

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

Vol. XVII—No. 30

N. Y. C. Edition

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In Three Sections—Sec. 1 PRICE FIVE CENTS

The Assassins Fall Out

Fascist Regimes In Their Last Convulsions

CHANCELLOR DOLLFUSS, the Little Assassin, is dead in Vienna. Five months after he and his reactionary associates trained heavy artillery upon working class apartments in Vienna, Dollfuss falls before fascist bullets in the Chancellor's office.

The ruling classes are divided as they are in Germany. In Austria, Dollfuss represented Catholic fascism opposed to a union of Austria and Germany; the Austrian Nazis fly the banner of Protestant fascism and want a union with Hitler's Germany. While each fights the other, both are deadly enemies of the working class. If each were to engage only in a campaign to exterminate the other the working masses would rejoice.

Hitler's bandits have undoubtedly had a hand in the Nazi rising against Dollfuss. Since Hitler came to power the radio station at Munich has been employed for Nazi propaganda in Austria and Austrian Nazis have engaged more and more in terrorist acts. Dollfuss retaliated by more and more severe measures against the Nazis and especially against the Socialists, who have carried on extensive propaganda against the clerical-capitalist despotism of Dollfuss. The deadly duel between the two types of fascism culminated in the attempt of less than 200 Nazis to seize the government on Wednesday.

For 48 hours the situation was tense for Europe. Italian fascism will not tolerate a union of Austria and Germany, as this would so extend Hitler's rule as to menace Mussolini. For this reason Mussolini mobilized troops on the Austrian frontier as he did during the February rising of the workers this year. Italian intervention might have led to a European crisis and war, especially if Hitler had mobilized his conscripts with the view of swallowing Austria.

What happened in Vienna was an attempt at a palace revolution, an attempt to shift power from one section of the reactionary exploiters to another section. The attempt failed but it leaves Austrian capitalism weaker while the Socialist workers can rejoice that the deadly feud between the fascist bands is by no means at an end. It will continue while there is no more hope of Austrian economic recovery than there is for Germany.

Events in Germany and Austria in recent weeks show fascist-capitalism in convulsions. The possessing classes live anxious lives because fascist bayonets do not restore the health of capitalism.

Note: Dr. Lipschitz will present analysis of the class forces back the revolt next week.

ON THE ROAD TO "RECOVERY"

RAYON STRIKE SHUTS MILL PERMANENTLY

Public Challenged to Abandon
Hopewell, Va., Yarn Factory,
Abolishing 1,500 Jobs.

HOLENESS CAUSES DAMAGE

Reopening Cost Prohibitive,
Concern Tells Federal Aide
Trying to End Dispute.

ALUMINUM STRIKE

Employers Agree to Consider
Proposals of Workers.

WILL CONTINUE TUG STRIKE

1,500 Workers on Great Lakes
Vessels Press Demands.

MINNEAPOLIS FACES STRIKE DEADLOCK

Federal Mediator Notifies
Washington Peace Terms
Have Been Rejected.

DOCK STRIKERS FINISH COAST VOTE

President's Board to Review
Result of Ballots on Arbitration Today.

SEAMEN ACTION PLANNED

Mediators Will Pass on Their
Qualifications to Vote—Judge
to Limit to Seized "Rods."

UNION STOCK YARDS TIED UP BY STRIKE

Handlers Gilt With 70,000
Cattle, Majority Drought-
Weakened, in Pens.

HEAT KILLS MANY BEASTS

Hard Coal Payroll Fell
Members of Miners Also Dropped in
June in Pennsylvania.

RAIL HEADS DIVIDED ON REVENUE HUNT

Traffic Executives Seek Way to
Raise \$360,000,000 Needed
for Increased Costs.

SPLIT OVER HIGHER RATES

Chicago Conference Fears Loss
of Business to Truck and
Water Transportation.

B. M. T. NET INCOME AT \$7.40 A SHARE

Amount for Common Stock in
12 Months, Compared With
\$7.54 in Preceding Year.

MARGIN CALLS BY BROKERS LARGEST IN A YEAR; Small Speculators Hit Hard by Decline

The largest number of margin
calls in a year have been sent by
Wall Street firms to their cus-
tomers in the last few days. A sur-
ge in the price of stocks, a sur-
ge in the price of bonds, a sur-
ge in the price of commodities,
the amount of money
in circulation has not been large enough
to support the speculative
boom. Small speculators
have been hit most heavily in the
decline. The survey brought out
one firm reported that of its 8,000
customers, 1,500 received

TIDE WATER GROUP EARNS \$2,678,388

Profit for Half Year After All
Charges Equal to 14 Cent a
Share on Common Stock.

LOSERS SHOWN LAST YEAR

Atlas Powder Profit Rises to \$1.70 a Share

June & Loughlin Shows
\$1,038,272 Loss; Atlas
Chalmers Cuts Dividend

Gold Shipments Begin as France Has Early Dip

Banks Make Purchases for
Imports Free Mark Ends
With Loss of 12 Points

COTTON PRICES DIP DESPITE CROP ILLS

Sentiment Weakened by Fear
of Higher Yields

Stocks Again Unloaded at Slower Pace

Early Advance Caused by
Short Covering Halted

U. S. Exports of Grain Gain Sharply for Week

Total 227,000 Bushels, Against
181,000 in Previous Week

Insurance Assets Up

Net Total \$4,199,717, Against
\$3,769,145 December 31

DU PONT EARNINGS GAIN IN HALF-YEAR

Net \$23,553,590, Equal to
\$1.86 a Share on Common
Against \$1.03 in 1933.

ASSETS ARE \$133,501,413

Dividends From General Motors
Investment Equivalent to 45
Cents a Share on Stock.

Hudson Motor Net Is Up To \$184,685 in Quarter

Compares With \$802,845 Net
Loss in March Period

Chain Store Sales For June Up 9 1/2% Over a Year Ago

Variety, 10-Cent and Candy
Lines Register Biggest
Increases; Shoes Lead

U. S. Exports of Grain Gain Sharply for Week

Total 227,000 Bushels, Against
181,000 in Previous Week

Insurance Assets Up

Net Total \$4,199,717, Against
\$3,769,145 December 31

GENERAL JOHNSON may pound the table and President Roosevelt may smile his way half around the globe, but the struggle goes on. The items herewith shown are from the newspapers of a single day. Above are stories of a very few of the struggles of the workers for a better life, for a share of the world they have created; while at the right are the activities of the Better Classes. On the left the struggle of men and women to live like human beings; on the right the mad quest for profits. Is there or is there not a class struggle?

Behind the Scenes in Washington

NRA Accused of "Betraying Labor"—Is Prosperity to Turn Another Corner?—Settlement of Russian Debts Transferred to Washington.

By Benjamin Meiman
Special Correspondent

THE NRA is still suffering from Harriman trouble. Accusing the NRA of "betrayal of labor's interests," and of "complete surrender" to a corporation "which has publicly flouted the collective bargaining section of the National Recovery Act," President Green of the A. F. of L. and member of the Labor Advisory Board of the NRA praised the striking employees of the Harriman company for rejecting the agreement.

At the same time he charged that Mr. Glancy, when he negotiated and signed the Blue Eagle restoring pact with M. R. Walker, secretary of the company, did so without authority; that this power had been given by General Johnson solely to George L. Berry, another division administrator, who was not informed of the completion of the agreement until after it had been signed.

"Obviously," Mr. Green said, "General Johnson must decide as to whether the authority conferred upon Major George L. Berry, in writing, to deal exclusively with the Harriman hosiery dispute shall be recognized and exercised, or whether Major Berry shall be repudiated and what I regard as the illegal action of Divisional Compliance Representative Glancy sustained."

Mr. Green concluded by saying: "The return of the Blue Eagle to the Harriman Hosiery Company upon the terms negotiated by Mr. Glancy represents a complete surrender on the part of the government to a corporation which had denied its workers the right to engage in collective bargaining and which has pursued a policy of ruthless persecution of its employees in a way and manner which is shocking to the sense of fairness and justice of all fair-minded people."

For an A. F. of L. official, especially for a member of the NRA Labor Advisory Board, this is pretty strong language. The same accusation of "betrayal" was also made before by the officials of the Federation of Hosiery Workers. They said that "without a satisfactory agreement regarding collective bargaining the present settlement by the NRA constitutes a gross betrayal of an understanding reached at the White House last March."

Evidently it is one of those

settlements that don't settle anything.

Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins is not enthused over the hunt on alien Reds, revived in the San Francisco general strike. One can be sure it will not work out as in the dark days of A. Mitchell Palmer. Deportation proceedings will be instituted against any alien criminal legally arrested and proven guilty, of course; but there will be no "red hunt," which has long proven to be a "red herring."

New Deal labor authorities have resolved to make important changes in future selections of Federal arbitration boards. It seems that the San Francisco strike proved that local appointees, no matter how good, do not make effective arbiters. Experience has shown that these local selections, even when invested with the cloak of Federal power, rarely do as well as outside officials. Personal relations, friendships, other factors of a similar character, are an intangible but potent bar to forceful and decisive action. Labor Secretary Perkins and Chairman Lloyd Garrison of the new Labor Adjustment Board are privately agreed on this fact.

As a result, two important changes are to be made:

(Continued on Page Twelve)

Pennsylvania Plans Big Campaign

READING, Penn.—About 150 delegates of the Socialist Party met in the Socialist Park at Sinking Spring last Saturday and Sunday as a state convention and adopted a state platform, a number of resolutions, elected a new state committee and planned for an extensive campaign. The Socialist candidate for Governor, Jesse H. Holmes, had already addressed 27 meetings during the primary campaign and on Monday he began a tour of the state.

The convention committees were headed by Jane Tait of Pittsburgh on the Constitution; James Wesner of Reading on Platform; Ralph Bigony of Reading on Organization; H. Feitelman of Philadelphia on Campaign, and Sidney Stark of Pittsburgh on Resolutions.

The report of State Secretary Sarah Limbach showed increasing activities and an increase of membership since the February conference. Nine new branches have been admitted, three affiliated with language federations, making a total of 154 in 38 counties. The membership since 1928 based upon due stamps is as follows: 1928, 1097 members; 1932, 2403; 1934, first six months, 3154. About 40 per cent of the members receive exempt stamps.

Thirty-five meetings have been arranged for Jesse H. Holmes, candidate for Governor, and James H. Maurer, candidate for U. S. Senator, will also speak. Birch Wilson of Reading will be assigned for meetings, and Franz Daniel, candidate for Secretary of Internal Affairs, will likewise be available.

The convention adopted a resolution paying a glowing tribute to the memory of Morris Hillquit, the resolution declaring that "his demise has left a void that cannot be filled, as we recognize in him one of a few internationally renowned comrades" who understood "not only the significant historical phases of society, but particularly present day capitalism." Copies of the resolution are to go to Comrade Hillquit's family.

The convention denounced the administration of the NRA which serves the "greed of owners and employers for profit and power and driving the workers to strikes on a nation-wide front." The resolution further condemned the anti-strike policy by the authorities in Toledo, Minneapolis, San Francisco and other cities and urged the workers to unite with the Socialist Party to obtain control of government and put an end to the capitalist system.

The new state committee consists of the following members: Julius Weisberg, William Van Essen, Sidney Stark, Jane Tait and David Rinne of Allegheny County; Chas. Sands and Raymond Hofes of Berks; Joseph Schwartz of Philadelphia; Charles W. Young of Lehigh.

(Continued on Page Twelve)

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.



Vol. XVII No. 30

SATURDAY, JULY 28th, 1934

A DANGEROUS PROPOSAL

ONE of the most dangerous proposals now being made is offered in a full page editorial of the United States News. Because of the general strike in San Francisco David Lawrence, the editor, writes:

"Did it ever occur to anyone in the Federal Government or the NRA that maybe the Blue Eagle might be taken away from a labor union? Did it ever suggest itself to the powers-that-be how workmen who refused to obey the edicts of NRA might be blacklisted by the simple process of forbidding employers who have the Blue Eagle from employing such workmen?"

Lawrence finds authority in Section 6 of the

N.I.R.A. for such a policy. It authorizes the President "to prescribe rules and regulations designed to insure that any organization availing itself of the benefits of this title shall be truly representative of the trade or industry or subdivision thereof represented by such organization. Any organization violating any such rule or regulation shall cease to be entitled to the benefits of this title."

Finding this authority, this "liberal" considers such a policy in detail, a policy that would make the unions of the country conscripts of the Federal Government. "Public Control of Unions Is Logical Now," reads the caption of one section of the editorial. Nowhere is there the slightest suggestion that idle industries shall be conscripted for the use of idle millions of workers. The organized workers in one local general strike have demonstrated their power four days, demonstrated with a self-discipline and courage that are admirable, and this assertion of organized strength brings this reactionary proposal.

The United States News is generally read in Washington and its proposal should not be taken lightly. The organized working class must be on guard or the NRA may become the tomb for their organizations.

GENERAL JOHNSON SPEAKS

GENERAL HUGH S. JOHNSON, NRA Administrator, is speaking. Hear ye: "When you have to go to a strike committee to get permission to have a bottle of milk for the baby, you may know how fully the public has been subjected to a little group with a special interest, and I care not whether that group be of big or little importance, or whether they be rich or poor. It is minority rule. It is dictatorship."

Oh yeah! For a brief moment the brawny giant, Labor, folded his arms and you were frightened. The giant controlled the milk instead of his tormentors, but he took care that the babies and the sick should have it.

In every dairy region the corporate masters who stand between the dairy farmer and those who use the milk have never been concerned whether the aged, the baby and the sick get milk. Unless they have the price they must do without.

Is this minority rule and dictatorship, General? We think so, and between your class and ours controlling foodstuffs, we choose our own. Some day we will own what we produce instead of producing what we do not own, and that day will be the reign of the great majority through a Socialist society.

A KING PASSES ON

BACK in the eighties there was a Whitney who made the Democratic Party in Ohio a special bureau of the oil interests of that state. Members of the legislature and occasionally a Governor served as clerks and office boys of King Oil.

A descendant of this hairy ape of American capitalism recently died in New York City and the press carries accounts of his vast riches of over 72 millions gross and more than 62 millions net. He had fallen heir to a large part of his dad's pile and he had added to it since the old man passed on. Nearly 200,000 shares in the Mammoth Oil Company are listed, a corporation that was organized to hold the Teapot Dome leases that were set aside by a Federal Court.

The dead master of men and money held investments in hundreds of enterprises where men and women of the working class labored and sweated to make life one of ease and joy for him. He passes on and others inherit his power as the Prince of Wales will inherit his when his dad passes on. Down in the depths are the tens of millions of workers and farmers who will "yield their best to give them rest" so long as the robber system of capitalism survives.

The dead money bags is really small fry compared with others, but he is a sample of what capitalism spawns. His type will be unknown in a Socialist world unless we pickle a few to be observed by the curious in the museums of the future.

GERMANY'S DECLINE

OUR readers will find an informing article in this issue on Nazi Germany which forecasts the end of Hitler's regime. The July massacres have also been a blow to the fascist movements outside of Germany. In Holland, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries and even in reactionary Hungary the Nazi movements have declined. The bloody shambles staged by Hitler and Göring brought a revulsion of feeling everywhere against fascism.

The internal decay of Germany also continues. Workers are deserting the cities to such an extent that a Nazi decree has been issued to restrict this movement. The boycott and the crop shortage are making rationing of materials necessary and every phase of industrial life is being bound by red tape orders in the hope of saving German capitalism. Hitler fears assassination and no longer announces where he is going when he leaves Berlin.

We await the end of this hideous last stand of German capitalism with confidence that it will swallow up the criminals who are its human agents.

Declaration Pro and Con

THE AUSTRIAN STRUGGLE

By Bruno Fischer

Is there a Socialist worthy of the name who would assert that the violence with which our Austrian comrades returned the violence of the fascists was insurrectionism? Yet Socialists brand as insurrectionary the Detroit Declaration which states clearly that American Socialists would do the same in a like crisis. And does any Socialist contend that if the Austrian Socialists has been victorious—as they would have been had they not been surrounded by fascist countries—that they would have allowed capitalism to remain in power because they did not have an absolute majority?

Socialists have always maintained—as the Declaration states—that they will attempt to gain power by democratic means if and where possible, but that when the means to do so are taken away from the working class, they will have to employ other methods.

This is not insurrectionism. This is Socialism. This is the working class fighting for life and for Socialism. Similar principles are the basis of the tactics of the French and Spanish Socialists. Such principles were and are the principles of Socialist leaders from Marx to Otto Bauer, from Debs to Thomas.

Some say that we should not warn our class enemy by making clear what we will do in case of a crisis. But we have already warned the ruling class that we intend to depose it. The treatment of the German Social Democrats by the fascists is no milder than that of the Communists. Furthermore, we cannot build up a revolutionary mass party by deluding the workers as to our aims and then inject revolutionary Socialism into them with a syringe.

