

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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PRICE FIVE CENTS

Back Up the Frisco Strike!

Admirer of Hitler Heads Strike-Breaking Militia

By Phil Hitts
(Special to The New Leader)

Barkeley, California.

CROSSING the Bay from San Francisco last week, on the pier alongside our ferryboat was an assembled company of the California National Guard.

As we were passing to the boat they shouted: "Bring on your strikers!" and "Don't worry, we'll take care of the strikers!" One passenger exclaimed in disgust: "Huh, they haven't got their diapers off yet."

A large percentage of childish, undeveloped, moronic-appearing faces. Not intelligent enough to understand that they are the mere puppets of big money, of capitalists who had not the courage to get out and fight the longshoremen themselves, but who knew that they could always hire working fools to do the job for a song.

The stage had been set. Early in the strike, large business interests were crying for soldiers who would shoot. They wanted blood.

Workers had dared to insist on something the exploiters did not want them to have, the right to control their own labor power as a united group. One Mailliard, head of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, seemed unable to open his mouth without screaming "Reds!" and "Radicals!" They knew this would give the small business man—the one they themselves always prey upon—the cold shivers and scare him into shouting against the strikers.

Then came the head of the American Legion, here a gang of poorly disguised fascists, who shouted from the house-tops that he was starting a drive against the Reds and would soon start a drive on the schools. Their state convention was at hand. Look out for people who always shout "Patriotism" and "Americanism" when they are preparing to do some dirty work!

Announcement was made that the "Major General" of the National Guard, under orders from the Governor, was having the units assembled for action on the San Francisco water front. Then came notice that they had orders to "shoot to kill" and that anyone shooting in the air would be court-martialed.

This "Major General" is David P. Barrows, of the University of California.

Years ago he gained notoriety by prancing up and down the state advocating intervention in Mexico. Hearst, the Los Angeles Times and other "self-sacrificing" interests were aware that if the United States took the northern tier of states from Mexico the value of the land they had stolen from the Mexican people through the medium of illegal grants from the butcher Diaz would be enhanced a thousand per cent in market value.

Later the "General" was at the head of the "Intelligence Service" on the Siberian front, when President Wilson was conducting his private war against Russia. A publication on the campus revealed how he spent part of his time in cahoots with the "General" seeking to seize Eastern Siberia, in planning the promotion of mining concessions. He came back telling weird stories about all that was happening in Moscow.

From the start, "Major General" Barrows had been long on press work. His name was never allowed to fade from the news columns. When the Regents of the University were in a quandary as to who should be made president, boosting publicity came in thick and fast for Barrows, and so the "greatest university on earth"—

Aid for the Strikers

The Labor Committee of the Socialist Party of the United States calls upon its membership and affiliates to rally to support of heroic strikers of San Francisco in their history-making struggle against open-shopism. Rush funds to Sam White, 1057 Steiner Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.

Leo Krzycki (Chairman),
Murray Baron, George
Rhodes, Powers Hap-
good, James Graham,
Franz Daniel.

the Board of Regents being dominated by orthodox capitalists—was headed by a "warrior" president.

Recently our "warrior" Don
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Socialists Hail Heroic Fight of Frisco Workers

The Socialist Party, through the Public Affairs Committee of its National Executive Committee, has issued the following statement:

THE general strike in San Francisco, involving 100,000 workers, is in part the result of the breakdown of our industrial system, inadequate measures taken to relieve human distress, and the anti-social attitude taken by employers who for many years have fought the organization of labor into trade unions. Several years ago the employers destroyed the longshoremen's organization and the present strike grows out of the effort of the workers to revive their organization to control the "hiring halls" where jobs are assigned, and to distribute the work on some equitable basis to the men.

The employers' association rejected these reasonable requests and refused recognition to the union. It forced the workers to choose between two alternatives, either to abandon their long efforts to obtain some organized control over working conditions or to assert their collective strength in a strike. The longshoremen chose to strike rather than to return to the degradation and servitude which had been their lot since their organization was crushed several years ago.

The other labor unions that have joined the longshoremen and thus made the strike a general one demonstrate a splendid example of labor solidarity that will inspire the working people of the nation and all others who appreciate such noble sacrifices made for a common cause.

San Francisco has been a cesspool of business and political corruption for many decades. The organized business and financial interests of the city by their years of antagonism to the elementary right of labor organization have been responsible for many labor wars. They framed Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings and have been the power that has prevented these victims from being released from their terms of imprisonment.

The appearance of "Vigilantes" in this strike and their raiding of Communist and other radical headquarters repeats the history of other class struggles in San Francisco. Apparently organized by prominent business men, they have usurped the police powers of the city government in these raids and constituted themselves irresponsible marauders, whose actions tend to provoke violence and thus turn sentiment against the strikers.

The same reactionary business and political interests that rule San Francisco and California have succeeded in having the military and police powers mobilized in behalf of their selfish aims. The reckless and anti-social policies of the employing class are quite in contrast with the concern of the strikers to maintain the food supply of the city and to establish their own force to keep order among themselves and their sympathizers. If disorder comes the main responsibility will rest with the employers who have provoked this situation.

Socialists of California have ranged themselves with the cause of the strikers, and the Socialist candidate for Governor, Milen Dempster, has called upon the gubernatorial candidates to protest against Governor Merriam's effort to open San Francisco's port with bayonets and charges that his administration has become a partner of powerful interests in trying to smash the labor organizations of the city.

This fine and heroic struggle of
(Continued on Page Three)



Behind the Scenes in Washington

Is the Federal Government Strong Enough to Compel Employers to Obey the Law?—Washington Must Answer

By Benjamin Meiman
Special Correspondent

THE general strike in San Francisco overshadows everything in Washington. Even the noisy ranting of Hitler was shoved into an obscure corner behind the scenes, while the general strike holds the center of the stage. The blunt message to the Nazi rulers in which is made clear that Washington refuses to haggle over debts and bonds, the Eastern Lacarno Conference, the trading-tariff, and many, many other vexatious problems are relegated to secondary importance. Of course, we will treat the subject here from the Washington point of view.

In addition to those already on the coast three Federal peace makers were sent this week to the

strike zone, while officials here privately remarked that the situation presented a dilemma of the first magnitude for the administration.

President Roosevelt, en route to Hawaii, was kept apprised of every development and it is believed here that in the event it should appear that only Presidential intervention would be effective he would not hesitate to turn back.

However, after a day of telephone exchange between Washing-

ton and the coast, and radio communication between the White House and the cruiser Houston, it was indicated that no plans had been made as yet to interrupt the Executive's visit to Hawaii.

The personal intervention of a President is a last resort. All other methods must be tried first. When the President left on his vacation, he left the situation in the hands of Secretary of Labor, Perkins. Assistant Secretary Edward P. McGrady is in San Francisco to report in detail to Miss Perkins.

The new Labor Relations Board sent a commission there. Last Monday these efforts of the Federal Government were supplemented by dispatching three more peace makers: Senator Robert F. Wagner, chairman of the old National Labor Board and the
(Continued on Page Three)

WEVD New Leader Speaker

William M. Feigenbaum, associate editor of The New Leader, will be the speaker of The New Leader period of Station WEVD (1360 Kc.) Friday, July 27, from 4:30 to 4:45 P. M.
Samuel H. Friedman, labor editor of The New Leader, speaks Friday, July 27, at the same hour.

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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A SOLEMN DUTY

OUT of this dark night of American capitalism comes the inevitable disappointment of the working class with the NRA. The strike upheaval in Minneapolis and Toledo a few weeks ago is followed by the big upheaval in San Francisco that may spread to up coast port cities; a big textile strike of forty unions in Alabama; a possible second strike of the truck drivers in Minneapolis; a strike of the Longshoremen in Houston, and other centers of rife with working class anger over the chiseling and sabotage of codes by the exploiters of the workers.

We are probably passing into the greatest labor upheaval since 1919 and it is likely to present the organized masses with the greatest responsibilities. In the former period the struggle was confined to the steel and a few other industries; the present upheaval is more general and affects many industries. Its more general character is not an accident. Workers do not strike or threaten to strike in a period of wide unemployment without a deep sense of being wronged. There is a seething discontent of the working masses after many months of patience and hoping against hope that the NRA would create jobs for most of them and that the deadly downward pressure of the standards of living would be checked.

For several years during the terrible depression our ruling classes and their agents complimented the masses for their measureless patience. They starved without disturbing the comfort of the governing powers and our financial and corporate rulers. We have also marveled at this patience and wondered how long it would continue, but there is an end to human endurance. That end is being reached. Men, women and children of the working class are deciding to cease being dumb animals who perish in the midst of vast supplies of food, clothing and shelter. So the working masses are asserting their claims even in the face of odds that would deter them in less grave circumstances.

The whole labor and Socialist movement faces a grave responsibility in this hour of struggle. Clear heads and tireless service in the cause are essential. Unity of purpose based upon the claims of the masses in this general struggle is also essential. It is likely to be a turning point in labor history and no sectarian purposes should be carried into the struggle. That would be a criminal course to follow.

Close up ranks everywhere. We must give our services, and give again and again. Socialist Party members have an opportunity to help and they will help. Every last division of the labor army should answer the call rising out of this struggle. A solemn duty faces us. Let us meet it and serve our class.

BLESSED COMPANY UNION!

BEFORE us lies a beautiful piece of literature, a pamphlet by that noble patron of the arts, the American Iron and Steel Institute. "Why Steel Favors Employee Representation Plans" is a sub-title. We

do not know the lackey who wrote it but it bears evidence of writer's colic when he considers the question of financing the trade union and the company union.

He declares that in the trade union the members are required to pay dues. They are. Are they in the company union? Instead of frankly answering this question the author stutters. He simply says that it "involves no financial strain upon employees' pocket-books."

Blessed company union! One may search the pamphlet from the first page to the last and the financial support of the company union remains a profound mystery. Speak up, Steel! Who provides the money?

PUMPS AND PUMPS

WHERE the hand pump is common and the water does not flow, it is a common practice to "prime" it by pouring water down the pump. The efforts to revive industry by the NRA are frequently referred to as priming.

However, the analogy is not correct in detail. It isn't water that is used to prime capitalist industry. It is the working masses who are primed to give life to the paralyzed industries. Their sweat and tears, their blood and starvation, are the sources that are being primed to help our kings of finance and industry.

There are pumps and pumps, but the human pump that is primed not for its own benefit but for others is a human tragedy.

DEATH BEAMS

GENTLE reader, how do you prefer to die? Would you like a bayonet treatment, poison gas, or a shell to reduce you to a heap of bloody pulp? Or perhaps a hail of lead from a machine gun?

Well, Nikola Tesla, the inventor, may have a new way for you to die for American dollars. It is claimed that he has invented a "death beam" that will destroy an army of a million men. The beam is so powerful that it will bring down a fleet of 10,000 airplanes at a distance of 250 miles. One flash and millions of people simply drop dead. There is no warning, it is invisible.

It sounds fantastic and yet we are living in an age of marvelous inventions and this one may be true. That death ray is not for our ruling imperialists; it is intended for workers who fight their battles. Perhaps capitalism in this way is preparing for the suicide of its "civilization."

Behind the Scenes in Washington

(Continued from Page One)

New Deal's Number One industrial peace maker, to Portland, Ore., where another strike is threatened, and the sending of Joseph S. Myers and P. A. Donaghue direct to San Francisco. Mr. Myers is a Labor Department conciliator and Donaghue is chief examiner for the new Labor Relations Board. Representing the most serious labor upheaval since the present administration came into power, the San Francisco walkout is viewed as a political, a social and an economic problem. From a political standpoint, whatever the outcome, the Administration must share in the credit or blame for whatever happens.

Altogether more than a hundred major labor disputes are awaiting the attention of the National Labor Relations Board which took office only a few weeks ago. Responsibility for this increasingly grave situation lies in large part with the Federal Government. From the start the administration has assumed that strikes are unwelcome because they tend to impede "recovery." Hence the administration has been disposed to tackle the problem almost exclusively from this standpoint—either minimizing or ignoring the larger aspects of the labor struggle.

The President's statement of last August, announcing the creation of the original Labor Board, revealed that he was primarily moved by a desire to prevent industrial warfare rather than to get at the causes of industrial warfare. The same attitude is reflected in the emergency law establishing the present Labor Board, as well as in the selection of its members and of similar agencies recently appointed. Excepting a few members such as Leo Wolman, Ed. McGrady, Edwin S. Smith and Richard Byrd, the persons appointed have little acquaintance either with organized

labor directly or with labor history and labor economics. They have obviously been chosen not because of their capacity to deal scientifically with this vast industrial problem, but merely because they are believed to be good conciliators.

It can hardly be held that workers engage in strikes for the sake of blocking recovery. Nor do they fight because they prefer war to peace. The causes lie deeper. Hence something more than mere peacemaking is required. The conciliators have succeeded in patching up a number of local controversies, but no sooner is one smoothed over than two others break out. This patchwork method is doing little to remove the real causes of strikes.

What is the real cause of this San Francisco general strike?

The original demands of the longshoremen centered around recognition of the union and better conditions of employment. Had the Federal Government enforced strict observance of Section 7A of the NRA the trouble would have been averted. General Johnson's statement that it is all due to the absence of a code for the shipping industry is a flimsy excuse. Section 7A can and should be enforced with or without a code. It is the law of the land and is not dependent upon the acceptance or refusal to accept a code by an industry. The whole question simmers down to this:

Is the Federal Government so weak that it cannot compel employers to obey the law?

Washington will have to answer that question pretty soon.



Afraid of Wallisch Even After Death

According to a report from Steiermark, a representative of the authorities recently visited Paula Wallisch, the execution of the sentence upon whom was deferred and who is now seriously ill in a nursing home, and offered her the return of her household furniture if she would agree to the remains of her husband, Koloman Wallisch, now buried in the Leoben Cemetery, being exhumed and taken to Vienna for cremation.

Wallisch's grave in Leoben has become a place of pilgrims for the workers and peasants of Upper Styria. The grave of the martyr for the Styrian workers is sought out not only by industrial workers; rural workers also travel for miles from the mountains to lay Alpine flowers upon Wallisch's grave.

Mrs. Wallisch did not give her consent to the exhumation of her husband's body. As, however, it is possible that the authorities will not leave Wallisch at peace even in his grave and will exhume his body against the wishes of his wife, the grave is being continuously watched by a guard of workers.

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

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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The Declaration Pro and Con

IN FAVOR

By Abraham C. Weinfeld

Comrades Oneal, Hendin, Waldman and Panken are opposed to the clause in the Declaration that: "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 believe that the clause is a bid to commit illegal acts and to engage in violence, and that it makes it mandatory on the party to support any member in any act directed against the government, for instance, as Panken says, when a member blows up a battleship. I fail to see how any calm person can make such an interpretation. Why should the words "anti-war activities" coming from the Socialist Party, suggest the use of dynamite or be considered to invite acts of violence? Suppose that the Declaration had pledged the support of the party to all who "for anti-capitalist activities come into conflict with public opinion or the law." Would anybody consider such language an invitation to kill individual capitalists? Undoubtedly, in the abstract, the words "anti-war activities" may include dynamiting of battleships because some Anarchists believe in this action. But no reasonable person will read that meaning into the words when we use them. When Tammany Hall announces that it prepares for an "election campaign," every reasonable person will understand that preparations are made, among other things, for Christmas baskets, and for distribution, occasionally, of one dollar per voter. Does that mean that we must not announce that we are preparing for an election campaign because we would be accused of inviting our members to bribe voters?

Comrades Oneal, Maurer, Hendin and Waldman object to the phrase "massed war resistance." Oneal and Maurer do not understand the

IN OPPOSITION

By Harry Riseman

There are three definite groupings within the Socialist Party: 1. Those who believe that when workers are organized into industrial unions, or syndicates, they can at the proper time call a general strike, in the words of a pamphlet by the I.W.W., "of the world's army of production and its management general staff as a means of putting an end to capitalism, and inaugurating in its place an era of scientific industrialism and industrial democracy." They believe that suffrage will be revoked or curtailed when it threatens to be used for any revolutionary purpose. Workers should not interest themselves in politics. They are syndicalists. As a rule they do not accept the Marxian conception of the State.

2. Some Socialists who have no faith in the achievement of a social revolution through peaceful means; who have no faith in democracy but who believe that capitalism will sooner or later collapse, and when that occurs, a conscious, militant revolutionary minority, preferably organized in a Communist Party and affiliated with the Third International, will seize control. Because of the intellectual backwardness of the people they will establish a dictatorship of the proletariat. They, too, do not believe in the suffrage. They agree with the syndicalists that when the ballot is properly used by the workers the ruling class will turn to fascism. The Communists not only believe in the inevitable collapse of capitalism but also believe that fascism is the last stand of capitalism. After fascism comes the deluge.

3. We have those who believe that before the means of wealth production can be socialized it is necessary for the working class organized in a political party to secure control of the powers of the government and to use the State not as a weapon of exploitation but as a means of emancipating

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Workers Rule in Far-Away Queensland

By Victor Riesel

IN faraway Australia our comrades are making prodigious advances in the struggle for a Socialized society. For the second time in the history of Queensland, Australia, a fighting Labor Party has succeeded in capturing the government by an overwhelming majority and has placed at its head a man who has fought for the masses for the last twenty-five years, a former painter, an ardent Socialist, Forgan Smith.

It has been two years since the Labor government was returned to office, after a period during which the large working population of the Australian state became completely disillusioned in the old party attempts to bolster up a crumbling capitalist system. Since that time rapid steps in the form of social insurance, basic minimum wage laws and the establishment of a bureau of industry for unemployment relief have been taken to ameliorate the horrible conditions that a bankrupt system has imposed upon the people.

"Socialism provides the only radical remedy for the great problem of poverty amidst plenty which faces the world today." Thus does Forgan Smith, Prime Minister, strike the keynote of the party's policy.

Queensland is one of the largest states of Australia, being more than three times the area of Texas. It is peopled by approximately a million farmers, miners, lumberjacks and other workers of the extractive industries. Through the workings of the Labor Party it has attained the highest standard of living in all Australia. Under the guidance of the Socialists it is the only state on that continent to have obtained such excellent social legislation.

The Labor Party's record there is unique. It was in power from 1915 to 1929, the only government in the world that survived the immediate war and post-war period without defeat. It took just two years of old party politics to undo the accomplishments of long years of Socialist work. Trade unionism received the brunt of the Tory attack which also left its ravages on all the liberal laws in existence. Industrial statutes became unoperative. Unemployment increased month by month, thousands of workers were denied the right to vote by an amendment of the electoral laws, social services instituted by the Socialists were curtailed and eliminated. It was the iron heel of despotic capitalism in full swing.

One of the first moves of the second Socialist government was to establish a basic wage. There were to be no more wage reductions. This minimum wage in Queensland is the highest of any state in the British Commonwealth. The average weekly wage is also highest, the hours of labor less and the cost of living lower than that of any other Australian state.

Because of this policy, unemployment has been reduced. In spite of this the sphere of relief has been greatly extended and the social services have once more been re-vided. This has been made possible by overhauling the financial structure of the state and abolishing the abuses.

A Bureau of Industry has been set up, which forces the agricultural, commercial and trade union interests to cooperate with the government in formulating plans for relief and the development of the state. This is to pave the way for a planned society in the near future.

Another achievement scored by

The Basic Principles of the Modern Socialist Movement

By James Oneal

This is one of a series of articles on the principles and philosophy of Socialism. Haim Kantorovitch had begun this section of the series but his copy did not arrive last week and at the last moment the editor filled in and his second section appears this week. We have learned that Comrade Kantorovitch is too ill to write and we hope that he will soon be able to return to his work.

THE terrors that visited primitive man were later transformed into terrors for the slaves after life if they failed to be "good." That was interpreted to be "good" which served the exploiters of labor and that was interpreted to be "bad" which served the laborers. The "good" and submissive slave was to get his reward after death, while his exploiter obtained his reward here on earth.

To reconcile the masses to this arrangement they were taught that wealth here and now is fleeting. Only "eternal riches" were worth while and these were to be enjoyed only by those who inherited bliss in the hereafter. The exploiters enjoy bliss here and the exploited enjoy it hereafter. As Paul Lafargue once wrote, "in the business tribunal of heaven, the accounts not adjusted on earth will be audited."

