insurance service, both for cooperative

societies and for similar working-class institutions. The League's correspondence courses in Principles and Administration of Cooperatives are found useful as outlines for study groups. The League is a member of the International Cooperative Alliance, with office in London. The central cooperative bodies in over 40 countries are affiliated with the Alliance. They total approximately 230,000 co-operative societies.

The Time Is Ripe

It may well be that the times are ripe for a large cooperative development in America. Already the farmers are well organized. And the farmers are powerful at Washington. They have secured many concessions for their co-operatives. The latest is a Federal "Bank for Cooperatives," formed to make liberal loans to farm co-ops. Under the codes and marketing agreements, only one kind of rebate is allowed, the patronage rebate of the cooperatives. This includes all cooperatives, consumer and producer, by the President's Executive Order of Oct. 23, 1933.

These are "hand-holds" offered to Cooperators to grasp, opportunities for forging a working-class movement which Socialists and Cooperators alike will do well to make the most of. Such opportunities may not be offered again in a lifetime.

Among the Illinois Coal Miners

(Continued from Page Two)

In the organization are in extremely bad favor and the union has been forced to accept compromises and lower wage scales and conditions. The Progressive Miners' union is nurse to an unusually large and choice collection of lawyers, and its funds are being drained by court actions and injunctions. To add to the sorry condition is the admission that the United Mine Workers' Union, its formidable rival, has recovered about half of the lost territory in Illinois and in bitter and brutal warfare they hold their gains against the "rebels."

I have been told most pathetic details about some battles, about the killed and injured, about thugs, police and militia and the reign of terror in several Illinois counties.

Then there is also an economic element that bedevils the situation. The U.M.A. controls the better quality coal mines in the central and southern part of the state and the Progressives have their strength in the western and poorer mines. This also explains the turn of the battle and the higher wage scales obtained by the older union.

"How did it all happen?" I asked of several of the well-informed and splendid rebels. Their answer may be summarized in these familiar sentences. There was no great change in the philosophy, composition and direction of the membership of the Progressive Miners. It was but a part of the old union with a new name. The real rebels were but a fraction of the membership. The rank and file elected new officers who were new only in a newly acquired vocabulary, and these brothers soon reverted to their old habits of thought and action.

In this bitter labor history there is repeated an old chapter and another lesson for those who always look for speedy and fundamental changes. Renaming a conservative membership and its officers "progressive" does not immediately change their nature. Neither does a new form of organization always produce a more efficient and

aggressive behavior. There is no magic in names. An industrial union may be as conservative in thought and action as any craft union. Nor is there any magic in "revolutionary" language or slogans.

A militant phrase-monger is often only an opportunist of the rankest type. And in the end a dual union is the meanest weapon that workers can place into the hands of their exploiters and it is most often done with the noblest intentions and aims.

I hope to write again on this troublesome condition in the miners' union and in a future article I would like to deal with some fundamental economic and social factors and their possible developments and solution. As I will spend about a month in the coal fields of Ohio and Pennsylvania I should learn considerably more on this subject.

I had a stirring day with a grand crowd of miners in Gillespie. This town is in the heart of the Progressive Miners' territory. I met with, ate and slept with as fine a group of Socialists as are anywhere in this country. These sterling Scotchmen and their magnificent women-folk are fighters of rare quality. I listened to their story for hours and were I a poet I would have gathered material for a great labor epic. In them I found the truly "progressive miners" and the further confirmation of my suspicion that the great solution of the problem of the miners' union and of any and every union is the increase of the tribe of true rebels—intelligent and active Socialists.

Although I came into Gillespie unexpected, these comrades arranged a fine meeting in a few hours by chalking up side-walks and sending word around of my presence. I also stopped in Springfield. There I had a poor meeting. Then I went up-state and into Chicago and had a busy three days. About these more next week.

Claessens' Dates

Speedway City, February 17; Cincinnati, Ohio, 18-19; Elmwood

The Youngster's Side of Divorce in "Wednesday's Child"

CHILD OF DIVORCE
"WEDNESDAY'S CHILD." By Leopold Atlas. At the Longacre.

When the curtain fell on the first act of "Wednesday's Child" I heard a neighbor say, "This play is too true to be successful." That would be a pity, for a new phase of an old problem is in this drama drawn with intelligent sympathy. There was a time when it could be remarked that "comedy ends in the church; tragedy, in the churchyard." Since then divorce gave birth to the problem play. "Wednesday's Child" pictures the plight of the offspring of a marriage that goes on the rocks, especially when both parents seek to re-wed.

With tender understanding Mr. Atlas follows the fortunes of young Bobby Phillips, from that day of fort building when his playmates turn into jibing foes calling "Bobby doesn't know his father!" to the perfunctory visits of the two parents at Bobby's boarding school. Without preaching, the author shows the early blows of the storms that bend the "wigs" which some day must bear the foliage of our civilization. It is a complex problem; no solution is suggested; but its presentation makes effective drama, in which an excellent cast, with Frank M. Thomas, Jr., doing a splendid job as Bobby, helps keep the interest tense.

KORDA & BROS.

To most Americans the name of Korda may or may not have been first associated with the London Films production of "Henry VIII," which was so remarkable an English film that nearly every motion picture critic in the United States listed it among the ten best pictures of 1933.

And unobserving picture-goers may not be privy to the fact that the name of Korda is practically synonymous with the first talking screen dramatization of "Catherine the Great," which is introducing the world-famous Elizabeth Bergner to New York audiences at the Astor Theatre.

But in European film circles Korda is a name which, it is said, has no superiors. For it belongs to three Hungarian brothers who have made noteworthy contributions to the betterment of foreign motion pictures.

First and foremost, of course, is Alexander Korda, director of "Henry VIII" and producer of "Catherine the Great," whom United Artists is now sponsoring for a new series of big English pictures. He is a young-looking man who always seems to be plunged deep in thought. He is imaginative and alert, with a searching eye for weaknesses in detail and a comprehensive grasp of all the little and big things that

Stars in Max Gordon's Two New Plays



Above you see Walter Huston and Gladys Cooper, who have the principal roles in Max Gordon's new plays, "Dodsworth," at the Shubert, and "The Shining Hour" at the Booth Theatre.

"Mandalay" at the Strand

"Mandalay," the first National picture co-starring Kay Francis and Ricardo Cortez, is at the Strand Theatre. "Mandalay" was directed by Michael Curtiz from the adaptation by Austin Parker and Charles Kenyon of Paul Harvey Fox's original story. It has a large cast of principals which includes Lyle Talbot, Warner Oland, Lucien Littlefield, Hobart Cavanaugh, Reginald Owen, Rafaelo Ottiano, Etienne Girardot, Halliwell Hobbes, David Torrence and Bodil Rosing.

make for effective screen spectacle and entertainment.

Then there is Vincent Korda, a boyish figure with waving hair and eager eyes, who designs the settings and paints the scenery for most of the London Films productions.

And there is Zoltan Korda, who at the moment is somewhere in Central Africa, filming authentic backgrounds for "Congo Raid," the picture he is scheduled to direct from Edgar Wallace's stories, "Sanders of the River."

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Gaige's Third Production, "Ragged Army," Due Feb. 21

Crosby Gaige announces that "Ragged Army," his third production of the season, will open in New York Wednesday evening, Feb. 21, at a theatre yet to be selected.

Lalvie Brownell and Irby Marshall are recent cast additions to the new play by Beulah Marie Dix and Bertram Millhauser.

Lloyd Nolan, who will be seen in the featured leading male role, makes his first appearance in "Ragged Army" since reaching virtual overnight stardom in "One Sunday Afternoon."

Symposium at Civic Rep.

The role of the theatre in the struggle of the working class will be discussed by leading American actors, playwrights and scenic artists at the Civic Repertory Theatre, 14th Street and 6th Ave., Sunday evening, Feb. 18, at 8:30. Speakers at this Theatre Union symposium include Henry Hull; Mordecai Gorelik, scene designer; John Howard Lawson, author of "Success Story"; Albert Maltz, co-author of "Peace on Earth," the anti-war play which is now approaching its 100th performance, and Blanche Yurka, well-known Ibsen actress.

