

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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Textile Industry Paralyzed

*From Hand Loom to the
Machine and Mill, the
Story of an Industry*

By William M. Feigenbaum

IT is well that the textile workers are facing their masters in what may develop into one of the historic and decisive labor battles in American history. It is well that the textile workers, long the most oppressed and outraged of America's exploited, should stand up hundreds of thousands strong, and pit the majesty of their numbers against the might and the power of their masters.

The great strike that is even now being unfolded may well become a milestone in American industrial history because of the peculiar circumstances surrounding the industry and the conditions under which the textile workers have always labored.

The textile industry is one of the basic industries of all capitalist countries; it was the first to come under capitalist conditions; in it the hideous exploitation of the workers—men, women and children—reached its peak, and in it the workers in this country have thus far vainly struggled for human conditions, and for general labor organization.

It is a titanic struggle on a titanic field. It is the first time in years that in America a great basic industry is faced by all its workers in what may develop into a showdown. Will the textile industry continue its present slave conditions, turning over vast fortunes to capitalists and their associates out of the hideous exploitation of workers, North and South? Or will that industry be the first of the great basic industries of America to be conquered by trade unions and compelled by the might of solidarity of the workers to establish the human conditions that have thus far been so noticeably absent?

The present struggle will tell, and in that struggle every Socialist, every forward-looking workingman is enlisted just as surely as though he were himself on the actual picket line.

The textile industry of America has been one of the pets of big business. North and South, it has turned over colossal profits, it has been in old party politics up to the very eyes, it has benefitted by discriminatory tariffs, and it has been the beneficiary of a curious kind of sectionalism.

The modern textile industry grew out of the very things that created modern capitalism as we know it. Up to 1765, thread and fabrics were created almost exactly as they had been spun and woven by the Romans, the Greeks and the Egyptians. The beautiful Sentas and Marguerites of the opera, the Gretchen of the play sitting demurely at their spinning wheels singing as they spun; the Colonial matrons spinning on the wheels now at sale at every Antique Shoppe on the high roads while their men went off to fight the Indians were performing operations identical with those of the women of the days of Julius Caesar and of Pericles and of Tut-

(Continued on Page Eight)



*Unions and Socialists Co-
operate on a Wide Front
In Vital Struggle*

LATEST STRIKE DEVELOPMENTS

Strike area widens as even boss spokesmen confess rapid strike gains. Silk workers join up despite herculean efforts to restrain them. Forced by sheer immensity of walkout, President Roosevelt creates special board of mediators to "investigate" and report back—by October 1! "Riots," instigated by bosses' thugs—some legal and some extra-legal—take toll of strikers' lives as government forces owned by employers swing into action. Pickets beaten, slugged, gassed, but strike grows. Hundreds arrested, but thousands take their places. North Carolina governor calls out national guard, because "power of the state has been definitely challenged" by strikers in their fight for the right to live. Mills arm deputies and other thugs to resist strike spread. Acres of looms in widespread Southern and New England areas shut down as strike cuts great swaths across East.

Strike Generalissimo Gorman cites union demands. British Labor Congress sends greetings, sympathy, pledge of support. Three notable religious leaders, representing Catholic, Protestant and Jewish faiths, issue joint statement backing up strike. Socialist Party leaders and members active in strike; hundreds of partyites and Yipsels rally in New York City to pull down shops and picket. U.T.W. calls conference, inviting Central Trades and Labor Council, United Hebrew Trades; SOCIALIST PARTY and a few unions, to map plans for Middle Atlantic area.

By Paul Porter

PICKET lines were mobilized on a 1,500-mile front this week as a half million textile workers from Maine to Alabama, disgusted with the "National Run Around" of the New Deal, walked out in the biggest strike this country has seen in a dozen years.

The strike, closing hundreds of mills—many for the first time in their history—and promising to bring all branches of the textile industry to a standstill, marks a new high in the current wave of labor solidarity. Stirred by the previous great demonstrations in San Francisco, Milwaukee, Toledo and Minneapolis, workers everywhere watched eagerly the mounting strength of the national textile strike called by the United Textile Workers. Other unions telegraphed promises of aid to strike headquarters, as did the national executive committee and local executives of the Socialist Party. Everywhere a buoyant optimism, born of the feeling of unity, mingled with the grim determination to win.

Besides the new encouragement to militant, class-conscious struggle, other major developments to which the strike gave rise were as follows:

Showdown on NRA

1. A definite show-down with the NRA was at hand. The textile code, setting minimum wages at

(Continued on Page Four)

Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman

AT last Upton Sinclair has been invited to a luncheon at the National Press Club. A third of a century of literary work, devoting his talents to an ideal did not secure such an invitation for Upton Sinclair, but a democratic gubernatorial nomination did. Oh, well, he is news now.

Chances are that at the Sinclair luncheon there will be as many present as at the Norman Thomas luncheon two years ago when more than three hundred newspapermen came to hear the Socialist Presidential candidate. After all the National Press Club is neutral ground.

Many Washington political observers fail to see the wisdom of

President Roosevelt's caution with regard to Sinclair. Why should the President, or for that matter the entire Democratic Party, be afraid of being embarrassed by the nomination or election of an ex-Socialist? There have been many other

governors out of harmony with their parties, such as LaFollette in Wisconsin and Huey P. Long in Louisiana. Surely Phil LaFollette, who was elected as a Republican, was as far from the regular conservative Republican party and from the views of the Republican President as is Sinclair from the Democratic "New Dealers" and from the experimenting President Roosevelt.

The Battle of Waterloo at Hyde Park

IT is reasonable to assume that a real decisive battle is taking place between General Johnson and President Roosevelt, if you know what happened at the White House before Roosevelt left for his so-called vacation.

When Miss Perkins and Donald

(Continued on Page Five)

FIRST ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

The Social Problems Round Table under the auspices of the Rand School of Social Science and The New Leader, on WEVD Tuesday, September 11th, at 10 p.m., will present Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Socialist candidate for Comptroller, Frank Crosswaith, and James Oneal, Editor of The New Leader.

Stirring Pictures of Textile Strike Scenes on Page Three

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. 36
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1934

FACE TO FACE

ON Labor Day statesmen and preachers, university presidents and editors told the world how sincerely they love labor and how deeply they feel that labor is a vital factor in the life of the world.

A Grave Digger and A Soldier on the Road

By Gertrude Weil Klein

ON the way to camp we picked up a hitch-hiker, a nice young fellow of about eighteen, carrying a heavy grip. He was on his way to Scranton where his father, a coal miner, was dying, and he had walked from New York to Paterson that morning. He had exactly one dollar and he was trying not to spend a cent of it if he could possibly help it.

He was a soldier, but he had been in the army only a month and had not yet received any pay. His duty was to guard the one pure maiden left—or so the song goes—the Statue of Liberty, and he said the small group of soldiers—there are about fifty stationed on the island—are subjected to the same military drill, the same rigid discipline as any major army detachment. The eighteen or so officers are always on the watch to catch any infractions of rules, however slight. If a soldier is caught smoking he is punished. He thought it was awfully funny, and we thought it was pretty sad.

What interested us very much was the lad's occupation before he got into the army. If you've ever done any hitch-hiking you know that both the hikers and the hikers often get quite chatty. Especially when you're riding a long stretch together, everybody soon knows everybody else's business. Once, a boy friend and myself were given a long lift by a physician who had just operated on Ethel Barrymore. Speaking of operations.

Well, anyway, this lad had been, of all things, a grave-digger. But grave-digging in Scranton is not a simple operation. Graves are not

dug, really, they're blasted. The ground is pretty much solid rock and before the dead can be properly buried the grave-digger prepares what virtually amounts to a vault. This lad had worked around the mines and he was familiar with dynamite so he made a good grave-digger. And the pay was pretty good too. About eighteen dollars per grave. Dynamite was cheap and a helper could be hired for a dollar or so. But with the depression, the town felt that a family man should have the job.

And so our friend left town to shift for himself. His father had been out of work for a long time and it just meant depriving the rest of the kids of food if he stuck around. And now his father was dying. Funny, how fast miners went to pieces once they cracked up. His father was a giant of a man, not much past forty, but he was through.

While he was talking, I thought of a book I had read recently called "Boy and Girl Tramps of America" which I hope to say more about at a later date. Thousands of young boys and girls are wandering about the country, shivering in freight cars, hounded from town to town, broken beyond salvaging. All because poverty has made them an additional burden in that holy sanctum called home. And some of them drift into the army. Not because it has any special attraction for them. But—just because. Our hitch-hiker, for instance, refused to wear his uniform while on leave, though he knew it would be easier for him to get a lift if he did. (Not with us, we told him.) He couldn't quite explain what his aversion to wearing his uniform was, but he didn't want to wear it. Didn't want to appear conspicuous.

I returned from my vacation, if anyone is interested, with a swell coat of tan, a peachy cold and not full of vim and vigor. There's one thing a vacation is certainly good for, and that's more vacation. [Your hint leaves us cold, Gert. Ed.]



G. W. Klein

The day after Labor Day the textile strike flamed over a 1,500-mile battlefront, with tens of thousands of men and women on the picket line, with public authorities taking their stand—as they always do—with the forces of "law and order," which means in their minds with the exploiters of labor.

On Labor Day all was friendliness and peace. The day after Labor Day workers and their exploiters were face to face in what may well develop into one of the decisive struggles in American labor history.

For the struggle is not the result of a mere disagreement among men who find they cannot come to an agreement about wages and hours and working conditions; it is the flaming up of a conflict that is inherent in the accursed system under which we live, under which some men work and other men enjoy the fruits of their toil. In which human exploitation is the very law of life, and will continue to be so long as the system lasts.

It is a great and a gallant struggle, and to the embattled textile workers the Socialist movement sends its fraternal greetings, and places all its resources freely at their disposal.

WHILE the textile workers are consolidating their forces for what may be a life-and-death struggle the British trade unions are holding their annual congress and are preparing for their not-so-far-distant victory. The next election will soon be held, and it is conceded in all sides that there is better than an even chance that the workers will win out. In that event there will be a real labor and Socialist government avoiding all the errors and blunders of the last labor government; and in such a government the organized unions will play a vital role.

The British workers know that they have a bitter struggle ahead, but they are ready for it. They have gone far in the century just past, and armed with the knowledge of their past victories and led by workers who know the problems that they must face they are

preparing for what will in effect be a revolution as fundamental as any the world has seen, albeit they do not talk in blood-curdling phrases and are armed mainly with the consciousness of the might of their numbers and the role they play in the life of their country.

AND at the same time a Senatorial investigation committee is uncovering the villainy of the international arms racket.

There is nothing exactly new in what Senator Nye is finding out, except for new names and new details. But new or old, it is a disgusting and filthy story and the stomachs of even strong men turn at the sinister recital now being unfolded at Washington.

Everyone has heard something about the mysterious Sir Basil Zaharoff; everyone knows something about the traffic in death carried on by munitions companies who subsidize newspapers to preach noisy "patriotism" while they themselves are totally oblivious to national boundaries. But it comes with something of a shock to realize that the snaky Zaharoff has been operating in the United States and that this Lord of Monte Carlo has been drawing millions in profits for the making of the submarines that win such vociferous cheers when they are shown in the newsreels flying the American flag.

The story is an epitome of everything that is vile and wicked in capitalism. It is the profit system that plays with human lives in the millions and that prostitutes the noblest sentiments of human beings. Out upon it! Capitalism must be destroyed before the human race can begin to live.

TO complete our picture of a lovely world these brisk September days, we have the inspiring words of John E. Edgerton, president of the National Association of Manufacturers. "Even God Almighty," says this holy man, "never promised anyone that he should not suffer from hunger."

MINNESOTA PARTY TO HOLD F.L. CANDIDATES TO THEIR PLATFORM

MINNEAPOLIS.—A pledge of 100% allegiance to the official Farmer-Labor party platform must be made by all candidates of that party who wish the endorsement of the Socialists, according to an announcement authorized by a state conference of the Socialist party. Candidates will be nominated on the Socialist ticket to oppose certain Farmer-Labor nominees who are deemed to be "pussy-footing" in their allegiance to their own party's platform.

The statement follows: "The Socialist party in conference has decided after considerable discussion to nominate a full set of candidates for state offices. We have done this because we recognize that a number of the Farmer-Labor party candidates are evading the issues of the Farmer-Labor platform.

"We believe in that declaration of principles and up to this time have made no effort to put up a separate ticket. We are willing to cooperate with the Farmer-Labor party to the extent of accepting this platform; however, there is chaos and confusion in their own ranks. For instance, we find that Senator Shipstead, when asked, 'Do you stand for the Farmer-Labor platform?' gave this answer, 'I stand on my record.'

"Taking this all in all, we find that it is time for the Socialist party to nominate a full ticket of our own. We have put full powers in the hands of the state executive committee of the Socialist party with the understanding that the candidates who have been nominated by the Farmer-Labor association must at once be interviewed and declare where they stand on the platform of the Farmer-Labor party.

"The state executive committee of the Socialist party has also been instructed to withdraw any or all candidates of the Socialist party who have been nominated against candidates of the Farmer-Labor party who declare 100% allegiance to their platform as accepted by the Farmer-Labor convention at St. Paul on March 28, 1934."

Our Labor Day Edition Was Quickly Sold Out

THE Labor Day edition of The New Leader was completely sold. Within two days every available copy had been sold and comrades from the locals and branches were being turned away from the office disappointed and empty-handed.