The section of the Declaration on war need not give any Socialist (Continued on Page Eight)

STICK TO ISSUES

By David Ashe

I have sought to elicit from the proponents of the new Declaration the reasons why it should be adopted, but I have received no answer. It is disheartening to listen to the dearth of arguments advanced for the new principles to which we, as members of the party, are asked to subscribe. We are confronted with a statement of alleged Socialist doctrines, but I have yet to hear one good reason why we should turn to this Declaration rather than the Declaration under which we are at present carrying on our Socialist work.

All that I have heard are arguments why the so-called "Old Guard" should be displaced. A prominent party member, an opponent of the "Old Guard," told me that he would have voted against the Declaration because he thought it was ridiculous and still thinks so; but, he added, the tactics of some of the opponents of the Declaration have made him determined that he would vote for it. A day or so later I received a letter from another proponent, a comrade for whom I have a great deal of respect, but again the sole argument was that the opponents were not the proper leaders for the party.

Comrades, let us stick to the issues. The referendum has not been called so that we may vote our personal prejudices. We are voting on party principles and the questions we must ask are whether, consistently with our Socialist professions, we can vote for this Declaration, and further whether, as Socialists anxious to build a strong, militant Socialist working class party in the United States, it is expedient for us to adopt the proposed Declaration.

In my opinion, the Declaration should be defeated on both grounds. New York City.

To Our Readers

By THE EDITOR

The New Leader has fifty or more communications relating to the Declaration of Principles, some being on hand several weeks. It is impossible to run them all, and many simply repeat what others have already said. To print them would add nothing to the value of the discussion. Where it appears that something new is said it will be accepted, in some instances excerpts will be taken from letters; and in all cases communications will be edited down as much as possible.

ARE THE MASSES WAITING?

By William M. Feigenbaum

The whole idea back of the proposed Declaration of Principles is this: The masses—it is held—are eagerly awaiting a "bold" lead from the Socialist Party. Once they get that lead they will stream into our party in great numbers. The Detroit Declaration is that lead, and once it is ratified the masses will respond in no uncertain way.

Unfortunately for the advocates of the Declaration there is a way to check up the value of that argument. (Continued on Page Eleven)

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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Our Labor Day Issue

THE New Leader staff is planning the annual Labor Day edition which has been a feature of our special editions for many years. With the fighting spirit of the organized working class developing this edition will be especially valuable for educational purposes this year.

We shall do our utmost to make the Labor Day edition worthy of extensive circulation. To it will contribute prominent Socialist trade unionists and other features will be presented that will make it very useful for distribution among union men and women and the workers in general. This is a preliminary announcement and locals and branches of the party should look forward to ordering a bundle.

A Suggestion

We have received a number of letters from readers suggesting a reprint in leaflet form of the front page editorial article in the issue of July 14, illustrated with a picture of starving children and bearing the title, "Bring Them Hope and Joy!"

A Connecticut comrade asks whether we cannot supply the local with this leaflet, adding that "We feel that it is one of the best articles printed on Socialism for the average person to understand." The New Leader does not undertake reprints as its staff is not large enough to permit soliciting orders and shipping bundles, but the state committee of Connecticut might consider this request by Local Yantic.

From this same local comes the suggestion of a reprint of "Let the

Nation Own the Trusts," by Gaylord Wilshire in the same issue, supplemented with the two first paragraphs of the article on the "Basic Principles of the Modern Socialist Movement" in that issue.

We may add that this educational series is making a hit with many of our readers and we are glad to know that The New Leader's educational work is appreciated. That of itself is compensation for all the effort we make to provide the party with a good propaganda organ.

Tasmanian Socialist Election Victory

Some details have come to hand of the recent elections about a month ago in the Australian island state of Tasmania, in which the Labor Party won a striking victory.

In a House of 30 members Labor elected 15, making a clear gain of four. Together with one "independent" Socialist who will vote with the Labor Party there is a clear majority for the new Socialist cabinet.

A. G. Ogilvie, leader of the Tasmanian Labor Party, will form a ministry with himself as Prime Minister without portfolio.

The election was fought under conditions most unfavorable for labor. The nation-wide split between the Australian Labor Party and the Lang following has not yet been healed, and Communist dissensions have not helped liquidate the disunity. Nevertheless the election was a victory and serves to encourage the Socialist forces of that continent in the face of coming national elections.

NEW LEADER LABOR SECTION

The Editor Comments

WE APOLOGIZE FOR 2-PAGE SECTION, BUT IT'S YOUR FAULT!

THE Labor Section appears today in two pages, instead of the four pages of the past and the eight pages we ought to have each week. (Each day, it really ought to be!)

You don't like it? Neither do we! We served notice on you last week. We warned you when we started the section that something more than praise and moral encouragement must be forthcoming if the service were to be continued and expanded. If the expressions of gratification were translated into money terms, or were accompanied by money orders, the task would be much easier.

We resume the four-page Labor Section in September. Meanwhile, gather your resources. Boost The New Leader. Get subs and send in contributions. This is no time to be caught napping. With organization and strike news preempting front page space in even consumer papers, we must build a mightier labor and Socialist publication to serve the labor movement.

PRESIDENT GREEN'S STATEMENT: UNWISE, UNNECESSARY, INDEFENSIBLE!

PRESIDENT GREEN of the A. F. of L. on Wednesday of last week made a statement on the general strike in San Francisco that was so worded that it was certain to discourage the strikers. He said that the strike was "local" and had "no national significance." A strike that brought General Johnson to the scene, that induced Secretary of Labor Perkins to keep President Roosevelt informed, certainly had some "national significance." The nation itself was sure of it.

He said that the A. F. of L. had not authorized the strike, which is true, but it is also true that authorization was not asked by the strikers. He said further that the unions had acted in accord with certain "autonomous rights conferred upon local organizations" which is also true. But if they acted within these rights, why did he state that the strike was not authorized by the A. F. of L. when such authorization was not necessary—although it would have been helpful?

Then came a statement by President Green that makes the whole announcement a strange combination of truths, unnecessary assertions and faulty logic. Here is what he said:

"When working people are engaged in an economic life-or-death struggle it does not seem appropriate for their friends to engage in comment which might be used against them by their enemies." He even admitted that "it is not so much a question of the wisdom or the unwisdom of the action taken."

The net impression left upon readers of the statement was that the strike was condemned even though there was no direct condemnation. On the other hand there was no encouragement of the strikers. After wandering around in some misty zone, President Green then concluded that no comment should be made by friends that "might be used against them (the strikers) by their enemies."

The headline writers of the daily press played up this story in such a way that it implied condemnation of the strike. They were justified in doing so because of the confused character of the statement.

The result was a pall thrown over many labor men who were gratified by the fine spirit of solidarity displayed by the organized workers in San Francisco. It would have been more helpful to the strikers to have said nothing than to have said what was actually said.

Frisco Stevedores to Return; General Strike Just a Memory

By E. T. F.

(Special Correspondence)

SAN FRANCISCO.—With the decision of the striking Pacific Coast longshoremen by a four-to-one vote to arbitrate their battle with shipping interests, the stevedores are preparing to go back to work Monday. They will write into a chapter in industrial history that, starting May 9, when the dock workers first went out, promised for a while to be an epochal one.

The general strike is now just a memory—a glorious one, a bitter one. Glorious because of the solidarity and militancy revealed by the hundred thousand and more A. F. of L. workers who voluntarily went out in a general strike that for a brief moment thrilled the nation. Bitter because of the way the strike ended, without substantial results in permanent solidarity or in immediate gains, except that the bosses were given an abbreviated foretaste of what could happen if labor, united, should take it into its head to "conquer all."

Bitter, too, because of the taste left in the mouth by President Green's statement at the height of the general strike apparently discounting and almost disavowing

the mass walkout. Bitter, in addition, because of the successful attempt on the part of the whole capitalist set-up—administration, the military, the kept press, the radio—ably abetted by the Communists to fasten the "red bogey" on to as notably a spontaneous and A. F. of L.-conducted strike as ever came down the pike.

In spite of the fact that life proceeded during the three-day general walkout in the bay area only "by permission of the strike committee," there is a feeling of disillusionment here. Unionists feel that they have been let down; that they were taken for a ride. They didn't know where they were going, but they were grandly on their way; and then the ride ended suddenly, with a jolt. For a while the workers here are "off" of everything that smacks of any kind of radicalism. They saw how easy it was to have their motives garbled and their actions frustrated by pinning the name of "Communist" on their activities.

The reign of terror that spread through the affected cities here is over. Communist and affiliated organization headquarters were wrecked; so-called "reds" and hangers-on were arrested; Socialist

(asm. that on Page Four)

Pickets at NRA Building in Washington Withdraw When Action Is Promised

WASHINGTON.—Picketing of the Department of Commerce Building by sympathizers of the NRA Employees' Union closed this week when the National Labor Relations Board promised to review the case of the dismissed union president on Aug. 6, according to Edward Smith, mid-Atlantic organizer of the Y.P.S.L. The Yipsels, in conjunction with the Socialist Party, have been very active on the Citizens' Committee picket line that has plagued NRA officials for the past fortnight.

After Baltimore Socialists, headed by Joel Seidman and Elisabeth Gilman, started the picket line (as noted in The New Leader some time ago) the New York Y.P.S.L. office rushed a convoy of members and partyites to the capital to take up the task of all-day picketing. Mrs. Gifford Pinchot was among the many who urged the demonstrators to continue their fight against General H. Johnson and the NRA officials on account of the John Donovan dismissal and other acts against unionists.

Youth Organizing To Help Shipping Clerks Unionize

The Youth Committee to aid the organization of shipping clerks in the needle trades has issued a call for a mass conference on Monday night, July 30, at 7:30 o'clock, at the I.L.G.W.U. Auditorium, 3 West 16th Street. The Young People's Socialist League, the Young Circle League, the Youth Paole Zion, the Student L.I.D., the Pioneer Youth, the C.P.O. Youth, the Spartacus Youth League, the I.W.W. Jrs., and the Vanguard Youth are the organizations invited to send two delegates from each circle, chapter or unit.

The conference will mass the radical youth organizations to support the Ladies' Garmen Shipping Clerks in the strikes which they are calling in the knit goods and covered button trades in conjunction with the I.L.G.W.U. and the United Textile Workers. The shipping clerks' union has gotten authorization of Representative Mahoney of the A. F. of L., of President Dubinsky of the I.L.G. W.U., and of Mr. Rosenberg of the U.T.W. to call strikes in the knit goods field in conjunction with the Knit Goods Joint Council and of Manager Greenglass of the Button Workers' Union, Local 132, I.L.G. W.U., to call a strike in the button field.

Funds Sent by Strikers' Relief Committee

The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief recently donated \$200 to the coast strikers through Samuel S. White, manager of the Cloakmakers' Local, who is a member of the state executive committee of the party and was a member of the general strike committee. Fifty dollars were sent to the Ohio onion strikers.

Norman Thomas is chairman of the relief committee and John Herling secretary. It was announced that more funds should be rushed for the fighters in the union fields, either through the relief committee at 112 E. 19th St., N. Y., or direct to E. E. Ledford, secretary, Socialist Party, 415 Michigan Street, Toledo, Ohio.

To Organize Hackmen

RESPONDING to the call of the taxi drivers of New York City for a real union of hackmen to fight for their interests, the A. F. of L. national office has directed the local office to proceed at once to the work of organization. The United Taxi Chauffeurs' Union of Greater New York will wage the fight for unionization, according to William B. Mahoney, representative of the A. F. of L. in the city.

Following the general strike of tax hackmen some months ago, the failure of which, it was alleged by unionists, was ascribed chiefly to Communist direction in Manhattan, a chaotic state of affairs developed among the men. The Communists assumed the name of the old union in Manhattan, and racketeers and other underworld elements with which it was charged the Communists "played ball" during the strike, played havoc with the organization. The plea became insistent for a genuine union chartered by the A. F. of L. This demand has now been met. Comrades Jacob Panken and Matthew Levy, who were asked by the three borough organizations during the strike to aid and who volunteered their legal services at the time, have been active in the fight for an A. F. of L. charter.

"The taxicab industry is in a deplorable condition," Mahoney said. "This is a result in part of the absence of a strong labor organization to protect the interests of the taxi drivers. The industry will never be stabilized until a responsible trade union, selected by the drivers themselves as their organized spokesman and affiliated with the A. F. of L., is prepared to represent the workers in negotiations with the companies, the authorities and the NRA."

Referring to a statement recently made by Victor J. Borella, "personnel director" of the Ter-

nal Transportation System, Inc., Mr. Mahoney added:

"The large taxicab operating companies complain that even though there are more than 55,000 licensed taxi drivers available in the City of New York to man only 15,000 cabs—almost four chauffeurs to each taxicab—fleet operators cannot get enough drivers. If this be a fact, we have sufficient proof that the present earnings of the chauffeurs are far too low, the working hours far too long and the working conditions far too objectionable to attract to the industry many who are licensed to drive taxicabs. The remedy is not to increase the number of taxi drivers but to provide fair wages with fair leisure and decent working conditions. The New York union will continue to be represented in the fight for higher wages, lower hours and better standards in the taxicab industry."

"This union is an organization of taxi drivers for taxi drivers. Only those actively employed in the industry will be eligible for membership. Nor will any officer be elected or appointed who is not a bona fide taxi driver."

Matthew M. Levy, of Panken and Levy, legal advisors of the United Taxi Chauffeurs' Union of Greater New York, said:

"Because of the conditions in the industry, and particularly since the strikes during the early part of this year, considerable effort has been made by the rank and file to obtain a charter from the American Federation of Labor. The men have long wanted to affiliate themselves with the bona fide organized labor movement. The organization was launched a few days ago, and will be followed by a mass meeting in each borough. President Green and Mr. Mahoney have been of great help in formulating the machinery for organization."

As the Paper Goes to Press: Late Labor Developments

AS THE NEW LEADER goes to press, we continue the last-minute resume of industrial news, a feature we started last week:

In New York:

CONFUSION IN THE HARBOR

Confusion continues in the local maritime workers' situation. The Regional Labor Board is trying to get the American Steamship Owners' Association to negotiate with the Seafarers' Council of the Port of New York, which threatens strike. The shipping interests claim the council doesn't represent the workers. Joseph P. Ryan, of International Longshoremen's Association presidential fame, says the same thing, since only the Tidewater Boatmen's Union (A. F. of L. affiliate under I. L. A. charter) can be their spokesman.

STATEN ISLAND BUS DRIVERS STRIKE

In Staten Island, labor-hating Samuel H. Serene, president of the Staten Island Coach Co., threatens that unless his 100 striking bus drivers return at once, they're out for good. The Regional Labor Board is conducting hearings, but Serene refuses to raise wages 12½ cents an hour. Passengers are crowding into competing busses. The Socialist Party is helping the strikers.

12,000 PAINTERS TO WALK OUT

A strike of 12,000 painters against a prospective wage cut and increase in working hours will be called by District Council No. 9 of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators. Philip Zausner, recently re-elected secretary-treasurer, announced that 10,000 painters in Manhattan, Bronx and Richmond voted unanimously at special local meetings to meet thus the ultimatum of the Master Painters' Association.

JUDGE RESERVES DECISION

Supreme Court Justice Black isn't ready yet to punish the Wholesale Dry Goods Workers' Union and the Associated Employees of S. Blechman & Sons, Inc., for contempt of court. He reserved decision this week on the plea to restrain the defendants from picketing and carrying signs calling attention to the firm's violation of NRA requirements. A Justice McLaughlin had previously issued an injunction against the strikers; but Louis Waldman, counsel for the union, contended that the signs weren't in violation of the court order and that

Gerber, New Labor Committee Chairman, Urges Cooperation

THE undersigned, having been elected chairman of the Committee on Labor of the Socialist Party of New York, asks all comrades who are members of labor unions for their cooperation.

The Committee on Labor will, as heretofore, assist the labor unions in their struggle for better conditions. We are ready to furnish speakers for mass meetings and organization drives and to assist and advise in strikes and lockouts.

I shall be in the office, Room 408 of the People's House, 7 East 15th Street, every day. Officers and members of labor unions desiring information and advice are welcome any afternoon.

The Committee on Labor has no interests or desire except to assist the labor unions in their activities and help them in their struggles with the employers, to the end that they will be stronger and better able to cope with all situations that may confront them.

For this we ask the cooperation of all trade unionists and particularly of the members of the Socialist Party within and out of the labor unions.

Julius Gerber, Chairman, Committee on Labor.

As the Paper Goes to Press: Latest Labor Developments

(Continued from Page Three)

the notions firm had refused to reinstate workers after being told to do so by the Regional Labor Board.

KNIT GOODS STRIKE VOTE TUESDAY

The absence of President David Dubinsky from the city is holding up further negotiations by which the Regional Labor Board is trying to avert the threatened general strike of 18,000 knit goods workers. Representatives of the I.L.G.W.U. and the United Textile Workers, which will run the strike through the Knit Goods Council, have been conferring with the bosses' association and the R. L. A. The union delegation stands firm for the higher minimum scales that workers are demanding. An overwhelming vote in favor of strike is expected if the balloting takes place Tuesday as planned, and ten strike halls have already been engaged.

