

# THE NEW LEADER

With Which  
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by  
Eugene V. Debs

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In Two Sections—Sec. 1 PRICE FIVE CENTS

## NRA Capitalism Creating Serfs in Industry and Mudsills Without Hope

### Bosses Lock Out Strikers Who Starve While NRA Looks On

A YEAR of the NRA and the class antagonism grins at the statesmen who believe that the owners of industry and those who sell labor power are members of one happy family. The big shots of capitalism, who at first were humble because their system was a wreck, accepted the nursing bottle of the NRA. Then they took over the bottle and are now telling the NRA that Labor must be satisfied with a little skim milk while the big shots consume the cream.

The industrial codes are today a practical monopoly of the big exploiters of labor. Section 7A, the "labor section," has become an ambush for the workers. It is no accident that the Harriman Hosiery Mills of Tennessee has defied the NRA, that it has locked out 650 workers by closing the plant, and thrown these workers and their families upon the relief rolls.

Last October workers for this corporation went on strike in protest against the discharge of other workers for their union activities. Efforts of the Regional Board to get a settlement were futile. A committee of the strikers appeared in Washington to present their case to the board and on their return to Knoxville they were jailed for violating an injunction! Now the plant is closed and the corporation intends to starve the workers into submission.

This might well become a general policy of the capitalist owners of industry. There is only one way to meet it. A government so challenged should use its police powers to take over the plant and operate it. It should say: "Gentlemen, you are the most horrible failures in history. Human life depends upon the operation of industry. You cannot or will not operate. Then stand aside or we will throw you aside. IF YOU CANNOT OPERATE, WE WILL!"

Do you think that Roosevelt will take this course? Hardly. He is pledged to protect the capitalist system. The will of the owners of industry is law when their power to hire and fire is challenged. The result is a growing serfdom for the workers in industry.

What of the masses outside of industry, the jobless millions? Many big shots are coming to the conclusion that most of them never again can be employed even if capitalism "recovers." Machines have displaced too many. They are thinking of a permanent army of jobless workers.

What is to become of them? Are they to be ragged beggars? That would be dangerous to the system. There is talk of registering them as fixed outcasts. Some may be sent to cultivate little patches of land. Others will have to be fed and clothed by government charity, keeping the cost so low that they will live the life of paupers.

By requiring registration of these outcasts and reports from them from time to time, these cast-offs of industry will become a new class on a large scale. They will be at the bottom of society, the "mudsills," as slave owners once called the poor whites of the South. The owners of industry expect the government to do this job of caring for these outcasts.

Assume that it becomes a policy. New machines are introduced in industry. Less workers are needed. The

### Jobless Becoming Fixed Outcast to be Fed As Idle Paupers

owners toss more workers out of industry and they become "mudsills." The government takes care of these human by-products of a merciless capitalism that sets up wealth as its aim and class rule as its god.

So by crushing unionism in industry and creating a large class of "mudsills" outside, we are on the road backward to the time when workers were tied to the soil and paupers became the lowest class in old Europe.

Socialism alone is the hope of the masses. A victorious working class would take over the industries and reduce hours of labor till all had work. No serfs in industry and no "mudsills" outside. All guaranteed jobs at good incomes and working in healthful surroundings. No masters to rule; we will rule ourselves in the places where we work.

Industry will belong to all, not to a few. We will operate industry to serve us and produce things for our needs, not for masters to sell. We will bring in an age of plenty for all, not riches for a few.

That is the ideal and the promise of a Socialist World. It is yours for the taking. You are the majority and your will can be made law when you decide to end the agony and uncertainty that is now yours.

### VALENTI DENIES SOCIALIST DRIFT TO IL DUCE

The news that Italy's Socialist leaders have gone over to the fascist camp is denounced as "propaganda bunk for foreign consumption" by Girolamo Valenti, editor of the Italian daily newspaper *La Stampa Libera*.

"There are no Socialist leaders in Italy," Valenti declared, "except those who work underground to overthrow the fascist regime. Those who are tolerated by the fascists and who arrange conferences with the 'Duce' cannot be called Socialists."

The report that former leaders of the Italian Socialist Party were reported to have met recently in Modena and voted approval of the fascist regime was branded by Valenti as a clumsy lie.

As a leader of the Italian-American Socialists and editor of a labor daily, Valenti asserted he was in close contact with Italian Socialists, both emigres and those working underground in Italy. He said that he had received information that some ex-Socialists had met with Premier Mussolini to discuss launching a newspaper but that the project had been dropped.

"No self-respecting, loyal Socialist," Valenti concluded, "would establish any sort of relationship with the regime that has strangled liberty and with liberty the Socialist and labor movement of Italy. This is particularly so today when Mussolini's hands still drip with the blood of Austrian Socialists whose massacre he engineered and financed."

## Big Step Forward Taken in Socialist Education in Rand School Institute

By Nathan Fine

FROM President Algernon Lee, Adolph Held, chairman of the Board of Directors, Bertha H. Mailly, director of Camp Tamiment, to the teachers and outside speakers, and above all, from the students themselves, there was an unanimous opinion of the Rand School Institute—it was an unqualified success. Never in the recent history of the school, since the days of the full-time training class, were there so many out-of-town comrades under its roof.

And never in the last eleven years during which I have been associated with the school was there such a general feeling that the Rand School of Social Science was fulfilling its mission. The correspondence classes, so ably and efficiently developed by William E. Bohn, and the Institute, during the week of June 17-24, mark a milestone in the forward march of the Rand School.

There were 42 students from 13 states—California: Nathaniel J. Hillson; Connecticut: Murray Rattoosh, Lillian Zolan, Mary Zolan; Illinois: William A. Zimmerman; Indiana: Carol Goldstein; Maryland: Alvin Meyer; Massachusetts: Marguerite Bicknell, Tarmo Armos Hannula, Roger Hawkins, Reuben Weiner; Michigan: Maurice Goldsmith, Harry T. Holmes, Arthur E. Kent; New Jersey: Lillian Bass,

### "Behind the Scenes" in the Labor Section

Benjamin Meiman's article, "Behind the Scenes in Washington," the highly interesting and important correspondence from the national Capital, will be found this week in the Labor Section of The New Leader.

Dorothy Haim, John A. Reeves, Oscar White; New Mexico: Leon Cousens; New York: Alex Benedict, Lafayette Boal, Gretl Glogau, Michale Hanrahan, E. L. Hemberg, Ben H. Hill, Ray D. Hill, John Shoemaker; Ohio: Jack Lifschitz, Ben Schwartz, Lewis Zerlin; Pennsylvania: Yetta Corson, Joseph Drasler, Edward Gallo, Harry Gersh, Violet Kanevsky, Rose Krouse, Sylvia Krouse, Jerome Silverman, Paul K. Walk, Jack B. Zonis; Virginia: Bernard Snyder. Eight of these were members of the Young Circle League, the youth organization of the Workmen's Circle. The rest were members of the Socialist Party and the Young People's Socialist League.

### WEVD New Leader Speaker

Samuel H. Friedman, labor editor of The New Leader, will be the speaker of The New Leader period of Station WEVD (1500 Kc.) Friday, July 6th, from 4:30 to 4:45 p. m. William M. Feigenbaum, associate editor of The New Leader, speaks Friday, June 29th, at the same hour.

The Young Circle League of America, of which Jack Afros is national director, cooperated with the enterprise and paid for the board of their eight students. The Rand School and Camp Tamiment contributed tuition, entertainment and a week-end for these. For the students who were members of the Socialist Party or the Young People's Socialist League the Rand School and Camp Tamiment provided board and expenses in addition.

The Institute was made possible by the comradeship and generosity of New York Socialist women, who opened their homes to the visitors. Camp Tamiment voted \$100 as a cash contribution and invited the students to spend their last two days as its special guests. The affair was made a reality by Mrs. Bertha H. Mailly, who raised a substantial sum herself and saw it through, from its beginning to the end, with practical and helpful ideas and encouragement. It was helped by the hard work of Ben Senitzer and Reba Pushkoff, and by Charles Salzman, who painted a beautiful bulletin board sign. The staff of the school planned the program and carried through the educational details from the moment it opened to the hour it closed. A host of speakers, leading Socialists of New York, gave their services. As a cooperative enterprise, it moved

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### THE CONGRESS DID NOTHING FOR SECURITY

THE failure of the 73rd Congress to pass the important measures on social legislation, including old age and unemployment insurance laws, was assailed as "intensely disappointing" in Social Security, monthly publication of the American Association for Social Security.

The publication declared that Congress has frustrated the hopes of the American people for a more secure life. The Senate was criticized sharply for permitting one Senator—Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma—to kill the Dill-Connery old age pension measure after it had been passed unanimously.

Congressional leadership was taken to task for permitting the Wagner-Lewis bill for unemployment insurance to die "despite the fact that the bill had not only been endorsed earlier in the session by the Chief Executive, but months ago its enactment had been urged by him at the current session."

The monthly contrasted the failure of Congress with the declarations of both major parties—through President Roosevelt and the Republican National Committee—for social legislation.

The two declarations, the publication asserted, "provide concrete evidence that at last there is a fundamental recognition that social insurance must be made the instrument for security in the United States just as it has already been used effectively in many nations for over a generation. Social in-

(Continued on Page Eight)



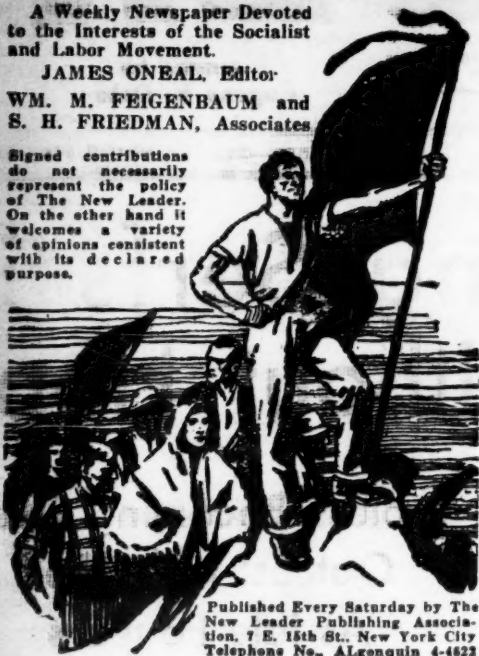
# NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM and S. H. FRIEDMAN, Associates

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



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## CAPITALISM'S NOOSE

LAST week we referred to the fact that fourteen nations had defaulted on their debts. Cuba joins the list and adds \$60,000,000 of unpaid loans made by American bankers. Most South American nations had already stopped payment to American creditors. As this is written Germany's gold coverage has almost disappeared and the masses are stocking up with goods, anticipating a rapid decline of the mark.

World capitalism is facing repudiation of external and internal debts. Foreign nations cannot sell goods abroad to get dollars to pay American creditors. Our cities cannot collect taxes to pay interest and principal of their debts. Farmers cannot sell enough products at prices that will enable them to pay their debts. Many industrial workers, even those who have jobs, cannot, because of wage reductions, meet their obligations.

Everybody wants to collect and nobody can pay.

Everybody wants to pay and nobody can collect. - New Deals and Old Deals have been tried and production for profit simply coils a rope around necks and everybody gasps as capitalism is strangled by its own absurdities

## DISFRANCHISING THE IDLE

IN the old days when the workers were fighting for the suffrage some states in granting it made one exception; they withheld it from those who were receiving town relief on the ground that they were paupers and not entitled to vote. Are we to face this issue again?

The question is worth some consideration. A writer in the New York Post points out that the National Association of Manufacturers is pushing this idea. He declares that "at more than one trade convention they've broached the thought that persons accepting relief from public funds should be disfranchised while they are on the relief rolls and for one year thereafter. It has registered well with industrial magnates..."

The robber barons hurl workers into unemployment and then hint at depriving the jobless of the vote as well! Our masters look back to the days of the powdered wig and silk breeches when it was the custom for workers to doff their greasy caps to their "betters." Watch out for this impudence and hit it wherever its ugly head is reared.

## WHO ARE WE?

THE chairman of the Code Authority of the Asbestos Industry, Lewis H. Brown, thinks that "we are on the way out of the depression." However, the word *we* does not include the working class for the gentleman believes that when *we* get out, millions of workers will stay in because capitalism will have no use for their labor power. They will have to be kept alive by charity.

On the other hand *we* have a juicy plum to pick "on the way out." Mr. Brown tells us about it. Under the Housing Act the government will organize a mutual insurance corporation and 200 million dollars of government funds will provide a revolving credit. As worked out, "this mutual insurance corporation could at some later date be taken over as a private institution and operated in the same way that a mutual life or a mutual fire insurance company is operated."

Millions of workers are to remain beggars while the big boys of capital are to fall heir to a cool 200 million dollars of government funds.

Now, boys and girls; Who are we?

## THE HOPELESS ARMY

THERE are 16 million human beings on relief rolls in the United States but they do not include all who are receiving relief. One can only guess how many

still have savings not yet exhausted and how many are getting aid from relatives. There are at least twenty or thirty millions without an occupation.

As we state on the first page, the police of capitalism have about concluded that many millions of jobless will be a permanent phase of capitalism. That is one reason why they are talking of various forms of insurance and hope to place some of this waste product on small plots of land.

Down all the stretch of history no social order was ever a more miserable failure. Every phase of the wreck is an argument for Socialism.

## DOING THE FARMER GOOD

IF some witless creature were to suggest that to pull a heavy truck out of a mudhole four teams of horses be hitched to it, one each in front and rear and one each on each side, we would hustle him off to a padded cell. However, that is what agriculture is facing in the world market.

Wheat is still in a bad way. The International Wheat Commission in London has about given up in despair. Formed last August, it had hoped to improve wheat prices but no progress has been made. Wheat prices are determined in a world market that is flooded with grain. Argentina is a large exporter and declines to enter any agreement. Even if such an agreement were made we doubt whether it would help, for all the grain nations might pledge one thing and actually do another thing. They pull against each other.

Mr. Dirt Farmer: Look not to the statesmen who promise to do you good; they do—if you get what we mean.

## PITY THE "INDUSTRY"

HEAVY guns are being trained upon the Tennessee Valley Authority, a government project for giant power in connection with Muscle Shoals. The gunners are 23 coal corporations and the National Coal Association whose banner bears the dollar sign. The 23 have brought suit which challenges the right of the government to enter a field now occupied by the coal barons.

The gunners declare that the project "constitutes a grave menace to the bituminous coal industry." Not a menace to the barons, not a danger to their profits, but to the "industry." Probably the coal will disappear and the machinery as well. A tear is also shed for miners who may lose the blessed privilege of serving as human merchandise to be picked as the owners want them.

"Industry" is a "blessed word" that conceals the gentlemen who own mines and for that reason it is used. We hope that no one will be so brutal as to eat the "industry," but if the gunners lose it to state capitalism we will try to bear our misfortune.

## How Socialists Rule Two Great British Cities

By William M. Feigenbaum

GLASGOW'S municipal bank, planned by the Socialist government of that city, will be registered and operating by mid-July.

The municipal transport services sponsored and directed by the Labor government are a debt-free asset worth over \$50,000,000 to the people of that great city.

That enterprise as started without capital in the usual sense; it was financed on community credit, backed by community resources, and it has not cost the people of the city one farthing.

This enterprise is the direct and immediate result of the taking over of the city by the Socialists following the election victory last November. The first thing the Socialist regime did was to lower the rate of interest paid to banks on loans to the city by one per cent, and out of the money thus saved to restore the previous level of wages to city employees, slashed by "economy" of previous regimes. The second was to work for the municipal tramways, the third the municipal bank. And the Socialists are just starting!

And while Glasgow, the second largest city in the British Empire, is showing how the workers can run a city and begin a program of municipal Socialism, London, the largest city in the Empire, is planning a long-range program that

will place that great city in the very forefront of the cities of the world, that will make London the New Vienna.

Within two or three months of their assumption of the rule over London the Socialists have worked out their plans. Herbert Morrison, leader of the Socialist majority in the London County Council, reports upon the work already accomplished, and planned, in the Metropolis.

Since its victory at the March election the Labor majority on the Council has lost no time in pressing forward with its policy, he says. Much time has been occupied with setting the Council machine going under the new conditions, but the policy decisions already made by the Labor majority are imposing, as the following bare summary shows.

Some of the meanest "economies" of the previous Tory majority in connection with education have been reversed. The Tories had also set up a special committee on local expenditure, whose job it was to apply as fast as it could the notorious "economy" report submitted by the committee appointed in 1932 at the instance of the "National" government to make recommendations for economies in local expenditure in England and Wales. This special committee has been scrapped.

A site in Clapham, intended for housing, had been objected to by the comfortable classes in the

## Go Thou and Do Likewise

By Harry Rosenbaum  
Beachmont, Mass.

To Editor of The New Leader.  
Dear Comrade—I am here with enclosing check for \$10 and ten subscription cards. Kindly send me a copy of Morris Hillquit's "Loose Leaves From a Busy Life."

I want to call to the attention of the comrades who are interested in getting subscriptions to the method I am using. I found this an easy and successful way of getting new readers for The New Leader.

Before making a new subscriber I supply him with several copies of The New Leader and other Socialist literature (of which I always carry a good supply). I then find that invariably when I approach him for a subscription afterwards there is no difficulty in getting one.

In some cases where a whole dollar is too big a sum to pay all at once—and there are plenty of such people in the richest country on earth—I collect 25 cents weekly until the full amount is paid. This may seem a little slow, but it usually helps in getting interested in the movement those we need most.

neighborhood lest the value of their property should be affected by the presence so near at hand of working people. The old Tory majority thereupon decided to sell the site, but the Labor majority has countermanded the order to

sell and will press forward with houses there.

It has been decided that the Public Assistance Committee of the Council will not send married men to residential training centers for the unemployed except in exceptional cases. The hours of attendance of the unemployed at non-residential training centers have been reduced from thirty-two to twenty a week.

Waterloo Bridge, one of the most important in London, has been unsafe for years, but no decision as to its fate had been reached, in spite of interminable discussions. Labor has shown its determination to end this long-standing scandal by deciding to demolish the old bridge and build a fine new one carrying six lines of traffic.

The Finance Committee of the Council has made provision in the London Money Bill now before Parliament for increased capital expenditures which may become necessary this year—particularly for housing.

A conference of local education authorities in Greater London is being called by the L.C.C. to consider the possibility of joint action to secure legislation raising the school-leaving age to fifteen. "Commonwealth Day" celebrations—shorn of any militaristic taint—took the place of the unpopular "Empire Day" celebrations on May 25th, which gave the Tories so much opportunity for imperialistic propaganda in the schools.

On the housing side, several additional areas are to be cleared. The Labor majority has declared its intention to carry through the Council's slum clearance program in a lesser period than the ten

## New York to Hold State Convention This Week-End

New York's state convention, to nominate candidates for the fall elections, to adopt a platform and resolutions, and to plan a state campaign will be called to order Saturday morning, June 30, at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St., New York City. State Chairman Louis Waldman will open the sessions.

The convention will continue for two days, and will adjourn Sunday night. There will be a convention banquet Saturday night in the Labor Temple amidst the familiar German proletarian surroundings of that working class building.

This will be the first Socialist state convention in that building since 1906, when John C. Chase was named for Governor. Among the delegates to the earlier convention who will attend this year's gathering are Julius Gerber and Algernon Lee.

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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# Socialists Helping Draft New Charter for N. Y.

THE Socialist Party Committee on New York City Charter consisting of Julius Gerber, Joseph Glass, Harry W. Laidler, Algernon Lee, Samuel Orr, Charles Solomon, Norman Thomas and Louis Waldman have, during the last few weeks, done notable work in formulating the Socialist position on problems of charter reform and in presenting their point of view before the sub-committee of the charter commission.

On Tuesday, June 19, Joseph Glass presented before the charter sub-committee the position of the Socialist Party regarding the extension of the civil services and the preservation of pension funds for city employees. Comrade Glass urged in behalf of the party (1) that in all consolidations under the new city charter, civil service employees and their pension rights be duly protected; (2) that in the elimination of city employees, those securing appointments without passing civil service examinations, be first eliminated; (3) that the civil service in the city be extended to all non-policy making employees, and (4) that every effort be made to keep the pension funds on a sound and solvent basis.

Before the sub-committee on Proportional Representation, of which Norman Thomas is chairman, Algernon Lee presented the party's case for proportional representation. He emphasized the position of the party in behalf of a system of proportional representation permitting the use of party labels.

At the last meeting of the committee on Tuesday, June 26, the committee decided to advocate the insertion of the following section in the City Charter giving positive powers to the city to engage in various communal activities:

"The city may by purchase, lease, condemnation, construction or otherwise acquire, establish, own or operate within or without its territorial limits any public utility plant or service and may purchase from any public or private corporation any service or commodity, for the purpose of furnishing to itself or for compensation to its inhabitants, water, gas, electricity, steam or any other service or commodity, provided the Council shall deem such plant, service or commodity to be affected with a public interest, whether because free compensation does not prevail in the furnishing of it or because the operation of private enterprise does not provide an adequate and safe supply to the inhabitants of the city with low incomes, or because the conditions in the furnishing of it constitute a menace to the health, safety, morals, welfare and comfort of the inhabitants of the city or for any other reason, provided that no local law, ordinance, or resolution under this section shall be valid unless approved by the council after a public hearing of which due notice shall be given."

The committee likewise expressed itself in favor of a section permitting the city and the contractors for the city to a policy of collective bargaining. A section suggested by members of the Socialist Lawyers' Committee would outlaw race and religious discrimination and discrimination against union workers.

The committee in general favored the elimination of county governments; the coordination of various departments on a city-wide scale and a city council, the members of which were elected by a borough-wide vote under the system of proportional representation. It decided against the city manager plan and against the idea of a small council of nine suggested by some social reformers. The committee felt that such a council would not

adequately represent the various sections of the city and that it was dangerous to impose such great powers in the hands of a comparatively few men. It accepted the offer of the Socialist lawyers to continue their cooperation in analyzing some of the constitutional points involved in granting additional powers to the city and appointed Joseph Glass and Samuel Orr, a committee of two, to present a brief for the extension of economic powers to the city and for the reorganization of the Board of Aldermen to the sub-committee of the Charter Commission on Plan and Scope on July 9.

