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WITH WHICH IS
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**The American
Appeal**
Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

A.F. of L. Calls for Union Offensive League Warns Hitler; Prepares to Use Sanctions

Geneva Council Rebukes Germany; Nations Pledge Support of Move To Halt Third Reich's Aggression

Soviet Representative Leads in Demand for Action
Against Nazi Rearmament—Europe in Search for
Peace Faces Need of Clear Socialist Policy

By John Powers

A STINGING rebuke to Hitler Germany, accompanied by warning that economic sanctions would be taken against any efforts on the part of fascist neo-imperialism to drag the world into another war was administered this week by the League of Nations Council, meeting in Geneva to consider the European situation.

Following close upon the Stresa conference, the rebuke and warning administered to Germany will, it is hoped, serve to remind Hitler and his militarist camarilla that the world will not continue to stand idly by while they conspire to throw it into a catastrophe.

Economic and financial sanctions by the nations, backed by the public opinion of mankind, would be an adequate weapon to keep the dogs of war in check if properly and efficiently executed.

In the opinion of all lovers of peace who have a realistic conception of the situation only such action can avert another holocaust with all the social, political and economic consequences which another war would imply for the whole of civilization. It may not be necessary to fight Hitler with guns and poison gases if the civilized nations, particularly the democratic nations, present a united front and make clear to Berlin that war will not pay.

Opinion Against Hitler

The rebuke and warning to Germany was approved by the League Council by a vote of 13 to 0. The representatives of Great Britain, Soviet Russia, France and Czechoslovakia had no trouble lining up all the other nations represented on the council behind the resolution condemning Hitler's policy. The resolution expressed the attitude of all the 57 nations who are members of the League. Thus we witnessed a truly remarkable expression of the world's opinion, to which alone those who hate war and love peace must look.

Under the resolution of the League Council a committee is to be set up to propose "measures to render the League Covenant more effective in the organization of security and to define particularly the economic and financial measures which might be applied in the future should a state, whether a member of the League or not, endanger peace by direct repudiation of its international obligations."

The wording of this resolution
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The Search For Peace In Europe

By Peter Garwy

Special Correspondence from Paris

A FEVER has seized Europe.

The breath of advancing war is clearly felt everywhere. March 16, the day of reestablishment of universal military service in Germany, became a turning point in the history of Europe. Hitler's decree resounded like the funeral knell of the Versailles Treaty, like a tocsin ring presaging a new war. The secret armament race became an open one. The preparations for war, heretofore concealed, are now frankly admitted. Despite the acute financial and economic crisis, military appropriations totalling many billions have come in a torrent from all directions. As if maddened by the flames of economic catastrophe, the unbalanced peoples and governments are seeking to save themselves in the flames of a new war.

The international of munitions manufacturers and war-mongers is seeking to take full advantage of the situation. The nationalist press of all countries has launched a "moral" campaign in preparation for war, fomenting panic, spreading false rumors, poisoning the consciousness of the masses with the venom of nationalist particularism.

This is the atmosphere in which the feverish regrouping of the powers, big and small, is now taking place. Europe is obviously dividing into two military coalitions.

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New York Prepares Biggest May Day Celebration Ever Held

By Henry Fruchter

ALL preparations are complete for a May Day demonstration which will be of tremendous proportions, surpassing anything New York has seen in many years. With over three hundred and fifty labor, Socialist and fraternal organizations participating, it is estimated that over 100,000 workers will parade up Seventh and Eighth Avenues.

The plan for the May Day celebration involves the cooperation of every important labor body, calling for a program of parading, concerts and speeches which will not only give the thousands of workers an opportunity to celebrate the gains of Labor, but will signify the determination of Labor to fight against the evils of the capitalist system. Among the outstanding demands which will be made is for a Thirty-Hour Week, Unemployment and Social Insurance, the elimination of Child Labor, the freeing of political prisoners. Among the special features will be floats and slogans depicting the evils of slums, the sweatshop conditions in certain industries, and discrimination against the Negro. Other slogans will express the protest of the workers against war and fascism, against the tremendous cost of armaments, against over-burdening taxation and the high cost of life's necessities.

Among the organizations which have organized individual units of

management for the parade are the I.L.G.W.U., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Millinery Workers, the Painters, the Workmen's Circle and all its New York branches, the Forward Association, the Jewish Socialist Verband, the Furriers, Bakers, Neckwear Workers, Pocketbook Workers, the Butchers, Grocery Clerks and hundreds of others.

The striking biscuit workers will join the demonstration and they promise to turn out several thousand strong.

All organizations and individuals interested in participating in the demonstration are urged to immediately communicate with the secretary, Henry Fruchter, at 7 East 15th Street. As we go to press, one hundred thousand May Day Manifestos are being delivered for distribution throughout the city and large cases of May Day banners, posters, flags and buttons are available for use by organizations. With only two weeks to complete all preparations, Socialist Party branches, Yipsel organizations and all others eager to add their strength to the May Day demonstration are urged to act quickly and communicate with the secretary for advice and assistance.

Italian Dressmakers' Special Celebration

After the big May Day parade and demonstration in New York City the Italian Dress and Waist

Union of Pelf, Politics and Piety Backed by Brutal Terror, Enslaves Share Croppers of Arkansas

By James Oneal

Workers Defy Nazis in German Shop Elections

Toilers Chose Many Old Socialist Leaders Despite Terrific Pressure

A SETBACK that in some respects is more serious than was their failure to "coordinate" the Free City of Danzig a week earlier, was suffered by the Nazis in shop council elections held throughout Germany during the past week-end.

Almost unnoticed in the pre-occupation of the world in the Stresa conference vast numbers of workers in factories and workshops—the exact number, of course, impossible to estimate—took their lives in their hands and dared to vote against the lists presented to them by their "leaders."

For workers to refuse to vote for the list handed them is to display remarkable courage. For them to erase the names of trusted Nazi tools and substitute their old Socialist leaders is striking evidence that the internal revolt against Nazi rule is boiling. And yet that is what happened in many cases.

The importance of the elections is shown by the fact that the whole Nazi battery of big oratorical guns swung into play to sweep the elections for the hand-picked Nazi tools. Hess, Goebbels, Ley, Streicher and all the rest came into the big factories and made their usual speeches demanding a unanimous vote for the "Leader."

Der Angriff, the personal organ of the notorious Goebbels, now organ of the Labor Front, publishes a few scattered figures that indicate that in Berlin about 10 per cent of the qualified voters refrained from voting, and that in many cases up to 30 per cent of the voters cast blanks or "spoiled" ballots; "spoiled" meaning ballots with the names of other candidates on them.

Nowhere does it appear that the Communists were represented in this most dangerous form of opposition.

Needless to say the Nazi press does not feature the results of the elections.

Neckwear Workers Merged With Amalgamated

An event of more than ordinary importance took place when the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America accepted a check for \$6.50 from the United Neckwear Makers' Union as a charter fee.

With that act the large and aggressive Neckwear Union became part of the Amalgamated, a merger that is greeted everywhere with the deepest satisfaction. At the same time five other locals of neckwear workers have been taken into the Amalgamated, a total of about 6,500 workers in all the large centers of the country.

The locals absorbed into the Amalgamated are located in New York, Chicago, Boston and other cities, and have hitherto been Federal locals of the A. F. of L.

A mass meeting will shortly be held in New York to celebrate the merger, with President William Green, Joseph Schlossberg and Sidney Hillman as main speakers.

Makers' Union, Local 89, will hold a special celebration in the Hippodrome with a performance by the Chicago Grand Opera Company, which will present the opera "Andrea Chenier," a masterpiece by Giordano which depicts the French Revolution of 1789. This date inspired the union to choose the number 89.

ROCHESTER

In Rochester, N. Y., the local of the Socialist Party called for a

THE share-croppers of the South, the nearest to a European peasantry in this country, have in recent years been the subject of special study by authors and journalists. Their abject poverty, intolerable exploitation and endless debt servitude, which swallows up both white and black workers, are revolting in the extreme and the New Deal of the Democratic Administration has merely added to their miseries.

Since the breaking up of the large plantations of the old system of slavery in the South, the share-cropper has emerged as a mudsill to be exploited by land owners in charge of credit, company stores and supplies, the owners often being allied with local bankers who share in the looting of the cropper. The standard of living for both black and white cropper is so low that the rations are similar to the rations which foremen of plantations once distributed to Negro slaves working in the fields.

The social revolution which overthrew the powerful landed class was in the eighties followed by the beginnings of a revolt in politics and organization of various types of rural workers, including tenants, croppers and others. Members of the old aristocracy who still had funds transferred their investments to railroads, banks and textile enterprises, and in politics they controlled state and county governments through the Democratic Party. This ruling group became known as the "Bourbons" and its main issue before the poor whites was stressing their fears of "Negro domination" if the whites deserted the Democratic Party.

Rise of the Demagogs

To wrest control from the Bourbons, the Tillmans, Vardamans and other demagogs in the Democratic Party waged war against the Bourbons as a new aristocracy, but they went farther than the Bourbons in savage attacks on the Negro population and gradually won the poor whites from allegiance to the Bourbons. In the nineties the Tillmans were successful. They often contracted fusion with the Populists and even the Republicans to obtain this control.

However, as capitalist enterprise invaded the South the Tillmans and Vardamans became more and more conservative and the new Democratic Party under their control became the custodian of capitalist interests in the South. To continue this control the new leaders also raised the issue of "Negro domination," and hundreds of thousands of poor whites have for decades voted for the political agents of the new exploiters, who robbed both Negro and white workers in cotton culture and capitalist industries in general.

Workers Disfranchised

In the meantime the economic degradation of Negro and white workers became more and more fixed. They sank lower and lower under the yoke of the Democratic-capitalist alliance in industry and politics, and many workers of both colors in recent years are coming to understand the common interests of both against the ruling class. Thus far the solidarity of both has not taken a political form, although both are organizing into unions of croppers. Poll taxes exclude hundreds of thousands of the workers from voting, a tax which they are unable to pay because of their extreme destitution. However, the worker who is believed to be a supporter of the ruling oligarchy may easily find a politician who will take care of the poll tax, paying it and thus paying for the vote.

This development of class solidarity has invoked the furies of landed and capitalist interests, especially in Arkansas, where the labor conditions in cotton culture are especially revolting. The af-

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Epstein Scores Security Bill As Inadequate

Contributions Lay Whole Burden on the Workers, Says Noted Authority

INDIGNATION that a measure such as the so-called Social Security Bill (H.R. 7260) should be before the nation as the best the Administration has to offer was expressed by Abraham Epstein, Executive Secretary of the American Association for Social Security, one of America's leading authorities on social legislation in a statement made for The New Leader.

His indignation was expressed principally against the old-age pension features of the bill, although the unemployment insurance features also came in for severe criticism.

"It is outrageous," he declared, "that the workers are required to contribute toward the fund for their own old-age pensions. The six per cent tax means just one thing: Industry must pay for this security, and when industry pays it means only that the workers pay."

Explaining the weaknesses of the measure, Epstein said:

Burden on Workers

"From a social point of view, the most vulnerable feature of the bill is involved in the contributory old age insurance system which is pregnant with many social dangers. The bill puts the entire burden of the future support of the aged upon the workers and industry. Since industry is bound to pass on its contribution to the consumers, it means that the employees, in their dual role of workers and consumers, are to be made to bear practically the entire burden of support of the aged."

"Beginning five years hence, the burden of old age support will be increasingly shifted upon that part of the population least able to bear it. The wealthier groups in the community will be gradually relieved of their share towards old age support, since the contributions from the workers will more and more assume the responsibility for the care of all the aged even if the latter have contributed for only short periods. No nation has ever put into operation a contributory old age insurance plan without placing at least some of the burden on the state in order to make possible the sharing of the costs by the higher income groups."

Freezing Buying Power

"By stepping up the contributions to a total of 6 per cent of wages within twelve years, enormous reserves will be built up much more rapidly than necessary and will be frozen for a generation. The committee estimates that under this bill there will be reserve fund of over 10 billion dollars by 1948, and the reserve will amount to over 32 billion dollars by 1970."

"The unnecessary removal of so much purchasing power at this time may hamper recovery and cause great social harm. It is extremely questionable whether our economic system can stand the withdrawal of this much-needed purchasing power."

"The bill places a back-breaking burden upon the present generation. The present generation, as taxpayers, will not only have to pay the cost of the non-contributory pension system for the present aged, but will be forced to provide fully for its own old age."

Mr. Epstein found equally vulnerable provisions in the unemployment insurance features of the bill, and he declared that if the bill passes there is grave danger that a great national movement may grow up emphasizing its weaknesses and resulting in its repeal.

President Green Summons All Labor For Drive on Bosses and Congress; Socialists Give Support to Unions

Head of A. F. of L. Demands Redoubled Energy in
Great Organization Campaign—NRA Crisis Calls
For Nation-Wide Labor Mobilization

A CLARION call to organized labor to mobilize all its resources and hurl them with redoubled energy behind the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to defend the gains labor has already won and to realize the labor program now pending in Congress, including unemployment insurance and old age pensions, was issued this week from Washington by President William Green. "Now is the time to mobilize all strength and all resources and to set ourselves to the sacred mission of raising the banners of unionism for all those who work for wages, President Green declared. "Each union should set itself to this goal and each member should do his part."

Warns Uproar Certain Unless Idle Get Jobs

Green in Philadelphia Address Demands 30-Hour Week to Make Room for Unemployed

PHILADELPHIA.—Speaking at a mass meeting of workers here, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, warned that a political upheaval in the United States was inevitable "if men and women who want to work remain unemployed." More than 3,000 persons heard Mr. Green and others argue for the 30-hour work bill as a means of providing jobs for millions now unemployed.

"The demands of the workers," Mr. Green declared, "must be met by the law-making bodies of the land. The 30-hour Week Bill has been proved to be economically sound. No other remedy has been proposed which will absorb the 11,000,000 jobless of this country back into industry. America must choose between the old work-week and continue to carry the burden of these millions of unemployed or reduce hours so that work will be distributed and all will have an opportunity to earn a decent living wage."

A Clinching Argument

A clinching argument for the thirty-hour work bill is contained in reports just published by governmental agencies. The reports, compiled by the NRA and the

Company Unions Jolted in Report; Workers Vote 2 to 1 Against Them

Twentieth Century Fund Study Reveals Overwhelming
Majority in Favor of Bona Fide Labor Organizations—
Demands Genuine Collective Bargaining

EMPLOYER propaganda designed to spread the belief that American labor does not wish to be "coerced" by trade unions and is opposed to labor organizations received a severe jolt this week with the publication of a report of a study completed by the Twentieth Century Fund, an independent research organization, showing an overwhelming sentiment in favor of bona fide trade unionism.

The report shows that except in the automobile industry, where labor was not given a fair chance, workers who have taken part in elections conducted by government labor boards chose trade unions as opposed to company unions by a vote of 2 to 1.

According to the report, elections held under the auspices of Labor Boards, in accordance with the provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act, up to March 13, 1934, show that out of 204,582 votes cast by workers outside of the automobile industry 138,017, or 67 per cent, were for bona fide trade unions; 61,401, or 30 per cent, voted for some form of company union, and only 5,164, or 3 per cent, favored individual representation or some other form of dealing with their employers.

Drives Home Point

"The small percentage of votes for company unions or employe

Pointing out that the Administration recovery program is reaching the time limit set by Congress for the National Industrial Recovery Act and that the country faces "a period of uncertainty with change or lack of direction," President Green declared that "the old guard in business is taking advantage of unfavorable court decisions to disregard the standards and regulations which were to fix a fair basis for competition."

"Big business flaunts workers' rights to organize in unions and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, cuts prices and begins to question regulations which restrict child labor even though 10,000,000 adults clamor for jobs," Mr. Green said. "Big corporations are trying to get their interstate operations protected against federal regulation by legal interpretations which block off a segment of their activities as legalized manufacturing."

Calling attention to the important legislative proposals now under consideration which "will fix the character of labor developments for the immediate future"—the continuation of the National Recovery Act, the Labor Relations Board Bill and the Social Security Bill—Mr. Green emphasized that "now is the time for Labor to make its needs known."

The Immediate Need

While urging labor and its friends to bring the greatest possible pressure to bear upon Congress, President Green declared that "the immediate and continuing need of Labor is organization."

"When workers have organization other problems can be solved," he declared. "There rests upon the organized labor movement responsibility for extending unionism

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representation plans in general," the report declared, "is interesting in view of the contentions made at hearings before the various boards that such agencies, where they existed, were the choice of employees. The available material unfortunately does not lend itself to a conclusive comparison of the votes of the same employees in elections under company and under Labor Board supervision."

The report states frankly that the results of an election are not influenced by the agency under whose direction it is held. As an illustration, the report says:

"Records of isolated cases, however, tend to indicate that the outcome of an election may to some degree be influenced by the agency under which the vote is taken. Thus in one case of the Tubize-Chatillon Company it was recorded that 1,700 of the employees voted for an employee representation plan on February 16, 1934, and that only 600 voted against it."

Demands Bona Fide Unions

"In the decision of August 23, 1934, on the other hand, the National Labor Relations Board pointed out that, based on an election held under the supervision of the National Labor Board, 1,076 out of 1,624 ballots, or 66 per cent, favored an A.F. of L. organization."

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Clerks' Unions Lose Charters in International

ON Wednesday it was announced that the charters of Locals 107 and 717 of the Retail Clothing Salesmen's Union and the Retail Cloth, Suit, Dress and Fur Salespeople's Union had been suspended pending an investigation by the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association. President Wm. Green of the A.F.O.F.L. had ordered an investigation.

This action was taken after widespread publicity was given to allegations in the New York Post and World-Telegram, the stories in the former paper having been written by a party member. What has been obnoxious to many Socialists is that a party member should engage in publicity in a non-Socialist publication which is damaging to the whole labor movement. The so-called "liberal" dailies have always been seeking sensations of this kind regardless of their effect upon the trade unions.

Class-conscious Socialists who really believe that undemocratic practices are occurring in a union owe a duty to the organized working class to bring the alleged information to the labor movement

where it can be acted upon without damaging the unions before hundreds of thousands of readers. The "liberal" journalist cares nothing about these ethics. He is interested in a "story" that will "make the grade" with his chief.

The New Leader is glad, however, that the investigation is to be made although damage has been done by the publicity given to the accused unions, members and officials by the Post and World-Telegram. As The New Leader said last week, we hope that the investigation will be thorough and it will combat the "enemies within and without the labor movement," which includes the sensation-mongering capitalist press and their reporters. It will also be as quick to condemn any person, member or official identified with any racketeering or other dishonest practices that may be disclosed but at no time will it bay with the hounds of the capitalist press or agree to try any accused men in that press.

MEETINGS OF TRADE UNION SOCIALISTS

Saturday, April 20, 1:30 p.m., Local 17, I.L.G.W.U., at 7 East 15th Street.

Saturday, April 27, 1:30 p.m., Local 25, A.C.W.A., at 7 East 15th Street.

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Anti-Injunction Law a Triumph For Labor

Bill Follows Draft Proposed By Waldman for Socialist State Committee—United Action Wins Victory

WITH the passage by the New York Legislature of a bill providing for jury trials in injunction cases involving labor disputes, organized labor has won a distinct victory, and the Socialist Party has demonstrated the possibility of influencing legislation in the interest of the workers even when it is not represented in the Legislature.

The bill, which is a modification of proposals made by the State Committee of the Socialist Party, was endorsed and passed by the State Federation of Labor after the Socialists had made an issue of it with the state government.

The bill as passed by the Legislature omits the important feature of providing jury trials on the substantive issues involved in strikes, but with that exception the new law follows closely proposals made by the Socialist Party through State Chairman Louis Waldman.

The passage of the bill crowns efforts covering a year and a half. The injunction issue became pressing in the summer of 1933 when an exceptionally large number of injunctions was issued restraining workers in strikes then going on, some of them particularly drastic. On September 7th, State Chairman Waldman wrote Governor Lehman calling his attention to the incidents and urging that the Commission for the Improvement of the Administration of Justice, then holding sessions, be instructed to investigate and to formulate a report to the Legislature. The letter cited a number of particularly flagrant injunctions prohibiting picketing and other lawful strike activities.