Every section of the Socialist movement used the Labor Day edition for its propaganda work. Party locals and branches, YPSL circles and Young Circle Leagues, as well as many unions, got large bundles to use for propaganda at meetings, demonstrations and picnics.

Good Work, Meyer!

Chicago took special bundle orders to the number of 2,000 copies, in addition to the usual orders that go to that city.

After Meyer Halushka appeared before the Chicago Federation of Jewish Unions that organization bought 1,000 copies to use at its Labor Day picnic, while 1,000 more were used by other organizations.

Other labor organizations that cooperated in making the 1934 Labor Day issue the most successful in many years included the Joint Boards of the Clo makers and the Dressmakers, the United Hebrew Trades, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and many other unions, local as well as national.

Arthur Fassberg

Many readers have complimented The New Leader upon the remarkable drawings by Arthur Fassberg. Last week's striking cartoon for Labor Day, and the beautiful decoration to Eliot White's prose poem were among his best. We like this week's drawing, too, and we are sure our readers will like it as well as we do.

Arthur Fassberg is a quiet, modest young artist well known in New York and highly thought of in artistic circles. Arthur, however, happens to be a good Socialist (as well as a swell guy personally), and his contribution to the cause to which he is devoted is his very splendid artistic talent.

The Hillquit Supplement

In connection with the memorial meeting to be held October 7th, the first anniversary of the death of Morris Hillquit, The New Leader

will publish a special Hillquit supplement to go with the issue of October 6th. There will be four important articles covering Morris Hillquit's career: a biographical sketch, Hillquit and the American labor movement, Hillquit as leader of the American Socialist movement. In addition there will be brief articles by leading Socialists and trade unionists here and abroad. The names of the writers will be announced shortly.

The Hillquit Memorial issue will be illustrated with pictures of the late revered leader of our party, and will be a paper that thousands of Socialists, trade unionists and others will be proud to save.

The supplement will be printed separately from the main body of the paper which will contain the usual news and editorial features. There will be no additional cost for that issue.

Our Special Offer

The circulation of The New Leader is growing fast; and the mails are full of requests for sample copies. Comrades everywhere are asking for bundles to be used in the campaign, and unions are using The New Leader in their industrial struggles.

This is just the time to introduce The New Leader to more and more people. They need the Socialist message, and you need an ever-growing circulation for your paper.

For this reason we have the special 25-cent rate for a three months' trial subscription.

Make use of it at once!

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.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
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NEW LEADER LABOR SECTION

Mass Strike Spreads Despite Bosses' Murder of Workers



Above: At right, group of mill workers in Charlotte, N.C., cheering the news of the spread of the strike. Robert L. McCanless, at left, son of a millionaire mill owner, encourages the mill workers to strike against his father and other bosses

As the general textile strike grows hourly in numbers, exceeding all expectations, and a complete shutdown of the entire textile industry looms, the employers are massing all their resources to block the effectiveness of the walk-out. Nine Southern workers have already been murdered by the forces of authority and property—five in Homeopath, S. C.; two in Trion, Ga., and one each in Greenville, S. C., and Augusta, Ga. Several hundred strikers have been wounded, several probably fatally. The situation in many centers is so acute that the union is on the watch everywhere against the threat of violence to the textile strikers.

A mass funeral of the slaughtered workers will be held on Saturday. Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, will probably be the main speaker, flying to the scene from the Middle West, according to Comrade Paul Porter, who heads the silk department publicity staff.

The Socialist Party of New York is arranging for a mass picket demonstration in front of the detective agencies which have been supplying thugs and "guards" to the scabbing mills.



At left, Southern national guardsmen in an off moment, awaiting orders to march against strikers. — At right, girls leaving factories in answer to strike call. — "We Defend the Bosses" is the motto of the militia. "We Battle for Humanity" is the slogan of the woman workers.



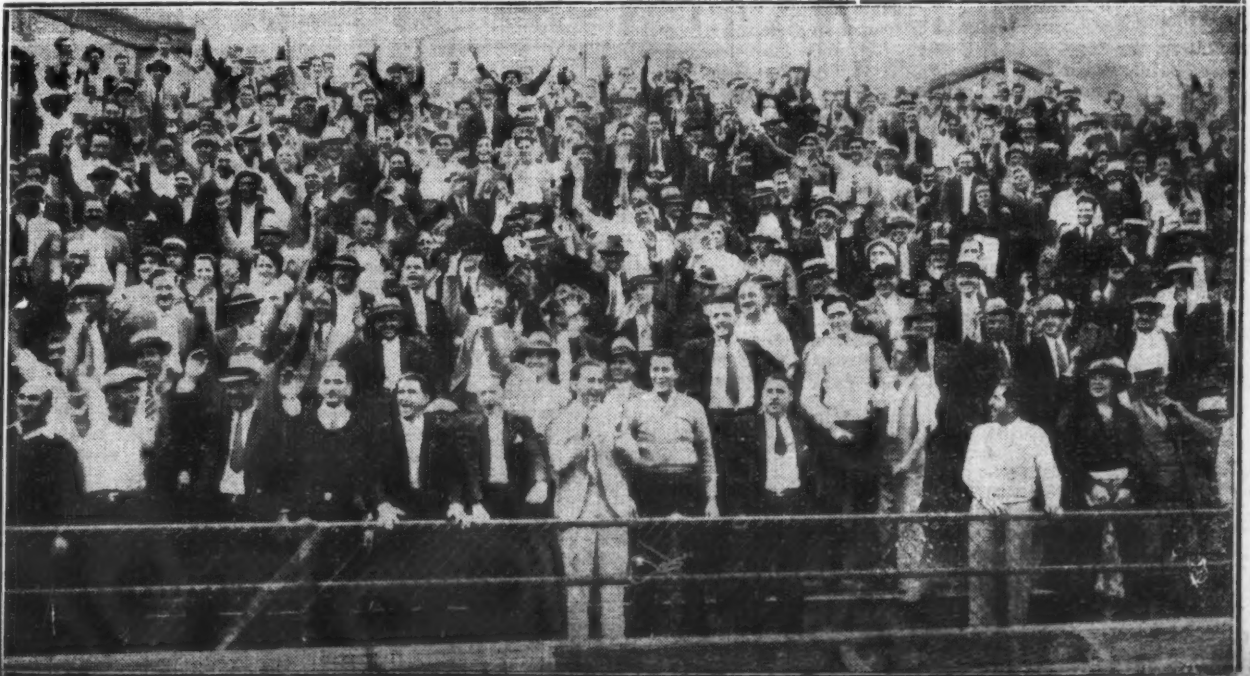
FUR WORKERS MAY AFFILIATE WITH I.L.G.W.U.

ONE of the most important developments in the garment field in recent years may follow the request of the Furriers' Joint Council, the A.F. of L. fur workers' union in New York City, for affiliation with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The general executive board of the garment union is considering the plea.

Affiliation with the I.L.G.W.U. would mean an intensive and conclusive campaign definitely to organize a market that has suffered especially from both chaotic economic conditions and dual unionism. It probably would herald a war to a finish against the Communist needle trades union which, practically extinct everywhere else, has made a last desperate stand in the New York fur market, with the connivance of certain manufacturers who find it to their advantage to stimulate chaos and to support the kind of abortive unionism that divides

(Continued on Page Four)

Below: A mass meeting of Paterson, New Jersey, silk workers after taking a vote to join the general strike. Twenty thousand are out and not a wheel turns in the silk center



THE EDITOR COMMENTS

REPORTS in increasing numbers come to The New Leader from all over the country, graphically relating the activities of Socialists, young and old, in unionization campaigns and in strikes. On the picket lines and in the jails, in the shops and outside, Socialists have made an enviable record for unselfish devotion to the workers.

I do not cite these facts as something exceptional. The history of the workers' battles for better conditions could not be written without at the same time citing—as a matter of course—the unstinting activity of the members of the Socialist Party and the Young People's Socialist League.

But in recent months especially the onward march of the workers has called for renewed struggle, and party and youth organizations have been called upon for greater participation and leadership. This was to have been expected from the record of the past. The response of party members has been magnificent everywhere. In New York City especially the work of the party, and particularly of the Young People's Socialist League, has been so important that it calls for special comment.

When a union not at all "socialistic" in character calls upon the party to take complete charge of strike activities in a general walk-out—to pull out the workers and organize them, to picket, to bear the brunt of battle in a hitherto unorganizable field—a new recognition by labor of the necessity for cooperation is revealed. When young comrades respond, as they did at the meeting called by the Labor Committee, and hasten to volunteer for early morning and late-at-night duty—penniless comrades from the Bronx, for instance, picketing remote Brooklyn shops at an hour which necessitates leaving home at 3:30 a. m.—we have a live situation in the party which no setbacks can discourage and no attacks can smash.

Taxi Drivers' Union Grows

A HUGE mass meeting of New York taxi drivers was held at 3 a. m. Friday at Palm Garden, 306 W. 52nd St., by the New York Taxi Chauffeurs' Union, Local 19,795 of the A. F. of L., to celebrate the recent great access of membership and to lay plans for consolidating the recent gains. With the granting of a charter by the A. F. of L. to the taxi drivers as a federal labor union, a great deal of enthusiasm has developed among the underpaid and exploited hackmen of the city for the union. The union has a membership of 14,000. Among the speakers were Jacob Panken, Pauline Newman of the Union Health Center, Frank R. Crosswaith, famous Negro labor organizer and Socialist, and Noah A. Walters, Jr., Socialist youth leader.

William B. Mahoney, representative of the A. F. of L., presided and rounded the keynote of the meeting.

Great strides in organizational work have been made by Jack Butler, in charge of the Harlem district; by Joe Melnick, in the

Bronx, and by the three men who are assisting the union in general organization work—Anthony Andosca, James Iantosca and Mike Glass. Sam Smith and Hy. Golstein are directing borough-wide activities. Committees in the field are actively engaged in enrolling new members.

As the union is now part of the A. F. of L., its membership campaign stresses the advantages to be obtained from joining the bona fide labor movement. The call for the meeting issued by the union urges:

"If you want to raise your standard of living; if you want better living and working conditions; if you want to abolish the blacklist; if you want to eliminate being tossed around for low bookings; if you want representation at the hack license committee; if you want to get rid of the company union; if you want to remedy the evils and abuses that exist for the driver both in the garage and on the streets; if you want an organization that will collectively fight for the legislation in your interests and against unfavorable legislation, you will join the union."

Celluloid Workers Win

A successful two weeks' strike by the Celluloid, Catalin and Gallolith Workers' Union resulted in a collective agreement in this industry previously characterized by deplorable conditions. Led by Max Meyerson and a strike committee including H. Yasner, S. Rosenfeld and Mickey Most, the workers won union recognition, the 100% closed shop, decrease in hours, increase in wages, elimination of child labor, hiring through the union, and

other concessions.

Joe Glass, aided by Max Delson, both of the Socialist Lawyers' Association, represented the union in the legal field, and party and Yipsel members aided in the strike activities. Gerry Coleman was among those beaten up and arrested. The strike still continues against the Amerloids Manufacturing Co. in Brooklyn, where the workers declare they won't go back until they win similar conditions.

Printers Union Joins Newspaper Guild Fight

A SIGNIFICANT venture in union cooperation was undertaken this week when the printers' union, joining in the four weeks' fight waged by the N. Y. Newspaper Guild against the Staten Island Advance, entered into an agreement for a joint organization campaign to be concluded only by a joint settlement. The pact was signed by L. H. Rouse, president of the New York Typographical Union (Big Six) and Heywood Brown, national head of the guild, which is not yet affiliated with the A. F. of L. Others unions, like the Web Pressmen's, the Stereotypers' and the Mailers', may join soon to organize the last of the open shop newspapers in the city.

The Guild was fighting to force the publisher of the Advance, S. I.

Furriers May Join I.L.G.W.U.

(Continued from Page Three) workers and sets them against each other.

Another significant aspect of the plan is the irresistible trend toward industrial unionism it reveals. Coupled with the probable affiliation of the neckwear workers' union to the A.C.W.A. and other evidences of the desire for greater cohesion and more drastic tightening of workers' battle lines, the move promises more serious consideration by the A. F. of L. San Francisco convention of the nation-wide demand for industrial unionism.

Newhouse, to reinstate Alexander Crosby. This is the second battle by the Newspaper Guild—and the second against Newhouse.

Textile Industry Paralyzed

(Continued from Page One)

\$13 a week in the South and \$14 in the North, was the first NIRA code to be established and was hailed by Roosevelt supporters as a model. After a year's operation, workers point out that the minimum wage provisions have been widely disregarded, that the reduction in weekly working hours has led not to an increase in employment but only to the "stretch-out" of those already lucky enough to have jobs, and finally that the agencies of the New Deal government were invariably the agencies of the bosses. Now thoroughly disillusioned with the New Deal "partnership," they have turned once more to their only reliable weapon—their own united action.

2. This first major break on the part of organized labor with the New Deal is being carefully watched by all unions, and especially by the workers in the steel and automobile industries. If the textile strike is won, it will pre-empt giant battles in all basic industries.

South Takes to Unionism

3. Unionism, apparently, has at last taken firm root in the South. Manufacturers were able to escape the union-conscious workers of New England by moving their mills below the Mason and Dixon line, but they have not been able to escape the lessons of history. Capitalist industrialism everywhere creates the conditions of class struggle, and the South now repeats the history of older industrial centers. The organization of the southern workers brings a young, militant, and powerful new element into the American labor movement.