Guthrie McClintic to Produce "Yellow Jack"

Guthrie McClintic has acquired the rights to "Yellow Jack," by Sidney Howard, and will begin a production of the play at once. Mr. McClintic arrived last week from San Francisco, where he joined his wife, Katharine Cornell, a month ago, to put the finishing touches to her production of "Candida."

"I've Got Your Number" at Brooklyn Strand

"I've Got Your Number" at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre stars Joan Blondell and Pat O'Brien, Gordon Westcott, Glenda Farrell, Allen Jenkins, Eugene Pallette and Hobart Cavanaugh are also in the cast.

Heading the short subject program the Strand presents Janet Reade in "The Mild West," a two-act musical comedy with Olive Borden, Paul Keast, Helen Denison, Phil Ryder, The Vikings and Phil Loeb; Ben Blue in a two-act comedy called "Nervous Hands," with Loretta Sayers and Billy Halligan; also "Honeymoon Hotel," a technicolor cartoon.

"Bolero" with George Raft at Brooklyn Paramount

"Bolero," a picture of an internationally famous dancer who rocketed his way to fame by climbing the ladder of success over the hearts of his succession of beautiful dance partners, brings George Raft, Carole Lombard and Sally Rand to the Brooklyn Paramount Theatre starting today.

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

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This Afternoon at 3:00

Soloists:

ROSA TONTONE—SIGRID ONEGIN

PAUL ALTHOUSE—EZIO PINZA

Assisted by Schola Cantorum of New York

BEETHOVEN: Symphonies No. 8 and No. 9

Thurs. Eve. 8:45; Fri. Aft. 2:50

Vivaldi—Sibelius—Debussy—Strauss

Sat. Eve. at 8:45 (Students')

Vivaldi—Beethoven—Debussy—Strauss

ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

2 SUNDAY NIGHTS

MARTHA GRAHAM

LOUIS HORST, PIANIST

FEB. 18—Solo Program

Tickets \$2.50 to \$1 plus tax

GUILD THEATRE

MARTHA GRAHAM

LOUIS HORST, PIANIST

FEB. 25 with Dance Group

Tickets \$2.50 to \$1 plus tax

WINTER GARDEN 50th St. Eves. 8:30; Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

ZIEGFELD FOLLIES

with FANNIE BRICE
 WILLIE & EUGENE HOWARD,
 EVERETT MARSHALL, JANE FROMAN, PATRICIA BOWMAN, VILMA & BUDDY EISEN, DON ROSS, THE PREISSERS
 BALCONY SEATS \$1 to \$2.50
 Orch. Seats \$3 to \$4 (ex. Sat.)
 Matinees: Balcony \$1 & \$1.50
 All Orchestra Seats \$2.50

MAX GORDON presents

"ROBERTA"

A New Musical Comedy by JEROME KERN & OTTO HARBACH
 Adapted from Alice Duer Miller's novel "Gowns by Roberta"

"A charming score, richly melodic, not only a softer but a more sophisticated idiom than Broadway is usually allowed to hear." —Brown, Post.

New Amsterdam Thea. 42 St. Eves. \$1 to \$3. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 50c to \$2.50 plus tax.

★ ★ ★ ★ —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

Mats. 8:45 - 50c to \$2.50

Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40 - 50c to \$2.50

Extra Mat. Washington's Birthday

Mother and Medicine Mix in "The Wind and the Rain"

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

"LITTLE WINDS"

"THE WIND AND THE RAIN."
By Merton Hodge. At the Ritz.

It is the little winds of childhood that bend the sapling twigs; so that without much later sign of the cause we see how the tree is inclined. The influence of the mother is often dominant, even beyond her death and into his manhood, in the son's life. "The Silver Cord" is brought to mind in the opening scenes of "The Wind and the Rain"; save that the setting—study of an Edinburgh medical school—recalls "Men in White," and the British students are not unlike the American internes. But Mr. Hodge, with a more amusing atmosphere, provides also a less melodramatic situation. Young Charles, coming to study, is tied to his mother and by her plans to Jill Mannering; by her attractive personality Anne Hargreaves (Rose Hobart) takes the place of Charles' mother as the guiding force in his life and, lingering away from her own Australian fiancée through the mother's illness, is promoted from the role of Charles' mistress to that of wife.

Frank Lawton gives a sensitive performance as the young boy, and Mildred Natwick, remembered as Blanche Yurka's secretary in "Spring in Autumn," is amusing again as the boarding-house keeper to whom these students are links in an endless chain, renewing the same problems generation after generation, on the continuous round of life—where the strong can echo Shakespeare's song: "Hey nonny nonny, the wind and the rain."

Benefit for the Blind

For the Blind Men's Improvement Club Rosalinda Morini, so-

American Interpretive Dancer



Belle Didjah, recently returned from a tour of the Orient, will appear in a dance recital Sunday evening, March 11, at the Forrest Theatre.

prano, will give a recital at Town Hall on Thursday evening, Feb. 22. The Blind Men's Improvement Club has a long record of good service, emanating from the famous "Lighthouse" on 59th Street, New York. The Marini program is a richly varied one, including—for the first time—words to Liszt's "Hungarian Rhapsody"; and the evening should provide good entertainment as well as good help to the blind.

THE THEATRE GUILD

presents
EUGENE O'NEILL'S Comedy

AH, WILDERNESS!

with GEORGE M. COHAN

GUILD THEATRE, 52nd Street, West of B'way

Eves., 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

Eves., 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

Eves., 8:40. Mats., Thurs. and Sat., 2:40

OPENING WEDNESDAY EVE., FEB. 21st, at 8:10

JOHN WEXLEY'S play

THEY SHALL NOT DIE

ROYALE THEATRE, 45th Street & Broadway

Matinees Thurs. & Sat.

"Enlighten Thy Daughter" on Fox Brooklyn Screen—Trixie Friganza on Stage

Making its debut in the metropolitan area, "Enlighten Thy Daughter," said to be a modern indictment against parental prudery, opens at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre today. This first run picture asks the question "What price whoopee?" and is said to give the answer in plain screen fashion. It tells of reckless youth-faced with the inescapable consequence of mad romance.

Heading the cast are Herbert Rawlinson, Miriam Battista and Wesley Barry.

A new stage unit, Alexander Oumansky's "Romantic Moods," starring that veteran comedienne of stage and screen, Trixie Friganza, will be the footlight attraction at the Fox.

Freddie Berrens continues as master of ceremonies and also leads his tune tootlers through a series of well rehearsed numbers. His vocalist, Sonny Shattel, will furnish the singing choruses.

Dwight Deere Wiman & Tom Weatherly present

SHE LOVES ME NOT

The Season's Comedy Smash Hit

By HOWARD LINDSAY

Adapted from Edward Hope's novel.

"Full of merriment... It is spontaneous, guileless and tumultuous."

It is pure comedy.

—Brooks Atkinson, Times

46th ST. THEA. W. of B'way

Eves. 8:10 to 8:30 Mats. Wed. 5:00 to 5:20

8:40 & Sat. 2:40

Special Mat. Washington's Birthday

John BARRYMORE

'LONG LOST FATHER'

HELEN CHANDLER - DONALD COOK

An RKO-RADIO Picture

Plus A Brilliant New Revue with

*MILLS, GOLD & RAYE

*STONE and LEE

*RED DONAHUE & 'UNO'

*STELLA MARCHETTI

*THE KITAS

*GAE FOSTER GIRLS

*RUBE WOLF & GANG

Starts Thurs., Feb. 22 - WHEELER

& WOOLSEY 'Hips, Hips, Hooray'

SHOW VALUE OF THE NATION

ROXY

7th Ave. & 50th St. Children 15c

25c to 2 P. M.

35c to 6 P. M.

55c to Close

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25c to 2 P. M.