The same Socialist in his "Social and Philosophical Essays" shows how the savage translated the experiences of his material environment into a heaven to be enjoyed after death. We quote:

"They had found nothing simpler to explain the phenomena of the dream than to divide man in two; the body buried in sleep, remained in its place deprived of life, while the soul, which they called the double, set off on a journey, hunted, fought, avenged itself and acted; then returned to reanimate its corporeal envelope, which came to life. The double after death continued to live. Thus at funerals they sacrificed animals and broke weapons in order that their doubles might continue to serve the dead. The souls of savages and barbarians living the communal life of the clan, those of women as well as of men, betook themselves after death to an extra-terrestrial dwelling where they lived again an existence analogous to that which they had lived on earth. The soul of the Eskimo hunted the seal; that of the Redskin chased the bison; that of the Scandinavian fought by day and banqueted by night in Valhalla with the Valkyries."

It is no accident that in the Southern states in the days of slavery the only teaching of slaves permitted by law was religion, and in the case of Negro preachers the law as a rule required that a white man must be present during the services. Emphasis was always placed upon those texts that required slaves to obey their masters or that emphasized the happiness the slave was to enjoy after living as a packhorse, serving the class that exploited him.

"The ruling ideas of each age are the ideas of its ruling class," wrote Marx. From the time of

the appearance of the first form of exploiting workers down to the present hour the ruling classes and their apologists have been under the necessity of coercing the thought of the workers, shaping their ideas so that these ideas would support their own slavery. The working masses have been under the disadvantage of having little or no education till the modern period and were thus easily subjected to the ruling thought of their exploiters.

Slave and serf, captive and bondman, wage worker and working farmer have all come under the sway of the ideas cultivated by the retainers of the ruling classes. The forms of production have changed, revolutions have occurred in human society, new ruling classes have replaced old ones, but in all these changes all that has been altered is the method by which the workers are robbed. Ideas of old ruling classes have been changed to fit the needs of new ruling classes, but whatever the change in ruling ideas they have remained aristocratic in their content. They have tended to foster servile resignation by workers to their fate of producing so that others may enjoy.

In earlier forms of servitude—serfdom and slavery—exploitation of labor was frankly justified. Achilles Loria in his "Economic Foundations of Society" declares: "An imposing system of moral oppression succeed in making the laborer really believe that he is a slave by nature, that his chains have been forged by a superior power, and that it is vain to strive to break them."

This coercion was possible with laborers who had no education, but in modern times more subtle methods are required because so many workers are literate and religious ideas no longer have the influence they once had. Of the modern methods of drugging the minds of the working masses Loria declares that "the conduct of the laboring classes has in our day to be subjected to a more modern and potent method of discipline. This modern method of moral coercion is supplied through the influence of public opinion, which, by means of a series of psychological processes and adroitly inspired ideas, succeeds in rendering every act dishonorable which carries with it any menace to the property system."

J. S. Buckingham, an Englishman, in his two volumes on "The Slave States of America," published in the forties, relates an amusing incident he observed in Charleston, South Carolina. The bell of the Christian church tolled at 9 o'clock to warn all slaves and free Negroes without a pass to return to their homes. When the bell ceased ringing, the drums and fifes of the military guard added a final warning. The band consisted wholly of Negroes who were unaware of the significance of the air to freedom they were playing:

"Who would be a traitor knave?

Who would fill a coward's grave?

Who so base as be a slave?"

Something like this happens to workers who are under the sway of ideas that support their own degradation and exploitation.

Hitler Admirer Heads Militia

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Quixote went to Germany as exchange professor in Berlin University. Back again, and regular notices begin to appear in the press of his addresses to Rotary Clubs, Lions' Clubs, and similar super-patriotic-for-profit organizations; and always boosting for Hitler.

So with a Hitler admirer as "Major General," a shoot-to-kill (workers) order, and a bunch of moron diaper-graduates to handle the guns, and the head of the super-patriotic Chamber of Commerce bawling "Red" and "Radical," with the would-be fascist American Legion starting a "red" hunt to intimidate every man of intelligence who dares to question the wisdom of the actions of the powers that be, with a Mussolini-land mayor to pat them on the back, with the official forces of city and state massed to "shoot to kill" and the President gone fishing, California will probably be able to maintain its "glorious reputation" for lynch law, backed by the laudations of a governor and mob justice administered by the hirelings of large land owners.

Anyway, "Shoot to kill" "Major General" Hitler is in the saddle (the saddle of a university easy chair).

The ship-owners have looted the

United States by getting vessels from the Shipping Board at a tenth of their value, so their patriotic sacred property must be protected. Shoot to kill! They have looted the post office department by securing mail-carrying contracts on terms that would shame a gang of horse-thieves. They are sacred patriotic citizens. "Shoot to kill!"

The worker who is so treasonable as to claim the right to organize and control the sale of his labor power—"Shoot to kill!" What are slaves for? With David, ex-gumshoe, ex-president, Major General Hitler Barrows, "Shoot to kill!"

Socialists Rally To Aid Strikers

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the working class will have the support of Socialists throughout the nation. They will lend every encouragement possible and co-operate with other labor organizations in extending aid to the strikers. Plans are now under way for wide cooperation throughout the nation with all who realize that the reactionary forces that have precipitated this struggle must be defeated and that the working masses of California must be assured of the right of organization to protect the interests of themselves and their families.

(Signed)

James Oneal, Norman Thomas, Louis Waldman.

McLevy in Move for Decent Housing

By Abraham Knepler

BRIDGEPORT. — A comprehensive housing program to provide modern homes for workers of Bridgeport was proposed Monday by Mayor Jasper McLevy, Socialist mayor of this city. It is planned to use funds provided by government loans to finance the project.

The same program provides for the beautification of various sections of the city in which the great proportion of the workers reside. It will probably take several months before the housing program can actually get under way, but Mayor McLevy has urged that all possible speed be made in the effort to rehabilitate the slum areas of Bridgeport and to provide new and modern homes for the workers of the city.

To get the housing project started, Mayor McLevy called into session a commission that has not held a meeting in almost five years. The City Planning Commission has been considered another of the dead commissions which have been in a state of innocuous desuetude during the regime of the two old capitalist parties. Mayor McLevy has called it back to life with his plan that proposes to make Bridgeport as healthy and desirable a community for a worker to live in as a city can be in a capitalist country.

Pushing as far as possible its efforts to have the city conduct operations for the benefit of the community that have been conducted by private operators and at the same time to eliminate huge profits that have been going to private contractors, the Socialist administration is attempting to bring about the establishment of a city coal yard, with the city buying the coal for its various municipal departments directly from the coal mines. The money thus saved by buying directly from the mines and from other proper economies can be used to provide additional social services for the workers of the city and to relieve the taxation burden of the small home-owner.

Voted Twice for Lincoln—He's a Socialist Now

KANSAS CITY.—Orson Greene, 100 years old this month, voted twice for Lincoln, has lived to see his son's golden wedding anniversary, and has been a Socialist since he was seventy. He now lives on a 160-acre farm in Jackson county, Mo.

He was in the 100th Ohio infantry during the Civil War, but his division saw no active service.

"War is the most foolish thing in the world," says Greene. "Only the shell-makers profit. They gratified their greed in the Civil War, just as they did in the World War. The Civil War taught me a lesson. I knew what the result of the World War would be. If all the world had known, there never would have been such a war."

"I am a Socialist because I want to get this country back into the hands of the people. And I'm a Socialist because I am tired of paying taxes, interest and rent as well as inflated operating expenses every time I buy a piece of merchandise. Say, for instance, I want a plow. Included in its price are profits of half a dozen firms who have handled it, and the firms probably did part of their business on borrowed money, so I have to pay interest, too."

Greene is sympathetic but not enthusiastic in his attitude toward President Roosevelt, who, he says, means well but "is trying to plow his ground with a garden rake."

The Workers Abroad

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

By Mark Khinoy

1,200,000 Lost Communists

A NUMBER of comrades ask what is the membership of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union. It is not easy at present to answer, for the wholesale "cleansing" of the ruling party is still in full swing. It is safe, however, to assume that it is at present not much over a half what it was a year ago.

Here are a few figures on which this assumption is based: On Jan. 1, 1929, the party counted 1,439,000 members. On Jan. 1, 1930, the membership reached 1,572,000; on Jan. 1, 1931, 2,040,000, and on April 1, 1933, the membership jumped to 3,200,000, an increase of 120% in four years (*Pravda*, April 29, 1933). But the same Communist daily at Moscow on Jan. 28, 1934, reported an address by Joseph Stalin to the 17th party congress, in which this most authoritative party spokesman said that the membership fell to two million—a loss of 1,200,000 members in nine months.

That this was not a misprint is proved by the fact that the other official publications of Moscow were reported to have used the same figure.

The "disappearance" of 1,200,000 Communists in the short space of nine months has hardly an equivalent in the history of any other party. It is accounted for primarily by the severe "purging" of all doubting Thomases and all those whose mentality is inimical to the dictatorship.

Since the purging did not stop with the January congress and the Soviet press is still full of news of further reductions of the party through expulsions, and since recent rulings tend drastically to reduce the admission of new members, it is permissible to think that the Communist membership of the Soviet Union is at present not much over half of what it was a year ago.

Socialist Victory in Iceland

THE parliamentary elections held two weeks ago in Iceland resulted in a striking victory for the Socialists. Their vote increased by 85% and the number of deputies by 100%. In an assembly of 49 the party secured ten seats instead of the five in the last Althing. No Communists.

Toward Proletarian Unity in France

IN my column of July 7, I commented on the dramatic struggle for proletarian unity in France. I recorded then that the Socialist-Communist negotiations were suspended by a 22 to 8 decision of the Socialist National Executive Committee.

Since this decision, events have taken such a turn that the problem is again brought to the fore and the leaders of the two parties are at the present writing negotiating once more a "unity" and "non-aggressive" agreement.

Here are in brief the most important developments reported:

The Party organ *Populaire*, on June 21, published the detailed reply the general secretary of the Socialist Party, Paul Faure, addressed to the national leaders of the Communist Party, saying: "After a careful examination both of your letter and of several articles which have appeared recently in *L'Humanité* and the *Cahiers du Bolchevisme*, the committee finds itself obliged to recognize that its efforts toward joint action with your party have been frustrated against its will." And then it proceeds to show how the principal Communist leaders violated the non-aggression agreement and continued "the most insulting condemnation of our party and of our active members, furnishing proof that under cover of 'joint action' you are still seeking to disorganize our party and trying to defame it."

Unity in Paris, Lyons and Marseilles

THE suspension of the negotiations on a national scale did not, however, frustrate the conclusion of a similar agreement of the two parties in their Greater Paris federations. A united mass meeting of the two parties was announced on June 19, with Marcel Cachin, Jacques Duclos and Maurice Lampe as speakers for the Communists and Jean Zyromski, Claude Just and Emile Farinet for the Socialist Party. Over 25,000 workers answered the call and the anti-fascist demonstration passed, according to *Populaire*, in "ideal order." Large posters signed by the two parties demanded, among other things, the release of Ernest Thaelmann and other anti-fascists in Germany and the release of the militant Socialist Paula Wallisch and others from the prisons of the sinister Dollfuss.

Similar agreements for joint anti-fascist actions were also concluded in a number of other large cities like Lyons, Marseilles and Douai.

Meanwhile the Socialist Party continued its pressure for a real united front "from above" with honest non-aggression features. *Le Populaire* of June 23 published on the front page under the signature of the party leader, Leon Blum, an article containing the official text of the non-aggression agreement signed by the French and the Soviet governments. Alongside of this agreement he reproduced the same document but with names of the contracting parties changed: Paul Faure and Leon

Blum of the Socialist Party replaced Lebrun and Herriot of the French government; Thorez and Cachin of the Communist Party those of the Soviet government and Dovgalevsky for the U.S.S.R. In conclusion Blum wants to know why such a document cannot actually be signed in order to meet the daily growing fascist danger.

AT its great conference in Paris in August, 1933, the Labor and Socialist International took as the subject for its deliberations the strategy and tactics of the international labor movement during the period of fascist reaction. The conclusions which it at that time drew from the German catastrophe apply to the full to the struggles in Austria. At that time in August, under the depressing influence of the defeat in Germany without a struggle, there were many who doubted whether the Austrian workers too did not despair of the possibility of resisting the fascist advance and would surrender without defending themselves.

The conference declared that "in countries where democracy is threatened the working class must endeavor by every means at its

disposal to repel the attacks of fascism." Today tens of thousands of workers in Vienna and in many districts of the Austrian provinces may say with pride that they did endeavor to struggle with every means at their disposal, and that they did not shrink from any sacrifice in order to repel the attacks of fascism. The international working class honors the memory of the martyrs of the February fighting, and feels itself united in brotherly solidarity with the men and women comrades in the hospitals, prisons and concentration camps.

The cannon of clerico-fascism have temporarily prevailed in Austria. The Dollfuss government has abolished all legal guarantees and openly takes up a position of force. The working class can only fight it on the basis which the government itself has adopted. In Austria, too, the position has clearly arisen which was described by the Paris conference in these words:

"In the countries in which fascism has prevailed, the dictatorship can only be overthrown by a revolution of the people." You clearly recognize the task which lies before you. Your letter states that "The workers know today that fascist force can only be broken by the force of the workers, by a popular rising. To bring about this popular revolution is the task which the Austrian Socialists have set before themselves."

The international labor movement of every shade is completely unanimous in recognizing the necessity for revolutionary action in the fascist countries. The real differences among the working class are to be found in the problems which will arise after the defeat of fascism, and particularly in the tactics to be followed in the non-fascist countries. On these questions, too, the Paris conference made very clear and important statements in its resolution in view of the events in Germany. But the executive of the L.S.I. is of the opinion that in the light of the experiences in Austria these questions need to be fully and thoroughly discussed again, not only within the international institutions but also in each separate country. It has no desire to anticipate the results of this discussion, but it has given me permission to express my personal point of view in this letter as a contribution to the discussion. The following lines are addressed to you, therefore, not in my capacity as secretary of the International but as an Austrian comrade who has been intimately connected throughout his life with the struggles of the Austrian workers. This enables me to express my views and criticisms far more

sharply and in an official executive. Whereas you certainly give thoughts and numbers of Austrian living under clerico-fascist make an attempt to solve the problems, a point of view the whole

AND STILL WE MUST

Friedrich Adler's Notable Message to Torture and Agony of Dollfuss Fascism

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A Declaration

THE Socialist Party is the party of the workers. It urges the workers to take economic and political power away from the capitalist class, not to establish themselves as a new ruling class but to abolish forever all class divisions and class rule. America today 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 few are the rulers of America. They are few in number but they dominate the lives of their fellow men.

They own our jobs and determine our wages; they control markets and fix prices; they own our homes and fix rents; they own our food and set its cost; they own the press; they control the government and make our laws; they control our schools and mold the people's minds. The Socialist Party of the United States demands that the country and its socially usable industrial wealth be redeemed from the control of private interests and turned over to the people to be administered for the benefit of all.

The socialization of industry, as Socialists conceive it, means more than is commonly understood in the term government ownership. It includes democratic administration through the elected and responsible representatives of the workers in the respective industries and of the workers as a whole.

The bulk of the American people are workers of hand and brain, men and women who render useful service to the community in the countless ways of modern civilization. They produce the nation's wealth but live in constant dread of poverty. They feed and clothe the rich, yet bow to their alleged superiority. They keep alive the industries, but have no voice in their manage-



ment. They can and can right wrongs when the power of the ruling class cannot be the iniquitous are the beneficiaries alone have a interest in it. To do this it to enact immediately raise their power, assistance to and ultimate people owner industries, begin public character, insurance, communication industries, as well as rapid permit to the of labor est, and profited.

The workers must be on economic lines. T of the labor structure societies are a

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NEW LEADER LABOR SECTION

Frisco Workers' Solidarity

Labor Conquers All!

WHEN the workers fold their arms society stands still. That is the lesson of the first days of the great San Francisco general strike; that is the message that is blazoned forth to the whole world.

LABOR OMNIA VINCIT! LABOR CONQUERS ALL! That is the motto of the labor movement, and it is a true motto. Labor conquers all because labor IS ALL.

Without labor San Francisco today would still be naked and arid sand dunes; without labor the seas today would be innocent of ships; without labor the human race would be naked savages prowling hungry and shivering in the forests.

Whatever there is of civilization, whatever there is of buildings and ships, of factories and mines, of music and art, of all those things that distinguish civilized man from the anthropoid apes is the creation of labor—labor of hand and brain.

AND SO WHEN LABOR FOLDS ITS ARMS EVERYTHING STOPS.

AND SO WHEN LABOR CEASES TO TOIL THE RICH AND THE MIGHTY, THE KINGS AND THE MAGNATES ARE HELPLESS.

Labor is all. And by this mighty demonstration of the massed power of NOT WORKING labor has given a demonstration to the world whose lessons can never be lost.

NEVER MIND HOW THE STRIKE TURNS OUT: NEVER MIND WHAT HAPPENS AFTER THE FIRST FEW DAYS. THE LESSON STANDS.

When the workers toil the world is fair.

WHEN WORKERS CEASE TO TOIL THE VERY HEARTBEATS OF INDUSTRY CEASE.

There may be many—there ARE many—workers who do not quite grasp the implications of that terrific lesson. But some day, somehow all the workers will understand, and when they understand that lesson the days of the exploiters will be numbered.

No wonder, then, that the enemies of the workers—yes, and even the "friends" of the workers, have turned upon the San Francisco strikers with such ferocity.

It is all right for printers to win better conditions.

It is all right for miners to eliminate mine hazards.

It is all right for sweat shop workers to eliminate the vileness under which they work, and improve working and living conditions.

The enemies and the "friends" of the workers can support and favor one or another of the various struggles of the workers.

BUT WHEN ALL THE WORKERS STRIKE THAT IS ANOTHER STORY.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE GENERAL STRIKE ARE TOO DANGEROUS, and so the whole capitalist press, from the extreme right to the "liberal" "left" unite in a barrage of hostility.

But the workers will know that for some days theirs was the power. And some day all the workers will know that they, who have the power because of their numbers, can use that power, not only to right a grievous wrong but to win the world they have made.

The lesson of the united might of the workers IF IT IS LEARNED will be worth the sacrifice and the heartbreak that the San Francisco strike will have cost.

THE WORLD FOR THE WORKERS!

2 WORKERS GET RELIEF—FOREVER!

By Hy Fish

CLEVELAND.—Versions differ as to who started the fight, but—two workers were shot and killed. Three others were wounded in a riot in the district offices of the Cuyahoga County Relief Administration that started in a way that is yet a matter of dispute. All that is sure is that two workers were killed.

Over 100 unemployed marched to the C.C.R.A. office to protest against a cut in the relief. While waiting for an audience with the supervisor, police entered and told the crowd to clear out.

The police version is that Sam Arseni, one of the dead, started the trouble when he took a revolver away from Patrolman James Vesely. Arseni, after obtaining the gun, opened fire at Patrolman Gibbons, according to the police. One shot went wild, the second struck Gibbons, who returned fire. The others were shot in general cross-fire.

According to Andrew Massiak, one of the unemployed who was sitting in the waiting room before the crowd came and was shot during the fracas, Patrolman Gibbons was the one to start to shoot.

ON GUARD FOR THE BOSSES



A Common Sight in San Francisco These Days.

DESPERATE NEED CITED IN OHIO ONION STRIKE

McGUFFEY, O.—Men, women and children, fighting against intolerable working conditions and wages as low as 10c an hour in the onion fields here, are waging a stiff battle against the combined forces of capitalist employers and their lackey courts, with good prospects of victory if they can hold out for two weeks more, when the onion crop will have to be harvested "or else."

There is an urgent need for help from outside, and even small amounts will mean a lot. Send funds in care of the Socialist party, E. E. Ledford, secretary, 415 Michigan Street, Toledo, O.

General Strike Holds As Government Drive Backs Up Employers

By E. T. F.
(Special Correspondence)

SAN FRANCISCO.—Nobody knows what any next hour may bring to this strike-torn and valiant community, where 100,000 strikers have held the city in an iron grip for over three days. But what we do know is that, at the hour of sending this despatch to the East, the historic general strike is still going strong, the men are holding out, traffic and transportation are blocked, the city's industrial life is at a standstill, the police and militia are kept at bay. And all this despite the frantic efforts of authorities and newspapers to pretend that the strike is broken, that the men are giving in, that there is dissension among the leaders, and that only "reds" want to continue the battle.

The government and its agencies, too, are doing their share, from the President down or up. Their share here is what it has always been in the history of industrial disputes—to take the side of the employers. The Chief Executive calls for "common sense" and his chief NRA agent calls for extermination of the red rats—"rats" meaning anybody who wants to keep the men out and secure justice for the workers.