Several members of the Socialist Party committee are speaking over WEVD and other radio stations on the Socialist attitude toward the city charter and are conducting a general educational campaign in behalf of a model charter.

Dr. Harry W. Laidler, acting chairman of the Socialist Party Charter Committee, urges all who believed in proportional representation to make their belief known immediately to the members of the Charter Commission. Alfred E. Smith, the chairman of the commission, has in the past expressed his opposition to proportional representation, and Norman Thomas and others have a hard fight before them in urging that this principle be embodied in the city law.

# Whiteside for Governor of Kansas

By John Piercey  
LYONS, Kas.—With George M. Whiteside of Mineola heading the slate as candidate for Governor, the Socialist Party of Kansas has filed the most complete ticket for the forthcoming state elections that it has had in many years.

Eleven candidates in all have been nominated. Besides Whiteside the others are: Lieutenant-Governor, C. R. Ingraham of Yates Center; Secretary of State, Clayton M. Crosier of Lawrence; Attorney-General, Waldo McNutt of Topeka; State Treasurer, Max Austin of Dodge City; State Auditor, Lawrence Piercey of Lyons; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Pearlanna Briggs of Wichita; State Printer, Jesse Reeve of Wichita; Commissioner of Insurance, J. S. Keller of Winona; State Supreme Justice, 1st position, Alvah J. Graham of Winfield; State Supreme Justice, 2nd position, H. M. Perkins. Candidates for Congress are Arthur Roberts of Kansas City, 2nd District; Dr. C. S. Bendure of Baxter Springs, 3rd District, and Barney McCartney of Wichita, 5th District.

A vigorous campaign is in prospect. Funds have been raised to start Clayton M. Crosier as field organizer July 1. Negotiations are also under way to purchase a truck with loudspeaker equipment.

The state convention of the party will take place August 26-27. Lawrence has been tentatively chosen as the site.

# While the Boy Is Dying They Ask Him Riddles

By Gertrude Weil Klein

THE heavy artillery is thundering all around me, but I'm still sticking to my knitting. Not that I'm different on this question of the new Declaration of Principles; far from it. I think it's a most unsatisfactory document from many points of view. At best it requires too darn much explaining. But I don't think it will make a particle of difference (outside the party) whether it is adopted or not.

The whole business reminds me of the boy who was run over. As they were carrying him into a drug store a priest came to administer the last rites. "Do you believe in the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost?" he asked. The boy whimpered, "Look, I'm so sick, I'm dying, and they ask me riddles."

Now, I don't think we're dying, though we may be pretty sick, but I do think it's silly at this time to insist on answering the riddles of

massed resistance, dictatorship, and so on, when our generation may not even be on deck, much less at the helm, when the time comes, and when the situation when it does arise may be so different that it won't fit into it with our declarations, AND, most important of all, when there are so many riddles right on our doorstep waiting to be solved.

That's why, comrades, I think I'm doing the right thing to continue my studies of geography. And in this respect, to my happy surprise, I am not alone. I have received quantities of mail from many parts of the country, containing first-hand lessons and experiences of people who are interested in doing the ground work for the building of our movement. Some of these letters make better reading than anything I can write (oh, well, just as good anyway).

For instance, on the question of Socialist women's groups—one of my recent obsessions—I have received a fourteen page letter from Karl Pauli, state organizer of Ohio, which is so full of excellent material that it would require at least a page to discuss it properly. Comrade Pauli has organized several "Women's Clubs" only to find them gone to pieces because of "bossy" women, "smart aleck" women of the old-fashioned militant feminist type or "overly nice" women. He then goes on with his experience in working with women's groups, some that failed and some that succeeded, and I'll relate those too, as soon as possible. In connection with the legal status of Socialist Women's Clubs, he has prepared a charter or constitution. Finally, he says, "Women must be approached as they are, not as we would have them be"; something else we must keep in mind not only in regard to work with women, but with people generally.

On the question of American psychology versus Marxian interpretations, I have a letter from Marshall Mills in Boston, in which he opines that were Marx alive today he would "shake his head, pick up lovingly his three volumes, shuffle down the cellar stairs and throw them to the fire." "Unfortunately," says Comrade Mills, "that rite would hardly terminate the matter because zealous Socialists would gather the ashes into an urn and worship the urn." He backs up his remarks with an analysis of the machine age which is a wow.

Then there are letters from comrades in Lynchburg, Va.; Chicago, Philadelphia, Valley Stream, Long Island, and other points north, east, south and west, full of ideas, suggestions, criticisms and comment—which I haven't had a chance to assimilate yet—and all of which merit discussion.

One thing puzzles me. Is my column read exclusively by the men, or don't the women find it interesting? I get mail only from men—two letters in a year maybe from women—and I'd like to know why. After all, I am primarily concerned with getting the women interested and active. I get a great kick out of the men's point of view on my stuff, but I would like to hear from the women.

shoot one another more gently, but more frequently.

On the battlefield we have done equally well in the matter of enlightenment. Our soldiers can now spread diseases that they can't even pronounce! During the World War we overlooked countless opportunities to maim, mutilate, and murder. But all this has been improved. We are now in a position to blow up more, kill more, wound more, disease more, in fact do practically anything, as long as it's more.

I tell you, we're pretty damned clever!



# THIS ENLIGHTENED AGE

By Carl Bensen

PRIMITIVE man had no five-foot bookshelf, no dollar-down encyclopedias, nor how-to-speak - and - write - shorthand-in-ten-easy-lessons schools. He was, let me assure you, a painfully stupid creature who lacked ideas with a completeness so thorough that it was beautiful.

In the matter of food, for instance, he showed an appalling lack of finesse. When he was hungry, he ate. This fact alone proves that he was artless, unenlightened and, in general, *persona non popus*. He knew nothing of our methods whereby a farmer can grow wheat and ship the part that isn't dug under, or something, to Battle Creek; where said wheat is shredded, puffed, hypnotized and shot from cannon so that the chap who grew it may buy it (if he has the money) in a form that is quite unrecognizable, in spite of the fact that it is wrapped in transparent cellophane. Since he gets about a buck a bushel for the stuff, it is easy to see that friend farmer is in a position to buy back all of the ten-ounce packages at ten cents per package. With the money he

has left he buys new seed, pays off the mortgage, and sends his lovely daughter to Vassar. Forsooth, and egad, we are living in an enlightened age!

In the matter of work and play, Adam had what might be called (by unenlightened people) a racket, having only to sit back and listen to reptilian suggestions re the whereabouts of the choicest fruit. Later on man lost his freedom, becoming what was known as a slave and having to work for a person of superior brawn, brain, or what is now known as enlightenment.

Now we are enlightened. We are free. We jump out of our Simmons bed to turn off the Waterbury clock. Another day of freedom begins. For breakfast we drink a cup of Mr. Morgan's General Foods Coffee or, since we enjoy freedom of choice, some of Mr. Morgan's Standard Brands Coffee. We hop into Mr. Ford's car, or, since this enlightened age enjoys freedom of choice, Mr. General Motors' 1928 model, step on Mr. Rockefeller's or Harry Sinclair's gas, tear along the General Asphalt road and arrive at our place of employment, which, no doubt, is run by one of the above mentioned. Or maybe you're unfortunate enough to own your own small business.

The day's work done, we might call a free woman on Mr. Bell's telephone, meet the date at an R.K.O. theatre, and later on dance until our Melville shoes hurt. Then we hop a General Motors cab, kiss some Coty's lipstick goodnight, pick up a Hearst morning paper which is sold in the evening (his evening papers are sold in the morning), grab the I.R.T. or maybe the B.M.T., and we are free to go to bed. A day of absolute and total freedom, a condition possible only in a highly enlightened age.

Then there's the matter of war. *Il y avait une fois* when a Roman soldier would sneak up behind an enemy, heave a javelin, and run like hell. Crude, no doubt, but they had no Mr. DuPont to enlighten them in the fine art of blowing your neighbor to bits. We are an enlightened race. We no longer build tiremees, but rather employ a method of constructing battle-wagons that is called "disarmament." This method, briefly, is the getting together of friendly diplomats to decide that henceforth ships shall sport a hundred five-inch guns instead of a dozen ten-inch affairs. This, according to Aristotle, or Jess Willard, or someone, is predicated on the theory that enlightened people should



## Would Have Party Set Pace by Declaration

By Jacob Axelrad

It must be quite patent to any active party member during the distressing war years and later abundance economy, that the Socialist Party has been laboring under the misapprehension that thought and action are two quite different and frequently antagonistic manifestations of the same organization.

The party is presumably the leader in a movement to reshape the world nearer the heart's desire. What does the party propose in words that can be clearly understood and either accepted or rejected? The Declaration sets forth the propositions:

First—Let us take a stand against war that will enlist mass opposition to bloodshed. How? By the general strike, by mass resistance, by defense of those who are prosecuted for anti-war activity. Is this too strong meat for a party that has always opposed wars; that in 1917 accepted the St. Louis resolution, and that, on the whole, made a very creditable showing in the hectic days of 1918? Would we have been more hounded and prosecuted by the Palmers and Burlesons if we had then advocated mass resistance, etc.? Well, didn't we? Didn't some of us do just that? Didn't Debs go to jail, were not others indicted and did not still others live in fear (I plead guilty) of imminent arrest? If we don't want mass abhorrence of war and mass opposition to war, what do we want?

Can we achieve this resistance by passing a Declaration? I don't know; but the party is or is not the leader, and if it is, it should express its leadership. I find nothing illegal in all this. It may be illegal at some time; but, then, what will be legal that the patrioters and profiteers determine to be otherwise? As to the general strike—since when have we believed in Civil Peace during war?

Second—Let us carry on by democratic methods to the attainment of power. I have spoken on this against many comrades and in the face of Communist prodding. By no other means can we hope to achieve a literate and articulate majority that will drive to a goal it understands and defend it to the end, knowing its value. Indeed, they will defend it against a militant minority of any kind. But if the Declaration says so, what is the objection? We surely hope and believe they will be sticklers for

the democratic method, when and if the exploiters shall become desperate in the "final conflict." And if capitalism slumps and it becomes necessary to rebuild anew, shall we stand aside because there is no one formally to authorize the rebuilding? This is not dictatorship; it is an answer to the cry of "Fire!" when the firehouse itself is in a state of demoralization. Is this possible? I don't know. At any rate, I hope it shall never come to pass, but we shall try—and it will depend on our strength as men and as thinkers.

Finally, are we tilting at windmills? Are we just resolving some more? I hope not. I hope that we may forever be united in purpose, whatever our differences, and that come what may we shall have the courage, the determination and the high ideals so needful for the building of a sane, decent and human commonwealth.

Let the Declaration be clarified if need be, but let it at least say what we mean, and what we mean must give notice to all of good-will and high purpose that Socialism is more than a word, and the Declaration of Principles more than a gesture.

### Vigorous Campaign Planned In Far Western Corner Of New York State

SALAMANCA, N. Y.—At a well-attended district convention here, Fred J. Smith, secretary of the Jamestown local, was named for Congress, and plans were made to carry on vigorous Socialist propaganda throughout the counties that make up the district.

A continuation committee was elected, and the employment of a full-time party organizer discussed. Other nominations made were Hugh Dollard of Olean for State Senator, William P. White for Assembly in Cattaraugus County, Comrade Phillips for County Clerk of Cattaraugus, Guy Loomis for Coroner of the same county.

John G. Cooper of Olean, who made a sensational run for Mayor last fall, was chairman of the convention. There was considerable enthusiasm and determination. E. J. Squier, an old-time Socialist candidate on the state ticket several times before the war, was a moving spirit in the convention.

Grace S. Croyle, secretary of the convention, was chosen permanent secretary of the district committee.

## Hillquit Never Repudiated The St. Louis Manifesto

By Vera Hillquit

Mrs. Morris Hillquit has written the following letter in answer to published and oral statements that the late leader of American Socialism had regretted the famous St. Louis Anti-War Manifesto of 1917:

MY husband, Morris Hillquit, did not repudiate the St. Louis anti-war resolution either in his book, "Loose Leaves From a Busy Life," or on any other occasion. He took exception to some of its wording. The provocative phrases were added against Morris Hillquit's advice and in his opinion did not add to the strength of the declaration.

"We put our whole soul into the proclamation, the agonized Socialist soul crying out in anguish against the savagery of war, against the needless sacrifice of American lives in the quarrels of clashing capitalist interests in Europe and against the atmosphere of passion, hatred and terror which the war was sure to breed."

"As I read over the document after a lapse of sixteen years and in the calmer atmosphere of comparative peace and sobriety, I can find in its preamble nothing but a reiteration of the oft-expressed and well-known Socialist position on war, and in its program nothing that offended against the law. But it must be admitted that the tone of the proclamation was extraordinary, aggressive, defiant, and provocative. Had it been written in normal circumstances, it would undoubtedly have been couched in more moderate and less irritating language; but it was not written under normal circumstances."

"It must also be borne in mind that at the time of the adoption of the St. Louis resolution the political and intellectual atmosphere of the country was still free from the stifling terrorism which a morbid war psychology created in later days. American citizens were accustomed to speak their thoughts freely and unreservedly on all subjects, including war." (Loose Leaves From a Busy Life, pages 166, 167 and 168.)

### To Our Readers

We ask our readers to be patient in the discussion now going on in The New Leader. Comrades who write become impatient if their contributions do not appear shortly after they are received. This is impossible because of the bulk of the material on hand and for the reasons stated in the column giving extracts from letters received. We have promised to run the St. Louis Anti-War Resolution and have not as yet been able to present it because of these difficulties. We shall run it at the earliest possible date, since many of our readers have never had access to it.—Editor.

### The Declaration Pro and Con

The letters being received regarding the Declaration of Principles are so numerous that it is impossible to print all of them even if we ran an extra supplement. Most of them are from the East, but some are now coming from the West. Many repeat what is said by others in one form or another and in such instances they are condensed. We shall acknowledge all of them and give short excerpts where it appears something new is said. Some letters contain gossip about what this or that member said or is alleged to have said. Such material is not relevant. Express your opinion of the issues. Cut out vicious language, as it will not be permitted.—Editor.

George Freeman, W. Hempstead, L. I. The Declaration augurs well for the party and should be the forerunner of action in the coming crisis. People should be separated from the notion that our only chance is to be voted into power. Fascism will brush aside the constitution.

James F. Carey, Massachusetts. It's like a child during Halloween getting a five cent mask and saying "boo."

A. G. Hayden, Bronx. The question once was "Is it Socialism?" Now it is, "Is it Legal?" The Declaration is an able document.

Arthur Rosenberg, New York City. The Declaration will create reactions that will cause many to listen less attentively to our philosophy and will bring a diminished approval at the polls. I do not question the sincerity of comrades but I do question their experience.

R. S. Hofses, Reading, Penn. Objects to any changing of the Declaration by the N. E. C. as unfair to delegates who voted against it. It should be considered as a whole.

Dorothy Manley Duff, New York City. For the Declaration and believes that Communism was put over in Russia by about 2,000. It is time for the party to take a militant stand. Although a raw recruit who joined the party last year, I think that now is the time to take a definite stand.

Robert A. Hoffman, Buffalo, N. Y. Seldom agrees with Jim Oneal but his article on the Declaration was sound.

William Edwards, Hastings-on-Hudson, N. Y. How can I vote straight if there is only a left or a right to vote? Why quarrel about what we are going to do twenty years hence? We may have nothing to do then but view daisies from below.

John F. Mooney, Sapulpa, Okla. Party members have made a glorious fight in their Christ-like way, times have changed, and the Declaration should be adopted. It does not justify violence but we have to change our tactics.

Bob Tyler, New York City. Satirically suggests that after Declaration is adopted the "true Socialists" urge withdrawal from the L. S. I. because German and Austrian Socialists have declared for proletarian dictatorship, that Polish Socialists have declared for a "workers' and peasants' dictatorship" under certain circumstances and that French and Spanish Socialists are forming united fronts with Communists. The British Labor Party has also declared for a general strike and because these parties are a majority in the L. S. I., "our duty is clear."

## Stitt Wilson Sees Danger To Party in Declaration

Comrade Wilson is an active and prominent member of the party in California, and while running his contribution we emphatically dissent with his view that he and others have no other alternative than to resign from the party. We advise cool judgment and a determination to maintain the unity of the party.—Editor.

By J. Stitt Wilson

THE Socialist Party as a body went so far "to the Left" at the Detroit convention that many members must conclude that "the party has left them," and therefore they have no alternative other than to withdraw from membership. So overwhelming was the majority of the convention in favor of the "Declaration of Principles" that dissent from the party action now is practically useless.

The Detroit Declaration is not a "Declaration of Principles" at all. It is a compilation of economic proposals, followed by specific paragraphs on war and fascism. The part that deals with the general economic program is badly worded and loaded down with sentences as long as paragraphs, too heavy for ordinary readers. Moreover, it does not exhibit those marks of practical statesmanship in facing the immediate economic situation which such a document should exhibit. These limitations, however, could be overlooked. It is the paragraphs on war and fascism that now constitute the gravest concern.

One hesitates to dissent from any real constructive anti-war position. But when a national party, acting under the leadership of its ablest leaders, pledges itself loyally to support any kind of anti-war action that any Tom, Dick, or Harry in the party chooses to carry out against the law, it has thrown party discipline to the winds. It has opened wide the door to agents provocateurs, and thus sanctions a "tactics of action" against which Karl Marx waged one of the most valiant battles of his life.

This Declaration, backed by party pledges, is an invitation to pure "individualistic direct action," which the great leaders of Socialism have always vigorously opposed as senseless and destructive to the interests of organized working class movement. Even the Communist Party would not make such a foolish pledge, utterly disregarding party discipline. Such a pledge is fraught with great danger to all rational, constructive and organized action, initiated and executed by the organized workers, which the threat of war demands.

The call to the party membership and the pledge of the party on fascism can not bear critical analysis. Poor lip service in two indifferent sentences is paid to democracy, as if to a faded and wearisome wench scarcely worthy of respect, and the whole burden of the Declaration is the threat of direct action and mass action, and it ends up with a veiled declaration of the Communist "Dictatorship of the Proletariat." Why veil it? If the convention meant it, why not say so!

These solemn, high-sounding threats of how the Socialist Party is getting ready to "crush the reckless forces of reaction" as soon as it has gained political power, and on the other hand, in case it does not gain political power, how it will not shrink from organizing the rule of the workers—well, such solemn threats are childish, ridiculous, and funny!—if it were not for the tragic fact that the scattered lone Socialists, and little struggling locals must hereafter go on with their propaganda and political activity, and with their individual and group action on the economic field, under these tran-

dilquent threats as a background and as the party goal.

How well prepared the party is to make such threats of mass action the background and goal of party action may be seen from the roll-call of the convention, where out of 42 states represented, 16 states had but one delegate and 13 others but two delegates! Only a dozen states in the Union had more than two delegates, and these made up two-thirds of the entire convention.

The party ought to make good by giving the instruction and inspiration and the lead to action in the wording of its Declarations as well as in its service to the ranks. The Detroit Declaration of Principles fails in this regard, whatever its deliverances on trade unions, farm problems, etc., may be in minor resolutions. In such a crisis as the present, even the first part dealing with economics is weak, uninspiring, lacks concreteness. But when it becomes specific in the particulars considered above, the leaders cannot lead even the shattered remnants of the party with that kind of Declaration. They cannot commit their comrades to the unequalled defense of the implications and threats of this document. Nor can they dare discipline them for the emphatic dissent that such a document inevitably creates.

The Declaration, in the particulars considered, is not an adequate, constructive lead to organized labor now fighting desperately on a thousand fronts. Nor can the language and purport of these paragraphs give leadership to that vast American body of revolting farmers or ignorantly rebellious middle classes, without whom no economic deliverance is possible.

Far-seeing, constructive leadership, and clear, definite, concrete, and practical economic proposals are immediately imperative. Never in American history has there been such a need for sane leadership and constructive statesmanship. Democracy is in danger. All the more crying necessity to rally the whole soul of democracy and all its resources and renew the confidence of the despairing masses in the ways of democracy, and inspire their faith in democratic procedure. In this kind of leadership the Declaration fails. I reiterate: It pays poor lip service to democracy and then goes on with its solemn threats! Surely the party should become the outstanding champion and, if need be, the martyr, to maintain and perpetuate democratic hopes.

The Declaration is the work of the outstanding leaders of the party. Even amendments seemed out of order. It is backed by whole cohorts of the party as now constituted. It was passed by a vote of almost 2 to 1. It received the unqualified endorsement in debate by the National Chairman, Leo Krzycki, the candidate for President, Norman Thomas, and nearly all the National Committee. The Declaration is the deliberate and considered action of the party.

In the organized labor movement and in the far-flung uprising of the farmers we will find ample fields for service.

### Brilliant Week-End At Camp Tamiment

The week-end of June 23rd and 24th at Camp Tamiment was a brilliant success, with an attendance of over five hundred. The largest group attending was the friends of the former People's Institute of Newark, N. J. The other important group was the Rand School Institute, whose student closed the week with a two-day session at the camp. Their entertainment was the gift of the camp



## Opponents of Declaration Hold Meeting in Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA. — About 150 active Socialists, representing nine states, met here Sunday to organize the campaign to defeat the so-called Detroit Declaration of Principles in the coming referendum.

In his opening address Chairman George Roewer of Massachusetts pointed to the dangers which would result from the adoption of the Declaration and emphasized its inconsistency with Socialist principles. He declared that the sole purpose of the meeting was to carry on the fight within the Socialist Party for its defeat.

Alexander Kahn of New York reported briefly upon the activities of the Committee for the Preservation of the Socialist Party, and upon motion they were unanimously approved.