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7th Ave. & 50th St. Children 15c

25c to 2 P. M.

35c to 6 P. M.

55c to Close

7th Ave. & 50th St. Children 15c

25c to 2 P. M.

35c to 6 P. M.

55c to Close

7th Ave. & 50th St. Children 15c

John Barrymore on Roxy Screen—New Stage Show

For the first time in the history of the Roxy Theatre, John Barrymore is to be seen as a star on the screen of that playhouse, appearing in the new picture, "Long Lost Father." The film is based on the best selling novel by G. B. Stern, which was purchased especially as a vehicle for Barrymore.

The well-known variety comedians Mills, Gold and Raye are seen as the headliners of this week's new Fanchon and Marco stage production. Other variety acts include Stone and Lee, Red Donohue and Uno, Stella Marchetti, the Kitaros

and others. The Gae Foster Girls appear in new ballet numbers. Rube Wolf as master of ceremonies presides over a new musical program.

Town Hall Series

In the Town Hall Endowment Series, on Wednesday evening, Feb. 21, young Yehudi Menuhin, in his 18th New York recital, will play his 18th completely different program. This most worth-while series continues with Tita Schipa, tenor, on Wednesday evening, March 14, and concludes with Maria Jeritz, soprano, and Felix Salmond, cellist, on Wednesday evening, March 28.

The MOST SENSATIONAL SCREEN TRIUMPH of the DAY

ALEXANDER KORDA'S PRODUCTION OF

CATHERINE THE GREAT

WITH

DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS, JR.

as the Mad Czar Peter, most dangerous of lovers

AND

ELIZABETH BERGNER

as Catherine, beloved by millions, hated by one

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8:50. Mats. 50c to \$1.—Evenings 50c to \$3.

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CONTINUOUS POP. PRICES

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RAMON NOVARRO

IN PERSON AND ALSO ON THE SCREEN

with JEANETTE MACDONALD

In Jerome Kern's Glorious Musical Romance

"The Cat and the Fiddle"

with a Fine Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Cast

Vivienne SEGAL - Frank MORGAN

Chas. Butterworth - Jean Hersholt

PLUS On the Stage!

HARRISON and FISHER

George Campo - Capitol Ballet

LITTLE JACK LITTLE

Radio Orchestra

CAPITOL

Broadway at 51st St

Maj. Edward Bowes, Man's Dir

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.

Joseph M. Schenck presents

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BENNETT

In a Darryl F. Zanuck Prod.

"MOULIN ROUGE"

with

FRANCHOT TONE

RIVOLI

UNITED ARTISTS B'WAY at 49th ST

Premier N.Y. Showing

"Enlighten Thy Daughter"

Wesley Barry Rawlinson Miriam Whitney Battista

Great Stage Show Includes

"ROMANTIC MOODS" OUMANSKY

Revue with

TRIXIE FRIGANZA

Freddie Berrens CBS Orch.-Others

25c

10:50 P. M.

W. K. D. S.

MILWAUKEE TO HOLD BIGGEST BAZAAR

By ANDREW J. BIEMILLER

MILWAUKEE.—Milwaukee Socialists are holding a mammoth Socialist bazaar and carnival from Thursday through Sunday of this week. Work on the affair has been diligently carried on for the past six weeks under general manager Al Benson, and every indication points to a substantial profit which will be divided among the local, state, and national offices of the party and the Milwaukee Leader.

Informal suppers will be served every night. Thursday is Public Officials' night and the speakers will be Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, Mayor M. V. Baxter of West Allis, Wis., and Morris Stern, Socialist candidate for circuit court.

On Friday, Organized Labor night, J. J. Handley, secretary of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor Frank J. Weber, recently retired as secretary of the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council, and Maud McCreery, active organizer of women in the union and Socialist movements, will speak.

Saturday will see hundreds of farmers present for Farmers' Day. A. H. Christman, director of the Wisconsin Cooperative Milk Pool, Gene Schmidt, secretary of the Dodge County Milk Pool, and Benson will speak.

The last day will be Socialist Party of America day. The speakers will be Norman Thomas, and Clarence Senior, national secretary of the party. Chicago comrades have chartered a special train on and several score will accompany Thomas and Senior to Milwaukee.

More than 100,000 admission tickets have been sold. Party leaders expect the biggest crowds that have ever attended an indoor affair in Milwaukee.

OHIO SOCIALISTS STEADILY GAINING

By Sidney Yellen

State Secretary, Socialist Party of Ohio

CLEVELAND.—What is the matter with the Socialist Party? The question is asked by Socialists in the states. Ohio differs little from other industrial states. More than half of the workers, about 800,000, are without jobs. The steel industry in five or six cities has long fought unionism and the National Cash Register Co. at Dayton is a paternal institution. Southwest Ohio has a corn belt where farmers, hoping for a higher price for corn, were disappointed when the government ordered 5,000,000 hogs killed, thus reducing the demand for corn.

We also have unionism good and bad. In Cleveland it has been possible for a leader to be elected for life and grafting capitalist politics has sent some councilmen to the penitentiary. We have gangsters and mounting public debts and all the other evils produced by the depression. We also have a new Socialist movement that is making progress in spite of all difficulties.

The Socialist Party of Ohio has registered a gain in membership for the first nine months in 1933 which gives it third place in the ranks of states showing increases. Locals have established headquarters in a number of cities and study classes have been organized on a basis of ten cents for a course. The activities of the party in general have correspondingly grown. The trade union movement is also reviving its fighting spirit and as the life and progress of both movements depend upon the development of class-consciousness and cooperation between the workers in both movements, we can say that this is also developing in the Ohio movement.

As soon as Congress passed the NRA, the State Office issued a circular letter to locals and branches urging members to join the unions and help build them. Our members responded. Their activities in the trade unions made it possible for many to be elected to important positions in the unions and thus have an influence which will lead to a more close cooperation. Our speakers are now much in demand and many of our local secretaries are also the secretaries of local unions. In short, the Socialist movement in Ohio is a live organization which will eventually be the leading spirit in the labor movement in the Buckeye state.

To make possible more agitation meeting for our locals that have little funds the State Executive Committee has cut down the fee of outside speakers to ten dollars per day and local speakers to as low as five dollars per day.

I also want to express my appreciation of the fine work of our energetic state organizer, Comrade Paul, who for many days went without a meal and saved the few dollars he received for gas to reach his meetings with a 1924 model T.

NEW JERSEY

The State YPSL was reorganized at a special convention in Plainfield last Sunday. The offices of chairman and organizer were replaced by chairman-organizer and three section organizers. The secretary-treasurer's duties were divided among a secretary and a treas-

NUTMEG SOCIALISTS RECORD PROGRESS

By Arnold E. Freese

State Secretary, Socialist Party of Connecticut

At the State Executive Committee meeting in New Haven Feb. 11, Devere Allen, Norman Thomas, James H. Maurer, Harry W. Laidler, James Oneal and Alfred Baker Lewis were nominated as delegates to the Socialist and Labor International.

For the first time in many years Socialists will contest the Norwich municipal election. The newly organized and aggressive Norwich local is getting signatures on nominating petitions.

The S.E.C. granted a charter to the new 6A District Branch of Bridgeport. The Fifth District Congressional Convention will be held in Waterbury April 8 and the Second District Convention in Norwich on May 13. The conventions are being held early because petitions must be circulated in these districts. District organization plans will receive major attention. Organization conferences will be called in the First, Third and Fourth Districts in the near future, which will discuss organization methods, education, publicity, finance and the state campaign.

September 8 and 9 has been tentatively selected as the date of the state convention. All preliminary organization and campaign work will be done prior to the convention in order that a whirlwind campaign may be waged for seven weeks.

Two weeks, early in July, have been tentatively set aside for the Socialist Summer School. Plans are being worked out and applications from those who wish to attend may be sent to the State Office. The State Office reports that an increasing number of locals and branches are operating Study and Discussion Groups in the elements of Socialism. A particular effort is being made to get non-members to participate.