The Mayor, a newspaper-manufactured hero, calls upon the strikers to go back as a preliminary to negotiation. Franklin's private National Longshoremen's Board continues its efforts to have the strike called off first—"then we shall see what we shall see..." The newspaper men contribute their share by quoting Harry Bridges, head of the Longshoremen's Union and alleged radical, as saying that the general strike was over and as blaming "mismanagement and blundering on the part of strike leaders," but Bridges denies the statements of four newspapermen who quoted him, and declares that the general strike still lives. The men are solid.

But the government played its trump card by definitely attempting to link up leadership and inspiration of the strike to Communist sources—a charge which the Communists are only too eager to admit, unfounded though it is. The shipowners and other industrialists of course are frantically assisting the government and self-styled vigilantes and citizens' posses are raiding left headquarters, rounding up radicals throughout the area and smashing furniture and fixtures.

If labor and the citizenry everywhere can be made to feel that the general strike is only a Communist maneuver, the generalissimo of the employing forces and their henchmen in city, state and military offices know that support will be withdrawn from the strike, and they are making desperate efforts to establish such connection and to estrange the public and labor sympathy. They have failed, but they

told: first, that only the "reds" want the strike and, second, that the strike is over. Both are lies!

Decision by the strikers' general still control the sources of public information and news dissemination. The whole country is being strategy committee to modify the rigorous embargo on foodstuffs, gasoline and fuel oils in the interest of public health, especially the safety of children, leads to further talk that the men are weakening. Every consideration or act of mercy on the part of the strikers is looked upon as weakness. A real bombshell, however, has been cast into the ranks of the strikers by the statement of William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, which is being maliciously construed as repudiating the strike.

Green merely states what is technically true: that the A. F. of L. nationally did not order or authorize the strike, and that the strike is local in character, possessing no national significance (from the point of view of the action of labor throughout the country). These facts are not challenged, and Green also expresses a desire for an honorable settlement upon an equitable basis; but to issue such a statement at a time of crisis, when strikers expected Green and the A. F. of L. to throw every resource behind the walkout, even to the extent of sending the president to the Coast to spur the morale of the strikers, and to rush funds to the Coast, seems to the strikers here like an act of rank disloyalty, especially when the employers can use the statement in their own behalf.

Shots are fired and clubs and tear gas used to break the strikers' ranks. So menacing are the forces of law arrayed against the strikers and so belligerent that Senator Wagner himself, sent to Portland to hold the workers in line, got a taste of the warfare when the bosses' special thugs (guards, they call 'em) fired six shots into the

How to Help Frisco Strikers!

SAMUEL S. WHITE, manager of Cloakmakers Local 8 of San Francisco and member of the California State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, is on the general strike committee. He wires The New Leader: "I have telegraphed National Secretary Senior for immediate financial aid from Socialists throughout the country. This is the best help the National Labor Committee can give us at this time. The situation here is a wonderful demonstration of working class solidarity. Here we have class struggle in naked form. Don't believe reports strike is being broken. Socialist Party is actively helping strikers."

From Chicago the National Labor Committee wires us: The committee's decision is embodied in the following telegram sent to all main Socialist centers: "The National Labor Committee of the Socialist Party urges you to call strike solidarity meetings everywhere. By active cooperation between the Socialist Party and unions in your locality, public opinion can be mobilized in behalf of the San Francisco strikers. Raise and rush funds. Organize public committees of support for the strikers." Detailed instructions are being air-mailed to all Socialist locals and suitable leaflets for strike-solidarity meetings being written. An attempt should be made in all localities to get the press to report on these meetings.—Leo Krzycki, chairman; Thomas Krueger, Baron.

Akron Rubber Workers Win Their Four Weeks' Strike

AKRON, O.—The vigorous four-week strike of 1,100 workers of the General Tire and Rubber Co. plant here has just been settled. The strikers asked recognition of their union, which at present contains about 95 percent of all workers employed. William O'Neil, president of the company, has refused to meet the union's committee, saying that the workers do not really have a union and that the majority prefer a company union. He finally signed up.

O'Neil had been trying to mold public opinion, grossly misrepresenting the demands of the strikers over the local radio station. Attorney Edwin Brouse, self-styled "disinterested citizen," who framed the constitution for the company union of the Columbia Chemical Co., Barberton, called a meeting of the General strikers "to see just how many strikers want to remain on strike." Brouse had an audience of a few "loyal" workers until about 1000 strikers marched in and took over the meeting.

Another strike now in progress in Akron is at the Enterprise Manufacturing Co., makers of Pflueger fishing tackle. This strike has been in progress for six weeks. Negotiations have been carried on for a long time but the company has refused to arbitrate. The Enter-

Come Over Some Day and Look at Our Strike!

RIGHT under my office window, the Caldwell Lighting Fixture workers are carrying on a strike. It is one of the strangest strikes I have ever seen. Usually a strike, particularly in this neighborhood, is quite a lively affair. Mass picket lines of thousands of people are no novelty. Trucks carrying scab merchandise cannot move from their places because of the solid bands of angry workers surrounding them. Defiant workers line up and throw themselves in the road before oncoming trucks. The very heavens rain intelligent beer bottles.

But the lighting fixture workers are a quiet, dignified crowd and don't go in for shenanigans of that kind. Until about ten days ago, when sympathetic workers in their trade and other trades and the members of the Young People's Socialist League joined them in the afternoon picketing, it would be hard to know a strike was going on. And yet, this strike of only 150 men or so has been blessed with the largest and most war-like display of police power this feverish neighborhood has ever seen. Strings of radio cars, mounted police, squads of police in military formation, in addition to the private flat-foot who hold up the building all day!

I've been trying to get the low-down from the cops themselves. Most of them are fairly civil—they know something about pay-cuts, too—but they "no savee." I did find out, though, through my own private channels, that the heads of the Caldwell concern are big shots, and very friendly with Police Commissioner O'Ryan and Mayor LaGuardia. The original Caldwell, now dead, was a great pal of Evelyn Thaw's boy friend, Stanford White. No wonder the police captain is so hot and bothered over this strike!

Anyway, come over some afternoon, any afternoon at about 3:30, if you want to see a choice section of the city's finest getting ready to go to battle.

G. W. K.

Luggage Union Pledges All Aid To Frisco Strikers

To Governor Merriam, Sacramento, Cal. (Copy to General Strike Committee, Central Labor Hall, San Francisco, Cal.)

On behalf of luggage workers of New York, Newark and Philadelphia, we protest vigorously against employment of troops to combat workers intent upon securing the right to union recognition. Use of troops in interests of open-shop employers reduces section 7-A to a mockery.

Joint Board, Suit Case, Bag & Portfolio Makers' Union; New York, Newark and Phila.

THIS IS IN NEW YORK!



A scene in Jamaica, L. I., during the picketing of the Long Island Press by the Newspaper Guild.

WASHABLE KNEEPANTS FACT RAISES WAGES

The Washable Kneepants and Novelty Workers' Union, Local 169 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, reports an agreement with the majority of the manufacturers in the industry, conceding increases in wages. According to M. Bernstein, manager of the union, manufacturers refusing to negotiate will not be able to operate. No worker will be permitted to go back to work until the question of the raise is settled.

In the brief time since this local has been reorganized and readmitted to the Amalgamated, it has succeeded in obtaining several raises for its members. It has also succeeded in almost completely organizing the industry, which was completely demoralized and 80% non-union less than two years ago.

The local has its own unemployment insurance fund and paid out its first insurance benefits to unemployed members last Monday. I. Chateauf is administrator of the fund.

The Anti-Wolinsky Group Call for Strong, Clean Union

THE following statement has been issued by the United Anti-Wolinsky Committee of the Pocketbook Workers' Union, with which the union's Socialist League is affiliated:

The messenger boys of Wolinsky, who at present occupies the key offices in our union, made statements in the press about the great "victory" they scored at the last code hearings in Washington.

Wolinsky's agents are running wild in the market amongst the workers telling everybody, "Look what Wolinsky accomplished! We obtained a victory, a great victory. We told you Wolinsky was a great leader. Now you see we were right."

In the midst of the cheering and shouting "the great leader" has sent in a statement about his supposed resignation to the press.

On Thursday, July 12, his "victory" was broadcast; on Friday, July 13, his resignation followed, and by Saturday, the next day, the Wolinsky clique, including our two main officials, had already perfected plans to "draft" the great leader as adviser to the union.

What are the actual facts about the great victory we obtained through Wolinsky?

About eight weeks ago we quarreled with Wolinsky and his aides about the demands we were to make on the employers—whether we were to ask for 30 or 36 hours, a ten or twenty percent increase. He advised us to be "practical" and demand only what we could get. He succeeded at that time in swaying the membership to approve his opinions. The union was satisfied to advance the lesser demands as proposed by Wolinsky.

What became of these demands? Did we at least get these demands or any part of them?

No! We didn't get anything. They tell us now to go back to work on the old conditions, which means at present—considering the rise in the cost of living since last year—worse conditions than we were able to obtain last year without the aid

of any adviser.

The cost of living is constantly rising. Workers of other trades are continuously improving their conditions, but due to our great leader we must starve and suffer. Our working conditions are continuously dwindling.

In order to distract our attention from the problems in New York they refer us to some fact finding commission which is to investigate at this late date whether we are actually in need. We don't believe one word that Wolinsky and his lieutenants say about their "great victory." In the short period that Wolinsky has been with us, he has proved he is a past master in the art of bluffing, but that he is a picayune leader seeking to make a career for himself at the expense of the pocketbook workers.

Even if the statement of his clique is true, it is still far from a real victory. The recommendation of Mr. Barr to improve our code is of very little real significance. Our code is still the worst in all the other needle trades. The clause of \$18 a week for semi-skilled workers was originally included in the code subject to enforcement. Yet this code was unanimously rejected by a monster membership meeting at Cooper Union.

In the statement about the supposed victory they also admit that the employers are still fighting against the recommendations of Mr. Barr and that these recommendations have as yet to be approved by the code authority and the NRA administration.

But to Mr. Wolinsky it is very important to widely publicize his bogus victory. Calculated to entrench his shaky position in the union, his victory was publicized in order to induce the workers not to accept his fake resignation.

Sisters and brothers, don't permit yourself to be fooled by Mr. Wolinsky! All he can bring is more trouble. Drive him out from our ranks. Let him return to the camp of the employers wherefrom he came.

(Continued on Page 3-L)

GO TO YOUR PICKET LINES!



A striking scene showing workers marching to their posts on picket duty after listening to one of their leaders.

The New Leader

New York City Section

Vol. XVII—No. 29

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1934

Sec. 3

Solomon-Thomas Drive Starts at Picnic

Campaign to be Launched July 28th

THE state campaign of 1934 will be formally launched at the great Ulmer Park picnic July 28th, when Charles Solomon, candidate for Governor, and Norman Thomas, candidate for United States Senator, make their opening addresses in what promises to be a historic battle for Socialism.

In addition, William Karlin, candidate for Attorney-General, will speak and August Claessens, candidate for Congressman-at-Large, will preside.

The occasion will be the annual outing and picnic of the Socialist Party and allied organizations, an affair that has been growing in popularity and in mass attendance since the first picnic was held at the Ulmer Park grounds in 1928.

There will also be a greater participation of organizations than ever before. To date 276 organizations are actively participating, having secured large blocks of tickets for their members.

Among them are 38 local unions, 6 joint boards, 64 branches of the Workmen's Circle, with the active participation of all the 40 clubs and branches of their youth organization, the Young Circle League. Some 42 branches of the Socialist Party, as well as the various language groups, among them the Finnish branches, Jewish Socialist Verband, Russian, Polish, Spanish and Italian branches, in addition to the various branches in Westchester County, will bring out a greater number of Socialists than ever before. All the 52 circles of the Young People's Socialist League will be represented as well as 14 various miscellaneous groups, among them various fraternal and social organizations.

A very attractive program will provide an interesting day for the huge throngs. Among them will be a sports carnival in which are scheduled two baseball games: the first between the Debs Baseball Club vs. the Vesa Athletic Club and the second between the Cutters' Union-Local 10, I.L.G.W.U., vs. the Cloak and Dress Drivers' Union Local 102, I.L.G.W.U. The Young Circle League Soccer Club will play against the Union City Soccer Club for the championship in the Workers' Gymnastic and Sport Alliance. Other attractions will include dancing to the music furnished by Joe Cappi and his WABC orchestra, open air movies, which will include the only speech of Morris Hillquit in talkies, the speech at the opening of the Socialist convention in Milwaukee in 1932. An additionally interesting picture will be a showing of the recent May Day parade in New York. If you were in the parade, you may see yourself in the movies.

Anti-Nazi Meeting in Ridgewood Friday

The Labor Conference to Combat Hitlerism will hold an anti-Nazi mass meeting Friday, July 20, at 8 p. m., in the Queens Labor Lyceum. The speakers will be August Claessens in English, and Martin Pletti in German.

Over 5,000 leaflets have been printed advertising this meeting. The trade unions and German cultural groups have been notified. The German comrades will furnish appropriate music. To reach the meeting, take the Myrtle Ave. line to Forest Ave. station.

A City for the People

By Louis Waldman

From an address over WEVD upon the subject of a new charter for New York City.

IT is generally agreed that the government of New York City must be reorganized. It must be brought into line with present day requirements.

As New York City has grown in population to the immense number of over seven million it has developed new and complex problems of government. Within the limits authorized by law it expanded many of its functions. But the new burdens laid upon government, arising from the social and economic needs of today, have not been taken up not only because the city lacked the will, but also because it lacked the power.

A new charter, to be really useful, must give the city broad powers to assume the new burdens and responsibilities of government, such as the ownership, operation and management of transportation, gas, electric, telephone and other utilities, the handling of housing as a municipal function, the engagement in the business of milk, coal and the like.

One of the important reforms, that of proportional representation, has been settled. The question of whether the city shall adopt a system of proportional representation will be submitted to the people for a vote. Another important matter, that of county reorganization, is being handled by a constitutional amendment now before the special session of the legislature.

But important as these and other purely political questions are in themselves, they only scratch the surface of charter reform. The all-important question to decide is whether the charter will grant the city those broad powers for the discharge of new economic functions to meet the ever-changing economic and social conditions.

The people of New York need not only an efficient police department, but also an adequate and satisfactory transportation service. They not only need a health department, but they must also have an adequate supply of pure and wholesome milk. They not only need parks and playgrounds, but they also need better housing, well ven-

nished by Joe Cappi and his WABC orchestra, open air movies, which will include the only speech of Morris Hillquit in talkies, the speech at the opening of the Socialist convention in Milwaukee in 1932. An additionally interesting picture will be a showing of the recent May Day parade in New York. If you were in the parade, you may see yourself in the movies.

The arrangements committee has arranged to give away five free vacations to those whose tickets will correspond to the ones drawn at the opening of the field program, which is scheduled to take place at 6 p. m. The vacations will be good for the following popular Socialist and labor summer resorts: Camp Tawamunt, Unity House, Camp Eden, the Workmen's Circle Camp, and Ulmer Park.



Louis Waldman

tilated rooms with modern sanitary and plumbing conveniences, to be rented at low rentals to the great mass of citizens and inhabitants of the city with low incomes. They not only need an adequate system of water supply, but they must also be freed from the over charges and exactions now made by private companies for the supply of such vital needs as gas, electricity, telephones, ice, coal and similar commodities and services.

Some of these are already recognized by law as belonging to the family described as utilities. Others, though not yet fully recognized by law, are just as definitely in that class.

Under the new charter the city must be free to determine its own

policy, to plan for extensions, improvements, reorganizations and consolidation of the industries and services vitally necessary to the people's need. It must be free to operate and manage these utilities and services through agencies and instrumentalities of its own creation. It should be able to do that through bureaus, departments or public corporations. It cannot engage in these economic activities and it cannot plan for the future as long as it is handicapped by restrictive laws. It must have home rule for its new economic functions as well as over "the property, affairs or government" of the city.

Because of the supreme importance of this question, I am preparing on behalf of the State Committee of the Socialist Party to take up with Governor Lehman the necessity of urging upon the present special session of the legislature an amendment to Article 12 of the constitution to empower the cities in general terms to frame their own governments and to permit them to manage, operate and control their own systems of transportation and other utilities and businesses.

Those who are interested in rebuilding our city, lifting many of the unnecessary burdens now imposed upon them, should immediately support this request for a constitutional amendment to broaden the powers of the municipality.

Not mere structural reforms, but fundamental changes in the social outlook and functions of our government will make this a real free city, a city whose people will be afforded joy, gaiety and happiness.

OVER 500 YPSELS ATTEND BIG ANNUAL JAMBOREE

CLOSE to five hundred Young Socialists attended the Third Annual Eastern District Jamboree of the Young People's Socialist League at Camp Hoffnung, near Philadelphia, July 13-14.

The Jamboree featured interesting round-table seminars on organization, educational and technical problems facing the League. Comrades active in various fields discussed their experiences and made suggestions as to further work. Y.P.S.L. members from eleven states and the District of Columbia participated and compared notes. That was only one phase of the program, however, which was crowded with activities jammed into a short period.

Norman Thomas, National Chairman Leo Krzycki and Darlington Hoopes, Socialist member of the Pennsylvania Legislature and member of the National Executive Committee, led the discussion on Youth's Approach to the Issues of War, Fascism and the New Deal.

Features of the discussion were the international organization of Young Socialists, the Red Falcons, and the present status of the problem. The discussion on the United

Front was led by Will Chasan; the seminars on high school and college organization work were led by Harold Libros and Ethel Schachner, and the one on Youth and Unemployed Work was led by Lawrence Rogin.

No one who was at the Jamboree will soon forget the two workers' operettas and the skits presented at the dance Saturday night, nor the joys of the campfire with its excellent impromptu entertainment. Added attractions were the basketball game and the baseball game between the Y.P.S.L. and the Young Circle League umpired by Norman Thomas. Swimming, songs, games, and horseplay rounded out the largest and most interesting Jamboree ever held by the Eastern District Y.P.S.L. of America.

The new "Socialist Party of Workers and Peasants," the Swedish Communist Party (Opposition) organized three weeks ago, counts 8 deputies and one senator. Of the 8 deputies six were elected as Communists and two as Socialists. The official Communist Party remains with 2 deputies and the Social Democratic Party with 102 deputies and 60 senators.

Summer School of I.L.D. Trains Party Workers

The national headquarters of the League for Industrial Democracy is the center of activity this summer for twelve student radicals who are finding out through practical work and experience a few important techniques in the organization of workers. Leaders in campus radical activities at their colleges during the year, they have come to New York for six weeks of activity from which it is hoped they will learn how workers' organization function, how their membership is built up, how meetings are held, how an organization is held together by common action on issues important to workers in a day by day struggle, and by educational work for a broad and far-reaching program looking toward a workers' world.

The students are not acquiring this knowledge from speeches, but in the process of organization itself, in connection with the Workers' Unemployed Union, whose 34 locals are scattered throughout the city.

Six discussion seminars of one week each have been planned for the mornings on the following subjects: "Civil Liberties and Labor's Rights," "Unemployment," "The Labor Movement," "The Negro in America," "Technique of Propaganda," "Building a Revolutionary Student Movement." Throughout the six weeks discussions on various fundamentals of Socialist thought are to be held. Among the discussion leaders are Norman Thomas, Harry W. Laidler, David Lasser, Roger Baldwin, Mary Fox, George Marshall, B. C. Vladeck, William M. Feigenbaum, George Streator and Monroe Sweetland. It is expected that the course will send the students back to their colleges and homes not only more effective radicals among students but ready to take part in the struggle of labor to organize in their own communities.

The students are: Justin Stewart, University of Utah; Wallace Campbell, University of Oregon; Ralph Price, Kansas State Teacher's College; Waldo McNutt, Washburn College, Topeka, Kas.; Carl Campbell, Denver University; Rhoda Pearson, University of New Hampshire; Juanita Pope, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.; Rose Albert, Hunter College, N. Y. C.; Howard Frazier, University of Tennessee; George Edwards, Harvard; Lionel Florant, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.; Esther Lederman, Hunter College, N. Y. C.

Mrs. Henry Jager Dies

Socialists will be grieved to learn of the death of Mrs. Irene Jager, 646 West 125th St., New York City, wife of the well known Socialist and labor propagandist and organizer.