Comrades Lee (New York), Neistadt (Maryland), Davidow (Michigan), Schwartzkopf and Plunkett (Connecticut), Stark (Philadelphia), Vladeck (New York), Reivo (Massachusetts), Goebel (New Jersey), Sarah Limbach (Pennsylvania), and others, explained the situation in their respective states; all expressed the necessity of defeating the resolution in order to prevent the Socialist Party from deviating from Socialist policies.

The group decided to organize under the name of the "Committee for the Preservation of Socialist Policies Within the Socialist Party."

An Executive Committee was elected consisting of McLevy and Plunkett, Connecticut; Toole and Neistadt, Maryland; Roewer, Epstein, Reivo, Eisenberg and Arkin, Massachusetts; Goebel, New Jersey; Davidow and Ruskind, Michigan; Yellin, Weintraub and Pauli, Ohio; Henry and Wallace, Indiana; Schwartz, Berger, Stark, Maurer, Weisberg, Van Essen and Wilson, Pennsylvania; Lee, Vladeck, Waldman, Panken, Solomon, Kahn and G. A. Gerber, New York; Bertha H. King, District of Columbia; Hutton, Vermont. The committee was given power to add other states as occasion may arise.

An Administrative Committee of members living in the vicinity of New York to carry on daily activities and to work under the direction of the Executive Committee was also elected, composed of Schwartzkopf (Connecticut), Liberos and Stark (Pennsylvania), Goebel (New Jersey), Polin (Maryland), Hedman, Chanin, Weinberg, Panken, Lee, Waldman, Solomon, Lewis, Vladeck, Kahn Low, Guskin, Feinstone, Cassidy, Kritzer, Bromberg, Gillis, Orr, Hendin, G. A. Gerber, Esther Friedman, Rifkin (New York).

The meeting unanimously adopted a statement expressing its position with the understanding that it should be given only to the Socialist press. Vladeck, Davidow and Roewer were elected a committee to take up with the National Executive Committee the procedure and manner of voting upon the pending referendum. With brief addresses by Panken, Oneal and Lee the meeting closed.

The statement adopted at the meeting follows:

### STATEMENT

"This Eastern Conference of Socialists declares its opposition to the Declaration of Principles adopted by the recent national convention at Detroit, now before the party membership for final approval or rejection.

"The passages in the said Declaration to which we take particular exception on the ground that they constitute a repudiation of the aims and principles of the Socialist Party as enunciated from the time of its organization thirty-four years ago until the present day read as follows:

"They (the Socialists) will loyally support, in the tragic event of war, any of their comrades who for anti-war activities or refusal to perform war service come into conflict with public opinion or the law. . . . They (the Socialists) will meet war and the detailed plans for war already mapped out by the war-making arms of the government by massed resistance. . . . It (the Socialist Party) unhesitatingly applies itself to the task of replacing the bogus democracy

of capitalist parliamentarianism by a genuine workers' democracy. . . . If the capitalist system should collapse in a general chaos and confusion, which cannot permit of orderly procedure, the Socialist Party, whether or not in such case it is a majority, will not shrink from the responsibility of organizing and maintaining a government under the workers' rule."

"The proposed Declaration is inadequate and confused as a statement of basic Socialist principles. It ignores the application of these basic principles to the most vital issues that today confront the American people and particularly the working class. It places its emphasis, not upon the struggle against capitalism, but upon the question of war, which is but one of the evils that grow out of capitalism. Upon this question the proposed Declaration is unrealistic.

"By announcing their intention to seize political power, whether in defiance of the will of the majority or not; by declaring their intention to use mass resistance against war, a term which is subject to various interpretations and which can bring incalculable damage to the Socialist Party and subject Socialists to unnecessary persecution; by offering to protect all who may come into conflict with the law, regardless of the nature of their offense or whether their action is in accordance with the accepted principles and policies of the Socialist Party, the majority of the convention embarked upon a new and dangerous course of action, completely and violently at variance with the methods which the Socialist Party has always advocated.

"After many years of work conducted in face of bitter opposition, the message of Socialism is beginning to take root. The farmers and wage earners of the nation are beginning to respond to our appeal. At this time to create a schism within the party on commitments that have no bearing upon the immediate problems facing the Socialist Party and the labor movement is indicative of the nature of the Declaration of Principles; it completely disregards the reality of American life, and all it would bring about is to alienate the toiling masses from the Socialist Party.

"The proponents of the Declaration of Principles are spreading rumors that its opponents intend to secede from the party in the event the Declaration is carried. We categorically deny any such intention and we affirm most emphatically that we are determined to continue fighting within the party for what we consider true Socialist policy.

"We call upon the Socialist Party membership to join with us in bringing about the defeat of the proposed Declaration of Principles and thereby to permit the Declaration which was reaffirmed at the 1932 convention of the Socialist Party to stand as the party position. We believe that in no better way can the Socialist Party measure up to the unprecedented opportunities which now confront it."

## The Rand School Institute

(Continued from Page One)

as a 1934 model of a superb car on a smooth concrete road.

The Rand School Institute opened with a welcoming and getting-acquainted banquet. Each student was called on by Toastmaster Lee to receive the applause of the local comrades. The speakers discussed the question of "Socialism and the American Working Class." Among them was one who helped to organize and consummate the Institute, Larry Davidow of Detroit, Michigan. The other speakers were Harry W. Laidler, Louis Waldman, Jack Afros, August Claessens and Bertha H. Mailly, who took a special trip from Camp Tamiment to attend the banquet.

Starting Monday at 9:30 a. m. and continuing through Friday, there were three morning classes: (1) Our Message to America, with Algernon Lee, William E. Bohn, Nathan Fine and Norman Thomas as discussion leaders; (2) Methods of Propaganda, with August Claessens, Larry Davidow, George H. Goebel, and Bela Low in charge; and (3) Methods of Organization, with Julius Gerber, Marx Lewis, G. August Gerber, Leonard Bright, Jack Altman, David Lasser, William M. Feigenbaum and Philip Hochstein as speakers.

During the afternoons visits were made to the interesting spots of the city, but more especially to the labor and Socialist points of attraction. The Forward Building was among the first of these. Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, made a brief talk to the students on journalism. The heads of the Workmen's Circle and Young Circle League addressed the visitors. The Amalgamated Apartments were seen. The Socialist women of the Amalgamated branch gave a little banquet in honor of the out-of-towners. Norman Thomas invited the Institute group to have tea at his home. The group saw "Stevardore."

Monday evening James Oneal and William E. Bohn spoke on early labor history. The following night Rebel Arts, with Samuel H. Friedman talking on cultural activities, entertained. Wednesday there was a symposium on "Youth and Socialism," with Ben Fischer, Michael Levenstein, Joseph Lash, Jack Afros, Noah Walter, and two of the Institute students, Lillian Bass and Paul K. Walk on the program. Thursday night was graduation of the Rand School students. Jesse Holmes, Algernon Lee and Leon Cousins of New Mexico were the speakers.

At the camp week-end there was a conference on the subject of "Labor—One Year After the NRA." Julius Hochman and Luigi Antonini of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Elizabeth Nord of the United Textile Workers, William Karlin of the

## Conference to Promote Unity In Ranks of Socialist Party

By Samuel H. Friedman

A movement for unity within the Socialist Party and for harmonization of its conflicting elements was launched Monday night in New York City when 75 active party members met to discuss grave problems confronting the movement.

Unanimously adopting a resolution calling for unqualified loyalty to the Socialist Party and repudiating all action from whatever source looking toward disintegration, the group proceeded to plan for bringing together discordant elements and to map out a course of action for the immediate future.

Agreement obtained among the comrades present—comprising some who opposed, others who favored, some who had not yet made up their minds about the Detroit Declaration, and still others who felt that the importance of the vote on the Declaration had been exaggerated beyond all true proportion—that the new group was not to be considered merely another way of passing or defeating the Declaration. What the group was determined to achieve was genuine unity based not upon surrender of fundamental principle but upon mutual agreement on the fundamentals of Socialism and mutual desire to prevent the party's being wrecked upon the rocks of partisanship or sectarianism or conflict between personalities.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted: "This conference registers its earnest opinion that in the present crisis it is the duty of members emphatically to insist on the unity of the party no matter what the outcome of the present referendum may be and to discourage and condemn any course that may tend to disrupt this unity."

The conference agreed that a sensible approach to the "problem seemed to be to suggest certain possible changes in or substitutes for disputed sections or controverted passages in the Declaration. The way had been cleared for such action by the NEC's submitting the Declaration to a committee of law-

Socialist Party, and two Institute students, Arthur Kent and Jerome Silverman, led the discussion. In addition, Bertha H. Mailly and Ben Josephson, directors of Camp Tamiment outlined the history and functions of the camp, while Michael Hanrahan in an informal talk portrayed his life and activities during the civil war in Ireland. At the final session Sunday morning, Sylvia Krouse made a presentation for the students of a little token of appreciation to the writer for his part in the Institute.

The friendships formed, the knowledge gained, the relations between the Rand School and the out-of-towners established, and the spirit of the Rand School Institute permeated everywhere the students went, all meant only one thing: a determination, a will, an intelligence, to build better, to build more securely the Socialist cooperative commonwealth.

yers for advice and suggestion for possible revision in case of conflict with present state laws, it was believed. An attempt is to be made to get together leaders on both sides and submit these suggestions to them. The matter is then to be carried to the NEC and the party membership. It is also planned to call a meeting of comrades in New York City soon to submit the project to them.

A provisional organization was then set up and temporary officers elected. The group, which adopted the provisional name of Socialist Party Unity Conference, is headed by Matthew M. Levy as chairman, George Steinhardt as vice-chairman, Samuel H. Friedman as secretary and Harry Lopatin as recording secretary. On the provisional organization, conference and continuation committee are J. George Friedman, Murray Gross, Sidney Hertzberg, Mark Khinoy, Issay Minkoff, Theodore Shapiro, George Turitz, Robert Tyler and Julius Umansky, plus the officers.

The point was made at the conference that the personnel of the committee included comrades from branches all over the city who had been in both groups and in no groups—so-called rights, lefts and centrists—but all united in service and devotion to the party. Among the speakers at the conference, practically all volunteering from the floor, were Dr. Simon Berlin, James Oneal, Louis P. Goldberg, Louis Schaffer, William M. Feigenbaum, Minkoff, Tyler, Steinhardt, Gross, Levy, Umansky and the two Friedmans.

The consensus of those present was that the organization would not pledge anybody to vote for or against the Declaration. Although no statement or manifesto of principles was adopted, the following sums up speeches made by several of the comrades which seemed to meet with general approval:

"We are aware of the fact that the battle today is not merely one of principles. Too much stress has been laid both upon the history and the actions of individuals on either side, and to a certain extent the larger issue has been obscured. We believe that we can get the factions together and convince them that the party will be the loser if this bitter partisanship continues. There are sincere, devoted comrades in both the so-called 'old guard' and 'militant' groupings whose only thought is to serve the movement. Unfortunately, the ardor of conflict, the passions aroused by battle, the haste and hysteria at the convention and the intemperateness of discussion and action since have in many cases persuaded leaders and rank and file on both sides that they must dig in and refuse to budge the fraction of an inch.

"We have no desire to force changes down anybody's throat. But we feel that there are many cases where calm, dispassionate, unprejudiced discussion in a comradely way between comrades will iron out difficulties and may make it possible to submit to the membership of the party something on which most comrades in the differing camps agree.

(Continued on Page Eight)

## A Classroom Session of the Rand School Institute





## The Workers Abroad

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

By Mark Khmoy

#### United Front Offer Rejected and Accepted

THE Socialist parties of two European countries, France and Switzerland, have received new "United Front" offers from the Communist parties of their respective countries. Both were dated the end of May. Both are couched in the same phraseology and both contain an identical proposal—an "invitation to joint demonstrations with the object of saving Ernst Thälmann, former chairman of the Communist Party of Germany, from the revenge of the German fascists." Both, finally, suggest, among other things, that the joint "demonstrations should be made outside the German Legation . . . and the German Consulates" when the Thälmann trial takes place.

Since the leadership of the two parties, the French and the Swiss, belong to the same "radical" and "revolutionary" wing of the international Socialist movement, one would be justified in expecting that their answers will match. Well, they do not. One vigorously rejected the offer and the other as vigorously seized upon it for a real united front "from above" (between the parties) in contrast to the "unity from below" (between the masses), on which the Communists have been insisting.

The rejection came from the Administrative Committee of the Swiss Socialist Party and was formulated in a way that renders it, in view of this week's offer of our own Communists, singularly interesting to us American Socialists. The N.E.C. of the Swiss Socialists wrote:

"During the Reichstag fire trial the Swiss Socialist Party carried on an extensive campaign and demonstrated at imposing meetings in favor of the principle of justice and against the blood justice of the fascists; it aroused the public conscience in Switzerland and thereby defended the interests of the accused to the best of its ability. When the Thälmann trial begins its attitude will be the same, and just as it fought for Dimitroff in the only effective manner so will it make an attempt to save Thälmann.

"On the other hand, the Swiss Socialist Party definitely rejects cooperation with the Communist Party of Switzerland. We are dealing here with a periodically recurring united front offer, not one of which was honestly meant, and all of which were nothing but cunning and cowardly maneuvers intended to discredit the Swiss Socialist Party in the eyes of the masses.

"If the Communist Party of Switzerland, which is acting on the instructions of the Communist International, seriously meant its offer, it would have taken care that the Communist International as well would attempt to save the Socialists threatened by the fascist executioners. Instead of this, the Communists of all countries insulted and reviled the Austrian Socialists when their heroes—Wallisch, Weissel and Münchreiter—were executed by the hangmen of the bloody Chancellor Dollfuss. If the Communist Party seriously meant its offer, it would take care that at least in Germany the struggle against the Socialists who are working illegally would be stopped; but there, in the face of an enemy of superior strength, it does not abandon its treacherous attitude but still continues to oppose the Social Democrats as its chief enemies.

"When the Communist Party of Switzerland invites us to demonstrate before the German Legations, we call upon the Communist Party of Switzerland to demonstrate before the Russian Legations in those countries in which it is still possible for them to do so, for if any power can release Thälmann from the hands of the executioner it is Soviet Russia, which can set Thälmann free at any time by an exchange of prisoners. It is first and foremost the duty of Soviet Russia to liberate Ernst Thälmann, the 'honorary Cosack.' If the Communist Party of Switzerland does not possess the courage to remind the Communist International of its duty, then we must do so.

"The Swiss Socialist Party will not neglect the cause of justice; but it will not be able to fight for the sacred cause in a united front which is not inwardly genuine."

#### Conditions in France Are Different

As remarked, the French reaction to the new Communist offer was diametrically different from the reply of the Swiss Socialists. The reason lies in the peculiar conditions of grave revolutionary and counter-revolutionary waves through which France is passing. Unity in France would increase the strength of Socialist and syndicalist labor by several hundreds of thousands of Communist sympathizers and would be of paramount importance in the life-and-death struggle against militant fascism. Unity in Switzerland would not add a single iota to the relatively strong political, industrial, economic and cultural strength of Socialist labor. It would only give the numerically small and spiritually corrupt Communist gentry an additional chance to disrupt the labor movement from within.

In passing, let me add, however, that the possible harm of a "united front" with Communists in Switzerland is infinitely smaller than a similar step in the United States. For in this country such a union would not only give us

a few more invalid disrupters, but would definitely alienate from us the organized workers and build an almost insurmountable obstacle to our dream of an enlightened and politically independent mass movement of labor.

In this lies the enormous difference in the conditions of present-day France and the present-day United States. Our comrades would do well in pondering on this contrast of objective and subjective forces before aping certain acts of strategy and tactics in the French movement.

IN accepting the May 30 and June 5 offer of the Communist Central Committee, the Administrative Committee of the French Socialists stressed, however, its wish "to receive the assurance from the Communist Party that until the contemplated demonstrations have taken place there will be a cessation of polemics against our respective organizations and members. This truce—which we, for our part, sign in advance—seems to us to be the only way of creating the atmosphere without which joint action—however well prepared—would neither have the effectiveness nor the significance which you and we together ought to give it."

After a new exchange of letters, the principal leaders of the two parties—Leon Blum, Jean Gromski and J.-B. Severac for the Socialists, and Toret, Gitton and Franchon for the Communist Party—met on June 11 and signed a detailed agreement that includes the above paragraph with its "non-aggression treaty." Nevertheless, this agreement is not final. The Communist delegates assured that they are instructed to distinguish between acts which have to do with the plans of common action already agreed to and those that may arise from political events. . . .

This important point will be clarified at the next meeting, when the Communists expect to receive new instructions.

A Paris correspondent of the Communist "Militant" writes:

"The official Communist Party shows progressive decay; in 1920 the majority of the Socialist Party, 130,000 strong, joined the Comintern; today the Stalinists have 12,000 members. Political degeneracy takes its toll. A short period after its origin, the C.G.T.U. (red union) had 400,000 members while today there remain 70,000. Meanwhile the C.G.T. (reformist unions), headed by the Gompers of France, Jouhaux, has a membership of 1,000,000."

This decay of membership explains the strange leniency of the Stalinist leadership in dealing with the former party chief, deputy and mayor of St. Denis, Doriot. His opposition to the "com-fascist" tactics of the Third International is getting the whole-hearted support of the St. Denis district and the depleted Communist Party cannot afford to lose its numerically strongest district.

The French Communist Party, on the other hand, received 800,000 votes in the latest parliamentary elections, and although this is only 40 per cent of the Socialist vote (2,000,000), it is of sufficient value to be considered in the campaign for a united working class in France.

Our usual curse—lack of available space—forces me to postpone a long list of extremely interesting news from Austria, Germany, Latvia, Italy, Spain, France, Poland and the Soviet Union. Also a review of the unusually important developments recorded at the last session of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International.

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

# A Socialist Declaration

Instead of printing the St. Louis resolution this week, we think it better to print a Declaration of Principles to compare with what is now before the Socialist Party members by that name. This declaration was adopted by the convention in 1920.

THE Socialist Party of the United States demands that the country and its wealth be reformed from the control of private interests and turned over to the people to be administered for the equal benefit of all.

America is not owned by the American people. Our so-called national wealth is not the wealth of the nation, but of the privileged few.

These are the ruling classes of America. They are small in numbers but they dominate the lives and shape the destinies of their fellow men.

They own the people's jobs and determine their wages; they control the markets of the world and fix the prices of farm products; they own their own homes and fix their rents; they own their food and set its cost; they own their press and formulate their convictions; they own the government and make their laws; they own their schools and mould their minds.

Around and about the capitalist class cluster the numerous and varied groups of the population, generally designated as the "middle classes." They consist of farm owners, small merchants and manufacturers, professionals, and better paid employees. Their economic status is often precarious. They live in hopes of being lifted into the charmed spheres of the ruling classes. Their social psychology is that of retainers of the wealthy. As a rule they sell their gifts, knowledge and efforts to the capitalist interests. They are staunch upholders of the existing order of social inequalities.

The bulk of the American people is composed of workers. Workers on the farm and in the factory, in mines and mills, on ships and railroads, in offices and counting houses, in schools and in personal service, workers of hand and brain, all men and women who render useful service to the community in the countless ramified ways of modern civilization. They have made America what it is. They sustain America from day to day. They bear most of the burdens of life and enjoy but few of its pleasures. They create the enormous wealth of the country but live in constant dread of poverty. They feed and clothe the rich, and yet bow to their alleged superiority. They keep alive the industries but have no say in their management. They constitute the majority of the people but have no control in the government. Despite the forms of political equality the workers of the United States are virtually a subject class.

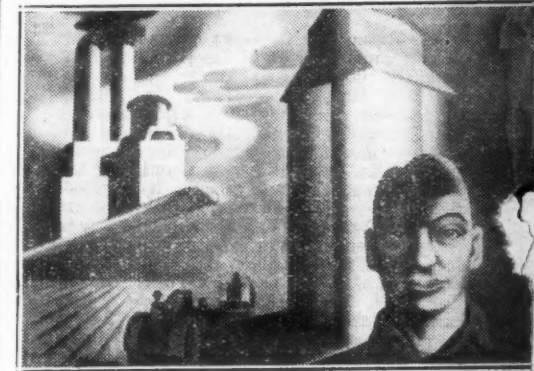
The Socialist Party is the party of the workers. It espouses their cause because in the workers lies the hope of the political, economic and social redemption of the country. The ruling class and their retainers cannot be expected to change the iniquitous system of which they are the beneficiaries. Individual members of these classes often join in the struggle against the capitalist order from motives of personal idealism, but whole classes have never been known to abdicate their rule and surrender their privileges for the mere sake of social justice. The workers alone have a direct and compelling interest in abolishing the present profit system.

## The Platform Upon Which It Waged Its Notable Campaign

Eugene V. D.

The Socialist Party desires the workers of America to take the economic and political power from the capitalist class, not that they may establish themselves as a new ruling class, but in order that all class divisions may be abolished forever.

To perform this supreme social task the workers must be organized as a political party of their own. They must realize that both the Republican and Democratic parties are the political instruments of the master classes, and equally pledged to uphold and perpetuate capitalism. They must be trained to use the ballot box to vote out the tools of the capitalist and middle class and to vote in representatives of the workers. A true political party of labor must be founded upon the uncompromising and organizing its



Youth and the Socialist State

This unfinished mural presents the artist's idea of how civilization would look under a Socialist system. It pictures the cooperative farm, the factory removed from home life, a streamline train, the planned village which concentrates "Main St." into one central skyscraper with the workers' homes grouped loosely around it.

ing demand for the complete socialization of the industries. That means doing away with the private ownership of the sources and instruments of wealth production and distribution, abolishing workless incomes in the form of profits, interest or rents, transforming the whole able-bodied population of the country into useful workers, and securing to all workers the full social value of their work.

The Socialist Party is such a political party. It strives by means of political methods, including the action of its representatives in the legislatures and other public offices, to force the enactment of such measures as will immediately benefit the workers, raise their standard of life, increase their power and stiffen their resistance to capitalist aggression. Its purpose is to secure a majority in Congress and in every state legislature, to win the principle executive and judicial offices, to become the dominant and controlling party, and when in power to transfer to the ownership by the people of industries, beginning with those of public communication, as well as the trustified industries, and extending the process to all other industries susceptible of collective ownership, as rapidly as their technical conditions will permit.