WARNS DRESS MANUFACTURERS

Julius Hochman, general manager of the Dress Joint Board, I.L.G.W.U., warned the three boss associations in the New York dress market that they'll have to stop getting their workers through employment agencies instead of through the union. He announced also that the unit system of price settlements proposed by the union to determine scientifically the basis for fixing wages will be launched here when the new season starts. . . . The association comprising the model houses is negotiating with the union to end the threat of strike.

RAINCOAT STRIKE THREATENED

When the labor pact between the rainwear manufacturers and the Raincoat Makers' Union (Local 20, I.L.G.W.U.) expires next week, a general strike will be called—if the bosses continue to demand the introduction of piece work in the industry. The union is willing to renew the old agreement, according to Secretary-Treasurer Joe Kessler.

MORE INJUNCTIONS AGAINST BAKERY WORKERS?

In Brooklyn, the notorious Standard Baking Co. is still eager to enjoin the bakers' union, and Justice Steinbrink ordered counsel for the company and counsel for the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union (Comrade Jacob Panken) to submit briefs on the whole matter of issuing an injunction. The bakery union has been engaged in any number of court fights in the past few years, thanks to its energetic battles for union conditions and the courts' subservience to the master bakers.

NEWARK COURT ORDER VACATED

In Newark, Federal Judge Avis vacated a previous Chancery Court order restraining the Communist furniture workers' union from picketing the Miller plant in Jersey City. There will be another hearing July 31, when it is expected that Alfred Bingham and Corliss Lamont, who brought the case to public attention by picketing and submitting to arrest, will appear as witnesses.

OTHER MATTERS

Twenty-nine former employees of the Staten Island Bureau of Engineering have sued to get their jobs back, charging that they were dismissed as an economy measure and relief workers were taken on to do the same work at higher wages. . . . Completion of the stone work restoration of the memorial fountain in the Hotel Plaza square awaits settlement of a dispute between the stone cutters' union and the contractor. . . . Attorney General Bennett finally issued an order authorizing the granting of a home-work permit to Mrs. Budd, a Brooklyn mother who makes artificial flowers, thus legalizing home work despite the NRA.

Outside New York:

FARMER-LABORITE THREATENS MARTIAL LAW

From Minneapolis, where three men have been killed and 350 wounded so far in the two truck drivers' strikes this year, comes the news that Governor Floyd B. Olson (Farmer-Laborite) threatens martial law unless drivers' union officials and employers both settle on his terms. His terms mean the "final peace plan" of the Federal conciliators, the governor and the mayor. If he makes good his threat, trucks will move under military permit, no picketing will be allowed. Four thousand National Guardsmen are waiting in the Twin Cities to draw their bayonets and jump in.

STRIKE PARALYZES STOCKYARDS

From Chicago, the flash comes that federal conciliators, by grace of Secretary of Labor Perkins, have arrived to negotiate in the strike of 800 union stockhandlers which has paralyzed the famous stockyards. If the strike continues, a meat shortage may ensue, especially if packing house butchers in Chicago and other killing centers walk out in sympathy. The bosses are arousing public sympathy by detailing the sufferings of sweltering, half-starved and thirst-crazed cattle. The strikers are being cruel in refusing to succor the beasts, they say, ignoring the fact that the employers show no consideration for hungry and thirsty workers but are hiring scabs and thugs to crush them.

QUEBEC CLOTHING WORKERS OUT

From Montreal comes word that 4,500 clothing workers—members of the Amalgamated—have walked out in a Quebec-wide strike for higher wages and better working conditions affecting 125 plants.

Frisco Stevedores To Return Monday

(Continued from Page Three)

Party members were warned—some were beaten up, others injured in the previous strike clashes—and raids on Socialist headquarters were next on the list of the notorious Vigilantes—another name for bosses' hired thugs and other responsible citizens. (It must be noted, however, that those who aided in attacking at least one Communist Party office were genuine striking teamsters. They were incensed at what they considered the harmful effects of that party's boasting of its "outstanding activity" in a mass walkout with which it had just about nothing to do. Earlier reports had indicated that the men were "Vigilantes" masquerading as teamsters.)

Even Upton Sinclair headquarters were threatened, although that vigorous speaker and campaigner for the Democratic nomination for Governor maintained a polite and discreet silence on the strike, despite the effort of Milen Dempster, Socialist candidate active in raising funds for the strikers, to draw him out and make him take a stand.

Culinary Workers Call for Big Industrial Union

A pre-convention mass meeting of Local 16 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union will be held Friday afternoon (July 27) at 2:30 at Palm Garden, 306 West 52nd St. August Claessens and union officials are on the program.

The union has issued an appeal to "all organized, so-called organized and unorganized culinary workers in the city to help form an O.B.U.—one big powerful culinary workers' industrial union—affiliated with the A. F. of L." The purpose of the mass meeting is to interest all men and women in the hotel and restaurant industry to close their ranks in the present crisis: "to prepare the present membership of the different unions to fight for the coming great affiliation of the 57 varieties of 'unions' into one A. F. of L. Culinary Workers' Industrial Union."

"You are facing a grave responsibility in this hour of struggle," the leaflet warns. "NO CRIMINAL SECTARIAN TACTICS SHOULD BE PERMITTED IN THIS FIGHT! It is the solemn duty of every true unionist to strive with all his power for the strengthening and solidification of the trade union movement."

Marching through the streets singing labor songs in French and English, the strikers paraded to their meeting halls. . . . The I.L.G.W.U. may call out 3,500 members in a women's apparel workers' strike soon. . . . A sympathy strike of clothing workers throughout Canada may be in the offing.

ALABAMA TEXTILE STRIKE DIGS IN

In the Southern textile field, the strike of 22,000 Alabama cotton operatives continues in over twenty mills. It has not become as widespread as had been expected, the workers in some mills being new to unionism. A confusing element in the walkout is that W. O. Hare, secretary of the Alabama Federation of Labor, is said to have advised 500 Anniston workers to stay on the job, claiming that the state federation "was and is against the general strike" although it would continue to help those on strike. Other officials, both state and national, had called for vigorous extension of the strike. . . . Six hundred knitting operatives left their machines in the Holston Manufacturing Co., Knoxville, Tenn., in protest against the stretch-out system. . . . The South Carolina Federation of Textile Workers convention in Spartanburg voted to back up the UTW 100% whenever it chose to call a general strike.

UNION CHALLENGES RAYON FIRM

The answer of the rayon division of the UTW to the closing down of the Hopewell, Va., plant of the Tubize Chatillon company and the threatened permanent discharge of the 1,800 striking workers is double-barreled: Vice-President Kelly will ask the Labor Board to take away the company's Blue Eagle (whatever good that will do) and the union may ask the Attorney General of the United States to take action against the firm for violation of Article 7-A. Intimidation of the working force and of the whole community and interference with the workers' rights to bargain collectively will be the charge. The firm's threat is still regarded as a tactical bluff in some quarters. . . . Rayon Local 1851 may call a strike of thousands of Viscose Co. workers in Lewistown, Pa. (also rayon) to make the company live up to the agreement that ended the April 12 strike.

Unemployed and Relief Aides To Protest LaGuardia Trick

AROUSING by a trick of Mayor LaGuardia in calling a hurried, special meeting of the Board of Estimate on Wednesday to jam through his August relief appropriations, hundreds of unemployed and relief workers will assemble at City Hall Plaza at 11 a. m. on Friday, July 27, to demand a public hearing of their grievances, the Joint Committee of Unemployed and Emergency Workers announces.

The "special" meeting of the Board of Estimate, of which no public notice was given, passed an appropriation of \$17,000,000 for August relief, \$700,000 less than for July, despite the increase in need.

The motives behind this may be judged by the history of the efforts of the Joint Committee in the past few weeks. On July 6, David Lasser, chairman of the Workers' Unemployed Union and of the Joint Committee, wrote a letter to Mayor LaGuardia requesting a hearing before the Board of Estimate for Friday, July 27, when the August relief appropriations would normally be voted. Not hearing from the Mayor, Lasser wired him on Tuesday, July 24, for an answer. The Mayor's secretary telephoned the Workers' Unemployed Union office that afternoon and told Lasser that "there was no need to come to the City Hall, the Mayor was doing all he could." After some discussion, Lasser stated to the Mayor's secretary that the unemployed were coming down anyway to demand a hearing and that the Mayor could tell his story to them publicly.

Ever since LaGuardia came into office, the relief appropriations have been voted on the last Friday of the month. Obviously to forestall the coming of the unemployed, LaGuardia hurriedly called together his board, passed the reduced appropriations and then adjourned.

At a meeting of 300 relief workers held at 22 East 22nd St. Wednesday night, all pledged to go to the City Hall Friday and to "stay all day if necessary until the Mayor sees us." This spirit has been pervading the 35 locals of the Workers' Unemployed Union, where the unemployed are growing increasingly resentful of the low relief standards and the "scientific starvation" they are subjected to.

This recent trick of LaGuardia is the culmination of his refusal to allow the unemployed to state their grievances publicly. His Commissioner of Welfare Hodson

has sent police to greet delegations of the Workers' Unemployed Union and Emergency Workers' Union at the Department of Welfare offices and has been refusing to allow the unemployed to even enter the building.

BRONZE WORKERS MEET

A special general membership meeting of all iron and bronze workers in Greater New York and the vicinity has been called for Friday night (July 27) at People's House, 7 East 15th St. A report will be given on the strike against the General Bronze Corporation.

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. Executive Board meets every Tuesday night in the office of the Union, Z. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; I. A. Barkinsky, Sec'y-Treas.

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

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

CLOAK, SUIT AND DRESS PRESSERS' UNION, Local 35, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 60 West 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 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn; STAGG 2-0798. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice-President, Stephen Tobasco; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Helb.

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.

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

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

AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1, Offices, 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 E. Castro, President; Patrick J. Hanlon, Vice-President; Frank Sekol, Fin. Secretary; Emil Thenen, Rec. Secretary; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

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

UNITED NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 1016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone, ALgonquin 4-7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

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

WAITERS' AND 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. Telephone, CHelsea 3-5756-5757. A. Snyder, Manager, S. SHORE, Executive Supervisor.

THE COST OF FASCISM TO THE ITALIAN PEOPLE

And just what does the luxury of Mussolini's bloodthirsty fascism cost the cruelly tortured people of Italy? Not in anguish or in the loss of liberties, but in cold cash?

La Stampa Libera, New York's anti-fascist daily, through its editor Giralamo Valenti, makes public the results of a careful study from official sources, and concludes that the cost of Mussolini and the things he stands for comes to 1,488,781,000 lire annually (at current rate of exchange about \$134,000,000).

This huge amount, it must be understood, represents strictly fascist expenditures, the extra cost of fascism added to the already overloaded backs of the suffering Italian people.

Here are the figures in lire as taken from the official fascist government budget of 1933-1934. (Count lire at about 11 to the dollar.)

To the Royal Crown (an increase of L.300,000 compared to the year before); L.17,600,000; Mussolini's office, L.938,000; Special expenses of Mussolini, L.4,302,000; Extra expenses of the Premier, L.12,898,000; Foreign mission and propaganda, L.138,502,000; Italian Schools in foreign lands, L.31,920,000; Fascist courts and "Justice", L.22,925,000; Penitentiaries and jails, L.185,560,000; Mussolini's own public safety (OVRA or secret force), L.314,419,000; Regular police or carabinieri, L.379,900,000; Customs guard, L.225,125,000; Black shirt militia, L.64,600,000; Waterfront fascist militia, L.7,837,000; Fascist forest militia, L.54,795,000.

Extra Expenditures: Special services reserved to Mussolini, L.80,000; Customs guard, L.3,900,000; Foreign missions and propaganda, L.15,499,000; Italian Schools in foreign lands, L.1,050,000; Fascist forest militia, L.6,860,000. Total in Lire, 1,488,781,000.

Note that the Italian schools in foreign lands, of which there are many in the United States, are hotbeds of fascist propaganda aiming at swerving the allegiance of Americans of Italian descent from Uncle Sam to the tyrannical fascist regime.

Nazi Fugitive Admits Reichstag Fire Guilt

The London Daily Herald, organ of the British Labor Party, recently carried an interview with a German Storm Trooper by the name of E. Kruse, who is said to have been a personal servant of Ernst Roehm, chief of staff of the Storm Trooper killed by order of Adolf Hitler.

Kruse declares that he and one other are the last survivors of the Nazis who secretly entered the Reichstag building and set it on fire. He declares that thirteen men were involved and one after another mysteriously disappeared. He also asserts that Roehm had threatened to reveal the truth of the fire if Hitler disbanded the Storm Troopers.

Kruse is a fugitive in Switzerland. This is the first direct statement by a Nazi connecting Hitler, Göring, Roehm and Heines with the Reichstag fire and it agrees with a mass of circumstantial evidence proving their guilt.

Adler Letter to Appear in Pamphlet Form

The highly important letter by Friedrich Adler, secretary of the Labor and Socialist International, portions of which appeared in *The New Leader* last week, is being printed in full, together with the letter from Vienna to which it is a reply, by the Rand School Press, 7 East 15th St., New York City.

The price of the 24-page pamphlet is 10 cents, or 7 cents in quantities of 25 or more, or 6 cents in quantities of 50 or more.

The Basic Principles of the Modern Socialist Movement

By James Oneal

The Materialistic Conception of History III

IN discussing the influence of material factors as the basis of history, Socialists often consider the history of England. I shall confine the discussion to this country.

It is obvious that Negro slavery was so adapted to plantation culture that it could never gain much of a foothold in New England. The reason for this is the rocky soil and bleak winters of this region. In the South, the milder climate and fertile soil provided a material environment favorable to slave tillage of the soil on a large scale by slaves. *New England was not more moral or humane than the South; slavery simply was not profitable there.*

There were some household slaves in the North, and for more than a century New England merchants engaged in the slave trade. Slavery was unprofitable in that region, but the commerce in slaves was profitable, and many early New England fortunes were made by Puritan merchants kidnapping Negroes in Africa and selling them to southern slave owners.

Southern society developed an aristocratic landed class with the Episcopal Church for its worship, while New England produced a merchant class just as aristocratic but sustaining the state-kept Congregational Church. *Landed capital and merchant capital sustained differing forms of the Protestant faith.* It would be interesting to consider other contrasts between the two regions, but for our purpose what has been said is sufficient.

Now there was one spot in New England, the southern corner of Rhode Island, where the soil was more fertile than elsewhere in that section and in the middle of the eighteenth century it produced a society like that in the South. Here grew up a race of aristocratic planters, stock farmers and dairy-men, owning Negro and Indian slaves and sustaining the Episcopal Church as the landed barons of the South did.

It is rather significant that the one spot in New England where the soil was similar to that in the South should develop a type of society that bore a marked resemblance to the aristocratic society of the South. The Narragansett aristocracy was not due to imitation or to free choice; it grew out of an environment similar to that which was general in a large section of the South. This environment produced landed and governing aristocracies that ruled through restricted suffrage in the two regions. The ideas, manners and religious worship of the two aristocracies were also largely the same. *The*

institutions and ideas did not create the environment; the environment created the institutions and ideas.

The influence of material factors in shaping the life and institutions of a people is also seen in what has come to be called the "frontier" in our history. From Maine to Florida settlements, towns and cities expanded into the West and the region just beyond the settled communities was known as the "frontier." Here there were no towns, no communities. Farming, fishing, hunting and trapping were the occupations of the frontiersmen.

Here was a different environment producing institutions and ideas differing from those of the more populated eastern sections. Here men had to work, amidst dangers unknown to the townsmen. There were no wealthy merchants and land owners. People dressed roughly, lived roughly, acted roughly and lived a raw, crude and, generally, an uneducated existence. Fine manners and fine dress were unknown. There was little or no hired labor. Because in each region of the frontier a person hunted, or trapped, or fished, or farmed, all were equals, and *this equality of life and thought grew out of the environment in which they lived.*

It was out of this frontier that some of the main aspects of American democracy came. When they set up local governments, there were no restrictions on manhood suffrage, no recognition of birth or wealth. The large measure of economic equality produced equalitarian ideas. *Where there is class rule, there is aristocracy; where there is no class rule, the trend is to democratic ideas.*

On the farthest edge of the frontier men even reverted to a primitive life and many even lived the life of the savage. "The wilderness masters the colonist," wrote Turner. That is, the environment shapes human beings. In the wilderness man had to adapt himself to it or perish. What culture he has is sloughed off. Dress, manners, speech and mode of life become so changed that he finds little difficulty in taking an Indian squaw for a wife and being adopted by her tribe. *He does not choose; he complies in order to avoid extinction.*

This does not mean that man is helpless. His will is not paralyzed, but his will to do is confined within the range of the environment in which he lives. If he wills to have an education, he cannot get it in the wilderness; if he wills to live in a town, he cannot practice the habits and customs of the Indian. *His environment is primary; the range of his will is restricted by the kind of society in which he lives.* (Continued next week)

LABOR TO DEMAND HOUSING ACTION AT ALBANY

STEPS for an intensive drive to speed up the building of modern homes at low rents for workers were taken at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Labor Conference for Public Housing and Slum Clearance, held last Monday at the office of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York.