Mrs. Jager died in the cancer ward of Welfare Hospital July 3. The funeral was under the direction of Branch 543 of the Workmen's Circle.

Mrs. Jager, who was ill for a long time before her death, was financial secretary, and at one time recording secretary of the Socialist local of Linden, N. J. She was for many years an active and devoted Socialist.

It is announced there will be a memorial meeting for Mrs. Jager at a time and place to be determined later.

Party Growth in New York State

By August Claessens

RETURNING from a five-weeks' speaking tour through New York State, I am happy to report that our organization is improving splendidly.

Up-state has been for a long time safely Republican and conservative. Before 1920 we had considerable organizations in many cities and towns, but during the last decade our party dwindled to a mere skeleton. During the last few years there has come a revival. Our August Claessens state organizer, William E. Duffy, has been able to resurrect some locals and start many new ones. For the first time in many years there were two organizers, Comrade Duffy and myself, on tour at the same time. Were it not for the widespread poverty and unemployment, our labors in party building would have been much more fruitful.

I visited Port Jervis first. Our faithful Comrade Milway still carries on almost alone here. At Binghamton, I found a splendid new group and we had three fairly good meetings. Comrades Venable, Atwater, Wilson and Le Sher are an active team. This private domain of the Endicott-Johnson Shoe Company is one of the most perfect feudal communities in the country and any kind of labor activity meets with vigorous opposition. Next, I went on to Waverly. A small but good local here, thanks to Organizer Duffy. Thanks also to Local Sayre, Pa., just at the border and at the end of the town, our brave little group in Waverly gets much aid and inspiration. Here Comrades Compton and Newbury are keeping things moving. I also spoke in Sayre and had a good meeting.

Spent three days in Elmira, but with little success because of bad weather. Here we have a good local and they carry on continuously. Due to some fine advance work of Comrade Robinson of Watkins Glen, I had a remarkable meeting at a liberal forum at Rock Stream in Yates County, close by. It afforded me a grand opportunity to reach a host of new people with our message and leave a pile of booklets and New Leader readers behind me.

Had no meeting in Corning. Our local here is dormant. At Hornell I also accomplished little in spite of Comrade Jackson's good work in advertising my meeting here. Hornell, like many other towns in the southern tier, is stricken with the plague of joblessness and despair.

In Olean we have the most active and promising local up-state. A fine, active crowd of comrades, headed by Comrade Cooper, are marching on to victory. Olean will soon have a Socialist administration.

Also found a splendid group in Salamanca, some 18 miles westward, and with the good cooperation of our Olean comrades, this little city is also feeling the effect of continuous Socialist agitation.

In Jamestown for three days; my meetings were small and ineffective. Terrible unemployment and distress abound and the only result is general apathy. Found things a little better in Dunkirk and had a good meeting. Next at Silver Creek I had a remarkably good meeting and met with an excellent group of comrades.

I was kept busy five days in Buffalo. Our party here has been in the doldrums for many years, but the come-back has been sudden and swift. When I was here last December, we had only a couple of

branches. Now we have seven and several more in the making. Under the leadership of our new organizer, Ernest Baumann, and the fine assistance of Comrades Hoffman, Thurber, Roth, Heisler, Ellison, and others, my meetings were very successful. Our Buffalo branches are very active in strike situations and are rapidly growing in membership and effectiveness. It was surely a great thrill to see how splendidly Local Buffalo has come back after the long spell and discouragement. I also had a fine meeting at Niagara Falls.

Sorry I cannot report much progress as yet in Rochester and Syracuse. Our locals in both cities need monkey glands or something. On the other hand, I had excellent meetings in Auburn and Geneva, a fairly good street meeting in Oswego and a good hall meeting in Watertown.

At Utica we have just suffered the great loss of three of our finest up-state comrades in the death of Comrades Newkirk, Endres and Wallace. I spoke at a memorial meeting at which some fifty comrades were gathered, and those present gave a remarkable demonstration of loyalty to our great cause and a renewed determination to carry on the fine work of our departed heroes.

Fairly good meetings in Oneida, Rome and Schenectady. Here, as in many other towns, our party is improving. What our comrades up-state need most at this time is not so much in the nature of stronger declarations and resolutions, but rather some funds, literature and more help with organizers and speakers.

So He Went Back To Jail.

HERE is a story that comes from the usually well-informed Foreign Editor of the London Daily Herald:

With the international situation becoming more serious every moment, little Engelbrecht Dollfuss has been trying to form a united front of all Austrian elements opposed to the German Nazis, who are still seeking to convert Austria into a province ruled by Adolf Hitler. Naturally, the largest anti-Nazi element in Austria is the Social Democratic Party, larger and more powerful than ever despite the fact that last February Dollfuss' big guns destroyed its legal existence and drove it underground. Indeed, the Social Democracy is, as it has been for fifteen years, the largest single force in the country.

Dollfuss, according to the story, summoned one of the district leaders of the *Schutzbund*—the Socialist defense corps of the Republic—from the jail to which he had been sent after the bloody slaughter ordered by the Toy Dictator last winter. The Chancellor asked the Socialist if there was any way to bring the Socialist Party (the very existence of which Dollfuss has forbidden!) into a sort of unity with the Government to liquidate the Nazis.

The *Schutzbund* leader informed the Chancellor that he could not enter into any negotiations without first consulting leaders of his party (which is supposed to be non-existent), most of whom are in jail or in hiding; and especially, he said, he would first have to consult Otto Bauer, driven into exile in Czechoslovakia by Dollfuss' hangmen.

He added however, that even if he did manage to convey the message to the various Socialist leaders, and even to Bauer; and even if they did agree to such a plan, he could assure the Chancellor that the Social Democratic Party, as one man, would repudiate

Vladeck Named for Congress in Eighth

B. C. Vladeck, general manager of the Jewish Daily Forward, was named for Congress in the Eighth District and William M. Feigenbaum was nominated to run for State Senator in the Fourth District at a general membership meet-



B. C. Vladeck

ing at the Bensonhurst Branch headquarters last Friday. The two districts cover the same territory.

Vladeck and Feigenbaum have run together as team mates in the same district in the past three biennial elections, and the largest Socialist vote in the state has been cast for the ticket in that district. It covers the 2nd, 9th and 16th A. D., Kings, from Brownsville to Bay Ridge.

There are ten party branches in the district and a vigorous and energetic campaign is already being planned.

Last Thursday an enormous anti-war meeting was held in Brighton Beach, which is in the district, and Mary Fox, John Herling, Harold Siegel and William M. Feigenbaum spoke. There will be similar anti-war rallies in every section of the district.

The United Socialist Drive

By Henry Fruchter

I cannot do better than begin my comment on the United Socialist Drive in New York City with a quotation from a letter of Edward P. Clarke:

"Why pussyfoot about the Drive? Why not name names and quote figures? I would be interested in what the other boroughs have done or are doing. Why not tell the world that the Queens quota is \$350 and that now it has raised at least \$353.47, the latest figure furnished me? That Sunnyside Branch, largely through the efforts of Organizer Adrien Gambet, has proudly boarded the Red Special by turning in to the city office before July 1 the magnificent total of \$175.17 on its admittedly high quota of \$150? That two other Queens branches are also on the Red Special: Flushing, by sending in \$52.30 to surpass its \$50 stint and the Woodside branch by a contribution of \$11.50 to overrun its \$10 assignment. That six of eight of the branches in Queens have raised their quota: Astoria, \$50; Rockaway, \$25 and Elmhurst, \$25. Every branch and local of the party will profit by the greater success of this Drive and I hope The New Leader can spare the space and the city office can spare the time to prepare a detailed report of the Drive receipts by branches, boroughs and quotas before the campaign fund drive is upon us."

All I can say is that Comrade Clarke is right in pointing out the splendid work done by Queens. On at least three occasions in the past detailed lists of donations were published in The New Leader. The entire Drive here in New York City is under the direction of the organizers of the various branches, and while it is true that organizers such as Adrien Gambet and others have done heroic work in raising funds it is not true that others have not also tried their utmost in that direction.

I am in no sense offering alibis for branches who have failed to respond more generously, but my personal knowledge of the financial standing of workers in the East Bronx and on the lower East Side leads me to believe that they will meet their full quotas—but that they need more time in which to do it.

The party office, in undertaking this Drive, realized at the very beginning that it must depend largely upon the Drive direction by branch organizers. Lists were prepared,

letters were mailed, weekly O and P meetings held—all in the direction of boosting the drive. Scores of individual conferences and personal urgings, speeches by August Claessens, myself and others, weekly appeals in The New Leader and the Forward—all tending toward the same objective. It must be clear that just as the National Office leaves it to the locals to promote the drives in the best manner they see fit, so must Local New York, in allocating its quotas leave it to the branch organizers and officers to utilize the best means of raising their branch quotas.

In some instances personal donations were solicited; in others dinners were held; in still other cases branch entertainments were arranged. It is obviously unwise for the party office to dictate to any branch as to the best means of raising its quotas, provided, however, that the branch receives the utmost cooperation.

At every single meeting of the organizers quotas were presented; sums raised reported and all officers urged to do their utmost to bring in the money as rapidly as possible. I do not think there has been any pussyfooting on anybody's part.

I am sincerely hoping that all branches and sympathizers will realize the urgency of the Drive and will send in their donations. There is not an organizer or secretary in the greater city organization who is not fully aware of the branch standing and who has not given his and her personal assurance of the organization meeting its quota with the utmost possible speed.

Intellectual infantilism. In "Capital," Marx repeatedly states that in order for a commodity to have value it must satisfy some "want" and therefore have "utility." In fact, if the professor were more than a mere charlatan, and if when writing his history of economic thought he would only have taken three minutes to look into "Capital," he would have found that in Book 1, Volume 1, Part 1, Chapter 1, Page 1, sentence 3, Marx states:

"A commodity is, in the first place, an object outside of us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another."

In the same chapter the cloistered author raises another objection against Socialism:

"As to capital, who would do the saving necessary for its formation? (Most Socialists hold that capital is nothing but labor.)"

Professor Can't See It

This is the objection of a baby who can not differentiate between capital (or better means of production) and a capitalist. The professor just can not visualize society as a whole taking over the function of the capitalist. He can not imagine the people collectively building factories, machinery, etc. unless they do it for some capitalist. He just can't—in Hearst's paper.

In the book, the author states: "It is surprising how few people understand exactly what Socialism is."

But really, professor, it isn't surprising at all when pompous publicists like you are responsible for the dissemination of "economic" information.

Captain Pflug-Hartung, internationally notorious murderer of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who was last year deported from Sweden by the Socialist authorities, turned up lately in Copenhagen. He came there from Berlin as an official representative of the Nazi press agency *Nachrichten*. He was recognized by the local Socialists and a few days ago he woke up with a big sign all over his residence:

Her Bor Karl Liebknecht's Murderer! ("How like Karl Liebknecht's murderer!")

BOOK REVIEW

By Gus Tyler

LEWIS H. HANEY, professor of economics at New York University, has issued a little volume entitled "Economics in a Nutshell," which, we are forewarned, is composed of "little essays" which "have mostly appeared on the financial pages of the New York Evening Journal and other Hearst papers."

The book is frankly childish. The truest section in the entire volume is the introduction, wherein the author admits that "the condition of economics itself is pitiable. Never have economists been in less good repute." After reading Professor Haney's book, I must agree with him, and must further agree with him when he states: "And unfortunately they (including the professor, G. T.) have themselves to thank for it."

The book is first of all an anachronism. To find a rabid advocate of laissez faire today is like finding a Roman chariot rolling down Fifth Avenue. It is an interesting spectacle, but no one is expected to take it seriously. But Mr. Haney does. He is a sincere devotee at the shrine of that noble Goddess Supply and Demand, to whose will and wish the author of the volume would entrust all our economic institutions.

Full of Fallacies

The volume deserves a lengthy review—not because it contains anything worthwhile but because it is a veritable collection of economic fallacies which should be

their leaders without a moment's delay.

That was the end of the negotiations. Presumably our comrade went right back to jail.

exploded. However, even this task is not really necessary. Any intelligent schoolboy could readily perceive its sheer nonsense.

Among other things is a chapter entitled, "Economics vs. Socialism" in which the author betrays a remarkable ignorance both of economics and Socialism. This most erudite pedagogue, who has written a history of economic thought with a chapter on Marx in it, states:

"Socialist economics is based on a false theory of value. It seeks to base value on labor cost."

This is simple ignorance. The labor theory of value as formulated by Marx is not, nor ever was, a theory of value based on labor cost. As a matter of fact, the essential point of Marx's theory of value is that there is a difference between value and labor cost out of which comes surplus value. If Marx believed that value was based on labor cost, he would have to deny the existence of interest, rent, and profit. Anybody who knows anything about Socialism, knows that the Socialist maintains that value and labor cost differ widely. But the professor who wrote a history of economic thought somehow does not know.

Profound Theory

Then, in tones of simple Simon naive, the learned man proceeds to explain why a theory of value based on labor cost is wrong. "This leaves other costs out of consideration." Very profound, professor. Anybody knows that. And if Marx did not know it, he would be as big a fool as Mr. Haney.

The other objection to the theory, which he does not understand, is "It leaves wants and utilities out of consideration." This is more

Even in Faraway New Zealand Communists are Communists

WELLINGTON, N. Z.—Even in New Zealand, remote from strife and struggles that plague and bedevil the rest of the world, the labor and Socialist movement is subject to the disruptions and dissensions promoted by the Communist movement.

After a long period of tolerance the New Zealand Labor Party has found it necessary to declare the Communist-led Friends of the Soviet Union an organization hostile to the labor movement and that membership in it and the Labor Party are irreconcilable.

The party has declared, after a long series of typical provocations, that no member of the F.S.U. is eligible to membership in the Labor Party. The last straw was the discovery of certain documents that showed the F.S.U. to be nothing but an auxiliary of a party bent upon destroying the Labor Party.

Socialists of this country long felt themselves immune from the annoyances that have split the Socialist parties of other countries and in some cases so paralyzed the workers as to destroy their resistance and to leave the way clear for the triumph of fascism. They read with amazement of incidents such as the attack upon Madison Square Garden in New York on February 16, when organized Communists invaded a vast mass meeting held in protest against the

Dollfuss terror in Austria and, unable to capture it, made it impossible for it to continue. But they believed such things could not happen to them. But they were mistaken.

Prior to the last Conference of the New Zealand Labor Party no objection was raised to affiliation of members of the F.S.U. with the party, and of party members with the F.S.U. But since then the documents that have come into the possession of the leaders of the party caused a great change in sentiment.

The documents ignore the friendly tolerance of the F.S.U. by the Labor Party and the latter's fraternal friendliness toward the Soviet Union and impose an iron discipline upon its members, ordering them to seek instructions for their actions within the Labor Party from Communist quarters.

The documents go on to repeat the usual slanders of "the active aid to the capitalist class against the Soviet Union" on the part of the Labor Party, and they add the statement that because of "Labor Party sabotage of working class struggle our standard of living declines rapidly."

In order to be scrupulously fair, the Labor Party invited officials of the F.S.U. to discuss the documents with them. They admitted their authenticity, but when asked if they believed the statements in them they declined to answer on the ground that the question was "beside the point."

The Communists in New Zealand have their full quota of F.S.U.'s and I.L.D.'s, and other Communist affiliates and "innocents" clubs. However, they continue to publish periodicals in which they hide their Communist character, as though they were ashamed of being known to the working class population as Communists.

Apparently a Communist cannot help acting like a Communist seeking to split and disrupt every working class organization, no matter whether he is in Germany, the United States, Great Britain—or New Zealand.

Il Nuovo Avanti is the name of a new Socialist publication the foreign delegation of our Italian comrades has just launched in Paris. The universally recognized leader of the party Pietro Nenni is editor of the new venture, which will replace for Socialists the now discontinued *La Libertà*, official organ of the Anti-Fascist Concentration.

The Concentration—a coalition of all Socialists, syndicalists, radical and liberal forces of Italy in exile—controlled for years all the underground activities in Mussolini land. With the withdrawal of the Socialists it ceased to exist last month.

YPSL Notes

City Central Committee meeting Saturday at the Rand School at 3 p. m. Borough Councils will meet at the same time. Youth Committee against Fascism circle organizers at 2 p. m. A study group sponsored by Circles 3 Br., 4 Br., 9 Br., and 13 Br., all of the Br., is being conducted by Israel Saltzman at 1022 E. 178th St., Bronx, on Mondays at 8 p. m.

FIERRO MEMORIAL SATURDAY

Plans are being made for an open air Fierro Memorial Meeting Saturday evening at 187th Street and Cambreleng Avenue, Bronx. This is that densely populated Italian section of the Bronx where Antonio Fierro lived up to the day he was murdered by the fascist Khaki Shirts in Astoria, L. I., last year.

This meeting is arranged by several Italian anti-fascist groups (exclusive of the Communists) and the Young People's Socialist League. A representative of the Young Socialists will be the principal English speaker, while Girolamo Valenti, editor of the anti-fascist daily *La Stampa Libera*, Mario Carrar, Fort Velona, Albert Cupelli, Luigi Quintiliani and Vincent Alvano of the Shirt Makers Union will speak in Italian.

EVERYTHING WILL BE HUNKY—"DORIS"

By the Dizzy Press Agent

Don't get steamed up until Sunday, August 19, when the good ship "Doris" will sail up the Hudson on a day's outing for all good Socialists.

This privately chartered two-deck steamer has been taken over by the Upper West Side Branch, but all party members who recall their outstanding "Comrade" Ball will want to be with them again. For the boat ride promises to be an event unique in its entertainment features and incredible for its low price.

The excursion includes six hours at a private beach, the trip out and the moonlight sail home. Then there will be dancing and music on board and a well-stocked larder of real food as well as beer and other refreshments.

Tickets at Rand Book Store or by writing to 100 West 72nd St., Room 504.

Features of the Week on (231 M.) WEVD (1300 Kc.)

Sun., July 22—11 a. m.—Forward Hour, music and sketch; 8 p. m.—Sol Giskin, violinist; 8:30—Mimine Salzedo, poetry; 8:45—Sherry and Stange, melody duo; 10—Symposium.

Mon., July 23—8 a. m.—Psychology Clinic of the Air, Dr. Jacob List; 4:30 p. m.—Actors' Dinner Club, direction of Doris Hardy; 4:45—Jewel Jennifer, blues singer; 5—Clemente Giglio, drama and music; 5:30—Lydia Mason, pianist; 5:45—"The Virginians," male quartet. Tues., July 24—8 p. m.—"The City Budget," talk by Peter Grimm; 8:15—"Paris in New York," music and talk; 8:45—Charlotte Tonhazy, violinist; 10:15—Ruth Langer, soprano; 10:45—Jay Salzman, tenor.

Wed., July 25—8 p. m.—The Nation Radiatorial Board, talk; 8:30—David Magill, tenor; 10—"American Revolutions," dramatic sketch; 10:30—Edith Friedman, pianist; Eugene Byron Morgan, baritone; 10:45—House Jameson, poetry.

Thurs., July 26—4:30 p. m.—"Mildred's Style Review," Helen Lauvin, contralto; Eugene Byron Morgan, baritone; 8:45—Foreign Affairs Forum, talk; 10:45—Henry and Edward Peterson, violin and alto.

Fri., July 27—3:45 p. m.—Nicholas Saslavsky, baritone; 4—Chamber Music, instrumental ensemble; 4:30—William M. Feigenbaum, The New Leader Review; 10—Hendrik de Leeuw, "The Royal Dutch Traveler"; 10:15—Frank LaForese, bass; Anna Paul, soprano; 10:45—Bass and Rudall, piano duo.

Sat., July 28—11:30 a. m.—Mable Horsey's "Stars of Tomorrow," juvenile program; 4:15 p. m.—Elsie Meltz, blues singer; 8—Ethel Kravant, soprano, and Clara Blankman, violinist; 8:30—Nathaniel Sprinzen, tenor, and Patricia O'Connell, soprano; 10:45—House Jameson, "Readings from Shakespeare."

Party Notes

Organization and Propaganda meeting next Monday evening, 6 p. m., Room 508, People's House. Branch organizers to be prepared to settle for Convention Journal advertisements; for Austrian stamps and the United Socialist Drive. Those interested in the Falcon Movement! Party members and officers are urged to write the Red Falcons, 7 East 15th St., New York, for a very attractive poster depicting the need for youth organization.

Women's Committee will run a Booth Bazaar at Picnic on July 28 at Ulmer Park. Comrades are requested to donate to party merchandise of all kinds. Proceeds to the Falcons for vacation trips. A large committee of the Women's Section is exerting all its efforts to make this bazaar a success.