It also proposes to socialize the system of public education and health and all activities and institutions vitally affecting the public needs and welfare, including dwelling houses, the socialization of all large farm-estates and land used for in-



# LABOR SECTION

## Conference in Detroit Sets Up Auto Workers' National Council

By Alan Strachan

**DETROIT.**—The establishment of a national council to assist and advise a national representative of the AFoL was the major accomplishment of the first national conference of the United Automobile Workers of America held here Saturday and Sunday, June 23 and 24. Much heated debate was aroused before the adoption of the council plan, the opposition being not to the council itself but to the by-laws governing the council's power and the election of its chairman.

The set-up of the national council provides for eleven members representative of the numerous locations where the auto industry exists to meet with, and at the call of, a national representative of the AFoL. This representative who is to act as chairman of the body, is to be appointed by President Green.

It was generally assumed by the delegates that William Collins, national representative of the AFoL in Detroit, who is in charge of the organization of the auto industry and presided during the conference, will be appointed chairman.

Many of the 139 delegates felt that the chairman should be elected by the union members themselves, and that the power of the council was so restricted as to make its effectiveness negligible. As the matter now stands, the council will be financed by the AFoL and only such matters as may be presented by the national representative be given consideration.

### Objections Raised

So objectionable was the adoption of this plan for setting up of the council to some of the delegates that after a brief recess before the election of the council officers, many absented themselves from the conference chamber—noticeably the complete Hudson Motor delegation, one of the largest locals in the UAWA.

The debate which had been expected upon the submitted resolution to form an International of the federal auto union did not materialize, being overshadowed by the controversy aroused over the by-laws governing the national council. Many of the delegates mentioned it during discussion, but the issue was never brought to a vote. William Green in an address delivered on Saturday afternoon, said he held, as did the executive of the AFoL, that the time was not ripe for an International in the

auto industry but promised that the question would be given consideration and plans made to move in that direction. He hinted that the proposition would probably be left to the new national council. The by-laws, however, contain no mention of an International.

Two resolutions were forwarded to President Roosevelt: one condemning company unions, and the other asking the President to clarify (Cont. on Page 4, Labor Section)

## Threats Renewed To Smash Frisco Waterfront Strike

By E. T. F.  
(Special Correspondent)

**SAN FRANCISCO.**—The waterfront bosses are sick and tired of the dock strike that has been tying up millions of dollars' worth of shipments. The mayor is tired of it and the police are sick of it. The governor doesn't like it, either.

Only the strikers, emboldened by the support of the organized working class of the Pacific Coast, don't seem to be sick of their strike. For the threats of the high officials, like the violence of the (Cont. on Page 2, Labor Section)

## Strike of 75,000 Woolen Operatives Called for Next Monday

**WASHINGTON.**—The center of attention in the threatened strike of 75,000 New England mill operatives, called for July 2, has shifted to the nation's capital, where the representatives of the United Textile Workers of America have been called into consultation by the National Recovery Administration officials. The huge walkout, authorized by the woolen and worsted division of the union, will

positively take place, union officials assert, unless something unexpected takes place at the conference.

Thomas F. McMahon, president of the UTW, has sent William Kelly and Francis Gorman to Washington to meet recovery officials. Meanwhile, reports come into UTW headquarters of local after local in New England voting to support the strike. In the Connecticut Textile Council, for instance, representing 47 locals, the vote was unanimous to go out and to urge all affiliated crafts to join.

The conference follows a request by F. S. Blanshard, deputy administrator of textile codes, in a letter to William C. Dunlap, president of the woolen and worsted division of the UTW, asking him to call off the strike.

"Within the last day or two," the letter reads, "a proposal for the setting up of an industrial relations board to deal with problems of this sort was submitted to the wool textile industry by the National Recovery Administration. This proposition is now under careful consideration by the industry but it will, of course, take a little while to make this plan effective and to enable the industrial relations board which is to be set up under this plan to investigate fully the facts bearing on the questions at issue."

"If we don't get result in Washington, we'll go right through with the strike program," McMahon said. "The workers are aroused wherever there is a union, and they'll respond immediately to the call. We're organized 100% in many mills, and even the partially organized will come out."

The union is asking for restoration of the 1929 wage scale and the 30-hour week; the setting up of standards so that those operating six to ten looms in worsteds should operate only four; and those running two looms in woolsens run only one.

The New Leader has sent a telegram to the union pledging the unstinted aid of the paper and of the Socialist Party in the event of a strike.

## Hoan Flays Traction Company

(See Page 4, Labor Section)

## Teachers' Federation Raps Sales Tax; Hits Spoils System in Education

By James Dugan

**CHICAGO.**—With the public school system of the nation characterized as part of a vicious spoils system and the administration attacked for squandering money on frills like battleships and waste instead of using it for education, the 18th annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers convened here this week. Over 200 teacher-delegates are attending the sessions at the Hotel Morrison, the Medinah Avenue Club having been abandoned because of its anti-Negro attitude during the ILGWU convention. In his opening address, Dr. Henry R. Linville, president of the Teachers Union of New York and also of the national federation, declared that teachers must demand that society, on the ground of necessity, provide for the free discussion in the schools of social and economic questions.

The federation, by an overwhelming vote, passed a resolution attacking the sales tax as unsound, inequitable and a violation of the principle of ability to pay. Tax exemptions should be removed from all securities and income, another resolution demanded. The sales tax

takes an unfair share of the workers' earnings, especially when applied to food and clothing, it was pointed out.

Five members represent New York at this convention of the federation—Comrade Linville, Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz, legislative representative of the New York union local; Charles Haskell, active in the party in Brooklyn; Lena Tulchin, high in the councils of the Socialist Teachers League, and Rebecca Shapiro. The American Federation of Teachers is affiliated with the AFoL and has 12,800 school teacher members in 123 locals.

Teachers must get into politics to get the schools out of politics, Selma M. Borchardt of Washington, legislative representative of the federation, told the delegates. The schools are simply a part of a vicious spoils system, she continued.

"Tenure, adequate pay, pensions can be obtained only by articulate political effort of the teachers, exercising their rights and assuming their duties as citizens. Congress has given more to asphalt roads than to the roads of childhood be-

cause asphalt roads can maintain a better lobby than the children can."

The Richberg substitute for the Wagner labor disputes bill is woefully inadequate, Miss Borchardt said, urging the convention to work for the passage of the original Wagner bill next year and to reaffirm its support of the principle of Federal aid for old age pension.

"Nothing so jeopardizes the peace of the world as the hideous propaganda of the munitions manufacturers," she continued, urging the convention to call upon its locals and the American Federation of Labor to support the munitions manufacture investigation authorized by Congress.

"A brain trust for teachers," was called a necessity for the organization of the teachers by James C. Adell of Greater Cleveland Local No. 279.

Mr. Adell said that the organization of all universities could be accomplished in sixty days after the announcement of the federation's program of adult education and political action. In Ohio, he said, 12 per cent of the teachers (Cont. on Page 2, Labor Section)

## Jewish Labor Will Raise \$150,000 Fund To Use in Battle Against Hitler Terror

### Business Not Trying To Cut Unemployment

"The fact that more than 10,000,000 are still without work in industry is a basic reason for our tardy business recovery. This problem deserves first attention from industrialists; it is not receiving the attention needed. Business men in general are taking no responsibility for these millions, making no general effort to get them back to work. The government alone is caring for them through emergency relief—and this provides only a meager living for one-sixth of them..." William Green, president of the AFoL, in a statement this week.

The raising of a fund of \$150,000 to fight Hitlerism in Germany and all forms of fascism was determined upon by 600 delegates representing Jewish labor unions in New York at a conference in Town Hall this week. The fund is to be used to aid the victims of fascism in all countries and to help German Socialists and trade unionists continue their underground campaign against the Hitler terror.

The unions represented have a membership of over 500,000. The conference, called under the auspices of the Jewish Labor Committee, has the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor, which some time ago ordered a stringent boycott of all fascist products.

The precarious position of the

Hitler government and the increased activities of the German Socialists and unionists in hastening the debacle were outlined by various speakers. B. Charney Vladeck, managing editor of the Forward, presided.

The conference voted to intensify the boycott against German goods and machinery and to conduct a campaign against Nazi propaganda in the United States. It was made clear, however, that the boycott was to be directed against the Nazi regime in Germany only and was not to be aimed at Germans in the United States.

Comrade Vladeck, chairman of the committee, ridiculed Hitler's statement that he expected the Nazis to remain in power for 1,000 years. He forecast the early downfall of Hitlerism, citing as one of the forces making for its destruc-

tion the growing activities of German workers determined to overthrow the regime.

Relaying a message from William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, William P. Mahoney, New York representative of the federation, declared that the A. F. of L. "is in complete accord with your work in reference to the boycott of German-made goods, machines and services."

Other speakers were Luigi Antonini, representing the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Joseph Schlossberg of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and Comrades Morris Feinstein of the United Hebrew Trades; Joseph Weinberg, president of the Workmen's Circle, and Saul Rifkin of the Jewish Socialist Federation.

### Thousands Getting Less Than \$9 Per Week

Thousands of textile workers in the South are getting less than \$9 a week, Francis J. Gorman, vice-president of the United Textile Workers, told 30 Union organizers assembled in Greenville, South Carolina, to discuss organization problems. The predominant wage of Southern textile "hands" is \$9, he added. The code calls for a \$12 wage in the South.

If conditions warrant, and if the report of an NRA investigating committee is not satisfactory, a special convention of the UTW will be called within a fortnight to consider action, Gorman said. The union leader also spoke at the convention of the South Carolina State A. F. of L.



# Abduction of Union Organizer Follows Firm's Defiance of Government Decisions

The following story of the Harriman Hosiery Mills dispute is a mere prelude to the latest developments in that one-mill town. Latest reports indicate that the mill owners aren't content with shutting down the plant. A vice-president of the hosiery union, Fred Held, who has been active in organization work, was taken off the train by armed men and hustled into an automobile by a mob which threatened him with physical violence. After being told that he would be killed if he returned, Held was dumped out along the roadside ten miles away in the pouring rain.

A telegram has been sent by President Green of the A. F. of L. to the governor of Tennessee protesting against the abduction and

## Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman  
(Special Correspondence)

There was a time—and it's not so long ago—when General Johnson warned the chiselers who refused to comply with code regulations that they were inviting "economic death." Now it appears that the tables have been turned: the chiselers accuse Johnson of causing "economic death" by forcing them to comply. These poor chiseling employers may not fit well into the role of martyrs. The white robe may look awfully clumsy on their distorted figures. But they give no end of trouble to the NRA and to the entire Roosevelt administration.

The closing of the Harriman Hosiery Mills, in Tennessee, is only one of many malignant sores that broke loose in the general chiseling epidemic. The Weirton case is more lingering, but not less insidious. The "kick back" racket, recently discovered in Washington, is another symptom of the prevailing pestilence.

All these cases should be considered together with the fate of the National Labor Board and the newly enacted, revised, modified and terribly weakened Wagner Labor Bill.

### Plant Shut Down

The Harriman Hosiery Mills, whose Blue Eagle was taken away by the NRA last April for alleged violations of the hosiery code, today closed its plant and threw 653 employees out of work.

At the same time, T. Asbury Wright, Jr., attorney for the mills, released a letter written to Administrator Hugh S. Johnson which charged that "we are convinced that through boycotting and every other means at your disposal you have set out to wreck this company."

"We would like to know," Wright further wrote Johnson, "if the Blue Eagle is the property of the abiding citizen of the United States, or if it is a plaything to be held over the heads of honorable and decent employers as a badge to browbeat and bulldoze them into surrendering their constitutional rights for the benefit of outside agitators whose only purpose is to exploit labor for their personal gain."

He notice to employees, released Wright, said: "Every honest sincere effort has been made to effect a settlement with the Government. We will not submit to our unreasonable and unjust demands. One of the demands which sets you is that we discharge a number of our present employees to make room for people now on the list."

## Flouting of NRA Orders Leaves Whole Power of Recovery Administration in Question—Why Not Take the Mills Away and Let the Workers Run Them?

demanding an immediate investigation and the punishment of the kidnappers.

"This kidnapping can be traced directly to the attitude of the Harriman Hosiery Company toward the self-organization of its employees," the telegram read. "This is a repetition of action taken by those opposed to organized labor several years ago when they kidnapped Edward R. McGrady, now Assistant Secretary of Labor, in Elizabethton, Tenn."

"Goods on hand will be finished and shipped as rapidly as possible. We appreciate more than we can ever express the loyalty of our employees, and will do all we can to help employees get work elsewhere."

"The Department of Justice investigated our case and told General Johnson that we have not violated the law or the code, but the persecution of NRA continues."

### Wagner Board Recommends It

The Blue Eagle was taken from the mills on recommendation of the National Labor Board, which charged mill officials with refusing to bargain collectively with its employees.

The controversy started last October, when about 300 employees went on a strike, claiming the mill refused to reinstate twenty-three workers for joining the United Textile Workers' Union. The case was heard by the National Labor Board last January.

It must be remembered that the Harriman case has been a subject of NRA controversy for months.

It began with a strike called October 26, after the alleged dismissal of employees for union activities. Both the national board and the Atlanta regional board attempted to settle the dispute.

### National Board's Finding

In February, the national board said in a statement that the firm's rejection of an agreement with its employees "impugns the good faith of the company and is indicative of a desire to perpetuate discord, foster industrial unrest and to obstruct the forces of recovery."

A month later, in a formal "findings of fact," the board said the company "has had the intent not to reach any agreement," and added:

"The Harriman Hosiery Mills has infringed the rights of its employees to bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing as recognized by Section 7-a of the National Industrial Recovery Act by entering negotiations with bad faith with the definite intention not to make any agreement with the representatives of its employees."

The board also said, members of an employees' committee, upon returning to Harriman after a visit to Washington to appear before the board, were arrested on charges of violating an injunction issued in connection with the strike. About seventy-five employees were said to have been jailed for this violation.

On March 13, Senator Wagner, chairman of the National Labor Board, wrote Johnson, transmitting the findings of fact and saving:

"An opportunity was afforded the Harriman Hosiery Mills on March 12 to show cause why this case should not be referred to the compliance division of the National Recovery Administration for the withdrawal of its Blue Eagle and to the Department of Justice for appropriate action."

### Wagner Recommended Action

"The company did not present any evidence which requires any modification of the findings of the board, nor did it propose any adequate basis of settlement of the dispute with its employees."

"In view of these facts, I have the honor in behalf of the National Labor Board to refer this matter to you with the recommendation that the Blue Eagle of the company be withdrawn."

The National Labor Board caused an incipient war in the inner New Deal quarters. Cause of the dispute was the last-minute passage of the President's substitute for the Wagner labor disputes bill.

Under this act he is empowered to set up special boards to conduct employee-elections in industries where labor controversies arise. The law makes no reference to the National Labor Board created by executive order last August under authority of the NRA.

Senator Robert Wagner, chairman of the board, strongly favors its continuance as a sort of permanent administrative foundation for such special boards as may be established, and as a clearing house for minor disputes.

This meets with the approval of Madame Perkins—provided, however, the N.L.B. is made an adjunct of her department, and the trained personnel of her bureau on conciliation is used by the board. Wagner has no objection to such an arrangement.

The President discussed the matter at length with both officials before departing for his Yale University visit. He indicated general approval of their plans.

### Enter the General

But—he did not confer with Gen. Hugh Johnson, a very potent party in the shuffle. Privately Johnson would like to see the National Labor Board junked. This was the basis of his undercover hostility to the Wagner bill, which would have greatly increased the board's power.

What Johnson wants is abandonment of the N.L.B., leaving the Industrial Relations Boards, in each coded industry, to take over its work. In cases such as the steel labor controversy, where these core agencies are inadequate, Johnson would then have the President step in by appointing a special board under the new law.

Undoubtedly, the President will consult with Johnson before he makes a decision.

What those in the know are keenly watching is with whom the President will side: Perkins and Wagner, or the clattering cavalryman.

What can the NRA do in such cases as the Harriman Hosiery Mills, or Weirton Steel Mills, or many other mills ready to shut down and condemn their workers to starvation, unless given full freedom to rule and exploit as they, the economic dictators, see fit?

Of course it is easy for a Socialist to answer that question. In order not to allow the mill owners to defy the government or to condemn their workers to starvation, the government should declare such chiseling mill owners "enemies of the people," take the mills away from them and let the work go on for the benefit of the producers and consumers. That would seem logical in an emergency like this. But—this is not to be expected of the present government and under the present system. Hence the dilemma.

## THREATS RENEWED TO SMASH FRISCO WATERFRONT STRIKE

(Cont. from Page 1, Labor Section) officers sworn to uphold the peace, only serves to jack up the determination of the stevedores and other maritime workers.

While the mayor pleads, the governor warns and the Big Business Men threaten that they'll open up the harbor and free shipping even if hell breaks loose, the strikers are awaiting the ministrations of the newly appointed National Longshoremen's Board, curious to see whether the committee is just another one of those things whose only objective is to smash the strike and serve the bosses.

So far, the men appointed by President Roosevelt to survey the dock situation—Archbishop Edward J. Hanna, Assistant Secretary of Labor McGrady and Local Attorney Cushing—have been working all day without any tangible result. But the next few hours are the most critical in the strike.

Support The New Leader Labor Section! Pass it on to your neighbor!

## Teachers' Union Convention Meets in Chicago

(Cont. from Page 1, Labor Section) were paid up members in the federation.

Dr. Jesse H. Holmes, professor of philosophy at Swarthmore College and Socialist candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania, told the delegates that "rugged individualism" and "free competition" are today "mere slogans to justify and exaggerate the inequality upon which our social and industrial system is built. Only by our striving for equality, with liberty and fraternity for all men, can the destruction of civilization be averted."

### "Irrational Inequality"

"Our social and industrial system is built on violent and irrational inequality. Our silly attitudes of racial superiority and national superiority made that inequality into a crime. It works out in wars, in depressions, in disaster."

"For lack of equality our civilization is destroying itself. That destruction may be beyond our power to avert."

Organization of teachers in Arkansas, where thirty-three locals have been formed during the last year, was the result of classification of teachers below the level of common laborers by relief organizations, R. T. Henderson, of Little Rock, pointed out.

"The local director of relief offered teachers 30 cents an hour, compared to 40 cents for common labor," he commented. "When we asked why the laborers were getting a higher rate, we were told it was because the laborers were organized. When that statement received publicity our job of or-

ganization was easy."

"We are quite willing to surrender our tax exemption privilege along with other citizens of the nation as a means to overcome this anti-social feature of our tax laws," the resolution on taxation declared.

Professor Harold M. Groves, of the University of Wisconsin, whose appointment as chief tax advisor by Roosevelt was once thought certain, attacked the nation's expenditures for armaments.

"I hold it to be one of the most unsocial acts of the Roosevelt administration that more than a billion dollars has been spent on armaments and virtually no attention given to the distress of public schools," he asserted.

### The Teachers' Job

"There are two phases of the teachers' union movement which we must keep before the teachers of this country," Dr. Linville pointed out. "First, we are a constituent part of the entire labor movement. We have been accepted as labor people by the other crafts and industrial unions in the American Federation of Labor fully and without reservation. So when we are asked our number, we should answer: four million, going on five. In the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor we have pressed not only for the defense of the schools and for resistance to retrenchment, with the unqualified support of other international bodies, but also for the abolition of military training, for unemployment insurance, and for other social measures against resistance. We must continue main-

taining our attitude of adulthood and independence in the labor movement, as contributing our skill as teachers to the social education of all the workers."

"We must furthermore contrive to keep our movement from following the ruts of laissez-faire, weariness and potentially selfish or narrow-minded leadership. We must recognize that the protection and the increasing effectiveness of the institution of public education is largely in the hands of the teachers, rather than in the hands of boards of education or the superintendents. In the event of the coming of fascism in this country, it is quite probable that boards of education would be among the first to be swept into its line-up. It is not easy to see how the schools and the teachers could then avoid being drawn into the line-up of dictatorship. If we do nothing, that is what would happen. If the lessons of Italy, Austria and Germany signify anything, labor also would be menaced into a fascist movement."

"Our planning against the potential menace of fascism or any other political dictatorship so far as public education is concerned will not be connected with any silly gesture toward seizing power by teachers. We must maintain the principle of democracy as against dictatorship, the principles of representative government, as against autocracy, the principles of freedom of speech, of the press, and of assemblage, the principle of the right of all workers to organize and to set up standards on social lines."



## Barbers Signing Up Shops; Times Square Next

The city-wide campaign of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union in America, reported in the last issue of The New Leader, is nearing a successful conclusion in New York City, with Local 3 signing up the barber shops of lower Manhattan from Twenty-third St. down, and only the Times Square section remaining unorganized.

Local 3 has chosen the Debs Auditorium of the Rand School as its strike headquarters and has had the active support of the Socialist Party and the Young People's Socialist League. The Yipsels were especially useful in picketing the non-union shops after most of the union shops had been signed up.

Tuesday night the Master Barbers' Association, representing the section, met in a conference on the union demands. Previously, the International Master Barbers' Protective Association had agreed to a wage scale of \$22 weekly and 50% of the intake over \$35 per chair. The union has also signed up 175 independent barber shops. The financial section has not yet signed up. The local is determined to continue the strike until the whole section is organized.

On Monday night, Local 913, representing Borough Park and Coney Island, held a mass meeting and decided to go on strike.

The last local to strike will be Local 1, representing the Times Square section. This is the hardest to organize, and the union will need all the help it can get from the Socialist Party and the Yipsels.

## Case of Socialists Who Violated Faber's Injunction Adjourned

The case of the five Socialists arrested for violating the injunction handed down by Judge Faber against the Bakers' Union Local 505 has again been postponed for two weeks, at the request of the attorney for the Standard Baking Company. Two weeks ago, the same counsel argued against an adjournment requested by Comrades A. C. Weinfeld, representative of the Socialist Lawyers' Association, and Charles Solomon.