The attention of Connecticut readers is called to the Socialist Progress Fund which the state organization is now seeking to raise under the combined auspices of the State and National organizations and will be the only appeal made by them this year. The budget

Reading Socialists

Nominate Candidates For Coming Campaign

READING, Pa.—Berks County

Socialists met in the Odd Fellows Temple last week and re-nominated Darlington Hoopes and Lilith Wilson for the Legislature. The caucus also laid plans for an extensive campaign.

Heading the ticket in the Congressional fight will be Raymond S. Hofses, editor of the Labor Advocate, and the candidate for Congress two years ago.

In the rural districts the following legislative nominations were made: Second district, Jacob Halderman, Birdsboro; third district, John Reifsnnyder, Wernersville; fourth district, Arthur Schultz, Laureldale.

"We are again depending upon the workers of Reading and Berks to put this campaign across," declared Organizer Bigony after the caucus. "We believe we will receive the help which is needed, despite the fact that many party members and sympathizers have been jobless and without funds for a long time. Those who are most fortunate will, I am certain, make the necessary sacrifice to carry our story to the people this year."

provides for State and National Office needs, Field Organizers, Radio Broadcasts, Literature, YPSL and Party Press. Pledges and contributions should be mailed to the State Office, 606 West Ave., Norwalk, as quickly as possible.

The Party Progress

Data on Educational Work

To prepare a comprehensive report of the educational activity the party carries on through classes and discussion groups, the education committee urges local and branch secretaries to report immediately to national headquarters, 549 Randolph St., Chicago, of what classes they conducted during 1933, approximately how many people attended, who was used as a teacher, and what textbooks were used.

State Conventions

The following state conventions will be held within the next two months: March 4, New Mexico, at Clovis or Albuquerque. March 4-5, West Virginia, at Clarksburg. March 18, Oklahoma, Oklahoma City.

New Party Organizations
Arkansas, Decatur; Illinois, Kewanee (Y.P.S.L.); Michigan, Menominee; Missouri, Wellston; New Jersey, Clementon; Ohio, Willoughby; Oregon, Woodburn; Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (No. 3 Jr. YPSL); No. 4 Jr. YPSL; State College; Tennessee, Monteagle (YPSL); Texas, Amarillo; Washington, Vancouver.

A.S.Q. Features

"Socialism and Monetary Policy" by the British Socialist economist G. D. H. Cole, will be a featured article in the winter issue of the American Socialist Quarterly. The Quarterly is nearing the 5,000 mark in subscriptions, and recent issues have been sold out. Address Anna Berens, business manager, 7 East 15th St., New York City.

California

Samuel S. White, active Socialist who for the past few years has been editor of the Kern County "Union Labor Herald," has been chosen business manager for the I.L.G.W.U., Cloakmakers' Local No. 8, in San Francisco.

The Socialist "Thursday Forums" in San Francisco are off this year to a better start than they have had in previous successful years. A training class for street speaking is being started by the local.

West Virginia

A labor summer school will be conducted in Keyser for two weeks beginning July 1. The students and instructors will live in tents on a site in the Blue Ridge Mountains, and provisions are being made for fifty students. Professor Henry Flury is the first instructor to offer his services for the full period.

Kansas

By John W. Piercey
The State Executive Committee has accepted the resignation of Ross Magill and appointed Lawrence Piercey of Levens state secretary. Comrade Piercey will begin at once to build up the party and prepare for a militant campaign. He will have as assistants John Piercey and Richard Smith.

A new local of 31 members has been organized in Lawrence. Many of the members are teachers and students of Kansas University. The local was organized by Clayton Crocker.

Missouri

Norman Thomas will be in Kansas City on Tuesday, Feb. 20. He will broadcast at 2 p. m. over Radio Station WOO. Unity School of Christianity, for 20 minutes. All comrades in nearby localities should endeavor to listen in.

urer. The research director's work was given to the educational directors. An editorial committee of four was set up to edit the "Yipsel View," the YPSL page of the Socialist Party's monthly New View. The new officers are: Esther Suchomel, chairman-organizer; Southern organizer, James Simone.

In the evening he will lecture at the Community Church, Linwood and Forest, for the League for Industrial Democracy. Preceding the lecture, a banquet will be served by the ladies of the church. Reservations should be made in advance. Tickets 35 cents per plate. Comrades from out-state locals are expected to come in.

Michigan

Frank Crossworth will lecture in the following cities: Ann Arbor, Feb. 23; Holland, Feb. 23; Battle Creek, Feb. 23; Kalamazoo, Feb. 24; Detroit, Feb. 25; Saginaw, Feb. 26, and Lansing, Feb. 27. Wayne County.—Frank Crossworth will speak at the Brewster Center, Brewster and St. Antoine, Sunday, Feb. 25, at 3 p. m. A dinner will be given in his honor at Workmen's Circle headquarters, 527 Holbrook, at 8. Lecture will follow the dinner.

The Junior YPSL is sponsoring a dance and entertainment at party headquarters, Saturday, Feb. 24, at 8:30. Branch 3.—Valentine Party Sat. night, Feb. 17. Speaker at regular Wednesday night propaganda meeting: Arthur Kent, Wayne County organizer.

Branch 4.—W. Nelson, of the American Civil Liberties Union, will speak Saturday evening, Feb. 17, at branch headquarters, Hamilton and Clairmount.

Illinois

A caucus of about 40 delegates in Taylorville, Jan. 31, from the 21st Congr. District, which takes in Macoupin, Montgomery, Christian and Sangamon Counties, Rev. Douglas B. Anderson was unanimously nominated for Congress. We have a real chance to elect him and therefore are going to make a strong campaign for him. In each of the four counties, caucuses will be held and an effort made to run full Socialist slates.

Massachusetts

Boston.—The general membership meeting will be held Monday, Feb. 19, at 1 Stuart St., 8 p. m. Members should attend as the nomination of delegates to the national convention will take place. Plans will also be made to raise the \$250 allotted to Boston in the Socialist drive. Other important matters will come up.

The Unemployment Insurance Bill of the Socialist Party will come up for a public hearing Monday, Feb. 19, 10:30 a.m., before a committee of the State Legislature at the State House. Every Socialist local in the state should have a representative and as large a delegation as possible at the hearing. Those unable to be present can help by writing their Senator and Representatives and to Representative Howard, clerk of the Labor and Industries Committee, at the State House.

New Jersey

Passaic.—Business meeting of Branch 1, Friday, Feb. 16, at 8:30 p.m., at the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Hall, 585 Main Ave.

Workers' educational class continues to meet each Monday at 8:15 p. m. Yipsels meet each Wednesday at 8:30 p. m. and are completing details for their anniversary to take place shortly.

Nathan Fine will lecture on "NRA and the Socialist Party" on Friday, Feb. 23.

West New York.—Feb. 18, 2:30 p. m., first of a series of three lectures to be held at West New York Labor Lyceum on successive Sunday afternoons, Tyler Place and 17th St., Henry Jager on "The New Deal."

Second lecture Feb. 25, James Oneal, "Social Revolution."

Final lecture March 4, William M. Feigenbaum, "Corruption in Politics." Essex County.—The branch of the Oranges is sponsoring a discussion meeting at the Munn Ave. Presbyterian Church, Main St. and Munn Ave., East

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THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
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Telephone Orchard 4-0000

Orange, Wednesday evening, Feb. 21. Rev. Dr. Frank Kingdon will lead on "Next Steps Towards a Cooperative Commonwealth." This is the first of the winter and spring series to be held.

Rand School class at county headquarters, 1085 Broad St., Newark, on Monday evenings; county executive committee Tuesday evening; Brookwood Labor College class Wednesday evening; Central Branch of Newark Thursday evening. The YPSL meeting at headquarters Friday, Feb. 23, will hear Irving Brown of New York City speak on "The Road to Power." Supper and social evening sponsored by the Women's Committee every Saturday night at 1085 Broad St., Newark.