Governor Lehman answered promptly and turned Waldman's letter over to the Commission, with instructions to that body to investigate the charges made by the Socialist chairman.

Following further correspondence, Comrade Waldman drew up a brief on behalf of the State Committee and submitted it to the Commission December 15th, 1933, together with a model bill. Hearings were held at the Bar Association building and Waldman expounded the party's position so effectively that the model bill was introduced by Senator Buckley, chairman of the Commission.

No action was taken in the Legislative session of 1934, but early in the 1935 session Senator Elmer F. Quinn for the majority party introduced a bill differing in some respects from Waldman's. The bill was endorsed by the State Federation of Labor, the Socialist Party and many individual unions, on the ground that even an imperfect bill was better than none. At a spectacular hearing, Waldman appeared for the party as well as for a number of important unions, while President George Meany and John F. Sullivan appeared for the State Federation of Labor.

With the backing of the labor movement, won largely by Waldman's intensive work, the Lehman administration got back of the bill, and made it part of its program.

Company Unions Jolted in Report

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The report of the Twentieth Century Fund follows closely upon publication of findings of a previous study by the same organization in which genuine collective bargaining was urged as essential to the national welfare. The previous report declared that it was the duty of the government to see that workers enjoy the right to organize without coercion or intimidation from any source.

These conclusions were reached after a six months' study by a committee of Twentieth Century Fund, which was founded by Edward A. Filene of Boston.

The committee strongly recommended a labor disputes board containing the vital features of the pending industrial disputes bill, backed by the American Federation of Labor. Legislation was also urged that would guarantee freedom of organization for workers, impose the majority rule in collective bargaining, and give the labor tribunal genuine powers of enforcement of labor laws as well as of collective agreements reached by fair and open negotiation.

Maintaining that Section 7-A of the National Industrial Recovery Act needed clarification and also strengthening, the report insisted that new guarantees to labor were the most pressing problem facing the national government.

"The right of employees to organize and to choose their own representatives," the report declared, "is a right with which the employer should not interfere in any way. Any such interference becomes a violation of law."

MAY DAY ISSUE NEXT WEEK

OUR big May Day issue will appear next week, in plenty of time to be used at May Day meetings and demonstrations. The May Day issue will contain stirring articles from leaders of the Labor movement, as well as many other features.

Among the features will be a great May Day cartoon by JOHN ROGERS; a May Day poem by DON CARLOS with decorations by ARTHUR FASSBERG, and contributions by PRESIDENT McMAHON of the United Textile Workers, KARL KAUSKY, ALGERNON LEE, JAMES ONEAL, and many others. The remarkable article by SOCIAL DEMOCRAT ON NEW PROBLEMS AND OLD ILLUSIONS, crowded out of this issue by increasing demands by advertising on our space, will appear next week.

Also important documents of the First International, written by Karl Marx for American workers, that have not appeared in publications of the modern generation. You will want to clip these documents because of their historical value.

YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO MISS THE NEW LEADER!

Zaritzky Honored on His 50th Birthday

In the presence of more than 1,000 of his friends, associates, and comrades, including the more active workers of the cap and millinery locals of this city, Max Zaritzky, president of the Cap and Millinery Department of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, celebrated his fiftieth birthday last Saturday at a banquet, one of a series in various parts of the country where cap and millinery locals are joining other branches of the labor and Socialist movement in paying tribute to the man who for 25 years has been their leader and guide.

Zaritzky, who had just returned from California, with a brief stop in Chicago, where 4,000 millinery workers greeted him at a mass meeting and concert to celebrate his birthday, responded to numerous expressions of appreciation by stating that he had received in joy more from the work in which he has been engaged than he had sacrificed, and that after 25 years of active leadership he knew of nothing that he could have devoted his life's work to that would have given him the satisfaction this did.

On May 1, he will be the guest of the Boston cap makers and millinery workers at a banquet in his honor.

Arkansas Sharecroppers

(Continued from Page One)

affected region is also the region where in 1923 a strike of workers on a small railroad resulted in a dictatorship of several weeks by public officials in alliance with the ruling interests. All meetings of unions were suspended and a reign of terror ensued which brought about a government investigation.

Now it is the turn of the cropper. He faces the same arbitrary rule solely because he is organizing to lift himself out of the degradation into which the crisis in cotton has plunged him. Night riders are in the saddle as in the days of the Ku Klux Klan following the Civil War, terrorizing black and white, breaking up meetings, beating up Negroes and attacking them in their homes. Socialist organizers have been attacked and the reaction has brought out the old Bolshevik bogey as justification of this terror. It is safe to say that Communism plays a small role in this movement of the croppers to improve their conditions.

Primitive Folkways

This whole region is one of semi-illiteracy because of the lack of proper educational facilities, and religious fundamentalism is the dominant factor in the intellectual life of the masses. The northern organizer who does not take this into account finds himself in conflict with primitive folkways. While the croppers have local preachers who sympathize with their lot, other preachers are simply poodles who wear the collar of the ruling class.

The Reverend J. Abner Sage, "Brother" Sage, is of this type. Intimate crony of a powerful farm manager, his church a meeting place for business men, planters and the Rotary Club, he recalls the parsons of colonial Virginia and Maryland who were boon companions of the planters who ruled the state-kept Episcopal Church. Here rank and wealth were passports to the fine society of the aristocrats who displayed powdered wigs and silver buckles in Richmond and Annapolis.

A Dollarized Parson

Sage and his kind play the same servile role for the dollarized exploiters of Arkansas. He looks after the "spiritual welfare" of the upper classes. He has been behind a legislative investigation of Commonwealth College, whose students have helped the union, and prides himself on being an "authority" on Socialism and Com-

Mary Schonberg Dies; Was Long Active in Party

SOCIALISTS everywhere in New York were saddened to hear of the untimely death of Mary G. Schonberg after more than thirty years' devoted activity in the movement. Mrs. Schonberg, who was but 45, died Monday of cancer after a long and agonizing illness.

A quarter of a century ago Mary A. Gibson was one of the most active of the younger Socialist workers in the city. She was a beautiful girl, high-spirited, gay, and intensely devoted to Socialism. She had begun her Socialist work as a young schoolgirl, and her interest in and devotion to Socialism never flagged to the day of her death. She was one of the best-loved women ever to work in the Party in this country.

Mary graduated from Morris High School, and then from the New York Training School for Teachers and her first work was as a public school teacher.

In 1911, she married Max Schonberg, then one of the most active of the younger members of the party. After several years she left the school system to become a state factory inspector. She continued her Socialist work, however, and for a while served as women's state organizer. She toured the state a number of times, and served as a delegate to several state conventions. She made many trips abroad, keeping in contact with the Socialist movement wherever she went.

In her earlier years Mary was intensely active in woman suffrage work and she helped organize the great suffrage parade in 1915 that marched up Fifth Avenue with Eugene V. Debs at its head. She also worked in numerous election campaigns, in many of the early garment strikes, and in the work of organizing and launching the Rand School. She was one of the most active workers in the drive that resulted in the purchase of the People's House, and later in the establishment of Camp Tamiment.

In recent years, Mrs. Schonberg was engaged in civic work, serving as secretary of the Women's City Club and of the Council of Jewish Women, in which work she had the respect and admiration of her associates as an able and a brilliant worker. She is survived by two daughters, who are at college and both of whom are active in the Socialist movement, as well as her father and mother.

The funeral Wednesday was attended by hundreds of her comrades in party work as well as her associates in her later civic work. The Socialist Party sent a huge wreath of red flowers.

As The New Leader Goes to Press Workers Act on a Wide Front

AS The New Leader goes to press hundreds of thousands of workers in all lines of industry, and in every part of the country, are preparing to join their fellows in a great May Day celebration, to demonstrate their solidarity and to demand the elementary rights of organization, and the 30-hour week, as the first step toward a decent system under which hideous economic inequalities will tend to disappear.

Observed first in 1886 as part of the American Federation of Labor's drive for the then radical demand for an eight-hour day and 48-hour week, May Day has become a great International Socialist holiday. This is not the place to tell of the international significance of May Day—read next week's great May Day issue of The New Leader—but it is significant that in 1935 more and more of the sections of the American Labor movement are joining in the celebration.

It is an inspiring thing to observe the rush of workers to join the various celebrations; it will be an inspiring thing to march with the hosts of labor and to participate in the various celebrations.

WHY should not the good things of life belong to the organized workers? Take sports, for example. It will come as a surprise to many to realize that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has developed an important sports department, with men's and women's basketball teams that can hold up their end with the best; and as good-looking as the best, too—the girls, we mean. Other sections of the labor movement are beginning to go in for labor sports, and next week The New Leader will begin to report the very considerable labor sports movement. Watch for it!

While we are on the subject, we are asked to report that next Saturday (April 20th) there will be a great Labor Drama festival at the New School for Social Research, sponsored by the drama groups of the I.L.G.W.U., Brookwood Labor College, the Young Circle League and Rebel Arts. We wish we had room to give fuller details.

OUT in Jamestown, N. Y., over on the western rim of the state, a strike of relief workers has just been temporarily ended pending settlement of their grievances. If they get no satisfaction they will go back to their strike within ten days. It was in that strike that the people of that industrial city got a taste of what it means to have organized Communists horn in on any situation. For after working with them for several weeks they were so fed up by their tactics that they prepared a resolution repudiating them, only to learn what millions of workers have learned in other places; namely, that Communists enter a situation only to exploit it for their own purposes. The resolution was ready for passage by the Jamestown Home and Work Relief Association but it was not permitted to come to a vote. In other words, Jamestown got a little dose of what New York was treated to fourteen months ago at Madison Square Garden. By the action of the Communists the whole strike movement has been turned into a dogfight instead of a demonstration of working class solidarity. How many more such incidents are needed before the Communists are completely isolated from the working class seeking solution for its grave problems?

ALL sorts of things come to the desk of a Socialist and labor editor. Nothing in months interested and pleased us more than a report of a labor mass meeting a few days ago to protest against the Roosevelt program of \$50 a month on work-relief projects. The meeting was called by the Artists' Union, and among those represented were union sculptors, modelers, woodcarvers, architectural carvers and engineers, chemists and technicians.

J. Z. Sussman, who was secretary and is a member of the noble old craft of woodcarving, delivered a swell speech telling his fellow craftsmen the meaning of the depression under which we are all suffering. We wish we could find room for a part or even the whole of the speech (maybe in some future issue); but what moved us deeply was the fact the artists are realizing that they belong with their fellow-workers. The heart of William Morris would have been made glad by that meeting!

Trade Union Leaders to Address New Leader Labor Conference

The big Trade Union Conference for The New Leader, called to meet Wednesday night, April 24th, at the People's House, 7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C., will be addressed by leaders of a number of the largest unions in New York, as well as by a number of important Socialist spokesmen.

The conference will seat delegates from a large number of local unions. Every important Joint Board in the city has already elected delegates.

Julius Hochman, Vice-President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and Manager of the Joint Board of the Dress and Waist Makers' Union, will head the list of trade union speakers, and he will be joined on the platform by Abraham Cahan and B. C. Vlaček of the Jewish Daily

Forward, Louis Waldman and Charles Solomon, James Oneal, Editor of The New Leader, and others.

The conference is expected to be a landmark in the history of The New Leader in its drive to become the mouthpiece of the entire organized labor movement of New York, as well as of the aspirations of the workers of the entire country.

Esther Friedman Lecture

Esther Friedman, Chairman of the Women's Conference Against the High Cost of Living, has accepted an invitation to speak for the Women's Branch of the Workers' Circle Branch 64 at 44 East 7th Street, Saturday, April 20, at 9:30 p.m. Comrade Friedman's subject is "Billionaire and Breadline."

Nailing Some Rumors Being Spread About The New Leader

THE NEW LEADER is unable to follow up all the rumors that are circulating regarding it, but two that have come to us require special mention. We can understand that when party members in other states hear these rumors they naturally react to them as the authors of the rumors want them to react.

One rumor declares that persons not members of the Socialist Party are admitted to membership in The New Leader Association. This, of course, is not true. No person can join the Association unless he or she has been a member of the Socialist Party for at least five years.

Another rumor is that the Association does not support the Socialist Party. One resolution adopted in another state by a party branch and in perfect good faith accepts this rumor as a fact. The resolution declares that "The New Leader Publishing Association, publishers of The New Leader, has formally withdrawn its support from the Socialist Party of the United States of America."

The New Leader Association has not formally or informally or in any other way withdrawn its support from the Socialist Party of the United States of America. On the contrary, without a dissenting vote it supports the Socialist Party of the U.S.A.

Should any other rumors of this sort reach party members, we hope that they will inform The New Leader regarding them.

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Biscuit Strikers Back Galvin in Spurning "Settlement"

ALL has not been quiet on the bakery front since the three thousand strikers of the National Biscuit Company have persisted in their daily mass picket line, thrown around the company at five every evening when the strikebreakers leave the plant at 15th Street and 10th Avenue, New York City.

On Monday and Tuesday the strikers were permitted to circle the plant by the police. But on Wednesday, as the mass of strikers left the headquarters at 245 West 14th Street, a thousand strong, mounted police and riot squads mobilized between 8th and 9th Avenues.

The mass line, not even wearing placards, without words, peacefully crossed the intersection at 8th Avenue and entered the block leading into 9th Avenue, which is almost three blocks from the National Biscuit Company plant. Midway in the block, without any warning the mounted police drove their horses onto the sidewalk, resulting in a scene that horrified the whole city.

The strikers are determined to increase rather than lessen their daily picket line. The long weeks of suffering and privation have in no way mitigated their militancy and their solidarity.

If the temporary injunction now granted by Supreme Court Judge Dore is made permanent, the strikers are unanimously in favor of making their mass picket line a more effective weapon than ever.

Negotiations between the company and the union officials are at a standstill. This state of affairs is the result of the company's proof of ill faith in its pretense at settlement; for it has refused, despite every compromise offered by the union officials, to take back 45 per cent of the strikers. The company makes the retention of the eight hundred scabs, replacing as many strikers, a term of the settlement.

William A. Galvin, president of the union, refuses to consider such a settlement and is backed one hundred per cent by his membership.

To all sympathizers and all organized labor the strikers appeal for support on the daily picket line which leaves the headquarters at 245 West 14th Street at five

o'clock, for donations of money for its kitchen and for intense support in its boycott of the National Biscuit Company products.

Knitgoods Workers Support Strikers

The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union of the American Federation of Labor voiced its protest against the police brutality practiced against the strikers of the National Biscuit Company. The following is a telegram sent to Mayor LaGuardia:

"The marked increase of police brutality to workers on strike came to a climax Wednesday afternoon in the deliberate riding down and beating of National Biscuit strikers by police. Our members as well as other organized workers have complained on numerous occasions against this brutality. Ten thousand organized knitgoods workers, members Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union, American Federation of Labor, vigorously protest use of New York police to break strikes. We demand jointly with striking workers of National Biscuit Company and rest of organized labor that you immediately put a stop to this practice and we insist on legal right of labor to picket."

Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union—Harry Spindel, President, Louis Nelson, Manager.

MASS. LABOR COLLEGE

CHELSEA, Mass.—The trade union movement and fraternal organizations have arranged a conference on April 24th at the Labor Lyceum in behalf of the recently organized New England Labor College. Michael Flaherty of the Painters' Union will speak on "Labor Education and the Future of the Labor Movement."

The New England Labor College is a non-factional institution, designed to prepare men and women for active service in the American labor movement, and to promote the education of workers. Among its faculty are noted educators and prominent labor leaders of New England. Chelsea is one of the most highly industrially developed communities of the United States.

RUBBER DISPUTE IS ENDED BY A TRUCE

The rubber strike of about 35,000 workers in Ohio was averted by a truce signed in Washington after two days of negotiations in which an agreement was announced. This provides that the management will agree to consult "with the chosen representatives of any group of employees" to adjust grievances and that changes in hours, wages and working conditions emerging from negotiations shall be posted on bulletin boards in the plants.

One section referring to elections in the plants declares: "It is recognized that the holding of an election as ordered by the National Labor Relations Board is postponed until final decisions have been reached by the courts in the cases now pending in the Circuit Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, and any appeals therefrom."

It is agreed that there shall be

Knitgoods Workers Condemn Hearst As Labor's Foe

The Joint Council of the Knitgoods Workers' Union, at a recent meeting in Newark, unanimously voted to condemn the anti-labor policies of the Hearst publications.

It was pointed out that Hearst has always been notoriously anti-labor and that his present attacks on organized labor constitute a serious menace to the standard of living of the American worker and to the right of workers to organize. Hearst was also the driving force of the newspaper publishers in their attempt to break the recently concluded strike of Newark newspaper employees.

no strike or lockout or discrimination pending final decisions of the courts and any appeals that may be taken. If in the meantime grievances arise in the plants, it is agreed that they shall be referred to a fact-finding board of three members approved by the Secretary of Labor.

SOC. PARTY MEMBERS REVERSE S. C. IN MASSACHUSETTS

Referendum Rejects Resolution to Suspend Charter of New York State by a Vote of 5 to 1

THE resolution of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts urging the suspension of the charter of New York State has been reversed by a referendum of the party members in Massachusetts. The vote was 593 against the State Executive Committee to 119 in favor of the committee.

The action had its origin in a militant conference in New York City and the resolution carried the misrepresentation against the New York organization that have been issued in New York City. The vote indicates an overwhelming majority of the party members are opposed to the reckless policy of suspending charters.

In the case of New York State it is obvious that suspension would have its repercussions in many other states and make it almost impossible to keep the party intact.

Contempt Charges Withdrawn; Knitgoods Pickets Continue

The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers' Union, American Federation of Labor, through its mass picket lines in front of the Klein Knitting Mills, 54 Canal Street, N. Y. C., compelled the employer Klein to withdraw charges of contempt of court against 36 pickets arrested for violating an injunction against picketing.

Louis Nelson, Union Manager, and William Schaffer, Business Agent, are being held by the court on contempt proceedings to make a test of the validity of the injunction.

Louis Nelson declared, "The fight that the Joint Council is now waging against the Klein Knitting Mills is not simply a struggle against the individual manufacturer, but that the entire National Knitted Outerwear Association is supporting and financing this manufacturer in an effort to defeat the spread of unionization of the knitgoods workers."

However, the Joint Council will continue its mass picketlines and will continue its fight to defeat the attempts of the employers to revert back to the open shop and slave conditions.

BOOST THE NEW LEADER!

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

15,000 DRESSMAKERS WIN FINE VICTORY

THE 15,000 dressmakers of New York who stopped work last week in protest against chiseling by employers in violation of the wage provisions of the collective agreement with the National Dress Manufacturers Association, representing the jobbers, won a fine victory this week when virtually all employers in question agreed to meet the union's demands.

While the jobbers' association charged the union with violation of the agreement in ordering the stoppage, and Albert Feldblum, the impartial chairman of the industry, was inclined to agree that technically the union had no right to proclaim the stoppage without giving proper notice, the individual employers soon perceived that the workers were determined to obtain redress of their grievances. Mr. Feldblum did not pass upon the merits of the dispute itself.

Immediately after his decision the procession of individual employers anxious to sign up with the union on the basis of the wage readjustment demanded began, and continued until virtually all employers had signed up. Nearly all of the workers have resumed operations.

It is now expected that the National Dress Manufacturers Association will sign a collective agreement with the union on a basis satisfactory to the employees.

The New Leader Banned in Japan

THE NEW LEADER has earned the wrath of His Supreme Excellency, the Mikado of Japan. This paper has been confiscated in that far-off country under the law making it illegal to disseminate "dangerous thoughts."

This strict censorship has caused all subscriptions in Japan to be cut off. An official communication from the United States Post Office notified the circulation department of the confiscatory orders of the Japanese authorities in Yokohama.

New Leader Readers—Please Patronize Our Advertisers!



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1221 MARKET STREET
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ALL STORES OPEN EVENINGS

Europe Unites Against Hitler

(Continued from Page One)

is aimed directly at Germany. At the same time, however, the resolution by no means closes the door for negotiations with Germany on proposals for the consolidation of peace.