The case is rapidly assuming more and more importance as the workers strike against company unions. The three Yipsels and the two party members are Irving Salkin, William Gomberg, Albert Herling, Henry Fruchter, and William Farrell.

The Yipsels and party members were arrested when they held a meeting near the bakery firm's plant in Brooklyn. A large crowd heard the Socialist speakers attack company unions and injunctions and speak for the Socialist way out. The speakers and placard carriers were then arrested for violating the now infamous injunction of Judge Faber. This injunction placed thirty-eight restrictions upon the union, forbidding picketing, meeting within an area of five square blocks, mentioning in any way that a strike of any sort was in progress. Since the injunction forbade any person sympathetic to the strike to aid it in any way, the Socialists went out to protest this vicious manifestation of capitalist class justice.

The case will be tried July 10 at the Bridge Plaza Court in Brooklyn.

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

## Strikers Force Suspension of Service by Milwaukee Utility Firm, Bitter Foe of Socialists

AS The New Leader goes to press, word comes from Milwaukee of a new turn in the strike of utility employees. As thousands of sympathizers with the strikers thronged the streets and forced suspension of street car service, they came into conflict with the police, who are said to have used their clubs and tear gas bombs to disperse the crowds and to keep running the trolleys and buses, manned by scabs. Thirty-eight injured men and women were arrested and 20 were taken to the hospitals, it is reported. The police barrage of clubs and gas was answered by showers of sticks and stones hurled by strikers and sympathizers.

The Socialist Party members, of course, are active among both the rank and file and the leaders of the union which ordered the walkout. The strikers are up in arms against the Milwaukee Electric Co., the utility firm which has fought the Socialist administration tooth and nail for many years, and which has installed a company union to serve as its dummy. The company, which prepared painstakingly for this strike by arming deputies, putting up barbed wire fences at car barns and encasing the cars in steel mesh, has had to order suspension of service as strike sympathizers storm the cars and the barns. Scabs have refused to take out vehicles in face of the practically unanimous sentiment behind the strikers on the part of both the public and the city administration.

Comrades throughout the country will remember that the police in Milwaukee, as in the case of certain other cities, are not under the jurisdiction of the city administration. The state government withdrew the city police from the mayor's control some years ago because old line politicians did not want the Socialist mayor to have jurisdiction over the officers of peace, since Socialist officials do not believe in using the police to protect scabs, safeguard capital or club workers.

We have received word that an eye-witness and authoritative detailed story is on its way to The New Leader. Watch for it and all latest developments next week.

## A. C. W. Wages War on Many Fronts

CLEVELAND.—"We'll get the 800 workers of the Kaynee Co. next," Leo Krzycki, general organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and national chairman of the Socialist Party, told 1,000 unionists at a celebration in the Masonic Auditorium. "The victory at Joseph Feiss was an inspiration; we went out and got the May Co. bushelmen, Kibler Clothes bushelmen, Bartunek Bros., Piper Bros., Halek Bros. and Schaffner Bros."

"And we are still marching—out Broadway on the East Side. We won't stop till we get the 800 workers of the Kaynee Co. We will continue our efforts until Riehman Brothers come in."

The dance and dinner celebrated the presentation of a charter to the local of the big clothing firm of Joseph & Feiss Co. and the installation of new officers for the locals. General Secretary-Treasurer Joseph Schlossberg presided.

### Shirts and Collars Next

The next job the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union is going to tackle is the shirt and collar industry, where the girls—90% of the 14,000 workers are women—suffer from bad conditions and don't know anything at all about unionism.

A corps of organizers, including Carmen Lucia, Frieda Schwenkmeyer and Mrs. Sydney Hillman, has been sent into the Troy, Albany and Cohoes district to get after the women industrial employees and sign them up. Different shops are assigned to each, and the organizers contact the girls on the way to and from work and in their homes. Many meetings are being held, and the workers in one shirt factory have already voted to affiliate.

### Bosses Want Closed Shop

Reports have reached headquarters of the ACWA of a strike of union members against the Tamaqua Underwear Co., Tamaqua, Pa., called because workers were told they had to join the fledgling company union. First the plant was shut down for a week. When it reopened, the following delightful sign graced the bulletin board:

"It is hereby agreed that the Tamaqua Underwear Co. agrees to recognize the demands of the Tam-

aqua Underwear Employees' Union for a closed shop."

Amalgamated members in Rochester are backing up striking truck drivers to the limit. They marched with other workers affiliated with the Central Trades and Labor Council in the mass picket line of 2,000 in front of the Sibley, Lindsay & Curr Co. department store.

So far, meetings before the regional labor board have proved futile. But with the store's attorney claiming that the store "will allow collective bargaining but won't tell its employees to join or not join any union" and with solid support for the striking truckmen, a victorious settlement is expected soon.

### Sure He Was Guilty!

Louis Yagoda, formerly active both in the party and in industrial work in Brooklyn and now an organizer for the ACWA in York, Pa., pulled down a \$100 fine from a polite but class-conscious mayor acting as magistrate. The charge was disorderly conduct and the plea was guilty. There was no doubt, apparently, about Comrade Yagoda's guilt. He had led girl strikers in their fight to prevent trucks loaded with scab shirts from leaving the scab factory. He had done more than "lead"; he had actually assisted.

Yagoda, working under Franz Daniel, recently elected member of the party's NEC, has been active not only in clothing strikes but also in helping unions in other trades. His sister, Estelle, is energetic organizer for the Umbrella Workers Union in New York. (Personal note: she's been receiving felicitations lately on her engagement to a fellow-unionist.)

### SILK WORKERS IN SYMPATHY STRIKE

LANCASTER, Pa.—Because a number of men in the Athens, N. Y., and Waverly, N. J., plants of the Marigold Silk Co. were discharged for union activity, workers in the Marietta and Columbia factories voted to strike in sympathy. The company counters with an announcement that it's shutting down the plants anyway—so there!

The manager of the mills is using the famous old threat: He

## Steel Barons Preparing to Launch Reign of Terror

By Rose M. Stein

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Steel mills in the districts surrounding this city and Weirton, W. Va., are not relaxing in their preparations for war. Large crews of new men are being taken on daily and are being hastily trained to do the skilled jobs. These are in the main being recruited from outside the mill centers, although many workers within the mill town communities and many former workers are being turned away. According to William J. Long, president of the Amalgamated Lodge in Weirton, there exists a reign of terror. In a statement he issued today, he declares:

"The Homestead steel strike will look like a playground affair if the government does not take immediate action to curb the reign of terror now prevailing in the Weirton district. The men are willing to abide by the action of the reconvening convention which was held in Pittsburgh last week. But the men are becoming impatient."

"The company is hiring new men daily, recruiting them from out of town, while 800 families in the Weirton district have to remain on relief because their breadwinners are not being given jobs on account of their union affiliation. It is commonly known that the company has machine guns, sawed-ox shotguns, tear and sickening gas and other paraphernalia. Flood lights have been erected. They are prepared for a strike."

"It is unsafe for a union man to leave his home, or to go home unaccompanied. Thugs are walking along our streets with guns and blackjacks in their back pockets."

## Why Do Steel Companies Fear Real Elections?

The big steel companies may tell the world that their men are satisfied and just love the company unions—"look at the vote!"—but President Green of the AFofL knows better than to trust company figures. Since balloting was by company unions and in company union elections, Green points out in a

statement from Washington headquarters of the AFofL, no other result was to be expected.

"Why are the companies afraid to have a real elections?" Green asks pointedly. "It was announced that more than 90 per cent of the workers voted for the adoption of the company union plan."

"But the existence of this alleged state of satisfaction as well as the analysis made of these elections by the steel corporations' management, are contradicted by the facts. The elections held were company union elections; they were company controlled and company dominated. The election machinery was set up by the steel corporations. The actual voting took place inside the steel manufacturing plants, where convenient places had been provided for the workers to vote."

"The management and the bosses were everywhere in evidence and the elections were held in a company union atmosphere. There could be no other result than the result announced. The workers were given to understand, through suggestion and otherwise, that the corporations wished the company union plan approved and the workers clearly understood how the company wished them to vote."

"A petition signed by 50 per cent of the steel workers employed in the Carnegie plant at Duquesne, Pa., was presented to the National Labor Board a short time ago, requesting that an election be held as provided for in the President's Executive Order of February 1. Because of the hostile opposition of the United States Steel Corporation, this petition was never granted and the election asked for was never held."

"But in the announcement of the company union election, it is alleged that the workers of the Carnegie Steel Company voted almost unanimously for the company union plan and in conformity with company union requirements. Such a vote does not square with the facts. If the steel corporations are convinced that the steel workers want the company union plan as formulated by the companies and as prepared for the workers by the steel corporations' management, why are they afraid to risk an election under governmental supervision and control?"

## A. F. of L. Fur Union Reports Growth

Ridiculing the claims of the Communist fur workers' union that it speaks for 17,000 workers in the fur industry, Harold Goldstein, vice-president of the International Fur Workers Union (AFofL), declared that the Furriers Joint Council of the International has been growing by leaps and bounds. Goldstein called the threat of the

Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union to call a general strike in the industry a "huge joke."

"We'd welcome such a step because it would show even the bastards that the fur workers have deserted the Communist union," he added. "We are continuing our organization campaign and are building our union to be able to protect the interests of the fur workers."

"The claim of the dual union that delegates representing 17,000 fur workers attended their recent conference is a gross exaggeration. They have not the right to speak even in the name of 2,000 workers. The fur workers have deserted them and in large numbers are flocking back to the Furriers Joint Council which organization is seeking to establish order in an industry where chaos exists today so that the fur workers can sustain themselves and their families."

"In the matter of the delegate who they claim represented the fur workers of the various sections of the United States, I assert that they have resorted to the old trick of appointing New York people supposedly chosen by the workers of different sections of the country."

"The organized fur workers throughout the country are loyal and devoted to the IFWU and are unalterably New



## Power Trust Responsible, Mayor Hoan Charges

(By Wire to The New Leader)

MILWAUKEE.—Mayor Hoan has addressed an open letter to the president of the Milwaukee Electric Co., placing the blame for the disturbances squarely on his shoulders and on those of the power plant officials. The cars should have been kept off the streets, Hoan declared. At the same time the utility firm, through its lackeys, the heads of the company union, has appealed to the Governor for militia to "preserve peace."

Twenty-five thousand men and women joined the strikers in a mass picket line that swept everything before it. The Socialist Party and the Mayor have supported the strikers, as well as the striking Luick Dairy Co. and ice cream workers, to the limit. Public opinion, influenced by the just grievances of the workers and by the example of the party, also steadfastly favors the strikers.—

ANDREW BIEMILLER.

(See earlier story on Page Three, Labor Section)

## Headquarters of Movie Operators' Union Raided; District Attorney Silent

By Samuel Manfred

"With military precision reminiscent of wartime zero hour sales, three squads of detectives raided the offices of motion picture operators' unions in different parts of the city."

That's the way the conservative newspapers started their story of attack on the headquarters of Local 306, Motion Picture Operators Union, in Manhattan and Brooklyn. The reports, however, didn't carry on the military raid to the extent of comparing it to the Fascists' invasion of trade union offices and breaking in of safes in Italy and Germany.

Under pretense of an intensive inquiry into "numerous instances of violence and sabotage" against independent exhibitors, to be conducted by Assistant District Attorney Kleinman, the detectives were armed with subpoenas and were authorized to force open vaults to take what they saw. They brought back police van loads of books, records and other documents. Thirty witnesses were subpoenaed and ordered to appear before the Kings County Grand Jury.

Former United States Attorney Charles H. Tuttle, characterizing the raid on the union offices as the "storm troopers" alien to American tradition, tried to reach a District Attorney in order to get some explanation for the seizure of the documents. He was especially anxious to impound the records because of the suspicion that they would be made available to the independent exhibitors who have been fighting the unions and who are determined to be behind the late move against the movie operators. However, Kleinman was busy and District Attorney Geoghan "out of town."

Geoghan will be remembered as a politician who was reported in newspapers as saying that getting is "only a form of racketeering." The Labor Committee of the party sent Geoghan a letter on June 19, inquiring whether he had been correctly quoted, but received no answer.

It is not known whether the union have any connection with the going by the membership of Local 306 of Harry Sherman, erstwhile czar and successor to Kahn as chief organizer at a salary of \$18,000.

A letter sent to Geoghan a few days ago, a speech of which was reported in the Brooklyn Daily Eagle as follows:—

a form of racketeering" by District Attorney William F. X. Geoghan last night, who told 200 members of the Madison Club of the 18th A. D. that "the only result of such tactics is to ruin the trade of some honest businessmen." The meeting was held at the clubhouse, 922 St. Marks Ave.

"With the rapidly growing number of unions of every description, 'bona fide or otherwise,' Geoghan asserted that there had been a corresponding increase in the number of coercion and intimidation cases coming to the attention of his office.

"I hope that we wake up and brush the dust off our judicial precedents that sustains the practice

## Bloody Southern Ore Strike Over

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—An agreement signed between the Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co. and officials of the International Union of Mine and Smelter Workers, brought to a close the strike that has left a bloody trail across the industrial South since May 4th. Meetings of workers at each of the mines adopted the proposition and cleared the way for negotiations at the ore mines of other companies.

The strike, especially in its early stages, attracted nation-wide attention. Police and militia were used as pawns by the employers and bloody battles followed the attempt of the thugs of the law to break the strike. One Negro strike picket was killed by the troops and many injured, but the strike continued with unabated vigor.

About 6,000 workers are involved in the settlement. The agreement reached provides for the retention of wages of 30 cts. an hour for common labor and reclassification of employees, with a wage raise ranging from five cts. an hour for unskilled to three cts. an hour for skilled labor. Other companies concerned in the strike are the Republic Steel Corporation, the Woodward Iron Company and Sloss Sheffield Steel and Iron Company.

of picketing," he said.

"Even where unions may be legally constituted, rivalry between different groups in the same industry 'work havoc upon the businessman,' he pointed out."

"We are interested in learning whether or not you were correctly reported and if not, what you actually said concerning picketing."

"Yours truly,

Jack Altman,

"Secretary, Labor Comm."

## True Strike Stories (Third in the Series)

True Strike Stories

This is not exactly a strike story, though it may well be the preamble to one. A certain manufacturer in New York City went into bankruptcy. He wanted to re-enter business on a smaller scale and appeared before the executive board of the union with which he was in contractual relations, asking permission to re-establish his business, but to be allowed to give up his inside shop and send his work to contractors. (Perhaps I should explain that an inside shop is one operated on the firm's premises and where the workers are directly employed and paid by the firm. An outside shop is operated by a contractor who takes in cut garments from several firms and whom the manufacturer pays by the garment.)

At the insistence of one of the members of the executive board—a Communist—who took a true revolutionary stand of no class collaboration and who declared that the manufacturer was well able to operate his own inside shop, the firm was denied permission to operate with contractors.

The firm's next step was to dismantle its shop and move its machinery to a small town in Massachusetts where it began to operate a non-union shop. In the natural run of events, the union started an organization campaign in the town where this manufacturer had located. Lo and behold if he hadn't taken as partner the very executive board member who had been instrumental in preventing him from operating in New York! The manufacturer, it develops, is also a Communist, as is his brother, who runs another shop in the same town.

Now it happened that this brother

er was haled before the regional labor board for code violations. In the course of the hearing, he was bawled out by the chairman of the board who told him that nobody could come before the board and behave in the manner he was behaving toward his employees.

The organization has a staff of organizers in the town who have been busily signing up the workers there. Before long, a strike will be declared. Then we'll name names!

G. W. K.

## Checkroom Girls Organize; Carry On Six Strikes

Checkroom girls and wardrobe attendants in New York City have organized, forming Local 135 of the Building Service Employees' International Union. This is the first union of its kind in the country and is the result of appalling exploitation of the workers in that field.

Checkroom girls employed in hotels, restaurants, night clubs, dance halls, etc., for years have been paid small salaries for long hours. In the majority of cases, the concessionaires in night clubs have kept the tips left the attendants—although the public has always thought the tips went to the attendant.

The union is now picketing six places: the Paradise, Roseland and Arcadia ballrooms, and the Cafe Loyale, and the Onyx and Simphon night clubs. It has already signed up 21 restaurants and night clubs. Lillian Harris is organizer, and Jean Worth, secretary-treasurer. Offices are located at 1650 Broadway.

## Pleads for Relief to Back Up Strikers Fighting Savage Union Growers' Association

Toledo, Ohio.

To the Editor, Labor Section:—

The situation in the onion fields here in the heart of Ohio, where grimly determined strikers are facing the pluguglies of the growers, is a desperate one. Five hundred strikers recently barricaded the highway entrances to the little village of McGuffey and awaited the special deputies who were expected to try to push scabs into the center of what is known as the world's biggest onion patch.

The situation is tense and undoubtedly a hot spot. Anything is likely to happen. The strikers are in an ugly mood. Operators, members of the National Union Growers' Association, are savage.

The working and living conditions of the workers in the onion fields are unbelievable. They live in miserable huts, wear clothing next to rags and keep body and soul together with food not fit for a pig. The average wage is ten cents an hour for a ten-hour day and the average working week is four days. In the fields they are driven at top speed, sometimes by brutal and inhuman methods such as stepping on their fingers, etc.

While the majority of the workers are adults, children as young as six years have been pressed into service. Women and girls also take their place in the fields in order to eke out less than a bare living for their families.

The Socialist Party must get into this fight at once! Speakers and funds are urgently needed. Together with two other comrades I visited the strike area yesterday and conferred with the leaders. I promised them financial and other assistance. We are leaving this afternoon to attend a mass meeting tonight at McGuffey.

Send any funds or information to 415 Michigan Street, Toledo, Ohio. Action is urgent, inasmuch

## Auto Workers in National Council

(Cont. from Page 1, Labor Section)

fy the relations of the auto parts industry and the actual auto industry, asking him to create a board to handle the auto parts and equipment problems exclusively or place the entire jurisdiction with the present Automobile Labor Board.

### Persuasion Has Failed

A report from Richard Byrd, labor representative upon the Automobile Labor Board, was read and accepted without comment. Byrd stated that Wolman and Kelly, the other members, had not been able to devote all their time to the work of the board. The board, he explained, had followed a "persuasion policy" but he considered it a failure; he hoped, however, that in the future the board would change its tactics and be really able to act.

The conference concluded with the election of the eleven officers to serve on the national council. The following were elected: Michigan—M. J. Manning, Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Corp., Detroit; John Pickering, Pontiac Motors, Pontiac; H. H. Richardson, Fisher Body Co. No. 2, Flint, and Clyde Cook, Fisher Body Co., Lansing; Ohio—Thomas H. Ramsey, Toledo, and George Lehman, White Motor Co., Cleveland; Illinois and Indiana—F. G. Woods, Studebaker Corp., South Bend; Wisconsin—Ed. Hall, Milwaukee; Homer Martin, Kansas City, for the West, and F. C. Pieper, Chevrolet Motor Co., Atlanta, Ga., for the South. The Eastern member was not elected.

as the strike will be won or lost in the next week or so because of the necessity of clearing the fields of weeds without delay. Special deputies to enforce the injunction are expected today. A pitched battle is probable.

Rush suggestions or aid at once.

Elmer Ledford, chairman, State Executive Comm. of Ohio.

## Union Directory

**BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS' TUCKERS, STITCHERS and PLATEERS' UNION.** Local 66 I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-3657-3658. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union. Z. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; I. A. Barkinsky, Sec'y-Treas.

**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. Catalanotti, 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.

**COAT, 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 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn; Stag 2-0794 Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice Pres. Stephen Tobasko; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Heib.

**JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAIST-MAKERS' UNION.**—Offices: 232 West 40th St., N.Y.C. Tel. Longacre 5-5100. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening. Joint Board meets every Wednesday evening in the Council Room at 218 W. 40th St. Julius Hochman, Gen. Mgr.; Phillip Kapp, Sec'y-Treas.

**THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION.** Local No. 10 I. L. W. U. Office, 60 W. 35th St.; Phone Wis. 7-3011. 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 16th 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 S. Kol Fin Secretary; Emil Thoren, Rec. Secretary; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

**MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION.** Local 24. Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. Downtown office, 640 Broadway, phone Spring 7-4548; uptown office, 39 W. 27th St., phone Wisconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening 8 P. M. Manager, N. Spector; Sec'y-Treas., Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodas.

**UNITECWEAR MAKERS' UNION.** Local 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

**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. L. and U. I. T. 290-7th Ave. M. Gottfried, Pres.; B. Gottesman, Secretary.

**WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION.** Local 62 of I. L. G. W. U. 73 Broadway, New York City. Phone, Chelsea 3-5756-5757. A. Snyder, Manager, S. SHORE, Executive Supervisor.



# ation of Principles

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promises to make family life fuller,  
nobler and happier by removing  
the sordid factor of economic de-  
pendence of woman and man, and  
by assuring to all members of the  
family greater material security,  
and more leisure to cultivate the  
joys of the home.

The Socialist Party adheres  
strictly to the principle of com-  
plete separation of state and  
church. It recognizes the right of  
voluntary communities of citizens  
to maintain religious institutions  
and to worship according to the  
dictates of their conscience.

The Socialist Party seeks to at-  
tain its end by orderly and con-  
stitutional methods, so long as the  
ballot box, the right of represen-  
tation and civil liberties are main-  
tained. Violence is not the weapon

reflected upon the progress and  
fortunes of all.

The Socialist Party is opposed  
to militarism and to wars among  
nations. Modern wars are gen-  
erally caused by commercial and  
financial rivalries and intrigues of  
the capitalist interests in different  
countries. They are made by the  
ruling classes and fought by the  
masses. They bring wealth and  
power to the privileged few and  
suffering, death, and desolation to  
the many. They cripple the strug-  
gles of the workers for political  
rights, material improvements and  
social justice and tend to sever the  
bonds of solidarity between them  
and their brothers in other coun-  
tries.