Manhattan

Washington Heights Branch. Monday, July 23, Dr. Siegfried Lipschitz, editor, Transatlantic Information Service, on "What Can We Learn from the German Situation." Place: 1130 St. Nicholas Ave., 8:30 p. m.

Brooklyn

22nd A. D. Plans were made for an energetic campaign in East New York. Sam Block, our assembly candidate, elected campaign manager. The Joint Campaign Committee consists of the Workmen's Circle Branch 295, Jewish Branch, Young Circle League and the YPSL.

Downtown Branch. Regular weekly business meeting Thursday, July 12, at 157 Montague St. Balance of nominations made. Primary petitions distributed. Educational program being planned for the early fall. Campaign Committee to meet shortly. New pledge system to start soon. Next regular meeting July 26, 8:30, at above address.

East Flatbush Branch. Final plans being made for automobile outing to Jones Beach Sunday, July 22. Mass demonstration against war and fascism Friday eve., July 20, at Saratoga and Riverdale Aves. Speakers: Sam Friedman, Wallace Campbell and others.

5th-17th A. D. (310 Summer Ave.). Monday eve., July 23, 9 p. m. promptly, August Claessens in a special lecture for the benefit of the United Socialist Drive. Topic: "The Psychology of Race Prejudices and Conflicts."

4th-13th A. D. Our branch, together with the Young People's Socialist League will hold a large open air demonstration Friday evening, July 20, at South 4th and Havemeyer Sts., Williamsburgh, to acquaint the workers of Williamsburgh with the facts concerning the general strike in San Francisco. Speakers: James Oneal, Murray Baron, Harry Finkelstein.

15th A. D. Branch 2. Automobile outing Sunday, August 5, Rile Park.

22nd A. D. Our branch will give a Beer Garden party and entertainment Saturday evening, July 21, at headquarters, 864 Sutter Ave.

23rd A. D. "Declaration of Principles" will be the subject of a debate between Jack Altman and David Kaplan at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Tuesday, July 24, 8 p. m.

21st A. D. Kings. Branch meetings: Monday, 8:30 p. m., Colby Academy, Snyder and Bedford Aves., July 23; Morris K. Parson on "Socialism as a Life Philosophy," July 30; Dean Dunlop on "An Outsider's Estimate of the Socialist Party." Brighton Beach Branch. Demonstration for sympathy with San Francisco strikers Friday, July 20, 8:30 p. m., at Coney Island Avenue and Brightonwater Court. Next regular branch meeting Monday, July 23.

Bronx

2nd A. D. Branch will meet Tuesday, July 24. Discussion of the San Francisco strike. The automobile outing will be held Sunday.

7th A. D. Branch business meeting on Tuesday, July 24. Very important matters coming up.

Falcon Posters

The Red Falcons of America have made attractive posters. These posters adequately and decoratively depict the pledged comradeship of the Red Falcons in all its fields of endeavor—hiking, nature-study, dramatic work, etc. The Falcons ask that all Socialist Party branches, YPSL circles and fraternal organizations buy these posters for their headquarters.

Show the youth that you stand behind them!

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

Unity House to Broadcast Its Programs

Starting Saturday, Unity House will broadcast radio programs. Unity is the first summer resort to inaugurate this feature, and it begins with outstanding talent on its programs.

Heywood Brown, Harry Elmer Barnes, Olga Knopf and Elias Tartak are scheduled for a series of talks on literary and topical subjects. Saturday evening the Russian Opera Company will present "Eugene Onegin" under the direction of Madame Meitchik with the same cast that recently appeared at the Casino Theatre. Sunday evening the Pine Grove Players will give the premier performance of a satirical comedy, "Fortunado." Sunday morning Madame Anna Appel of the Maurice Schwartz Art Theatre Group will speak on the present trend toward Yiddish talking motion pictures.

New York State

Westchester.—The following candidates were nominated at a county convention at New Rochelle July 16: Congressman, 25th district, Leonard Bright; State Senate, 25th district, Jacob Jay; 26th district, Cornelia Valenstein. Assemblymen: 1st district, Maurice M. Levine; 2nd district, Ruth Louise Palmer; 3rd district, Arthur F. Simmonds; 4th district, Otto A. Riegelman; 5th district, Margaret M. Coogan. District Attorney, Max Cohen; County Clerk, Ruth Chapman.

Westchester County picnic will be held Sunday, July 22, at Valentine's Farm, near the Elmsford Country Club, Dobbs Ferry Road, Town of Greenburgh. Bus from Yonkers or White Plains stops at farm.

Campaign Fund Pledges.—The State Secretary urges that all pledges to the State Campaign Fund, whether made at the State Convention dinner or subsequently, be paid at the earliest possible moment. The ordinary receipts of the State Office for July and August are negligible, but it is during these months that the ground work of the state campaign must be attended to.

Nassau County.—Eric DeMarah is candidate for Congress in the 1st district of which Nassau forms a part. The county convention selected George Freeman of West Hempstead for State Senator, Guido Rohn, Assemblyman in the 1st A. D. and Rudolph Garypie in the 2nd A. D. Edward Marks will be designated for District Attorney, Christine Schmitzen for County Clerk, Sofia W. Christensen for Comptroller, and Mrs. Ray Freeman for Commissioner of Public Welfare.

Cattaraugus.—This county still leads in the proportion of good standing membership to the population. Next in order are Rockland, Tompkins and Schenectady counties. Cattaraugus has locals at Olean, Salamanca and Gowanda, the last mentioned being a branch of the Yugoslav Federation.

Port Jervis.—Organizer William E. Duffy reports prospects of forming a good local here. He is receiving the active cooperation of Alexander Milway.

Buffalo.—Local Buffalo has selected following candidates: County Auditor, Charles H. Roth; District Attorney, Stephen F. Burton; Congress, 40th district, Herman J. Kahn; 41st district, Ernest D. Baumann; 42nd district, Marklet H. Harding; State Senators, 48th district, John Newton Thurber; 49th district, Louis F. Rexin; 50th district, William J. Semple; Members of Assembly, first, John C. Pace; second, Christy Mawland; third, Pellegrino Pieri, business agent of Cooks' and Chefs' union; fourth, William E. Newbury, Switchmen's Union; fifth, Leonard Perry; sixth, Mrs. Yetta Brody; seventh, George Beech, street car men's union, and eighth, John M. Secord, business agent of Marine Cooks' and Stewards' union.

Street Meetings

FRIDAY, JULY 20

Lower 5th A. D. Bronx, Ward and Westchester Aves., Harry Kaveah, Herman Saltzman and others. Coney Island Ave. and Brightonwater Court. Demonstration of sympathy for San Francisco strikers.

MONDAY, JULY 23

Tremont and Prospect Aves. Speakers to report at headquarters, 789 Elmsmere Place, Bronx. Wyona and New Lots Aves. Block, Shapiro, Salert and Losov. Burnside and Walton Aves. Belskin, Rosenberg, Feynberg. Every Monday evening meetings will be held on this corner.

THURSDAY, JULY 26

Albany Road and Flatbush Ave. Roger Cornell, Floss E. Fishkin, others.

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The choicest wines and liquors served at our newly installed bar

CONGRESS

Not when we elect Socialists to Congress!



ULMER PARK

on the water front, at the foot of 25th Ave., Brooklyn

Large and well shaded picnic groves, athletic field, baseball and football grounds, Spacious pavilion and dance floor.

For many years the yearly picnics of the Socialist Party and other big outings have been held in this popular park. Labor and fraternal organizations planning outings where the facilities are ideal, should get in touch with

Ulmer Park FOOT OF 25th AVE., BROOKLYN
Mayflower 9-4014, Charles Franzen, Mgr.

'S. P. Peace Parade'—'Unknown Soldier Speaks' at Acme

Socialist Party Peace Parade Coming to Acme Theatre

Beginning Tuesday, July 23, the Acme Theatre will present the first showing in this city of the great Socialist Party Peace Parade which took place in May in New York City.

The picture gives a graphic view of the large turnout against war by the Socialists and other groups, including the Young People's Socialist League. The film presents close-up scenes of the leaders and the meeting in Madison Square.

On the same program will be shown "The Unknown Soldier Speaks," a picture showing the horrors of war and presenting a plea for peace. The Acme will also present the latest film news from San Francisco. New pictures of the strike situation on the Coast are being added from day to day. These pictures are taken by the special Acme cameraman on the Coast.

Stadium Programs

Eugene Ormandy, Conductor

Sunday evening, July 22, at 8:30

All-Viennese Program

Overture to "Rosa-muride" Schubert

Symphony No. 8 in B minor Schubert

Overture to "Fledermaus" Johann Strauss

Waltz, "Tales from the Vienna Woods"—a) Frauenherz Polka;

b) Perpetuum Mobile; c) Pizzicato Polka Johann Strauss

"Blue Danube" Waltz J. Strauss

Monday evening, July 23, at 8:30

Chaconne Bach-Hubay

Symphony No. 4 in D minor Schumann-Mahler

L'Isle Joyeuse Debussy

Pleasure Dome of Kubla Khan Griffes

"Hary Janos" Suite Kodaly

1) Prelude: The Tale Begins;

2) Viennese Musical Clock;

3) Song; 4) The Battle, and

Napoleon's Defeat; 5) Intermezzo; 6) Entrance of the

Emperor and His Court.

Tuesday evening, July 24, at 8:30

"New World" Symphony in E minor Dvorak

"Francesca da Rimini" Tchaikovsky

Don Juan Strauss

Polka and Fugue from "Schwanda" Weinberger

Wednesday evening, July 25, at 8:30

Soloist: Misha Piatro, Violinist

"Academic Festival" Brahms

Overture to "Die Meister-singer" Wagner

Symphony No. 4 in E minor Brahms

Violin Concerto Tchaikovsky

Thursday evening, July 26, at 8:30

Overture to "Die Meister-singer" Wagner

At the Capitol

As an extra added film attraction—and supplementing the revival of "Min and Bill"—starring Marie Dressler and Wallace Beery, which comes to the Capitol for the week beginning today—Stan Laurel and Oliver Hardy will cavort upon the Capitol's screen in their newest comedy, "Going Bye-Bye."

The Editor of The New Leader on Acme Theatre Screen



James O'Neal is seen and heard in the great Socialist Party Peace Parade film (May Day), which opens at the Acme Theatre Tuesday, July 23. On the same program will be shown "The Unknown Soldier Speaks."

"Stevedore" to Continue

"Stevedore," the vigorous New Orleans drama at the Civic Repertory Theatre, celebrated its 100th performance last week and will be kept open at least one more week and possibly all summer, according to announcements made by the Theatre Union. It had been scheduled to close last Saturday, but so many demands for a longer run were received that it will continue. Theatre parties are being arranged at Columbia University and other summer schools.

The Theatre Union announces a summer policy of extending its special reduced rates to small theatre parties. A discount of approximately 40% will be given to groups of twenty, which brings down the cost of seeing "Stevedore" to the price of a movie. A cooling system is in operation.

Molly Picon Tops Stage Show at Palace—"Of Human Bondage" Held Over

Molly Picon, beloved clown from the lower East Side, is headlining the new vaudeville bill at the RKO Palace.

Miss Picon will offer a cycle of new songs and character studies, including "How You Look to Me," a humorous descriptive number in which she gives her impression of the folks out front; "How the People Make a Living," a combination of comedy and pathos, sung to an Argentine melody; "Busy My Ton-sils," a song story depicting things that happen in a doctor's office; "The Rhapsody of a Working Girl," which tells of the daily routine of a working girl's life; and other similar special numbers. Abe Elstein will accompany on the piano.

On the screen the Palace is holding "Of Human Bondage" for a

Fox Brooklyn Holds Over Shirley Temple Film

Shirley Temple came to the Fox Brooklyn and won the hearts of Brooklyn moviegoers. So popular is her latest picture "Baby Take a Bow" that it is being held over for a second week.

"Baby Take a Bow" is the story of an adorable child, whose daddy has been sent to prison. He is accused of a step backward, but Shirley who lends merriment to the action even in the most dramatic moments, turns a trick in the nick of time that makes her the heroine of the drama.

James Dunn and Claire Trevor portray the father and mother.

The stage show at the Fox, which will also be held at the big Brooklyn Theatre for a second week, includes Johnny Lee and the Three Lees in thick mixtures of laughs; Gautiers Animated Toy Shop, a miniature circus of tiny pets and tots; Jack and June Blair, Mason and Yvonne, and Bert Frohman, the Fox Master of Ceremonies.

"Hawkshaw" Plus

Since the opening of "Hawkshaw the Detective" at the Palm Garden Garden Music Hall, 52nd Street at 8th Avenue, the management reports that 16,500 glasses of beer have been given away free to the patrons during the performances in the last three weeks. There have also been 5,200 cups of coffee and as many sandwiches given the customers, which lives up to the advertising of "Free Beer and Refreshments."

second-week due to record breaking houses during the first week. Leslie Howard is the star and Bette Davis is said to come through with her greatest performance.

Dwight Deere Wiman & Tom Weatherly presents

SHE LOVES ME NOT

Dramatists' Guild Prize Comedy for 1934

By HOWARD LINDSAY

Adapted from Edward Hope's novel.

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

—Brooks Atkinson, Times

46th ST. THEA. W. of B'way Eves. 50c-2.50 Mats. Wed. 50c-2.50 Sat. 2.40

ALL THIS WEEK On Screen

"WHOM THE GODS DESTROY"

with WALTER CONNOLLY

—RKO Vaudeville—

BUSTER SHAVER

Dance Aristocrats and other RKO Acts

R K O ALBEE Albee Square BROOKLYN

MUSIC

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Reopens Rivoli



"The House of Rothschild" reopened the Rivoli Theatre last Wednesday. George Arliss and Mrs. Arliss, above, in a scene from the film.

"Whom the Gods Destroy" at Albee—New Stage Show

"Whom the Gods Destroy" at the R.K.O. Albee, with Walter Connolly, Doris Kenyon and Robert Young, is coupled with a vaudeville show of Brooklyn favorites, including the Twelve Aristocrats, Buster Shaver with his clever little folks, and Ross and Edwards. The film, an Albert Payson Terhune story, deals with the dramatic question of how much a man should justly sacrifice for humanity.

Shirley Temple Film Sets Record at Roxy—In 4th Week

Breaking all records in the last four years, Shirley Temple in "Baby, Take a Bow" is being held over at the Roxy Theatre for a fourth consecutive week starting today.

Within the short space of a few months this little five-year-old child actress, whose charm has captured the hearts of millions of motion picture patrons, has become one of the big stars of the screen.

The four-week holdover, which is at all times an unusual event for a motion picture theatre, has occurred only three times during the history of the Roxy Theatre since 1927.

2nd BIG WEEK!

LESLIE HOWARD
Bette Davis - Frances Dee
in W. Somerset Maugham's
An RKO-Radio Picture
★★★★★
DAILY NEWS
RKO Vaudeville
MOLLYPICON
Mills, Gold & Raye
Other RKO Acts
CAREFULLY COOLED

★★★★ Daily News

GEORGE ARLISS in THE HOUSE OF ROTHSCHILD

EXTRA!
Mickey Mouse
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Socialist Party Peace Parade

SEE and HEAR the Great Turn-out Against War and Fascism by the Socialists

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"THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER SPEAKS"

THE HORROR OF WAR AND APPEAL FOR PEACE

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ON THE CAPITOL SCREEN

MARIE DRESSLER WALLACE BEERY

"MIN and BILL"

— On the Stage —

BENNY DAVIS

and His Future Stars
Youth! Personality! Pep!

Coming JEAN HARLOW

"The Girl From Missouri"

CAPITOL Broadway at 51st St.

4th BIG WEEK!

SHIRLEY TEMPLE

in Her Newest Starring Hit

"Baby, Take a Bow"

A Fox Film with James DUNN - Claire TREVOR

★ Plus Gala Stage Revue ★

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Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of THE NEW LEADER. Phone Algonquin 4-4622 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 1 East 15th Street, New York.

HURRY! HURRY! DON'T MISS THE BIG HIT!

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NCW! 2nd Record-Breaking Week!

FOX SHIRLEY TEMPLE in "BABY, TAKE A BOW" with JAMES DUNN & CLAIRE TREVOR On Stage BERT JOHNNY LEE and 3 Lads FROHMANN 25c

As the NEW LEADER Goes to Press: Editor Explains and Appeals

THE term "As The New Leader goes to press" is fraught with a treble significance at this time.

It indicates that a number of situations are developing at the very moment that the paper is being "put to bed." Because of the limitations of weekly newspaper publication, the hot news is necessarily delayed.

It indicates that we print the very latest news up to the minute of going to press. Then a week must elapse before we can reach our readers again, regardless of the urgency of the message, regardless of what "breaks."

It indicates that a great many situations of industrial importance are developing. At best, we can touch the highlights of but a few. Every summer (which has always been the worst season for any Socialist paper financially) THE NEW LEADER has been compelled to curtail the number of its pages temporarily. Just this summer, with so many "hot spots" in industrial centers, we particularly regret the extreme financial stringency which compels us to cut down the Labor Section two pages for a few weeks, beginning next week.

The lesson is plain. More support for THE NEW LEADER. More support for the Labor Section. (Lots of encouragement and praise has come in, but little money.) Boost your paper; and boost it so earnestly, so successfully, that we shall not only retain the larger section and the bigger paper summer as well as winter, but also expand and multiply in size and service until that great day for the American labor movement when we shall be able to print a working-class DAILY newspaper. Then "As THE NEW LEADER goes to press" will herald news as recent as the very night before, and will caption all the news throughout the world of interest to the labor and Socialist movement.

This week as we go to press a dangerous situation exists in a number of strike centers. Out of the most momentous of these, San Francisco, comes the flash that the strike of the Coast maritime workers and the sympathy walkout of 100,000 other toilers; now in its third day, may soon be ended.

In Seattle, thousands of strikers and sympathizers laid siege to a pier at which an oil tanker was being unloaded by 400 scabs. The tanker had successfully eluded a blockade of the port. Braving clubs and tear gas, the strikers stormed police lines. They controlled dock entrances, blocked the movement of freight and turned back trucks. The Central Labor Council was to have taken up the question of a general strike last night.

Truck Transportation Tied Up in Minneapolis

In Minneapolis, 7000 strikers were tightening up their blockade plans and reassigning men for picket duty while the Federal Labor Relations Board representative was seeking to settle the strike by conference and mediation. Truck transportation has been tied up for two days, and only "exempted" taxis and ice, bakery, beer and dairy trucks, piloted by union men, have been permitted on the streets. A threatened strike in Duluth, Minn., has been deferred awaiting the outcome of Minneapolis negotiations.

Board Tries to Avert Knit Goods Strike

In New York and the metropolitan district, the completed plans for the strike of 18,000 workers to be called by the Knit Goods Council have met with the intervention of the Regional Labor Board. The council was set up by the ILGWU and the United Textile Workers, and the actual calling of the strike some time next week was recently vested in a steering committee headed by Salvatore Ninfo, ILGWU vice-president. The bosses' organization (the Metropolitan Knitted Garment Association) and the unions will confer Tuesday with Mrs. Eleanor Herrick, executive vice-chairman of the Regional Labor Board.

Seafarers' Council Seeks Mediation Machinery

In New York City, no strike of maritime workers will occur, unless conditions materially alter. The Central Trades and Labor Council was to have met late in the week, but there was no expectation that anything startling would ensue. The Seafarers' Council of the Port will ask Labor Secretary Perkins for a

conference to set up government mediation machinery to avert any "impending industrial strife," according to Captain William A. Maher, council president. The council, representing 19,000 maritime workers from captains to messboys, includes the United Licensed Officers, Marine Cooks and Stewards, Sailors' Union of the Atlantic and Gulf, Marine Firemen of the Atlantic and Gulf, American Radio Telegraphers' Association, United Boatmen's Association and Associated Marine Workers. The American Steamship Owners' Association has refused to deal with the council. At the same time, the executive board of Local 22, Dressmakers' Union, has called upon the I.L.A. to refuse to handle Pacific shipping.

Subway Workers Want Civil Service Protection

Also in New York, employees of the independent Subway System crowded the hearings of the Municipal Civil Service Commission to ask the protection granted civil service employees in regard to permanent status, prevailing rates of pay and vacations. The workers are not organized in a union. Their ten classifications, representing about 70% of the personnel, are listed as in the "non-competitive classes," and they ask to be placed on civil service competitive lists instead of being handpicked for jobs and promotion.