4. Under persistent hammering by the mouthpieces of big capital, the New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune, the Roosevelt government was preparing a sharp step backward in its relief program, the effect of which can be nothing else than wholesale strike-breaking deliberately undertaken. Heretofore, strikers generally have not been discriminated against in the distribution of the inadequate relief, but have been treated like other hungry workers. This week, on the first day of the strike, Harry Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator, contributed his bit to strike-breaking by indicating that relief might be denied strikers.

5. This possibility, and the very likely probability of Southern Democratic governors' ordering out troops against the strikers, give an immediate importance to the declaration of the United Textile Workers at their recent convention for a national Labor Party. Ordinarily, this might have been just another resolution, but now the conditions arise which may cause the new unionists to decide to fight with their political arm as well as their industrial arm. It is a situation which Socialists are watching with utmost care.

Half a Million Workers—Marching!

These are the major perspectives of the strike, but momentarily they are overshadowed by the drama of a half million marching men and women. In Lawrence, Fall River, New Bedford, Paterson, and Passaic—even in Gastonia and some other southern mill centers—they have marched before, but never with such hope or with the knowledge that a majority of all textile workers were striking and picketing with them. And for thousands of the new unionists in the South, this is the first concrete lesson in class solidarity.

A picket line on wheels is one of the important contributions to strike strategy made by the new unionists of the South. Trucks and all available automobiles are loaded with several hundred strik-

ers, in some cases as many as 2,000, who speed from mill to mill throughout the county, closing all mills in their path. The motorcades are skillfully led, striking quick and hard before the sheriffs' deputies and the bosses realize what is happening. The militant mass action of the workers has the mill owners badly frightened, and news despatches from southern cities indicate that an appeal for troops is imminent. It is even likely that the bosses will request martial law in order to stop the mass motoreades of the strikers.

Outstanding among the successes of the mass picketing was the closing of all mills in Durham, N. C., employing some 4,500 workers. Another mill to be closed by the same methods was the Loray mill of the Manville Jenckes corporation in Gastonia, where the bitter strike in 1929 was waged. Gaston county is now one of the biggest concentration centers of the U. T. W.

Bosses Mobilizing

As the strike settles down to what will apparently be a long siege, the employers were mobilizing their usual weapons of warfare. One scab-herding detective agency announced that it had recruited 2,000 "mill guards"—gunmen, to you. Rush orders for tear-gas bombs, machine guns, and similar equipment was reported by some chemical and munitions manufacturers. The General Strike Committee has information from workers employed in these plants that many of the orders are being shipped directly to textile mills, others to sheriffs and police departments.

The workers are determined to avoid, if possible, the violence provoked by the bosses' agents, but union leaders admit that a repetition of the Marion, N. C., massacre of 1929, when six strikers were murdered, may be attempted by the gunmen pressed into service as "guards."

At the present time, the textile strike is confined to the cotton, woolen, silk and rayon branches of the industry, but a national strike of history workers may also be ordered at any time by President Emil Rieve of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, and a member of the General Strike Committee. Many hosiery mills in the South are now on strike, but the organized mills of the Philadelphia and Reading district are bound by a working contract negotiated last year. These also, however, may be called out in the effort to unionize the whole industry.

Socialists Rally to Aid

Throughout the strike region, Socialists have promptly responded to the pledge of aid made by the national executive committee. Some of these are regularly employed in the industry; others are volunteering their services to the strike committee.

In New York City, Jack Altman, secretary of the Socialist Party labor committee, has mobilized 200 party members and Yipsels, who have virtually had the whole responsibility for the conduct of the strike in that area.

Among others on the firing line are Glen Trimble, secretary of the Massachusetts party labor committee, whom newspapers report leading a huge picket line in New Bedford; Emil Rieve, a member of the General Strike Committee; Newman Jeffrey, editor of the Silk and Dye Worker, one of the leaders in the Paterson district; Bernard Levinson in Philadelphia, and many Socialists in Reading and other eastern Pennsylvania towns. John Edelman, David S. Schick, and Paul Porter are handling publicity in the national and district strike offices. Alton Lawrence, state secretary of the Socialist Party in North Carolina, and a local Social-

ist were instrumental in shutting down three cotton mills and a dye works plant in rapid order in High Point, N. C. There being no local U. T. W. organizer, the party took charge and the workers followed its leadership. Party members are also heading a number of flying squadrons closing the mills.

In accordance with its policy of giving every aid to the U. T. W., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union has assigned Vice-President Leo Kryzcki to take charge of the general strike in the Passaic area. Kryzcki is national chairman of the Socialist Party.

The A.C.W.A. also loaned Arturo Giovannetti to the U. T. W. for work in the Lawrence area. Comrade Zilla Hawese has been assigned to the Tennessee district.

Emphasizing that "success of this important strike is the concern of the entire labor movement," President David Dubinsky of the I. L. G. W. U., forwarded telegrams to all organizers stationed in the textile strike centers with instructions to "contact immediately with the United Textile Workers' leaders" in their localities and lend them every assistance possible."

The telegrams were sent out by Mr. Dubinsky in response to an urgent appeal for cooperation received from Gorman at Washington headquarters in which he pointed out that "as the strike is gaining momentum we need all the manpower we can recruit from the general labor movement." District headquarters of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union instructed to cooperate fully with the strike are located at: Newark, Union City, Plainfield and South River, N. J.; New Haven, Conn.; Baltimore, Boston and Fall River, Mass.; Cleveland and Atlanta.

Garment Shipping Clerks Win First Closed Shop

Last Thursday marked the first step forward in the fight of shipping clerks, errand boys and other non-manufacturing workers in the women's garment and affiliated trades for union recognition.

The day previous all workers of Levin & Rosenberg, 143 W. 20th St., went on strike. These bosses were notorious for sweatshop conditions in their shop, and had announced their intention of fighting the unions. However, with the formation of a mass picket line, in which many Y.P.S.L. members participated, they changed their tune and agreed to arbitrate.

The contract signed included wage increases of 20 to 33 1/3%, closed shop, the 37 1/2-hour week and six holidays, including May 1, with pay.

Radio Workers Union Thanks Yipsels For Aid

Executive Committee, Y.P.S.L., 7 E. 15th St., New York City.

Dear Comrades:—On behalf of the workers of the De Wald Radio Co., 608 Sixth Ave., New York City, the executive board and membership of the Radio Factory Workers' Union, I convey deepest thanks and appreciation for your cooperation, help and financial contribution in the strike of the De Wald radio workers.

The quick victory obtained, we all realize, was in great part due to the contribution of the Yipsels in their splendid work on the picket line, etc.

To all the Yipsels who actively assisted we are deeply indebted, and to add a personal note, I am proud because of their work to call them "comrades."

Fraternally yours,
Wm. Beedie, organizer, Radio Factory Workers' Union.

Farmers Alone Can Emancipate Themselves

By George A. Nelson
Secretary, Polk County (Wis.)
Holiday Association

AGRICULTURE is the staff of life, it is the one thing upon which all of us depend, and it is also the one industry which has been used both as engine, brakes, bumper and shock absorber and used so extensively that today agriculture is bankrupt.

For a number of years the farmers have borrowed for improvements, taxes and interest until no more credit is available. This in turn has brought about the wholesale wrecking of homes by the greedy toll takers. Those who have lived in luxury on interest, rent and profit have shown very little sympathy towards the farmer and his family who have labored ceaselessly from dawn until after dark in an effort to guard and protect that beloved shelter called Home.

The farmers have been told that they should produce more and more and do it better and better, and they surely did. They tried all schemes that were thrust upon them, including larger farms, bigger machinery, gas and motor driven equipment, silos, modern barns, pure-bred stock, poultry, rabbits, ginseng, fur farming from the muskrat to the buffalo, etc., etc.

Then again they are paying for plowing down cotton, for idle wheat and corn acres. They pay to have their hogs turned back to old mother earth through a commercialized process and the little porkers taught birth control. And so on down that long and endless avenue.

Then again Uncle Sam comes to the rescue and proclaims from the house-tops that agriculture must be refinanced. So we proceed to solve our problems by loaning ourselves some more money so there will be an ever-increasing river of interest or rent flowing from the Old Homestead, hoping against hope that some day somehow, something unforeseen will happen by the grace of all the powers that be, so the farmer can lift himself out of the mire by pulling on his own bootstraps.

The first step to remedy existing conditions is to make all homes secure under all circumstances, including delinquency and mortgage foreclosure.

Work at decent wages for those who live in cities is an essential part of any farm program. The farmer cannot sell his products now because the unemployed and poorly paid workers cannot buy them. And the farmer cannot buy the goods made in towns because he has no money. We must end this vicious circle by giving purchasing power to the masses. Jobs for everybody at living wages, is the Socialist battle cry.

We must build up a bigger market at home for all our products. We should be producing for ourselves, rather than producing goods to sell abroad. Then we would not go in for that expensive and inhuman luxury, fighting for foreign markets. Is there any good reason why men, women and children should slave to produce goods and food products to ship to foreign countries, to enrich our speculators and steal the market from our fellow workers in foreign countries?

Secure in his home, certain of a market for his products, the farmer's lot would be happier than it has ever been. There are many ways in which the Socialists propose to make it happier yet.

If the state took over the marketing of foodstuffs, both farmers and workers could be saved

The Basic Principles of the Modern Socialist Movement

By August Tyler

Socialist Economics

II

Value and Utility

TAKE a bright new shiny knife and ask a simple savage what value it has for him. He will answer by pointing out how he can carve arrows, cut skins, kill game or his enemies with it.

Take the same bright knife and ask a modern merchant what value it has for him. He will answer by telling about its value on the market, by telling how many pieces of gold or silver it is worth.

In the answers of the savage and the merchant are contained the two kinds of value in any commodity. First, each commodity has a use value, i.e., it satisfies some human want. Secondly, each commodity has an exchange value, i.e., a definite proportion in which it exchanges for other commodities.

The savage sees use value only. Where exchange does not exist, exchange value is meaningless. Once commodity production becomes predominant, however, exchange value plays a more important role. Men no longer produce for use, but for sale; not for themselves, but for markets.

Exchange value (or as it is usually called, simply "value") is not a natural quality of a commodity but a social quality. The various products manufactured by Robinson Crusoe had use value ("utility") but no exchange value whatsoever.

Once the difference between "value" and "utility" is clear, a new problem faces us: What determines the value of a commodity?

It is very easy to discover what determines the utility of a commodity. In a knife it is the sharpness, durability, structure, steel, etc. But it is somewhat more difficult to discover what determines value since it is not something tangible and concrete.

Let us suppose that a pair of shoes exchanges for ten loaves of bread. What fixes the ratio? The first reaction to this question is that the shoes are ten times as useful as the bread. In fact, this is not so. It is, moreover, impossible to compare commodities in terms of their utilities. It is like adding bananas and oranges, equating X's and Y's. A loaf of bread satisfies one's hunger; a pair of shoes protects one's feet. It is nonsense to say that one protector for the feet is worth ten loaves' worth of hunger-satisfaction.

We know, moreover, that what is one man's meat is another man's poison. We may explain the worth of a particular commodity to a particular man at a particular time in terms of subjective wants, but it is impossible to explain the general value of a commodity over a long period to all men in the same manner. To take an obvious example: Coal is much more necessary and desired than diamonds, yet their value is in almost inverse ratio to their utility.

By elimination we seem now to approach a solu-

tion to our query. It seems that there is something more than mere demand that determines value. Scarcity or abundance, i.e., supply as well as demand, plays a part.

"Supply and Demand"

It is a very well known fact that when there is a great supply of a particular commodity on hand the price of that commodity will fall. Those who sell the commodity compete with one another to sell and thus underbid each other. Hence we may say: An increased demand tends to decrease price.

We also know that an increased demand tends to do just the opposite, since now the buyers are competing with one another and are outbidding one another. Hence we may conclude: An increased demand tends to increase price.

We seem now to have solved the problem of value and price. But—not quite, because just as supply and demand affect price, so price affect supply and demand.

For instance: Suppose a sudden and great demand for green hats. The price goes up. But—then what? The increased price will cause the demand to fall. Also—it will stimulate an increase in production, an increased supply. The falling demand and increasing price will now tend to lower the price.

Or—let us suppose that the demand for green hats falls, and the price falls. Then what? The lowered price will cause demand to rise; and the lower price will discourage production and cause the supply to fall. The falling supply and increasing demand will now tend to raise the price.

Thus we see that a sudden increase in price caused by changes in supply and demand sets certain forces in motion which tend to lower the price again. And vice versa. It appears that supply and demand cause fluctuations in price—but fluctuations around some average, some norm, some point.

Supply and demand affect what is called market value (i.e., value on one day or another). But they cannot explain exchange value (i.e., average value over a longer period of time).

A simple analogy will illustrate the relationship between supply and demand, on the one hand, and value, on the other.

Put some water in a bowl. Blow over the top and notice the little wavelets, the ripples. What causes the ripples? The wind! What causes the dips and the rises in the water? The wind! But what causes the amount of water, the height of the water in the bowl? Here we must look elsewhere for an answer.

Similarly, in regards to value. What causes the daily fluctuations in market value, the ripples in the exchange value? Supply and demand! What causes the dips and rises in the commodity value? Supply and demand! But what causes the exchange value itself? Here we must look elsewhere for an answer.