Litvinoff's View

Among the League Council members who were most insistent upon drastic action against Germany was Maxim Litvinoff, Soviet Russia's representative.

"All states which love peace have the right to arm," M. Litvinoff said, charging Germany with cherishing hopes for revenge and conquest. "But should arms be granted to a nation which not merely is seeking revenge but also is cherishing unlimited territorial ambitions?"

M. Litvinoff compared Germany to a man who is seeking to destroy his neighbors' dwellings.

The resolution adopted by the League Council, while not as strong as that demanded by M. Litvinoff, is in reality more conducive to the realization of the purposes it is designed to accomplish. The position of those best familiar with the situation is that while Hitler and his government must be given to understand that in extreme necessity fascist Ger-

many will meet with the united armed resistance of mankind, the democratic nations must make it clear that they are determined to avoid a war, if possible, and to give Germany every opportunity to cooperate toward this end.

To grant the just demands of the German people with respect to such revisions of the Treaty of Versailles as are justified in fact and fairness is one thing. To permit Hitler and the gang around him to satisfy their insatiable appetite for war and aggrandizement is another. It is now for Hitler to choose. The world will be ready to meet him on any ground he cares to pick.

The effects of both the Stresa conference and the League Council meeting should be welcomed as helping to clear the atmosphere and pave the way for a constructive approach to the problem of peace and war as it now presents itself.

What this problem really is and the perspective from which Socialists must view it is brilliantly presented in the correspondence received this week by The New Leader from Paris and published elsewhere in this issue. The author of the article is Peter Garwy, a distinguished Socialist journalist.

Green Warns Against Upheaval

(Continued from Page One)

Federal Reserve Board; show that fewer workers are receiving less wages for producing more goods.

According to the official reports, industrial production has increased to 90% of the 1923-1925 level, while payrolls are only 67% of what they were at that time. And 11,000,000 persons are jobless.

The reports show that manufacturing industries in January, 1935, were producing 73% of what they produced in 1929, while weekly payrolls were only 59% of the 1929 level. Millions without jobs got no pay at all, of course.

A set of figures cited by Francis J. Biddle, chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, makes a comparison between 1919 and 1933, showing that the average worker increased his production 71%, but his earnings dropped 6%.

"It all goes to show that we need a compulsory thirty-hour week law," said Senator Hugo Black of Alabama, author of the 30-hour work bill, in commenting on the reports of Mr. Biddle's figures. "The fact that we have 90% of the 1923-1925 production in March of this year with some 11,000,000 still unemployed is conclusive proof that if we had 100% production on present working hours we would still be compelled to support millions of people through public taxes."

Workers Cannot Buy

"We are producing more and more goods with fewer and fewer human laborers and a constantly

decreasing proportion of the cost of production is going to wages.

"This necessarily means that the purchasing ability of those who must consume our goods is rapidly descending year by year. The result is now, and has been, that we are not producing goods we actually need, because farmers and laborers cannot buy."

"This makes the machines idle and forces the workers into idleness, and the constant economic tendency is, therefore, to increase the number of idle persons and add heavier and heavier burdens on those who work to support those who do not work."

All of which proves, as Socialists have always pointed out, long before others have begun to perceive the facts cited above, that it is in the nature of the capitalist system to think of machines and production for profit, while ignoring the social and human interests of society. Only a complete transformation of the system along the lines of social ownership and democratic management of industry can really solve the problem.

In the meanwhile, let us have the 30-hour week and put a few more millions of the unemployed to work at wages that will enable them to buy back at least a larger quantity of what they produce than they are now able to do. In the long run, however, it will be discovered that only the readjustment advocated by Socialists will place industry on an equilibrium that will eliminate depressions, unemployment and widespread suffering.

NEW YORK SOCIALISTS PROTEST DEFEAT OF CHILD LABOR BAN

Expulsion of Five Buffalo Members for Advocacy of Armed Insurrection Approved by the State Organization

PROTESTING vehemently against the defeat of ratification of the anti-child labor amendment, the Socialist Party through the State Executive Committee filed demands for immediate reconsideration with Governor Herbert H. Lehman and the leaders of both houses of the New York Legislature at its meeting last Sunday.

The committee at its all-day session presided over by Charles W. Noonan of Schenectady also rejected the appeals of five Buffalo members expelled from the party for advocacy of armed insurrection.

The committee wired as follows to Governor Lehman: "State Executive Committee Socialist Party requests your excellency to force reconsideration and adoption of Child Labor Amendment. Failure of our state to adopt amendment is disgraceful and belies claim of state about leading the way with respect to legislation in the interest of the toiling masses."

Senator John J. Dunnigan, Majority leader of the upper house, and Speaker Irwin Steingut of the Assembly, received identical messages as follows: "State Socialist Party urges reconsideration and adoption of child labor amendment before adjournment."

The five Buffalo members, Rev. Herman J. Hahn, Professor William B. Chamberlain, George C. Brickner, Jean Guthrie and Amparo Segnet-Diaz, members of the Revolutionary Policy Committee, had been expelled in January by the expulsions were confirmed by Erie County, a delegate body, and the expulsions were confirmed by a general membership meeting of the local. Their appeal to the S.E.C. was referred to a sub-committee consisting of William Karlin, Julius Gerber and U. Solomon who heard evidence and brought in a report sustaining the expulsions. The S.E.C., after a thorough discussion, adopted, as its own, the report which follows:

"The five members were expelled on charges preferred against them by Robert Hoffman, Executive Secretary of Local Buffalo, which charges were based on the ground that they advocated armed insurrection. They were found guilty by the Executive Committee of Local Erie County, and by a vote of more than 3 to 1 expelled from the party. They then appealed to the general membership meeting of the local which was held on January 20th and the membership meeting duly sustained the Central (Executive) Committee and approved the expulsion. They now appeal to the State Executive Committee."

"This appeal is based on two points: 1. That the trial was unfair, and 2. That the findings and sentence are not warranted by the evidence."

"Your committee after due ex-

The Search for Peace in Europe

(Continued from Page One)

By Peter Garwy

tions. Both peoples and governments have experienced a radical mental change. Whereas before all efforts were directed toward disarmament in the search for guarantees of security, the objective now is to find "security" in rearmament. The search for "guarantees of security" had as its objective consequence the creation of military alliances which almost automatically must lead to war.

Hitler's Objections

Hitler has made the bayonet the symbol of the day. The issue is not only in his defiant rearmament, his ignoring of the Versailles Treaty, the introduction of universal military service on the model of imperial Germany, extension of the Reichswehr, the police, the so-called labor services, etc., to 72 divisions. The issue is in the strategic and political aims which Germany has placed before herself. It is no secret that the Hitler regime is aiming at two objectives. First, the creation of a "Greater Germany" by unification of all German territories (Austria, Danzig, Memel, Upper Silesia, the Polish Corridor, the German sections of Czechoslovakia, Alsace-Lorraine, etc.); and, second, expansion to the East (seizure of Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, White Russia, the Ukraine, etc.—the seizure of the border states and dismemberment of Russia). Both aims represent parts of a larger aim, which is the establishment of

amination and consideration finds: "As to Point 1: We find that the trial was conducted strictly in accordance with the provisions of the State Constitution and Local By-Laws. The defendants were notified in advance to prepare their defense. The trial was conducted by the Executive Committee (which is a delegated body having representatives from all branches and therefore acts as a central committee within the meaning of Article I, Sec. 14, and Article V, Sec. 2, of the Party State Constitution) sitting in a committee of the whole."

"The defendants were given ample opportunity to produce evidence in their own behalf and argue their cases, and some of the defendants who were delegates to the Executive Committee were even permitted to vote, though under the rules a member under charges has no vote."

"From the evidence submitted by both sides we find that the defendants received a fair trial and that the trial was democratically conducted. Your committee therefore recommends the rejection of Point 1 of the appeal."

"As to Point 2: The appellants submitted a joint statement which is the statement of the Buffalo R.P.C. Your committee finds that the evidence fully sustains the charge that the appellants advocated armed insurrection."

"Furthermore, on a direct question asked at the membership meeting of Local Erie County, whether they are members of the R.P.C. and believe in and advocate armed insurrection, the answer was 'yes' to both questions, with the addition that 'we are Commu-

German hegemony in Europe and throughout the world.

The realization of this program by German neo-imperialism, supporting itself not only upon the appetites of the big agrarians and large bourgeoisie, but also upon the large middle classes and considerable sections of the workers under the influence of fascism, is possible only through war.

On the other hand, it is true that the Hitler dictatorship needs a "breathing spell" to complete its military preparations, particularly the air fleet. The dictatorship wants war and fears it. For war means running the definite risk of defeat and consequent revolution. These two tendencies—the urge for war and fear of war—explains the hesitations and contradictions of Germany's military policy.

"Peace Indivisible"

British diplomacy seeks to utilize these contradictions and Germany's need of a "breathing spell" as a means of luring the Third Reich back into the League of Nations and a collective program of security, in order that Germany may be bound by international obligations embodied in an international agreement for limitation of armaments. The visit of Sir John Simon and Captain Eden to Berlin, undertaken despite Germany's return to universal military service, demonstrated that Hitler has no intention to have his hands tied, particularly in the East, i.e., with respect to Soviet Russia. Hitler's

nists with a small 'c'.

"The argument that the local had no authority to discipline these members because the committee appointed by the N.E.C. to investigate the R.P.C. did not report as yet, is not valid. The power and jurisdiction to try and discipline members for misconduct is in the local which they are members, subject to appeal to the duly constituted State Executive Committee in accordance with the provisions of the Party State Constitution."

"Your committee, therefore, finds that these accused members were expelled in accordance with the rules and regulations of the party. We recommend that the State Executive Committee deny the appeal and sustain Local Erie County in its verdict of expulsion affecting William B. Chamberlain, Herman J. Hahn, George C. Brickner, Amparo Segnet-Diaz and Jean Guthrie, and that the same stand expelled as members of the Socialist Party."

The S.E.C. voted to begin a series of up-state meetings to revitalize the party in various sections of the state. The first is to be in the Capitol district in or near Albany during the week-end of May 18th and 19th.

There will be a meeting of the full state committee May 4th to pass upon a reply to the nine-point program of the National Executive Committee. The sub-committee of the State Committee is working on a statement that will endeavor to clarify the issues before the party in a manner to reflect the views of the state organization.

diplomacy is based upon the lines and principles that guided German war strategy in the transfer of troops from the Western to the Eastern front and back again. That is why Hitler expressed to Simon his willingness to enter into peace guarantees in the West provided his hands remained free in the East for "repelling of Bolshevik aggression threatening the West." Should Hitler succeed in this play and strengthen his position in the East at the expense of Russia, it would be only a question of time before Germany would hurl herself upon the West in search of revenge. Thus the general strategic aim would be attained.

Simon and Eden apparently perceived the purpose of Germany's diplomacy which, by the way, is dictated by the Reichswehr generals. The British diplomats convinced themselves on the scene of the true meaning of Hitler's "pacifism." They perceived that "peace is indivisible," that the position of Paris and Moscow was correct, that there can be no peace in the West without peace in the East.

Eden's trip to Moscow did not bring establishment of a new Entente. But it did lead to a closer understanding between the Soviet and British points of view. Through his conversations in Moscow, Eden apparently was convinced that Moscow has definitely abandoned, at least for the time being, its policy of carrying revolution into other countries "on the points of red bayonets." Threatened by Japan on one side and Germany on the other, Soviet Russia is pushing feverishly her military preparations for resistance and is eagerly seeking real peace. Soviet Russia is ready to enter any scheme of collective security to escape invasion of conquerors in the West and in the East. Eden's Warsaw conversations failed to clear up definitely the position of Poland, caught between fascist Germany and Bolshevik Russia, and hesitating, hence, between two orientations.

Socialist Responsibility

The Stresa conference may clarify the situation and reveal whether or not it may be possible to avert war by means of collective security and limitation of armaments, either with or without Germany. European Socialism is following developments with unconcealed grave concern. It has been weakened too much by the world depression and defeats in the countries where fascism is in power to play any decisive part in the development of the world crisis and prevention of war. We must not entertain any illusions on this score. But even less excusable would it be to wait fatalistically for the "inevitable war," on the excuse that the international prole-

ariat and the Socialist movement are too weak to prevent it, and in the hope that war would inevitably lead to revolution and the victory of Socialism.

We do not know what would come after a new war. The last war gives us little food for hope. A new war may well lead to the destruction of civilization. It may drown all Socialist hopes and aspirations in a sea of blood and mud, and destroy all outlook for the future. A victory of the fascist and dictatorial countries would mean the establishment of Caesarism in Europe for many decades.

European Socialism cannot, must not, and dare not refrain from efforts to avert war. It must not base any hopes upon war. It must do everything in its power to prevent war. No opportunity must be permitted to go unutilized in the fight for this objective. With Germany or without Germany, all efforts must be bent in the same direction.

Look at Soviet Russia: She has entered the League of Nations. She used to denounce the French general staff and is now seeking a military alliance with France. She used to denounce England as her traditional enemy. She is now seeking an entente with England. She used to denounce the Versailles Treaty as the source of all evil. She is now defending the sacredness of that treaty. Soviet diplomacy has made all these zig-zags because it is desperately concerned with the maintenance of peace.

Imperialist Appetites

We must not forget that Socialism cannot confine itself to mere support of the peace efforts of bourgeois governments, be they democratic governments. However weak it may be, it must follow its own line and develop energetic initiative in efforts to avert war. What we are now witnessing in Europe is to no small extent the result of the imperialist appetites and nationalist short-sightedness of the victor nations. The Versailles Treaty does, indeed, embody a number of crying injustices. It is painful to be called upon to make concessions to Hitler such as had been denied to democratic Germany. Responsible for this is the diplomacy of the victor countries. But these concessions will have to be made, in order at least to strengthen the shaken dam which is now barely holding back the elemental forces of war about to overwhelm the fields and cities of Europe.

We must differentiate between the neo-imperialist objectives of Hitler Germany and the just demands of the German people. The first must be resisted vigorously, the second must become the basis of agreement for a collective

agency to which it can take violation of its rights to organize and bargain collectively and secure its rights. It asks, therefore, that the National Labor Relations Board be given powers of enforcement similar to those given the Federal Trade Commission. It asks these things that justice and order may be possible for wage earners in their work lives."

Mr. Green also demanded that the government apply the prevailing wage principle on all jobs on public relief workers and insisted that the entire relief program be speeded up to take care at least of part of the 11,000,000 unemployed and stimulate the processes of economic recovery.

In strong words he demanded in behalf of labor the passage of the economic security bill as the foundation for a more generous and comprehensive social security structure.

"There is little decrease in unemployment," Mr. Green said. "The relief rolls have gone up. Business reports foreshadow little gains during this year. These facts make clear the need for a permanent relief plan and agencies. Millions of people will for years to come have no other access to the necessities of life than through relief. It is a plain matter of wisdom to make permanent provisions to meet these needs. We can hardly do less than arrange for permanence of relief for those whom the emergency has deprived an opportunity to earn a living."

Unemployment relief and old age pensions must be written into the statute books of the nation, Mr. Green warned, and at this session of Congress.

Socialists inside and outside the trade unions join with the American Federation of Labor in these demands, but they point out that labor has little to expect from Congress or any of the old political parties beyond what it is in a position to demand and see through.

When labor learns to combine the instrument of economic organization with independent political action through a party of its own choosing and making, it will be in a position to develop the strength necessary for its complete emancipation and the emancipation of society as a whole from the rule of greed, selfishness and exploitation.

The Demands of Labor

"Labor asks that the right of employees to organize and bargain collectively be made the law of the

strengthening of peace.

The reserve of possible concessions to Germany's just demands is not yet exhausted. Revision of the Versailles Treaty by force is dangerous and must not be permitted. Revision of the Versailles Treaty by peaceful understanding through the instrumentality of the League of Nations need not disturb any honest friend of peace. As long as the reserve of possible concessions to Germany's just demands is not exhausted there can be little hope of close cooperation of the powers against German aggression.

Curbing Nazi Vandals

It would be quite another thing, however, should Germany, not satisfied by the eliminations of the injustices of the Versailles Treaty, continue to pursue the objectives of the Hitler regime—hegemony of Europe, seizure of other peoples' territory and subjugation of Germany's neighbors. Pursuit of these objectives will inevitably rouse a mighty coalition of nations against Germany. It will be definitely a coalition of defense. It is hardly thinkable that Hitler will venture to make war upon the whole of Europe, a war of unconcealed aggression. It may be hoped that the application of economic, financial and diplomatic sanctions would be sufficient to stop Hitler Germany.

International Socialism has from the very beginning made the revision of the Versailles Treaty one of its cardinal immediate objectives. Unfortunately this objective has not always been pursued with the necessary constance and energy. Socialist policy has emphasized unduly the idea of "fulfillment" as a means of facilitating revision. By this line of action the Socialists in the defeated countries were placed in an extremely difficult tactical situation. The policy of fulfillment should have been balanced by a more energetic policy for revision of the Versailles Treaty. Unfortunately, this was not the case.

Without paying any attention to the cries of nationalists, calmly and with determination, without surrendering to war hypnosis, we must insist upon a realistic, honest policy of peace. Peace must be made secure, if possible, by the organization of collective security, including Germany. Only by making an honest effort in this direction will it be possible to justify any organization of collective security without Germany, i.e., against Germany, should Hitler make this unavoidable by refusing to be satisfied with just and fair concessions and thus emphasizing once more the Third Reich's aggressive aspirations.

In such event we may count also upon the probability of America's entry into the situation by throwing the weight of her political and economic power into the balance. Perhaps the United States may then recall the existence of a forgotten document—the Kellogg Pact.

Neistadt Honored at Fine Banquet in Baltimore

By general agreement the dinner arranged in Baltimore last Sunday night in honor of the 25 years of devoted service to the Socialist and labor movement rendered by Samuel M. Neistadt, was the best ever held in that city. The affair was arranged by the Socialist Party, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Joint Board of the Cloak-makers, the district committee of the Workmen's Circle, and the Jewish Socialist Verband. Comrade Neistadt is the state secretary of the Socialist Party of Maryland and has served for years in that office.

Morris L. Polin was toastmaster and proved to be an able one. Letters and telegrams poured in from many cities, so many that only a few could be read and the rest were mentioned by name. An orchestra provided some excellent numbers and the speakers represented various organizations and institutions in Baltimore and other cities. Among the outside speakers were Bertha H. Mailly who brought the greetings of the Rand School and Local New York, James O'Neal who represented The New Leader, and Leo Kreycki, national chairman of the Socialist Party.

Comrade Neistadt responded to the tributes paid him in an effective address in which he said that the Socialist movement had done more for him than he could ever do for it.

Upper West Side Festival Friday, April 28th

The Upper West Side Branch, noted for the excellence of its social affairs, particularly the Comrade Ball, will initiate the Spring season with a Gala Festivity Party Friday night, April 26th, at 100 West 72nd Street. An exceptional program of entertainment has been arranged and will star: the Rebel Arts Puppeters, the Cacophonie Band, guest artists, and Levy & Nathan. The Women's Committee will supply their famed home-made pies, cakes, sandwiches and delicacies; while the punch-bowl will be supplemented by other liquors of choice and honored lineage.

Union Basketbballers Fight for Labor Championship

Culminating a drive to promote worker's sports, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has selected the men's and women's basketball teams which have beaten every local union in the city to play abroad the U.S.S. Illinois at 96th Street and Riverside Drive Saturday night for the respective Trade Union championship of New York State.

Over 4,000 people are expected to attend this first annual championship basketball game and dance. The educational department of the I.L.G.W.U. has attempted in the past months to build an American Labor Sports Union. Many representatives of the New York labor movement interested in giving impetus to this work will be present to present trophies, named after Morris Hillquit and Meyer London, to the successful teams.

Pertinent Facts About Loft, Inc.—Pure Candies, Pure Sodas, Pure Foods

Loft, Incorporated, was established nearly 40 years ago. From the beginning, the idea of the company was to sell candy at the smallest margin of profit possible, but to be sure that it was as pure as could be manufactured. The idea grew rapidly. Stores began to multiply and were established at strategic locations in New York City. By 1930, Loft had opened 52 stores.