The Socialist movement is a  
world struggle in behalf of human  
civilization. The Socialist Party  
of the United States co-operates  
with similar parties in other coun-  
tries, and extends to them its full  
support in their struggles, confident  
that the class-conscious work-  
ers all over the world will even-  
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ernment in their respective coun-  
tries, abolish the oppression and  
chaos, the strife and bloodshed of  
international capitalism, and es-  
tablish a federation of Socialist  
republics, co-operating with each  
other for the benefit of the human  
race, and for the maintenance of  
the peace of the world.

## "Het Indische Volk" Resumes Publication

A few months ago *Het Indische Volk*, the Dutch fortnightly organ of the Social Democratic Party in Indonesia, had to cease publication. Although the paper was edited with great circumspection, the government made it known to one of the editors that he would be dismissed from his post as a civil servant if he published another article on the same lines as a particular item to which the government had taken exception.

It will be noted that the govern-  
ment took no legal proceedings,  
nor did it apply the press-gag law;  
it simply threatened to take the  
bread out of the editor's mouth.

In reply to an enquiry as to  
which part of the item had offended  
the government the laconic answer  
was given that civil servants who  
act as editors of the *Indische Volk*  
have to conform to the views of  
the government. In these circum-  
stances our comrades saw no alter-  
native to closing down the paper  
for the time being.

After great difficulties had been  
encountered an editor who cannot  
be threatened with the loss of his  
livelihood has been found. The  
paper has resumed publication.

## DINNER TO ONEAL

In honor of his election to the  
National Executive Committee,  
Branch Jamaica, of which he is  
a member, is tendering a dinner  
to James Oneal, veteran Socialist  
editor of *The New Leader*. Sam  
DeWitt is to be toastmaster.

An interesting program is being  
arranged. Speakers will include  
Norman Thomas, Anna Berco-  
witz, organizer of Queens County,  
and Robert Koeppeus, organizer of  
Branch Jamaica. Musical enter-  
tainment will be provided.

The dinner will be held at Sues-  
man's, 90-16 161st St., Jamaica, on  
Friday, July 13th, at 7 P. M.  
Tickets may be had by writing to  
Ida Fox, in care of *The New*  
Leader office, 7 E. 15th St., N.Y.C.

Do two things. Build the Social-  
ist Party and get subs for *The*  
New Leader to help build it.

Boost  
THE NEW LEADER!

## July 4th Rally To be Held by Socialists

A FOURTH OF JULY Inde-  
pendence Rally, translating  
the revolutionary traditions of  
1776 into the language of 1934, will  
be held by the Socialist Party, the  
Young People's Socialist League,  
and labor and fraternal organiza-  
tions in Union Square.

Independence Day will be re-  
claimed by American workers as a  
revolutionary holiday on which to  
commemorate anew the principles  
expressed in the Declaration of  
Independence.

Speakers will show lip service to  
the declaration on the part of old-  
party politicians covers complete  
disregard of its spirit; how the  
famous clauses relating to right to  
"life, liberty and the pursuit of  
happiness" and the right of revolu-  
tion are obscured and degraded.  
The rally will indicate how real  
observance of the holiday means  
dedication to the ideals of So-  
cialism and labor.

Among the speakers will be  
Norman Thomas, James Oneal, B.  
C. Vladeck, Charles Solomon and  
Max Delson.

The leaflet calling sympathetic  
workers to the Union Square meet-  
ing reads as follows:

"1776—the struggle for AMER-  
ICAN independence: from imperi-  
alist exploitation, crushing taxa-  
tion without representation, mili-  
tary oppression.

"1934—the struggle for AMER-  
ICAN WORKERS' independence: from  
capitalist exploitation, unemploy-  
ment, fascism, war.

"Americans today are proud of  
the revolutionary traditions of  
1776. But today the American  
workers are more cruelly exploited  
by owners of capital than the  
colonists were in 1776.

"Demonstrate that you are ready  
as the fathers of the country to  
sacrifice all for the hopes we  
cherish. Achieve peace, freedom  
and Socialism. Join us at Union  
Square July 4th at 11 a. m."

## Socialist Struggle Under the Bulgarian Dictatorship

IT was on May 19 that a military  
coup d'état proclaimed a fascist  
dictatorship in the Balkan king-  
dom of Bulgaria. Bending to su-  
perior forces, the bourgeois par-  
ties hauled down their flags and  
declared that they would support  
the new government. The Social  
Democratic Labor Party refused  
to do it and dared the military  
clique to suppress it by force. On  
the morrow of the "revolution" the  
Central Committee of the party  
published a unanimous decision  
opposing the military dictatorship  
("Pretorian Rule"), and declared  
its determination "to continue its  
struggle for the political liberties  
and constitutional rights." "The  
immediate task," says the mani-  
festo, "is to create a people's gov-  
ernment for the full protection of  
the workers, extermination of cor-  
ruption, and application of thor-  
ough economic, financial, budget-  
ary, administrative and other re-  
forms."

The legal party press could not  
print this document, as the censor  
refused to allow this, and other,  
extra legal, means had to be found.  
The Socialist daily *Narod* continues  
to appear as the official organ of  
the party. The latest to reach my  
desk is dated June 13. It consists  
of only two small pages, is sub-  
jected to a severe censorship and  
is written in a "guarded language"  
that reminds one of the legal So-  
cialist press under the czars. . . .  
Its last issues contain a reprint  
from the New York New Leader,  
"Fundamentals of Socialism" by  
David Berenberg. Other recent  
issues carried articles by James  
Oneal.

## Editor's Corner

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

—By James Oneal

### Some Pro-War History

A FRONT page editorial on "Socialism and War" by  
Oscar Ameringer in the *American Guardian* of June  
15 cannot be passed unnoticed. We want peace and unity  
in the Socialist Party. We would also preserve its honor.  
Without that it does not deserve to survive. Our memory  
of 'Gene Debs, who went to prison for his convictions, also  
compels us to speak because of that editorial.

Of the workingmen and women of Europe and their  
leaders, who failed to prevent the war in 1914, the  
editorial declares: "Honor, office, and comfortable in-  
comes had quenched their revolutionary ardor. . . . There  
is a resurrection day for those who die in the faith.  
There is neither resurrection nor redemption for cowards  
and Judas Iscariots. . . . The anti-war plank adopted by  
the Socialist convention at Detroit has our full approval.  
We shall support it with all we have, as we supported  
the St. Louis platform before, during, and after the  
World War."

To those who know the history of Ameringer in Okla-  
homa in the period of which he writes, this is shocking.  
"Honor, office, and a comfortable income" induced him  
to line up with the patriotic forces that were crushing  
the Socialist Party in the nation. On April 8, 1918, under  
the signature of the Oklahoma Leader, of which  
Ameringer was editor, he wrote the local Defense Council  
that "All of our employees will be required to join the  
council, and those that are employed from time to time  
included." On the following April 27 he addressed the  
following letter to the "County Council of Defense:

"Gentlemen: Enclosed you will find the member-  
ship pledge of Oscar Ameringer, who is an employe  
of the Oklahoma Leader. Payment for same was  
included in our check of April 3rd.

"Respectfully,  
The Oklahoma Leader."

We quote these documents from *The Bugle of Oklahoma*  
City, June-July, 1923, published by E. H. H. Gates,  
Stanley J. Clark and his wife. Clark himself had turned  
pro-war and was an unsavory character, but he had a  
grudge against Ameringer because he could not follow  
the latter into the Democratic Party, the same party  
whose President held 'Gene Debs and other anti-war  
Socialists in prison.

### Electing a Ku-Klux Governor

AMERINGER started the *Oklahoma Leader* with con-  
tributions from many Socialists in the West. In the  
*Guardian* of October 16, 1931, he tells of having received  
\$200,000 in contributions and refers to the "veritable  
White Terror" that swept over the state which eventually  
culminated in the "election of Jack Walton by a non-  
partisan farmer-labor coalition, Walton subsequently  
turning out to be a black-hearted scoundrel."

Nothing more is said of this history. What is omitted  
is the fact that Ameringer and his paper helped to elect  
Walton, who proved to be a Ku-Kluxer and as Governor  
was impeached as a grafter. But this was not the end of  
working with the Democratic Party. For years there-  
after many "Socialists" served in that party. J. Luther  
Langston was another "Socialist leader" who is said to  
have served as broker in marketing "Socialist" votes to  
the Democratic machine. The details of long years of  
shady bargaining by "Socialists" in the Democratic Party  
of Oklahoma would make interesting reading and it  
should be thoroughly investigated and the facts disclosed.

### Who Are Iscariots?

IN the light of the facts cited above, what is to be said  
of the man who writes of "cowards and Judas  
Iscariots" in war time? What is to be said of one who  
registered himself and his employees with the patriotic  
Defense Council in support of the imperialist war? What  
is to be said of one who, after our citations, declares  
that he "supported the St. Louis platform before, during,  
and after the World War"? What is to be said of one  
with this record who places the *Socialist workers of*  
*Europe in the dock while he hitched himself and his*  
*employees to the cannon of the militarists?*

Ameringer is one of the most effective popular propa-  
gandists in this country and he could be of genuine  
service to the movement. However, one never knows what  
he will do. In the issue of November 18, 1932, his son  
carried a long editorial approving the election of certain  
candidates who were elected on capitalist tickets, among  
them Governor Schmedeman of Wisconsin. Some months  
later that Governor sent troops against striking farmers  
while Wisconsin Socialists were fighting with the farmers.  
The Wisconsin Socialist platform adopted this month  
singles out this same capitalist Governor for denunciation  
of his sending troops against the strikers!

Ameringer approves the strikebreaker and Wisconsin  
Socialists denounce him. Who is right in this class  
struggle? No Socialist will be at a loss for an answer.  
We write in defense of the honor of the movement,  
in memory of the comrades who fought the good fight  
against the imperialist war, and against those for whom  
principle, apparently, is a commodity to be marketed

Do two things. Build the Social-  
ist Party and get subs for *The*  
New Leader to help build it.

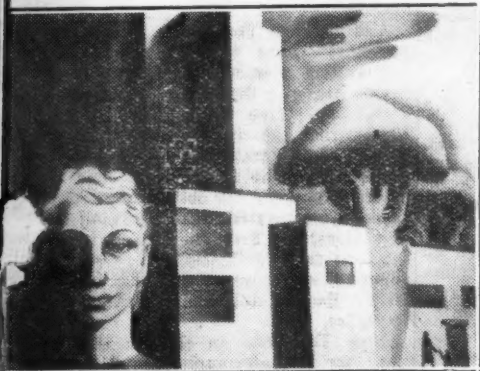


Photo by Constant

by ALEX HABERSTROH

The painting was exhibited during April at the  
Society of Independent Artists and is now at Rebel  
Arts. It may be borrowed free of charge by any  
party branch and kept there for a month. Branch  
secretaries may communicate with Alex Haberstroh,  
Rebel Arts, 22 East 22nd St., Manhattan, for further  
information on this subject.

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of the Socialist Party but of the  
short-sighted representatives of  
the ruling classes, who stupidly  
believe that social movements and  
ideals can be destroyed by brutal  
physical repression. The Socialists  
depend upon education and or-  
ganization of the masses.

The domination of the privi-  
leged classes has been so strong,  
that they have succeeded in per-  
suading their credulous fellow cit-  
izens that they, the despoilers of  
America, are the only true Ameri-  
cans; that their selfish class in-  
terests are the sacred interests of  
the nation; that only those that  
submit supinely to their oppressive  
rule are loyal and patriotic citi-  
zens, and that all who oppose their  
exactions and pretensions are traitors  
to their country.

The Socialists emphatically re-  
ject this fraudulent notion of pa-  
triotism.

The Socialist Party gives its  
service and allegiance to the mass  
of the American people, the work-  
ing classes, but this interest is not  
limited to America alone. In mod-  
ern civilization the destinies of  
all nations are inextricably inter-  
woven. No nation can be prosper-  
ous and happy while its neighbors  
are poor and miserable. No nation  
can be truly free if other nations  
are enslaved. The ties of inter-  
national interdependence and soli-  
darity are particularly vital among  
the working classes. In all the ad-  
vanced countries of the world the  
working classes are engaged in the  
identical struggle for political and  
economic freedom, and the success  
or failure of each is immediately



## L.I.D. Discusses Fascist Trends

Two annual summer conferences were conducted in the East and Middle West by the League for Industrial Democracy last week. The twentieth conference in the East, at Northover Camp, Bound Brook, N. J., was devoted to a discussion of "The Menace of Fascism and War." In the Middle West "Is Democracy Out-of-Date?" was the theme at the Bowen Country Club, Waukegan, Illinois.

In discussing the threat of fascist domination, Norman Thomas, executive director of the L.I.D., analyzed some characteristics it has displayed in its growth and ascendancy.

"Fascism on its economic side is the last stage of capitalism. On its sociological side, it is the revolt of the middle class, or of the lower middle class, on the one hand against the rise of class-conscious workers, and on the other against the dominion of a plutocracy, or more particularly against the power of bankers, especially international bankers. This middle class revolt finds allies among the plutocracy, men farsighted enough for their own ends to finance the fascist movement in order later to claim favors from it and to use it against Socialism or Communism. The middle class fascist movement also, alas, finds allies even from among the proletariat who are led astray—usually by nationalist slogans. The middle class itself which goes fascist is by no means wholly middle class in a strictly economic sense. It includes white collar workers and farmers. It has been the outstanding failure both of Communism and Socialism in Europe that neither of them has yet found a way to make the mass of the white collar workers and the working farmers realize their true identity with a working class."

Nathaniel Peffer, noted journalist, described the danger in the Far East as "a setting for the struggle of competing fascisms—in effect if not in name." "It is clear that the tide of fascism is drawing to a flood all over the world, unless arrested by decisive popular forces."

"The conflict in the Far East is not a political struggle or diplomatic struggle. It is economic. It is the product of an economic system gone amok. No security pacts, international conferences, arbitrations or banquet table orations can make any difference. The disease is economic. The treatment must be economic."

Rabbi Edward L. Israel of Baltimore discussed anti-Semitism as one of the means by which fascist forces develop an appeal to sections of the population. Professor Reinhold Niebuhr indicated the possible uses of national sentiment in combating the fascist movement.

Dr. Harry W. Laidler, executive director of the league, Jay Lovestone, of the Communist Party Opposition, George Streater, managing editor of The Crisis, and J. B. Matthews joined in spirited discussion on tendencies toward fascism in the United States today.

Aside from the set speeches, six round tables in which all 250 conferees joined, met Friday and Saturday at set times in 18 sessions. Reports from the round tables were submitted to the finals Sunday session of the conference by discussion chairman, J. B. Matthews, Dorothy Detzer, Roger N. Baldwin, Frederick V. Field, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, and Dr. Joel Seidman. Assisting them in their discussions were the following consultants: Dr. Felix Cohen Broadus Mitchell, Siegfried Lifschitz, Jay Lovestone, Maxwell Stewart, Nathaniel Peffer, Dr. Arthur Feiler of the University in Exile and former editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Professor Colston E. Barnes of Amherst, Monroe Sweetland, Joseph P. Lash, and Kenneth Meiklejohn.

## The Basic Principles of the Modern Socialist Movement

By Haim Kantorovitch

This is the second of a series of six groups of articles to appear in *The New Leader* in cooperation with the Committee on Education of the Socialist Party. *The New Leader* has enlisted the assistance of the Rand School of Social Science, whose staff have undertaken to help readers who wish to get the utmost value out of the series, by answering questions that may arise in their minds as they read, and directing them to sources of information, advising them as to further study, and so forth. Inquiries should be addressed to the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, New York, and if possible a few postage stamps should be enclosed, so as partly to pay the cost.

### II

#### Marxism and Philosophy

IN his notes on Feuerbach Marx remarks: "Philosophers have only interpreted the world differently; the point is to change it." If one has in mind that Marx was a German philosopher, raised on German metaphysics, the direct descendant of Kant, Fichte and Hegel, for whom explaining the world was even more important than changing it, one can understand how revolutionary Marx's remark must have been at that time. It was nothing short of philosophic heresy.

Marx was a philosopher, he remained a philosopher all his life; his economic studies as well as his historic writings are economic and historic illustrations to his philosophy. Some one has truly remarked that "Das Kapital" is even more a philosophic work than an economic study. Marxism is Dialectical Materialism applied to history and to the analysis of capitalist society.

Marx was all his life a philosopher. Marxism is a philosophy, though not listed as such in the usual bourgeois histories of philosophy. But Marx was a different kind of philosopher, a philosopher who thought that changing the world is as much the task of the philosopher as explaining it; nay more than that, that changing the world is the real urge for explaining it. "The life of society is essentially practiced. All the mysteries which seduce speculative thought into mysticism find their solution in human practice."

This constant emphasis on practice is probably the main reason why professional philosophers can not, even in our time, admit Marxism is their philosophical temple. Their temple is the Ivory Tower which is so high above life that it lost all contact with it, if it ever had any. Philosophy even in our time of pragmatism is still looked upon as something out and apart from life. The "vulgar crowd" may be busy, living, fighting, starving, dying, trying to change the world; the philosophers are content to reflect on eternal problems in their Ivory Tower, heedless of what is going on below.

In his novel, "The Pupil," Paul Bourget has depicted such a typical philosopher. It is a man entirely out of the world; he has no friends, he never goes anywhere, he reads no newspapers, he never notices people, he is always shut up in his study in a side street, the shutters are always closely shut so that the noise of the whirling street may not

penetrate into the philosopher's study and disturb his reflections on the eternal problems of the universe.

If this is the philosopher, Marx was not a philosopher; but fortunately this is nothing but a perversion of philosophy. It was up to Marx to bring philosophy back to life, and put life back into philosophy. Spurred by the social struggles of his time, Marx abandoned speculative metaphysics and set as his task, as he said in a letter to his friend Ruge, "discovering new worlds through criticism of the old one." In that letter, written at the outset of his career, he mapped out his life program. "We do not say to the world, Cease your struggles which are foolish, for we will give you the true battle cry. We merely show the world what it is really fighting for..." Contrary to other philosophers, Marx came not to discover a new "ultimatum, eternal truth" (we have had so many of them!) but to interpret what was going on around him. There is a constant, continuous fight going on among men. What are they fighting for? Where does this fight lead?

What are men fighting for? Of course for ideals, for freedom, for truth, for justice; but Marx saw deeper than that. He saw that it is just men, abstract men, fighting for abstract ideals. "Men" is "Man," Marx says in his criticism of the Hegelian philosophy of right, "is not an abstract being squatting down somewhere outside the world. Man is the world of men, the state, the society." It is with human society that we must concern ourselves, and this human society is not something homogeneous. It is, on the contrary, split into different social classes that have different and opposing interests. It is for their class interests that they are fighting. It is not just a fight among men. It is a fight between classes. It is the class struggle. All ideals that men fight for are secondary qualities. They are the reflections of the class interests for which classes fight. "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles."

One cannot get away from the struggle. There is no escape. One participates in it, even when he does not know it and does not want it. The class struggle pervades all social activity. It dominates all intellectual activity. It is behind all resounding words, ideals and eternal truths—what is one to do? There is only one way. One must take sides, one is either with one class or another, one is either on one side of the barricades or another. There is no middle way.

The development of society has brought about a condition where the main struggle is really between two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Of all classes Marx well saw "The proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class" and he threw his lot with this only revolutionary class.

He paid the price for it. He paid it with starvation, poverty, the contempt of the official learned world, but he created the revolutionary philosophy of the proletariat. Much heroism was needed for such a task, but he had no lack of it. Millions of workers all over the world will always remember with reverence the philosopher who neglected his own life so that he could live for them.

## Two Socialist Cities

(Continued from Page Two)

years originally specified. So that a large number of slum areas may be tackled soon, it has already expanded the medical staff dealing with slum clearance. In its housing scheme the old Tory majority produced a house of inferior standards for the poor. Labor has declared its intention not to proceed with any more houses of this type.

The Finance Committee of the Council has been charged to investigate the practicability of a municipal bank for London. Badly-needed nursing and other staff increases in hospitals have been authorized. The supply and service of meals for school children is being reorganized and a special organizer of school meals is being appointed.

In addition to the above decisions, other changes have been made administratively which are not the subject of specific Council decisions, but of which Londoners are feeling the benefit.

These are but a few things accomplished and planned by Socialist administrations in two cities within the first months of Socialist rule. In both cases the bankers raved and protested. In both cases the workers, backed by impressive popular majorities, are going ahead.

And in New York, with an opportunity equal to that of our British comrades, with equal power in our hands in the form of a free vote, what have we done? We have turned the city over to a "reform" administration that makes no secret of the fact that it considers paying up old obligations to bankers, negotiated under shocking conditions, its first duty. And in meeting those obligations the "reformers" allow wages and salaries to be slashed and social services to suffer.

New York has an election this year for a high municipal office. That election will give the workers an opportunity to follow in the path indicated by their fellows in Glasgow and London. Will they again turn the city over to the bankers, exploiters and real estate brokers? Or will they follow the lead of their comrades abroad?

## Conference for Unity

(Continued from Page Five)

"We feel particularly that most party members are anxious to avoid internal warfare and are eager to drop factional disputes and concentrate their attack at this critical time on capitalism and its twin spawn, war and fascism. Freed from the incubus of enforced allegiance to caucus and faction, these comrades can agree and can help build a greater Socialist Party. All who are not more intent on factionalism than they are on service to the movement must be willing to confer, to mediate, to drop personal bitterness in face of the grave crisis confronting us."

Comrades all over the country, who, without wishing to submit to any dogmatic point of view or group dictation, still feel that they are in general agreement with the above sentiments and wish to forward this movement, are asked to communicate with the secretary, Socialist Party Unity Conference, 27 West 15th St., New York City.

## NOTHING FOR SECURITY

(Continued from Page One)

insurance has definitely and concretely become our chief national issue."