(Continued next week)

Behind the Scenes

(Continued from Page One)

Richberg convinced the President of the necessity to get rid of Johnson, the story goes, the usual Roosevelt diplomacy was employed. In an extremely friendly manner the President offered Johnson a semi-diplomatic mission to go abroad and study European methods of dealing with industry in preparation for formulating a plan to be introduced to the next Congress for a permanent remodeling of the NRA.

Johnson is nobody's fool. Red in the face, he burst out: "You are just easing me out the way you did George Peek!"

The President continued cool and with his disarming smile said: "Tut, tut, Hugh. George Peek was

the toll they now pay to the middle men who claim a profit every step of the way from the farmer's field to the worker's kitchen.

If the farmer could have plenty of cheap electricity from a state owned, non-profit making plant, he could make his home a better place to live and his farm a better place to work.

If the farmer's family had free medical attention with all the medicines, operations, dental work, hospital care that they

not 'eased out.' He undertook a very important work and is doing a most excellent job of it."

Johnson rushed out of the White House, went directly to his office, wrote his letter of resignation and dispatched it to the White House "for immediate delivery to the President."

This resignation put Roosevelt in a quandry. He immediately dashed off a very cordial little note to Johnson in his own handwriting. He told Johnson that he positively refused to accept his resignation, insisted on his taking a couple of weeks' vacation and then come to Hyde Park to talk things over. Now, what do you think are they talking about?

23,000,000 to Be Dependent on Relief

PRESIDENT Roosevelt is confronted by an appalling human relief crisis revealed in a New Deal

needed, the fear of illness would be removed and the efficiency of all farm workers would be increased.

These are just a few of the Socialist proposals for the restoration of agriculture. Our food supply is the most vital thing on earth. The people who grow our food supply should have every consideration and their lives should be made secure and happy. The Socialist Party is the only party which proposes to do this. That is why I am proud to be a Socialist.

report that 23,000,000 persons—men, women and children—will need aid to live through next winter. Resort to some extraordinary emergency relief method similar to last winter's CWA appears inevitable. It probably will be started in November.

Donald Richberg reported: 1. The federal, state and local relief costs for 1933 and the first six months of 1934 were \$1,336,665,566. 2. 5,000,000 families are expected on the relief rolls by February, 1935. 3. Increased food prices are swelling relief expenses. 4. Costs have more than doubled since CWA was abolished last March. 5. Expenditures reached an all-time high in May of this year when \$128,020,426 was required to care for 16,991,455 persons. 6. It would cost approximately \$170,000,000 a month to aid 23,000,000 persons. 7. Approximately 16,650,000 persons or 4,200,000 families and individuals were receiving aid in July. 8. These 4,200,000 July relief cases were distributed: 1,000,000 in 18 drought states; 270,000 in Washington, Oregon and California; 800,000 in southern states; 2,130,000 in the Mid-West and Northeast. 9. The 1934 relief burden will far exceed that of 1933. 10. The 1933 cost was \$792,268,529 contributed as follows: federal funds, \$479,115,000; state, \$113,000,000; local governments, \$200,000,000.

This is the third of the seven reports in which Richberg intends to review the "achievements" of the New Deal.

A Grim Picture Of America on Relief

By Aaron Levenstein

LOVERS of facts and figures will not be delighted by the percentages on relief rolls in the cities of America. They reveal the far-flung unemployment that ravages the homes of the unemployed. From New York to San Francisco, millions are on relief, while other millions are left to starve.

New York, city of mighty structures and puny mayors, leads the list with its tale of woe. Twenty-three per cent of its sons and daughters, 1,600,000 persons comprising 400,000 families, are hanging over the abyss of utter destitution by the thin thread of governmental relief.

Chicago, "hog butcher of the world," with half the population of New York, evidently leaves an even greater bulk of its jobless without the feeble protection of home relief. For on the southern shore of Lake Michigan, only 11.8 per cent of the population in the Windy City are admitted to the relief rolls. The others must shift for themselves, find their food in the garbage heaps and their shelter under whatever leaky roofs their ingenuity can contrive. The families receiving the meagre income granted by the relief agencies number 275,000 while announcements are made that the total of such families is expected to rise to 340,000 in the coming winter.

Philadelphia finds it necessary to permit a larger proportion of its population on the rolls—15.16 per cent, which amounts to 255,000 persons or 69,680 families. In the cradle of American independence, a free-born citizenry must look to the Philadelphia County Relief Board for its small allotment of food, milk and raiment. During the past year of New Dealism, the figures have increased, and there is no let-up in sight for the city of brotherly love.

Minneapolis reports that one out of every ten persons is able to live only with the help of its official relief agencies. 17,000 families are sitting in squalid homes, poorly fed, pitifully clothed, protected from absolute extinction only by the pitance allowed them by the government.

San Francisco, crowning what was once the gold coast, proudly asserts that the number on its relief rolls has fallen to ten per cent, that only 66,000 families are now provided for.

This is how the great cities of America report, in spite of work projects and alphabetized panaceas for unemployment. Look over the story of how the working people of our country live—by the grace of relief. Here are some figures of the percentage on relief in some of our communities.

Pittsburgh	16.10 per cent
Cleveland	16.00 " "
New Orleans	19.65 " "
Milwaukee	15.87 " "
Baltimore	12.00 " "
Kansas City	12.00 " "
Omaha	10.00 " "
Denver	20.00 " "

This is America today!

The promises of Democratic politicians, the spreading of the Blue Eagle's wings with the blaring of bugles, have availed little in the workers' struggle against unemployment. The need for relief grows, the welfare boards are swamped with applications which are rejected unless the applicant can show that he and his family are in the most abject of misery. All sorts of excuses and technicalities are invoked to keep down the total of names on the rosters—and, despite it all, the hunger of the American masses peers out from behind the parched columns of the statistician.

The Workers Abroad

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

By William M. Feigenbaum
(Batting for Mark Khinoy)

Australian Elections Sept. 15th

ELECTIONS for both houses of the Australian Parliament will be held September 15th, with excellent prospects for a labor sweep of the Commonwealth and the establishment of a Socialist government. Recent local and state elections indicate a strong current in that direction, and the Socialist forces are fighting the campaign with confidence.

The disastrous split in the labor ranks is rapidly being healed and there is every indication that a divided and shattered opposition will be faced by a united labor movement for the first time in many years. The Labor Party suffered a bad split during the last Labor government, headed by J. H. Scullin, over the fiscal policies of Labor Premier J. T. Lang of New South Wales. At this distance it is difficult to discern whether Lang took a more uncompromising Socialist position than the official Labor Party in the matter of paying off bonds, or whether the party broke in two in a brawl over personalities.

The immediate cause of the break was the fiscal policy of Lang's New South Wales government and the capitalist press could not forgive him his "repudiation" of the state's debts to the bankers.

At any rate, while the Labor press has stood by Scullin and at the same time has never assailed Lang, it is interesting to note that the capitalist press has been attacking Lang as a firebrand and a "Bolshevik," while praising Scullin's "moderation."

The split was the main cause of the defeat of Labor nationally at the last election, and the defeat of the Labor governments in five out of the six Australian states. It is interesting, however, that while every Labor government was overthrown, the one non-Labor government in existence at that time, that in Western Australia, was displaced by a Labor government, thus giving color to the claim that Labor fell victim to the depression-psychology of the people who turned out every sitting government regardless of the its complexion.

In later elections two more states were captured by Labor, giving the workers three out of the six state governments now.

The most encouraging sign of unity is the formal union of the Lang party in South Australia with the official Australian Labor Party after a number of other Socialist factions had re-joined the A.L.P. As a result the official Labor Opposition in the State Parliament was increased from 6 to 13 members. That action is a hint to labor groups and factions in the other states.

Iskra Reappears

THE Bulgarian Social Democratic Labor Party published a lively daily in Sofia called *Iskra* until the recent coup d'etat. The last issues before the fascist dictatorship clamped down upon the press were printed on a single sheet, and they contained articles by James O'neal and David P. Berenberg, reprinted from *The New Leader*.

After about two months' layoff, *Iskra* is again appearing. And it apparently is going openly through the mails.

Socialist Victims of Nazism

A COMPILATION of the political murders committed under the Nazi regime gives a total of about 600 deaths, including Social Democrats, Communists, workers not belonging to any party, Jews, and individual cases of S.A. men in opposition to the party.

So far as can be ascertained, the list of the dead whose names are known includes well over one hundred Social Democrats. Simple minor officials, brutally slaughtered for their loyalty to the Socialist cause, and former members of the Reichstag and Prime Ministers, have alike made the ultimate sacrifice for their convictions.

In spite of the incredible sacrifices that have to be endured, the Socialist movement is still alive in Germany. In the mass trials that have taken place in Dresden, Berlin, Brunswick and other places some of the accused have given proof of unexampled heroism. With the prospect of years of imprisonment before them they have nevertheless declared their faith in Socialism and have made no secret of their hostility to fascism. The prosecuting attorneys regard this as extreme "Marxist depravity" and demand severer penalties in such cases.

And Now a Fascist Canard

FOLLOWING the idiotic attempt of the Nazis to tell the world that certain German Social Democrats were prepared to play ball with them in establishing "neutral" unions (a canard promptly picked up and peddled by the Communists) the Italian fascist regime is trying the same thing. A Rome despatch says that Mussolini is going to establish a "Socialist wing" in the Fascist Party! The Italian Socialists and Communists have just issued a ringing joint appeal to the Italian workers to redouble their efforts to overthrow Italian fascism, but unless we

are much mistaken the Communists will run true to form and peddle the story that the Italian Socialists have made peace with Mussolini.

Payer Protests Assassinations

AT the opening of the Municipal Council of Budapest the Deputy Burgomaster in his address from the chair introduced the Austrian question. He proposed that the council convey to the Austrian government the sympathy of the people of the Hungarian capital upon the death of Dr. Dollfuss. The usual custom is for such motions to be agreed to in silence, but on this occasion the Social-Democratic Deputy Payer made an emphatic protest. Payer declared that Dollfuss had trampled the Austrian constitution under foot and acted in flagrant disregard of all principles of liberty. "Whoever turns artillery against women and children will always meet with such a death as that of Dollfuss," he declared.

The consternation caused among the assembly by Payer's speech was increased when a second Social-Democratic member spoke in the same vein. The chairman's proposal of a vote of sympathy on the death of the little assassin Dollfuss was only carried by a majority after a long discussion.

The United Front Again

ON July 10th the French trade unions organized in the *Confederation Generale du Travail*, replying to a letter from the Communist unions on the question of unity, said that "the C.G.T. has always wanted unity of organization, while attempts were made under various pretexts of 'united front' or 'united action' or 'united trade unions,' further to widen and perpetuate the split," and added that further correspondence can do nothing to the position already adopted by the C.G.T. Special emphasis is laid by the C.G.T. on the fact that "organic" trade union unity must be the work of the organized workers.

The following story of attempts to unite the French dock workers is another incident in the worldwide movement of the Communists looking toward a united front:

The Unitary Dockers' Federation decided to merge with the French Dockers' Federation (affiliated with the International Transport Workers' Federation), and to renew its affiliation with the French T.U.C. The amalgamated Federation has now published in its journal a statement by the ex-Unitary Federation of the reasons why it was decided to take this step. In the first place, the Unitary T.U.C.'s tactics of sowing divisions among the workers is denounced as "murderous." The statement further gives scathing criticism of "the strikes which were wrongly timed, carried immediately into the political sphere, and led unintelligently and in such a manner as to result in the total defeat of the workers." In this connection it was recalled how the powerful Dockers' Union of Dunkirk, which once had 4,500 members, was broken by a lockout, and now has but a few scores of paying members. The improvements of working conditions secured after years of hard fight have been lost again. "Thirty years of trade union effort, the work and sacrifices of a whole generation of workers, wiped out in the space of a few weeks by the consequences of a mad demagoguery."

The Miners

UNDER the chairmanship of Peter Lee of England, the Miners' International Federation met early in August in Lille, France. A proposal of the Communist Trade Union International for a united body was rejected, the Federation replying that all that was needed to create unity is for the miners in each country to join their own unions, and to cooperate loyally in building them up.

THE GREAT MINN

The following article, written especially for *The New Leader*, is by a writer who is not a Socialist. He was managing editor of the strikers' daily newspaper, "The Organizer." He is alone responsible for his strictures upon the Farmer-Labor governor of Minnesota and others did not support the teamsters' strike.

By Herbert Solow

THE bosses against whom the General Drivers' Helpers', Petroleum and Inside Workers' Union, Local 574, struck are not their own masters. They are ruled by a bankers' organization called the Citizens' Alliance. The so-called Employers' Advisory Committee which led the fight against Local 574 was a "front" for the frankly open-shop Citizens' Alliance.

This outfit stated early in the strike that it was composed of men of "principle." Their principle—the highest possible profits and everybody else be damned—would prevent them from doing two things. They would never put back to work militant strikers accused of violence. Furthermore, they would never reach a settlement with Local 574 as long as its leadership included members of the Communist League of America, the so-called Trotskyites.

A Permanent Strike

They gave two reasons for not wanting to settle with such leaders. In the first place, said the bosses, these men do not want to settle; they want a permanent strike, they want an armed uprising in Minneapolis. Secondly, said the bosses, if we settle with them they will gain in prestige and before we know it they will be teaching tricks to all the unions of Minneapolis and we'll have a peek of trouble.