U.T.W. Convention to Plan General Strike

A meeting of the emergency council of the United Textile Workers has decreed a special convention of delegates from all over the nation to consider a general strike in the cotton, woolen and worsted, and silk and rayon industries. The sessions will probably take place in the middle of August, and the strike depends upon the report of the NRA research and planning division. Meanwhile the council met again to prepare for a meeting today in Salisbury, N. C., on the Southern mill strike, according to Vice-President Francis J. Gorman.

Alabama Textile Strike Extending

From Alabama comes the news of the gradual extension of the textile strike, especially in the northern part of the state. Over 20,000 workers are out, with the number growing, and over half the normal production of cotton-goods has been curtailed. At least 21 mills are down, and picketing is "peaceful" pending the attempt of

New Deal Shows Consistency in Trampling Labor

Issues of civil liberty in the industrial struggle between employers and workers have not for many years been so sharp, so widespread, or so bitterly fought as they have in the past twelve months, according to "Liberty under the New Deal," the annual report from June, 1933, to June, 1934, of the American Civil Liberties Union.

"The areas of the country where the record shows civil liberties most steadily violated," the report says, "remain practically unchanged." "Unparalleled resistance on the part of employers determined to maintain the open shop" and refusal of the New Deal administration "to make good its implied support of trade unions" are cited as important factors in the struggle in the industrial field.

"Government mediation," the Union declares, "has usually been at the expense of labor's rights. The government has not intervened to stop employers' interference with union activities. It has not outlawed company unions. It has tended to restrict the right to strike. The present tendencies are to take labor into camp as part of the governmental industrial machine and thereby to lull opposition to sleep by making the workers believe the government will look after their interests. Where the right to organize has been won, the record shows clearly that it is due to the determination of the workers, not to governmental intervention."

BRONX PAINTERS URGE NEW LOCAL ELECTION

A Bronx mass meeting of painters belonging to Local 261 of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers this week, in a resolution alleging fraud, dishonesty and stuffing of ballot boxes, demanded the calling of a new election and voiding of the results of the recent balloting. The votes were cast at Harlem Terrace, 210 East 104th Street, on Friday, June 29.

Charges of dishonesty in the whole election of District Council Number 9 have been rife since that date. At first the charges were made only by Communists and little attention was paid to them in view of the record of such members. When the Civil Liberties Bureau and other elements reiterated the charges, they were taken more seriously and are being investigated. Philip Zausner, re-elected secretary-treasurer of District Council Nine, vigorously denies the charges.

Shipping Clerks Organize; Plan For Big Strike

The Ladies' Garment Shipping Clerks' Union, which is organizing that very important section of the women's wear industry, will call two general strikes soon in the covered button and knit goods fields, in conjunction with I.L.G.W.U. Locals 132 and 155.

Until now no strike called by the I.L.G.W.U. has ever tied up the shops completely. There always remained the shipping departments, which supplied the market with merchandise and always did some of the manufacturing work. In forthcoming strikes, every worker in the trade will be included in the strike calls for the first time. In the face of difficulties that at first appeared insurmountable, the administration of the L.G.S.C.U., consisting in large part of members of the Socialist Party, has been able to organize and prepare the workers in this hitherto unorganized craft for the coming strikes. As the I.L.G.W.U. has promised full aid and cooperation, it is expected that both strikes will tie up the trade completely.

The union headquarters are in the offices of the Dressmakers' Joint Board, at 218-232 West 40th St. (Room 312). All who can spare the time to do volunteer work for the union are asked to report there any morning. Included in the union are shipping clerks, order clerks, piece goods clerks, errand boys, push boys and porters, according to President William A. Levine of the union.

General Strike Holds Firm in San Francisco

(Continued from Page 1-L) automobiles in which he and a Federal agent were riding. Apologies were forthcoming and the "guards" were arrested; but guns blaze at strikers and nothing but congratulations follows for the police and other thugs.

But the strike goes on with unabated vigor and up and down the Coast the naked class war goes on. A grand army of workers is in revolt against its oppressors. The army finds arrayed against it the forces of law and order, and the strikers' "own" government. The army fights on, so far in an industrial battle.

When the soldiers in that great army wake up, they may turn the industrial dispute into a political one, and the administrators of public law and their financial masters will reap what they have sowed.

CLEVELAND LABOR NOTES

31 Cutters Organized
The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, through its Cleveland manager, Abraham W. Katovsky, has succeeded in organizing the 31 cutters of the Prinz-Biederman Co. after years of fruitless efforts. The organization of these key men in the shop will probably mean the organization of all the workers in a short time.

Ben Peppercorn of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union reports that rapid progress has been made in organizing the shirt workers of the Kaynee Co. Socialist Party, Y.P.S.L. Helping The 150 workers of the Cleveland File Co., who are out on strike under the leadership of the Metal Trades Council of the Cleveland Federation of Labor, are being helped on the picket line by members of the Socialist Party and the Young People's Socialist League. The Socialist Party is also providing daily lunches for these workers.

To Open Labor College
Plans are almost completed for the opening of the Cleveland Labor College this fall. The Workers' Educational Council, which is sponsoring the college, is composed of members of more than a dozen unions, the Socialist Party and various social groups. Classes will be held at various union halls.

Picnic August 5
The annual picnic of the Socialist Party will be held Sunday, August 5, at Pintar's Farm, St. Clair and East 260th Street. Free buses will transport members and guests from the end of the car line to the picnic grounds. John A. Sommerlatte, Socialist candidate for Governor, will be the feature speaker. There will also be a baseball tournament, races, dancing, games, drinks and food.

Grocery Clerks League

On Sunday, August 12, members of the Retail Dairy, Grocery and Fruit Clerks Socialist League and their friends will stage a boat ride to Bear Mountain. Sympathizers are urged to attend for a good time and general comradeship. Tickets at \$1 can be obtained at the next open membership meeting of the league at the Rand School this Wednesday.

Anti-Wolinsky Group

(Continued from Page 2-L)
Let us unitedly build a strong, honest and clean union, based on our own strength and upon unity and workers' solidarity. Under Wolinsky's leadership we will never have unity.
Let us continue to fight for our just demands.
United Anti-Wolinsky Committee (Progressive Group, L. W. Society, Rank and File, and Socialist League.)

IT'S A REAL WAR!



Soldiers on San Francisco streets ready to shoot to kill at the behest of the bosses.

As the NEW LEADER Goes to Press: Latest Strike Developments

(Continued from Page Three)

the bosses to shoot scabs into the plants. John Dean, international representative of the UTW, is in charge, and the union is demanding a permanent 30-hour week, \$12 wage minimum, no stretch out system, union recognition for collective bargaining and reinstatement of those fired for union activity.

Mayor Urges Unionists To Quit "in Loyalty"

In Pittsburgh, the "patriotic" mayor, McNair, issued a manifesto to 5,600 municipal employees urging them to withdraw from their unions (one-fourth or more are in organizations affiliated with the AF of L) in order "to show their loyalty to their community." In that way, says the naive mayor, they'll prevent the strike epidemic's reaching their fair city. "Withdraw your membership cards from your unions until reason gains ascendancy on the minds of those who are destroying the orderly processes of government in other municipalities," he blurbs. Curiously enough, he doesn't mean the ship magnates and other big industrialists.

In Danbury, Conn., where the hatters' union has waged a nine-week's strike of 1000 workers in six fur cutting plants over wages and collective bargaining provisions, the dispute has been settled and workers will report back to their machines. As we go to press, no account of the terms of settlement has reached us.

Kohler Pickets Let Boss Pass, But Strike Goes On

In Kohler, Wisconsin, the "model industrial town" run by the firm whose president was former governor of the state, easing of the picket line does not indicate a relaxation of the strike. Although the "big boss" was goodnaturedly allowed to pass the picket line, as were office and maintenance workers, production will not be allowed during the time that the Chicago Regional Labor Board is trying to mediate the strike that filled Kohler, manufacturer of plumbing goods, with so much resentment and astonishment. He had thought he had his workers where he wanted them. He challenges the right of the AF of L local, "inspired by outside labor agitators," to speak for "his" hands.

In Oakland, Berkeley, Piedmont and Albany (California) the tools of industrialists, masquerading as "public spirited citizens," have been assembling their cohorts into special committees of public safety to help smash all strikes. These committees are akin to those raiding Communist and other head-

quarters in Frisco and in San Jose, to "protect fruit interests."

In St. Louis, over 1000 employees of the Century Electric Co. have been on strike since June 29 for a 10% raise and union recognition. Over 50 pickets were arrested this week for "disorders." The attempt by the St. Louis Regional Board to hold hearings on alleged code violations has been met by a temporary restraining order (injunction to you) issued by a Circuit Court judge.

Clothing Firm Strikes At NRA Authority

In Baltimore, the authority of the NRA and code officials in ordering conditions above the clothing code minimum has been seriously challenged by the country's second largest clothing manufacturing firm, L. Grief & Brothers, Inc. A United States District Court judge signed an order temporarily restraining such attempt to fix wages. The firm, operating 11 plants in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, doesn't want the vaunted blue eagle withdrawn, although it calls the bird an unlawfully created insignia to compel compliance and deprive bosses of their constitutional rights (there's a laugh for workers!). The code itself was improperly adopted because it was proposed by an association of manufacturers affiliated with the Amalgamated Workers' Union and fostered by President Hillman of that union, the complaint charged.

In Baltimore also, over 1000 truck drivers went out on a strike called by the Teamsters', Chauffeurs' and Helpers' Union after the Davison Transfer and Storage Company had resisted all attempts to reach a collective bargaining agreement.

In New Jersey there is "general labor unrest" as the slaves on the cannery plants, in the produce fields and in affiliated industries are stirring and threatening to revolt. In Hoboken, merchants and business men took a leaf out of labor's book and began picketing the two stores of the F. W. Woolworth and the Fisher-Beer chain which refused to enter into the general agreement to close Wednesday afternoons. The pickets were hired sandwich men, instead of devoted union members.

BUILDING SERVICE EMPLOYEES MEET

Elevator operators, starters and all maintenance employees in loft, office and apartment buildings in New York are urged to attend a mass meeting Friday night (July 20) at Labor Temple, 247 East 84th Street.

Cops Back Up Caldwell, But Pickets Fight On

CHARGING deliberately into a picket-line parading in front of the struck plant of the Caldwell Lighting Fixture Co., Mounted Policeman Al Beauchamp cracked down with his club on Harry Van Arsdale, business agent of the Electrical Workers' Union No. 3 and arrested him. The charge was interfering with an officer in the pursuit of his duty, but the officer was in pursuit of Van Arsdale, who was at least the width of the road away from him when he was supposed to be interfering with the officer. Van Arsdale was paroled in custody of his attorney until final disposition of his case Saturday.

Picking Van Arsdale out of a large, moving picket-line looks too much like a maneuver that employers use to help them make a case for injunction proceedings to be an accident. Electrical Workers' Union No. 3 has been giving unstinted support to the lighting fixture men in their strike, and Van Arsdale is one of their leading officers.

Four other pickets had been arrested the previous morning and charged with felonious assault. They appeared in Jefferson Market Court with the attorney for the Lighting Fixture union, William Karlin. Mayor LaGuardia was paying a surprise visit to the court and acting as Magistrate, but he passed the buck and had the case postponed. When it came up the following Monday, the case was dismissed. The arrested pickets were Charles Herd, Herman Jampole, Thomas Huber and Herman Bernstein.

Some of the priests of the Francis Xavier College, opposite the Caldwell plant, have been very much upset because of the picketing. They tried to talk to the pickets and tell them it wasn't nice to make so much noise. But the pickets informed them politely that their stomachs were making an even louder noise, and their wives and children were making the loudest noise of all. If the fathers had to worry about where their next meal was coming from and how they were going to pay the rent, a little noise wouldn't present such a vexatious problem, they were respectfully told.

The strike is in its eighth week now, with the men as determined as ever to stick to the end. As one striker put it: "I'd rather go barefoot than go back there without a union!" This is a striker whom one of the police officers kicked in the leg so that it was swollen twice its size. He has a bum leg, anyway, and limps slightly, but this didn't make any difference to the brave officer of the law. G. W. K.

Since the above was written, Comrade Gertrude Weil Klein (hiding behind the G. W. K.) was pulled in for activity on the picket line. With her were arrested Comrades Cicero Codena and William Farrell.

Unemployed and Emergency Workers Will Rally to Fight Relief by 'Slow Starvation'

A WEEK of intensive activity to rally the unemployed and emergency workers to fight against relief cuts and layoffs, climaxing in a demonstration at City Hall Plaza, 11 a. m., Friday, July 27, has been planned by the Workers' Unemployed Union and its affiliate, the Emergency Workers' Union.

A two-day conference of unemployed and CWA groups from the Atlantic seaboard, with representatives of 75,000 organized unemployed, will be held at the headquarters of the Workers' Unemployed Union, 22 East 22nd St., New York, on Saturday and Sunday, July 21 and 22. Forty delegates representing the People's Unemployed League (Baltimore); Taxpayers' Protective Ass'n (Reading, Pa.); Citizens' Unemployed Leagues of Westchester (N. Y.) County; Association of the Unemployed (Hartford, Conn.); Unemployed Workers' League (Bridgeport, Conn.); Unemployed Citizens' League (Pittsburgh), as well as the Workers' Unemployed Union, the Emergency Workers' Union, the League of Office and Professional Employees, and the Association of Unappointed Teachers from New York will be present.

This conference will plan a program of concerted action for the unemployed and relief workers of the Atlantic seaboard, with the view of unifying the forces for pressure on Washington for more adequate relief appropriations and unemployment insurance. Tactics to be used by the unemployed in the forthcoming months will be discussed. The formation of, or affiliation with, a national unemployed group will also be discussed.

At 5 p. m., Monday, July 23, a mass delegation of unemployed and relief workers representing the W. U. U., the League of Office and Professional Employees and the Emergency Workers' Union will visit the New York State Relief Administration at 79 Madison Ave., New York, to demand higher appropriations from the state of New York for the city. City officials have claimed that the recent layoff of 10,000 to 15,000 relief workers was forced by reductions in the amount given to New York City by the state.

According to present plans, a series of open hearings on relief will be held on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of next week, July 23, 24 and 25, at Russell Sage Hall, 22nd Street and Lexington.

The Citizens Committee, composed of 45 ministers, social workers, educators, editors, etc., will again listen to the stories of unemployed and relief workers, if arrangements can be made. In the call sent out to the Citizens' Committee, the Workers' Unemployed Union stated that "the emphasis today in the field of relief has been shifted from quick starvation to slow starvation" and that there exists today the same need for public revelations on relief as existed a year ago.

Climaxing this week of activity, hundreds of members of the Joint Committee of Unemployed and Emergency Workers, of which the Workers' Unemployed Union is a part, will go to the City Hall Friday, July 27, at 11 a. m. to demand a hearing before the Board of Estimate on the August unemployment relief appropriations. Mayor LaGuardia has in the past denied the unemployed any right to speak on the question of appropriations, and in this respect, according to the Workers' Unemployed Union, "is worse than Tammany Hall." On Friday the spokesmen for the unemployed and relief workers will demand that appropriations be made sufficient to re-

employ all laid-off workers and to pay them decent wages. Full cash relief at a minimum of \$15 a week for a family of two will be demanded for those on home relief.

All unemployed, relief workers and sympathizers are urged to be at the City Hall Plaza, at 11 a. m., Friday, July 27, to support the demands of the Joint Committee.

Union Directory

BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS' TUCKERS, STITCHERS and PLEATERS' 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, 2 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. Catalano, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

CAP MAKERS UNION, Local No. 1, Tel., Orchard 4-9880. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue New York City.

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

CORSET AND BRASSIERE WORKERS' UNION, Local 32; International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Abraham Snyder, Manager.

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

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. G. W. U. Office, 60 W. 35th St.; Phone WI. 7-0111. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmund Perlmutter, Mgr.; 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 3-2142. David Dubinsky, President.

AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1, Office, Amalithone 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 R. Castro, President; Patrick J. Hanlon, Vice-President; Frank Sekol, Fin. Secretary; Emil Thelen, 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 7-4545; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St., phone WIscamin 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 Rodos.

UNITED NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-7081. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

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

WAITERS' & WAITRESSES' UNION, Local No. 1, A. F. of L. and U. I. T., 290-7th Ave. M. Gottfried, Pres.; B. Gottesman, Secretary.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 62 of I. L. G. W. U., 73 Broadway, New York City. Phone, Chelsea 3-5755-5757. A. Snyder, Manager; S. SHORE, Executive Supervisor.



Pickets at the Kohler plant at Kohler, Wis., keeping strike-breakers away.

IGHT FOR DEMOCRACY

**the Austrian Socialists Suffering Under the
Maintain What the Workers Have Won**



movement of the working class. It is the international point of view which is to my mind the most important, and in the last resort, the decisive one.

Your letter is based on the experience that "the fascist dictatorship in Austria has dispelled all democratic and reformist illusions among the workers." In so far as it has destroyed illusions it has performed us a service, because it was always the function of our movement to destroy all illusions among the masses of workers, reformist as well as revolutionary, democratic as well as Socialist. The great historical service of Marxism begins with the destruction of the Socialist illusions of the Utopians, and with the struggle against the revolutionary

illusions of the Anarchists, Bakunists and Blanquists. The democratic and reformist illusions are the product of a later phase of the labor movement.

We have the same task in relation to them as in relation to all illusions: we have to make the workers conscious of the historical and economic conditions of their struggle. We must never shrink from the performance of this difficult task, however unpopular it may often be, and above all we

must never allow ourselves to be misled into substituting one illusion for another. We have to combat all illusions.

Because of its definitely economic conditions the position in Germany seems to be much clearer than in any other country. With regard to the development in Germany the Paris conference of the L.S.I. therefore thought that the most favorable situation for the workers would arise as a result of a victory of a revolution of the people against the fascist dictatorship. It declared that:

"When they have gained their victory over fascism, the revolutionary forces will not confine themselves to breaking its power; they will destroy the great capitalist and land-owning forces which are its economic foundation. They will lay the foundations of the new social order upon which they will erect the Socialist democracy."

That is the case which we all desire for Austria as the maximum of success for a revolutionary rising against the fascist dictatorship. Whether we shall immediately be able to reach this maximum of success when fascism falls, no one can predict. It will be possible if clerico-fascism falls during a general revolution in Central Europe, but the success for the working class may be far less if the fragile structure of the Doll-

fuss "corporative state" collapses before the time has become ripe for the overthrow of the Hitler tyranny. We know from fifteen years of bitter experience to what an extent little Austria is dependent upon the general situation in Europe, and we shall not allow ourselves today, any more than we ever did in the past, to be misled into adopting the illusion that it is the hub of the world.

You are indignant at the betrayal of bourgeois democracy by the bourgeois classes who threw themselves into the arms of fascism, and you revolt at the idea of being the victims of such a betrayal again. We quite understand that you desire to achieve something far higher than the restoration of bourgeois democracy, and that you hope to be able to cast off the capitalist yoke at the same time as the fascist.

But passionate indignation at the treachery of the bourgeoisie should not mislead us into overlooking the role of democracy in the non-fascist countries. We prevent ourselves from understanding the real problems of the international labor movement if we regard democracy as such as one of the illusions, as many are doing in Austria today in their excited zeal. It would mean losing every sense of reality if we were to regard our decades-long struggle for democracy as an illusion, as a wrong path. On the contrary, the fascist destruction of democracy demonstrates clearer than anything else the truth that democracy is a class interest of the workers.

The class interests of the bour-

(Continued on Page Six)

of Principles

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not only for the immediate defense and betterment of the material and social condition of the producing classes, but also to equip them with the knowledge and the habit of self-discipline which they must have in order to administer efficiently the industries of which they are to win control.

It is the bounden duty of every Socialist wage-worker to be a loyal and active member of the union of his industry or trade, and to strive with all his power for the strengthening and solidification of the trade-union movement. It is the duty and the privilege of the Socialist Party and its press to aid the unions in all their struggles for better wages, increased leisure, and better conditions of employment.

Representative government, universal suffrage, civil rights, and the other institutions of modern democracy are of incalculable value to the toiling masses, who have won them through generations of struggle. They must be maintained and defended against every attack. They must be improved and developed, to the end that we may attain to complete democracy, on the economic as well as the political field.