New York State

Delegates to National Convention.—The State Office has sent out a call for the nomination of delegates and alternates to the National Convention. Locals may nominate candidates for delegate and alternate at large, and, in the case of locals grouped to form one election district, candidates for district delegate and alternate. Nominations must be filed on or before March 24. Local New York City and Westchester County will conduct their own nominations and elections. Delegates and alternates will be voted on separately in the referendum.

Rochester.—Jack Britt Gaerity of Canisius has been engaged as organizer for two months. The entertainment committee is running a series of card parties to defray the cost of the party headquarters at 44 State St.

Schenectady.—Local meets in the auditorium of the Hotel Van Curler. Members are enthusiastic over the interest in the L.I.D. lecture course in the High School auditorium. Agitation for the clearance of slum sections by the party has culminated in the passage of a law by the Common Council providing for the appointment of a Housing Authority.

Watertown.—Two Rand School study classes have been organized at Watertown at at Deferiet Organizer Tooley reports that a branch at Deferiet is expected soon.

Massena County.—The central committee has nominated Sofus W. Christensen

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New York City

of Valley Stream for district delegate to the National Convention. Louis Waldman of New York and Darwin J. Meserole of Bellport were nominated for delegate and alternate at large.

Hempstead Forum symposium, Tuesday, Feb. 20, Odd Fellows Hall, Franklin near Front, Hempstead. Gertrude Hutchinson, "Friends of the Soviet Union," and Samuel DeWitt on "The Truth About Soviet Russia."

Card party at the home of Comrade Gubar, Hilton Ave., Wednesday, Feb. 21. Proceeds go to the Forum.

New Rochelle.—James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, will speak at the Socialist Forum in Deba Hall, 284 North Ave., Sunday evening, Feb. 18, on "The Austrian Revolution."

They Built a City for the Future

And So the Brave Vienna Socialists Are Hunted Like Wild Beasts

By William M. Feigenbaum

THE greeting of the Austrian Socialists is "Freundschaft"—Friendship. Even as they fight on the barricades of Vienna and in the provinces, as the streets run with the blood of their brothers, they greet each other with the word **Friendship**.

To one who has known Vienna, who has breathed the air and enjoyed the hospitality of that lovely city the news that Fascist guns are belching forth slaughter, are pounding working class dwellings and destroying the work of fifteen years of the most advanced working class in the world wrings the heart with anguish.

cleanliness and light and beauty, and in a dignity never before attained by working people. They were their own homes—built by their own efforts.

On each house were painted the words: "Erbaut von der Gemeinde Wien aus den Mitteln der Wohnbausteuer"; "Built by the municipality of Vienna by means of the dwellings tax," so that passers-by might see how a workers' government operated, making the idlers and exploiters disgorge much of their unearned gains for the benefit of those out of whose labor it had been created.

Many of the houses are huge apartments—veritable fortresses of

slept and to which Victor Adler came to tell Karl II that the days of monarchy were forever over. On a hill is the Gloriette, a dainty Roman arch built for Maria Theresa, and in the woods are lovely villas. All, all were taken by the city for the benefit of the people. Viennese dirndls and bronzed working class boys in leather pants strolled singing on the paths once reserved for monarchs and their fawning creatures; under the trees was a Meierei where gypsy musicians played the intoxicating melodies of Strauss and Brahms; off to one side a beautiful swimming pool, the property of the people of Vienna, theirs freely to use.

In the Operring is the great Hofburg palace in which dwelt the Hapsburgs, turned over to the people by the Socialist government, and under the trees there were nightly concerts.

Another Hapsburg palace in the suburbs was turned into a children's home; and on the walls of the palace are these words in golden letters: "HE WHO BUILDS A CHILDREN'S PALACE TEARS DOWN THE WALLS OF PRISONS."

Everywhere love and humanity, everywhere laughing children, gay women, happy men.

It was their city. They, the Socialist workers, had snatched it out of the very jaws of hell and they remade it for themselves. They loved their city for what it had been and what they were going to make of it, for its spirit, for its glorious humanity. Vienna was theirs.

Vienna! The city of Beethoven and Schubert and Brahms; the city of culture and love; the city of poets and dreamers—Vienna became the city of Victor Adler and the organized workers, the city of men and women who dreamed of a future in which misery and hate would be no more.

Freundschaft! That expressed their Vienna and the Vienna of the whole working class movement.

And for building a New Vienna of men and women who toil and dream; for the crime of building a Vienna for the laughing blue-eyed Mitzis and Maxls our Comrades are hunted down like wild beasts in the field!

In Vienna they tell with pride the story of the siege of their city by the Turks. The laughter-loving, gay-hearted Viennese held their city and—they tell you—saved Western civilization from destruction by Oriental barbarism. Maybe so; maybe not. But today our Comrades, bearing aloft the red flag they have so honored with their deeds, stand guard over their city, last citadel of humanity and of Socialism in the face of an on-rushing tide of barbarian Fascism.

In this hour the hearts of Socialists everywhere are with them in their noble struggle. And to them the whole Socialist movement sends a fervent Socialist greeting: **FREUNDSCHAFT!**

Defend Red Vienna Against the Fascist Barbarians!

By Harry W. Laidler

WORKERS of America, all lovers of freedom and of social progress, unite in protest against the barbaric slaughter of your fellows in Austria. Demand that the government of the United States use its every resource to stop this terrible holocaust. The Socialists of Red Vienna and of Austria are fighting your cause against the black forces of Fascism and reaction. For years they gave an admini-

stration in Vienna that in housing, recreation, health and cultural services was unsurpassed in the world.

For years they stood like granite against the forces of Fascism that were engulfing southeastern and central Europe. For years they inspired the working class of the world with their solidarity on the economic and political fields and their struggle for social justice and world peace.

Because of these achievements

Our Fate Is Bound Up in the Fate of Our Comrades in Bleeding Austria

By Louis Waldman

State Chairman, Socialist Party of New York.

IN this unequal struggle, the Socialist workers of Austria will go down in history as among the noblest and most courageous defenders of the rights of man. They will be remembered by future generations as heroes and martyrs to the cause of Socialism and human freedom.

The fight they are waging is not only for themselves and their organizations, but for the freedom of Austria and for the preservation, for mankind, of the fruits of modern civilization against the onslaught of a decadent Fascism. Like the hordes of ancient Rome these Fascists spread darkness and terror, and threaten to drag modern civilization down to the conditions that prevailed during the Dark Ages.

But now, as then, the torch of human liberty will not be forever extinguished; the aspiration for human freedom, which is among the very oldest of mankind's aspirations, can neither be stifled nor drowned in blood!

As long as there are brave souls ready to mount the barricades and offer up their lives and their all

as do our Austrian brothers and comrades for human liberation mankind has reason to hope. The courage and fortitude which is being shown by our comrades will inspire friends of freedom everywhere to continue the struggle where they may have to leave off. The Socialist party and progressive labor halls those who under the lash of terror prefer to die on their feet rather than live on their knees.

For sheer brutality in waging war on innocent men and women, and even children, without provocation or justification, the present Austrian regime will rival the bloodiest regimes of which history gives any account. It will rival the massacres for which Dollfuss' predecessors and some of his contemporaries have become infamous. He never had the capacity to rule, his regime having been as stupid as it is now cruel.

Our own fate is intimately bound up with the outcome of the struggle now being waged in Austria. In this fight we proudly proclaim our loyalty and support to the Socialist workers of Austria. We shall do all in our power to render whatever aid and assistance is possible, and to appeal to all friends of liberty to join with us.