The plans were adopted after the committee listened to a very illuminating report by B. C. Vladeck, who is a member of the New York Housing Authority.

The decisions of immediate interest were as follows: To send a committee to Governor Lehman to ask for the introduction of a bill at the special session of the legislature to allow New York City to borrow money for housing purposes. To introduce at the coming convention of the New York State Federation of Labor a resolution urging all unions of the state to demand an extensive program of homes and to ask from the city and state authorities the necessary support.

In connection with the housing resolution to be proposed at the convention of the State Federation of Labor next month at Buffalo, a desire was expressed by George Meany of the Building Trades that B. C. Vladeck should come to address the convention on the subject.

The committee also decided to gather all necessary material relating to public housing in order to be fully equipped with data and facts for the various hearings and statements.

In order to be able to prepare the research work and to carry on the campaign, the committee decided to issue an appeal for contributions to all labor organizations.

Those present at the meeting were John P. Mulholland, who acted as chairman; William Kohn, secretary; George Meany, James B. Quinn, B. C. Vladeck, Louis Langer, Morris Finestone, Julius Gerber and Louis Schaffer.

is likewise to blind as to be classed as an infatuated fool.

LET us fight against war; but in fighting against war let us realize that war grows out of certain conditions and that the only way to strike at war is to strike a blow at the causes out of which wars arise.

There is danger of war everywhere; let us face that awful fact. There is one way to destroy that danger of war, and let us face that, too.

Let us build a workers' world; let us create a ring of workers' republics in every part of the world; let us exalt the human interests and the happiness of the men and women and children who make the world and its greatness and beauty above the shabby material self-interest of bankers and industrialists, who have led the peoples to the shambles so often.

Twenty years after the "last" war began the world is again racing toward the brink of the abyss. For the moment the war-makers have the floor; their fascist tools and puppets in nation after nation have sought to make hatred of war a crime and an obscenity.

We hear the throb of the drums and the clamor of the "patriotic" orators. We hear the blaring of the bugles and the tramp-tramp-tramp of the men getting ready for the next blood-bath.

Let us raise our voices so that those dread sounds will be drowned out by the fraternal cries of workers' unity, so that there will rise full and clear above the clamor and clangor the rallying-cry of those who will make wars impossible for all time:

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

Twenty Years After 1914

By William M. Feigenbaum

TWENTY years ago the world reeled drunkenly under the impact of the first blows of the World War—the "last" war, the "war to end all wars."

For years the nations had been drawn irresistibly, although at first almost imperceptibly, to that point from which there was no turning back. For a month they had been racing with express train speed to the brink of the abyss.

At the very moment when the peoples of the world were closer to each other than ever before in history, when understanding and tolerance, and the internationalism of the organized Socialist and labor movement, had created a warm friendliness among men and women, the diplomats and chancellors, working in darkness in the service of the masters of industry and finance, were creating the situation out of which there was no escape except war.

And so twenty years ago the tocsin rang and the war began!

MILLIONS of men were mobilized, called to the colors, exorted in the name of the Most High to go forth and slay.

In the first torrid days of August, 1914, the civilized portion of the human race stood aghast at the thought that despite the veneer of civilization and the attempts of noble souls to create an internationalism that would make wars

impossible, wars were still with us.

Napoleon once said he aimed to make wars as terrible as possible, for in only that way could wars be made impossible. But Napoleon was wrong, for as in his time, so in ours, wars are declared by statesmen and are fought by common soldiers—while the masses suffer untold agonies. And despite the almost miraculous ingenuity of machinery of mass destruction, wars continued to be declared and fought. For there is a power greater than moral force that makes wars inevitable.

And the only way to make wars impossible is to get rid of that power!

WHEN the war broke upon a stunned world, Americans were happy that they were out of it. President Wilson urged us to be "neutral in thought as well as in deed." America rejoiced—for a while—in its neutrality.

But it was not long before the neutrality melted away and clamorous politicians were doing all in their power to get us in the war, while a wealthy manufacturer of dynamite and other explosives financed a great campaign to "sell" America the idea of becoming armed.

Something had happened, something that involved the material welfare of America; no, not of all America, but of the dominant banking and industrial classes of America.

American bankers became involved in the fortunes of war to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars in loans, and American industrialists became involved to the tune of billions of dollars' worth of business.

AND THEN AMERICA, led by the kept press, CEASED TO REJOICE IN ITS NEUTRALITY. And then Americans were led by that kept press to believe that hatred of war as such was somehow shameful!

WE were dragged into the war; and the war dragged to a close. NO MORE WAR! shouted the peoples of the world in voices of thunder. No more war! echoed the statesmen who had made the system out of which war came, as they vainly tried to patch up the damage they had wrought.

And so they made a peace that was worse than the war, and out of that "peace" have come angry and terrible problems that have again brought us to the verge of a war so terrible that it is possible that civilization will be unable to survive it.

NO MORE WAR! That is a good slogan, for the person who sneers at pacifism is a fool or a knave, while the person who even admits the possibility of war as a necessary policy of peoples is an enemy of the human race.

But the person who closes his eyes to the awful danger of war

The Workers Abroad

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

By Mark Khinoy

Saar Imitates France

FRANCE, it appears, is not the only place where proletarian unity is no more a mere pious phrase. In the industrial Saar region of Germany a similar tendency is manifesting itself. There, also, the Communists have come to realize the paramount importance of civil liberties and democratic self-government and are ready to fight for it much more effectively than their brothers in the rest of Germany did before Hitler's rise to power. Realizing the danger of losing all their political freedom and constitutional rights of the referendum on January 13, 1935, makes the Saar Valley an integral part of Hitler Germany, the Communist leaders consented to a "real united front from above"—and it was realized.

The Central Committees of the two parties have come to an understanding that would be inconceivable even a month ago. In joint appeal signed by the two parties, they call upon the population of the Saar Basin to help them in a united campaign against the threatened fascist dictatorship. Thanks to this united front pact the two parties succeeded in launching a really popular movement against the proposed return to Germany. Trade unions, labor organizations of all descriptions, and even liberal and democratic bourgeois groups joined the movement under the slogan "Preserve the present regime!", e.g., continue the democratic order under the tutelage of the League of Nations until the Nazi tyranny comes to an end in Germany. In this case it also means a campaign against the two other alternatives proposed by the referendum: joining the German Reich or the French Republic.

That this readiness of the German Communists to defend "bogus democracy" wherever this lady is still in evidence is not an accident, was shown in this column two weeks ago when we quoted a joint manifesto of the Austrian and German Communist parties calling for a struggle for democracy and civil liberties.

A similar offer of "united anti-war and anti-fascist action" was received this month by the Central Committees of the two German and Czech Social Democratic parties of Czechoslovakia. The Prague comrades, however, rejected the offer as lacking the elementary guarantee of Communist good faith and sincerity. Not unlike the Swiss Socialists, they branded the Communist proposal as a clumsy maneuver to sow disunity among Socialist workers.

German Lefts Go Right

PRE-HITLER Germany left us, among other assets (or liabilities), a numerically small but politically quite active splinter party the S.A.P. of Socialists with pronounced Communist tendencies. This "Socialist Workers' Party" was among the first to favor the creation of a new (a Fourth) International. Cooperating with Trotsky, the S.A.P. leaders worked hard for the still-born brain-child of the Russian exile. The foreign leaders of this tendency are now, however, showing a change of heart. It is reported by the Paris press that they have adopted a new policy which leads their followers toward the existing Labor and Socialist International.

It has come to pass, writes the Paris correspondent of the *Neue Volkszeitung*, under the pressure of a direct demand from the underground comrades in Germany. As an immediate result of this new orientation there has just been organized in Paris a united action committee of official representatives of the S.P. and S.A.P. leaders of German Socialism in exile.

The same tendency is also in evidence in the other emigré centers. From Prague, for instance, comes the news that ten active workers of the S.A.P. in exile, including all local leaders, resigned from the party and joined the local *Neue Beginnen* group of the German Social Democracy.

There are at present 302 Socialist County (Canton) Councilmen in France and only 39 Communists.

Socialists Do Not Join Communists in Austria

A RECENT cable from Brno, Czechoslovakia, to the New York Post carried a story to the effect that "Dr. Otto Bauer, former head of the Social Democratic Party and an exile in Brno," has written in his paper, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, that "Austria's former Social Democrats are joining Communist ranks by the thousands." This message distorts completely Otto Bauer's words, as they appear in the last issue of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, dated July 8, 1934. What Comrade Bauer really wrote was: "After the February days, a few thousand comrades joined the Communist Party. But many of these comrades left the Communist ranks a few weeks later and joined the organization of the Revolutionary Socialists," the underground Socialist organization.

At the annual conference of the Argentine Socialist Party in Santa Fé, May 23rd to 26th, an attempt was made to "revolutionize" the present Social Democratic policies of the party. The venture failed. 10,084 votes

THE HITLER REICH

By Dr. Richard Kern

This article is an invaluable interpretation of Hitler rule in Germany, the cracking of German fascism, the sinking of German capitalism, and the new situation facing the Nazis which must lead to the eventual destruction of fascism itself. One section of the article originally written that considers the July massacres and the conflict between Hitler and Roehm is omitted as the facts are generally known to our readers.

THE June 30th outbreak of hostilities between the gangsters is the starting point for a profound shock to the dictatorship. The special feature of the fascist dictatorship is its mass basis, and in Germany this was followed most enthusiastically.

The last few months had already shown the beginning of a retrogressive movement. The attempt to re-awaken the enthusiasm by a comprehensive agitation failed. The campaign against the "grouse" became a fiasco. Many people therefore expected a new wave of terror. A pogrom against the Jews, or something similar, was anticipated. But Hitler and Göring went the whole hog in order to settle their opponents at one blow. It was the system, however, that was hit.

Hitler himself has his best assistants murdered and describes

them as traitors, rakes, sodomites and ridiculous monkeys. Yet these were his best friends, whom he knew better than anybody. But who did not know them and how many have paid for giving utterance to their knowledge with torture and death in the concentration camps? Hitler, however, who became Röhm's judge and destroyer, wrote to his esteemed chief of staff as late as January 20th in the following terms (*Völkischer Beobachter*, January 20th, 1934):

The struggle of the National-Socialist movement, and the National-Socialist revolution, were only rendered possible by the consistent subjugation of the Marxist terror by the S.A. At the close of the year of the National-Socialist revolution I am therefore impelled, my dear Ernst Röhm, to thank you for the imperishable services which you have rendered to the National-Socialist movement and the German people, and to assure you how grateful I am to fate for being able to count such men as you as my friends and comrades-in-arms.

In hearty friendship and grateful appreciation

Yours

Adolf Hitler.

Hitler was just as well informed on the character and behavior of Röhm and Heines on the day when he called them "his dear friends" as on the day when he murdered them. When he reproaches Röhm and his companions with moral

Murders of His Closest Associates Of Rottenness in No Get Ready for The

corruption he is confirming his own moral corruption.

And President von Hindenburg had appointed Röhm a Minister of the Reich well knowing his characteristics. Foreign Minister Neurath, Defense Minister Blomberg, Finance Minister Krosigk, Minister of Economics Schmitt and Minister of Justice Gürtner have sat at the same table with this Röhm as their colleague. The moral corruption does not extend to the National-Socialists alone, but has taken hold of all circles—the President of the Reich, the General Staff, the heads of the bureaucratic machine, business and the churches—who have cooperated with the bandits and who accepted titles and offices from them. The collaborators and assistants of Hitler and Göring are all at the same time the befouled and besetted comrades of Röhm and Heines.

Hindenburg and Blomberg, with the approval of Krosigk, Neurath, Schmitt and Gürtner, have expressed their thanks to this Hitler—for the slaughter, which claimed as victims their colleague Röhm and another, the former Chancellor of the Reich, von Schleicher, whose appointment as Chancellor was once urged with particular energy by Neurath, Krosigk and Popitz. When they were thanking him they no doubt thought as well of the murder of Frau Schleicher in whose house they had formerly spent pleasant hours. The consideration paid to Vice-Chancellor von Papen did not need to disturb them. Papen and his wife are alive; only two of his collaborators have been shot. Fidelity to Röhm is the essence of German honor!

The moral corruption is not confined to the upper regions of German society. With National-Socialist members of the lumpenproletariat, declassed people from all ranks of society, and mental and

wake up with an awful headache.

I'm afraid the old die-hard, conservative labor leaders are closer to their people than we give them credit for. Even some of our supposedly radical labor leaders were cluck-clucking in disapproval over San Francisco's general strike. These are all things to be kept in mind in outlining our campaign among conservative workers.



They Haven't Had a Strike Since the Year Nineteen-Five

By Gertrude Weil Klein

DURING the last few weeks I've been in steady and close contact with a group of striking workers allied with one of the skilled branches of the building trades. I've had the opportunity to talk to them individually at length, and I am appalled and depressed beyond words at the complete lack of contact the Socialist or any radical movement has established with them.

Just as I was about to ask an exceptionally intelligent, well-read and alert young man, a member of the electricians' union for many years, how he happened to have such a philosophic attitude toward his long stretch of unemployment and toward the general chaos and suffering among the building trades workers, he turned and asked me why it was that Socialist propaganda had never reached a man like him.

G. W. Klein

G. W. Klein

The electricians' union hasn't had a strike since 1905, and that was a lock-out. Of the over 6,000 members in this local there are dozen or so known Socialists and fewer Communists. The overwhelming majority of these men regard themselves as professionals; they tell me they are so classified in Washington. A picket-line to them is as degrading as a bread-line. They are picketing today, though two years ago anyone who suggested picketing would have been thrown out on his ear. If there is

any comfort to be gained from this small crumb, I suppose we Socialists are entitled to it.

The Socialists put this picket-line and this strike on the labor map. There isn't a worker in the struck plant or among the active men in the allied unions who does not know that the Socialists have been on the job helping them in every way they can. This week, at their own expense, our people tried to prevent the scabs from leaving the building by commandeering all the cabs that came into the block to take them away. They did this over and over again until the cops got wise to the fact that the sudden lack of cabs was not an accident. Then the police began yanking our people out of the cabs and arresting them.

I am not at all sure that these workers understand why we are so interested in their strike. Many of them think we are just nuts. Of course, those of us like Jack Altman, Sam Friedman, Dave Kaplan and myself who are able to spend some time around strike headquarters do all we can in the way of explaining. But this work should be followed up.

Somebody must write some literature that will appeal to these workers. Some plans must be worked out to get our propaganda across to special groups of workers like these.

Desperation may make them temporarily militant. Toledo, San Francisco, Minneapolis, Milwaukee and other hot spots of recent weeks might make the casual observer believe that "labor is on the march." I'm not so optimistic.

The American worker has always been handy with his fists. Fighting is a natural way for him to settle his disputes. Especially when he's backed against the wall, there's no knowing what he will do. But anybody who confuses this with class-consciousness and carries on accordingly is going to

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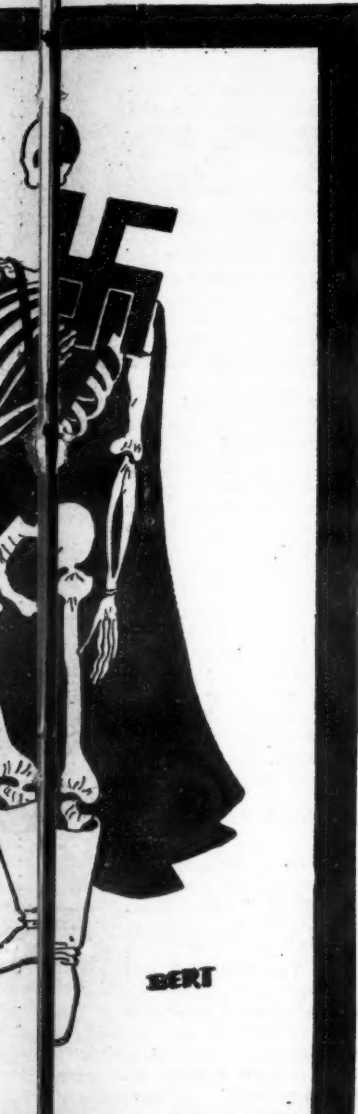
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means, however, an easier situation for the serious political work of the real opponents of the dictatorship; it means the beginning of a progressive process of breaking off and winning over the as yet undamaged elements from the National Socialist camp. So far every second German has been a voluntary auxiliary police officer for the Hitlerbands, and any activity in the factories had to reckon with the opposition of the workers themselves, but now this is beginning to change. The broad mass organization of the dictatorship, which covered, penetrated and dominated the whole people, is weakened, is permeated in an increasing degree by opponents and is losing much of its value as an instrument of domination. The basis of the dictatorship is narrowing, and it will now rely on the police, the SS, and the Reichswehr.