But the Citizens' Alliance, which rules Minneapolis industry with an iron hand and sweats and bleeds a million people in and around the city, has backed down.

It has settled with Local 574—and the signers of the settlement on behalf of the union are the very leaders the Citizens' Alliance swore



never to recognize. The bosses have agreed to take back every striker, including even those convicted of violence by a drum-head National Guard court.

Furthermore, the Alliance has backed down on the two real issues of the strike. A minimum wage has been established, and although it is not as high as the union wanted, it does safeguard decoy raises given in an effort to head off an earlier strike. And the union has won the right to represent the inside workers (tomato men, coolers, celery men, etc.—all miserably underpaid hitherto) in the market houses.

Thus, although the settlement embodied in a consent order of the Minneapolis-St. Paul Regional Labor Board is a compromise for the union, the bosses have taken a beating.

A Bloody Struggle

The struggle of five weeks was bitter and bloody. The workers had to contend with the combined forces of the employers, imported thugs, the kept press, the radio, the church, reactionary A. F. of L. officials, the police, the National Guard and, at a crucial stage, the Federal Government. Against all these they stood out and never flinched.

The terror began with Bloody Friday, when Police Chief Jo-

hannes (who get a warm Milwaukee St. he visits the and murder peaceful pick dozens of w rested for d thrown bleed

Against

The terror tial law. Fa Floyd B. O National Gu said m e bos terrorf the eve on th

But Olson against the stockade, a camp, was s thrown 167 pickets. Mos rested while down streets strike activi ings were fo izer, Local bulletin, was arrest of its quarters and headquarters Olson set

The Communists and th

Lying and slanderous stories purporting to prove the cowardice and treachery of the leaders of the Austrian Socialist movement, leading to a "betrayal" of the workers in the civil war of last February, are still making the rounds. The purpose of these stories is plain. Otto Bauer, great leader of the Austrian Social Democracy, who fought by the side of his comrades until they were crushed, here tells the inside story of how the slanders originated. It is an important historical document that is here presented, the first of a series to appear. Watch for these important articles.

By Otto Bauer

IT was the 12th day of February. The armed insurrection had begun in Austria. *Pravda*, the Moscow central organ of the Communist Party and of the Communist International, had no correspondent of its own in Vienna and so it published the statements of the official Austrian government (Dollfuss) publicity bureau.

The Communists knew perfectly well that every capitalist govern-

ment engaged in a struggle against the revolutionary proletariat spreads its own war lies. Nevertheless they faithfully reproduced all the war lies the Dollfuss government spread about the Austrian Social Democracy. They gave preference, in heavy type naturally, to the "news" that the leaders of the Austrian Social Democracy fled from Austria at the beginning of the insurrection.

"Inside" Information

February 13th and 14th. The struggle in Austria continued. *Pravda* still had no correspondent in Vienna. But its Berlin correspondent supplied it with his own "news." He reported that the Austrian Social Democratic Party was strenuously engaged in breaking the strike and in disarming the workers. On the evening of the 14th of February, the Communist judgment upon the Austrian events was sealed. The Moscow "historians" still knew nothing about what was going on in Austria, but Karl Radek sat down and wrote an article about the events in Austria which was published in *Pravda* on the morning of the 15th. Radek began his judicial sentence with the words: "The first feeling that arises while reading the Vienna news is one of disgust and hate towards the Austrian Social Democracy."

Two days later, the Communist



leadership ha establish at by the So cratic leader could to brea After twenty shot in Linz and the worke tric power ho work, Moscow have that the the Social D clared itself

for truck movements. Its letter was enough to break the strike, and the letter was constantly violated in favor of the bosses. The town had been tied up tight as a drum by the strikers. When the National Guard began to issue permits, everything began to move. Of the thousands of permit violators, not one ever reached the stockade. Privately, Olson is reported to have blamed this on "disloyal" Guard officers. But he knew when he clothed them with authority that the responsible officers included members of the Citizens' Alliance. And Olson, Commander-in-Chief, never dared cross these "disloyal" guardians of seab truck movements.

Mass Picketing

As long as it could picket, 574 picketed. For 48 hours trucking was more than 50 per cent tied up while 2,500 soldiers cruised the city, arresting union men right and left. When picketing was made well-nigh impossible (it never could be stopped altogether, so determined were the strikers), 574 launched a campaign of indignant protest. The climax of this campaign saw 50,000 people on the Parade Grounds cheering wildly when Albert Goldman of Chicago, counsel for the union, called Olson a strikebreaker.

Yes, Olson proved himself a

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Yes, Olson proved himself a

By this standard we should appraise the behavior of the Communist International during and after the February days of 1934.

To a Number of Correspondents.—Please do not ask us to undertake research work into books and pamphlets and write you in detail of possible answers to questions you raise about problems in a future Socialist society. Where we can cite references we shall do so and you should look them up. Some inquiries involving statistical information are generally referred to the Research Department of the Rand School which has been helpful to many who have sent such inquiries.

Prada meanwhile continued with its "confirmations." On February

How shall we characterize people who invent such "confirmations"—invent them at their desks in those very days when hundreds of Social Democrats

The Commune

In the year 1871 the Paris Commune perished amidst blood and fire. The Commune was not led by Marxists but by Blanquists and Proudhonists, parties opposed by Karl Marx. But in the days of its struggle and defeat, in the days when the bloody soldiery of Versailles were butchering the workers of Paris—in those days Karl Marx did not think about his opposition to the Blanquist illusions and the utopias of the Proudhonists. Then he had but one feeling—unreserved solidarity with the fighting workers. All disagreements among proletarian parties were meaningless face to face with their common interests against the triumphant class-enemy. Then he began his work of dedicating to the Paris Commune, drowned in the blood of the Paris workers, that literary monument which is enshrined in the great heart of the working-class of the world.

By this standard we should appraise the behavior of the Communist International during and after the February days of 1934.

Relief Problems in Socialist Bridgeport

By Abraham Knepler

BRIDGEPORT.—The effect of the splendid display of solidarity of the Unemployed Relief Workers' League of Bridgeport was somewhat marred when Communists attempted to break up their meeting.

On August 28, 400 members of the league gathered at the Central High School to petition Governor Cross of Connecticut to call a special session of the legislature in order to enact measures for the present and future relief of the unemployed. Prominent local officials, including Mayor Jasper McLevy, addressed the relief workers. Leaders of the two capitalist political parties had been invited, but none of them showed up.

As the highly successful meeting was about to adjourn, a Communist stood up and shouted to the audience to remain seated to hear I. Amter, who is one of the national leaders of the Communist Unemployed Council. No Communists had been asked to address the meeting because of the record of the Communists in smash other organizations which refused to accept their domination. Amter rushed to the stage in an attempt to capture the meeting for the Communists. When Mayor McLevy, who was on his way out, saw that a policeman was about to eject Amter, he returned to the stage and, standing alongside of Amter, told the policeman to leave Amter alone. Then McLevy addressed the crowd, most of whom had paused on the way out. Amter interrupted McLevy every time he tried to speak. The audience wanted to hear McLevy, and finally he managed to tell the workers that the same tactics were used by Communists in other places to disrupt any organization which they could not control.

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Earlier in the evening, Mayor McLevy, in the principal address, had pointed out that under the present economic unemployment will continue to be a major problem. "Fellow workers," he had begun, "I am in full sympathy with the program the league has outlined. First, because it is being done in an organized manner. I believe you are following the right course in organizing this unemployed league, and in organizing similar leagues throughout the state." He went on to declare that a special session of the state legislature is absolutely necessary if the unemployed workers are to obtain relief. His talk was received with tremendous applause.

Late the same day of the Unemployed Relief Workers' League mass meeting a letter was received by the Socialist Party from Governor Cross of Connecticut in reply to the resolution sent him by the Socialist Party of Bridgeport, demanding the calling of a special session of the legislature immediately. In his letter Governor Cross stated that "as the General Assembly (state legislature) is to meet early in January, I should not be justified in calling a special session. Nearly, if not all of the specific measures advocated by the Socialist Party of Bridgeport will come before the General Assembly for consideration in its regular session."

The resolution adopted by the Bridgeport local last Wednesday night, and to which Governor Cross refers, called for the immediate convening of the state legislature into special session for the purpose of:

1. Repeal of the state's "poor laws."
2. Passage of legislation providing for the adequate relief of the unemployed.
3. Enactment of unemployment insurance and old age pension laws.
4. Enactment of a graduated income tax law.

Notwithstanding the answer from Governor Cross, the Socialist Party shall continue to demand a special session of the legislature, and will do all in its power to aid the Unemployed Workers' League in spreading its petition to the Governor for a special session.

The following are the facts on the relief situation in Bridgeport: The Board of Welfare Commissioners is in charge of direct relief, with the exception of "state cases." The Welfare Department administers relief to the "state cases," being reimbursed by the state for the cost. The amount and type of relief that can be given to state cases is limited by the state "poor laws," which are obsolete, being around 40 years old. Socialists are demanding the repeal of these laws.

The Socialists have no control over welfare matters, whether of direct relief or of state cases. All they can do is to make requests and recommendations, some of which are granted and most of which are not. There is only one Socialist commissioner on the Welfare Board, to two Democrats and one Republican.

The Socialist commissioner, Philip R. Magill, at a recent meeting, vainly demanded an increase in the food allotment given all direct relief workers, whether state cases or not.

The Socialist administration is fighting to maintain a decent relief standard in the city, in spite of the fact that the city was almost bankrupt when taken over by the Socialists, and that the city is faced with a deficit of one-half million dollars in the welfare budget at the end of the present fiscal year.

THE RED SCARE—AN OLD GAG

From the Federation News, official organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

WHEN the demand for decency and justice gets too strong for their comfort; when labor becomes more confident and more aggressive, the plutocrats always know what to do—they start a red scare. Having most of the newspapers and other means of news dissemination, this is no trouble at all. These parties dish out the long green lavishly for the services of spellbinders to present the "red menace" in a way that will frighten folks the way they ought to be frightened when "the constitution is in danger."

Just now, when there is a fair prospect that President Roosevelt will succeed in clipping their wings, the birds of prey are flooding the land with poison propaganda, whose purpose, no matter how it is told, is to down the NRA and return the old gang to power.

One can but weep at the large number of well intentioned groups and individuals who lend—or sometimes sell—their time and efforts to bolster the game of cutthroats. Most of the press that operates with Big Business have the president and most of his cabinet tagged with the Russian label and posted as "undermining the constitution." Even the American Federation of Labor, whose fixed policy is to arbitrate in preference to striking, is, in the minds of the gents promoting the red phobia, "stirring up unrest and trouble." The wise and careful William Green is finally suspect with employers who want to carry on as they did so long.

The case sums up in just this: The big business maggots insist on doing as they please in their treatment of labor. Those who interfere with their high-handed conduct are "Communists."

if the present relief standards are maintained.

When the Socialists first stepped into office, the Board of Apportionment and Taxation levied a special tax to finance the relief budget, a deficit having been incurred in the welfare department during the previous year. While the Socialists do not control the welfare department, they will shoulder the blame if another special tax becomes necessary, just as they shouldered the blame for the last special tax, although they had nothing to do with incurring the previous deficit.

At the peak, Bridgeport had 3,546 on CWA. Hartford, largest city in the state, had only 1,700 on CWA at the peak, although its quota was much greater than Bridgeport's. New Haven, also larger than Bridgeport, had such a small number on the CWA that many New Haveners did not even know there was a CWA in existence. Both Hartford and New Haven had larger CWA quotas than Bridgeport and could have filled their quotas from the many needy men seeking employment in

(Continued on Page Twelve)

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From the Spinning Wheel to the Factory

(Continued from Page One)

ankh-Amen. The spinning of thread and weaving of cloth waited for new inventions before there could be improvements in those operations. And when those improvements came, they came with a rush and they remade the whole face of the world and the lives of millions of people.

In 1767, James Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny; a year later Richard Arkwright invented a rolling machine for drawing out threads, and he established the first factory of which there is any record. In 1784, Dr. Cartwright invented a new loom to utilize the enormously increased amount of thread that the devices of Hargreaves, Arkwright and others were creating.

At about the same time other inventors were devising machines in which the steam whose properties they were just beginning to understand was used to turn wheels; within a very short time vast factories grew up everywhere in England in which thread was spun and cloth was woven in enormous quantities. And out of machinery for making textiles grew the factory system and all its evils.

This vastly increased output of cloth was unprofitable unless it could be made in buildings in which were employed large numbers of people. And the simplicity of the operations resulted in the employment of women and children. At the same time the fact that there were no labor laws, that organization in a union was considered a conspiracy and so treated, and that it was easy to exploit women and children made conditions in the textile industry unspeakably vile.

When the industry was brought to the United States over a century ago the same conditions prevailed, with additional evils. America, unlike England, sought to "protect" her industries by high tariffs. And America has continued the amiable practice of exploiting her children in that industry longer than did England.

Mills were generally established at first on the "fall line," that is, on rivers just at the point where waterfalls provided power for the machinery, and there the inland mill towns grew up.

In these interior towns women and children were lured to the factories because the general low economic standard made any addition to the family income attractive, and so it came to pass that every textile factory was a standing invitation to women and girls, and little children, to come and get jobs. In ordinary times there are jobs for all. But in each of these towns the textile mill bosses are the magnates, they control the city's government, they have been able to de-

feat labor laws, they have enormous political power outside, they control votes wholesale, and they make it almost impossible for the slaves of their industry to organize. And when organizers came from the outside the police they controlled drove them out as "alien trouble-makers."