The Socialist Party seeks to achieve its purposes by orderly and constitutional means. It relies upon the education and organization of the masses, whose overwhelming numbers will enable them to emancipate themselves whenever they realize their true needs and their latent power. Lawless violence is the favorite weapon of exploiters of labor and enemies of democracy. An awakened and united working class thinks of physical force only as an ultimate means for the defense of democratic rights and the enforcement of the people's will.

The hideous phenomenon of fas-

the exceptional conditions of post-war demoralization and of extreme economic depression. It begins as the revolt of despairing popular elements, particularly the ruined lower middle classes and unorganized workers, who, losing confidence in themselves and in democratic methods, fall under the influence of self-seeking demagogues, who influence them by appeals to prejudice and promise them a short road to prosperity through a nationalistic dictatorship resting on brute force. Wherever it triumphs it inevitably betrays the masses who have supported it, allies itself with the most reactionary capitalist and militarist elements, and becomes a tool for the ruthless exploitation of labor. It paralyzes economic life, destroys civil and political liberty, and strikes at the very roots of civilization.

Fascism can be successfully combated only by a powerful and enlightened labor movement, industrially and politically organized, resolutely upholding democratic institutions, defending the workers' immediate interests, and advancing toward the socialization of industry.

The Socialist Party stands for the mass of the American people. But its interest is not limited to America alone. In modern civilization the destinies of all nations are inextricably interwoven. No nation can be prosperous, happy, and free while its neighbors are poor, miserable, and enslaved. The ties of international solidarity are particularly vital among the workers. In all advanced countries the working classes are engaged in an identical struggle for political and economic freedom, and the success or failure of each is reflected upon the fortunes of all.

The Socialist Party is opposed to militarism, imperialism, and war. Modern wars are caused by commercial and financial rivalries and intrigues of 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 struggles of the workers for political rights, material improvement and social justice, and tend to sever the bonds of solidarity between them and their brothers in other countries.

The Socialist Party accordingly aims at the development of trustworthy agencies for the amicable settlement of international disputes. It combats the policy of so-called preparedness, which only increases the danger of war. It strives to eliminate military training from our educational system. As against militaristic propaganda it carries on a systematic propaganda for ideals of peace and international brotherhood. It gives loyal support to those who, through mob violence or under the forms of law, are victimized for adherence to these ideals. It aims at the development of such understanding and will in the hearts and minds of the working-class majority as will make it impossible for capitalist and imperialist interests to plunge the country into war.

The Socialist movement is a world struggle in behalf of civilization. The Socialist Party cooperates with similar parties in other countries, and extends to them its full support in their struggles, confident that the workers all over the world will eventually secure the powers of government, abolish the oppression and chaos, the strife and bloodshed of international capitalism, and establish a federation of Socialist republics, cooperating with each other for the benefit of the human race, and for the maintenance of peace of the world.

STATEMENT ON QUESTIONS OF POLICY

1. The working class cannot depend upon the League of Nations as a satisfactory agency for the prevention of war. Nor can it permit the League's definition of an "aggressor nation" to commit it to participation in any war which the League might approve. The work-

(Continued on Page Seven)

Editor's Corner

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

The Socialist Party

SOCIALISTS may well ask why we have so much turmoil in the Socialist Party. If there were a clear division between two main groups, we would not be much concerned. Such a cleavage would be a healthy one if it were within a range of Socialist thought. For example, the division in the First International between those who followed Marx and those who followed Bakunin was a healthy one. Bakunin probably won a majority, but the Marxists established a movement.

A division not so fundamental but also healthy was that with the impossibilists in the Socialist Party in 1904. That issue was fought out to a satisfactory conclusion. In both instances the conflict of opinions was valuable. It educated the members and out of it came a more unified movement. The present situation is different.

In order to avoid misunderstanding, let me say that I do not assert that there is another division between Marxism and Bakuninism. If there were, the problem would be simple. Nor is it one between Marx and Lenin. That also would simplify matters. The differences are more complex and numerous. Any candid history of the post-war period of the party would show this.

A. Stitt Wilson is paired by a Paul Blanshard, and other similar pairs could be cited. An Upton Sinclair, sentimental over Russia and now a Democrat, is sheer comedy. A former "revolutionary" in Colorado, expelled from the party for promoting a racket in the party, is a study in psychology. These are samples from the bulk. Any attempt to explain them on the basis of any clear division between two groups is baffled.

Some Basic Causes

WHAT we really have is a disintegration of ideas due to the depression and the impact of events in other countries upon our movement. As internationalists we should be concerned with events abroad, but if this becomes an obsession in our own ranks we cannot make headway. No movement abroad has ever become obsessed with the movement in this country, Mexico and Canada, however different each may be with the others and whatever trends each may reveal.

There are a number of causes for this situation, but an important one is the fact that in the past fifteen years almost nothing of fundamental importance has been written by party members. I am referring to books and pamphlets. A number of the old classics are either difficult to get or they are out of print. The one excellent contribution in this period was Hillquit's "From Marx to Lenin."

The party brought out twenty small pamphlets in the Little Blue Book series by Haldeman-Julius in 1931, but these were mainly of the propaganda type. It is interesting that three contributors to this series—Sinclair, Blanshard and Brown—left the party. That is some record within three years and of itself indicates the instability of ideas.

No Short Cuts Ahead

ALL evidence indicates that instead of our party trying to direct the parties abroad, it is so sick that it requires a nurse which they might well provide. It is no accident that in the past several months the only new pamphlets that have appeared in this country are translations from the Polish and the German. That of itself is an unconscious confession that we need nursing from others rather than assuming the role of nursing others. In short, the poverty of our literature is appalling and it is both cause and effect of the present situation in the party.

To be sure, we have little funds for publishing literature and this has also handicapped us in campaigns. However, unless we educate our members in Socialist philosophy we will not be able to carry on intelligent Socialist campaigns, and this education has never been more urgent than now. If a movement has no more cohesion than a rope of sand, no mechanical solution through decisions or conventions or committees or changes in constitutions will help us.

Technocracy, money reformers, new styles in Populism, colonyites, more workers' parties, united fronts, progressive groups, the Utopian Society in California, four or five varieties of Communism, cooperators, farmer parties, bizarre schemes for curing the depression and other queer sects swarm around the party while inside we suffer from a lack of basic education. This whole situation should sober us and set us to the task of at least setting our own house in order.

It is all the more pathetic when we remember that we have not reached one per cent of the working class, and yet there are those who seem to think that all that is necessary for a revolution is for us to be enthusiastic for it. A revolution cannot be made at will. Unless it first finds a place in millions of human heads it can never be realized in human society. There are no short cuts to a New Jerusalem. It requires many years of patience allied with tireless energy before we can even see the first faint rays of the Dawn.

And Still We Fight for Democracy

(Continued from Page Five)

geoisie ultimately come into conflict with democracy and impel the bourgeoisie to destroy the democratic institutions. The workers, on the other hand, have a class interest in defending democracy as long as they possibly can, and the Austrian workers therefore need not regret that they fought for equality of rights for decades and defended the democratic institutions to the last. They will realize that the working class can do no other than fulfill the task allotted to it by the Paris conference of the L.S.I., namely, to "defend with all its might the individual and collective liberties as well as universal suffrage and the freedom of trade union organization," in spite of all the fascist dangers.

And this is the critical point from which in the last resort all the contradictions in the labor movement arise. You are quite right when you say in your letter that between Socialists and Communists "there are no longer any differences under the fascist dictatorship in the tactics of the struggle." Actually, in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship the Communists cannot do anything different from you and you cannot do anything different from them. In the struggle against the fascist dictatorship there is no reason whatever for a split; on the contrary, the necessities of this struggle impel the workers with every force in the direction of unity of action. And yet the Communists continue to apply a large part of their energies to the struggle within the working class, a struggle whose destructiveness you clearly recognize and which you hope to eliminate by the "conclusion of an honorable pact of non-aggression."

There are no differences of opinion in the labor movement of all shades as to the necessity of the revolutionary struggle in the fascist countries. What drives the Communists to carry on an untiring struggle against the Socialists is the question of the tactics to be followed in the non-fascist countries. There are also great and serious differences in the Labor and Socialist International regarding the tactics adopted in the democratic countries, but all take the view that the democratic institutions must be defended in the interests of the working class.

The Communists, on the other hand, have preached unceasingly since 1919 in every political situation that the defense and extension of democracy is useless, and that even the severest defeats in the democratic countries must be accepted in the interests of the propaganda for the last decisive struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The Paris conference expressed the opinion that, "in view of the bloody torture and slavery inflicted upon the German working class, the Communist workers are obliged to recognize that it is the duty of the working class in all countries to defend the democratic institutions as a guarantee of their freedom and as a basis for their struggle." Unfortunately the Communists are still far removed from this view.

The Communists advise you to break away from the democratic countries, not to bother yourselves any more about what happens there, but to concentrate on the struggle in your own country. They themselves would never commit such a breach of international solidarity; they remain true to the Bolshevik International. Yet they demand of you that you "withdraw from the Labor and Socialist International," which means nothing less than a breach of solidarity

with the labor parties in the democratic countries. The comrades in the democratic countries have fulfilled their duty of international solidarity, and the question of gratitude towards them does not arise. Something of far greater importance is at stake—the entire international basis of our movement. You are being advised to adopt international isolation in the alleged interests of the revolution in your own country. But if there ever was a revolutionary illusion it is this idea that the movement in little Austria could isolate itself from the international labor movement. Those who play with the idea of international isolation regard this merely as a psychological intermediate stage towards incorporation in the Bolshevik International.

It is by no means surprising that many unstable elements, shaken by the events, are going over to the Communists again today, just as in 1919. At that time they were moved by the phantasmic hope of an immediate world revolution, whereas today they are being driven to accept the Bolshevik belief in miracles by the unrestrained desperation at the defeat which we suffered. It is a terrible tragedy for the international labor movement that the Bolsheviks still fail to understand the conditions of the struggle in the democratic countries, and that

in their mistaken belief that fascism must prevail everywhere they themselves contribute to its progress by hindering, and even wrecking, the defensive struggle of the labor parties.

What the working class most urgently needs is unity of action, as much in the fascist as in the non-fascist countries. It is quite rightly stated in the resolution adopted at our Paris conference that:

"The divisions in the working class cannot be justified in the light of the lessons of history. Whilst rejecting all the maneuvers connected with the united front, the objective of which is not to unite the working class internationally but to accentuate its national divisions, the L.S.I. proclaims anew that it will spare no effort in trying to re-unite the scattered forces of the working class."

You believe that you can counter the ill-effects of the split, at least for your limited sphere of operations, by a "proposal for the conclusion of an honorable pact of non-aggression, which shall apply at least to the fascist countries." The success obtained by the Czech comrades when they were the first to propagate the idea of the pact of non-aggression is not encouraging. Such a step can be of use in making the real intentions of the Communists clear, and every

time it is repeated it will again prove that for the Communists all talk of unity is a maneuver. Only when the superstitious belief in one single form of tactics is abandoned can the real unity of the labor movement become a fact. It must be understood that the labor movement requires two methods side by side, that of revolution and that of reform. For decades the labor movement has been using up its best strength in a dispute as to which method is preferable, and it is perishing under the delusion that one is sufficient. Let us cease this dispute, let us recognize both methods, let us make a sensible division of labor, and it will transpire that the two methods do not conflict with but complement each other. And thereby unity of action will be realized for each of the two methods. This agreement for a coordination of the methods of revolution and reform is only possible on an international scale. If it is brought about, the unity of the international labor movement will be achieved at one stroke. So long as this is not achieved no palliatives, however well intentioned they may be, will free the international labor movement from the impotence of the split.

At its Paris conference the Labor and Socialist International announced more clearly than ever that it recognizes both methods of action, reform and revolution.

Unity can only come when the Bolshevik International as well can bring itself to recognize the necessity of both methods.

I hope that you will think your way through to the great point of view of the Communist Manifesto, which teaches us always to defend the interests of the movement as a whole during the various stages through which the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie passes.

Memorial Planned For A. I. Shiplacoff

A permanent memorial to the memory of A. I. Shiplacoff, Socialist and labor leader who died last February, is planned by the Women's Committee of the Socialist Party and the Falcon Builders of New York.

The memorial will take the form of an A. I. Shiplacoff Camp for Falcons, to be established at Camp Eden, Cold Spring, N. Y., the camp maintained by Local New York and other sections of the labor movement.

A drive for funds will be launched shortly. The active worker in the drive is Minnie Weisberg, and she announces that the first task of the comrades active in the work is to line up a representative committee of men and women from the Socialist Party, the Yipsels and Falcons, the trade unions, the Workmen's Circle and the Rand School.

and solidarity—and devote all our time in training the Lenins of tomorrow, awaiting the "Day" when the masses will be willing to be led into the paradise of Socialism.

If, however, we believe in the doctrines of the third group, namely, for want of a better name, democratic Socialism, such doctrines would not only be revolutionary but based upon the idea that Socialism is impossible without democracy; that before it becomes a reality the majority not only must understand what they are about but also take part in the change.

The Declaration is not only confusing but is contradictory. How can the Socialist Party advocate at one time syndicalism, Communism, Social Democracy and, as we shall see, pacifism?

The resolution does not accept the Socialist attitude towards war. Socialists realize that war, just as unemployment, poverty, crime, etc., is an effect of capitalism; that under our present economic system, war is not only inevitable but necessary. It is true that there is considerable suffering as the result of war. Has there not been considerable suffering among the workers during the past four or five years? Even during peace days, hundreds of thousands of workers are needlessly mutilated and slain. I presume that there are many unemployed today who would rather be in the trenches than in bread-lines.

If the sponsors of this resolution were logical they should be agitating today for a general strike against unemployment, industrial crises, low wages, poverty, etc. Is not that the position of the Communist Party? Socialists realize that since capitalism as an economic system produces war, its abolition will automatically end war. Capitalism can be likened to a tree and its horrible effects as its branches. Severing one branch from a tree as a rule means that a new one will take its place. The destruction of the tree will spell doom for its branches.

The Declaration is not worthy of consideration by the party membership. It was written in a hasty manner and by one not familiar with the philosophy of Socialism. It is not a Socialist document.

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

The Declaration Pro and Con

IN FAVOR

(Continued from Page Two)

phrase "massed war resistance." Hendin apparently does understand it; he speaks of it as "a program" and "a policy" and the ground of his objection is that American labor will not follow him if he subscribes to such a program and policy. Waldman is opposed to it because it is too indefinite, but he does discern in it two things, the general strike and the implication of favoring civil war. To my mind the phrase means this: a) Resistance to war; Socialists must not let war overtake them like fate but offer resistance. b) It must not be merely resistance of individuals but must be organized, collective. One form of such massed resistance is the general strike, which is approved "so far as practicable." There may be other forms. The party will decide, when the time comes, what form will be suitable.

The general strike is approved by Oneal and impliedly by Panken, who complains that tactics for the general strike have not been laid down by the convention. Maurer objects to it because we are not in a position to organize it successfully. Only Waldman objects to it on principle because it is "insurrection" and "adulterated form of Anarchism." To Waldman, voting under the capitalist system seems to be the all-sufficient cure. To my mind the general strike is a weapon of first magnitude which should be wholeheartedly approved and, of course, used only after adequate preparation.

Oneal and Waldman object to the expression "bogus democracy" in the Declaration. It is an established Socialist truth that democracy in a capitalist state is not and cannot be real democracy for the workers. The economic power of the capitalist class, including their ownership of the means of production, their power over jobs, their domination of schools, newspapers and other thought-molding institutions, gives them such an advantage over the workers that the latter are prevented even from seeing their own interests as they actually are but see them as the capitalists want them to see. Democracy is not real. But that does not mean that we want to abandon it. There is no such suggestion

expressed or implied, in any part of the Declaration. The unreal and weak democracy is still a weapon that we should not give up, that stands us in good stead. On the other hand, the spectacle of the German Social Democratic Party, which worshipped at the altar of democracy until it perished, should teach us that democracy in a capitalist state is not the ultimate goal of a proletarian party. Some may feel that the word "bogus" is too strong. Democracy means "rule by the people." The people in this country are the working people, workers by hand and brain. Do they rule? Are their so-called representatives not, in reality, representatives of the owners of wealth, though they are chosen by workers' votes?

Hendin, Waldman and Panken are opposed to the statement that, "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 a case it is a majority, will not shrink from the responsibility of organizing and maintaining a government under the workers' rule." What answer can they give us as to the correct line should capitalism collapse? What would Hendin, Panken and Waldman do under such circumstances? If they have anything else to offer that is more reasonable than what is stated in the Declaration, I shall be glad to accept it. So far the statement seems plain common sense to me. Waldman's suggestion that it implies that it will be the task of the party to create chaos and confusion has no basis in the Declaration. Waldman also asks who will be the judge of whether there is chaos and confusion. When I find myself rolling down a mountain and faced with the danger of plunging into a precipice, I do not ask anybody whether I am rolling down or not. I decide that for myself, and so will the party in case of chaos and confusion.

Harry T. Smith would not tell the class enemy as to our plans. The purpose of the statement is to educate our own members, including our leaders, and the vehemence with which the Old Guard fights this Declaration, on basis of principle, shows that an effort must be made to convince them that this is the correct line for the party.

IN OPPOSITION

(Continued from Page Two)

man kind from oppression. Unlike the syndicalists, they are of the opinion that the workers must first get control of the State rather than the factories. Hence their advocacy of political action.

They believe that the party must be clear as to its object and its policy. Rather than emphasizing the need for trained leaders, they feel that Socialism is impossible unless the majority of the masses desire it. Socialism without democracy, they contend, is unthinkable.

The differences between these groups are obviously irreconcilable. The syndicalist is opposed to political action; the Communist is opposed to democracy, and the Social Democrat is opposed to both direct and minority action. Which of these three doctrines is enunciated by the Detroit Declaration?

The Declaration urges the general strike "in a united effort to make the waging of war a practical impossibility and to convert the capitalist war crisis into a victory for Socialism." If a general strike can usher in Socialism, why a Socialist Party? Why should we spend our time attempting to build up a political party? Why should we continue to participate in elections? If the sponsors of this document are consistent in their views they should adopt the tactics of the I.W.W. Calling a revolutionary general strike presupposes the existence of industrial unions or syndicates.

The Declaration speaks of when the collapse of the capitalist system occurs, "the Socialist Party, whether or not in such a case it is a majority, will not shrink from the responsibility of organizing and maintaining a government under the workers' rule." Here in a nutshell is the program of the Communist Party. If the capitalist system will collapse and minority action is possible under such circumstances, then again the question arises, why a Socialist Party? Why should there be two Communist parties?

If we are agreed that Socialism will come as a result of a violent change, we should cease concerning ourselves with the three cornerstones of the Socialist Party of yesterday—elections, organization,

Party Activities in Indiana

By Emma Henry

What's the matter with Indiana? From the volume of mail coming to the state office daily I would say the only thing wrong is the lack of finances to carry on an intensive campaign of education and organization that is so necessary now.

The comrades throughout the state are alert to the advantage of a political campaign to get the message of Socialism to the people. The vast throng of unemployed are ready and willing to listen.

We have twelve Congressional districts in Indiana, and from inquiries and tentative plans it looks favorable for a Congressional nominee in each district. Many municipal tickets have been nominated and plans for county tickets are being put into effect; this will give us many nominees for legislative representatives.

The activity in the party organization is on the up-grade. The comrades in many places see the possibility of increasing our membership and building a stronger organization. Several applications for charters are in our hands and we hope to add several new locals very soon. One new local was organized in the north section of the state recently. The encouraging feature of the recently organized locals is their determination to educate their members in the fundamental principles of Socialism. They want to build from the ground up.

George R. Kirkpatrick passed through the state recently and addressed four very good meetings, arranged through the state office. Comrade Kirkpatrick has lost none of his force in putting across the message. Many of our members who heard him for the first time expressed regret that we do not have hundreds like him.

Lena Morrow Lewis just completed a fourteen-day trip which was very successful. In every instance the report read good meeting, good attention and a good speaker. Comrade Lewis was well pleased with the trip and considered it a success. Comrade Lewis made a splendid address in Indianapolis.

Frederick G. Strickland of Columbus, Ohio, will be in Indiana for four days beginning July 24. Meetings have been assigned to Indianapolis, Lafayette, Montezuma and Veedsburg.

State Chairman Forrest Wallace is calling a meeting of the State Executive Committee in Marion Sunday, July 29. The Marion comrades will arrange a propaganda meeting on Sunday night to be addressed by members of the State Executive Committee.