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Reichswehr, or that the Reichswehr will force a reactionary policy upon him against his will. Compared with Hitler and Göring even the German General Staff itself is not reactionary. There is no reactionary social interest which Hitler, the friend of Thyssen, has not supported from the beginning—Hitler, who has destroyed the trade unions, deprived the workers of their rights, ruined social policy, reduced wages, encouraged cartels and left the large landowners untouched. It does mean, however, that Hitler is no longer independent of the Reichswehr General Staff and the social grade belonging to it, and that he can no longer stand up to them. Totality is replaced again by the dualism of military rule and civil government, the final decisions resting with the military officers.

This narrowing of the mass basis and limitation of the basis of power is taking place during a period of financial and economic crisis such as has never been experienced with such severity by any industrial country in spite of war and inflation. The dictatorship has pursued a crazy financial policy for its party purposes, for considerations of prestige and for the benefit of capitalist, middle class and particularly agricultural sections of the population. In particular it has pumped billions of marks of direct and indirect note-issuing bank credits into German business for

armament purposes and for the "labor campaign." It thereby increased the need of imports at a time when exports were falling off. The immediate consequence was the complete exhaustion of the stores of gold in the Reichsbank, the bankruptcy of the State and the impossibility of finding means of payment for maintaining imports. Hence the necessity for cutting down imports which, however, made the expenditure on the former scale impossible. The cutting off of expenditure for the provision of work, of subsidies and armament contracts means the intensification of the economic crisis, increased unemployment, a further falling off in the income of the State, a growing deficit, increased calls on the Reichsbank and the transformation of the latent into an open and hardly-to-be-controlled inflation.

This state of affairs threatens a State which has fallen into disrepute abroad, which is feared for its warmongering and burdened with a government incapable of concluding treaties. The bankruptcy is most complete in the sphere in which the dictatorship aroused the greatest and most exaggerated expectations—the sphere of foreign policy. The dictatorship has torn up the Treaty of Versailles and carried on rearmament feverishly and unrestrainedly. But for the sake of military rearmament it has made itself economically incapable of war. In this matter the Reichswehr is sensitive. Here are actual possibilities of conflict.

The massacre of the S.A. leaders

has certainly been well received by the Reichswehr. Hitler and Göring surely expect from their putsch a certain stabilization in home politics and stronger support from the heads of the General Staff, the bureaucracy and business. Will the expectation be fulfilled?

Economic stabilization? It is precisely to the capitalist leaders that Hitler has left economic policy from the beginning as their special sphere, and it is these people who have brought the Reich to the brink of the abyss in an incredibly short time. To turn back means today new suffering and still more terrible disappointment for the masses.

Political stabilization? Peace with the Reichswehr certainly. But this does not signify stabilization. That the capitalists rule still more despotically, that now even the worst exploiter is protected from intervention by the factory cell and the S.A. does not signify any change.

Change in foreign policy? But this would mean that nationalism would disappear after Socialism, and that the ideology which has given National-Socialism its strongest impulse would collapse.

The crisis of the German dictatorship is more severe than that of other dictatorships. National-Socialism began its rule during a difficult economic crisis; the means for dealing with this have created a new, more dangerous and more acute crisis. The dictatorship began with a nationalist foreign policy threatening war; this led

(Continued on Page Eight)

Only the Foes of Labor Would Divide Workers at This Time

IT can be clearly seen, when the world is visually ranged, that the long drawn-out fight for economic justice is quickening to a climax everywhere, says the Westralian Worker, Perth, West Australia. Alarmed at the consequences of their own failure the capitalist classes are organizing their forces for a smashing blow at the labor movement, hoping to save their tottering regime by the instrumentalism of violence. That is the explanation of fascist activities in every part of the world.

Beaten by Socialist propaganda, beaten by the onward sweep of events, and even more by that lust of greed which is the mainspring of their civilization, the capitalist rulers of the earth believe that in the last resort there is sufficient power in crude methods of repression for the continued maintenance of their empire.

How mad, then, are the protagonists of labor who waste their strength at this crucial period in internecine strife? Leading united armies they could win the way to victory with swift, decisive blows. They could ensure to the present generation the complete supremacy of co-operative principles. They could banish to the limbo of gloomy memories the era of capitalist exploitation, but they wrangle with one another instead. One can only look around the world in mingled astonishment and grief. In the very moment of triumphant realization labor is throwing away its great chance.

In some countries it has already done so, and fascist dictatorships are firmly entrenched where Socialist democracies should be established. Elsewhere the hosts of reaction are being marshalled for the subjection of the workers to a system of slavery viler than any the past can show. And labor leaders, undeterred by the fate of Italy, Germany and Austria, are venting their energies in factional fights.

The workers' movement everywhere must beware lest history, when it writes of this our day, shall have such a tale of tragic and criminal futility to tell as will make the future weep.

To bring about workable unity within the labor movement always has been labor's most difficult and never-ending task. The reason for this is that the workers are mainly the graduates of capitalist conditions and teachings, and that it is only to the extent that such conditions and teachings become unbearable and unacceptable unity for the purpose of giving effect to its policy.

At the moment capitalist conditions and teachings are being challenged and repudiated as never before by an increasing number of workers. The immediate effect of this, while there is a change-over, as it were, being made towards labor's policy in its more advanced or progressive form, has been to cause disunity in the labor movement. That, of course, is exactly what the capitalist interests desire and there is no doubt that they have done all they could to foster dissention.

Such being the case leaders of the movement must set themselves to try and bring about a more workable form of unity among the greater number of capitalistically disillusioned and antagonized workers, so that there shall be a unified attack on the old order of things which seeks to strengthen itself by any means, trampling on all forms of democracy in its ruthless march. To reach the desired end, admittedly, requires self-discipline or control, patience, foresight, knowledge, and most of all capacity to ignore, within limitations, bitter insults, deliberate misrepresentation and treachery. It must, however, be done if labor is to justify its existence and succeed in giving effect to labor policy.

Editor's Corner

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

The New York Declaration

THE Declaration of Principles proposed by the New York State Committee of the party and by the New York City Central Committee and published in these columns last week is now before our readers. We commend it for as careful a study as the Detroit document and the amendments to the latter proposed by the Unity Conference, which have also been printed in The New Leader.

There is one thing common to all three documents: each is based upon the Declaration of 1924, but the Detroit Declaration added something that the original did not contain. It ventured into a program of policies relating to future emergencies that might occur in relation to fascism, war and the possibility of reaction not accepting the mandate of the masses in a general election. It is this latter section that is in dispute.

It does not properly belong to a Declaration of Principles, and yet as it is included in the Detroit original, the amendments of the Unity Conference and the New York Declaration follow the Detroit model. The Unity Conference amendments seek to change or eliminate what these comrades believe to be obscure and objectionable statements in the original. The section on policies appended to the New York Declaration seeks completely to rewrite this section regarding possible future emergencies.

The Three Documents

PARTY members, therefore, should keep this fact in mind. There is practically no disagreement regarding the 1924 Declaration in its leading section outlining principles. It is the final section outlining policies that is the subject of debate in the three documents. The Unity Conference Declaration and the New York Declaration both agree in their objections to the Detroit section on policies, but the sponsors of each favor different methods of eliminating what each considers to be objectionable in the section. The Unity Conference favors amendments and the New York Declaration favors complete re-writing of the section.

Studying the two documents that dissent with the Detroit Declaration, we will find that the dissent is based on objections to the following: (1) support of individual members for anti-war activities, whether such activities correlate with party principles or decisions; (2) the phrase "massed war resistance;" (3) the party "intends not to be deceived by fascist propaganda;" (4) the phrase "bogus democracy;" (5) seizure of power, whether the party acts for a majority or a minority.

There are other objections made, but these are the most important. The issue is not one of whether the party is opposed to fascism, war and a reactionary coup d'etat, but what constitutes a Socialist statement regarding these issues. As one who went through the World War facing mobs; who faced a mob of 10,000 in Boston, one section of which raided our state office, gutted it, and burned much of its equipment in the street; who spoke at meetings swarming with federal agents, the editor can say that he is willing to repeat these experiences in behalf of another Socialist document representing the Socialist philosophy and the best interests of the working class.

A Situation in Illinois

HOWEVER, he does not believe that the Detroit Declaration is such a document. It does not measure up to the St. Louis Anti-War resolution. That resolution was clear and precise; the Detroit Declaration is often obscure in its meaning, capable of various interpretations and would contribute to confused action instead of solidarity and discipline. If a strike committee were to issue instructions as obscure in meaning as the Detroit document many strikers would be uncertain as to what was meant.

The Illinois comrades now have an example of what I mean. The New Leader recently carried a story of fascist thugs attacking our meetings and injuring our speakers. The comrades have organized with others to preserve their civil rights. What they are fighting for is the preservation of democracy—freedom of speech, of press and of meetings. Will they inspire either Socialists or other democratic allies by publicly referring to the democracy they want to preserve as "bogus"? Imagine our speakers saying: "This democracy is bogus, but we want you to fight for this bogus thing."

They will do nothing of the kind, and yet they approve a statement in the Detroit Declaration which should require them frankly to say these things if they are to be consistent. They will not and should not say these things. It would be folly for them to do so. It is a dilemma they now face, and we are sure that they will act as Socialists have always acted in such situations.

Hitler Reich Cracking Up

(Continued from Page Seven)

after initial successes to isolation and encirclement. The dictatorship has attempted to bolster up its power by intensifying its terror; it has thereby shaken the foundations of its power still more.

The dictatorship has placed great hopes upon the propagandist force of the fascist idea, and has expended large sums on spreading it. It has not been able to praise its own permanence and immovability sufficiently. The nimbus has completely disappeared. The international struggle against fascism is becoming more confident, the defenses of freedom more passionate; the advocates of fascism are exposed for what they are—adventurers and criminals. The cold steel of German fascism has mortally wounded the rising fascism abroad.

The dictatorship exists, but Germany is in the grip of corruption. The dictatorship exists, but its basis is weakened. With the continuance of the dictatorship chaos seizes upon Germany more and more. The chaos can only be remedied, and the corruption stopped, by the overthrow of the dictatorship. But this cannot be the work of the Reichswehr or of the ruling classes, who, infected by the corruption, have no aim and no solution.

Only when with the greater freedom of movement for illegal work the opposition of the workers grows, its organization extends and its fighting fitness increases, when the growing pressure from below throws the ruling upper classes into confusion and the proletarian revolution becomes a real threat, only then will dawn the day of renewal, of the rebirth of the German people.

Young Circle Soccer Team At Ulmer Park Picnic

The Young Circle Soccer Team, member of Division 1 of the Eastern District Soccer League, affiliated with the Workers' Gymnastic and Sport Alliance, has to date established a distinguished place for itself in the field of labor sports in this country. In the two years of its existence it has played 72 games; has won 52, lost 15 and tied 5, and forged to third place in the league of 21 teams.

In the spring of 1933 the team won Class B Championship of the Eastern District Soccer League. Starting the fall season it copped the New Jersey Championship at the tournament held at Cliffside. The team played at most Workmen's Circle and Young Circle League affairs.

It flaunted its talents against the Scotch-American A. C. at last year's Ulmer Park picnic, at the Passaic Workmen's Circle outing, and at the Pawling Camp.

This past Sunday it again displayed its prowess against the champion Queens Soccer Club at the Eastern Encampment of the Young Circle League, tying the score 1 to 1.

On July 28th it will play the feature game against the Union City A. C. at the picnic of the Socialist Party, Workmen's Circle, and trade unions at Ulmer Park.

British Labor and War

By Mark Khinoy

THE special conference called to lay down the policy of the trade union and labor movement in the event of an outbreak of war took place in London last week. The General Council of the Trades Union Congress, the National Executive of the Labor Party, and the Executive of the Parliamentary Labor Party attended.

An official statement indicated that the meeting adopted a statement of policy which will be presented to the Trades Union Congress and to the national conference of the Labor Party this year.

The statement sets forth that Labor's foreign policy is based on the collective peace system, which means a League of Nations, plus

such cooperation between the League and non-member states as may be established either on the Pact of Paris or other treaties, or by any other means.

"Labor policy," it is declared, "is directed to develop the collective system in such a way as to make it a sure guarantee of peace."

The statement goes on to distinguish between "war of an aggressive character" and "war undertaken in defense of the collective peace system." Labor, the statement declares, is emphatically opposed to any form of aggressive war, but it recognizes that there may be circumstances in which the Government of Great Britain might have to use its military and naval forces in support of the League in restraining an aggressor nation

which declined to submit to the League's authority, and which flagrantly used military measures in defiance of its pledged word.

After defining the basic aims of Labor's peace policy, the statement declares:

"The first step in this direction means the abolition of national air forces, and the establishment of an international force of interceptor and scout planes under League orders, the internationalization of civil aviation—which last is also part of Labor's program for organizing world transport."

In the carrying out of this policy it was necessary to bring Russia into the League and the United States into such close association as possible on the basis of a pact of non-aggression and consultation

which provided for the use of the League Council and Assembly.

Labor's policy also recognized the necessity for driving home into the public conscience by means of national legislation the meaning of these international obligations.

On the legislative side the statement contemplated the passing of an Act binding the government not to use force as an instrument of foreign policy, and to report at once to the League and to comply with the League's injunctions on the basis of reciprocity in case of the need for using force in self-defense.

The statement recognized that Labor's policy, as thus explained, implied profound changes in the views taken of the rights of the State over the individual in wartime, the duties of citizenship, and the nature of patriotism. Specifically it meant that loyalty to the world community on the issue of peace overrode any national duty, and notably duty to the government in war.

Loyalty to the conception of world peace comprised three duties of citizenship:

1. The duty to insist that our government settle all its disputes by peaceful means and eschew force.

2. The duty unflinchingly to support our government in all the risks and consequences of fulfilling its duty to take action against a peace-breaker.

3. The refusal to accept our government's unsupported claim to be using force in self-defense, and the insistence on submitting such claim to the test of international judgment, or of willingness to arbitrate, and carrying with it refusal to serve or support the government if it were either condemned as an aggressor by the League or designated itself an aggressor by becoming involved in war after arbitration.

No General Strike, but Resistance

ON the question of a general strike, the statement set forth the terms of the present standing order of the Trades Union Congress requiring a special congress to be called in the event of a danger of war breaking out, and regarded this standing order as covering the position and providing the best means of dealing with the situation, notwithstanding the psychological difficulty of taking action once the war spirit had been aroused.

It was recognized that the lack of an independent trade union movement in such countries as Germany, Italy, Austria, and others, made the calling of a general strike against their governments an impossibility, and in other countries, such as Japan, the weakness of the trade union organization made it unable to restrain its government.

Recognizing that aggressive action might come from some of those countries, it was declared that the general strike in such circumstances could not possibly be made effective by the trade unions in these countries. The responsibility for stopping war, moreover, ought not to be placed on the trade union movement. Every citizen who wanted peace, and every other section of the labor movement, must share the responsibility of organized action against war.

The statement pointed out that the refusal to handle munitions of war, which had been suggested, would rapidly develop into a general strike if conducted on a large scale.

Declaration Pro and Con

THE AUSTRIAN STRUGGLE

By Bruno Fischer

(Continued from Page Two)

pause. It is simply a mild reiteration of the traditional Socialist position. It is not so sweeping as the famous St. Louis resolution, of which Socialists the world over are justly proud, which pledges the party to oppose war "by all means within our power." No Socialist of integrity can do less than is demanded of him and the party by the Declaration in the event of war. New York City

No comrades have disagreed with the fight made by the Austrian Socialists or have denied that if the fighters had been successful they should have destroyed capitalism if not crushed by surrounding fascist states. These two points are not an issue in the party.—Editor.

PLANNING FOR CRISES

Never in its history has the Socialist Party been confronted with as serious a condition as at present.

After five years of economic collapse which the founders of our movement foretold fifty years ago, the desperate attempts of that dying class to establish fascism to prolong the agony makes it necessary for us to be more aggressive in our attacks on capitalist society.

From 1848 until 1914 the Internationalists were the propagandists and educators of the working class. Then came the test, the declaration of war, and the International fell apart, not because the internationalists became rank nationalists and patriots, no. The reason, in our opinion, is the propaganda against war and what to do against war was neglected and the working class paid a terrible price for it. The next neglect was when the Socialist parties took fascism and Hitlerism lightly and our comrades are paying again. Shall we in America make the same blunders or shall we learn by our comrades' mistakes?

Whatever one may think of the Declaration of Principles as a whole, no one will dispute that our stand upon war must be so in advance of anything yet devised that the world will take notice at our determination to obstruct war by any and all means, legal or illegal, fair or unfair, as war is the greatest offense against human society. We, as Socialists, will not stand by and let the war-mongers draw us into another shambles.

Never shall we think of the prosperity that may come from war activities; only a beast would welcome employment making war materials to maim and kill other

(Continued on Page Eleven)

FAMILY MATTERS

By Julius Gerber

Local New York submitted to the National Executive Committee a Declaration of Principles, initiating it for a referendum of the party members in accordance with the provisions of Article XII of the party's Constitution.

To my amazement I received a letter from Harold Kelso, who, I assume, acts as Chief of the National office in the absence of Comrade Senior, informing me that the motion of Local New York initiating a referendum is out of order.