And so the masters managed to keep the workers scattered, divided, unorganized while they themselves were drawing closer together into vast combines making colossal fortunes, dictating tariff policies, and poisoning public opinion against the workers. No wonder the textile workers are among the most horribly exploited of all!

There is still another difficulty the textile workers face; in the South with its low economic and cultural level there was little opposition to the employment of children; it "kept them out of mischief," their smug exploiters said, "to have them in nice clean factories instead of on the streets." Child labor in the southern textile mills has been one of the outrages of American capitalism. And so the New England textile manufacturers hammered down wages, kept working conditions at a low level and at long hours because, they said, they could not otherwise successfully compete with the South!

And so the textile industry, the first great capitalist industry of America as well as of England, has been a hideous open sore. It has enslaved its workers. It has divided them. It has been a moral peril to countless thousands of young girls in countless textile cities and towns. It has been a blight to the beauty of the countryside where the hideous mills have reared their stacks to soil and pollute the atmosphere. It has enriched thousands of exploiters beyond all dreams of avarice.

There have been bitter struggles in the textile industry in this country; there have been victories as well as defeats. Not only the United Textile Workers of America but also other unions have battled the entrenched greed of the textile bosses. Lawrence and Paterson, Gastonia and Manchester, Pasaic and Elizabethton are but a few of the milestones in the long struggle of the textile slaves to be men and women. Unions have been organized, they have won and they have lost.

But now for the first time the workers of the whole industry are fighting the industry as a whole to bring it under the rule of trade unionism.

The embattled textile workers can show the workers of all trades and all industries how the might that is inherent in their folded arms can beat the masters to their knees. It will be a great battle, and in that battle here will be no neutrals.

Victory for the textile workers!

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New York Socialists Must Vote at Primaries September 13th

EVERY enrolled Socialist in New York State has an important duty Thursday, September 13th. Next Thursday is Primary Day. On that day the enrolled voters of all parties go to the polling places and vote to place the candidates of their respective parties on the ballot. Unless the Socialist candidates are thus nominated on primary day, there will be no Socialist candidates to vote for in the coming elections.

Polls are open from 3 p.m. to 9 p.m. in New York City. Outside of New York City the hours are open from 12 noon to 9 p.m.

If you still live at the same place

you did at the last election you are eligible to vote. Go to the polling place you voted from last election, give your name and address and ask for a Socialist ballot. The inspector will verify whether you are enrolled as a Socialist. You will then sign the register and vote. See that you get a Socialist ballot (canary color).

Take the ballot to the voting booth and make an "X" in the voting square IN FRONT of every name on the ballot. Make no other marks, as that will void the ballot. Refold the ballot and return it to the inspector at the ballot box who will tear off the stub and deposit the ballot in the ballot box and the

stub in the box for stubs. Every polling place has Socialist primary ballots. But some inspectors say they have none to avoid the trouble of counting them.

If the inspector tells you he has no Socialist ballot or refuses to give you a ballot, telephone immediately to the party office, Algonquin 4-2620. Give your name and address, the assembly and election district. Your complaint will be taken up with the City Board of Elections, and they will correct any error.

Remember! You MUST vote at the primary election on THURSDAY, September 13th, from 3 p.m. to 9 p.m.

Party to Hold Two Important Meetings

Ratification Meeting at Town Hall, September 30th. The New York campaign will be officially opened at Town Hall on Sunday, September 30th, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Charles Solomon, Norman Thomas, William Karlin, Harry W. Laidler and others. Branch officers can secure tickets of admission at party office.

Morris Hillquit Memorial Meeting. A memorial meeting in honor of our late comrade will be held at Town Hall, Sunday afternoon, October 7th. Memorial meeting will be jointly conducted by Socialist Party, Jewish Daily Forward, I.L.G.W.U. and many other fraternal and labor organizations. Admission tickets will be available within a few days.

Primary Day. Thursday, September 13th, is primary day. All Socialists must vote at the primaries! Polls are open from 3 to 9 p.m. Candidates who have been designated by petition will not be nominated or appear on the ticket for

the election unless they receive the primary votes of their supporters. Every good Socialist will do his duty and vote at the primaries on September 13th.

Referendum Vote. Branches are now arranging special meetings for the referendum voting on the Declaration of Principles. Ten days notice of such meetings must be sent in to the party office. Branch officers are urged personally to take responsibility for handling such meetings in accordance with rules issued by City Executive Committee. Instructions were mailed to branches, but officers are urged to supplement such written instruction by personal interviews in order to avoid misunderstandings. All voting will be done at ONE branch meeting. Party members who cannot appear at such meeting because of illness or night-work can secure "absentee" ballots by writing to the Executive Secretary of the party at 7 East 15th St., New York.

To Honor Herman Salzman

The memory of the late Comrade Herman Salzman will be honored at a memorial meeting next Wednesday night, Sept. 12, at the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street.

Comrade Salzman, a devoted Socialist and active lecturer and writer in the party, died suddenly several weeks ago, and was accorded an impressive funeral by the Socialist party in New York City.

There will be several brief addresses by comrades who had been closely associated with Comrade Salzman in his lifetime.

RAND SCHOOL YOUTH INSTITUTE

Friday and Saturday, Sept. 14th and 15th, the Rand School, in co-operation with the Young People's Socialist League and the Young Circle League, will hold an institute to consider problems of Socialist young people in the New York area. A statement issued by Algernon Lee for the Rand School, Ben Fischer for the Yipsels, and Jack Afros for the Young Circle League, makes it clear that this is to be a genuine conference where practical problems of organization will be taken up in detail. There will be two public meetings, but the bulk of the work is to be done at three round-tables to be held simultaneously on Saturday afternoon.

The opening meeting at the Rand School Sept. 14th, at 8:30, addresses will be made by Charles Solomon, candidate for Governor and others. The rest of the session will be taken up by the reading of three papers by representatives of the young people's organizations on the following topics: (1) Socialist Youth as Workers; (2) Socialist

Youth as Students; (3) Educational and Cultural Work in Young People's Organizations. These programs will serve as the bases of the round-table discussions to be held the following day.

At 1:30 Saturday afternoon, Sept. 16th, the three round-table groups will convene to thrash out the points presented in the three programs outlined the previous evening. Saturday evening, at 8:30, will occur the final meeting, at which reports will be given of the conclusions reached by the round-table groups, which will be criticized and discussed.

Delegates to the Institute are being chosen by the Young Circle League, and each Yipsel circle is asked to select two or three official delegates.

MASS. F. of L. FOR LABOR PARTY

BOSTON.—The Massachusetts Federation of Labor, at its recent convention in this city, unanimously took a stand favoring the participation of the workers in politics through a party of their own, but reserved action pending a lead in that direction from the A. F. of L.

The convention had before it a resolution to "go on record that the American Federation of Labor should go into national, state and municipal politics, and that they favor the formation of a Labor Party in the United States."

The resolutions committee reported the following substitute, which was adopted without debate:

"As a substitute for the resolution, we report that your committee believes there is a growing sentiment favoring Labor's participation in politics directly through the formation of a Labor or Workers' Political Party. We concur in

Solomon Speaks at Stroudsburg Labor Day Picnic

STROUDSBURG, Pa.—Charles Solomon, Socialist candidate for governor of New York, was the principal speaker at the local Labor Day celebration, the first in the history of this community. He was invited by the recently organized Central Labor Council, with which are affiliated unions of printers and clothing, textile, leather goods and hosiery workers. These workers participated in the celebration, including delegations of hosiery workers from various parts of New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

The meeting was preceded by a large parade and the unveiling of a monument to the memory of Albert Bachman, girl strike leader, who was murdered by company thugs in the local hosiery workers' strike more than two years ago. As a result of this strike, Organizer Hoffman was sent to jail on a conspiracy charge. Notwithstanding the defeat of the hosiery workers, the organization campaign has gone on with added vigor, with the result that a thriving trade union movement now exists in this general locality to which employers have been accustomed to flee from industrial centers with strong trade unions.

Solomon, who was listened to with rapt attention and received with great enthusiasm, heartily congratulated the workers on their success in organizing on the economic field and told them the interests of the workers required independent organization on the political field as well. He pointed to the success of workers' political organizations elsewhere throughout the world, directing their attention particularly to the recent Labor Party victory in London. Addressing himself particularly to hundreds of textile workers in the audience, he told them their general strike was more than a just one and that it was aimed against exploitation, than which there is no worse in all American industrial life.

He said that organized workers all over the world were intently watching the textile strike in the United States, that the hearts and souls of the workers here and everywhere were with the textile strikers, and that they could be certain of the fullest possible support of Socialists everywhere.

Local Socialists and members of the Workmen's Circle have contributed substantially to the organization campaign here. It is planned to establish a party branch and launch a forum for the coming winter. The relations between the trade unions and the Socialists is decidedly cordial, as is evidenced by the fact that Comrade Solomon's invitation came directly from the Central Labor Union.

the resolution as an expression of opinion, but await action and leadership of the A.F. of L. to definitely designate the direction our efforts should take in this matter."

D'Oyly Carte Table D'Hote Superb

"The Sweet Season"

The D'Oyly Carte Opera Company in Gilbert and Sullivan Season. At the Martin Beck.

The Americans who have never been to England, of course, have missed many things. In the way of entertainment not the least of their losses has been the Gilbert and Sullivan operas, by the company carrying on the tradition of the original casts. Now that loss has been restored. For some weeks Gilbert and Sullivan fans have been more frequently humming tunes; more recent discoverers of the pair have been refreshing joyous memories.

And now they have their reward. "The Gondoliers," first offering, is one of the merriest and most melodious of the operas, with delightful dances—and good measure of the wisdom Gilbert so gaily gilds.

The company is comely, deft and neatly subtle, drawing nuances of nonsense and sending shafts of satire from apparently innocent lines and gestures; the voices are both musical and intelligible; the costumes colorful and apt. For those who know Gilbert and Sullivan, here they are at their best; for those who have that joy still awaiting them, here is the time to find it. J. T. S.

In American Premiere at the Re-opened Cameo Theatre



Dostoyevski's "Petersburg Night," Amkino's latest Soviet talkie, has its first American showing today at M. Radin's Cameo Theatre.

Grand Opera for Brooklyn

The Brooklyn Civic Opera Association, the organization which is bringing to Brooklyn for a limited season grand opera at popular prices, announces that seats are on sale at the Brooklyn Academy of Music for the two weeks of opera that this organization is bringing to Brooklyn.

This is the first time that the borough of Brooklyn with its vast population will really have an opera organization that it can call its own with grand opera being offered at a low scale for the masses.

The season will start on Saturday evening, September 29, with a gala performance of Verdi's masterpiece "Aida." The other operas to be heard during the first week of this engagement are Rigoletto, Cavalleria Rusticana and Pagliacci, Faust, Carmen, La Traviata, Samson and Delilah, Hänsel and Gretel (in English) and Il Trovatore.

Unity House to Close Season

Winding up a gala season which is to end with the celebration of the Jewish holidays, Unity House, non-profit making resort in Forest Park, Pa., will present over the week-end its most colorful entertainment program of the season. Saturday evening, Sept. 8, Von Grona, who created the first modern labor dance, will present his new repertoire of modern dances, including a sensational experiment in choreography, "The Darrow Report of the New Deal." Sunday evening, Sept. 9, Samuel Schmalhausen will give "A Marxian Analysis of Freud, and a Freudian Analysis of Marx." On Monday evening, Sept. 10, The Pine Grove Players under the direction of Norman Lloyd will appear in "Off Course," a drama of the sea by William Randolph.

The management of the Unity House is already preparing for rebuilding new and better accommodations for the coming season and has already repaired the damage caused by the temporary inconvenience of fire.

"Youth of Russia," Yiddish Talkie, Completed

Henry Lynn, author and director of "The Youth of Russia," a Yiddish all-talking picture dealing with the problems of the Jewish youth of present day Soviet Russia, has completed shooting on that production for Sov-Am Film Corp. The film, which will have explanatory titles in English, has a cast specially selected from the Yiddish Art Troupe, the principal roles being played by Wolf Goldfaden, Morris Strassberg, Gertrude Bulman, David Popper, Sam Gertler and Rose Wallerstein. The picture will be released for a Broadway showing about September 20.

"Straight Is the Way" Has Brooklyn Opening at the Fox—New Stage Revue

"Straight Is the Way," the new Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer picture, opens at the Fox Brooklyn today. Franchot Tone stars in the film, which is based on the Paul Muni play "Four Walls." Tone plays the Muni role. Others in the cast are Gladys George, Nat Pendleton, Jack LaRue and Raymond Hatton.

Flo Kelly's varieties on the Fox stage is a new revue entitled "Sweethearts" and features the Fox Ballet, Billy Snyder, the new master of ceremonies, Pettit and Douglas, and George Hirst and his music masters presenting a new overture, "Musical Romances."

"STEVEDORE" REOPENS OCTOBER 1

"Stevedore," the highly successful play put on last season by the Theatre Union at the Civic Repertory Theatre on 14th Street, will resume its run there October 1.

Applications for benefits and theatre parties are being received now at the theatre, 103 West 14th Street, or call Sylvia Regan at Watkins 9-2050.