During the period when good locations were easily obtained, Charles G. Guth and his associates expanded the operations of the company until now, 186 stores are operated under the direct management of Loft Incorporated, and sales grew from \$7,000,000 in 1929 to \$14,000,000 in 1933.

The new process of manufacturing candies without glucose, which is the most important step in the history of Loft, Inc., is described in more detail in the advertising now being used.

The Loft factory is the largest in the world, selling direct through its own stores. It is to be noted that Loft, Inc., is not engaged in a merchandising business. No candies are sold in the Loft stores that are not manufactured by Loft, Inc., from carefully selected raw materials.

THE HEARST PRESS IS NO PLACE FOR SOCIALISTS

Abramowitch Replies to Daily Worker on Lang Articles on Russia; Contrast of Bourgeois and Socialist Views

By Raphael Abramowitch
Member of the Executive, Socialist and Labor International

The Communist press has tried to involve me in the matter of the publication in the Hearst press of the articles of Harry Lang on Soviet Russia. In the Daily Worker of April 17th, the editor states that on April 16th he had addressed a telegram to me, requesting my view on the incident of the Lang articles. I have not received such a telegram. I may say, however, that I would not have replied to it under any circumstances.

The contemptible personal attacks leveled against me by the Communist press upon my arrival in this country excludes any relations between me and this press. As regards the merits of the matter, I wish to say:

So far as I can see, Lang's articles, which are apparently a reprint of the articles which appeared under his name some time ago in the Jewish Daily Forward, do not contain any "scurrilous lies." On the contrary, the facts and observations contained in these articles appear to reflect the true situation. And if these articles accentuate in the reader's mind the negative features of Soviet reality, the fault is not Lang's and of other critics of the Soviet regime, but of the Soviet Government itself, which, misusing the monopoly of the press in Russia, suppresses the reporting of the real situation; it is also the fault of paid and unpaid Communist advertisers abroad, who picture Soviet Russia as an earthly paradise and condemn any criticism as counter-revolutionary.

It is quite a different matter, however, whether Comrade Lang should have permitted his articles to appear in the Hearst press. I realize that in the United States Socialists and Communists resort to the bourgeois press more widely than is done in Europe, where the organized workers have an ample and extensive press of their own. Nevertheless, there must be limits which, in my opinion, Comrade Lang has violated.

The Hearst press is not the place in which Socialists can fight Russian Bolshevism or discuss any political problems.

We Russian Social Democrats, in our struggle against the Bolshevik dictatorship, have never utilized the capitalist press and have always declined to ally ourselves with anti-Bolshevik bourgeois organizations. For between our fight against Bolshevism and that of the capitalist parties there is a vast difference of principle, aim and method.

The bourgeoisie fights Bolshevism because it considers it to be Socialism, and would like to overthrow it in order to restore capitalist rule. We, Russian Social Democrats, oppose the Bolshevik government precisely because we are convinced that Socialism in Russia cannot be built by methods of terrorist dictatorship, and we seek to democratize the Soviet regime in order to make secure the conquests of the revolution and the advance of Socialism.

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Forty-one years of style creators!
Thirteen blocks of clothing stores!
Over fifty completely unionized stores!

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STANTON STREET

Every clothing store on Stanton Street is now showing the newest, the finest and most advanced styles in suits and topcoats, to fit the figure and the pocket of the well dressed New Yorker.

Millions of Men Buy Their Clothes
On Stanton St. Due to These Facts:

1. Stanton Street merchants sell the finest constructed garments.
2. Every figure, whether a man is tall, short, fat, or slim, is fitted due to the large selection obtainable.
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B.M.T. to Essex Street.
I.R.T. to 14th St. and Cross-town Car direct to Stanton St.
Elevated Trains: 3rd Avenue stop at Houston Street.
Elevated Trains: 2nd Avenue stop at Rivington Street.



General Membership Meeting of Local New York, Friday, April 19th

The City Executive Committee of Local New York of the Socialist Party has called a meeting of party members in the Rand School Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street, Manhattan, for Friday, April 19th, at 8:30 p. m. Only party members will be admitted and members must show their membership cards at the door.

The meeting is called to discuss party problems and issues in New York. Speakers have been chosen to lead the discussion and there will be discussion from the floor.

On the Socialist Front In the Quaker City

By August Claessens

TO one who has been in intimate touch with the Philadelphia Socialists for many years, the recent development there in party growth, activity and efficiency is truly a miraculous achievement. I have been making week-end trips down there for the last four weeks and I am happy to report the good news.

Our party organization could be in much better condition in Philadelphia if it were not for the fact that there, too, as in other parts of the country, the curse of factionalism has created havoc and the ardent "left-wingers" there as elsewhere have paralyzed the organization with their endless bickerings, suspicions and dissensions. Luckily, there are comrades in Philadelphia as in other cities who carry on while the storm rages, who do the chores while others talk, who build and mend while others cripple and rend.

Last year our Philadelphia local was extremely fortunate in kidnapping Abe Belsky from Local New York. Abe is one of those quiet, hard-working and efficient youngsters short on revolutionary phrases but long on action. Though still a young man he is of the old school of pioneers and he is averse to the art of sending out a release to the press whenever he sneezes. Nevertheless, when you drop in at Labor Educational Center at 415 South 10th Street you will find the party office clean, business-like and more modernly impressive than any party office in the country. A fine book store, an excellent trade union relationship and service, a steady succession of mass meetings, and most thrilling of all, the finest Socialist school in the U.S.A. next to the Rand School of Social Science.

Organized only several months ago, the school is already attracting considerable attention and hundreds of trade unionists and young people generally are coming to the classes and lectures on Socialism, economics, philosophy, history, sociology, psychology, trade unionism, Marxism and public speaking. In my two classes held on Sunday afternoons I am greeted by a swarm of eager students, many of them new in the labor movement and just the people we should and must reach. And for

the amazingly rapid success of the Debs School of Social Science, the second Rand School in the country, much credit must be given to the genius of Abe Belsky.

While I write this tribute to my efficient and devoted young comrade, I am compelled to make the following observations. Among the canards circulating in the party discussion channels is the one about the revolt of the younger elements in the party who are not given a chance by the older comrades in control. This is a contemptible falsehood spread by people whose only contribution to our movement has been bombast and arrogance. Belsky grew up in the Socialist Party of New York City, in the Y.P.S.L., in the Rand School and in party circles. As his ability, honesty and devotion became recognized he rose from one position of trust to another. He was secretary of the New York City Y.P.S.L., organizer of the Kings County Socialist Party, manager of the great Brooklyn Forum, and finally secretary of the Labor Committee of Local New York. Thanks to the factionalists of the "revolutionary" left, he was made an object of their scorn and he modestly retired. Fortunately for Philadelphia it needed some one just like him and they got him. Their gain was our loss. The many good comrades there are very happy with our Abe and very fine progress is noticeable in the Socialist movement there.

I write this because Belsky would never write it himself and the people who are so busy asking others "to show cause why their charges should not be revoked" are usually too busy to make note of any genuine and constructive party activity. The splendid work of our Philadelphia comrades deserves more publicity for the health and sanity of our party.

LECTURE CALENDAR

(All lectures begin at 8:30 p.m. unless otherwise stated. Lectures listed below are under the auspices of Education Committee of Socialist Party.)

SUNDAY, APRIL 21
Manhattan
John Lewine—"Socialism and the American Tradition," 6th A.D., 95 Ave. B.
Herbert Merrill—"Socialism and Social Engineering," 1th A.D., 393 Grand St.
MONDAY, APRIL 22
Brooklyn
Louis Sadoff—"H-1th A.D., 241 South 4th Street."
Dr. William E. Bohn—"Economic Trends of American History," 6th A.D., 167 Tompkins Ave., Williamsburg.
Bronx
Bela Low—"Anatomized Cooperative Branch, 81 Van Courtland Park South."
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 24
Long Island
John Lewine—"Revolutionary Literature," Rockaway Branch, 81-12 Rockaway Blvd.
FRIDAY, APRIL 26
Merk Khinoy—"The World Situation and the Soviet Union," German Branches, Labor Temple, 241 E. 84th St.

"BLACK FURY"

By Gertrude Weil Klein

FIGHT? ... sure ... fight! Betcha my life ... fight!" Joe Radek draws and grins and fights, the big, dumb Bohunk in "Black Fury," whether it's to help his union or to split his union, he fights. Drunk or sober, he doesn't know much what it's all about, so that easy for the stoolpigeon, planted by the strikebreaking agency, to get him to do its dirty work.

G. W. Klein

Because Joe's girl walks out on him, Joe walks out on his fellow unionists in the Federated Mine Workers, and helps the group of "agin-ers," steamed up by the stool, to break away and start a rival union. Through the machinations of the company stoolpigeon, a meeting of the malcontents is held, at which, Radek, drunk as a pig, is unanimously elected president of the seceding union. A bloody factional fight ensues, which results in the shutting down of the mine. The mine owners, afraid of losing dividends—and this is played very, very softly—reluctantly call in the strikebreaking agency which had instigated the whole trouble in the first place.

The scenes of the wholesale deputizing of the gunmen and gorillas, the subsequent brutal clubbings of the workers by these cosacs, are grippingly done. Joe Radek's tragic denouement when he finds that he has been the tool of an absconding stoolpigeon, and the scheme which he hits on to save the union, the strike, and his own right to be once more regarded as a decent union man, work up to a terrifically fast and exciting climax.

As a picture, as drama, "Black Fury" is absolutely tops, both for its gripping story and for the magnificent acting of Paul Muni and the rest of the cast, with, I thought, one single exception. It

seemed to me that the portrayal of the conservative mine leader was weak and unconvincing. But quite possibly that may be due to the fact that the cry of "fight," right or wrong, is always more moving and more inspiring than the plea to think.

"Black Fury" is almost that extraordinary thing in the theatre, an exciting drama and a powerful argument for workingclass solidarity. As the latter it misses fire. It misses fire partly because of misplaced emphasis, and partly because it pulled its punches when it came to showing the part the mine owners play in industrial warfare.

Joe Radek, the protagonist through whom the story moves, is a weak, stupid, brave and lovable character. Such a character in a union does not inspire the confidence and trust that Joe did among the miners, nor would he be the logical choice to lead a movement, secessionist or otherwise.

However, we have no right to quarrel with the lack of revolutionary emphasis in "Black Fury."

This is a picture gotten out by a commercial firm, purely for its entertainment and money-making value. That it makes a pretty forthright and telling plea for the workers' side of the struggle, is something to be glad for, even though it does not indicate the causes inherent in the struggle nor the action necessary for its solution.

While this drama plays down the employer-worker struggle, at least it does not choose for emphasis the corrupt union leader—by no means in the majority in any union—thereby giving a weapon to every union-hating employer.

When the commercial theatre, hedged about as it is by its many financial restrictions, has the courage to give the workers' side the best of the argument, and does as grand a job as it does in this picture of the Pennsylvania mine region, we can't complain. By all odds this is a picture to be seen.

Party Progress

New York City

Women's Activities

Classes in Practical Political Problems

Monday, April 22, 1:30 p.m., Rand School. Subject: Labor and Fascism.

Tuesday, April 23, 1:30 p.m., Amalgamated Houses, Sedgwick Ave. Subject: Labor and Fascism.

Wednesday, April 24, 1:30 p.m., Bensonhurst, 6818 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn. Subject: Labor and Fascism.

Thursday, April 25, 2:30 p.m., Brownsville, 92 Livonia Ave., Brooklyn. Subject: Labor and Fascism.

Class in Public Speaking

Monday, April 22, 3 p.m., Rand School.

Class in Political and Social Revolutions

Tuesday, April 23, 1:30 p.m., Rand School.

Class in Tragedy of Waste

Wednesday, April 24, 1:30 p.m., Midwood-Brighton, 1719 Ave. P, Brooklyn.

Unit Messages

Wednesday, April 24, 2 p.m., Midwood-Brighton, 1719 Ave. P. Lessons by Mrs. Solomon in Parliamentary Procedure.

Thursday, April 25, 2 p.m., Upper East Bronx, 807 Lydig Ave., Bronx. Speaker: Kate Gerber. Subject: This Land of Plenty.

Thursday, April 25, West Bronx, 2 p.m., at home of Anna Abramson, 1501 Sheridan Ave., Bronx.

MANHATTAN

4th A.D.—Branch meeting Tuesday, April 23, at headquarters, 303 Grand St.

The question of intensifying our work among the unemployed and the possibility of building another local of the unemployed union will be discussed.

Campaign for increasing the circulation of The New Leader is in full swing. Copies are sent to social, athletic and fraternal organizations.

P. Conan, branch treasurer, has recovered from a severe illness and is resuming his share of the work.

A concerted drive for funds is well under way. Max Schlusman heads the list with the largest sum collected. Members are requested to bring their party cards to the next meeting for a check with the records.

Choice—an unusually turbulent meeting lasted until after midnight last Monday, ending in the suspension of Ida Day. Something had to be done to discipline some members who have prevented the carrying on of work. Comrade Fox persisted in offering at meetings a factional paper published in opposition to

the New Leader. Her disregard of a motion forbidding such action was the ground for her suspension. During a recess, Dr. Simon Berlin lectured on "The Immoralities of the Capitalist System." At the meeting next Monday Arthur Rosenberg will lead the second of two discussions on "Evolution and Socialism." The Branch is still meeting in the studio of WEVD, at the Hotel Claridge, 166 W. 4th St.

Washington Heights—Another dance is being run on Saturday, May 4. All branches are urged to cooperate in not running conflicting affairs. All those who remember the recent branch dance are sure to attend. Refreshments, stage and radio stars, dancing till dawn.

Woodridge, George H. Goelzel of New York, N. Y., will be the forum lecturer Sunday evening, April 21. Subject: "American Road to Human Security."

BRONX

Lower 6th A.D.—Branch meeting Tuesday, April 23, at 1638 E. 172nd St.

6th A.D.—Regular branch Monday, April 22, instead of Tuesday at Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves.

Amal. Coop.—On Monday, April 22, a lecture in the Assembly Room, Bldg. 7, Lower East Side, will speak on "Democracy vs. Dictatorship." Admission free. All comrades urged to attend and bring friends.

7th A.D.—Important branch meeting April 23, at 8:30 p.m., 787 Elmside Pl.

KINGS

Gala Event in Bensonhurst

The branch, one of the largest in the city, is working to insure their ball on May 11 being successful. A huge following is expected and the funds will be used to wage a great Socialist campaign.

The ball will be held at the Jewish Community House, Bay Parkway at 79th St. Prominent radio and stage stars will entertain; admission 50c. Sam Gottlieb, chairman, is working untiringly for its success.

Midwood—Important business meeting Monday, April 22, at Flatbush Culture Center, 1719 Ave. P. Final arrangements to be made for participation in May Day Parade. All members urged to attend.

Midwood Women's Committee—Culbertson or Sims, which? The Women's Committee of the Flatbush Culture Center are not so much interested in this question as they are in their bridge party in the party headquarters, 1719 Ave. P. Monday, April 29, at 1:30 p.m. Admission 40c and the proceeds go to the Center.

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Bosses Want to Frame Workers in Cleveland

By Sidney Yellen

CLEVELAND.—The city today is blessed with an additional force of law enforcement, a committee of business people who will assume responsibility for maintaining "law and order." They are dissatisfied with the authorities because they have acted with comparative impartiality in the struggles of the workers.

Cleveland, next to Chicago, had a flourishing bootlegging business before the repeal of the 18th amendment. Scores of people were disposed of when they became too obnoxious in the well known fashion, a one-way ride. The law of the jungle ruled in the kingdom of moonshine. Hijacking and other methods known in the underworld ran through the ordinary channels till they reached the political machine where they found adequate protection.

Since the repeal of the 18th amendment, hundreds of people, previously engaged in the liquor traffic, joined the ranks of the unemployed to develop some sort of a racket. Some tried to muscle into the retail beer business and similar lines. Windows have been smashed, merchants are threatened and the use of stench bombs is a common practice.

In addition, we have a professional body of strikebreakers working under the leadership of a Mr. Walker, who is engaged by the Associated Industries. These professional strikebreakers are well known for their rough work. Their chance for employment depends primarily upon the increase of lawlessness and whenever a community is too quiet for them they commit violence to increase the demand for their services.

Associated Industries, with Mr. Frue Long as manager of anti-unionism in northern Ohio, have many attempts to blame the violence upon leaders of the trade unions, and local dailies are assisting the Associated Industries in this effort. The Cleveland Federation of Labor condemns vandalism and lawlessness, but the newspapers carry editorials and stories trying to place the guilt at the door of the labor movement.

A vigilance committee with an ex-soldier as captain and equipped with guns and new gas machine guns has been organized in response to this reactionary campaign. They made an effort to obtain legal recognition but fortunately the county sheriff, a member of the cigar makers union for 45 years, refused to deputize them, so they are acting without the sanction of the law.

Metal Trades Council

The Metal Trades Council will revive the drive for 100 per cent unionism in the steel and iron industry, according to a statement of Jim McWeeny, president and general organizer of the A.F.L. The Council is the central body of machinists, auto mechanics, steel workers and of federal locals in the basic industries. It has about 50 affiliated locals, representing a membership of about 50,000.

Bakers' Local 19 a Miracle

The Bakers' Local 19 won on the rocks immediately after the Communists began to experiment with the unions. After an unsuccessful strike the organization of 700 members was on the down grade. At the end of 1933 the local had only 20 members who paid dues because they were too old to get out and lose their insurance.

Early in 1934 Friedman, a member of Local 56, offered his service to the International, and Local 19 under the leadership of this dynamic young man has today a membership of more than 1,200 and was successful in unionizing the largest shops in the baking industry.

Toledo Automobile Union

Recent elections in the Chevrolet and Overland plants in Toledo demonstrated that the majority of the workers are for genuine unionism. Fred Schwake, business agent of the automobile workers union, was named as a member of the Chevrolet plant in all eight departments. 1,326 voted for real unionism and 508 of the 1,834 votes went to non-unionists. At the Overland plant less than 50 per cent participated in the election because the union advised them to ignore the Automobile Labor Board.

The strike of the FERA workers in Toledo is in full swing. The Building Trades Council and the unemployed have a joint action committee which is directing strike activities. A "flying squadron" of union members and of unemployed is active. Elmar Ledford, a member of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, is responsible for the alliance between the unemployed and trade unions. The strikers were successful in forcing the dismissal of 156 high salaried politicians of the relief administration staff. A complete clean-up of the personnel of the administration is one demand of the strikers.

Paul Muni ... At the Strand Theatre



The dynamic star of "I'm a Fugitive From Justice" is shown above as a poor miner, his role in the much discussed "Black Fury," which will stay indefinitely at the Strand Theatre

SINGLE ACTRESS

Cornelia Otis Skinner in her own plays and sketches. At the Booth.

The talents of Cornelia Otis Skinner are well known, and her visits to New York are eagerly awaited by those who can appreciate her power of presenting many and diverse figures, and through her apparently simple sketches building a society in suggestion. The historical plays—of Charles II and of Henry VIII—are on the current schedule; but for most performances she is presenting the new group of monologues that centers about a "Mansion on the Hudson."

At "Tall Trees," a large estate perhaps forty miles up the river, we watch, and hear beneath the words of successive residents, the change in social conditions from 1880 to 1934. The first Mrs. Howland and her children are in the direct line of descent from the first settlers; and in her pride Mrs. Howland seeks to shelter her brood from contact with the uncouth Kellys, Irish next door who have been put out of their Central Park shanty when the city decides to develop the park. Joe Kelly proposes to Carrie Howland, who of course will have none of him; he therefore marries the chewing gum princess and, when the Howland fortune is gone, buys "Tall Trees" as a show place for his flashy wife. De Witt Howland, younger son who had broken a leg falling from a tree he had climbed to shoot peas at the Kellys, is the sole survivor; he seeks consolation in the town speakeasy. This is owned by the former gardener of "Tall Trees," who had quit to open a spaghetti house; the speakeasy, protected by politician Joe Kelly, thrives; but times change. New markets, new politicians in office, tumble good-fellow Kelly from prosperity; and we see Tony renovating "Tall Trees" as a fashionable roadhouse. On opening night—a gala time indeed!—a young society woman stops her gambling, for the moment sobered as the last of the Howlands is carried past her to his eternal rest.