Not only is Comrade Kelso wrong in his interpretation of the Constitution, but he has neither the authority nor the right, nor has the N.E.C. the authority nor the right, to refuse to accept or declare any motion for a referendum out of order.

Section 1 of Article XII of the National Constitution reads:

"The National Executive Committee and the National Executive Secretary shall submit to a referendum vote of the members: (Section 1b) Any question, motion or resolution if submitted to the National Executive Committee and endorsed by at least five (5) locals in three (3) different states having a total membership of twenty (20) per cent of the total membership of the party."

There is nowhere in the Constitution a provision empowering the N.E.C. not to accept matters initiated for a referendum except in two specific instances—when a national convention is to be held during the year, or when a matter has been duly initiated and voted upon by referendum during the year. Neither of these two exceptions applies in this case.

There is nothing to stop the submission to the members for a vote on the Declaration of Principles proposed by Local New York. It was properly initiated by Local New York and all that is required now is seconds by other locals so that the required number of locals having the necessary number of members (20 per cent of the total membership of the party) ask that it be submitted to a referendum vote.

I am sure we will not have to "fish" for the endorsements and that the locals will do so without being solicited.

I hope that the N.E.C. will not act arbitrarily to prevent a referendum whether on this or any other proposition, but will act in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Constitution and not permit an official to usurp powers that are not given him nor the N.E.C. in the Constitution.

While I am on the subject of the interpretation of the Constitution, I notice in the press report sent out by the National office that the

N.E.C. has interpreted the Constitution very liberally by assuming to make editorial changes in the Declaration of Principles adopted by the national convention in Detroit. I cannot find any provision in the Constitution empowering the N.E.C. to make changes in any resolution submitted to a referendum vote. The claim that the change is an editorial correction is not quite correct when one compares the original as adopted by the convention and the "editorial" correction. It conveys something entirely different from the original. If the N.E.C. continues to make more "editorial" corrections it may adopt all the suggestions the so-called Center Group proposed, to which the proponents of the original document objected.

In my opinion, the N.E.C. has no right to make changes in the original document any more than it has a right to declare a motion initiating a referendum out of order, and if it does it is usurpation of power, and as one member of the party I strongly object to such usurpation.

Let us always remember that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." If we permit them to usurp power now, who knows what will be the next thing! We always held our N.E.C. strictly to the Constitution. Let us continue to do so. Now is the time to stop it!

Mrs. Gertrude Werfel

Mrs. Gertrude (Glass) Werfel died last Sunday at the United Israel Zion Hospital after several months of illness at the age of 26. She was one of the first organizers and financial secretary of the Amalgamated Branch. Her husband, William Werfel, was one-time organizer of the 6th A. D., Manhattan. The deceased was a sister of Mrs. Fannie Shainblum and Mrs. Beatrice Nemser, who are active members of the 16th A. D., Brooklyn.

SOCIALIST GUARDS AT ULMER PARK

All S.G. men are required to be at Ulmer Park for committee work at the Socialist picnic at 12 noon Saturday, July 28. Be on time. Wear uniforms.

Boxing, fencing and jiu-jitsu classes start on Thursday, August 2, at 22 East 22nd Street. Time for the three classes will be posted at the Rand School and at 22 East 22nd Street.

Come to the Big Picnic

ULMER PARK
Crosby Ave., Brooklyn

July 28, All Day

Socialists Come To Southern Illinois

By Loren Norman

(Special to The New Leader)

MARION, Ill.—Southern Illinois, hitherto untouched by Socialist action, was blasted open last week by Douglas Anderson, state chairman, who made a whirlwind tour through that section, making eight speeches in five days and organizing five new locals. The new locals are Marion, Johnston City, Herrin, Buckner and Du Quoin. Anderson was enthusiastically received wherever he spoke.

At West Frankfort, where Anderson and William Cox, Royaltown, Socialist candidate for state representative, applied for a permit to speak the "foreign agitator" issue was raised by Chief of Police George Nipper, who roundly cursed the two Socialists and told them if they dared hold a meeting they had better "prepare for the undertaker." Asked if they would be allowed to speak if they got a permit from the Attorney General Nipper replied, "Not if you get permits from 25 attorney generals."

The Peabody Coal Company has large interests in West Frankfort, as well as in Taylorville where Norman Thomas and Anderson were recently arrested and their audience dispersed with tear gas when they tried to hold a meeting.

Anderson's tour will be followed up by Paul Rasmussen, state organizer, who will seek to consolidate the gains already made. Southern Illinois Socialists are looking forward to the coming year as the greatest in Socialist history in this section; candidates for Congress and the state legislature are being offered, and if the situation warrants, local candidates may be put up.

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Harry W. Laidler for Controller

HARRY W. LAIDLER will make the race for the Socialist Party in the special election for the controllership this November. The noted Socialist scholar and economist has been nominated as Socialist candidate to run against Controller McGoldrick and whatever candidate the "new" Tammany puts up to contend for that important office.

The election was made mandatory by the Court of Appeals in ruling, after argument by Matthew M. Levy for the Socialist Party, and other attorneys, that in the future whenever there is a vacancy in a city office it must be filled at the next November election. That decision will make unnecessary such appeals as were made by Morris Hillquit in 1932 and Levy in 1934 for elections to fill vacancies, for Mayor in the first case and Controller in the second.

The Controllership election, made necessary by the recent death of Major Cunningham, is considered of great importance because it will give the people their first opportunity to vote upon the curious municipal brand of "new deal" of the LaGuardia administration.

Elected upon the issue of municipal reform, the LaGuardia administration promptly turned to the bankers and gave them everything they wanted. Breaking every promise to keep up wage standards and the social services, as well as relief, the "reform" administration



Harry W. Laidler

paid the bankers the last dollar they claimed was owing them under the notorious "Bankers' agreement." That agreement was, as the Mayor said, a "first lien" upon the city. It holds the city in what LaGuardia called a "straitjacket"—but the agreement is being kept and the bankers are collecting.

It meant that the salaries and wages of city employees were cruelly slashed; it meant that thousands of workers were laid off; it meant that city services were cut to the bone and relief cruelly curtailed.

The masses suffer; THE BANKERS COLLECT.

The voice of the people goes unheard. The needs of the people

are ignored. Only the bankers, insistent upon collecting every dollar in interest and sinking funds upon loans upon inflated and fraudulent valuations made in the devil-may-care days of unrestricted Tammany plunder, have their demands satisfied.

A bitterly disillusioned city sees all the fair promises of the "reformers" broken. An angry city sees the city turned over to the rapacious bankers at a time of cruel need.

This controllership election gives the people an opportunity to express their sentiments upon their betrayal to the bankers.

The election of Harry W. Laidler will mean that the exploited and betrayed masses will have a voice AND THREE VOTES in the all-important Board of Estimates. The election of Harry W. Laidler upon the Socialist platform of THE CITY FOR THE WORKERS will be a political event of the utmost significance.

A colossal vote for Harry W. Laidler EVEN IF HE IS NOT ELECTED will have its effect, striking a stunning blow at the grafters and thieves upon the one side, and the exploiting bankers upon the other.

It is reported that Al Smith is advising the "new" Tammany leadership to make Controller McGoldrick the Tammany candidate. So be it. It will clear the issue. It will draw the lines. It will clarify the real issue of the rule of the city—for the workers or for the exploiters!

Anti-Nazi Mass Meeting a Success

In spite of the intense heat last Friday about 175 workers attended the Anti-Nazi mass meeting at the Queens County Labor Lyceum by the Labor Conference to Combat Hitlerism in Ridgewood. August Claessens and Martin Plettl were the principal speakers.

Both speakers were at their best in analyzing the political situation in Germany. The audience was enthusiastic and there were frequent shouts of "gut gesagt!" ("Well said!"). There was an appeal for funds and more than \$10 was collected.

The meeting was advertised by 5000 leaflets in German and English which were completely distributed in 35 square blocks and at the "El" stations preceding the meeting.

STREET MEETINGS

FRIDAY, JULY 27th

6th St. and Ave. B.—Claessens, Kaplan, Weingart, Grossman.

Ward and Westchester Aves., Bronx—Abe Wisotsky, Harry Kavish, Fred Harwood.

MONDAY, JULY 30th

167th St. and Gerard Ave., Bronx—Every Monday evening. Speakers both from local branch and other party sections.

Tremont and Prospect Aves., Bronx—Auspices of 7th A.D.—Atkins, Klaufer, Bertman.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 1st

4th Ave. and 23rd St., B'lyn.—Auspices 3rd and 7th A.D.—John Tim, William Mirengoff, Irving W. Cohen.

Yipsel Notes

The biggest social event of the Y.P.S.L. during the summer months will be held Saturday, Aug. 4, at Coney Island and Brighton Beach. A beach party in the afternoon at the foot of 25th St., Coney Island, will be followed by a dance and entertainment in the evening at the Brighton Beach Socialist headquarters, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave. Locker facilities will be provided at the Royal Baths, W. 25th St., a block and a half from the beach, through the cooperation of the proprietor, and all payments for lockers will be turned over to the Y.P.S.L. The funds obtained from the beach party and dance will help the finances of the city office.

Four athletic events for Yipsels will take place in the next few weeks. Manhattan will cross bats with Brooklyn in a baseball game Saturday, Aug. 11. The winner will play a Bronx team the following Saturday. A general field day will be held Sept. 9 at the Rice Stadium, Pelham Bay Park. Yipsels will be permitted to compete in the field day of the Workers' Gymnastic and Sport Alliance at Union City, N. J., Sun., Sept. 23. A class in the essentials of Socialism is being held at the Bronx Labor Center, 809 Westchester Ave., on Wednesday evenings under the direction of Max Rosenberg.

Kahn Named for Congress in 7th District

The Socialists of the 1st, 4th and 14th A. D., Kings County, whose territory makes up the 7th Congressional District, announce the nomination of Alexander Kahn as candidate for Congress, and promise the most aggressive campaign in years for the ticket.

With Kahn the branches there named L. Bradford Young for State Senator in the 11th District, covering the same territory, and Isadore Fried, Harry Schacher and Henry Jager for Assembly in the three districts.

In Manhattan, David Lasser was named for Congress in the 13th District, and John Herling for Senator in the 17th. Assembly candidates thus far named are Margaret P. Gillen in the 3rd and Bruno Fischer in the 5th.

Nominations are being made in all the branches, and a full slate for every office to be voted for will shortly be announced.

"Arise" Postponed; Rebel Arts Activities

In response to many requests for information:

Publication of "Arise", cultural non-controversial Socialist and labor magazine of Rebel Arts, has had to be postponed a month. (Reasons financial.)

Rebel Arts Chorus sessions discontinued for fortnight—Chorus Leader Ada Rifkin has had her tonsils removed.

Drama Group meets Tuesday nights and broadcasts over station WEVD Wednesday nights (directed by Nayda Abeles). Last play was by Bruno Fischer, chairman of Writers' Group.

Dance Groups meet Mondays and Wednesdays at 6:30 (directed by Frances Leber).

East Harlem Socialists to Run Their First Dance

The East Harlem Labor Center will run its first dance at the new headquarters, 1538 Madison Ave., Saturday night, August 18. The evening will be featured with presentations of akits by the Yipsels of Circle 6 Seniors, Manhattan.

Best Heat Relief

By the Dizzy Press Agent

The altruistic Upper Westside Branch offers an opportunity for all Socialists to escape from New York's heat on the best outing of the season.

On Sunday, August 19, the two deck steamer Doris will sail up the Hudson to a private beach where all can disport themselves with games swimming, etc. Then there will be the moonlight sail home with dancing and music to add to the gaiety, and best of all no need to bother with basket lunches, for all manner of refreshments will be available on board. Tickets can be purchased at the Rand Book Store or Room 504, 100 West 72nd St., New York City.

In Brownsville

Louis P. Goldberg will speak Tuesday night at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., on "Marxism Today."

The branch voted to concur with the 22nd A. D. on the nomination of Maurice Miller as Municipal Court candidate in the 7th District. An open air meeting will be held Friday night, July 27, on Pitkin and Herzl Sts. Speakers, Jack Altman, candidate for Assembly; Harry Lopatin, Samuel Tolmach, Ben Gutchin and others. The speakers will also address the meeting of the Motion Picture Operators of Local 306 in front of the Utica Theatre, Utica and St. John's Place, against which they are striking.

Hall Johnson at Unity

Unity House features the Hall Johnson Sextette, along with Lola Monti-Gorsey, star of the Chicago Grand Opera Company, Claudio Friggenio, baritone of the Metropolitan, and Abe Berg, violinist, in a gala concert to be given Saturday evening. There will also be an address by Mayor LaGuardia. Mr. Berg and Madame Monti-Gorsey will appear on the program with A. Aesorowich, famous poet and author, Sunday morning.

In the evening, the Pine Grove Players will present George Bernard Shaw's "Passion, Poison and Petrefaction." The programs will be broadcast over WEVD, New York, and WDAS, Philadelphia.

Big Membership Drive Launched by A. R.

By Joseph Baskin

General Sec'y, Workmen's Circle

THE National Executive Committee of the Workmen's Circle has issued a call for 20,000 new members by the 1935 convention. This is no empty slogan, no hollow phrase. The situation in the Workmen's Circle today is such that everyone feels himself revitalized, filled with new life, new energy, drawing fresh young blood into the organization with a hankering for activity.

Genuine enthusiasm is contagious. If the leaders of an organization succumb to doubt, to skepticism or indifference, then the best of efforts are wasted and the most favorable circumstances will not save the situation. An army whose generals are seized with fear, who quake and tremble at the very thought of the enemy, is a worthless army. The membership of an organization is filled with enthusiasm, is imbued with courage and a hankering for action only then when it sees that the leaders and leading spirits of the organization are themselves filled with hope, are animated by that sincere eagerness and selflessness that alone makes for success.

At this moment we are fortunately situated in such a position in the organization when the spirit of eagerness, loyalty and self-sacrifice are at its highest. We have on numerous occasions pointed out significant signs of revival in our ranks in the first months of 1934. We noticed for the first time in several years an encouraging increase in membership during the first quarter; payments to the office were better; the various funds were in a healthier condition. And now with the second quarter at an end, the signs of betterment have been multiplied. We closed the 135th quarter with an even greater increase of new members than in the previous quarter. The payments, too, were very much better, so was everything else, generally.

Our former tremendous energy, our unquenchable desire for healthy growth are again returning. Once again we have started to climb upward; steadily, determinedly with new impetus, a more powerful tempo.

Under the circumstances there is no conceivable reason why we shouldn't be able to reach our goal to bring the required 20,000 new members into the Workmen's Circle. With our task clear in mind and a determined will to work, it can be done and done successfully. Every one on deck ready for duty!

The decks are cleared for action! Forward with renewed vigor toward the realization of the slogan: Twenty thousand new members by the 1935 convention!

Queens County Picnic

The annual picnic of Queens County will be held Sunday, Aug. 12, at Edgemere, L. I. There will be bathing, sports, dancing on the beach and Socialist good cheer. The price of tickets, very nominal, will include locker fees for bathing. They can be obtained at the home of Comrade Trevas, 460 Beach 38th St., Edgemere. Proceeds to Queens County Committee and branches in Queens. Special arrangements are being made for transportation at reduced rates.

Tickets available from all organizers of Queens County or from Anna Berowitz, 41 Union Square, Room 816.

No locker charges for Yipsels or Falcons.

"David Copperfield" Coming to the Screen

Lionel Barrymore to Head Notable Cast in Dickens' Great Masterpiece

One of the most interesting announcements in recent months is that Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer is preparing to screen Dickens' immortal masterpiece, "David Copperfield," with a cast that measures up to the importance of the occasion.

Lionel Barrymore, one of the most versatile actors of our times who apparently can play any part assigned to him, will be Dan Peggotty. Others in the cast will be Edna May Oliver as Aunt Betsy Trotwood; Jean Cadell, English actress, as Mrs. Micawber, Lewis Stone and Roland Young as Uriah Heep. Maureen O'Sullivan will be cast as Dora.

George Cuckor, who scored such a striking success with "Little Women," will direct.

It is fervently to be hoped that the screen's newly found virtue will not result in "sweetening" the picture out of all recognition.

Another notable play soon to be screened is Barrie's "What Every Woman Knows," with the star of the last great stage production of the play, Helen Hayes, in the role of Maggie. Brian Aherne will be the male lead.

Other distinguished actors will be Dudley Digges, Donald Crisp and David Torrence.

Guy Kibbee and Aline MacMahon Teamed in "Babbitt"

"Big-Hearted Herbert." Warner Bros.' screen version of the popular Broadway stage comedy, with Guy Kibbee and Aline MacMahon teamed in the two leading roles, was finished on Saturday, according to a wire from the Coast.

The Kibbee-MacMahon combination will be continued in "Babbitt," based on the famous novel by Sinclair Lewis, which goes into production within a fortnight. Tom Reed is working on the adaptation. Guy Kibbee, of course, will play the title role in "Babbitt."