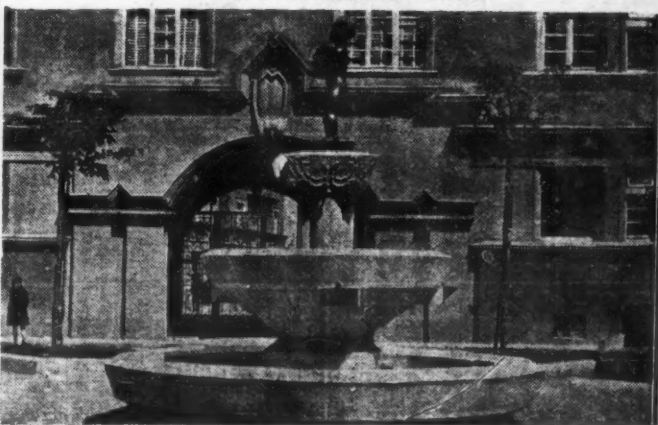
A Pledge of Loyalty

By Abraham Cahan

OUR heroic comrades in Vienna are defending not only their homes and their magnificent achievements of the past fifteen years but they stand as the first line of defense against Fascism gone mad. Upon them rests the glorious obligation of pitting their courage and their faith in the triumph of Socialism against the united forces of reaction, of a Capitalism gone insane in its moment of collapse.

ing the game of men bigger than himself. To him has been assigned the wretched role of smashing the resistance of the militant workers of his country so that Hitler or Mussolini may reap the benefit. So be it; on his head be the execration of millions for his slaughter of women and children, for his savage crime in training big guns on the dwellings built by the Vienna workers in which they lived not as crushed and humiliated slum-

Where Workers Died



Courtyard of one of the beautiful workers' homes in Vienna, now stained with blood by Fascist barbarians.

They are fighting for us. They are shedding their blood and laying down their lives for the great cause to which we have all dedicated our lives. Their battle is ours. Poor, puny little Dollfuss is play-

dwellers but as self-respecting men and women.

Across the turbulent Atlantic and over the flames of civil war, above the thunder of the guns and the rattle of musketry we hear the message of our Austrian comrades, a message of fraternity and of devotion to our cause. And to them we send our heartfelt and affectionate good wishes, and the pledge that we on our side will serve our great cause in our way with the loyalty and devotion that they are showing.

they are now being mowed down like cattle. May the Labor and Socialist movement of America join in a mighty movement with labor throughout the world to halt the present slaughter and to sweep away the last vestige of Fascism before it is too late!



Young Socialists of Vienna in one of their demonstrations of loyalty to their great city and cause.

The tragedy is not so much in the lives of courageous workers snuffed out in battle for noble ideals—terrible as is that tragedy—but rather in the crime of Dollfuss and his Fascist gangs against the most beautiful and the most humanitarian municipal work ever undertaken by enlightened working people.

There lie on my desk before me as I write photographs of the New Vienna, the wonderful city built by the Socialists out of the wreckage of the last imperialistic madness. The pictures are mute witnesses that tell a glorious story.

In 1918 the city lay in ruins, physically and spiritually destroyed. Its old rulers had run away; its people were exhausted; very few children born during the war had survived the awful years of malnutrition. A dead weight in the shape of a madman's "peace" held down the people.

It was the Socialists AND THE SOCIALISTS ALONE who saved the situation. They took over the government; no one else was willing to assume the responsibility.

Under magnificent leadership and inspired by their Socialist ideals they remade the city. They built apartment houses in which over one-third of the city's workers found homes. They established municipal works where bricks and other building materials were made by the city's workers under ideal working conditions. They embraced every principle of modern dwelling architecture hitherto reserved for the useless minority and gave them freely to the workers.

The pictures show these noble structures: Karl Marx Hof, Matteotti Hof, Frits Ebert Hof, Victor Adler Hof, George Washington Hof, palaces where the workers lived in

Rally to Defend Red Vienna!

For Each Comrade Slain, One Hundred Will Spring to Arms

By Martin Plettl

President of the International Clothing Workers' Federation, former President of the German Clothing Workers' Federation.

EUROPEAN history of yesterday, today and tomorrow is written with blood.

The victory of Labor means liberty; its defeat a crushing reversal to barbarism.

These are the signs of our times. It was only twenty years ago, on June 30, 1914, when a revolver shot killed the heir to the Austrian throne and set off a horrible conflagration through the whole world. Fifty million people of two dozen nations were drawn into the maelstrom of the war. Twelve million dead and thirty million wounded and maimed marked the battle fields of a war-torn world. Millions of women and children died of starvation. Poison gases deprived millions of others of their health.

For well-nigh four and a half years mad terror stalked over the earth. Uncounted human and cultural values were crushed to pulp. The forces of destruction held their way in air, land and water.

The revolution of 1918, the mass upheaval against war madness, put an end to the cannons' roar. Empires and nations collapsed, two dozen thrones became overnight vacant. Republics were born. The laboring masses which had been deluged with tempting promises during the war years, received new political rights. Crumbs in form of social legislation were thrown to them from the tables of the rich.

Today, the capitalist countries—incapable of solving the intricate problems of modern economics and establishing friendly relations between their misery-stricken people—again seek salvation in bitter reaction and a new system of slavery for the working man.

Labor must be beaten down and throttled! This is the avowed aim of Fascism. This is also the unforgotten language which the licking flames of our Red Vienna speak.

Austria with its six million inhabitants, more than two millions alone in the capital of Vienna, is an economic torso. The country can not live without continuous support from abroad. Austria is a living proof of the sins of the "peace" makers of 1919.

The so-called peace treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, and others, are only graveyard regulations; their spiritual makers and fathers are the self-ordained guardians and strong-arm men of a doomed and rapidly decaying capitalistic world society.

The Austrian labor movement consists of 900,000 trade union members. 600,000 of them are Socialists. Every seventh Austrian is a trade unionist, every tenth Austrian a fervent Socialist.

The Austrian workers know their fate. They are fighting a heroic battle. Facing the police, army and the Heimwehr in the front and sensing the Nazi dagger in the back, theirs is the real glory of heroism.

In the North the Hitler hordes; in the South-East the followers of German Fascism; in the South—the black-shirted murderers

of Mussolini. All of them stand ready and prepared to march against the workers' Vienna for the avowed purpose of crushing "bolshevism," in reality to destroy and uproot powerful organized Socialist Labor.

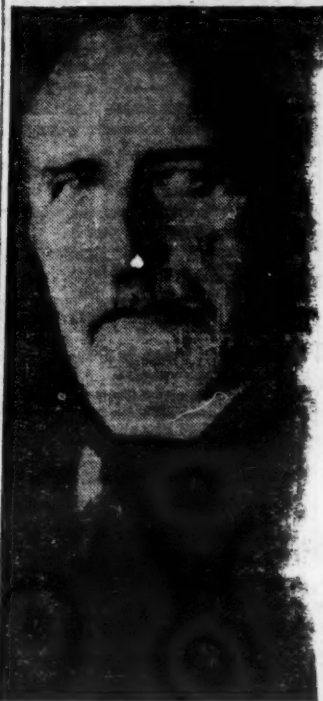
Workers, scantily armed with old and rusty firearms and a few machine guns, are defending their liberty, the Austrian constitution, their rights, their women and children. They are holding out against the iron-clad pretorians of the reaction with their war tanks, cannon, flame and mine throwers, gas bombs, airplanes, and other infernal paraphernalia.

In the wintry streets of Vienna of 1934 suffer and die the heroes of liberty. Here is the real issue: Liberty or Death, no matter what the end might bring.

The workers of Austria, the class fighters of Vienna, carry triumphantly the torches of humanity which are destined to throw light in the dark future. These men are the only guarantors of world peace and not their reactionary enemies, moved by greed and fighting for preservation of their privileges. Behind them stands hoping and fearing and yet triumphantly happy international Labor and Socialism, bound to the Austrian comrades by unbreakable ties of solidarity.

For each dying class warrior

VIENNA'S CHIEF



Robert Seitz, long Vienna's trusted and beloved Socialist Mayor until ousted by Dollfuss' assassins.

another 100 spring into the breach. Let us forget: They are fighting for Civilization and Culture, for Human Rights, for Peace, Freedom, and Socialism!

The Shame and the Glory

By Norman Thomas

THE shame of Europe is the Fascist attack on the Socialist workers in Vienna, an attack which shoots down women and children with cannon in their own homes.