While "Mansion on the Hudson," by its choice of locale, and the limitations of the monologue form, depicts but one aspect of our changing scene, it has, in its suggestive power and through the skill of Miss Skinner's acting, the quality of an Edith Wharton novel. It is a constant source of surprise how broad a canvas is fitly spread, how many persons come to life, in the work of this one talented woman!

"Potash and Perlmutter" Still Gets the Laugh

There is life yet in "Abe Potash" and "Mawruss Perlmutter," and plenty of it, to judge from the high voltage of laughs that fill the Park Theatre on Columbus Circle during the performances of "Potash and Perlmutter," the Montague Glass-Charles Klein hebraic classic which first came to Broadway more than two decades ago. Though many people hold a brief for "Abe's Irish Rose" as the theatre's biggest money-maker, the honors go unquestionably to the Potash and Perlmutter saga.

The cast is headed by three veterans of the theatre—Robert Leonard, Arthur S. Ross, and Joseph K. Watson. Mr. Leonard is no stranger to the role of Mawruss Perlmutter for he has been acting the Jewish clothing merchant off and on ever since April 1914, when he introduced the play to London theatregoers who received it so enthusiastically that "Potash and Perlmutter" remained for 665 performances. Arthur S. Ross, who plays the "senior member of the firm," is also completely at home as Abe, having played it during extensive tours throughout the Middle West and on the West Coast.

"Traveling Saleslady" at Fox Brooklyn

Joan Blondell, Glenda Farrell, Hugh Herbert, William Gargan, Bert Roach, and Al Shean are to be seen on the screen at Fabian's Fox Brooklyn Theatre this week in "Traveling Saleslady," the new Warner comedy. George McQueen, popular master of ceremonies and radio personality, will officiate over the gala Easter Week Stage Show.

One of the Thrillers at the Biggest Show on Earth



The Loyal-Repenski Troupe Riders in the Barnum & Bailey Circus at Madison Square Garden

"Reckless" at Capitol

Jean Harlow and William Powell in "Reckless" opens at the Capitol Theatre starting today.

Will Rogers' New Film in Easter Program at Albee

At the RKO-Albee this week, Will Rogers' latest comedy, "Life Begins at 40," is on the screen and a fun-packed vaudeville show is on the stage. The acts, all Brooklyn favorites, are Johnny Burke, the monologist; the Twelve Aristocrats, dance presentations; Eddie South, dark angel of the violin, and his orchestra; Chester Fredericks with Bubbles Stewart, songs and steps, and the Fout Trojans, acrobats.

LECTURES

The Department of Social Philosophy of Cooper Union

(Formerly People's Institute) IN THE GREAT HALL, 5th Street and Astor Place At 8 o'clock Admission free
Friday, April 19th—NO MEETING
Saturday, April 20th—NO MEETING
Tuesday, April 23rd—NATHANIEL PEPPER "Can Freedom Be Preserved in a Planned Society?"

Labor Drama Festival

Plays by and for Workers presented jointly by Rebel Arts - Young Circle League - Brookwood Labor College Players - International Ladies' Garment Workers' Dramatic Groups THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH, 66 W. 12 St., N. Y. C. A different program for each performance. Saturday, April 20, 8:30 p.m. Sunday, April 21, 2:30 p.m. & 8:30 p.m. Tickets: three shows \$1; single shows 50c; reserved seats single shows 50c. Rand School Bookshop (7 E. 15th St.)

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The Low Down On The High Up At The Music Box

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

LOW AHEAD!

"CEILING ZERO" by Frank Wead.
At the Music Box.

With all the authority of an old-time navy airman, and all the practice of a writer on the subject, Frank Wead sets his lively play in the "Operations Office" of the Federal Air Lines. With swift interchange of aviation cant—a glossary is provided in the program—and as up-to-the-minute news as the word that Pan-American Airways is about to inaugurate regular trans-Pacific service, the action carries "three musketeers" of the air to their final landing place, and shows the shift in emphasis in the field of aviation. As one character puts it: "They no longer want pilots, they want engineers."

Two of the "three musketeers," having been just airmen, must go; one dies in a crash, the other ends a reckless, dare-devil, lady-spangled life, by flying off against orders, into certain death, in order to get necessary scientific data—and to leave the heroine's sweet-heart safe on land. The third of the war-time triumvirate had a bit of education, and is played by one of our best actors; he ends life as supervisor of the operations division, bossing about the other characters and generally wise-cracking around the office. Since Osgood Perkins takes the role, there is also considerable spreading of legs from chair to table, and stretching of arms over head in—oh quite grace-

Katharine Cornell Says It Is a Privilege to Present "Flowers of the Forest"

"There are plays which are 'must' productions, and I consider John Van Druten's 'Flowers of the Forest' distinctly in this category," said Katharine Cornell in her dressing room of the Martin Beck Theatre, where she is presenting this drama. "The theatre is not a soap-box platform, but if a dramatist in terms of the drama can effectively and honestly treat so important and vital a subject as pacifism, then it is a privilege for a producer to bring it out in his play."

Mr. Van Druten insists that the glory is in living, not in dying. Particularly at this moment what he says must be heard with the world ready to grapple at each other's throats. It is well to remind jingoistic patriots and capitalist citizens what war actually is, and nothing better can show this than the stage which emotionally and spiritually can picture what the war generation endured.

"The test of a play is the reaction of its audience. When first we acted 'Flowers of the Forest' in Baltimore, every audience which saw it cheered at the end of the drama. They not yet had been told that they were not to admire a play which spoke in forthright manner about the subject which is occupying the thoughts of all sane and thinking men and women."

"Flowers of the Forest" is the third of Miss Cornell's season. Though "Romeo and Juliet" was turning hundreds of people away at every performance, the actress-manager withdrew it so that she might continue her program to produce "The Barretts of Wimpole Street," "Flowers of the Forest," and "Candida." The latter comedy will be given at special performances during the engagement of "Flowers of the Forest," which will be continued as long as there are audiences which wish to see it.

"Les Miserables" Opens at the Rivoli

"Les Miserables," with a formidable cast headed by Fredric March, Charles Laughton, and Sir Cedric Hardwicke, opens on the Rivoli screen for an indefinite run starting today.

Group Theatre presents
Waiting for Lefty

and
Till the Day I Die

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LONGACRE THEATRE,
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TOSCANINI, Conductor
AT CARNegie HALL
Sunday Afternoon at 3:00
ALL-WAGNER PROGRAM
Thurs. Eve. at 8:45; Fri. Aft. at 2:30
Next Sunday Afternoon at 3:00
(Last Concerts of the Season)
BEETHOVEN; MISSA SOLEMNIS
with the SCHOLA CANTORUM CHORUS
(Hugh Ross, Conductor)
Solists:
Bethberg, Telva, Martinelli, Pizzo
Arthur Judson, Mgr.

ful!—yawns and handclappings, as the well-known Perkins swift action languishes to the well-known Perkins sloth.

The story? Of ships flying, carrying passengers, carrying mail. Soaring through clear sky, with the ceiling (clouds above) a mile

high; flying blind through thick fog, with the ceiling zero. And on the ground, old army men, old navy men, new young scientists of aeronautics, sweet hostesses and aviation widows: a quick-paced melodrama that at the same time shows the relentless spirit of commerce, the insistent drive of big business, entering a field that hitherto has been mainly a war-maneuvering, mainly a one-man risk. "Ceiling Zero" points the path the air business will take.

★★★—"The happiest romance of the current theatre season. The best I can wish you is that you will have as good a time as I had." —Bums Mantle, News

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IRENE PURCELL

PLYMOUTH THEATRE, 45th St. West of Broadway
Eves. 8:40—Mats. Mon., Thurs. & Sat.

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LOUIS HORST, Pianist (Stilwell) Tickets \$1.10, \$1.65, \$2.20. Mgt. F. Hawkins

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BELASCO THEATRE 44th STREET, East of Broadway
BRYANT 9-5100—Evenings at 8:10
Extra Matinee Monday, April 22 Matinees Mon., Thursday and Saturday

"If your hope is for an end of war, then any play as eloquently written as this one is worth your time and demands your support." —Bums Mantle, The News

KATHARINE CORNELL

In John Van Druten's

"FLOWERS OF THE FOREST"

"A stirring plea for peace. The acting is the finest this season has flowered." —Joseph Shipley, The New Leader
MARTIN BECK THEATRE, 45th St. W. of 8 Ave. Nights 8:40. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

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In "Cardinal Richelieu"



Maureen O'Sullivan graces the screen of the Radio City Music Hall in "Cardinal Richelieu," which stars George Arliss in the title role

At Broadway Trans-Lux

In addition to one-half hour of newsreel news, the Broadway Trans-Lux Theatre at 49th Street is playing Walt Disney's Silly Symphony, "Funny Little Bunnies," a travelogue on "Charming Ceylon," and Charlie Chaplin in "The Cure" as a special treat for the Easter week holidays. (This show has been especially balanced and chosen to be of interest to children as well as adults.)

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CHESTER MORRIS
JEAN PARKER
in
"PRINCESS O'HARA"

MIDNITE SHOW SAT.

George Arliss in "Cardinal Richelieu" in Easter Week Program at Radio City Music Hall

The Easter Week program at Radio City Music Hall is headed by the newest George Arliss photograph, in which the distinguished star appears in the title role of "Cardinal Richelieu."

An unusually lavish stage spectacle also will be presented by Leonidoff in the theatre's holiday shows. It will feature Edwina Eustis, former contralto of the Philadelphia Opera, and Jan Peere, popular tenor.

Another attraction will be Walt Disney's latest Silly Symphony in Technicolor titled, "The Robber Kitten."

"Cardinal Richelieu" is a Twentieth Century production, directed by Rowland V. Lee and released through United Artists. In Mr. Arliss' supporting cast are Maureen O'Sullivan, Edward Arnold, Francis Lister, Douglas Dumbrille, Cesar Romero, Halliwell Hobbes, Violet Cooper, Kathryn Alexander.

Gala Easter Program at the Roxy Theatre

The Easter stage and screen show at the Roxy Theatre this week consists of new Paramount

comedy, "Love in Bloom," with Burns and Allen, on the screen, and with the Singer's Midget plus a gala revue on the stage.

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IS SUPERB!
—Andre Sennwald, Times
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The Workers Abroad

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

Scandinavia Under Socialist Rule

(We reprint the following article from the Prague Sozialdemokrat as not only of immediate news value but also as an illuminating contribution to an understanding of party problems elsewhere. Although it deals basically with the recent assumption of the government in Norway by the Labor Party, it contains some valuable lessons pertaining to questions of general policy and tactics.)

THE fall of the Liberal Wominkel government in Norway and the formation of a new government by Johann Nygaardsvold, leader of the Norwegian Labor Party and president of the Storting (Parliament), is the long expected and repeatedly delayed consequence of the Labor Party's two great election victories in recent years. In the past six months the Wominkel government had the support in the Storting of only 26 of the 150 deputies, and had maintained itself solely upon the fear of a labor cabinet in Norway on the part of the bourgeois parties.

Doomed to downfall by the Labor Party's first electoral victory in 1933, the Wominkel government was able to continue in office after the second victory of the Labor Party in 1934 only because the Labor Party and the Peasant Party had been unable to reach an understanding.

In recent years the right wing of the Peasant Party had manifested an inclination to fascism, which failed however to find full expression because of the very strong anti-fascist sentiments generally prevailing in Scandinavia. On the other hand, the left wing of the Peasant Party, representing the small peasants, animated as all Scandinavian peasant parties are by old democratic traditions, had been evincing an ever-growing desire for cooperation with the Labor Party as a result of the latter's constant increase in strength. What impressed the Peasant Party particularly was the growth of Labor Party sentiment among the peasants themselves. Added to this was the overshadowing example of the successful cooperation between the Swedish Social Democracy and the Swedish Peasant Party.

"Labor Is the Whole People"

BOTH electoral victories of the Norwegian Labor Party had been won under the slogan: "Labor Is the Whole People," a slogan which captured the popular imagination. Step by step the Wominkel government had been compelled to yield to the recovery program of the Labor Party. Nor would the Socialists relax their pressure even after Wominkel had declared that the appropriation of 42,000,000 kroner, as demanded by them, constituted the limit of what he could approve for relief purposes. Meanwhile, the left wing of the Peasant Party had gained the upper hand. This sealed the fate of the Wominkel government and opened the door for the Nygaardsvold cabinet.

Once before—in 1928—the Norwegian Labor Party had formed a government. At that time Norway's finance capital had managed to bring about its overthrow within 18 days by a currency maneuver. This time, however, the party has formed a government under considerably more favorable circumstances. First, it is much stronger ideologically and in organization. When the old Norwegian Social Democracy went through a split immediately after the war, the left wing became the majority faction, particularly with respect to its influence upon the youth. The Social Democracy was reduced to a comparatively insignificant party. The new Norwegian Labor Party (founded by the left wing) joined the Communist International. Soon it became apparent, however, that cooperation with Moscow was impossible for a party that wished to pursue an independent policy, adapted to the conditions of its own country.

Labor Party Quits Moscow

THEREUPON, the party seceded from the Communist International, and another split followed, resulting in the formation of a separate Communist Party, which has remained insignificant. The Labor Party affiliated with the so-called "Paris International" (now virtually non-existent), a splinter group headed by Angelica Balabanoff, of which the Norwegian Labor Party became the chief moral and, particularly, financial support. In 1927 the party consummated a reunion with the old Social Democrats, who had left the Second International, while the Labor Party quit the "Paris International."

The new united front of Norwegian labor, brought about at the price of severance of its international affiliations, produced results in the very first year. (The Norwegian Labor Party's return to our own Labor and Socialist International, for which negotiations are in progress, is now a question of a very short time. Ed.) The reunited party increased the number of its seats in Parliament from 35 to 59. There followed its first unsuccessful attempt to run the government. At the same time the party ventured to revise its program (in the direction of the left), which produced unfortunate results, and in 1931 it gave the bourgeois parties an opportunity to wage a campaign of falsehoods against it in the style of the "Zinoviev" election in England. The party suffered a severe defeat, which led to a fundamental revision and reorganization of Norwegian Socialism and laid the basis for the victories of the past two years. Coupled with this were the effects of the undeniable successes achieved under the policy and tactics of the Danish Social Democracy since 1929 and the Swedish Social Democracy since 1932, through cooperation between labor and the peasantry in the battle against the depression and fascism. These successes did not remain without influence upon the Norwegian Labor Party.

Immediate Demands Bring Success

HAVING become too big to dodge responsibility by inactivity in the midst of the depression, the responsibility which it owed to the masses of workers and peasants, the Norwegian Labor Party was compelled to follow the tactics of the Danish and Swedish parties. Accepting the Swedish recovery program as its model, the Norwegian Labor Party put forward its program "Labor Is the People," which, like the Swedish program, was based particularly upon the union of workers and peasants against finance capital. With this Socialist program of immediate demands the Labor Party roused the Norwegian workers, peasants and fishermen to indescribable enthusiasm. At the same time, with the aid of its program, revised in 1933, which made defense of democracy a cardinal principle, the party was able to win a striking success in the Storting elections, which not only made good the defeat of 1921 but far exceeded the victory of 1927. Above all, the party succeeded in capturing large masses of the peasants and fishermen, three-fourths of its gains being in the rural districts. This meant very substantial support for its recovery program, which promised immediate assistance to the Norwegian small peasantry and fishermen.

As an immediate consequence of this victory, which would have been quite impossible without the successes of Danish and Swedish Socialism in the fight against the depression and fascism, came the strengthening of the connections of the Norwegian Labor Party with the two other great Scandinavian labor parties, particularly with the Swedish Social Democracy. Last year, for the first time in a decade, a delegation of the Norwegian Labor Party participated in a conference of Social Democratic parties of the North.

Nygaardsvold will present the Labor Party's recovery program to the Storting as the program of the government. Aid to the peasantry will occupy a large place. By this program the Labor Party will, in all probability, win the support of the Peasant Party, as have the Social Democrats in Sweden.

With the entry of the Norwegian Labor Party in the government the whole of Scandinavia is now under Socialist leadership. The Norwegian labor government signifies not only a further approach of the Scandinavian countries to each other, but also another great step forward toward the unification of all Northern Europe—Denmark and Iceland, Sweden and Norway—into one Socialist bloc, rising like a mighty rock of peace, civilization and happiness over the chaos of Europe.

By Thomas R. Amlie

The following address by a Wisconsin Congressman is of special interest in that it shows an advance beyond the thought of the average progressive of that state.

AN English statistician has computed the sums spent by the various warring nations during the World War for death and destruction. It was found that, taken in the aggregate, the cost of the World War would have been sufficient to accomplish the following:

To buy a house with garden, garage, and other outbuildings at the value of \$8,000 for each and every family in the United States, Canada, England, Belgium, France, Germany and Russia.

To build a \$10,000,000 hospital in each city of these seven major countries of 200,000 or more inhabitants;

To erect a public library in each of these cities at the same value;

To give each of these a university costing \$20,000,000.—And after all this, still have enough money left to buy all the real estate of France and Belgium at pre-war prices.

It would be quite appropriate if the anniversary of America's entry into the war were set aside as a day of mourning. On the contrary, April 6 was a great holiday in Washington. On that day the army, navy and military organizations celebrated our entrance into the World War. A great parade of fifty thousands men marched down Constitution Avenue. Forty bands played while overhead an army of airplanes performed in sham battle formation, laid smoke screens, and as the parade reached

the reviewing stand roared by in battle formation.

And while the parade was going on, Administration leaders in the House of Representatives were trying to put through the American Legion bill introduced by Rep. McSwain, chairman of the Military Affairs Committee. This bill in its original form provided not only for the conscription of soldiers but also for the conscription of labor, not only in case of war but also in case of an undefined national emergency.

I have given you this picture of Washington on the 18th anniversary of our entrance into the World War because I believe that we should face squarely the realities with which we have to deal.

Capitalism and War

The causes of war in modern society are economic. The economic exigencies of capitalism are driving the nations of the world toward war. This is only too apparent today. Last month the nations of the world definitely abandoned all pretense of curtailing armaments or adhering to any of the agreements for the reduction of armaments that had been entered into since the termination of the World War. The nations are re-arming at a more furious rate than prior to 1914.

There can be no solution of this question until we first solve the economic problems with which we are confronted.

The last three months have served to clarify a great many uncertainties on the political horizon.

As time has gone on the New Deal has increasingly shown its inability to cope with the big business interests. At the same time it has shown its inability or unwillingness to protect the consumer, to protect the laborer, the farmer and in particular the sharecropper in the South.

The much vaunted social security legislation hardly measures up to Chancellor Bismarck's program of the last century. At the same time the Administration has not only been unwilling to refuse the Army and Navy crowd any of the things they have demanded but has even sanctioned the holding of our annual naval maneuvers in the Aleutian Islands, a highly provocative act.

In order to understand the policies of the Democratic Party it is necessary to remember that this party has a tremendous vested interest in staying in power. One-fifth of the people of the country are living entirely on relief or on wages paid out of the national treasury. In the last three years, 10 billion dollars have been paid out as doles to business. An additional five billion dollars have just been voted for unemployment relief. Quite naturally the party as an organization will do whatever is most likely to perpetuate its control.

The Democratic Party

While the party won control in 1932 by appealing to the Forgotten Man of the South and West, it is becoming increasingly obvious that this Forgotten Man cannot be adequately cared for within the framework of the economic system. The plantation owners of the South (who retain their right of franchise), and the business men of the East can, however, be taken care of for the time being. This combination spells the political control of the United States and as has become increasingly clear, their demands will be met by the Democratic Party. After all, the vested interests of the country have more to gain by dealing with the party in power than with a party more to its liking, but whose continued existence is problematical.