"To the intense disappointment of sponsors and supporters of old age pension and unemployment insurance legislation, the bright hopes of actual accomplishment waned as the session drew to an end," the publication said. "The nation-wide interest in these issues remains, for the moment, frustrated."

## Just TEN At ONE

dollar each for a year's subscription to *The New Leader*—not hard to get in these days of outstanding interest in Socialism—and you get a copy of the special edition with a frontispiece portrait of our late leader... The book everyone wants

## LOOSE LEAVES from A BUSY LIFE

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

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Enclosed find TEN dollars for which send the *New Leader* for one year to each of the following ten addresses:

Name ..... Address .....  
Name ..... Address .....

For additional names paste this coupon on a sheet of paper.



## Decent Housing Is Demand of Labor

ONE of the largest labor conference ever held in New York met on Thursday night in Washington Irving High School to tackle the problem of uprooting the city's foul slums and replacing them with the decent modern homes to which every working class family, no matter how low its income, is entitled.

Bricklayers painters, carpenters, longshoremens, butchers, bakers, cloakmakers, dressmakers, button-hole-makers, etc., etc., to the number of 750,000 were represented by more than 2,000 delegates who were determined that once and for all the dark, dirty and diseased hovels which a callous capitalism has built and maintained should be torn off the face of the earth.

The conference represented a broad united front of working class groups throughout the city under the sponsorship of the Central Trades and Labor Council. Among the cooperating groups were the Socialist Party of New York, the City Committee of the Workmen's Circle, the National Conference for Public Housing and the Joint Boards of Cloakmakers, Dressmakers and the Amalgamated.

The conference was called through the efforts of the Housing Committee of the Socialist Party which includes B. Charney Vlodeck, Jacob Panken, Algernon Lee, James Oneal, Julius Gerber, Adolph Held, Louis Schaffer, Edward F. Cassidy, David Kaplan, John J. Klaber, Helen Alfred, Nathan Chanin representing the Verband, Esther Friedman representing the Party Women's Committee, Ben Fischer of the YPSL, Saul Parker, and

David Lasser of the Party Unemployment Committee, and Jack Altman and Emerich Steinberger of the Party Labor Committee.

A permanent executive committee to carry out the purposes of the conference is being organized. The committee will be representative of all organizations which participated in the meeting Thursday.

Speakers at the conference included Jacob Panken and B. Charney Vlodeck, who is a member of the New York City Housing Authority. Mayor LaGuardia and Tenement House Commissioner Langdon W. Post also spoke at the invitation of the Central Trades and Labor Council.

The desperate housing situation in New York City is typical of the condition in large cities throughout the country. Like these cities, New York has a Housing Authority. However, in spite of the fact that large sums of money have been made available by the federal government for housing, no actual work has been begun.

The conference adopted a program of action which will be discussed here at greater length next week.

### Sadoff Sails for Russia Saturday

Dr. Louis Sadoff, active Brooklyn Socialist, is sailing for Russia and other parts of Europe on the S.S. Paris, Saturday noon, June 30, accompanied by his daughter Rosalind, who has just graduated from Smith College with the highest honors, winning membership in Phi Beta Kappa.

While in Europe they expect to visit the various Socialist organizations and Socialist centers. Outside of a month in Russia they will spend a week in Prague, where they will meet the exiled Socialists of Germany and Austria, a number of whom Dr. Sadoff met when he was in Europe three years ago. They are also going to make an effort to visit Henri DeMann in Brussels in order to get acquainted with the new program and policy advocated by him for this present crisis.

### JULY WEEK AT UNITY TO BE ATTRACTIVE

July week will be celebrated at Unity House with a program that is certain to have an allure for vacationists. Among the artists on the extensive dramatic and musical program are: Toscha Seidel, July 1; Molly Picon and the Siberian Singers, July 3; the cast of the stage success "Stevedore," July 8. The Compinsky Trio will be heard in twilight lagoon recitals and informal programs of labor music.

With the beginning of the 16th season, many improvements have been put into effect. The management announces that a special rate has been made for July week, June 29th to July 8th. The opening was held last week. More than 1,000 persons taxed the capacity of the place.

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

## UNIONS LINING UP FOR THE BIG PICNIC

THOUSANDS of New York trade unionists will join the throngs at the annual picnic of this city's trade union and Socialist movements at Ulmer Park Brooklyn, Saturday, July 28th.

The Workmen's Circle as well as Socialist Party branches will turn out in large numbers according to the demand for tickets from their various groups.

The largest turnout however from all indications are that the trade unions will respond in greater numbers than ever before. The locals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have all ordered large blocks of tickets with the Pants Makers' Trade Board, of which Morris Blumenreich is the manager, taking the largest amount of tickets, sufficient to bring out their entire membership.

Thus far, locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, who have already acted upon the matter are doing as well as their brother organization in the men's garment trade. Local 142, the Ladies' Neckwear Workers' Union of which Joseph Tuvim is manager, has taken a huge block of tickets for their entire membership, although their own local is arranging an excursion for the following Saturday, August 4th.

Other unions who have already secured large blocks of tickets, include: The Millinery Union Locals 24 and 42, The Cap Makers' Union Local 1, The Inside Iron and Bronze Workers' Union Local 455, Belt Makers' Union, Hebrew Butcher Workers' Union Local 234, Clothing Teamsters' Union Local 240.

Practically all of the Socialist Party branches have responded already, with the following branches still to be heard from: Manhattan—Chelsea, 12th A. D.; Morningside Heights—Greek Branch, Italian Branch; Bronx—1st A. D., 3rd A. D., 4th A. D., 6th A. D., Italian Branch; Brooklyn—2nd A. D., 4th-14th A. D., 5th-17th A. D., 6th A. D., 11th A. D., 12th A. D., 18th A. D., Br. 1, Bay Ridge, Boro Park; Queens—Astoria Elmhurst-Jackson Heights, Ridgewood, Richmond Hill, Woodside; Staten Island—The Station Island Branch.

A special appeal has been sent again to urge them to participate in the greatest affair undertaken by our party as well as the majority of the branches have done already. Tickets in wholesale blocks at reduced rates can still be secured until July 10th.

### East Harlem Socialists Acquire New Home

The past few months have seen an enormous increase of Socialist activity and propaganda in East Harlem. More members have been added to the Socialist Party and the Y.P.S.L. in the past three months than in the past three years. This is only a small step towards rebuilding of the old "Red Harlem."

This Saturday evening the party, in conjunction with the Yipsels, is holding a package party and dance, a re-union for many of the old-timers of the old 17th A. D., for years the banner district of the party. The old-timers will see a great many new and interesting faces, the newer members. An interesting program of skits and songs will be presented by the Yipsels. There will be dancing and refreshments.

The rebuilding of another "Red Harlem" will be a fitting tribute to the late and beloved Morris Hillquit, who waged three glorious congressional campaigns in Harlem and devoted a great deal of his time and energy in teaching the masses of this neighborhood the message that Socialism held for them.

## Promotion Department Notes of Local N. Y.

By Henry Fruchter

I AM requested by the editor to limit my notes to brief comments this week because The New Leader is crowded with other material. Hence, the following matters must receive the attention of our branch organizers and members:

**The United Socialist Drive.**—We have still far to go to reach the quota. The total moneys raised do not exceed the sum of \$2,000. I earnestly urge all branches to hurry in their collections.

**State Convention Dinner.**—After the Saturday session of the state convention at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street, New York, a convention dinner will be held for the delegates and their friends. A special German meal will be prepared, with all the trimmings; with plenty of beer and pretzels. Reservations must be made immediately. Several branches have reserved entire tables.

**Tom Mooney Defense.**—Branches are urged immediately to make collections to help cover an expense of about \$5,000 necessary to go through with an application for a writ of habeas corpus in the District Court for Northern California. In a personal letter addressed by Tom Mooney to Julius Gerber he says: "This emergency compels me to plead with you for

assistance to be used exclusively for expenses directly connected with this federal court action. Your past generous support of this cause gives me hope that you will come to our immediate financial assistance. No contribution can be too large or too small, considering the task at hand of mass unemployment." Comrades are urged to do their utmost to raise funds for Mooney. Address all communications and make all funds payable to the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, P. O. Box 1475, San Francisco, California. Socialist Party branches should inform our Local New York office of all donations sent to San Francisco or should send donations to us to be forwarded to the Mooney Defense Committee.

**Typewriting Petitions.**—The response to my last week's request for assistance has not been very gratifying. Please, stenographers, typists and secretaries, communicate with me so that appointments may be made for some voluntary work. It will save us a considerable sum of money. Act today! Telephone ALgonquin 4-2620.

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The choicest wines and liquors served at our newly installed bar

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A Magazine of War on Hitlerism, fascism, antisemitism, and all other movements born of ignorance, bigotry and brutality.  
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Box 22, Station G New York, N. Y.

### Dr. LOUIS SADOFF

1 Union Square,  
wishes to announce  
that due to his departure for Europe his  
office will be closed  
until  
Tuesday, Sept. 4th.

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TOSCHA SEIDEL, world famous violinist, July 1st  
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# Shirley Temple's Latest "Baby, Take a Bow" at Roxy's

## The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

### Jungle Wedding Dance Lures to the Little

#### Woo and Wed With Dance

"KYKUNKOR," native African opera—composed and arranged by Asadata Dafora. At the Little.

The adventures of "Kykunkor" have shown, despite frequent examples to the contrary, that worthwhile novelty can win its reward. When I saw the African dance ritual, 'twas played to an audience of less than two dozen, in a 238th Street garret. I told my friends about it; others did the same. It moved to the theatre atop the Chanin Building. The crowds grew; it is now in full sway at the Little.

Never having been in a maiden's village of the African jungle, I cannot say how authentic the dancers are; but, allowing for a certain smoothness and working into a series, they not only flow with artistry but ring true. Roughly, the "opera" runs through all the native dances concerned with matrimony, from the selection of a bride, the wooing, to the feast and celebration after the marriage is consummated. Isolated in a "maiden's village" the virgins of the tribe prepare their meals—and their trousseaux—awaiting the fateful groom.

Most interesting of the various dances is the group that exercises such devils as may betake the bridegroom. In a weird movement, an old hag bewitches the new husband; he falls dead, and a devil dances in triumph over the body. Then a witch-doctor, adding an eerie piping to the drum beats of the other dances, in a deft and devious dancing brings the bridegroom back to life. Thereafter, according to the native ritual, he is safe from the bewitcher's artful wiles. And should be a faithful husband. "Kykunkor" is a decidedly novel experience, not merely of the theatre, but of life.

J. T. S.

#### Burns and Allen Comedy on Albee Screen—Jack Pepper Heads Stage Show

"Many Happy Returns," introducing Guy Lombardo and his Royal Canadians to film fans of Brooklyn, is at the R.K.O. Albee. George Burns, Gracie Allen, George Barbier, Joan Marsh, Ray Milland and Franklin Pangborn are featured players.

#### Playing R.K.O. Circuit



The screen version of Hans Fallada's poignant novel, "Little Man, What Now?" is now playing the R.K.O. circuit of theatres. Above are Douglas Montgomery and Margaret Sullivan in a scene from the film.

#### Stadium Concerts Program

José Iturbi, Conductor  
Sunday evening, July 1, at 8:30  
Symphony No. 6  
("Pathétique") —Tchaikovsky  
Prelude and Love Death from  
"Tristan and Isolde" —Wagner  
Prelude to "Die Meister-  
singer" —Wagner  
Monday evening, July 2, at 8:30  
All Beethoven Program  
Symphony No. 7 in A-major.  
Symphony No. 3 in E-flat major  
("Eroica").  
Tuesday evening, July 3, at 8:30  
Two Nocturnes (Nuages—  
Fetes) —Debussy  
L'Après Midi d'un Faune—Debussy  
Symphony No. 1 in C—  
minor —Brahms  
Wednesday evening, July 4, at 8:30  
Independence Day Program  
March: "Stars and Stripes  
Forever" —Sousa  
Concerto Grosso: for Dance  
Band and Symphony Or-  
chestra—Robert Russell Bennett  
(Conducted by the composer—  
first time in New York)  
Circus Day —Deems Taylor  
Street Parade—The Big Top  
Bareback Riders—The Lion  
Cage—The Dog-and-Monkey  
Circus—The Waltzing Ele-  
phants—Tight-Rope Walker—  
Jugglers—Clowns—Finale.  
(Conducted by the composer—first  
time at the Stadium)

#### New Stage Show Features Eddie Peabody, Others

On the screen of the Roxy Theatre this week is the newest, brightest and most talked of actress in films, five-year-old Shirley Temple, appearing for the first time as the full-fledged star of the new Fox comedy drama, "Baby, Take a Bow."

The film is a comedy drama centering around Shirley and her young parents. It depicts the struggle of her father, played by James Dunn, to overcome the handicap of a prison record. Claire Trevor plays his young wife, who believes in him in spite of the hounding of a blundering detective, played by Alan Dinehart. Little Shirley, as their adorable daughter, lends merriment to the action and turns a trick in the nick of time that makes her heroine of the drama. A highlight of the film is the singing by Shirley of the new song hit written especially for her, "On Account I Love You." The supporting cast includes Ray Walker, Dorothy LeBaire, Ralf Harolde, James Flavin, Richard Tucker and Olive Tell.

On the Roxy stage, Eddie Peabody acts as master of ceremonies and also presents a new banjo program. Others appearing in this revue are Lewis and Moore, well-

known dancing comedians; Ted and Al Waldman, blackface harmonica clowns; Dawn and Darrow, adagio artists; Dorothy Johnson, mezzo-soprano, recently heard in "Music in the Air," and Marle LeFlohic, acrobatic ballerina. The Gae Foster Girls appear in new dance numbers.

#### Paul Robeson Negotiating for European Rights to "Stevedore"

Paul Robeson, eminent actor, probably will play in Europe the heroic role of Lonnie Thompson, made famous by Jack Carter in the current production of "Stevedore." Mr. Robeson has cabled the Theatre Union that he is interested in a London production and the "world rights," excluding America, of the play which all critics have hailed as a magnificent contribution to the literature of the Negro race.

Jack Carter, known to thousands of theatregoers as the juvenile lead of the Lafayette Players, and the "Crown" of the Theatre Guild's "Porgy," will continue in the leading role of the American production. It is planned to send the play on tour to leading cities after the close of the New York run, which will be indefinite. The Civic Repertory Theatre has been equipped with cooling devices for the summer run.

#### Paul Lukas in "Affairs of a Gentleman" at Fox Brooklyn

"Affairs of a Gentleman," starring Paul Lukas, opens today at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre.

No less than half a dozen charmers figure in this modern mystery thriller. The "Affairs" are Leila Hyams, Patricia Ellis, Lillian Bond, Joyce Compton, Dorothy Burgess and Dorothy Libaire. The balance of the cast include Phillip Reed, Onslow Stevens and Richard Carle.

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

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Dramatists' Guild Prize Comedy for 1934  
By **HOWARD LINDSAY**  
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"Full of merriment... It is spontaneous, guileless and tumultuous. It is pure comedy."  
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Evs. \$1 to \$2.50 Mats. Wed. 50c to \$2  
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**SAM H. HARRIS presents**  
**Marilyn Miller - Clifton Webb**  
**Helen Broderick**  
in a new musical revue

## "As Thousands Cheer"

by Irving Berlin and Moss Hart  
with Ethel Waters  
250 front balcony seats now \$3.30  
and best orchestra seats now available at box office.

**MUSIC BOX THEA.** 45th St.  
West of B'way.  
Evs. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

## MUSIC CHICAGO OPERA COMPANY

Maestro A. Salmaghi, director  
**Tonight... LA GIOCONDA**  
Paterno, Angelaw, Granda, Ruisti  
**Sun. Eve. 8:15... OTHELLO**  
MON. EVE. Double Bill  
**HANSEL & GRETEL & PAGLIACCI**  
Tues. Eve. LA TRAVIATA  
Wed. Eve. AIDA  
Thursday BORIS GODUNOFF  
Friday TOSCA  
1000 Res. 50c 1500 35c  
Orch. Seats Mezz. A few seats  
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Symphonic Programs  
Sunday through Thursday Nights 8:30  
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Opera Performances with Star Casts  
Friday and Saturday Nights at 8:30  
Conducted by **SMALLENS**  
Prices: 25c-50c-81c (Circle 7-7875)

**RKO THEATRES** TODAY TO TUESDAY  
**CAREFULLY COOLED**  
A picture that will plumb the very depths of your soul... yet will gladden your heart!  
**MARGARET SULLAVAN**  
Brilliant Star of "Only Yesterday" in  
**"LITTLE MAN, WHAT NOW?"**  
with **DOUGLASS MONTGOMERY**  
**COLISEUM FORDHAM** 86th Street  
Broadway & 181st St. "Gen. Jessel & Max Quastella"  
**FRANKLIN ROYAL** 81st Street  
Prospect & 161 St. "Gen. Jessel & Max Quastella"  
**CHESTER** 23rd Street  
Tremont Avenue "Gen. Jessel & Max Quastella"  
**FLUSHING** 58th Street  
"Gen. Jessel & Max Quastella"  
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On the Capitol Screen!  
**WM. POWELL MYRNA LOY**  
in Dashiell Hammett's  
**The THIN MAN**  
— On the Stage —  
**DUKE ELLINGTON & Orch. - 3 MILLER BROS. IVIE ANDERSON**  
**CAPITOL** B'way & 50th  
Major Edward Bowes, Mng. Dir.

NOW PLAYING  
— On Screen —  
**"MANY HAPPY RETURNS"**  
George BURNS & Gracie ALLEN  
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— RKO Vaudeville —  
**GRACIE BARRLE JACK PEPPER ADLER & BRADFORD**  
and other RKO Acts  
**R. K. O. ALBEE** Albee Square  
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**SHIRLEY TEMPLE**  
in Her Newest Starring Hit  
**"Baby, Take a Bow"**  
A Fox Film with  
James DUNN - Claire TREVOR  
★ Plus Gala Stage Revue ★  
**EDDIE PEABODY DOROTHY JOHNSON**  
SHOW VALUE OF THE NATION  
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**ROXY** 25c to 2 P. M.  
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Mats. Wed. (4th of July) &  
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**JAMES BARTON**  
"TOBACCO ROAD"  
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**48th ST. THEATRE—E. of B'way** Pop. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40  
Bryant 9-0175. Evs. 8:40

**FOX** LEILA HYAMS PATRICIA ELLIS  
in "AFFAIRS OF A GENTLEMAN"  
"Packed with interest and suspense"—Amer.  
On the Stage  
**STANTON FROHMAN** 25c  
Stars Ruly Vallee Hour B'klyn's Favorite M.C.  
"YANKEE DOODLE REVE" OTHER ACTS



## Nelson Is Named for Wisconsin Governor

Special Correspondence

**MILWAUKEE.**—The largest convention the Socialist Party of Wisconsin has ever known met in Milwaukee June 17th and 18th. More than 250 delegates from nearly forty counties were seated. The attendance was so large that it was necessary to move the convention to the Eagles' Club from Brisbane Hall, Socialist headquarters, where conventions have always met in the past.

George Nelson, Polk County dirt farmer, former Progressive Assemblyman and former president of the Wisconsin section of the American Society of Equity, was named for Governor.

James P. Sheehan, organizer of the Milwaukee Trades Council, was named for United States Senator.

The remainder of the ticket is: Lieut.-Governor, Robert Buesch, former Sheriff of Milwaukee County; Secretary of State, Clinton Ballard, Outagamie County farmer; State Treasurer, George Eaglehill, Green Bay trade unionist; Attorney-General, Glenn P. Turner of Madison.

Nelson and Ballard have been active leaders of the LaFollette Progressive group.

Fully half of the delegates were newcomers at a Socialist convention; many of them from the farming areas in the northern and western parts of the state. Scores of delegates were young men and women who have been active in building the 77 new branches of the party since the last state convention.

The delegates unanimously passed a resolution endorsing the Declaration of Principles drawn up at the national convention in Detroit.

A closing paragraph to the state platform proposed from the floor by Max Raskin, Socialist city attorney in Milwaukee, was adopted unanimously, reading: "In the event that the people of the State of Wisconsin by majority vote endorse this platform and thereafter the vested interests by force refuse to yield to the mandate of the people, we pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor to its accomplishment."

Leo Krzycki, national chairman, delivered the keynote address. "We are in a time of crisis," said Krzycki. "The capitalist system is failing to provide the means of life for our population. The workers and farmers are ready for a fundamental change."

"We in America are confronted with the task of building in the face of a collapsing capitalism a Socialist movement strong enough to gain power and to keep it. The people are ready for our message if we are ready to give it."

Krzycki stressed the many encouraging signs for the future. He spoke of the prominent part taken by Socialists in strikes all over the country, and the cooperation between Socialists and unions and farm organizations. "In years gone by," said Krzycki, "Socialists said, 'The farmer is an individualist.' And the farmer has been afraid of the Socialists because he thought they were going to take away his farm, his church, and his wife."

"Now all that is changed. We say to the farmer, 'You are a worker, the same as a factory hand. You are worse off in many respects, because no one can give you a minimum wage or a six-hour day. We, the Socialist Party, guarantee you the possession of your farm. You can keep your church, too.'"

that wants you to keep your farm; the others want to give it to the bankers, the insurance company, or the sheriff!"

George Hampel, chairman of the convention, assailed the Democratic Party, both state and national, for failing to provide jobs at equitable wages for the nation's workers and its complete failure to aid the farmers. Thunderous applause greeted his statement that "more than an affable smile, and mastery of English diction is necessary to decapitate the ugly shape of revolution already raising its shaggy head on the horizon."

The state platform starts with a denunciation of the capitalist system, and after emphasizing the necessity of national and international action, the platform names twelve planks to govern the policies of the state officials, including a constitutional amendment to permit the state to go into any business or industry; a state-owned bank, power system, state marketing department with complete monopoly over the sale of farm products, state insurance for all risks to which the farmer and worker are subject, old age pensions, shifting of taxation from homes and farms to incomes and inheritances, cash relief for needy workers and farmers, 6-hour day and 5-day week, the immediate operation by the state of idle factories to enable the unemployed to make the things they need, and provision for the higher education of unemployed young people.