The glory of Europe is the magnificent fight of Socialist workers for "The Right to Live."

In their victory is Europe's hope for freedom and peace. Their fight is ours. We should support them as we can, and we will oppose the American government's attempt to protect Dollfuss' cruel ruthlessness. And in America we must redouble our efforts to the end that Fascism shall not even be started toward power. Long live the cooperative commonwealth of the workers!

Unions Call Members to Stop Work Friday and Join Garden Rally

AMERICAN Labor stands by the heroic Austrian workers who are so gallantly battling for liberty and justice.

Large sections of the American working class have thrown themselves with all their might and their enthusiasm into the battle to aid their Austrian brothers and sisters who are waging the fight for the whole working class.

The moment word came of the dastardly and cowardly attack by Pygmy Dollfuss on the workers of Vienna the labor movement swung into action and promptly voted to hold a vast demonstration at Madison Square Garden, New York, in cooperation with the Socialist Party and labor and fraternal orders, to demonstrate the solidarity of American labor with the sorely tried men and women of Austria.

A conference of unions and Socialist Party organizations, held at the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union headquarters, met Wednesday and voted without hesitation

1. To declare a stoppage of all work by their members Friday at 3 to march by shops to the Garden.

2. To create means by which material aid can be transmitted to Austrian workers.

The call, signed by leading officials of the International, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Fur Workers' Union, the Cap and Millinery Workers' Union, the Socialist Party, the Neckwear Makers, the United Hebrew Trades, the Forward Association, the Workmen's Circle and other bodies, concludes: "Brothers and Sisters! In this hour of great tragedy in Austria which threatens our comrades and

fellow-workers with total annihilation, it is our sacred duty to raise our voices in a mighty protest that will resound from one end of the world to the other, against the stupendous atrocity of the Austrian fascist government and this massacre of thousands of our brothers and sisters across the sea.

"Let us demonstrate our solidarity with them and let us extend to them the hand of encouragement. Let this great demonstration of organized workers in the city of New York help to arouse the consciousness of a callous world which has not raised a finger to help the defenders of Austrian democracy and liberty.

"Brothers and Sisters! You are called upon to stop work this Friday at three o'clock in all your shops and factories and to march in bodies to Madison Square Garden to give expression to your bitter indignation.

"COME IN THE TENS OF THOUSANDS! FILL THE BIG HALL TO CAPACITY!"

The document is signed by David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The members of the Amalgamated received the following call:

"MEMBERS OF THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA!

"By order of the New York Joint Board you are hereby ordered to STOP WORK ON FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 14, at 3 p. m. sharp, and march to MADISON SQUARE GARDEN!

"The organized workers in this country must demonstrate their solidarity with their sisters and brothers in Austria who are shedding their blood in the cause of Labor and for the protection of their rights to live as free men and women. The bosses and industrialists of that country are DETERMINED TO CRUSH the workers and their organizations.

"ARE WE GOING TO ALLOW THEM TO DO IT?

"Let us flood Madison Square Garden BY THE THOUSANDS and give our answer."

Signed, New York Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.

Louis Hollander, Joseph Catala-notti, Managers.

Abraham Miller, Secy.-Treas.

Rededication

By Charles Solomon

I CANNOT find the words in which adequately to express my respect and admiration for our embattled Austrian comrades. The gallant fight they are making for the preservation of civilization itself will constitute one of the most inspiring pages in the story of humanity.

Never before have I been so proud of being a Socialist. Much as we all grieve over the loss of life amongst our comrades, we have been thrilled and stimulated by their unsurpassed heroism.

This is a glorious hour of rededication and reconsecration.

In the presence of this historic moment, let me say with Lincoln at Gettysburg: "The world will little note nor long remember what we say here. It can never forget what they did here."



Here are detachments of the gallant Schutzbund marching before the Parliament buildings in Vienna, and dipping their red flags to the monument to Victor Adler.

Party Settles "United Front" in California

By W. Scott Lewis
Chairman, Socialist Party of California.

LOS ANGELES, Cal.—The question of the "united front" was settled decisively in this state by the state convention of the Socialist Party which met in Los Angeles, February 10 and 11. The introduction of this question into the convention immediately precipitated the crisis which all party members knew was approaching. As soon as the matter was brought up by a motion from the floor a delegation from the Communist Party arrived at the door and passed in a letter requesting to be allowed to speak. This request was denied by an overwhelming vote, whereupon sympathizers arose and, yelling that the convention was railroading the matter, called upon all who wanted to form a real working class Socialist Party to walk out.

A small group representing only a fraction of the "Rank and File Committee for Investigation and Action" responded. The rest of the "committee," more loyal to the party and willing to abide by the will of the majority, refused to be stampeded. Later they met and formally dissolved their organiza-

tion and passed a resolution stating their belief that socialist work can be carried on best through the Socialist Party.

Following the ineffectual Communist attempt to disrupt the convention, the delegates proceeded with the greatest enthusiasm to prepare for what promises to be one of the most vigorous campaigns ever conducted in California. A state ticket headed by Milan Dempster of San Francisco for Governor was nominated and a state executive committee was selected with members from each important district. The national drive was endorsed and the work of collecting funds begun.

Following the convention the new S.E.C. organized with W. Scott Lewis as state chairman and immediately began laying plans for an aggressive campaign to perfect the party organization and reach both the farmers and industrial workers with the message of Socialism.

The abortive attempt by the Communists to wreck the party has actually had the effect of knitting the loyal members closer together and of uniting them in an aggressive attack upon the capitalist system.

Mr. Weir Speaks Out

By ROSE M. STEIN

PITTSBURGH.—"He lied with his mouth and mind, with his tongue and heart," said P. T. Fagan, district No. 5 president of the United Mine Workers, about E. T. Weir, board chairman of the Weirton Steel Company. The occasion was a paper on "New Industrial Responsibilities" which Weir read last Monday before the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems in Pittsburgh, Feb. 12 and 13.

Referring to the captive mine controversy, Mr. Weir said that John L. Lewis, President of the U. M. W. of A., sat as a member of the National Labor Board. He came off the bench, said Mr. Weir, to argue the case for his organization, then took part in the decision which quite naturally was rendered against the mine owners. The statement might have passed unnoticed were it not that one speaker scheduled to present a paper on "Wages, Hours and Industrial Recovery" could not appear and on fifteen minutes notice Mr. Fagan was recruited to take his place. Mr. Weir was about half through his speech when Mr. Fagan walked in—just in time to hear the story about John L. Lewis. He knew the story to be false for he had records to prove it. These records

indicate that Mr. Lewis was present at only one of the captive mine meetings, that he did not take part in the decision and that the entire case was written and presented by Philip Murray, International Vice-President of the miners' union.

The attack was part of a major attack E. T. Weir made upon the National Labor Board. "It is prejudiced, biased and unfair to industry," was his verdict. A teacher at a Pittsburgh university, took five minutes to interpret the industrialist's arguments.

By his paper, said the speaker Mr. Weir presented an excellent case for unionism. If bargaining means anything, it must be negotiated between equals. Representing the company are usually high salaried lawyers, well trained and well versed in all matters pertaining to the particular industry and to the law governing it. Can anyone assume, or does Mr. Weir, that a third helper in a steel mill who works eight, ten and twelve hours a day, can meet these clever lawyers and bargain with them on an equal footing?

Mr. Weir made no public statement upon the remarks of either speaker. Going down the elevator, he remarked to his bodyguard, in reference to Mr. Fagan's speech, "he could have said it differently."

N.Y. Yipsels Answer Slanders

The Executive Committee of the New York Young People's Socialist League, outraged at the conduct of Communists in relation to the Austrian Socialists, issued the following statement on Wednesday:

Statements issuing from Communist sources, declaring that the Socialist Party of Austria is tacitly cooperating with the reactionary forces, are branded as contemptible slanders.

For over a decade the Socialist Party of Austria has been training the working class to give armed resistance to all attempts to destroy their organizations. Under Socialist auspices, the Schutzbund was trained and disciplined to defend the working class.