Even though the Democratic Party does not move further to the right, if it merely stands still making occasional concessions to the left, it will by force of events become the right wing party. Quite naturally, a political vacuum will be created on the left. The people who will naturally tend to fill this political vacuum are in the main those living in the debtor areas, west of the Mississippi and south of the Ohio River.

It doesn't seem to me that political economists fully realize the significance of the debtor and

creditor relationship which exists between large areas in the United States. This situation becomes particularly significant when we take into consideration the historical background which led to this relationship.

The debtor areas are in the main the areas that have produced the raw materials used in building our economic system. The people in these areas feel they have been exploited for the benefit of an industrial and commercial East, through the expedient of having been compelled to sell in an open market and to buy in a protected home market.

Debtors and Creditors

The people in the debtor areas find themselves today in a position that no matter how hard or how long they work it is impossible to meet fixed charges, let alone support themselves on the barest subsistence basis.

Quite naturally, their first demand is that they be relieved from the crushing burden of debt which rests upon them. Quite logically, they turn to plans for monetary reform and currency inflation. They hope that through the process of inflation they may get rid of their debts.

If the new party is to be localized and confined to the debtor areas, naturally the philosophy of Populism and greenbackism will be dominant. But even in these areas there are large numbers of realistic people, in the main the younger people, who realize that even though their debts are wiped out they might be but little better off than they are now.

In my opinion, the most significant piece of work ever performed by a government agency is the National Survey of Potential Product Capacity set up with CWA money. This survey showed that in terms of goods and services an average income per family equal to \$4,370 in 1929 could be produced with our present physical plant.

Our problem today is to sell the American people on the results of this survey. I feel confident that it can be done. While the American people have never shown any interest in or any ability to grasp abstract social theories, they are

nevertheless fully aware of the social implications of our machine technology. The average American is fully conscious that his job has been taken away from him by a machine. He is vaguely conscious of what could be accomplished if this same machine were put to use working for him. The universal and instantaneous appeal of the idea of technocracy demonstrated this fact. The response of the American people to the idea of sharing the wealth is merely further evidence of the same thing.

I believe that if the American people were to be appealed to in a way that would not run contrary to quite irrelevant prejudices, they could be sold on the following three-point program: 1. Full production; 2. Equitable distribution; 3. The changes in our institutions that might be necessary.

Obviously, full production can be achieved only by planned production for use. The American people are beginning to realize that the profit motive has failed. They are also quite capable of understanding that planned production is possible only if the planner is in a position of ownership and control.

But if the economically intelligent and realistic people of the country are merely to concern themselves with their factional disagreements, obviously the larger mass movement will tend to follow the course of least resistance.

In the debtor areas the people will tend to unite behind a program that can logically result only in complete currency debasement. The people in these areas will not think in terms of the nation's welfare but only of their own immediate financial problems and sectional interests.

This development has already gone far enough to indicate that a mass movement is in the making in certain sections based upon this approach to the problem.

In one sense this is an encouraging symptom. It shows that the people are ready to move, but if they are to move in the direction of a sound economic program for the country as a whole, it stands to reason that the movement must be given direction in a nationwide sense by those people who correctly understand the nature of the problem and are thinking in terms of the welfare of the people as a whole.



From the Washington Daily News

BLACK ON WHITE

By Eugene Lyons

TWO American millionaires, man and wife (writes Eugene Lyons, former United Press correspondent in Moscow, in the Jewish Daily Bulletin), are so convinced that "the revolution" is around the corner that they have taken out double insurance, as it were:

First: they have placed themselves on record as friends of the Bolsheviks—not actually members of the Communist party but on its periphery. The kind of Communists who receive invitations to Soviet diplomatic functions, attend dinners of the Friends of the Soviet Union and are ready to carry on the great experiment bravely, ruthlessly, to the last Russian.

Second: they have bought an interest in a safe and sunny retreat in the South Seas. When the big time comes and the liquidations begin, these two will simply retire to a Polynesian paradise.

The South Seas project interests me particularly. The wealthy couple are not the only "Bolsheviks" in it. Associated with them are a number of people whom I know through their activities in Moscow, self-styled liberals and public friends of the downtrodden masses.

Their plans look to the establishment of a cozy retreat for superior Americans, desirous of escaping the sorrows and annoyances of the world. The island has already been acquired and a sort of cooperative "club" is being organized to finance, maintain and use it.

For a portion of the year, at least, the members will be able to abandon the madding crowd and the crowded madness of civilization. Their promotional literature

on the subject says nothing about this—but one of the major annoyances they intend to escape is Jews. When they expose their "Aryan" tummies to the Polynesian sun there will be no Semitic skins to mar the picture.

That another club from which Jews are barred is in existence is not in itself news; it is too commonplace to deserve notice. The virgin beauty of an uninhabited South Sea island can be smudged with anti-Semitism as easily as a Florida beach or a Long Island golf course.

What makes it remarkable is that the membership includes these near-Bolsheviks. One of them, in fact, is always held up as an example of a foreign writer who (unlike myself and other backsliders) is doing right by the Soviet experiment.

HOW thin and meaningless is the "Bolshevism" that has become the fashion among comfortable American intellectuals! It is no more than a transparent veneer of their essential fascist natures.

I have seen roomfuls of them. Stripped of their oh-and-ah enthusiasm for everything Russian, they are the garden variety reactionaries. What attracts them, really, is the hard-boiled, dehumanized technique of the Bolsheviks. It makes them feel a part of a tremendous machine of power that moves forward relentlessly, that plows down lives with a superman "firmness," that treats human creatures as so many guinea pigs.

The thrill-hunters are lionized by the genuine radicals. The fact that the "best people," intellectually and financially speaking, are going Bolshevik warms the cockles of their meek hearts.

Before the war the radical movement had its "millionaire Socialists," its Stokeses and Wallings and Bullards and Bross Lloyds, as decorative fronts. Now that fashionable embellishment has been acquired by the Communists. The first breath of reality, the war, tore down the decoration two decades ago. The first breath of rev-

olution will send the new group running where their natural instinct leads them.

ONE of these days I shall write an article entitled "Pent-house Bolsheviks or Ritzky Rebels." It will include word pictures, among others, of the following:

1. The son of a multi-millionaire. He is overshadowed by his father's name and his father's wealth. In his own circle he is just another offspring. Eventually he finds himself in Bolshevik circles. In that setting his every act becomes news. Because of his wealth, his ideas are treated with a disproportionate respect. Previously he was just another millionaire. Now he is an important and glamorous personality—a millionaire Bolshevik.

2. A neurotic lady of excessive means and flesh. She has tried theosophy, table rapping, Christian Science. Now, at last, she has "found" Communism. Something real, immediate, powerful, with an entire nation under its control—yet comfortably far away, and practiced on a lot of Russians. My dears, it's too wonderful.

3. A well-paid literary critic. He knows that he has more brains than his boss, the owner of the paper, whom we may call Moneybags. He wreaks a subtle and satirical revenge by using the columns of the Moneybags publications to undermine the whole capitalist system. Not love of the proletariat (whom he despises) or faith in Karl Marx, but the joy of sticking pins into Mr. Moneybags and getting paid for his trouble.

Seriously, it is my conviction that the extent to which American Communism has won adherents among its natural enemies—and lost the support of its natural friends—is a significant development. It should cause a few of the leaders, here and in Moscow, to consider a return to the idealism and humanism which inspired the Russian revolution in its preparatory and early stages.

Nazi Terror in Danzig At Election Failed To Stop Socialists

The Danzig election, which resulted so brilliantly for the Social Democracy, was fought under conditions of fearful terror. The Socialist workers took their lives in their hands when they campaigned against the Nazi savages.

The following report from the International Federation of Trade Unions gives a picture of the election in the "Free" State.

"Tear gas attacks on Socialist election meetings. On March 23, visitors at meetings assaulted by Nazis. On March 24, the dwellings of the Socialist candidates Zimatis and Handel razed to the ground. On March 26, Socialist deputy Krupke seriously maltreated in his home. Up to March 26 more than 50 non-Nazi workers man-handled.

"In the 'Free' City, while the Nazis were allowed to use arms and assault people holding different views, on March 27, 16 members of the Workers' Gymnastic Union had to appear in court on a charge of 'breaking the peace' by being in possession of cudgels for the purpose of their gymnastic exercises.

"In connection with the recent cases of persons being kidnapped abroad and carried off to Germany to be dealt with for hostility to the Nazi regime, special interest attaches to the fact that the German Secret Police (Gestapo) on March 22 gave instructions to bring the President of the Socialist Trade Union Movement of Danzig, Karl Töpfer, to Germany."

Despite all this terror, the Socialists were the principal opposition to the Nazi attempt at "coordinating" the Freistadt, and even increased their votes.

McLevy Battles for Jobless Insurance in Connecticut

By Abraham Knepler

HARTFORD.—Bridgeport's Socialist legislator, Mayor Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport and Martin F. Plunkett of Wallingford, state chairman of the Socialist Party, were among those who spoke in support of unemployment insurance and other proposed social legislation before the Judiciary committee of the General Assembly on Tuesday. The unemployment insurance bill is sponsored jointly by the Connecticut Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party.

Socialists appeared also in behalf of a party-sponsored bill to create a tri-party commission to make a study of the advisability of setting up health insurance for the workers of the state.

Last week before the Cities and Boroughs Committee, a hearing was held on bills affecting the city of Bridgeport. The civil service and merit system bill aroused the greatest controversy, with old party representatives opposing the bill, and representatives of the Socialist Party supporting the measure. Committees representing several groups of municipal employees endorsed the bill.

The voters at the last election also overwhelmingly endorsed the proposed for a civil service system for the city's employees.

Modern Socialism is the outcome and product of industrial revolution, and has become international as the sweeping changes in industry have spread over the civilized nations of the globe. Had there been no industrial revolution there would be no demand for Socialism.—Chas. H. Vail.



They're hungry, but they don't want charity

Production of Cotton Goes Up; Prices Down

HOW capitalism as a world economy affects production and prices in the leading nations is evident from the efforts of the American government to control King Cotton. Within three years the United States has cut cotton production 46 per cent and the price has increased from 6 cents to 12 cents—with what results?

Knowledge of restriction of production here has brought an increase of 8 per cent production in India, 22 per cent in Egypt, and 68 per cent in Brazil! Moreover, Russia expects to export cotton soon.

In this country, two years ago, ten million acres of cotton were plowed under for a bounty of \$105,000,000. Last year the farmers desisted from planting five million acres, in return for a bounty of \$135,000,000, says the United States News.

The price is now 12 cents and about \$240,000,000 was paid out by consumers of cotton to cotton producers through processing taxes. By the reduction of acreage, thousands of tenants and share-croppers were displaced and were thrown on the relief rolls! Some cotton producers make a living by the increased price of cotton and others are completely uprooted!

Now the government cannot let go. If there is one year of unrestricted production in this country while production increases in India, Egypt and Brazil, the world will be flooded with cotton and the price will drop like shot from a high tower! If restriction is continued, the government must pay producers a bounty with one hand and with the other feed those who are uprooted from the soil!

Thus the system of production for sale produces fantastic results. It baffles intelligent control. It keeps officials on the anxious seat. Human welfare is sacrificed and the anarchy of the market brings misery to cotton growers all over the world.

It isn't the shippers, the brokers, the gamblers and exploiters who suffer. It is the masses of men, women and children who produce one of the basic essentials of human existence who are penalized. Socialist production alone would bring order and systematic control where chaos now rules. Socialist production would have for its main consideration the welfare of the cotton grower and of the masses who consume the cotton in finished goods.

Capitalism? Faugh!

MINE WORKERS DONATE \$5,000 TO DRIVE UPON FASCISM

The United Mine Workers of America, the largest single trade union in the world, have contributed \$5,000 out of their union treasury to start the Chest for the Liberation of Oppressed Workers in Europe, American Labor's anti-fascist fund.

This substantial donation starts a nation-wide labor drive for a vast fund with which the American labor movement intends to wage war upon Nazism and fascism in all its forms.

Vice-President Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor, in announcing the contribution, cited a report from William Schevenels, general secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, with headquarters in Paris, giving information on sums received and spent by the Federation in connection with trade union anti-fascist activities for 1934, outside of the United States. Altogether \$824,220 was collected. The following trade union groups were the largest contributors: Great Britain, \$158,700; Holland, \$126,600; Czechoslovakia, \$120,400; Switzerland, \$70,000; Sweden, \$60,700; Denmark, \$55,600; Belgium, \$38,000; France, \$23,000, and Norway, \$10,000.

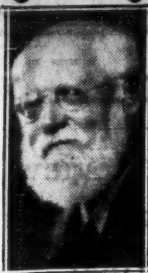
John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, accompanied the check with the following comment:

"The United Mine Workers are happy to be able to make this initial contribution of \$5,000 to the cause of the oppressed and persecuted German workers, whose free organizations were destroyed by the ruthless Nazi regime."

The Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity recently adopted a resolution to form a local New York City Chest to promote the boycott against goods manufactured in Nazi Germany and to raise funds to aid European victims of Nazism and Fascism and to combat the rise of Fascism in America. John L. Mulholland, vice-president of the Council, was appointed chairman, and 12 other prominent labor leaders, including George Meany, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, were named on the committee.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

An Analysis of the Composition of the Working Class by K. Kautsky



By Karl Kautsky

IN a previous article we spoke of those Social Democrats who, under the influence of events in Germany, have begun to doubt the efficacy of democracy and are now inclined to acceptance of the policy of dictatorship. These Social Democrats, however, differ on one point from the Bolsheviks: they do not want a dictatorship over the proletariat but a dictatorship of the proletariat. At any rate, this is how I interpret their rather vaguely formulated conception. Were they to imply a dictatorship under which a single person or a committee is to be vested with absolute power not only over the working class but over the entire population, there would be no difference between them and the Communists so far as the problems immediately confronting us are concerned.

These Social Democrats desire a dictatorship of the proletariat itself, but not in the Marxian sense of a political situation that emanates from democracy at a certain stage of the development of the proletariat, but a political order under which the proletariat wields absolute power, without taking into account the level of its development and intelligence. Unlike democracy, we are told, such an order would be a dependable instrument for the building of Socialism, regardless of the element of maturity of the proletariat.

We need not dwell here on the possibility of establishing such an order in countries where the proletariat is too weak to establish or defend democracy. I have already emphasized that the proletariat requires much less power, intelligence and independence to attain democracy and political power through democracy than would be necessary for the establishment and maintenance of its own dictatorship over all other classes of society.

But let us assume, for the sake of argument, that such a dictatorship could be established after the proletariat will have crushed all its opponents. What would be the consequence?

What Is a Dictatorship?

A dictatorship is a state in which authority is centered in one will,

in which any criticism of this will is treated as a major crime. A real dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes, therefore, the existence of a united will in the proletarian ranks. Many often assume as a self-evident fact that the proletariat constitutes a united, homogeneous mass, to be pitted against a homogeneous "reactionary mass." The truth is, however, that the proletariat is not a self-evident phenomenon or a uniform, homogeneous, "totalitarian" mass, to use a German expression. Marx was first to make clear the conception of the proletariat, which he attained only after obtaining a deep insight into the framework of capitalist society.

It is naive to conceive the proletariat as synonymous with the mass of the poor and needy. Marx conceived the proletariat as consisting only of those workers who do not own or control the means of production they must use in order to live, and who are consequently obliged to sell their labor power. Strictly speaking, the small peasantry or farmers, artisans and petty tradesmen do not belong to the category of the proletariat, however needy they may be. These elements perceive their salvation not in a Socialist society, but in the rise of prices on commodities they offer for sale. Their ideal is to become bigger peasants or farmers, artisans and business men in the society based on private ownership.

Categories of the Proletariat

On the other hand, the proletarians themselves are divided into two categories, neither of which own any means of production. But only under certain specific historical circumstances can they find buyers for their labor power. This becomes possible on a large scale only where capital has acquired control of industry and requires wage labor. Before this development becomes a fact the masses of the propertyless have but one recourse—to beg or steal. This type of proletarians are not necessary to the basis of society. On the contrary, they are an unnecessary burden. They live only upon the alms of the propertied classes or by plundering them. Such proletarians cannot grasp the ideal of a new, better social order, much less are they fit to fight for it.

To the extent to which they are dependent upon the good will of the higher classes they become cringing and sycophantic. Individuals among them, those of stronger character, turn to violent resentment and become criminals. Such elements are easily disposed of by the state.

Due to particularly favorable circumstances, proletarians of this type attained to great political power in ancient Rome, which after prolonged struggles had established a democratic constitution, but a great portion of whose citizens had become impoverished as a result of continuous civil wars. Under this condition the urban proletariat obtained the power in the state, but not knowing how to utilize it it found nothing better to do than to sell its votes to those who paid the most in bread and circuses, or to sell itself as hired mercenaries to successful and ambitious military leaders.

It was this political and military assistance on the part of the proletariat that made possible the dictatorship of a single individual in Rome, which led to the rise of Caesarism and its development into a state form.

Marx's Definition

Marx differentiated sharply between the proletariat of this type, which he termed the *Lumpenproletariat*, and the *wage earning proletariat*. It was the latter type that he regarded as capable of developing, in the process of many struggles and through long experience, the requisite power and ability to emancipate itself, and thus move society forward to higher forms.

Marx did not imply that the wage-earning proletariat became conscious of its important position in society and great historic mission immediately upon its appearance in society. Hundreds of years of struggle were required before such consciousness became possible, and even then it was confined at the beginning to a small elite, which, perceiving its social power and significance, placed before itself the aim of a fundamental social overturn.

Under certain circumstances this elite can develop rapidly in numbers, but behind this elite and the *Lumpenproletariat* there remains a mass which Marx well characterized as "the undeveloped part" of the proletariat. Economically, this mass performs the functions of the wage-earning proletariat, but intellectually and culturally it

is not much above the level of the *Lumpenproletariat*. It no longer begs for alms but for work, perceiving frequently in the capitalist who employs it not the exploiter who lives upon its labor but the master, the philanthropist, upon whose good will the wage earner subsists. Occasionally, these proletarians begin to glean vaguely the real character of the situation, which, in turn, leads them to manifestations of resistance. But they are not capable of continuous, systematic struggle. Only occasionally are they moved to outbursts of resistance. But they are not capable of continuous, systematic struggle. Only occasionally are they moved to outbursts of resistance. But they are not capable of continuous, systematic struggle.

Within the wage-earning proletariat itself there are numerous differentiations of thinking and fighting capacity. These differentiations are partly local in character: city, town and country. There are also the differences of luxury cities and industrial cities. In the first we find more corrupt, servile, reactionary elements among the workers than in the second. Added to these local differentiations are many differentiations of occupation, some of which facilitate the work of education, enlightenment, organization and struggle. Others make it much more difficult. Women have always been more difficult to organize than men. The same is true of workers in isolated occupations, as compared with those in large-scale production.

Another Differentiation

Thus we have another division in the proletariat, running parallel with the differentiations of developed and undeveloped workers: that of the organized and unorganized workers. But the two differentiations are not identical. The elite of the workers have never sought to keep aloof from their undeveloped comrades. On the contrary, the elements comprising the proletariat elite have never tired in their efforts to elevate the whole of the working class. On the other hand, we have seen organizations of workers in certain crafts who, having managed to win very substantial advantages for themselves, have assumed a special character and have sought to exclude out-

bursts of despair, which is followed immediately by dejection and surrender. Higher aims than those of the moment are beyond the scope of the undeveloped proletariat.

Three Big Groups
This general analysis of the character and composition of the proletariat suffices to reveal its division into three big groups, each with its own mode of thinking, its own capacity for struggle, its own aims and methods.

The development of capitalist industry makes possible the growth of the advanced portions of the proletariat over the other two—the undeveloped proletarians as well as the *Lumpenproletariat*. The war and the world economic crisis, in the manner characteristic of any aristocracy. The unorganized workers are left to their fate. In such instances we find another clear break in the uniformity of the proletariat. This particular division continued for decades in England, for example, after the collapse of the First International.