"One Night of Love" Brings Grace Moore to Music Hall

New Columbia Film Starts Indefinite Run—Directed by Victor Schertzinger

"One Night of Love," which serves as a starring vehicle for Grace Moore, well-known Metropolitan diva, opened at the Radio City Music Hall last Thursday, Sept. 6.

Tullio Carminati, leading man who scored on the Broadway stage in "Strictly Dishonorable" and "Music in the Air," and who appeared in pictures in "Moulin Rouge" and "Gallant Lady," is Miss Moore's leading man in "One Night of Love."

The supporting cast includes Lyle Talbot, Mona Barrie, Nydia Westman and Andres de Segura. This Columbia picture was directed by Victor Schertzinger, who also composed the popular title song of the film which Miss Moore sings during the course of the story action.

Cleverly interposed into the action are a number of operatic sequences in which Miss Moore sings several of the greatest arias written by the music masters for the operatic stage.

"One Night of Love" is not Miss Moore's first screen venture. She formerly appeared with Lawrence Tibbett in the cinematization of "New Moon" and again as Jenny Lind in "A Lady's Morals." But "One Night of Love" is said to be the first production to give full sway to her magnificent voice and dramatic ability.

Dostoyevski's "Petersburg Night," Soviet Talkie, Re-opens the Cameo Today

"Petersburg Night," a new Soviet talkie, will be presented by Amkino for its American premiere today, Saturday, Sept. 8, at the Cameo Theatre. The theatre is now under new management and employs a full union crew from the A. F. of L. Local 306.

"Petersburg Night" has a scenario by Roshal and Stroyeva, and is based on Dostoyevski's famous novel. It is the story of Yegor Efimov, a serf on an estate in old Russia, a sensitive and brilliant musician of great native talent. It is the story of his escape from the great feudal estate and his struggle to make a name for himself.

Maxim Gorki says: "The genius of Dostoyevski, his strength of imagination and exceptional talent, can only be compared with Shakespeare."

Directed by D. Roshal, "Petersburg Night" is regarded as one of the outstanding films produced by the Soviet studios.

On Roxy Stage



A scene from "Romance of a People," which opens today at the Roxy Theatre.

'The Wandering Jew' to Have American Premiere at the Capitol Theatre Sept. 14

"The Wandering Jew," which opens at the Capitol Theatre on Friday, Sept. 14, is said to have created a new record in motion picture circles when it was produced at the Twickenham Studios in England. It was sold to Australia, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Holland, Austria, Manchuria, China, Singapore, Spain, Portugal and throughout Latin America before it was released in London—and no one but a privileged few had even seen it. It was bought on the box office appeal of its title and of the international appeal of the late E. Temple Thurston's treatment of this ageless yet ever timely story. Conrad Veidt

"Romance of a People" on Roxy Stage—No Advance in Prices—New Film Feature

"Romance in the Rain," the new Universal film with Roger Pryor, Heather Angel and Victor Moore, and "Romance of a People," celebrated dramatic and musical spectacle, will be seen as the featured screen and stage attractions of the new program at the Roxy Theatre starting today.

In response to many inquiries Mr. Howard S. Cullman of the Roxy today announced that there will absolutely be no increase in prices for the run of "Romance of a People." This famous pageant will be presented as the regular stage attraction at the Roxy and the continuous performance policy which has always been in effect at the Roxy will prevail.

"The Bride of Torozko" Due at Henry Miller's Theatre September 13th, Opens Gilbert Miller's Fall Season

Gilbert Miller and Herman Shumlin will present "The Bride of Torozko," by Otto Indig, adapted by Ruth Langer, at Henry Miller's Theatre on Thursday evening, Sept. 13. The cast is headed by Sam Jaffe and Jean Arthur, and includes Van Heflin, Francis Pierlot, Rose Keane, Victor Kilian, Don Costello, Harry M. Cooke, Frank Verigun, and others. The play has

been directed by Mr. Shumlin and the settings designed by Stewart Chaney.

"The Brite of Torozko" was first presented two seasons ago in Budapest, where it was the outstanding hit of the year. It was subsequently produced with success in Vienna and in Reinhardt's theatre in Berlin. Mr. Miller bought the play immediately after the Budapest opening.

"If This Be Treason" to Be Group Theatre's 2nd Play

The Group Theatre has bought a new play, "If This Be Treason," by Philip Barber. It will be their second production of the season. Their first play, "Gold Eagle Guy," by Melvin Levy, will be presented in Boston as part of the Group Theatre season there, and will open in New York late in November.

"The Fountain" with Ann Harding Opens at the Albee

"The Fountain," based on Chas. Morgan's celebrated book and starring Ann Harding, shares screen attention at the RKO Albee Theatre with the Barney Ross-Jimmy McLarnin world's championship contest pictures. Thomas "Fats" Waller, radio's newest favorite and those well known Beale Street Boys are headlining the vaudeville



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GUY KIBBEE • HUGH HERBERT
STRAND B'WAY & 47th ST.
25c to 1 p.m.

COMING WED. 8 P. M.

KAY FRANCIS
LESLIE HOWARD

in
"BRITISH AGENT"

STRAND B'WAY & 47th ST.
25c to 1 p.m.
Kay FRANCIS • Leslie HOWARD



FLATBUSH at NEVINS
HEALTHFULLY COOL!

FRANCHOT TONE MAY ROBSON
in "STRAIGHT IS THE WAY"
Heart-Stirring Romance of the Ghetto

On the Stage
BILLY SNYDER
PETTET & DOUGLAS
MILES KOVER • JOHNNY HYMAN

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2000 Balcony Seats Weekday Evenings 35c

25c
10:50 P.M. WEDNESDAY

Dwight Deere Wiman & Tom Weatherly present

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Dramatists' Guild Prize Comedy for 1934
By HOWARD LINDSAY
Adapted from Edward Hope's novel
"Full of merriment... It is spontaneous, guileless and tumultuous. It is pure comedy."
—Brooks Atkinson, Times

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Evs. 50c-2.50 Mats. Wed. 50c-2
8:40 & Sat., 2:40

ON SCREEN

ANN HARDING

in
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RKO VAUDEVILLE
Lillian SHADE & J. Fred COOTS
RIMACS HAVANA Orchestra
JOHNNY PERKINS
EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION
ROSS vs. McLARNIN
Fight Pictures—Round by Round

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SECOND BIG WEEK
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HAROLD LLOYD

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—RKO Vaudeville—
THOMAS 'FATS' WALLER
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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.

Reply to the Communists On Proposed United Front

MILWAUKEE.—The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has postponed united front negotiations on the basis of the invitation from the Communist Party till the next meeting of the N. E. C. To the Communist Central Committee in America the N. E. C. wrote as follows:

"The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party realizes the immense value to the labor movement of a united action of all elements against the danger of war, fascism and continued exploitation. We realize that such united action on specific issues by no means requires organic unity of parties between the Socialist and Communists. United action does, however, require evidence of good faith and the intention to use any agreement which may be arrived at not as a maneuver for power within the labor movement but as an instrument in the struggle against an oppressive master class. No united action on specific issues is possible between Socialists and Communists except on a basis which also gives hope of ending fratricidal strife within the trade union movement.

"On the basis of these principles, which are accepted by all Socialists,

we have thoughtfully considered the proposals of the Communist Central Committee and the answers to questions given at our meetings by Robert Minor on its behalf. We have been particularly impressed by Comrade Minor's two statements. First: that after a lapse of six years the Congress of the Communist International is shortly to meet; and second, that he could not speak authoritatively for the Communist International which, as everybody knows, subscribes to the highly centralized 'monolithic' theory of international party organization and exercises rigid control over its various national branches.

"We are also impressed by the fact that the very promising French agreement for united action has not long been in effect, and that it has not yet been duplicated in any other country. Furthermore, while we have no desire to dwell on the past, to the hurt of the future, we cannot accept Robert Minor's statement that since 1921 there has been an honest desire in the Communist Party for a united front as something other than a 'maneuver.'

"In every country and in every language the highest officials of the Communist Party times without number have specifically asserted that the purpose of the united front was to destroy the Socialist Party.

At one and the same time they have proposed the United Front and in the most measured terms abused the party to which they proposed it and its leadership. They have dubbed Socialism 'social fascism' that is as the witting or unwitting accomplice of the very thing which it is the purpose of a united front to fight.

"In view of these facts, we believe that the ultimate success of a united action movement will best be served if we postpone consideration of further negotiations between our two parties until our next meeting about December 1, by which time we shall have had opportunities to observe the decisions of the Communist International Congress and the success or failure of the French agreement. We shall also have had time to get the advice of the Labor and Socialist International to which we are writing, urging that body again to renew its attempt to find an honorable basis for a reasonable agreement.

"Meanwhile we are aware that there are questions arising from time to time, mostly in the field of civil liberties, in which it is desirable that there shall be effective local action for the defense of workers' rights. We are therefore drawing up a plan to govern possible cooperation in this field. The success or failure of this kind of cooperation will do much to determine the nature of the action which we shall take at our next quarterly meeting."

KANSAS PARTY IN STATE CONVENTION

By John W. Piercey

The Kansas State Convention held in Lawrence Aug. 26-27 was the largest and most enthusiastic gathering the party has held in more than a decade. More than 75 delegates from about 20 counties gathered for the two-day meeting to adopt a new state constitution and the 1934 platform. National Secretary, Clarence Senior, a former Kansan, was principal speaker.

The delegates gave serious consideration to the writing of the state platform. There was a strong feeling among the delegates to eliminate foreign or Mexican words that are unintelligible to the Kansas workers and farmers. Some of the statements and planks from the new platform are:

"It (the Socialist party) will completely abolish the profit system and establish in its place the Co-operative Commonwealth, based on service instead of profit, through collective ownership of the means of production and distribution."

"Establishment of a State Insurance Company which shall issue life, sickness and accident insurance, insurance on personal property, and complete farm insurance, including crop insurance against all adverse weather conditions, at actual cost to all residents of the state."

"End unemployment and raise minimum wages by employing all persons not otherwise employed, in state-owned industries and other state projects, at a wage of not less than \$25.00 per week, and for skilled and semi-skilled workers a wage at least equal to the union scale. All workers to be employed on a basis of a six-hour day, five-day week."

"Removal of taxes from farms which are occupied and used by the owner."

"Occupancy and use to be the only title to land, all mineral rights being reserved by the state."

"Establishment of state-owned farmer-consumer markets in all principal cities."

LENA MORROW LEWIS CAMPAIGNS IN PHILA.

By Abe Belsky

Lena Morrow Lewis, veteran party organizer and lecturer, held five successful meetings in Philadelphia. She addressed as many as three meetings in one day.

Traveling by bus from Allegheny County for over six hours immediately upon her arrival on Monday she proceeded to address an open air meeting in West Philadelphia. On Tuesday she addressed two street corner meetings. The next day Comrade Lewis was invited to address the students of the Socialist summer school at Camp Hofnung, Pipersville, Pa. That evening she spoke at a large open air meeting in the Northeast, and also addressed the membership of the North Philadelphia branch.

Everyone, young and old, was deeply impressed with Comrade Lewis' forceful and intelligent presentation of the Socialist message.

The first issue of Local Philadelphia's campaign paper, The Socialist Campaigner, has come off the press. Local Philadelphia plans to publish issues of this four-page propaganda paper from time to time.

The city has been divided into five geographic areas with joint committees of party branches and Yipsel circles functioning in their respective districts. Arrangements have been made to distribute the paper from house to house by the local joint campaign committee.

Tentative plans have been made to hold a campaign dinner on Friday evening, October 19, in honor of James H. Maurer, veteran Socialist and labor leader and candidate for U. S. Senator, and Dr. Jesse H. Holmes, professor of philosophy at Swarthmore College and candidate for governor.

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.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th St., New York, N. Y. Phone Tompkins Square 6-5406. 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. Biegl, 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 W. 111th 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 Heib.

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

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, I.L.G.W.U. Office, 60 West 35th St.; Phone, WI. 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 Skol, 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-Treas., 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 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone, Algonquin 4-7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

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

WAITERS' and WAITRESSES' UNION, Local No. 1, A. F. of L. and U. I. T. 290-7th Ave. W. Lehman, Sec'y; Tel.: LACKawanna 4-5483

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.

Upon his return from the Milwaukee meeting of the N. E. C. James Oneal was pressed with many inquiries as to what happened on this question at Milwaukee as newspaper stories were not accurate. To satisfy these inquiries Comrade Oneal makes the following statement:

"The N. E. C. considered the united front with a committee of the Communist Party headed by Robert Minor, but its main deliberations were held in executive session to avoid publicity and the discussions cannot be disclosed. The decisions, however, were as follows:

"By a vote of 7 to 4 the N. E. C. voted to appoint a committee to negotiate with a committee of the Communist Party regarding a united front. The four opposed to the proposal were Hoan, Hoopes, Graham and Oneal.

"The next day the question was reconsidered and it was voted to delay further action till the next meeting of the N. E. C. and issue the statement that appears above."

New Dues Stamp Price

State secretaries are reminded that effective September 1, 1934, the price of dues stamps from the national organization is 10 cents per member per month. Exempt stamps are 1 cent each; stamps for YPSL members who are also party members are 5 cents each; and dual stamps are 10 cents a pair.