Today, in this hour of peril, in the face of tremendous opposition, the Austrian Socialist Party has called upon its organized following to fight for freedom.

The press brings report of the most heroic actions on the part of membership and leadership in the party. Karl Seitz, old Socialist

leader, is imprisoned. Ellenbogen, one of the party spokesmen, is actively leading troops of workers. Julius Braunthal, Socialist leader, is jailed into prison. Julius Deutsch is leading the Schutzbund.

Most scurrilous of all is the Communist attack upon the official spokesman of the Austrian Socialists, Otto Bauer. They accuse him of deserting his party while the press brings reports that "Otto Bauer, another Socialist leader, escaped from 'protective arrest' and was today at the head of a detachment of fighting Socialists."

In the face of these testaments of unparalleled courage, and at a time when the Austrian Socialists need united support, the Communist press and spokesmen, in an attempt to hold its members up, takes the opportunity to besmirch the Socialist Party and its leadership.

Karl Radek, international Communist leader, issues a statement to the press, stating: "It is the same in Austria where the Heimwehr has been carrying on its

By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

Birmingham, Ala.

Our Brave Austrian Comrades

ALL our hearts and hopes are with the Socialists of Austria in their magnificent fight against Fascism. The Socialists did not provoke the battle; it was forced upon them by the ever-increasing repressions of the Dollfuss dictatorship. The Government began hostilities against a general strike, and fortunately the workers were well prepared to support their cause and ours.

The only fear is the superiority of the Government in munitions. A Government victory means at the very least the death of democracy in Central Europe. More probably it means European war which a Socialist victory might avert.

In no real sense is Dollfuss an anti-Fascist. All that he opposes is German Fascism, against which he has had the moral support of the Pope and the Catholic Church and the diplomatic support of Mussolini. He is only a shade less anti-Semitic than the Nazis to whom, in spite of everything, he is likely to lose out unless France, England, and Italy come to his help. France and Italy do not trust each other. France, Italy, and England, in varying degrees, have troubles of their own, and the workers of France and England who might have something to gain from the establishment of a Socialist Austria have nothing in particular to gain from a Fascist Austria tied to Mussolini's apron strings instead of to Hitler's.

Even in this moment of crisis one cannot resist speculating how different might have been the fate of Europe if the German working class, including both the Socialists and Communists, had offered as heroic resistance to Fascism as our Austrian comrades.

And in France WE can afford to look at the trend of events in France with tolerable satisfaction. Fascist riots did not overthrow the Republic, and the general strike which was labor's answer to those riots was so successful a demonstration of power that it ought to serve as a warning to the new coalition or national government which includes leading statesmen of all the bourgeois parties. The Communists were better employed in supporting the general strike on February 12th, than in their previous rioting with Royalists and Fascists. That was a dangerous alliance in rioting, even if it was generally understood that, if the Republic fell, the incongruously matched rioters would turn their arms against each other.

The Air Scandals

PROBABLY the Administration's cancellations of the air contracts, which had meant such fat subsidies to the political and business friends of the former Administration, was a good thing. Presumably the evidence of fraud was fairly complete. Just how useful this summary procedure will prove to be will depend upon what happens next. The army is not equipped, it should not be equipped, to fly mail planes without passengers.

What should have been done when the Government originally developed the air mail service, as we Socialists said at the time, was to set up air mail routes operated for mails and passengers under a public, non-profit-making authority. The Government had taken the initiative in developing the service only to turn it over when there was a hope of profit to private corporations, who made their profit by tax subsidies. It should have been kept up. That chance was lost in the days of Harding and Coolidge. It is not likely that Farley will recover it. He may work some genuine reforms in the system, or he may merely exchange Republican bounty-grabbers for Democratic.

Relief in New Orleans NEW ORLEANS, by reason of its climate and geographic position, is a great center in winter for migratory workers, transients in search of a job. Under the President who got his first fame for re-

Relief in New Orleans

plans without resistance or even with the tacit approval of the Social Democratic Party. The "Daily Worker" of Feb. 14, reports that: "Inadequately armed, unprepared, betrayed by their Social-Democratic leaders, the workers of Austria are fighting..."

These statements are issued by the Communists at a time when Socialists and their leaders are dying and fighting on the barricades. While the workers of Austria give their life's blood for the cause of Socialism, the Communists look



Norman Thomas

lief work in Belgium absolutely nothing was done for these transients who were left to the tender mercies of local authorities who resented the claims of non-residents. President Roosevelt's relief administration set up transient shelters in big cities and camps in smaller places where presumably work was to be done. I got an intelligent report of conditions from well-informed workers who lived in the Baton Rouge camp, and I visited the principal shelters in New Orleans.

What I found was hundreds of men of every conceivable type herded together in the shelter of dilapidated old buildings. The food at the time of my visit was reasonably good. The double-decker beds seemed clean and the shelters lacked a flop-house smell. Over-crowding was terrible and on a cold rainy day there was no space for any but the most elementary recreation. Health conditions are potentially very dangerous. The situation invites vice. The men simply subsist like tolerably well-fed animals—how well fed was dependent, I was told, upon the honesty and competency of local administrators and local cooks. For what they get, that is shelter and board, the men are supposed to work from eighteen hours per week in the shelters to twenty-five hours in the camps. Married men, whose families are placed in homes at a dollar a week rent, work thirty-six hours because they get food orders. In some cases the work is a farce. Sympathetic men told me I could get a ticket without working at all. Where real work is required on the streets or other jobs, it is a fraud on the men because in working out their board they only get 15 to 20 cents an hour as against 40 cents cash paid to CWA men on the same job. The transient used to get 90 cents a week for spending money in addition to their board. That has been cut out, at least temporarily, for lack of funds. In case of great need they are given clothes.

As my informants in Baton Rouge pointed out, the life is dreadful for self-respecting men. They are completely at the mercy of local officials and they are treated like cases and not persons. In New Orleans a feeble beginning has been made at segregating boys under twenty-one and giving them a little personal attention, some chances at night classes and some recreation. There is neither money nor equipment to do a good job. Thus did I find thousands of our fellow-citizens housed and fed in potentially rich America in New Orleans at Carnival time!

If this kind of relief were temporary it could be defended as a pretty good emergency job, but the Administration has no right to treat it as temporary. It must last indefinitely. Both in New Orleans and in Atlanta, where I talked to the labor representative on the local relief committee, I was told that the number of transients was increasing, not decreasing. It is a terrible outlook. There is no true economy at all in this make-shift treatment of victims of misfortune.

BY no possibility is the billion dollars voted for CWA and other relief going to prove adequate. Thinking that Congress would be in session indefinitely and could later vote further appropriations, I urged a billion dollars to begin with, plus a guarantee that the money should be spent on an adequate scale, as it is not now, and that further appropriations should be forthcoming. But if Congress is going to adjourn pretty soon without appropriating more the outlook is appalling. The new appropriation will scarcely last seventeen weeks at the present very inadequate rate of expenditures. I repeat, what ought to be done is greatly to expand PWA, especially housing; reduce CWA to the limits of useful work, not made work; grant cash allotment to workers who cannot be legitimately employed; and aid them wherever possible in their own homes and not in camps and shelters. Cash allotment should be replaced as soon as possible by regularized unemployment insurance, and the need for these emergency measures should be steadily diminished by reducing hours and, above all, by beginning production for use and not profit. Money must be raised by heavier taxation, including the capital levy. Public works which actually add to the public wealth might be financed by treasury notes instead of interest-bearing bonds.

The Passing of Shiplacoff

TO my great sorrow I learned of the death of that veteran soldier of labor, that beloved comrade, A. I. Shiplacoff, too late to send any message to his funeral. Even in our sorrow and loss he lives with us in memory to enrich and inspire us.

on sneeringly, circulating malicious reports about them and their brave leaders. Once more the Communists have displayed themselves as those who stand by the workers only in order to knife them in the back in their hour of greatest need.