In the continental countries of Europe we have had no such situation. In these countries the workers had been compelled to wage a bitter struggle for democracy before they could begin to organize. In that struggle, as in all others, the proletariat elite took the lead. But its aim was one in which the entire proletariat, as well as the peasants and artisans, were interested, while the intensity of the political movement served to checkmate any manifestations of selfish group thinking in the trade unions.

In the course of capitalist development the wage-earning proletariat continued to increase, while the workers who own their means of production increased but slowly and, in some instances, actually decreased. As a general rule, the more developed elements of the wage-earning proletariat showed the greatest proportion of increase, i.e., those who influence the less developed elements and stimulate the growth of general class-consciousness as against the influence of craft and other differentiations. Yet, there are tendencies operating in the opposite direction and giving rise to ever new differentiations in the ranks of the proletariat.

These tendencies remain to be analyzed before we proceed to our conclusions.

(To be continued)

Let's Weep-Pity This Poor Slave Of Duty!

WHILE workingmen risk their necks doing the work of industry, and break their hearts in the agonizing periods of unemployment, there is another class of men who also suffer; indeed, whose sufferings are so acute that the unemployed are pampered pets of fortune by comparison with them.

Need we say we have reference to the employers and the managers of industry who for beggarly tens or hundreds of thousands a year spend sleepless nights worrying?

Here we have the case-history of one of the Neediest Cases you ever saw, the story of E. E. Loomis, president of the Lehigh Valley Railroad, who spoke at a recent banquet of the Lehigh Veterans' Association. Quoting from the Evening Times of Sayre, Pa., we read:

"Mr. Loomis declared that business of the road, while still far below what it was before the depression, is improving and that, while no promises can be made in view of the changing conditions, it is hoped that many of the men who have been laid off since 1929 can be taken back soon. The Lehigh, Mr. Loomis said, has come through the depression thus far much better than many other railroads, and he attributed this in a large measure to the men, which was exemplified by the spirit of those attending the veterans' meeting."

"This loyalty and cooperation have been most gratifying to him and the other officers of the road," he said, and added that he and the other officers have spent many sleepless nights worrying over the necessity of laying off employees.

"The revenue of the road has fallen off 50 per cent, he declared, with the result that five thousand employees have been laid off."

Whereupon a collection for Mr. Loomis was (not) taken up among the 5,000 laid off.

Say It Isn't True!

The Nazi government of the "Free" City of Danzig has just suppressed the *Volksstimme*, the Socialist Party's daily in that supposedly free territory.

The reason officially given is that the paper is "carrying false reports of alleged terrorism in suburban districts under Brown Shirt auspices."

Opponents of fascism should learn not to offend the tender sensibilities of Nazi functionaries by spreading such atrocity propaganda. "It's a lie and a Jew-Marxist falsehood that we ever mistreat non-Nazis," said the *Gauler* as he wiped the blood off his blackjack.

attacks of the reactionaries, it appears likely that the whole of the work now covering some 80,000 students will be abandoned. Already in Pennsylvania classes have been abruptly cancelled on the plea of "lack of funds." It will be interesting to see what the result of those attacks is.

Obviously, no government will consciously inform its own grave-digger how to acquire the art of removal. At best, workers' education under FERA is not a permanent thing. Unions should not rely upon FERA aid as a long-time proposition. Classes are delayed, restarted and stopped without any warning in some of the states. The best result will be if it arouses an appetite which the unions will resolve to satisfy.

So far, with the exception of the I.L.G.W.U. (spending yearly, from the head office, in addition to expenditures by the locals, on education over \$60,000) the unions have not taken workers' education seriously.

The American Federation of Hosiery Workers has been a good second, with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, outside two recent publications and its journal, largely resting on its laurels in this field. The surface of the opportunity for workers' education in the United States has not yet been scratched. We need all kinds of visual aids—movies as well as lantern slides—to help our teaching; much more outline material of an elementary sort for classes; improved and illustrated textbooks; bigger song books containing music as well as words; labor comedies for stage and radio as well as tragedies for the local dramatic groups; correspondence courses for isolated individuals and groups; work among youth and women's sections of the unions; a larger corps of organizers, voluntary teachers and class leaders.

We want unions to take up workers' education as a recognized and important part of their work. If the important unions united to make per capita payments entitling their members to educational benefits on a nation-wide scale, we could set up a network of labor colleges and classes covering the whole of the United States. Labor needs workers' education to save it from fascist deception and to gain and to wield its industrial and political power effectively.

How Unions Educate Their Members

By Mark Starr

THE American Federation of Labor Executive Council Report thus described and defined its attitude to Adult Education and FERA:

"The Emergency Education Program of the FERA, designed to put to work 100,000 necessitous teachers, is in line with American labor's concept of the expanding field of education. The Emergency Education Program last year covered six points, viz., adult education, classes for adult illiterates, vocational education, rehabilitation, nursery schools and rural education. For next year the fields of activity are the same except that forums are substituted for rural education. With the exception of rural education, regulations have restricted the Emergency Education Program to services not offered before 1932. In other words, it is designed not to meet deficiencies in school budgets but to provide for educational expansion. It is the soundest kind of work relief."

"The Emergency Education Program set-up includes for each state and for the federal government, a general supervisor of the program appointed by the Department or Bureau of Education, but working under the rules of the Emergency Relief Administration, which appropriates the money for the program. Under each state supervisor it is expected that there will be at least one supervisor for each section of the six-point program. For most states there will be other supervisors to handle parts of the program in large cities or administrative details. In the federal set-up and in many states there is a special supervisor for workers' education as a separate section of adult education. The supervisors of all parts of the program are presumably responsible for selection of teachers and their training before undertaking and also on the job. This is very important, for

Emergency Education Program of the FERA Put 100,000 Teachers to Work Along Lines Of Labor's Program

many of the teachers chosen have had no experience in the type of class which they will be expected to teach. This is particularly true in case of adult education.

"It is of especial importance to labor that supervisors sympathetic with the broad educational aims of labor be chosen. State supervisors of workers' education should have close contact with and understanding of the American labor movement as well as sound educational experience and principles. Otherwise they are prone to confuse American labor's ideals with dogmas of class conflict or to fail to appreciate the importance of integrating education with labor's life and work. Consequently it is essential that the officers of the State Federations of Labor and the Workers' Education Bureau be consulted in selection of these supervisors."

"The Emergency Education Program's emphasis upon adult education coincides with the expanding field of adult education. The Federation recognizes the need for training its younger organizers, officers and leaders just as industry sees the necessity of training classes for foremen, superintendents and executives. The Federation also stands for education of the membership in methods of making themselves articulate about

their needs and aspirations, in understanding, interpreting and promoting the labor movement, in the processes of collective bargaining, in the problems of their industry, and in the basic social sciences—economics, government, and social and psychological problems. The Emergency Education Program is an important but not the only resource for such classes."

(Pp. 137-137, Report of Proceedings of 54th Annual Convention of A. F. of L.)

While repudiating the confusion indicated by the reference to "dogmas of class conflict" (as if the class struggle were something injected in the situation say, in Detroit, Aliquippa and other places in the United States) we can agree that in the FERA, personnel selection is exceedingly important. The fundamentalist patrioters have trailed the workers' education specialist of the FERA, Miss Hilda Worthington Smith, as a "dangerous blonde" resolved to impart Red ideas, with Uncle Sam paying the bill. More likely is the possibility that in other hands this government subsidy of adult education may lead to Hitler's "power-through-gladiolus" groups which strait-jacket the workers outside of working hours. Some radicals are consciously "spoiling the Egyptians" as teachers and students, but they know that sooner or later

a showdown is inevitable. Some of them, of course, may fall for "the fleshpots of Egypt" and soft-pedal their views to suit reactionary supervisors. Other FERA teachers are pathetically unformed and unsuitable for workers' study groups. Reliable supervisors with trade union experience are to be found in only a few states, with Henry Rutz in Wisconsin as the best example. On the bright side, however, is the fact that these new FERA classes and teachers have been using lesson material published by Brookwood, the Affiliated Schools and the Rand School.

At the present moment the Red-baiters are on the track of the Workers' Education Division of the FERA. Inquiries of every sort are threatened, and undoubtedly Mr. Hopkins and Miss Hilda W. Smith will have to face the music of all those interests who believe that Uncle Sam should only subsidize themselves (by loans to shipping lines and airways and orders for armaments) and never do anything to encourage free thought, particularly in the study of social science.

Workers' education under the FERA has certainly boomed. At the end of the spring in 1934, 10,000 students were enrolled in classes of various sorts. In fact, there were more students than there were enough teachers to deal

with them. Hence seventeen training centers of six weeks in duration were set up in the various states to meet this need. In addition, twenty-eight new schools were started for unemployed women with about 2,000 students, and eight of these schools were directly engaged in workers' education. Only two state supervisors for workers' education had been appointed in 1933, but in the fall of 1934 eighteen were functioning. The official Bulletin of the Workers' Education Division, FERA, acquiring a mailing list of 6,000.

In many of the illiterate groups and in the rural groups, and in other sections of the general adult education program, interest has been created in the study of economic problems. Naturalization classes have asked for literature dealing with labor problems and it has been difficult to keep a strict demarcation between workers' education and adult education.

Recently, fourteen state supervisors had a conference in Chicago and were agreed that there was still a big demand for teachers. In many centers, advisory committees are set up on which labor is represented. Research is being done on the training of teachers and the preparation of suitable methods. But all this depends upon the passing of public works bills. Until now teachers had been appointed only when they could prove their need for relief. Money for car-fare and lesson material has been denied in many states.

In about twenty states the unions are making use of FERA facilities, but unless they rally to repel the



This is getting to be a typical American scene. Striking miners in what amounts to a pitched battle

Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

A Letter from Devere Allen

WE have received a letter from Devere Allen dissenting with our interpretation of the N.E.C. decisions at Buffalo regarding Communist influences within the Socialist Party. He objects to my reference to the report on the R.P.P.A. as the "Allen report," contending that this implies that it was his report alone, although Comrades Freese and Bergen also signed it. I am well aware of this and had no desire to consign these two comrades to oblivion, but it is a common practice in all organizations to identify reports by the name of the chairman or of the person who reports them, and I followed the usual custom in this instance. I also referred to the report on the statement addressed to New York State as the "Hoan report," although Comrade Hoan was not the sole author of it. No one should take offense at this custom which is as old as organized bodies. Comrade Allen goes on to say:

"You insinuate that the report is still in some way akin to the practice of Communism. You ignore that portion of our report which said explicitly: 'While the testimony was given to this committee that no immediate arming of the workers is meant, the special importance attributed to this method by the R.P.P.A., or to an alternative phraseology ('the armed overthrow of the capitalist state machinery') contains dangers to the Socialist Party which this committee feels cannot prudently be overlooked.' So far as advocacy of armed insurrection at the present time is concerned, our committee found no evidence whatsoever that any responsible person of the R.P.P.C. or R.P.P.A. had ever urged it. In testimony before our committee, you yourself admitted, when I raised the question with you, that Comrade Morris Hillquit on page 19 of the pamphlet entitled, 'Foundations of Socialism,' in using the phrase 'whether the Socialist order be ushered in by a revolutionary coup d'etat or by a series of legislative enactments or executive orders,' was approximating the viewpoint of the R.P.C. You explained this away by saying that, to your personal knowledge, Comrade Hillquit wrote this in 1922 but had subsequently changed his mind. It seemed to our committee, and to the N.E.C., that if so thoughtful and consistent a Socialist as Comrade Hillquit could have varied to this extent in his beliefs, there was little justification for demanding the expulsion of members of the R.P.C. or the R.P.P.A. because they happened in the past to have advocated in 1934 and 1935 the policy suggested as normal by Comrade Hillquit in 1922."

"Most of all I resent the following sentence in your editorial comment: 'I asked Comrade Allen whether his report implied that the insurrectionists now in the party should remain and others be admitted and his answer was, Yes.' What you actually asked, as shown by the minutes, was whether the adoption of our report implied that members of the R.P.P.A. now in the party or who seek to enter it might remain. It is perfectly obvious that my answer affected only members of the R.P.P.A.—the only advocates of armed insurrection with whom our committee was empowered to deal—all of whom are party members. Why did you not say that Comrade Coolidge asked whether the last paragraph meant that members of the party who are now members of the R.P.P.A. are not to be disciplined for having been members but will now have to modify their course? To this the answer was also Yes."

"Fortunately my own record in this particular is so well known that a hundred editorials in The New Leader could not possibly affect it. It would be the simplest of tasks to show that for every word you have written, published and spoken from the platform condemning armed insurrection I have expressed a hundred words. It is nothing short of ridiculous, therefore, for you to claim that our committee was making a 'concession.'"

Insurrection and Other Issues

COMRADE ALLEN'S letter is based upon the assumption that the advocacy of armed insurrection is the only issue involving Communist trends in the party and it ignores the fact that in this column I took the position that it involves other issues. This is obvious considering that I cited the Goldman pamphlet which does not advocate insurrection. I did not insinuate that the Allen report "is still in some way akin to the practice of Communism." Here is what I wrote: "It condemned the advocacy of armed insurrection in the party but not Communist philosophy and principles." This action on this phase of Bolshevism concedes the position of New York Socialists but it does not settle the whole issue of Bolshevism in the party." These two statements formed the fundamental basis of what I wrote in the column with which Comrade Allen disagrees. The whole column is consistent with this point of view. I did not insinuate; I frankly asserted that the report is consistent with retaining members and admitting others who agree with "Communist philosophy and principles."

Comrade Allen seems to think that by condemning armed insurrection all issues about Communism in the party are met. This is to say that practically the only difference between Socialism and Communism is insurrection. We contend that there are basic differences between the two on philosophy, principles, methods and aims. The whole literature of Communism is also filled with the claim that there is a conflict over philosophy, principles, methods and aims. In our party there are some members who think that there is little conflict except on the matter of insurrection.

Hillquit on Dictatorship

I CAN conceive of a party member believing that eventually the class struggle will take the form of physical conflict and yet remain a good Socialist if he rejects Communist philosophy, principles, methods and aims. As our installment by Karl Kautsky last week, in the first sentence declared, "It would be nonsensical to contend that we are obliged to use democratic methods under all circumstances." Kautsky is no less a good Socialist in writing this and yet he is opposed to the philosophy, principles, methods and aims of Communism. It was in this sense, also, that Comrade Hillquit used the words ascribed to him, but I disagree with Comrade Allen when he states that I admitted that the Hillquit quotation "approximated" the viewpoint of the R.P.C. The viewpoint of the R.P.C. in philosophy, principles, methods and aims is Communist and Comrade Hillquit never at any time accepted them. He had, however, in the pamphlet referred to by Comrade Allen written that within the Socialist movement "opinion is sharply divided upon the issue of dictatorship of the proletariat."

At that period (1922) Comrade Hillquit believed that "the principle is not incompatible with the Socialist ideal of a classless society" and that the Communists in Russia regarded dictatorship as a "transitory and passing form of political organization, a sort of war measure in the Socialist struggle to abolish the capitalist system and to combat counter-revolutionary movements." Later developments convinced Comrade Hillquit that dictatorship tends to become an end in itself and he changed his view as a result of post-war history.

Comrade Allen quotes from the minutes of the Buffalo meeting of the N.E.C. to prove that my quotation from those minutes was incorrect. I disagree with him. Here is what I said of the minutes:

"I asked Comrade Allen whether his report implied that insurrectionists now in the party should remain and others be admitted and his answer was, Yes."

Comrade Allen declares that what the minutes show is that I asked whether members of the R.P.P.A. might remain. That is true. They are insurrectionists who are only required not to discuss insurrection publicly. What essential difference is there between my state-

McLevy and Prof. Hartmann at Pittsburgh

Coal Miners in Pittsburgh Area Strengthen Their Lines

By New Leader Correspondent

PITTSBURGH.—The strong position the United Mine Workers of America now occupy was shown during the past few weeks in events in Washington and in the Pittsburgh district.

To prevent the threatened strike of April 1 when the union and the operators failed to agree, the reconstituted National Industrial Recovery Board and all the resources of the Administration were brought into play to obtain a truce to June 15 when NRA expires. The miners can be expected to stand firm on the increase they want of 50 cents per day and a six-hour five-day week.

All over the Western Pennsylvania coal fields the miners on April 1 declared a holiday. It was the anniversary of the eight-hour day. At huge celebrations in various localities the rank and file demonstrated their solidarity and confidence in the organization. In Greensburg 25,000 men gathered at Offutt Field. In Brownsville miners from Greene, Washington, Fayette and Westmoreland Counties joined for the holiday, the demonstration being estimated at 50,000.

Drive for 30 Hours

These mass meetings were addressed by district and international officials of the union. The keynote was the 30-hour week. The United Mine Workers 37 years ago succeeded in establishing the first 8-hour day in any American industry. And last year the miners moved to a 7-hour day. Now again the United Mine Workers are taking the initiative in the drive for a 30-hour week.

The immediate Pittsburgh area, taking in all of Allegheny County and known as District 5, is now solidly unionized. President P. T. Fagan says his union now has contracts with all of the captive mines in this district including U. S. Steel, Bethlehem, Jones & Laughlin and Republic and with every commercial mine including the Mellon Pittsburgh Coal, Hillman Coal & Coke, and the Pittsburgh Terminal. There are 38,000 dues-paying members in the district and another 5,000 members on the rolls listed as unemployed.

There is no ground for considering the Washington "truce" as a sign of weakness. In fact, the position should be strengthened by June. The miners' leaders are expecting favorable action on legislation aiming to control production and prices and to bring economic stability to the industry. The Guffey bill for regulation of the bituminous coal industry has already been reported favorably by the Senate Interstate Committee. The measure would set up a National Bituminous Coal Commission with power to fix minimum and maximum prices and allocate quotas, and would establish a national coal reserve by government purchase of excess and sub-marginal coal properties.

Social Control of Mines

The United Mine Workers realize that government regulation of the industry is imperative, not only in the interests of stability but to enable far higher standards and benefits for the coal digger. Irregular employment has even been a feature of coal mining even in normal times. During 1934, in one of the more efficient group of mines, those of the Pittsburgh Coal Company, the average employment was 210 days for all miners, with aggregate earning of \$1,000 to \$1,150 per year. The housing standards of American miners have likewise been below that of almost any other labor group. The company town has long been a disgrace to the coal industry.

A controlled industry can do much to lessen mine accidents. Although there have been fewer mine disasters in recent years, the hazards incident to carrying on mining on a modern basis—electricity, explosives, high-powered electric wires, locomotives and innumerable mechanical contrivances, account for a frightful toll of life.

P. T. Fagan, President of District 5, recently said, "While the

ment and his? The only difference is that I wrote 'insurrectionists' and the minutes read 'R.P.P.A.' If the two are not identical, then I do not know what the dispute about that group has been.

The quotation from Comrade Coolidge from the minutes does not, in my judgment, conflict with my interpretation. It means that the R.P.P.A. are to "modify their course" but not publicly advocating insurrection. If they refrain from such publicity, the report permits the members of the R.P.P.A. to retain party membership even though Communist philosophy, principles, methods and aims, except insurrection, are not affected by the report. I see no reason to change my interpretation of what happened, and if Comrade Allen cannot accept it I shall not feel aggrieved because of it.

Socialist Polls Close to 200,000 in Wisconsin

Glenn Turner Carries Hundreds of Townships — Sweeps Kenosha City and County

MILWAUKEE.—With returns still far from complete the vote credited to Glenn Turner, Socialist candidate for Supreme Court Judge, in the recent statewide election has passed 185,000. With fifteen counties still outstanding, it is believed his vote will approach 200,000, if it does not pass that mark.

Turner was the only candidate to oppose Judge George B. Nelson, reactionary Republican candidate for re-election, who was endorsed by the Democrats and Progressives.

Turner's vote was the highest ever polled in Wisconsin for any Socialist candidate at any time.

The Socialist carried hundreds of townships throughout the state, and in Kenosha he carried every ward in the city and every township in the county.