CALIFORNIA. A cooperative bookstore, specializing in radical literature, has been opened under the auspices of the Socialist Party, Bay District Conference, in room 334, 628 Montgomery St., San Francisco.

ARKANSAS. Claude C. Williams, recently dismissed as pastor of a wealthy Arkansas church because of his activities in supporting organized labor, has been nominated for governor by Socialist.

INDIANA. Indianapolis has outlined plans for an intensive literature campaign. The first leaflet is just off the press—25,000 copies, and others will be issued. The local plan also to distribute leaflets through comrades in other parts of the state, as the use of voluntary Socialist labor in the printing makes it possible for them to issue a thousand leaflets for \$1. Emma Henry, state secretary, 143 E. Ohio St., Indianapolis, is managing the circulation.

PENNSYLVANIA. The Central Branch of Local 1000 County (Reading) announces that Herman Weyman has been expelled from the Socialist Party for speaking at Communist meetings and participating in their activities. Socialists of State College are printing "The Pennsylvania Socialist," a campaign publication edited by George W. Hartmann, 143 W. Park Ave.

WASHINGTON. For ten consecutive Sundays starting September 2, W. R. Snow of Everett will deliver a series of 15-minute radio talks on Socialism over KPCB, Seattle, at 10 a.m. KPCB operates on 710 kilocycles. Washington Socialists will have 50 candidates on the ballot this year, three times as many as in the 1932 campaign.

the Olean Times-Herald.

20 comrades from Wellsville, recently organized by Harry Fleischman, attended the last meeting of Olean local.

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September 10 and 11

CAMP TAMIMENT
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SPECIAL RATE—\$15.00—four full days, Friday supper to Tuesday dinner
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ALL SPORTS EVERY DAY
ENTERTAINMENT EVERY EVENING
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Lectures for August
B. C. VLADECK
NATHAN FINE
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● It is with regret that the management announces that because of the recent fire, the accommodations at Unity House are limited to 350 guests.

● The high standard that we have set for our recreational, musical and dramatic activities will be continued.

UNITY HOUSE WILL BE OPEN
During the Month of SEPTEMBER

The New Leader Book Corner

By James O'Neal

SHADOW OF THE PLANTATION By Charles S. Johnson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

THIS book records the results of a study of 600 Negro families in one county of Alabama, one rural sector of the black belt, where colored folk vegetate in poverty, disease and illiteracy—an inheritance from the days of the plantation regime, supplemented by neglect and discrimination on the part of the whites. Every phase of the economic, social and cultural life of this community is presented, and when one closes the book he is left with a sense of sick frustration, resentment, violent protest that such conditions exist in this country. What prevails in this county prevails in other sections of the black belt, each area varying in some details but on the whole revealing one group of humanity living on an economic and social level that is unnecessary in this age of great productive powers.

Family life, courtship and marriage, children, separation and divorce, shelter and food provide subjects for one chapter; economic life provides another; the school and education of parents and children are presented, religion and church, the drab and barren recreation and entertainment are studied in other chapters. Naturally, the moral codes vary from those in other communities where life is more secure. This is especially true of the relations between the sexes, which are loose, and marriage has not the monogamic stability that is found where economic security is more certain.

The curse of cotton broods like a pall over this community, with rent, interest, farm tools and price taking a toll that too often leaves the Negro unpaid or in debt at the end of a crop season. Housing is revolting, many a shack being a rickety structure of boards, tin and tar paper enclosing a few cooking utensils and make-shift "furniture" that baffles description. The impact of this environment upon the life of these unfortunates may be gathered from a few remarks of the women.

"Ain't got nothing to give me but God, and if I don't trust him I'm lost."

"Men ain't nothin' but overalls." "Better git a good holt 'fore you git into this marryin' business, 'cause there'll be some tight times if you don't."

In every aspect, life is one of shift, drift and resignation, alternating with mild protest in a dreary Sahara desert of work and waste, of want and a hopeless future. Although not intended by the author, such social ulcers are a terrific indictment of our social system.

Civilization Versus Hitlerism

THE CASE OF CIVILIZATION

AGAINST HITLERISM, speeches delivered at Madison Square Garden, March 7th, 1934, under the auspices of the American Jewish Committee, New York, Robert C. Ballou.

IT was an impressive mass meeting that was held at the Garden last March, and most of the speeches there were good. This little book preserves the speeches delivered there as well as those that there was no time for in the short four hours the meeting lasted. Readers will find much excellent ammunition in the speeches for the war of civilized human beings against Hitlerism.

There is no need at this time to go into any particular detail; the arguments are generally well and eloquently put, but in general there is little new in them. There is need, however, to call attention to two things in the smug and unctuous speech of that notorious Tory Al Smith; as delivered at the Garden and heard by millions over the radio (including the present reviewer). Smith referred three or four times quite distinctly to "Adolf Hitler's Socialistic party," and "Adolf Hitler's Socialistic program." Some tactful editor saved Al from himself and in the book there is reference only to Hitler's "National Socialist party." Smith, however, repeated his criminal error so many times that it is hard to believe that it was a mere slip of a too-glib tongue.

The other remark of Al Smith was: "There was growing up in this country a strong sentiment that probably some of the terms of the Versailles treaty may have been too harsh on Germany, and American sentiment was running to Germany. But I heard an American statesman say that the opinion of France was, 'Wait a minute. You don't know the German people.' And it is just possible that Germany herself, by her stupid government, is proving the case of France."

The whole tenor of Al Smith's objections to Hitlerism appeared to be that the Nazis were oppressing his church and for that reason he is associated with those at war with Hitlerism. The war against fascism needs better arguments than that. It is to be feared that too many of those who crowd anti-Nazi mass meetings are simply protesting against outrages to themselves. Fascism will be destroyed by those who see in it not merely an enemy of their own race or religion but by those who see in it the foe of civilization and who fight it on behalf of the whole working class, not of one fraction alone.

W. M. F.

Relief in Bridgeport

(Continued from Page Eight)

their cities had they wanted to. But Bridgeport was the only city in the state that cared enough about the condition of its unemployed, and the interest in the unemployed in Bridgeport was due to the activity and insistent demands of Mayor Jasper McLevy and Peter Brewster, the lone Socialist on the local CWA board. Brewster was appointed, not as a Socialist but as a representative of labor. (It was the Socialist administration, by the way, that demanded that the labor representatives be included on the CWA board. At first, the two labor representatives were merely allowed to sit in at the meeting but to have no vote. Much later, the labor men and McLevy were included in the membership of the board.)

The Connecticut State Building Trades Council at its April meet-

ing praised the administration of the CWA in Bridgeport, pointing out that it was the only city in Connecticut where skilled labor was given its proper share of CWA work. In fact, it was the only city in the state, they said, where organized labor benefited by the CWA, and this has been credited to the few but energetic Socialists on the CWA board. In all other places in the state CWA was a "flop" as far as organized labor was concerned. The same points were stressed at a recent meeting of the Connecticut State Conference of Painters and Decorators. The building trades unions in Bridgeport have experienced a rebirth of activity, thanks largely to the Socialist city administration.

The Socialist administration of the city has not been blinded to the shortcomings of the CWA and the other forms of relief handed out

By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

This Thing Called Recovery

AWay from New York there are no more evidences than in New York of the thing called "recovery." And what a pitiful thing it would be were the best that we could get only a return to the mingled luxury and poverty of 1929! That Babbitt's Bible, Business Week, for August 25th, continues the downward line on its chart on business conditions. That line is now nearer the level of the corresponding month in 1932 than in 1933. Prices have already begun to soar and wages have not.

The textile workers are not striking against a return to prosperity! If you will do a little simple arithmetic you can find that on the basis of the figures used by Donald R. Richberg in his report to the President each of the ten and a half million workers gainfully employed in agriculture in 1933-34 received on an average less than \$500 in gross income. Out of this they have to support a total agricultural population more than three times as numerous, and they have to pay rent, interest on mortgages, taxes, and other overhead besides.



Norman Thomas

A Voice From the Tomb

AMAN named Hoover chooses this time to raise his voice from the tomb. In the Saturday Evening Post he writes—copyrighted, all rights reserved—in defense of American liberty for which men and women died in a select list of battles which this Quaker compiles from Lexington down to the Argonne. Apparently, that liberty consists in making money if you can without bothering about codes. Anyway, this citizen of California isn't worrying about what the Vigilantes and the citizens of his own state have done to liberty.

Success to the Textile Strike!

READERS of this paragraph will know far more about the textile strike when they see these lines than I can possibly know at this time and place. We know that it is a strike abundantly justified and that its success will be a turning point in labor's struggle. We know that we must expect most of the capitalist press to minimize the size of the strike and to magnify everything that may seem to discredit the strikers. They will exaggerate occasional acts of violence and attribute to strikers what may be the work of stool pigeons and deputy sheriffs.

All offices of the Socialist Party are ready to receive relief for the strikers and to be rallying points for recruiting help for the strike. The labor committee of the party will coordinate efforts. After the middle of this month it will be greatly assisted in this and other tasks by the coming of Paul Porter to the National Office as Labor Secretary. The very modest addition to the budget which this forward step will require must be raised. The National Drive Fund has not been raised—not even half raised. It must be suspended for the campaign, but we Socialists will miss the opportunity of a lifetime if we suspend our support of the activities of the National Office, campaign or no campaign.

The United Front

WHEN a fratricidal war is doing harm, and nothing but harm, all decent and honorable men will want to end it. The way to end war is by negotiation. Successful negotiation implies a mutual desire at least to explore the road to peace in good faith. Now there has been something uncomfortably close to war between Socialists and Communists. Both parties have suffered, and the cause both profess to serve has suffered most of all. The fascist enemy of both grows more menacing throughout the world. Recent events, of which the most important is the French agreement, have given hopes that the time had arrived when negotiations in America might not be in vain. The success of negotiations would depend on recognition that the honest differences between Socialism and Communism are now too great to permit organic unity, but not necessarily too great to permit united action in certain definite fields like the struggle against war and fascism and for the preservation of workers' rights. It is essential that any agreement must be

by the federal government. But the preceding facts indicate what the Socialists can do with the limited resources at their disposal. In spite of the high rating of Bridgeport in the administration

made in good faith and not as a maneuver of one party to destroy the other and that the peace we seek must be hastened not only politically but on the labor field as a result of the negotiations.

On this understanding I, like many Socialists on and off the National Executive Committee, were ready to appoint a committee to sit down and see what could be done. Other good Socialists, on and off the N.E.C., thought that the time had not yet come and might not come at all. None of us wants a victory on such a question as this within the party which will not bring the party as a whole into line behind the action taken.

There was something to be said for the fact that any action one way or another might be more intelligent three months from now than today. We should have time to observe the Congress of the Communist International which is to meet this Fall, time to see how the French agreement works, time to watch the success or failure of such local action as may be necessary in defense of civil liberties. Hence the action taken by the N.E.C. Besides the approval of the letter of reply to the Communist Central Committee, that program calls for report to our own International of the situation and an urgent request to it to renew negotiations with the Communist International. It includes also instructions to our Labor Committee to draw up a set of rules under which in emergencies, such as are arising on a dangerous scale in Illinois, there may be local action involving cooperation between Socialists and Communists for the defense of workers' rights. These arrangements emphatically do not include the authorization of general united-front negotiations between locals or branches of the Socialist Party and Communist committees which may knock at their doors. Any further action of this sort must be undertaken by the N.E.C. itself. No matter what has happened in the past, no matter how well justified our grievances against the Communists, those of us who see the present and future consequences of strife among the workers will earnestly hope that the events of the next few months may pave the way to better things.

A Great Opportunity for the Party

IHAVE given a good deal of space to this because I have already found, especially in a certain capitalist paper, considerable distortion of my views. I want to state them for myself to my comrades and friends. What matters is, of course, that as Socialists, after comparing views, we should reach a plan on which we can act and act together. I think that for the immediate present that job has been made.

Other urgent tasks are at hand and I believe the N.E.C. made some progress in facing them. The Socialist point of view must be expressed, and well expressed, at the A. F. of L. convention whose decisions are likely to be more important than any Congressional election. But the Congressional election is vastly important. There is a good chance of sending at least two able Socialist spokesmen to Congress from Wisconsin. They, and whatever Congressmen may be elected elsewhere, will serve not only their own districts but the whole movement and the whole nation. It is also of urgent importance to the growth of the party that we poll an impressive vote all over the nation.

These Peculiar Times

THE times are peculiar, as Upton Sinclair's victory shows. There is unrest and revolt against reaction and capitalist tyranny. That is good. There is a strong tendency to believe that there is some short cut, some painless cure, some good man who will save us. That is bad. Instead of Sinclair's making the Democratic party Socialist in California, the Democrats are making him just one more politician. He is all for Roosevelt; he is even for Hiram Johnson! He criticizes the Socialist Party for appealing to workers and for not being sufficiently American. After his years of experience he talks as if there was enough money under capitalism to end poverty without doing anything very much harder than taxing the very rich. He used to know better. Give him time and he'll be talking like Jim Farley.

IT is true that some comrades have followed Sinclair in California whom we shall miss. Socialists ought also to know something of much more importance; namely, that before the California primaries the Socialist enrollment doubled and that, at least outside the Los Angeles County, the party organization is in an aggressive, fighting mood. Never did California need our party more whether Sinclair wins or loses in November.

Roosevelt from the Board of Aldermen, also.) But there is a proper place to make the demands, and that is to the state and the federal government, not the city, which is already overburdened.