At the Brooklyn Strand

The Brooklyn Strand Theatre screen, for the current week will offer "Return of the Terror," with Mary Astor, Lyle Talbot, Frank McHugh and John Halliday, and "Friends of Mr. Sweeney" with Charles Ruggles, Ann Dvorak and Eugene Pallette in the leading roles.

"Return of the Terror" is the screen play by Eugene Solow and Peter Milne and was suggested by a drama by Edgar Wallace. The story concerns a series of crimes, the first of which is the poisoning of a number of patients at a private sanitarium for which the superintendent is convicted and confined to an insane asylum.

"Friends of Mr. Sweeney," based on the notable comedy by Elmer Davis, is one of the most riotously funny films to come to the screen. Certainly the situation of a meek mouse of a man turning in a night into a ferocious lion, a devil with the ladies, and the terror of the town, is unique enough to lead to any number of laughable sequences.

Doris Kenyon



Who plays the feminine lead opposite Walter Connolly in "Whom the Gods Destroy," now in the neighborhoods.

At the RKO Albee Theatre



Warner Baxter in "The Grand Canary," Friday to Thursday, July 27 to August 2.

Maybe They Know Why They Do It

"Four Walls" was a notable play on the stage, in which Muni Weisenfreund gave a remarkable performance. When Weisenfreund reached the screen he was Paul Muni, and when "Four Walls" reaches the screen—as it will shortly—it will be called "Straight Is the Way."

"Biography" becomes "Biography of a Bachelor"; Douglass Montgomery became Kent Douglass on the screen; "The Rise and Fall of Susan Lennox" became "Susan Lennox: Her Fall and Rise"; and so on ad infinitum. Maybe somebody can tell why these things are done.

"A Lost Lady" Completed

Barbara Stanwyck's newest starring picture, "A Lost Lady," was completed at the First National studios in Hollywood four days ahead of schedule.

"A Lost Lady" is based on the very great novel by Willa Cather. Supporting Miss Stanwyck are Frank Morgan, Ricardo Cortez, Lyle Talbot, Phillip Reed, Henry Kolker, Rafaela Ottiano, Hobart Cavanaugh, Edward McWade and other well known players.

Eva Le Gallienne as "L'Aiglon"

Arch Selwyn and Harold B. Franklin announce that Eva Le Gallienne and the Civic Repertory Company will appear under their management next season. Miss Le Gallienne and her company will play at the 46th Street Theatre. "L'Aiglon" will be the first play to be presented. Other plays in the repertory will be announced later. Miss Le Gallienne's Broadway season will be limited owing to her contracts for a tour of the country.

On Strand Screen



James Cagney is one of the many stars in the new Warner film, "Here Comes the Navy."

"The House of Rothschild" Continues at Rivoli

"The House of Rothschild" with George Arliss again enacting his finished characterization of the great financier, started on its second week at the Rivoli Wednesday morning. The picture now playing at popular prices, has duplicated its success at the Astor according to the Rivoli management. However, despite the large attendance the run is limited because of previous booking at the Rivoli.

Dwight Deere Wiman & Tom Weatherly presents

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Dramatists' Guild Prize Comedy for 1934
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"Grand Canary" and "El Chico" Revue at RKO Albee

"Grand Canary," the fascinating best seller by A. J. Cronin with Warner Baxter in the stellar role, is at the RKO Albee this week with Madge Evans playing opposite the star. The picture takes its title from the setting in one of the Canary Islands, the action of the story bringing together the characters on the isle during the yellow fever epidemic.

Baxter's role is that of a doctor who is cast by coincidence in the midst of two epidemics, one love, the other yellow fever. Marjorie Rambeau plays the comedy part of Mother Hemingway, matron of a Santa Cruz hotel of questionable repute. Others in the company include Zita John, Roger Imhof, H. B. Warner and Barry Norton.

THEATRE PARTIES

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

Recovery Theatres Urged

Gustav Blum's Proposal Favored by Equity Head.

Among the fields most heavily hit by the depression is the theatre. Regarded by many as a luxury entertainment, with the cheaper movies at hand for everyday, the Broadway show business, and the road theatre, have been for four years under a heavy burden of the hard times. Yet the theatre, probably, is an excellent organ for testing and for improving the pulse of the people; it is a ready avenue of satire and social education, and a fit bearer of true social ideals. Gustav Blum, one of the more intelligent individual producers of Broadway, has proposed a plan, which has the hearty endorsement of Frank Gillmore, head of Actors' Equity, for enlisting the aid of the NRA in the rehabilitation of the theatre. Mr. Blum presents his idea:

"There are at present throughout the United States many 'dark' neighborhood theatres. Let us begin, however, in New York City as an experimental center, and let us organize rotating companies composed of talented professional players. These players, assured continued employment in a patriotic endeavor, would play at reasonably reduced salary rates in the best plays, at reduced royalties, at popular prices, say 25 and 50 cents. To begin with, let us organize one company in each of the five boroughs in Greater New York. There would be, on an average, ten players in each group. These companies would rotate, playing successively in all five theatres—which should be self-supporting. Each of these theatres, to distinguish it, might be known as a 'Recovery Theatre.' The more successful ones would contribute their profits to a common fund which would support the 'weaker sisters.' Then, gradually, the idea could be extended to more neighborhood theatres, and perhaps ultimately spread throughout the United States."

Government support is being considered for this project, which seems a most effective plan for the revival of general public interest in good plays at a price and at places within the reach of all.
J. T. S.

"Soviet Close-Ups" at the Acme

The American premiere of Amkin's latest importation, "Soviet Close-Ups," a comprehensive study of the intimate lives of the people of the Soviet Union, is announced by the Acme on Union Square.

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

Sun.—11 a.m., Forward Hour; 8 p.m., Sol Giskin, violinist; 8:30, Meline Saldo, poetry; 8:45, Sherry and Stange, melody duo; 10, Symposium.
Mon.—8 a.m., Dr. Jacob List, Psychology Clinic of the Air; 4:30 p.m., Actors' Dinner Club, direction Doris Hardy; 5:45, "Three Voices," vocal trio.
Tues.—8 p.m., Talk, "City Charter"; 8:15, "Night in Vienna"; 10, String Ensemble; 10:30, Ruth Friedman, pianist; 10:45, Jay Slaman, tenor.
Wed.—3:45 p.m., Nicholas Saslavsky, baritone, string ensemble; 8, The Nation Radiatorial Board, talk; 10, "American Revolutions," dramatic sketch; 10:30, Edith Friedman, pianist, Eugene Byron Morgan, baritone; 10:45, House Jameson, poetry.
Thurs.—4:30 p.m., "Milady's Style Review," Conrad & Tremont, piano duo, Milady, style talk; 5:45, Marie Schelder, Staack, concert pianist; 8, Sherry and Stange, melody duo; 8:45, Foreign Affairs Forum, talk; 10:15, Henry and Edward Peterson, violin and zither; 10:30, Metropolitan string quartet.
Fri.—4:30 p.m., Ben Blumenberg, The New Leader Review; 8:30, "Three Voices"; 8:45, talk, "Germany and Hitlerism"; 10, Hendrik DeLeeuw, talk; 10:15, Frank LaForese, bass, Anna Paul, soprano.
Sat.—5:30 p.m., Metropolitan String Quartet; 8, Ethel Kravant, soprano, and Clara Blankman, violinist; 8:30, Nathaniel Sprinzen, tenor, and Patricia O'Connell, soprano; 10, Pine Grove Concert Series.

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On Stage
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W. KODAYS
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Missouri Socialists Show Increased Activity

By Martin B. Lechner

The Missouri Socialist movement since the state convention of 1933 has grown apace with the movement throughout the United States. Whereas we counted 47 locals and branches as of September, 1933, we now have 79. However, of these 79 only 49 are buying dues stamps regularly, while 30 cannot qualify under this requirement. Yet it would be wrong to classify these locals as inactive, several of them doing splendid work; others are downright inactive.

While this showing is encouraging, more satisfaction may be found in the fact that the average membership for the year 1934, including foreign language branches, is 1,059, while the actual membership is around the 1,200 mark, as compared with an average of 497 for the year 1933. These figures indicate a greatly increased membership per local. Increased activity and growth in membership can also be recorded for the Y.P.S.L. movement, although accurate records are not available.

The state has been organized along congressional district lines, with the S.E.C. member serving as chairman of the district he represents on the S.E.C. Organization in all these districts has been completed with the exception of District No. 3 in the extreme north-western part of the state. A fair beginning has been made toward sustaining funds in all districts with the purpose of maintaining organizers in each.

At Legislative Council elections in Victoria W. J. Beckett was victorious in a Melbourne district, holding with an increased majority a seat that has been held by Labor for over 30 years. The disunity of labor, however, is manifest by the number of ex-laborites elected in various districts.

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The Declaration

PLANNING FOR CRISES

(Continued from Page Eight)

humans. The workers in navy yards, arsenals and other munition factories should be enlightened that they are engaged in the most despicable and nefarious of occupations.

The training of officers at West Point and Annapolis for mass slaughter should be considered as the black rot of our system. Should our master class be insane enough to bring war about, let them find us prepared to turn our guns on the commanders and instigators of the war and turn the war into a workers' revolution.

Speaking of the Road to Power, we should not content ourselves with waiting until the capitalist system ends in chaos and collapse, but we should rather hasten its collapse. The Declaration is a plan of action in a crisis. Why not make our plans in advance, so as to intelligently guide our actions?

The opponents of the Declaration claim a group of irresponsible people sponsored and voted for it. Have the ten million unemployed more responsibility or more to lose than Comrades Thomas, Hoan, Krzycki, Allen and the others, or the millions of starving share croppers more to lose than any of us? The time is rotten ripe, of which Karl Marx speaks, let the capitalist class tremble for fear of the revolution of the working class.

No greater service can we render to our class than to vote unflinchingly for this Declaration, which is a step, yes, only a step in the right direction.

Adopted unanimously by the Interborough Branch of Camden, N.J.

ARE THE MASSES WAITING?

By William M. Feigenbaum

(Continued from Page Two)

ment. We don't have to guess that it's wrong; we KNOW.

We have in New York a definite check-up of the revolutionary ardor of the masses in the enrollment of voters under various party emblems. Voting is secret. Enrollment is not secret; names and addresses of those who enroll under one or another of the party emblems are printed in official lists.

Here is the enrollment for 1932: Democratic, 1,652,140; Republican, 449,165; Socialist, 34,904. Those are the figures for those who SIGN THEIR NAMES to party designations.

The vote, however, is quite different. Mayor O'Brien received 596,025 LESS than the Democratic enrollment; and Roosevelt and Lehman received 196,064 and 120,975 votes LESS than the Democratic enrollment.

The highly unpopular Hoover received 134,890 votes MORE than the Republican enrollment, and Norman Thomas polled 87,763, and Morris Hillquit for Mayor 213,522 votes MORE than the Socialist enrollment.

Hundreds of thousands of voters are bulldozed and terrorized into ENROLLING as Democrats (and as Republicans in up-state counties) because they are afraid not to. Little favors, fear of discrimination, plain cowardice cause them to shrink from enrolling as Socialists and even as Republicans in the years that Tammany Hall had a strangle-hold on the city, and the

The Party Progresses

New York City

Organization and Propaganda Committee will meet Monday at 6 p.m. in Room 508. Important matters will come up for discussion and action.

Due to lack of space no special article can appear on the United Socialist Drive, but branch officers are urged to hurry up their collections and turn same into the party office. A complete list of all donations up to date will be published shortly.

All party members having occasion to communicate with the Young People's Socialist League are informed that an independent telephone connection has been established for the League. The number is ALgonquin 4-9815.

MANHATTAN

Upper West Side. Henry Fruchter, candidate for Congress, will speak Monday, July 30. All members should be present to give him a real send-off. Three weeks to Boat Ride! Please settle for your tickets.

11th A. D. First of our street meetings was held last Thursday at Broadway and 110th St. Jack Herling gave a fine talk and held a large crowd.

4th A. D. Meets 2nd and 4th Tuesdays 95 Ave. B. Canvassing drive intensified. Campaign under way. Branch will soon open new headquarters.

QUEENS

Monthly meeting of the Queens County Committee will be held Friday eve, July 27, at Sunnyside Branch headquarters, 4915—43rd Ave.

BROOKLYN

Brighton Beach. A mass meeting was held last night, Thursday, July 26, at Brighton Beach and Coney Island Ave. to mass the unemployed in the demonstration being held at the Board of Estimate meeting today at City Hall. Speakers: Saul Parker of the Workers' Unemployed Union, Roger Cornell, Ida Alter, William Greidinger and Ivan Loren.

Downtown Branch. Regular weekly business meeting Thursday, July 19, at 157 Montague St. Question of financing a Spanish speaking branch discussed and a committee appointed. Quantity of literature ordered from National office. Sports group being formed. Names of volunteers for picket duty secured. Next regular business meeting at above address August 2nd.

11th A. D. Kings. Meet Monday, July 30, at 8.30 p.m., at 1188 President St. Speaker: Thomas Rogers.

22nd A. D. Active campaign committee making arrangements for annual campaign dinner; street meetings continue twice a week on Wyona and New Lots and Pennsylvania and Sutter. Speakers: Block, Shapiro, Singer, Salert, Clayman.

18th A. D. Br. 2. Automobile outing and beach party on Sunday, Aug. 5, to Ritz Park. Reservations from Mrs. S. Rutes, Minnesota 9-5314.

BRONX

Lower 6th A. D. We are opening a library at headquarters, 1137 Ward Ave. All comrades who have books to spare (old and otherwise) please leave same at the headquarters or the party office.

"The Case for Socialism" in Italian "La Parola" weekly newspaper published by the Italian Socialist Federation, 1011 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, is publishing Fred Henderson's "The Case for Socialism" serially in Italian translation.

Y.P.S.L. Midwest Jamboree. The midwestern jamboree of the Young People's Socialist League, which will be held at the Nature Friends' camp, near Gary, Ind., from Friday evening, July 27, through Sunday, promises to be highly successful. Young Socialists from Ohio to Missouri, and from as far south as Tennessee, will attend. Mayor Baxter of West Allis, Wis., and Joe Jacobs, Chicago labor attorney, will be the main speakers, and rank and file from all sections of the Midwest will lead the discussions on League organization activities and problems.

Connecticut

Yanti. Plans are arranged for an active campaign in the 2nd Congressional District. Albert Boardman is chairman of the campaign committee; Beneta Bowman, secretary, and Aaron Goldblatt, treasurer. Next meeting in Norwich Sunday, Aug. 12, in Workmen's Circle Hall, 3 p.m.

California

A larger number of Socialist candidates have been nominated this year despite defection of Upton Sinclair and the entrance of Communist candidates. The party is returning to a position of influence in the state. The filling of the candidates made it necessary to raise \$1,320 for filing fees for state, congressional and legislative candidates and that the money was raised is a source of inspiration. We are looking for a record vote and a fine campaign.

Los Angeles. A mass meeting on Aug. 4, at Music Art Hall, 233 South Broadway, protesting the growth of fascism in this country and abroad, is announced today by the American Anti-Fascist Conference. One of the principal speakers will be Max Winter, former vice-mayor of Vienna. Other speakers will include J. W. Buzell, executive secretary of the Central Labor Council; John C. Packard, prominent attorney; Roy Burt, Chester Williams, president of the Congress of Youth, and Caroline Wolff of the Millinery Workers' International Union. The American Anti-Fascist Conference is a non-political organization representing a large number of trade union, religious, political and educational groups, among them the I.L.G.W.U., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Odessa Verein, the Paole Zion, the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, the American Labor League, the Millinery Workers, the Bakers' Union, and many others. All of the branches and locals of the Socialist Party in Los Angeles County are represented, as are all of the other radical groups, with the exception of the official Communist Party.

Tennessee

Knoxville. Clarence H. Taylor of Baltimore has been engaged for speaking and organizing in the local campaign. Charles M. Wallace, a machinist, is Socialist candidate for Congress in the

SAARMAN NAMED FOR GOVERNOR OF IOWA

By Many Elva Sather

AMES, Iowa.—At its adjourned state convention in Grinnell, the Socialist Party nominated a full state ticket for the fall campaign with the following candidates: A. W. Saarmann, Burlington, Governor; Arnold A. Sather, Ames, Lieutenant-Governor; E. O. Weik, Burlington, Auditor; S. P. Roberts, Cedar Rapids, Secretary of State; W. J. Hayes, Grinnell, Treasurer; J. B. Russell, Manson, Attorney General; Sam Thie, Mediapolis, Secretary of Agriculture; W. O. Bockewitz, Fort Dodge, Thomas Johnson, Sioux City, Railroad Commissioners.

Resolutions were adopted demanding repeal of the state criminal syndicalism law, approving of old age pension leagues, endorsing the national party's farm program and endorsing the Detroit Declaration of Principles.

There is renewed interest in the Socialist Party as indicated by many applications from members at large and the establishment of new locals.

Twenty-one delegates attended the convention from locals in Ames, Burlington, Des Moines, Grinnell, Muscatine, Ottumwa and Sioux City. In addition there were many members at large from all over the state.

corrupt Republican machine upstate.