Lang Under Charges for Journal Articles on Soviet Russia

ON Monday of this week the New York Journal, the Hearst afternoon daily, carried a headline reading, "Socialist Depicts Soviet Horrors." Below was the first of a series of articles by Harry Lang based upon his travels in Russia in 1933. When the attention of Socialist Party members was called to this article, it created much resentment. So far as the widespread famine in Russia in 1933 is concerned, this was common knowledge to those who kept themselves informed of economic conditions in Russia.

However, party members were not concerned with the contents of the article. It was the fact that the Hearst publications have proven the most vicious and reactionary in their attacks upon every phase of Socialist and radical opinion and even upon men and women like Charles A. Beard and Jane Addams, to say nothing of their drive to conscript the minds of teachers and educators in educational institutions, that aroused the protest of party members.

Within a half-hour after the article became known, James Oneal presented written charges against Lang, which were also signed by a large number of other party members. These will take the usual course of going before the party's grievance committee which in turn will report its findings upon which the City Central Committee will act.

The citizens of a large nation, industrially organized, have reached their possible ideal of happiness, when the producing, distributing and other activities are such that each citizen finds in them a place for all his energies and aptitudes, while he obtains the means of satisfying all his desires.—Herbert Spencer.

New York last Sunday with five of its seven voting members present. It voted to call a special meeting of the State Committee for Sunday, May 15th, and to hold a two-day session in the Capitol District on the 16th and 17th of May. The action of the Buffalo in expelling from membership advocates of armed insurrection was unanimously upheld. Resolutions of respect were adopted in connection with the death of Joseph P. Kamp of Syracuse. Telegrams were ordered sent to Governor Lehman and the leaders of both Houses of the State Legislature urging the reconsideration of and adoption of the Child Labor Amendment before the Legislature adjourned. Charles W. Noonan of Schenectady presided.

Buffalo. A general membership meeting will be held Sunday, April 28, at 2:30 p.m. at party headquarters, 483 Main St. Friday evening, April 26, a bingo and card party will be held at headquarters, benefit of the rent fund.

Buffalo.—Organizer Ernest D. Baumann reports that in the past year ten new branches have been organized, and line large headquarters are being maintained. The local is back of The New Leader with enthusiasm, and everything is being done to build up a big circulation. A circulation drive starts April 28th at the next quarterly party meeting.

Rochester. Organizer Benjamin of Local Rochester reports that the conference in which the Labor Committee has participated is to hold a mass meeting on April 22 for advancing the cause of the 30-hour week, at which meeting Charles W. Ervin of New York, Assistant Secretary of Labor, McGrady, and Senator LaFollette are expected to speak. The local will celebrate May Day by a meeting in party headquarters, 44 State St.

Big Meeting Called to Build Mass Support for New Leader

PITTSBURGH.—Jasper McLevy, Socialist Mayor of Bridgeport, and Dr. George W. Hartmann, Professor in Pennsylvania State College and an active member of the Socialist Party, will speak at the Schenley High School Auditorium next Tuesday, April 23rd, under the auspices of the Socialist Party of Allegheny County.

The plans are to give a three months' subscription to The New Leader with each 25c admission ticket. It is expected that at least 1,000 additional subscribers to The New Leader, the official paper of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania, will be secured through that one meeting.

Party branches, individual members and friendly organizations are urged to secure tickets immediately at the Party Office, 122-9th Street, Pittsburgh.

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NEW LEADER

A Socialist Party Publication Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement.

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

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

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BOURBONS SHOULD NOT WORRY

THE Democratic Party has an interesting history. Once the party of slave owners, it lost its stake in human bondage in the fires of civil war. It then turned to the farmers of the West and the lower middle class, but always had a bourbon section in the East supporting rising capitalist interests. This eastern control expanded westward until in 1924 it annexed the party by the nomination of Davis for President. Today it consists of two souls in one body with the eastern soul exercising a veto over "radical" legislation.

The American Liberty League is today its bourbon section. It is floated by big corporate interests and this week it issues a bull against the trade unions. It opposes legislation that would "deal an unjust blow at company unions," that is, against many who finance the League. It regards company union serfdom as providing "mutually satisfactory relations between employees and the management in many large industries."

Don't worry, gentlemen. The Roosevelt Jacobins at Washington will never probe very deep under the sacred foundations of capitalistic property.

A CLERIC GETS BEYOND HIS DEPTH

IT will be news to our readers that Karl Marx was a "renegade who never did a tap of work in his life, who never believed a word he wrote. Karl Marx, the plagiarist, who stole all his ideas, as you know if you have read his works." The Rev. John J. Kelley of the Elmhurst Community Baptist Church is the author of this revelation.

The holy man is unaware that he answers his own accusation when he declares that Marx never "did a tap of work" and then refers to the works of Marx. Evidently, Marx while pursuing a lazy life managed to produce some "works." Perhaps he had a ghost to write them.

But Marx also "stole all his ideas." This is old stuff. Marx certainly was indebted to other economists and historians, but is there any field of pioneering where the original thinker was not indebted to the work of other men? Marx profited by the original work of other men just as others have profited by Marx's original work, but it is false to say that he "stole" anything from others.

But the pastor is not satisfied even with these falsehoods. He enters the mind of Marx and declares that Marx "never believed a word that he wrote." How does the preacher know this? The assertion has no more foundation in fact than if we were to say that the Rev. Kelley does not believe a word of what he said against Marx. One statement is as true and as false as the other. That is to say, both are worthless, as worthless as the cleric who gets beyond his depth in a range of knowledge that is alien to his training.

THE THIRD ECONOMY

IF you have not heard of the "Third Economy," consult Rexford G. Tugwell, Under Secretary of Agriculture. It is neither right nor left in the system of capitalist production but lies midway between private ownership and government ownership. Further on we learn that it consists of those government alphabetical agencies concerned with the problems of the depression.

In other words, it consists of physicians who consult and treat capitalism when it has a depression convulsion. These agencies are to provide work when the owners of industry cannot hire workers, nurse farmers who wear rags while they are smothered in the abundance they produce, and so on. It is a matter of either employing these human outcasts or recruiting them for war because we have more man-power than the owners of industry can use. In short, capitalism cannot use this human waste.

Why not get rid of the system that cannot use this man-power and have the man-power use the system for its own welfare? That would be intelligent Socialist Economy.

CHEAP OR DEAR A MENACE

A YEAR ago hogs were cheap and plenty, which is the ideal of our form of producing and distributing goods. But this was bad for the farmers. Now hogs are scarce and dear, and this is bad for the workers in the cities. Plenty last year was a menace and scarcity this year is a—menace!

A year ago, when hogs were cheap, Uncle Sam purchased and slaughtered millions of hogs and preserved them for distribution among the unemployed. Then came the fall drought and farmers could not feed their livestock, and Uncle Sam bought and canned seven million cattle to feed the unemployed. Your Uncle paid about \$200,000,000 for this killing and meat prices are skyrocketing. Millions who have jobs now reduce their meat rations while the jobless eat the cheap meat canned last year! Well, the Third Economy is working.

SLAVERY IN ARKANSAS



(See article by James Oneal on Page 1.)

Behind the Scenes in Washington



By Benjamin Meiman

Our Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON joyously greets every expression of optimism in high places, but the capital was especially enthusiastic at the beginning of this week over the cheerful statement by Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau that the financial log-jam has at last been broken and the country is one the eve of witnessing the substantial benefits of this fundamental change.

After calling for the redemption on October 15 of the remaining outstanding Fourth 4 1/2 per cent Liberty Loan bond, totaling \$1,250,000, Morgenthau said, "There is no longer any reason why capital should not flow normally into the arteries of business."

But Mr. Morgenthau's optimism was not confined to the condition of the capital issues and money markets. He saw a real improvement in the condition of the Treasury, with receipts increasing and expenditures diminishing. He estimated that expenditures for the two-year period ending June 30 next would be about \$2,000,000,000 less than the President's original estimate and predicted that on June 30, 1936, the national debt would be "considerably less" than the \$34,000,000,000 figure set for that date by Mr. Roosevelt in his last budget message.

Pointing out that when the Treasury redeems the Liberty bonds it will have refunded \$8,000,000,000 of these bonds, Mr. Morgenthau estimated an annual interest saving of \$100,000,000. At the present time the average interest rate paid by the Treasury is 2.86 per cent. Consequently, the Secretary maintained the Government is now paying less for the service of its debt than in 1925, despite the fact that the debt is \$8,000,000,000 greater or a total of \$28,800,000,000—the largest in the country's history.

The optimistic note of Mr. Morgenthau was regarded as highly significant because he is not given to making cheerful predictions. Indeed, even in his informal press conferences he has been reticent about forecasting business and economic improvements and when he has spoken on that subject it has been with the greatest caution.

Equally optimistic is the report made by James A. Moffet, Federal Housing Administrator, who tendered his resignation to the President last Monday with the assurance that private capital has thawed and billions of dollars are now available for new buildings and that therefore his services are no more needed.

Of course, insiders know that there are other reasons for Moffet's resignation. He found that being a high-powered executive in private business is one thing and holding a major executive office in public life is quite another. The adverse publicity, the fight with leeches over the plan for Government financing of houses at low rates of interest, the evident failure to jar loose private capital for mortgages in spite of the Government's guarantee of 80 per cent—all that made Moffet's public life

miserable and he suddenly decided to take a trip to the Orient. Some of the New Dealers say: "Good riddance."

Capitalist Blames Capitalists for Hindering Recovery

AS June 16, the date of the expiration of NRA draws nearer, the many schools of thought have narrowed down to two. One holds that the lack of courage and plain selfishness of the American business man, unwilling to cut down profits in order to pay code wages for code hours, has ruined an idealistic experiment that otherwise might have succeeded.

The other believes that NRA was conceived to protect big business and to strangle the small business man and the worker, and that the older theory of "rugged individualism" in which the unit weak perishes while the strong survive, should prevail.

On broad lines, and ignoring the numerous special interests and political angles which confuse the issue, this became apparent more clearly than before to the ordinary, garden-variety observers last week. Economists, of course, had analyzed the recovery program thus from the first.

But last week Edward A. Filene, Boston business man, pointed the issue sharply with the statement: "NRA's failure can be attributed definitely to the failure of business men to change their basic attitude toward business when this basic economic change had made it necessary."

The gray-haired merchant, his voice shaky, went on: "There is no alternative for NRA except what ever Senator Long, Dr. Townsend and Father Coughlin propose. NRA is fundamentally sound. The day has passed in this country when business men can make more profit by paying their employees less."

But NRA remained a target for attack in most of the committee hearings. Witness after witness lambasted the Recovery Act, assailing the various codes in turn, and warning that many firms would surrender their Blue Eagles unless the present abuses are corrected.

Congressional developments during the week indicated that the struggle against NRA may contribute to keeping the legislative bodies in Washington during the summer heat, as the battle is expected to be long-drawn-out and bitter, perhaps even requiring a temporary extension of the NRA until the program's future is definite.

Behind the scenes reliable sources inform the writer of this column that President Roosevelt assured A. F. of L. leaders that Richberg—who continues to be anathema to them—would be removed from NRA command after new legislation was passed by Congress. If the life of the Blue Eagle is extended, Roosevelt indicated, he plans a complete reorganization of its executive personnel.

On this understanding the laborites agreed to the President's request that they drop their war on Richberg.

New York Furnishes Ideal NRA Test Case

IN the Supreme Court the mills ground steadily toward the test of the recovery act that is expected to be of vast significance in the

progress of the New Deal—the Schechter poultry case. This is a perfectly clear-cut issue. The question is whether the poultry concerns violated the NRA and code for the New York metropolitan area by paying lower wages and working employees longer hours than the code specifies.

The Schechter poultry interests are charged with conspiring to violate the wages and hours provisions, with filing false sales and price reports, withholding reports, selling poultry unfit for human consumption, unspiced poultry and committing unfair trade practices. The Supreme Court decided last Monday to review the case. It is understood that the hearings will be held soon and the decision will be made before June 1, the court's adjournment day. This decision is expected to have much influence on Congressional action.

But democratic institutions are not always and everywhere the same. Under different circumstances widely different institutions may be needed to serve the purposes of democracy.

Democratic Machinery
In a small local community, having only simple problems to deal with, most of this can be done directly, the whole body of citizens assembling frequently to make decisions and instruct the persons chosen to execute them.

Senator Wagner to Force Action on Labor Bill

SENATOR Robert F. Wagner will force a Senate vote on his labor relations bill if it is further delayed in committee, he said today. Unless the Senate Education and Labor Committee acts he will offer his measure for a permanent and powerful labor court as an amendment to the new NRA bill. Chairman Walsh (D., Mass.) plans to call this committee together this week for its first private consideration of the Wagner bill. Hearings closed two weeks ago.

Chairman Harrison's decision to close the Senate Finance Committee's investigation of NRA Thursday and start preparation of legislation intensified the situation. The Wagner bill's supporters fear their measure will be ditched in a last-minute jam if the NRA two-year extension is passed ahead of it. They are also alarmed over the proposal advanced today by the American Liberty League to continue Section 7A and the present National Labor Relations Board, whose powerlessness is conceded by its own chairman.

Wagner is anxious to get his bill before the Senate separately for action. He has the right, as any senator has, to offer such a measure as an amendment to any bill before the Senate, and this would force a separate vote.

But other senators, opposed to a labor court with independent enforcement powers, are seeking to have the Finance Committee include enough of the Wagner bill to "make a record," in the NRA bill they report to the Senate. If this were done the Senate would vote on the bill as a whole, and not on the collective bargaining sections. This procedure is advocated by senators opposed to the bill but afraid to vote against it on the floor.

In general, Wagner commented, the Liberty League's attack follows the arguments of the National Association of Manufacturers. The League fears the bill would set up a "labor monopoly." It charges that the section requiring majority rule and permitting closed-shop agreements would forbid employers to sign agreements with company unions.

Is Democracy Worth Saving? But First, What Is Democracy?

By Algernon Lee

YES, the subject is a trite one. For months and even years, it has been discussed in our party meetings and in our party press. Perhaps many readers are tired of it. But the very fact that it continues to be discussed shows that discussion is still needed. The question cannot be settled, one way or the other, by the vote of a convention or by the outcome of a referendum. It will cease to be a live issue only when there is virtual unanimity of opinion; and such unanimity can come only through a general understanding of the subject, not through the imposition of any formula.



Algernon Lee

If, from the point of view of workingclass interests and of Socialist theory, democracy is not worth saving—and, since we cannot talk of saving anything that does not already exist, this means that such democracy as we have today is not worth saving—it is high time for us to find it out and act accordingly. There are, no doubt, some who know just what they mean when they say that democracy is worthless or worse than worthless. There are, no doubt, many who know just what they mean when they say that democracy is worth every sacrifice that has to be made for it, because without it there can be no hope of a better life for the masses and the Socialist ideal would be no more than a pious wish. But there seem to be many more who do not know just what they mean.

At the risk of appearing pedantic, it is sometimes worth while to go back to the A-B-C of such a subject. After all, what is this thing whose value or worthlessness we are discussing? Not as an abstract idea, but as a fact in human history, past and present, what is democracy?

First of all, of course, it is a form of government, or a set of political rights and institutions. Literally, the word means "people's rule" or "government by the people." A democratic government is one in which, as nearly as practicable, all adults are entitled to equal and effective participation.

But democratic institutions are not always and everywhere the same. Under different circumstances widely different institutions may be needed to serve the purposes of democracy.

Democratic Machinery
In a small local community, having only simple problems to deal with, most of this can be done directly, the whole body of citizens assembling frequently to make decisions and instruct the persons chosen to execute them.

Historical examples of this are the town meetings of early times in New England, and pioneer settlements in the West later on. Some of the small independent states of ancient Greece and of medieval Europe were democracies of this type. So were the villages of primitive agricultural or fishing populations, before armed conquest or the growth of economic inequalities subjected them to monarchic or oligarchic rule. The Russian village community continued to be a little democracy in so far as concerned local affairs for centuries after Czarism was established.

In a more complex state of society, or where the area is so great that all cannot come together as one body, or the population so numerous that the assembly would be too large to discuss and make decisions, such primary democracy is impracticable. Popular self-government can then exist only under the form of a representative system.

As institutions which are necessary to make a representative government democratic, we perhaps think of equal adult suffrage, then of universal eligibility, and then of the secret ballot, to guard against corruption or intimidation of voters.

But those who are elected may not truly represent the electors. They may not keep their pre-election pledges. One method of guarding against this is election for short terms. Another is the power of recall.

Machinery Not Enough

Such institutions may be called the machinery of democracy. They are necessary to its existence, but they are not all that is necessary. It is of little use for the masses to have the right to control their government, unless they have also the capacity to do so. To be effective, democracy must include means by which the people can gain needful information, can discuss and formulate opinions, can have an intelligent public will. Moreover, even a government controlled by the majority may abuse its power; may be arbitrary and oppressive in its treatment of individuals or minority elements.

Democracy on a large scale is hardly practicable without universal elementary education, sup-

plemented by ample opportunities for higher education for such as desire it.

Equally necessary are freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, and of organization.

For the maintenance of these rights, and also to protect individuals against oppression, democracy must include equality before the law, the right of persons accused to fair, speedy, and public trial, and other so-called "civil rights" which need not be enumerated. And it may be added that the purposes of democracy are best served if the state interferes as little as possible with the individual's choice or change of occupation or of residence, his personal tastes and habits, his domestic affairs, and so forth, except as these seriously affect the interests of other individuals or of society as a whole.

Majority and Minority

Against democracy it is urged that majorities are often wrong, and that there is usually a minority of the people more intelligent and better informed than the majority. This is true, but it is not a valid argument for minority rule. In the first place, knowledge and intelligence in a governing minority give no assurance that it will not use its power for its own interests at the expense of the rest of the people. Lincoln's saying that "No man is wise and good enough to be trusted with irresponsible power over other men" would be equally true if he had said "no set of men" instead of "no man." As against the notion of government by experts, which is just now much in vogue, may be cited Aristotle's homely parallel: "The shoemaker knows best how to make shoes, but the customer knows best whether the shoes fit him."

Furthermore, while there can be only one majority at a given time, there may be several minorities. If the majority is not to decide, the question which group is to rule can be answered only in one of two ways: Either by armed struggle among the various groups, which means continuous repression and ever new revolt; or by submission to one self-perpetuating group, in which case, even if the ruling group is at the outset qualified to govern for the common good, it soon becomes disqualified by remaining unchanged while social conditions and needs change.

Majority rule, on the contrary, gives the largest opportunity for peaceful and progressive change. Resting on consent more than on physical force, it has less temptation to be repressive; and in a democratic system that minority which best represents society's new conditions and needs can become a majority by the changing of men's opinions.

Where democratic institutions are used in a democratic spirit, therefore, two great correlative rights and duties are recognized: First, the right of the majority to rule and the duty of minorities to obey; Second, the right of a minority to become a majority if it can and the duty of the ruling majority to respect this right.

Does Democracy Now Exist?

It is sometimes argued that no such thing as democracy exists, that what is called by that name is a sham, that there can be no democracy in a class society, and that it is therefore idle to think of it until class division has been wiped out. It is significant that this argument is used with equal emphasis and with equal justification by Bolsheviks and by fascists.

The fallacy consists in using absolute instead of relative terms—in that "either-or" method of thinking against which at least the professed disciples of Marx and Engels ought to be on their guard. No man is absolutely healthy; but it does not follow that there is no such thing as health, nor that it is futile to guard and strengthen such health as one has. No science can give an infallible answer to every question that may be asked within its field; but it does not follow that science as it now exists is an illusion, that we should do well to throw science overboard and take blind faith or random guesswork as our guide.

No perfect democracy exists, or ever has existed, or is likely ever to exist. But some governments are more democratic than others, and each may be made more democratic or less so than it is. In a class society there are always elements whose interests are hostile to democracy, openly or covertly attacking or to sap its foundations in the hope that it will fall. The question for Socialists is whether we can be indifferent to its fate; and if not, whether we stand with its enemies or against them.

But perhaps, after all, the issue is not so simple. There are those who talk of industrial democracy as a substitute for political democracy, or of "workers' democracy" as a substitute for what they call bourgeois democracy. This distinction raises questions that may be worth discussing next week.