Among the important resolutions adopted by the convention, one of the most significant denounced the newly formed Progressive Party as the tool of "politicians whose chief stock-in-trade is an illustrious name."

Other resolutions attacked the Governor for sending the militia against the farm strikers and for failing to call a special session of the legislature to provide adequate relief; denounced the sales tax, and urged the party members and sympathizers to get behind the Socialist press, and particularly the new Wisconsin Leader.

The report of State Secretary Al Benson showed the party to be in the healthiest condition in many years. There are now 150 functioning branches in the state with every assurance that 100 new ones will be added before November 1st. The new Socialist weekly, The Wisconsin Leader, was endorsed as the official organ of the party. It is expected that this paper will be a vital weapon in the fight to win Wisconsin for Socialism.

Permanent officers of the convention besides Hampel were Carl Minkley, vice-chairman; Andrew J. Biemiller, secretary, and Leo Vernon, assistant secretary.

### TWO RECRUITS

The Communist daily of New York City announces that Donald Reiff, one of the signers of the Revolutionary Policy Committee manifesto, joined the Communist Party. Reiff has been a member of the Village Branch of the Socialist Party and is announced to speak at a Communist Party meeting.

Helen Pickenbach, also a member of this branch and a signer of the Revolutionary Policy Committee, has joined the Lovestone Communists. Miss Pickenbach has been an active figure in the Community Church and is a social worker.

### New Jersey

Passaic. Socialist Party branches of Passaic and the Yipsels will hold their First Annual Picnic Sunday, July 1, at Nature Friends Camp, Midvale, N. J. Trucks and cars will leave from 50 Howe Ave. as soon after 9 a.m. as possible. Branch One will open outdoor meeting season Saturday night, July 7, corner Hamilton Ave. and Monroe St. Business meeting Friday, June 29, 585 Main Ave.

### California

A truckload of more than 600 lbs. of fruits and vegetables was collected by Yipsels of Fresno recently for the striking longshoremen and other waterfront workers. The fruit was donated by the Fresno-San Joaquin valley, who

## Lewis To Head Massachusetts Ticket

**NEW BEDFORD, Mass.**—The state convention held Saturday and Sunday at the Chhrch of the Carpenter, with the largest delegate attendance in years, named the following state ticket for the fall elections:

Governor, Alfred Baker Lewis of Cambridge; Lieut.-Governor, Elizabeth Donovan of North Brookfield; Secretary of State, Leslie Richards of South Hadley; State Treasurer, Harry Maltzman of Boston; State Auditor, Walter S. Hutchins of Greenfield; Attorney-General, Morris Berzon of Everett; U. S. Senator, Albert Sprague Coolidge of Cambridge.

With instructions that the State Executive Committee add not more than ten immediate demands for the purpose of strengthening workers' resistance against capitalism, a concisely-worded platform was adopted, reading in part: "The Socialist Party enters this campaign with the one sole purpose of establishing the cooperative commonwealth of collective ownership and the democratic management of industry by workers, farmers and consumers."

"We, and all whom we nominate, are pledged to secure banks and public utilities, natural resources and key industries for democratic workers' rule."

"We shall not bolster up the capitalist profit system."

"Before getting our final aim—Socialism—we pledge our party and its officials to support anything that will increase the pay, power and security of livelihood of the workers, and reduce the power and the profits of the owners of industry. Our support of all measures will be determined by the extent to which they speed a thorough-going Socialism in state and nation, and throughout the world."

The following were elected to the State Executive Committee: Albert Sprague Coolidge; Harold U. Faulkner, Marguerite Bicknell, Leslie A. Richards, Thomas McGinnis, Glen Trimble, Donald M. Lester, Jack McGill, Toivo Hannula, Louis Devolder and Ann Kimball. Alfred Baker Lewis was re-elected State Secretary.

Resolutions were passed urging the National Executive Committee to establish an official party-owned national newspaper, and "that the Y.P.S.L. be made directly responsible to the State Executive Committee." Another resolution condemns any and all attempts to use the NRA or any of its boards or any other attempt to foist on the workers any form of compulsory arbitration; another endorsing H.R. Bill 7598 for compulsory unemployment insurance, the money to come from taxation of inheritances, large incomes, etc., and none from the workers. A resolution calling for the use of the party press only in airing party differences was also unanimously passed.

A resolution protesting the 25% production cut in the textile industry by NRA executive order, urging all textile workers "to stand firm in their demand for a 30-hour week with no reduction in the weekly pay envelope," and promising support in the event of a general strike call by the United Textile Workers.

The convention voted to publish an independent bulletin for Massachusetts Socialist news, and to seek to publish a New England bulletin with the cooperation of the New England States Socialist organizations.

Alfred Baker Lewis read the annual report of the State Executive Committee. Notable was the item on membership, recording a

## Party Notes New York

**Attention, Financial Secretaries.** The financial secretary of every local or branch is requested to see to it that all money collected on the sale of convention assessment stamps is turned in immediately. This money is needed to meet the obligations of the State Convention in connection with the transportation of delegates coming from a distance.

**State Organizers.** William E. Duffy has been working in Schoharie County this week, where a new local at Middleburgh is expected to be organized.

**State Convention.** The YPSL will be represented in the State Convention by Bob Parker and Will Chasen as fraternal delegates, and Harold Draper and Bob Fischer as fraternal alternates.

The following is the roster of State Convention delegates outside New York City: Albany: Edward Adnopolz, Alternate; Frank A. Andrae; Cohoes: Nelson J. Belanger, (Hugh Dollard); Salamanca: Lloyd R. Foster, (Ernest E. DeLong); Frewsburg: Wm. D. Alleman, (Henry Johnson); Jamestown: Fred J. Smith, (Edward J. Squibb); Cayuga County: Walter O'Hagen; Elmira: Wm. C. Perry, (Ray Hill); Poughkeepsie: Hans Peters, (Dirk Eylers); Buffalo: Ernest D. Baumann, (Robert A. Hoffman); James Battistoni, (Herman J. Hahn); Martin B. Heiser, (Julian H. Weiss); Watertown: Orley Tooley; Oneida-Sherill: Chas. H. Rich, (Wm. Quackenbush); Rochester: Wm. H. Hill, (Warren Atkinson); Jack Gaerity, (Richard M. Briggs); Nassau County: Edward Marks, (Katharine K. Smith); George Freeman; Utica: Newton R. Jones, (Oscar Berkowitz); Onondaga County: Jean Benson Maxwell, (Wm. F. Lowber); Fred Sander, (Earl J. Raasch); Geneva: Alex. Benedict; Newburgh: James B. Prior, (Maurice Bloom); Rockland County: J. W. Standfast, (Thomas W. Davis); Saratoga County: Coleman B. Cheney; Schenectady: Lewi Tonks, (Charles W. Noonan); Taverly: Robert Compton, (Geo. E. Newbury); Tompkins County: L. Alva Tompkins, (Florence Fulton); Glens Falls: Bessie Leon Burke, (Forrest Wallace); Westchester County: J. Jay, (Carl O. Parsons); P. Koss, (Margaret Cogan); John H. Ford, (Ruth Chapman); Otto A. Riegelman, (John Calafati); Philip Schaller; Leonard Bright.

### Michigan

**Wayne County.** The county has arranged a picnic at Luna Park, July 15. Luna Park is situated at the 13 mile road and highway M 97, previously known as Groesbeck and Reed Highway. Games, dancing and refreshments. Featured speaker Carl Paul of Toledo. Arrangements are in charge of Comrade Eric Peterson.

The County Federation of Socialist Women has rented premises at Woodhull Lake and will conduct a Socialist Summer Camp for women. A course of lectures has been arranged. Lectures include Shirley King, Emma Bergman,

## Missouri Party Plans Intensive Work

By J. Clark Waldron

**ST LOUIS, Mo.**—The Socialist Party of Missouri in state convention approved the Declaration of Principles of the Detroit convention and ordered the State Executive Committee to eliminate from membership all members who refuse to sign the Declaration if it is adopted by the pending referendum.

The convention also passed resolutions stating that because "production for use and not for profit is the underlying principle of government in Soviet Russia, the Socialist Party of Missouri believes that the Russian government is today the hope of the working class of the world."

Other resolutions demanded the elimination of poll taxes, condemned discrimination against racial minorities, "especially the Negro," and demanded of the National Executive Committee to take disciplinary action against Louis Waldman of New York because of "his tactics in trying matters of party policy in the capitalist press after it had been settled in convention."

Martin Lechner of Maplewood was elected chairman, succeeding Walter C. Meyer, who will devote most of his time to campaigning as the candidate for U. S. Senator. Meyer steps out of leadership after two years of party building. The movement, largely due to his work, is well distributed outstate and every section of the state was represented at the state convention.

The party will put nearly a complete ticket into the field this fall in all sections of the state.

Adeline Bannish, Clara Naysmith, Meta Riseman and Evelyn Berglund. Rates and reservations may be secured by writing Mrs. Clara Naysmith, 2545 Taylor Ave., Detroit.

Branch 1. The branch has challenged Branch 5 to a baseball game at their July 4 picnic at Woodhull Lake. All those who need transportation to the picnic grounds be at headquarters, 225 E. Forest, at 10 a. m.

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membership for the first five months of this year compared with the first five months of last year.

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# An Open Letter to Comrade Thomas

By Julius Gerber

DEAR Comrade Thomas:

I am not in the habit of rushing into print. Usually when I take issue with you I write you a personal letter. This time I make a public reply because your criticism was directed not at me but at the party organization of New York which has done much for both of us. As a party officer I cannot permit the accusations you made against the party organization of New York to remain unanswered. When you say New York, you do not mean Schenectady, Buffalo or Salamanca. You mean Local New York.

In The New Leader of June 23 under the caption, "Party Family Matters," you write: "It should be remembered that in New York State, where the party machinery has been pretty well controlled by the group most opposed to the Declaration of Principles, there has been a drop in membership, at a time when in general throughout the country there has been a very encouraging increase."

An increase or decrease in membership cannot be reckoned in short periods of a month or even several months, figuring as we do by the dues stamps bought by the state or local organizations from the national office. States with large treasuries (like Wisconsin) can buy large quantities of stamps one month, thereby increasing their membership in one swoop by over a thousand, while most other states without treasuries buy dues stamps as they sell them. Therefore monthly reports will show sudden jumps and may show a drop some months. To get a real picture we must take a long period.

I am therefore taking the two years since the Milwaukee convention and here is what we find: At the end of April, 1932, the total party membership was 15,788. At the end of April, 1934, the total party membership was 23,767—an increase of 7,979, or 50 1/4%. New York State's membership at the end of April, 1932, was 2,925, while at the end of April, 1934, it was 3,831—an increase of 906 members—32 1/4% of its own membership, or 11 1/2% of the total national increase.

Pennsylvania, the second largest state in membership, had 2,671 members at the end of April, 1932, and at the end of April, 1934, has 3,328—an increase of 657, or 25% of its own membership or 8% of the total increase.

The third largest state in membership is Wisconsin. There we find in April, 1932, 2,762 members and at the end of April, 1934, 1,635; a loss of 1,127 members, or 41% of their membership. You should lecture Wisconsin, not New York, on the loss of members.

There is no need of going further, as in the states with a small membership or no membership in 1932, any increase is large and some states increased even as high as 1,000%.

Now let us consider other figures. Pennsylvania closes April, 1934, with 2,098 paid members and 1,230 on exempt stamps. More than one-third exempt.

Illinois has 972 dues-paying members and 315 exempt. One-third exempt.

Massachusetts has 1,176 paying members and 326 exempt. One-third exempt.

New Jersey has 992 dues-paying members and 375 exempt—a little over 25%.

New York has 3,235 paying members and 596 exempt—a little over 18%.

Let someone think that New York stopped buying stamps in April, according to the report of State Secretary Merrill (there being no National Office report for May) he sold in May 2,016 regular and dual stamps and 48 Y.P.S.L.; the foreign federations sold 1,028 stamps, making a total of 3,092. Adding 240 exempt stamps to the American branches and 228 to the foreign language branches, we

have 3,092 paid stamps and 468 exempt, a total of 3,560—which increases our average membership at the end of May, 1934, to 4,023, as compared to 2,592 at the end of May, 1932, and 2,888 at the end of May, 1933—an increase of 1,431 over 1932 and 1,135 over May, 1933.

In June up to the 23rd we sold 1,296 regular, 269 dual and 48 Y.P.S.L. stamps, or a total of 1,612 and 480 exempt stamps, making a total of 2,092, outside of what the foreign language federations have sold to the branches in New York, and we still have a week to go. And as I said, our local and state treasury is empty and we have no money to invest in dues stamps. We only buy stamps from the National Office as we sell them to the locals.

The above figures taken from the reports issued by the National Office show that not only did New York not lose members, but proportionally has gained as much as, if not more than, any of the states with a large membership and has helped in the general increase of the National organization.

I am surprised that you, a member of the National Executive, should make a statement without consulting the reports of the National Office.

You also find fault with New York because it has not done its share in raising its quota in the United Socialist Drive for \$50,000. Here, again, Comrade Thomas, you are in error.

Up to June 23rd, New York has sent to the National Office \$807.11 and by the end of the month it will be over a thousand dollars, which compares well with all other states except Wisconsin. But New York did not raise \$16,000 at its bazaar—not even \$1,600. And in addition New York raised and turned over \$400 to the National Office when the N.E.C. met in January, 1934.

We also have to support The New Leader, the Rand School, and other Socialist institutions. We furnish the Y.P.S.L. with an office and telephone, and we pay 2 cents a month for every member in the party to the Y.P.S.L. and a cent for other youth activities as well as 2 cents a month per member for propaganda among women.

We furnish the State Committee with an office and telephone service free; we have to carry the main burden of up-state propaganda, and we have raised and sent to the Labor and Socialist International \$10,000 for the Austrian comrades.

Incidentally, may I say that you ought to talk to your own branch, which was given the small quota of only \$40 to raise, but so far has only paid in \$20.

If this letter were not already too long, I could cite the branches which have either filled or have come near filling their quota; but few of them will be found among those branches which adopt resolutions of "loyalty."

I agree with you, Comrade Thomas, that in discussing issues we should not resort to abuse and personalities, but you make it hard to leave out personalities when you make statements accusing New York of losing members and sabotaging the drive. If you had taken the trouble to read the reports sent out by the National Office, which you as a member of the N.E.C. surely get, you would not have made these statements.

The only thing, Comrade Thomas, you have accomplished is to create distrust, several branches withholding money collected for the drive and refusing to turn it over to the city office.

I am sorry that I have to take these means to correct you, but this is the only way I can reach those who read your column last week. I hope that in the future you will first make sure of the facts before you rush into print.



By Norman Thomas

## TIMELY TOPICS

In Harriman

DOWN in Harriman, Tennessee, the Harriman Hosiery Mills have carried on a peculiarly vicious and stubborn fight against any dealings with their workers. The situation was so bad that finally even General Johnson was compelled to take away the Blue Eagle from the mills. The mills, which had ruined themselves by their fight and possibly by other mismanagement, now announce their intention to close and blame it on NRA. All this gets quite a hand in that part of the press which is hostile to or suspicious of NRA, and more hostile to organized labor. Now as matter of fact, the closing of the Harriman Hosiery Mills with its low wage and general anti-labor policy may possibly hurt the town somewhat. It will not make Americans buy fewer stockings. It may be a wholesome lesson to other employers of the danger of the kind of fight that the Harriman Mills put up. The real force that beat the Harriman corporation in this matter, next to its own obstinate cupidity, was the determined power of organized labor. This more than the taking away of the Blue Eagle did the job. Workers will not be fooled into thinking that in order to have jobs at all they have to remain serfs.



Norman Thomas

"Workers' Democracy"

BY letters and by word of mouth I am asked to distinguish my conception of workers' democracy, on the one hand from capitalist democracy, and on the other hand from the dictatorship of the proletariat or of the revolutionary classes. One writer thinks that no adjective ought to be put in front of democracy. To speak of workers' democracy or capitalist democracy is, he thinks, to speak of "hot ice cream." It's either democracy or it isn't democracy. Well, let's see. Capitalist democracy in its origin confined suffrage to men with property qualifications. Even today through poll taxes and other devices millions of Americans, white as well as colored, are disfranchised. Capitalist democracy was always a house divided against itself, democratic or partially democratic in the way it made political decisions but autocratic in industry. Capitalist democracy is based on a gross economic inequality, and history has proved a million times over that in the long run those who own the world will rule it. Hence we have our injunctions, our Sacco-Vanzetti and Mooney and Billings cases, our distortion of news, our coercion of workers.

To all this workers' democracy is opposed. It knows that true democracy must be industrial and economic, that it can only flourish in a society where production is for use and where collectively workers with hand and brain in farm and town own the great natural resources and tools with they need. In practice in a critical or revolutionary period workers' democracy will not and should not permit power to remain in the hands of counter-revolutionary groups. It will not allow a civil service to be honeycombed by its opponents who will sabotage it as they in Germany. It will not if it has the strength allow a Juan March, as in Spain, to use his fortune for a counter-revolutionary party.

Does that mean that workers' democracy is just another way of saying dictatorship of the proletariat? Logically many of us Socialists back in 1919 and 1920 were inclined to make an argument to this effect. Today my strong feeling is that as opposed to dictatorship we need to uphold the ideals of democracy. Mussolini and Hitler have made the name contemptible. No adjective will save it. Any dictatorship of the proletariat inevitably will be regarded as equivalent to the Russian party dictatorship. That dictatorship has done in the main a great job. I should think that given Russian conditions, some dictatorship was inevitable, but it is not all good. It has led to the establishment of a bureaucracy which may almost take the place of a ruling class. The struggle against the wrong type of bureaucracy is not yet won. That true and moving book, "Escape from the Soviets," by Tatiana Tchernavin (Dutton) shows what stupid brutality and tyranny a dictatorial bureaucracy may practice. It is no answer to this sort of thing to say that it is only a small minority who suffers. Moreover, the Russian policy of a ruthlessly enforced collectivization of agriculture in order to produce grain factories had a narrow escape from disaster by reason of a good harvest. To let American farmers or a great many other groups in America think we are simply to copy Russian methods would be to play entirely into the hands of the fascists. Fascist dictatorship would be worse, but it would not appear so to farm and white-collar groups or to many other workers. Nor is this a matter of tactics.

In a world in which brutality and intolerance have greatly increased, it behooves us to keep alive the ideals which at best are associated with democracy. These are ideals of tolerance, of fair play, and of civil liberty. They do not extend to countenancing counter-revolutionary activities or to the condemnation of a workers' democracy to impotence and crisis. They are worth preserving. The words we adopt express the ideals which will move us.

New York's Socialists

JULIUS GERBER in an Open Letter challenges

my statements about New York's position in the matter of membership and party finances. It will be remembered that what I said last week was entirely in reply to the attempt to discredit the Declaration of Principles by proving the weakness of the Socialist Party in some sections of the country where the Declaration is popular. On finances I was calling attention to the fact that it is almost criminal for a party to spend thousands of dollars on an intra-party fight when it had not yet raised its all too meager national fund drive budget. That last remark still stands. I did not say that New York State was worse than other states. I gladly credit Henry Fruchter in the city with an increasingly successful effort to raise New York's quota. I repeat that neither New York nor any state on either side of the present controversy has a right to spend thousands of dollars on party controversy when great work is to be done and the full state quota of the drive is not raised.

As to party membership, the fair basis of comparison is by the year. New York's record of the first four months of 1934 is encouraging, but the habit of ordering dues stamps in quantities early in the year makes prediction for the whole year impossible. On the basis of the last full year, 1933, in the official report of the national office, not challenged by New York, the state showed a loss of 216 members as compared with 1932. With all my heart I hope that the tide is turned and I hope that reports I get from many parts of the country to the effect that the new Declaration of Principles is attracting new members will be verified.

Moreover, our party's strength depends not only upon membership but also upon what we do at the polls. Far more vital than any intra-party controversy is the issue whether the Socialists of New York State can make the showing they ought this year at the polls. There was some reason last year in New York City why our fine and aggressive city-wide ticket made a relatively poor showing against LaGuardia. That reason did not apply as an explanation of the bad showing we made in our total vote for Aldermen all over the city. We have to push forward, not explain losses. That fact ought to inspire the decisions of the state convention.

Family Matters Again

EVIDENTLY sober second thought is doing the extreme right wing of our party much good. The "Committee for the Preservation of the Socialist Party" is now, I understand, the "Committee for the Preservation of Socialist Policy." It defeated an elaborate dualistic organization and has adopted a unity resolution. So far, so good. The committee might well revise its pamphlet in the light of what I have said about capitalism and not what it says I have said. I never said or implied the degree of collapse which in the Declaration of Principles is mentioned as a condition in which Socialists may have to act vigorously. This committee ought also to restrain some of its propagandists from their continued misstatements of facts and vehemence of abuse.

My friend, Jim Oneal, is likewise in error in his statement in last week's New Leader that the N.E.C. had to get lawyers to "tell us really what these statements (in the Declaration of Principles) mean." The N.E.C. by unanimous vote at a meeting at which Oneal was present and where he did not lift his voice in opposition, asked a committee of responsible lawyers to let them know the effect of certain wording upon the status of the party in states with certain types of law. We got a satisfactory answer. In response to what I seem to find to be a general agreement on all sides I am now suggesting to the N.E.C. that the Declaration be verbally edited at one point so as to make it clear, as certainly was always intended, that loyal support to individuals in the event of war will be given to individuals whose anti-war activities are not in contravention to Socialist principles.

Jobs Well Done

IN the midst of this party controversy in New York we ought to rejoice at two or three jobs well done. First, the Summer School for Socialist workers which the Rand School conducted. Second, the splendid work of the labor groups, over which Charney Vlodek presides, in the fight against fascism. And, finally, the housing conference in which Socialists were instrumental in getting organized labor action on this most important subject.