Will the masses who are terrorized against even ENROLLING as Socialists rush to join our party in the event that the much-discussed provisions of the Declaration become the officially proclaimed position of the party?

Reject the Declaration for its meaningless and misleading provisions! And then let's go to work to win the masses for Socialism. It will be time enough to work out detailed plans of strategy when we speak for the masses of workers.

2nd district, and an intensive campaign is being waged. The local has challenged Congressman J. Will Taylor to debate with Comrade Taylor who is a union carpenter. Congressman Taylor is a notorious reactionary.

A road-builder in the mountains here, who asks "to keep his name out," has signed up fifty-three members for the Socialist party since April.

Ohio

Local Cuyahoga County is holding its annual picnic Aug. 5 at Pinter's Farm, St. Clair and E. 260th St. This picnic marks the official opening of the campaign. Chief speakers will be John Sommerlatte, candidate for Governor. Others will be Ben Parker, Max Wohl, candidate for Secretary of State, and Edward Simpson, for Assembly.

Six new branches have been organized in Guernsey County.

Kansas

A state speakers' bureau, just put into operation, plans to list all speakers who will travel as much as 100 miles away from their homes to speak under Socialist auspices.

Michigan

A Socialist Women's Summer School, held under the auspices of the Wayne County (Detroit) Federation of Socialist Women, is being conducted at Woodhull Lake near Drayton Plains, Mich. Four sessions will be conducted, each lasting one week. Clara Naysmith, 2545 Taylor St. Detroit, is in charge.

A successful picnic in conjunction with the closing of the organizer's school at Ashland College, Grant, was held last Sunday in the college grounds. Speakers were Arthur E. Larsen, candidate for Governor, and John Monarch, for U. S. Senator.

Local Lansing sponsored a picnic last Sunday. A splendid turnout helped to make the day a tremendous success.

State Organizer Guy Lockwood is making a tour of the western section of the state and will be in the following cities during the next two weeks: Grand Haven, Muskegon, Shelby, Ludington, Manistee, Frankfort, Traverse City and Aiden.

Leon Cousins is in the south-western section and is scheduled to visit the following cities the next two weeks: Niles, Benton Harbor, St. Joseph, Paw Paw, Kalamazoo, Battle Creek, Marshall and Albion.

Conventions to nominate candidates for Congress and State Legislature are being held throughout the state. Wayne County. Next W.C.C. meeting Monday, July 31, at 225 E. Forest Ave. Plans are under way for the Labor Day picnic. Park meetings are being held regularly: Ferris Park, Saturday evening; Pingree Park, Thursday evening; Clark Park, Tuesday and Friday evenings. All comrades wishing to assist in this very necessary work are urged to get in touch immediately with Comrade Maurice Glicman at party headquarters. Through the success of the meetings at Clark Park a new branch has been started in south western Detroit.

Jugo-Slav Branch No. 114 and Sub Branch No. 114 have opened new headquarters at Six-Mile Rd. and John R.

Oregon

"We have now, thanks to the national office, secured the necessary signatures and if they are accepted—and we have

The Socialist Voice Discusses Party Problems

The first issue of The Socialist Voice, published by the Committee for the Preservation of Socialist Policies, has just made its appearance and is being distributed to party branches and party members.

A four-page paper, confined to a discussion of Socialist party policies, and particularly to an analysis of the Detroit Declaration of Principles, the Socialist Voice declares that it is its purpose to keep the consideration of party policies and principles limited to Socialist circles.

In a series of articles the paper attacks the proposed Declaration and declares that its proponents are attempting to commit the Socialist Party by advocating dictatorship as superior to democracy as a method of working class emancipation.

The paper, it is explained, is not to be a regular publication in competition with existing party papers, but numerous issues are contemplated not only for the purpose of defeating the Declaration, but for the elimination of the tendencies which, it is charged, were responsible for the adoption of the Declaration at the Detroit convention. Criticism of the methods by which the party machinery has functioned constitutes one of the subjects handled in the first issue.

Copies may be obtained from the Committee for the Preservation of Socialist Policies, 1 Union Square, New York City.

no cause to doubt otherwise—the party will have a full ticket in the field," Don N. Swetland, state secretary for Oregon, reports. Oregon is one of the states where a minority party finds it very difficult to get its candidates on the ballots, and accomplishment of that task reflects strenuous and sustained activity by the Oregon Socialists.

Pennsylvania

A new branch just formed in the state numbers among its members the president, vice-president and treasurer of the local United Mine Workers of America.

Washington

The Summer Advancement College, a radical summer school sponsored by Local Tacoma, is conducting classes in "Interpretation of Art," "Economics" and "Esperanto."

Wisconsin

On the invitation of the strike committee, Al Benson, state secretary, who "fired the first gun" in the campaign to build trade unions in Kohler, a "company town," has been lent to the strikers at the Kohler plumbing material plant to help with their strike activity.

The "Wisconsin Leader," official publication of the Socialist Party, has now begun regular weekly publication.

George R. Kirkpatrick, one of the most widely known Socialist speakers in the country, has begun a week's lecture tour in Wisconsin.

Over 40,000 persons attended the party picnic last Sunday at Pleasant Valley Park, Milwaukee.

New Jersey

Linden. August Claessens will speak on "Socialism in America" at the opening of the picnic grounds of the Eugene V. Debs Branch of the Workmen's Circle at Roselle, Sunday, July 29.

New York State

Rockland County. Annual picnic, Sunday, July 29, at Monsey Country Club, Monsey, N. Y. Admission, 25c, children 15c. Games, entertainment. Party candidates will speak.—Meeting, Thursday evening, Aug. 2, at home of Comrade E. Davis, 306 N. Highland Ave., Nyack, N. Y., at eight.

State Executive Committee. The State Executive Committee will meet at People's House, New York, next Monday evening. The committee will lay plans for the fall campaign. State candidates have been invited to meet with the committee.

Port Jervis. Organizer William E. Duffy has held some well attended open-air meetings here, speaking from the band stand in Orange Square and discussing causes of the depression and the NRA. The local is being reorganized.

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By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

The Frisco Strike

IN San Francisco the general strike was soon called off by labor itself. The strike wave throughout the country continues, somewhat decreased in volume and intensity. On the western coast it would appear that the longshoremen's and marine workers' strikes will go to arbitration without strings and with a far better chance of a decision favorable to the workers than before the general strike was called. It cannot be said that a general strike with this result was a failure. Indeed it cannot be said that any demonstration of labor solidarity like the general strike is ever simply a failure.

On the other hand, it was proved again, as I wrote last week, that a general strike for economic ends, unless it is won in short order, cannot help but take on a political angle. The general strike was up against the government. This consideration led President Green of the A. F. of L. to take the extraordinary step of washing his hands of responsibility for the strike while it was still on. He followed this by a statement against a general strike or against sympathetic strikes.

That spokesman of a fair spoken but essentially reactionary capitalism, Walter Lippmann, also wrote in pontifical terms against the general strike as essentially a conflict with democracy. It is easier to understand Mr. Lippmann's position than President Green's.

It is a strange fact that America's labor should have so great a capacity for effective striking, and so little intellectual understanding of the justification of its own acts. A general strike is a strike against government, to the degree that government in a crisis fulfills its function as an executive committee for an owning class. It is a strike against democracy to the degree that true democracy has already been denied by the basic assumptions of capitalism that it is the business of government to enable a private employer or corporation to operate its own business its own way even if that means that the public has to pay the price in money, in inconvenience, or in blood.

Principally because of the development of economic political pressure by workers with hands and brain, the class character of government is sometimes obscured. Many of the activities of government today, for instance in the field of health, have a genuine social value for the people. When things aren't too critical, government may be more or less liberally carried on. But let there come a crisis or a direct issue between employers and employees leading to a strike, then government goes into action. Automatically it brings out the police and if necessary the troops, not to maintain a service which the people may need, but to guarantee the right of private owners to maintain "their" business as they please and for their own profit.

If all the government wanted was to retain a useful service, it would in an emergency take over the business. If the business were not essential, it would insist that it be kept closed until the dispute could be settled. But 99 times out of 100, or oftener, what the government does is to provide conditions under which the employer can hold up his end. There is no true democracy about this, and it indicates, I repeat, the essential class nature of government. Workers who recognize this fact will redouble their efforts to organize politically and economically so as to capture the power of government for the sake of establishing conditions under which government may be the servant of the producing masses and democracy may be made more real.

This cannot be done short of the socialization of natural resources and of industry. Neither in domestic or foreign affairs, as H. N. Brailsford ("Property or Peace") has recently pointed out in brilliant fashion, can we have property (in the capitalist sense) and peace. We have got to make our choice, property or peace. To which may be added, we've got to make our choice: property in the capitalist sense or true democracy, not both. But when we say this, we Socialists must always remind our friends that to abolish property in the capitalist sense means a planned economy under which the right kind of property for individual use will be increased for all mankind.

The Anti-Red Hysteria

ONE of the many hypocrisies of conventional respectable capitalist condemnation of violence and coercion has been grimly illustrated in the West

Coast strike. There has been practically no editorial condemnation of the violence of Vigilantes who took law in their own hands and went about attacking men, breaking the windows of their houses, and smashing the newspaper offices on the ground that they were destroying Communism by these attacks.

All the powers of local government in San Francisco seem to have been put into effect in support of a local wave of anti-red hysteria. Fortunately, a few judges in San Francisco seem to have kept their heads, but for most folks and for the newspapers in general the arguments seem to run that the way to preserve law and order and to prevent violence is to practice violence and all those whom it pleases them to call Communists. That is, of course, the capitalist spirit, which in an emergency and in an extreme form becomes fascism.

Public Opinion

THE New York newspapers, in big headlines summarizing events of the general strike, said: "Senator Wagner Shot At." Further on the papers did explain that Senator Wagner was shot at by a company guard on a dock in Portland. That night I went to a meeting of the Charter Revision Committee, where a very able lawyer denounced proportional representation in New York on the ground that it might give Communism some representatives in council. He flayed Communists and everybody else who supported the general strike, and among other things accused one of their number of shooting at "our own Senator Wagner"! So much for newspaper headlines. So much for the way public opinion is formed. So much for the way in which men who ought to know better read the news.

Twenty Years After

THE 20th anniversary of the beginning of a war to end war and to make the world safe for democracy sees Europe, and to a less degree the rest of the world, suffering worse misery and exploitation and living in more fear of war than anyone dreamed of prior to August 1, 1914. As I write, word comes that Mussolini's puppet Dollfuss has been murdered by the Austrian Nazis. He had been arresting and executing young Socialist idealists as Nazis. The change is not for the better, but the more one kind of fascist fights with another the sooner the Nazi gangsters and racketeers fall out with each other, the sooner will the workers have a chance to make their own revolution.

Recovery?

IN our absorption in strikes, in the terrible drought in the West and in the melodrama of Dillinger's death, let us not lose sight of the fact that economic recovery is making no progress under the New Deal. Representatives of unemployed groups in New York have surveyed certain typical working class blocks in New York which showed approximately 50 per cent unemployment last year and 60 per cent this year. One cannot generalize from a few blocks, but this fact which I report is tragically significant. Mr. Leon Henderson, chief of the NRA Research Division, has announced that "The seasonal decline this summer has been less than formerly." If we were on the way to real recovery there wouldn't have been any decline. As a matter of fact, economic statistics quoted in the New York Herald-Tribune shows that the decline has exceeded the seasonal average proportion perhaps by as much as 15 per cent. Capitalism is not even temporarily out of the woods or surely on the way back to that poor thing which it calls prosperity.

Family Matters

THIRD hand I received a copy of The Socialist Voice, the publication of the Committee for the Preservation of Socialist Policy. It is, I believe, being mailed out to eighteen or twenty thousand Socialists, but this copy went to a non-Socialist. The paper carries no signed article and the name of no editor; its controversial style is in the best Communist manner of the Daily Worker. Its pages abound with false or misleading statements, the worst of which is the outrageous falsehood that for four years the National Office has used all funds not to build up the Socialist Party but the militant faction. What this implies as to the character of the National Executive Committee in that interval is obvious. Friends of the Declaration will think that their case must be strong when some of its opponents have to resort to such tactics as these against it, but I suspect that some members of the Committee for the Preserving of Socialist Policy may have vigorous words to say about the kind of paper which their funds have been used to produce and distribute.

Behind the Scenes

(Continued from Page One)

1. In recommending future members to Federal arbitration bodies Miss Perkins can be expected to avoid local selections as much as possible.

2. The system of regional labor boards, which the Labor Adjustment Board inherited from the liquidated National Labor Board, is to be drastically overhauled. These regional agencies, made up entirely of local appointees, have been a complete failure in handling really serious labor disputes.

Garrison's plans for reorganizing the system are still tentative. But the proposal being given serious consideration is that the present boards be slashed to one permanent member to handle routine matters, with the membership to be expanded by the appointment of experienced Federal officials in the event of a serious controversy.

Have we another promise of "prosperity around the corner"? Leon Henderson, chief of the research and planning division of NRA, has suggested that the country may "gamble" on a substantial rise in business during the fall.

The Happiness Boys of the Hoover administration were constantly assuring us that business was on the mend. They talked with complete confidence and backed up their contentions with an army of impressive statistics. In some of their statements they even went so far as to pick the approximate date. Once it was thirty days, another time sixty days.

It is true that Mr. Henderson in his work with the Russell Sage Foundation showed himself to be a conscientious statistician, not misled by superficial indexes and conditions. We hope that in his present predictions he will prove himself true to form.

But—experience has taught us that even statisticians when they join politics are like angels fallen from grace. This fall there will be Congressional elections. Mr. Henderson will, therefore, pardon us for hesitating to accept his optimistic forecast at its full face value.

The futility of trying to coerce governmental debtors into effecting settlements by passage of the Johnson act has been demonstrated by the wholesale defaults which followed that legislation. It is most unfortunate that the provisions of this act were extended by official decree to prevent the Export-Import Bank, which was exempted from the restrictions of the law, from making advances to Russia.

This decision to withhold carefully safeguarded long-term credits from the Soviet government until debt claims have been satisfied has been productive so far of nothing except costly delays. We have built up an elaborate agency with which to finance Russian purchases in this country and left it with nothing to do. Meantime Russia continues to buy as usual in the countries that are willing to sell on a long-term credit basis. Russo-American trade stagnates and others profit by a stalemate which seems totally without reasonable justification.

Given good will on both sides it is impossible to see why there should be any insurmountable obstacles to a successful conclusion of the Russian-American debt negotiations, which are to be transferred from Moscow to Washington this week. A mutually advantageous trade between Russia and the United States awaits development. The diplomatic recognition of Russia implied that effort would be concentrated on bringing this potential commerce into existence, not on protracted strangulation of the opportunity.

Pennsylvania

Convention

(Continued from Page One)

Norman Thomas, Leo Krzycki and James Oneal, all members of the National Executive Committee, attended the convention and were given seats on the platform. Each of them made a short address.

The Detroit Declaration of Principles was not considered by the convention although the Pennsylvania party is intensely interested in the issues raised by that document. There is much opposition to it and it is believed by many active members that it will receive an adverse vote in this state.

William Van Essen of Pittsburgh was chairman the first day and Simon Libros of Philadelphia presided the second day. There were no protracted debates and the delegates were through with their work early Sunday afternoon.

Now for a big campaign with good prospects of polling a very large increase in the Socialist vote and returning Darlington Hoopes and Lilith Wilson to the legislature in spite of a fusion of the two capitalist parties!

The Party Discussion

By James Oneal

I must vigorously dissent with what Comrade Thomas says regarding The Socialist Voice being similar to the Daily Worker or that it abounds with falsehoods and misleading statements. I have just read the new pamphlet by Haim Kantorovitch which is of a character similar to The Socialist Voice, and while I disagree with him I would not dismiss him in such terms. Many statements are misleading, but I am not inclined to

JOSEPH GERL

By Ben Blumenberg

"MY ideals are higher than my my head."

This was the proud and defiant answer of Joseph Gerl, a Czechoslovak Socialist youth of twenty, when asked by the bloody court of the assassin Dollfuss whether he did not realize that he had "risked his head."

Together with Rudolph Anzhack, another twenty-one-year old Socialist, the two fearless fighters against the bloody reign of the late unlamented Dollfuss, appeared in court, blinded and battered from the days of torture at the hand of the brutal police.

Joseph Gerl is now numbered with the immortals who gave their lives to the cause that will never die—the cause of liberty and freedom. His words will reverberate down the corridors of Time. They will fire the emotions, quicken the pulse and inspire the mind of every fighter for the freedom of the workers in all lands.

Joseph Gerl, you make every Socialist proud to be a member of the world-wide brotherhood for which you gave your life. Your name and deeds are inscribed in our hearts as long as we have the life to carry on the ideals of Socialism. Truly:

"They never die who fall in a great cause.

Their gore may soak the block,
Their heads may sodden in the sun,

But their spirit stalks abroad."

question his sincerity.

One statement that the National Office has been partial in its administration is not new. I know of three states that make this complaint and it should be investigated for the benefit of all concerned.