Indiana is busy, Indiana is on the job. All we need is more finances to help us carry on and the cooperation of all the locals to help attain our goal.

Deutsch to Tour USA Next Fall

CHICAGO.—Four leaders of Socialist thought from Europe will be toured in this country during the coming season by the Social Problems Lecture Bureau, according to an announcement by Mattie deHaan, secretary.

They are: Dr. Julius Deutsch, organizer and former commander of the Austrian *Schutzbund*; Fred Henderson, British economist and author; Paul Hansen, professor of political economy and director of the Labor college in Esbjerg, Denmark; and Toni Sender, German woman journalist and youngest member ever elected to the Reichstag.

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Waldman Again Chosen State Chairman

LOUIS WALDMAN was re-elected State Chairman of the Socialist Party and Herbert M. Merrill State Secretary at a meeting of the New York State Committee at the Hotel Ten Eyck, Albany, last Sunday.

The committee also elected a State Executive Committee of seven members who will function as a Campaign Committee, and made plans for the forthcoming campaign.

Much business, left over from the state convention two weeks before, was taken up.

The committee voted to establish a State Committee on Women's Activities, to be elected by the S.E.C., and to provide for a State Conference of Women to be held in connection with each state convention.

Other decisions were:

Providing that all campaigns for Socialist candidates, even when committees of non-party members participate, must be under the supervision of the party; that all Y.P.S.L. and Falcon work must be under party supervision; and that the main objective of the state campaign must be to build strong organizations in the up-state counties.

The State Executive Committee consists of: Charles Solomon, Kings; U. Solomon, New York; G. A. Gerber, New York; James Oneal, Queens; William M. Feigenbaum, Kings; Newton R. Jones, Oneida, and Charles W. Noonan, Schenectady.

The committee voted to accept as a proposed substitute for the Detroit Declaration of Principles a new document based, like the others before the party, on the 1924 Declaration (printed elsewhere in this issue).

The committee had before it the substitute (printed in last week's issue) prepared by the Socialist Unity Conference for presentation to the state convention, which had referred it to the State Committee as a satisfactory basis for a substitute for the Detroit Declaration. A sub-committee consisting of James Oneal, William M. Feigenbaum and Carl O. Parsons recommended it to the full committee.

Algernon Lee, Charles Solomon and Louis Hendin, for the Committee for the Preservation of Socialist Policies in the Socialist Party, appeared with a new proposed substitute, largely based, like the two other documents now before the party, on the 1924 Declaration of Principles, and urged its adoption by the State Committee. Matthew M. Levy, I. Minkoff, Samuel H. Friedman, Simon Berlin and Harry Lopatin of the Unity Conference urged that the first substitute be approved by the full committee. The vote for the second proposed substitute was 8 to 6.

It is proposed to secure seconds from locals for the alternative Declaration with the object of getting it on the party referendum ballot to be voted upon together with the Detroit Declaration.

A number of changes in the party's Constitution were reported by the Committee on Constitution elected at the state convention and will be submitted to referendum of the members of the state.

Philadelphia Instructs Against Declaration

PHILADELPHIA.—Local Philadelphia County Central Committee meeting instructed its delegates to the state convention to vote against endorsement of the Detroit Declaration of Principles adopted at the national convention.

The state convention will be held July 21-23 at Socialist Park, Reading. Twenty-one delegates will represent Local Philadelphia.

BAXTER AND HAUSER FOR CONGRESS IN MILWAUKEE

MILWAUKEE.—Mayor M. V. Baxter of West Allis and Otto Hauser, secretary to Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, will be the Socialist candidates for Congress in the two districts in Milwaukee County.

Baxter will run in the 4th district, which includes the south side of Milwaukee, Cudahy, South Milwaukee, Wauwatosa, West Allis, and a considerable rural area. Hauser will be running in the 5th district, from which Victor Berger was elected six times.

Both candidates are members of many years' standing in the party and have been unusually active in party work throughout the entire state. There is an excellent opportunity for electing both of them.

Al Benson, state secretary, heads a strong county ticket. He is running for sheriff, an office he held from 1930-32 and which he lost by a narrow margin in the Roosevelt landslide two years ago. Many unionists and leaders of the Workers' Committee on Unemployment are among the candidates for county offices and the state legislature. State Senator Walter Polakowski heads a fine list of candidates for the Senate and Legislature, most of whom will unquestionably be elected. The complete list of candidates is as follows:

District Attorney, Robert A. Hess; County Treasurer, Carl R. Hampel; County Clerk, Max J. Elmer; Sheriff, Al Benson; Coroner, J. F. DeHert; County Surveyor, Wilford Otto; Clerk of Circuit Court, Anthony J. King; Register of Deeds, Oscar Eckerdt; State Senator, 3rd Dist., Geo. J. Tewas; State Senator, 5th Dist., Carl Minkley; State Senator, 7th Dist., Walter Polakowski; State Senator, 9th Dist., Charles C. McDonald.

Assembly Candidates: Charles Taylor, Elmer Libert, Frank Puncer, Leo Kleiner, M. Sostarich, Ben Rubin, Arthur Koegel, Archie Bottoni, Lester Recklin, Fred Walter, Herman Wartchow, B. Kwasinski, Emil Meyer, Peter Piskosky, Hugo J. Lange, Herman B. Wegner, Marshall Reckard, Edward H. Kiefer, Milton Peters, Clarence Glass.

Party Progress

Party School

National Secretary Clarence Senior and Roy Burt conducted a summer school for Socialist workers at Red Feather Lakes, Colorado, from June 30 to July 8.

Michigan

Pontiac.—At a meeting July 5 Local Pontiac adopted a resolution in which the secretary is directed to transmit to each member of the National Executive Committee the following proposal: "That the National Executive Committee immediately cause to be drafted and submitted to all locals and branches a letter calling on all party members to take active part in demanding an adequate standard of living for all welfare workers. Such demand to be openly supported by the national, state and local organizations of the Socialist Party. "Each state and local organization is to secure as many signatures as possible to petitions in which this demand is stated, both among welfare workers and other citizens who can be interested; the petitions, which are to be sent to Washington from all parts of the country, are to be presented by the Socialist Party.

"Petitions to be printed and distributed nationally, directed to the President of the United States, should be worded as follows: "We, the undersigned, people of the United States of America, do openly and most sincerely endorse the demand of the Socialist Party of America that all welfare workers, all workers physically unable to work, and all workers not employed receive a minimum of twenty dollars per week per average family. This weekly budget to be based on a commodity price level and dollar value as of the year 1932. Any increase in the commodity price level to be immediately followed by corresponding increase in the family budget.

"This budget to be worked out at the minimum rate of one dollar per hour and proportionate increases or decreases made immediately in the hourly rate to adjust any revaluation of the dollar."

New Jersey

Newark.—Annual picnic at Speedway Park, Eastern Parkway and 16th Ave., Sunday, July 29. Speakers: Norman Thomas at 7 p.m., Leo Krzycki, National Chairman, at 8 p.m. Socialist Liedertafel at 8:30 p.m. Also Workmen's Circle Choir and Polish Workers' Choir. Dancing, labor plays, labor songs, etc. Park open from 1 to 11 p.m. Admission ten cents. Tickets at Party Headquarters, 1085 Broad St., Phone Mitchell 2-8963; Secretaries of the Workmen's Circle branches; Office of the Jewish Daily Forward, 207 Market St.; Polish Educational Hall, 255 Court St.



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A Declaration of Principles

(Continued from Page Five)

ers of the various countries, organized in their own political parties and trade unions, linked together in the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, must develop effective agencies of their own for the maintenance of peace; and in any situation involving the danger of war, they must use their own judgment and decide upon their own course of action.

2. If, despite all our efforts, war should break out, the Socialist Party will use all its influence upon the working class and upon public opinion at large in favor of such action as will best defend civil rights and bring the war to an early termination, and it will do all in its power to use the opportunities presented by the war crisis to arouse the workers to a sense of their own interests and through organized and disciplined action put an end to capitalist class rule.

3. The Socialist Party recognizes that in critical situations of war danger, or of fascistic or other attempts at forcible overthrow of democracy, the general strike may be among the most effective methods of working-class action. It can be effective only if decided upon and conducted by a strong and united labor movement representing the great mass of the workers, together with their democratic allies.

4. In the tragic event of fascism obtaining power, the earliest opportunity must be seized to overthrow its tyranny by popular revolution. Such a revolution will not confine its efforts to restoring such measure of democracy as had previously existed, but will seek to do all that can in such a moment be done toward the full realization of the Socialist ideal.

5. If, when the awakened masses have obtained political power and are proceeding to the socialization

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of industry, the reactionary elements attempt forcible resistance or obstruction, the state should and will use all necessary force to defeat such counter-revolutionary attempts.

6. The victory of the working class in its struggle for emancipation does not mean the setting-up of a dictatorship by one section of the workers over another section, nor of the working class over other classes, but the abolition of all class rule and the development of democracy into a social democracy which will include all mankind.

7. The Socialist Party specifically condemns resort to underground organization and conspiratorial action in the United States. Such methods are at all times fraught with danger, because they foster dangerous illusions, attract irresponsible adventurers, give opportunity to spies and provocateurs, and interfere with the development of an open and self-directed movement of the masses. They can be justified only by dire necessity under a system of despotism or dictatorship.

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By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

The General Strike in Frisco

A GENERAL strike, such as that which now holds San Francisco in its grip, certainly isn't a thing workers enter into just for fun. They are not such fools as not to know that their own wives and children are likely under it to suffer some privation if nothing worse.

The San Francisco general strike is a magnificent assertion of labor solidarity. It is, or may be, labor's last and most effective weapon in a struggle for justice against a class which has found a way of asserting its own solidarity times without number. True, it is, like many of our social weapons, somewhat clumsy. Sometimes innocent bystanders suffer. They suffer far less than in the violence of war or a great riot. Labor has shown its regard for the people—its own people—by its efforts to provide for some supplies of food.

Never let it be forgotten who is responsible for a general strike. It is the employers who take advantage of their legal power under capitalism and refuse to yield an inch to the legitimate demands of labor. It is the employers who arrogantly demand that the public shall back up their legal rights against the interests of the public by means of troops, police, and deputy sheriffs, no matter what these arms of the government cost in money and possibly in blood.

Today as I write these lines in New York there is an advertisement that a private detective agency is recruiting men to go to San Francisco. For what? For purposes of virtual warfare against the workers who create all wealth. I rejoice that the Socialist Party, the Y.P.S.L. and the L.I.D. and others picketed that particular agency.

The statements of the leaders of the strike in San Francisco are reasonable and persuasive. They seem to be leaning over backwards to make it clear that the strike has no political connections. Certainly the strike is for economic ends, ends which should be legally and rapidly obtained. A general strike which does not speedily obtain its ends is soon forced to be somewhat political in its aspect. It is forced, that is, to be a strike against the government which acts as strikebreaker.

Behind this San Francisco strike, as behind the labor unrest in dozens of cities throughout America, lies the age-old exploitation of a predatory society. Behind this strike lies low wages, unemployment, breadlines, "hiring halls" dominated by gangsters and tools of employers. Behind this strike lies the poverty of workers who in this age of machinery ought to enjoy abundance. Ahead of the strike, let us hope, lies immediate victory on particular issues and a new determination of the workers to achieve the conquest of poverty and exploitation.

We Socialists are supporting the strike. We are supporting it as we support every assertion on the economic field of the solidarity of workers. Let's prove it!

Hitler Over Europe

THAT terrific book, "Hitler Over Europe," by Ernst Henri, both in itself and in the new preface to the American edition which the author has cabled over, contains much food for thought for a lot of us who hate fascism and hope for its defeat in Germany. The two things which stand out to my mind are: First, it is clear that the role of big business, symbolized by August Thyssen, has been more positive and aggressive in manipulating the Nazi movement than I had thought. Fascism sociologically is a kind of middle-class revolt, but economically it is increasingly clear that behind the scenes the big capitalists do most of the string-pulling.

While Hitler's recent brutal suppression of an alleged revolt seems to have struck both to the right and to the left, it is the confused left of the Nazi movement which has suffered most. Mr. Henri makes it plain in his preface that with all his gangsterism and disgusting morals Roehm did stand for a kind of bewildered radicalism. His death and the extinction in blood of that point of view in the Nazi movement ought to mean that tens of thousands of workers, and even some members of the lower middle class, will wake up to what is happening and throw in their strength with the forces working for a genuine social revolution. All the reports which I have seen make it clear that even before Hitler launched his black orgy of legalized brutality, the workers were awakening out of the hypnotic trance into which they seemed to have fallen immediately following Hitler's triumph. More power to them and to the true revolution!



Norman Thomas

United Front in France

THE New York Times gives us the news of a working agreement between the French Socialists and Communists for a united front on specific issues. There are good reasons why there cannot be organic unity today between the Socialist and Communist parties. There is no reason why there should not be a united front against war and fascism. No reason, that is, except one. What hinders the united front is the intention of the Communists, declared openly in word and deed, to use the united front less against the common enemy than against us in the Socialist Party.

If and when the Communists will change those tactics and agree to work in good faith and democratically for specific ends, no matter on what other things we differ, then it ought to be possible to have a genuine united front in every country.

France may be showing us the way. Certainly it is of the utmost consequence to the future of Europe, to the prevention of war and the conquest of fascism that some kind of harmony should be achieved among the workers. The German revolution must not be delayed by internecine strife between Socialists and Communists.

Proportional Representation Again

A FOOTNOTE is in order to what I have previously written about proportional representation. Socialists should understand that under proportional representation it is by no means required that they vote their second or third choice. Perhaps they will have no second or third choice; then all they need do is vote their first choices for the Socialist ticket. Near-Socialists, however, may be more likely to vote Socialist first choices if their fear of throwing away their vote can be removed. That, in part, is the case for preferential voting for executive offices and for proportional voting for legislative offices. As a Socialist I should prefer the list system of proportional voting. Unfortunately, political considerations in New York make that impossible. I think we can and should have party designations. For that I am working.

The Declaration Again

THE action of the majority of the State Committee of New York in proposing a new Declaration of Principles for which it now goes fishing for support, ends whatever hope there was of uniting the party on such a thoughtful editorial revision of the Declaration adopted at Detroit, as Matthew Levy and others of the unity group had proposed. Some of the Levy changes were good in themselves, but I was more or less reluctantly persuaded by my colleagues that the sub-committee, in view of the absence of something close to unanimity, could only propose editorial revision on one of two grounds. First, that the change was hardly more than a grammatical change and, second, that a clarification of meaning was necessary to prevent possible serious difficulty because of the misunderstanding that had been created. The change already adopted by the N.E.C., which consists in explaining that in the event of war Socialist support will go to comrades whose anti-war activities are not in contravention to Socialist principles, is an example of the second type of change. The sub-committee could not find that other changes of this sort were necessary or would command general support. Let's go ahead now and vote for or against the Declaration. To introduce two or three substitutes only serves to muddy the waters and to prolong a type of discussion which distracts from necessary party work in a time of emergency.

But I do not intend to write at any length about the Declaration of Principles. I want instead to answer the remarkable suggestion of John Haynes Holmes in last week's New Leader to the effect that if the Declaration was defeated the Lefts ought to go to the Communists and if it passes the Rights ought to leave the party. I shall let someone of Dr. Holmes' close associates in the peace movement deal with him on the subject of the bearing of the Declaration upon his love of peace. I want simply to remind Dr. Holmes, and all the rest of us, of many other things that unite us.

We Are United!

WE are united in our steadfast and utter condemnation of capitalism.

We are united in the knowledge that capitalism and its evils cannot be cured by some panacea, such as the money doctors and others suggest.

We are united in our knowledge that the only hope for mankind is in a new society, the Socialist society, in the sharing of abundance in a federation of cooperative commonwealths of mankind.

We are united in knowing that this new society will not be achieved without struggle by workers with hand and brain.

We are united in our desire to do all that in us lies to carry on that struggle without the homicidal mania of war and to preserve the highest

Socialist Woman Abroad Can Hail Achievements

By Gertrude Weil Klein

I WANT to explain to those comrades whose letters I have been unable to answer that my work on this paper is a labor of love which I carry on in my spare time. I appreciate their writing to me and I intend to reply to all those letters which ask for information or otherwise require comment.

I had intended to print a resumé of all the detailed suggestions, particularly those in Karl Pauli's letter, but that will have to wait until the fall when the plans for a monthly page on women's activities may materialize. I'm looking forward to it, though it will mean more work on my already sagging shoulders. [Nonsense, Gertrude! You look great!—Ed.]

Meanwhile there's news from abroad. News from England, and Sweden and Poland and Switzerland and Holland; such news as helps to restore one's self-respect and hope as a Socialist. The Conference of Labor Women in Great Britain was most impressive. I've mentioned it before in these columns, but what strikes me particularly now is the account of the discussion on "Building for Peace," which was led by Arthur Henderson and which lasted six consecutive hours! More about this another time.

The girl delegates from the shop assistants' (saleswomen) and clerks' unions distinguished themselves in the discussion on office hours and trades union organization. Domestic and nurses were also represented and the Conference demanded their inclusion in any 40-hour week convention.

FROM the magazine published by the Swedish Socialist Women—incidentally, all the European women Socialists have or had publications of their own—we learn that a little country like Sweden has 400 Socialist women's clubs which carry on Socialist and trade union educational work among women. They are all federated in the Association of Swedish Socialist Women and have a membership of about 12,000.

Among the matters to which the Association has given particular attention is the question of housing, which has been subject of thorough

values for which democracy stands.

We are united in our belief that true internationalism is consistent with national autonomy and that the internationalism of Communism is today carried out largely in the interests of Russian nationalism.

We are united in our insistence that within the great body of workers with hand and brain our relations must be relations of true democracy and not the dictatorship of one group.

We are united, or at least I hope we Socialists were united, in believing that the end of power does not justify all means; that fair play still has significance for us. The nature of some of the opposition to the Declaration of Principles has shaken my faith somewhat on this last point, but I think the Socialist Party will triumphantly maintain it.

There is no cause for a split. We need instead to increase unity among the workers in the face of war, fascism and a disintegrating capitalism.

investigation, both theoretical and practical.

The problems of women's right to work, the new type of family, supporting children, and the problem of housewives' holidays have important places in the program. Imagine, holiday tours for workers' wives! Somehow, arrangements are made to leave the kids and board the husbands, and these hard-working, usually forgotten women go on trips. Up to now these trips have been within the borders of Sweden, but for the current year they will be extended to cover trips to England and Russia. I don't know whether the Association finances the trips or not, but it has a scholarship fund which enables its members to participate in many educational activities.

The headquarters of the Women's Association includes a center for the press, both the political and trade union papers. Part of the curriculum of the reading circles, of which there are many, is the training of members to read newspapers and other periodicals so as to get the greatest value from them. In fact, an intensive campaign is made generally regarding the press and its educational importance, and constant propaganda is carried on for the Socialist papers, including exhibitions and demonstrations of these papers.

Finally, a large percentage of the members of the Women's Association have been elected members of the City and County Councils, municipal committees for children's care, pensions, education, etc. There are four representatives in the second chamber of Parliament. I wish I knew how they do it.

YPSL DEMAND AID FOR SCHOOLS

PHILADELPHIA. — Young people from every part of the country, leaders of the Young Socialist movement, called for federal support of schools in impoverished sections of the nation at the meeting of the national executive committee of the YPSL.

"Closed schools over the length of our country are a menace to the development of youth and to the intelligent functioning of political democracy," said Arthur G. McDowell, national chairman of the YPSL.

Resolutions protesting against the Scottsboro decision of the Supreme Court of Alabama and against the lack of vigorous action to meet the severe crisis of unemployment with which youth finds itself faced featured the session.

At other sessions of the meeting, held in Philadelphia, for the first time in five years, arrangements were made for mass meetings and demonstrations throughout the country during International Youth Week, the first week of October. Alex Wollod, Philadelphia, was appointed as one of the committee in charge of eastern arrangements.

Organization work will be done throughout the nation during the coming months, according to Winston Dancis, national secretary. A quarterly publication written and edited by young Socialists will be issued early in the fall. A new editor, Syd Devin of Chicago, was appointed for "The Challenge," official monthly newspaper of the YPSL, after the national chairman had resigned as editor to devote his attention to other matters.

Walter Storey, young Philadelphia Socialist, was appointed national educational secretary. Storey is a member of the Pennsylvania state executive committee of the league. Gloria Waldron, young Missouri Socialist, was added to the national executive committee to fill a vacancy.