

Official Organ
of the
SOCIALIST PARTY
of the States of
New York,
Maryland and
Pennsylvania.

NEW LEADER

Vol. XVIII—No. 18

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, MAY 4th, 1935

Price Five Cents

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

Jobless Army Grows as Recovery Lags

100,000 March with Socialists on May Day

National Labor Conference Demands Congress Adopt Workers' Bill of Rights

Great Meeting in Washington Called by President Green Insists on Passage of Wagner Industrial Disputes Bill, 30-Hour Week, and Social Security Measure.

Special Washington Correspondent
WASHINGTON.—In a national conference here which revealed an undertone of bitter resentment at the failure of the Roosevelt Administration to make good on its promises and pledges to the workers, organized labor demanded that Congress at once pass the Wagner labor disputes bill and other pending labor legislation.

The conference directed that a militant drive be started on behalf of the Wagner bill and action was begun as soon as the meeting adjourned. Representatives of state labor federations launched the fight by calling on their Senators and Congressmen and demanding favorable action on the Wagner measure.

Typical of the temper of the state delegations was that of Ohio, which told Senator William J. Bulkley:

"Labor is here to demand that Senators and Representatives support the Wagner bill. Those who fail to support labor in this stand will soon pass through the exit from public life."

A point in the battle for the Wagner bill was gained while the conference was in session, the Senate Labor Committee ordering, with only one dissenting voice, a favorable vote to the Senate on the measure.

President William Green of the American Federation of Labor called the conference, which was made up of representatives of national and international unions, state federations of labor and city central bodies. The purpose was to begin an aggressive fight for the Wagner bill, renewal of the NRA, the Black 30-hour week bill, Guffy coal regulation bill, old age pensions and unemployment insurance.

A Determined Conference
From the very first, the conference left no doubt as to its feelings. Every reference to labor's insistence on passing of labor legislation was enthusiastically cheered. Phrases such as "revolution," "butchery," "slackers" and "stool

Auto Walkouts Grow as Labor Press Demands

Strikes and Shutdowns in Eleven Plants with 19,000 Idle, Foreshadow Bigger Conflicts in Industry.

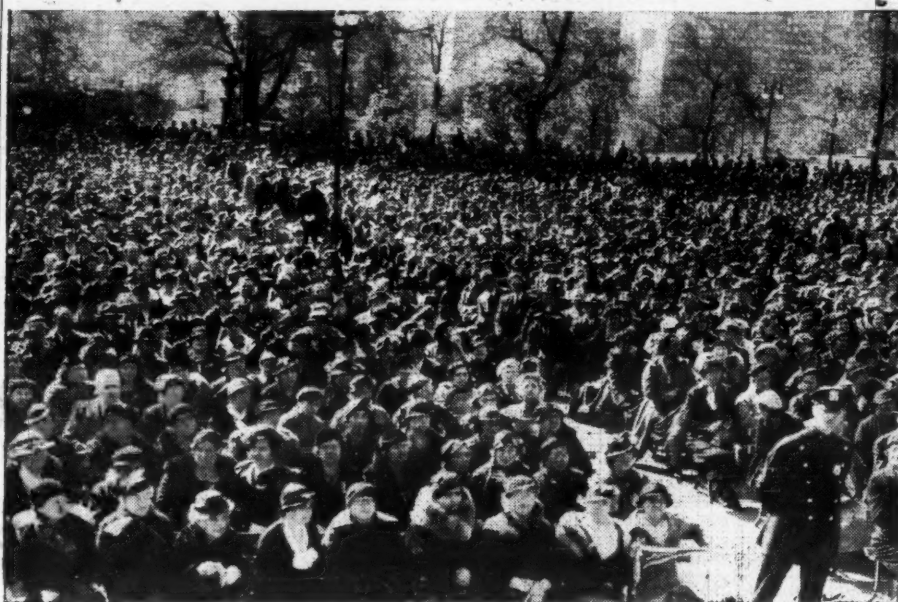
DETROIT.—Friday.—The total number of employees affected by the strike of Chevrolet Motor Company at Toledo was estimated here today at 17,000, as a result of the closing of three more plants. Chevrolet and Fisher Body plants closed at Janesville, Wis., as a result of shortage of transmissions formerly manufactured at Toledo. The Janesville plants employ 2,600 workers.

The metal stamping manufacturing plant of the Murray-Ohio Company at Cleveland was also shut down.

The strike movement in the automobile industry, begun last week with the walkout in the Chevrolet plant in Toledo, is assuming proportions, as the workers are determined to force a showdown on the fundamental issue of the right to organize through unions of their own choosing.

Strikes and shutdowns now affect eleven plants manufacturing automobile parts in seven cities. A survey this morning disclosed that more than 19,000 workers are affected.

CINCINNATI—More than 2,000 workers of the Fisher Body and Chevrolet motor plants walked out on strike here last Tuesday in support of the 2,300 employees on strike in the Chevrolet shops in Toledo. The latter walkout has



Scene on the Central Park Mall as more than 60,000 May Day celebrants listened to good music, and to inspiring speeches. At the time this picture was taken more than half the May Day parade was still marching to the park.

Unions, Party and Youth Combine In Greatest May Day Celebration

Most Impressive Parade Ever Held in New York Brings Hosts of Socialism Into Streets in Colorful and Dignified Display of Labor's Hopes and Power

By William M. Feigenbaum

UNDER cloudless blue skies, beneath a sea of red banners tossing and snapping in the brisk spring breeze, close to 100,000 working men and women marched in what was declared by trained observers to have been New York's greatest May Day demonstration.

Shouting Solidarity
It was an inspiring, a glorious demonstration. It was a united, a wildly enthusiastic demonstration of Socialists and trade unionists.

The hosts of labor marched through New York's streets singing and cheering, laughing and singing again, stepping proudly to the inspiring strains of the International and the Marseillaise, displaying their united might to hundreds of thousands of spectators lining the streets, many of them cheering and

shouting words of solidarity. It was a demonstration of strength, of power, of determination. Floats and banners and placards proclaimed the sentiments of the workers to strengthen their unions, to fight for their immediate objectives, and to use their united power in the relentless war upon war, upon fascism, and upon capitalism until these evil things are but evil memories.

It was a demonstration of magnificent unity, unions marching side by side with the Socialist party and with auxiliary bodies of the working-class movement.

Youth Proudly Marches
It was a demonstration of youth and maturity, the children of the Workmen's Circle schools and the Socialist Young Falcons marching with grizzled veterans of years in the labor struggle.

It was a demonstration of magnificent spirit, college and high school students, many of them with their books under their arms, fraternizing with shop units of many of the unions.

It was a demonstration of determination to fight on for the cause of human emancipation despite all obstacles, despite all attempts by the enemies of the workers to divide them and split them into warring camps.

It Was a Great May Day!
The parade was in two sections, one starting at 15th and 16th streets, including the huge battalions of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Socialist Party, and other organizations; the other starting in the Thirties and Forties, consisting largely of the units of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and other unions, the two great divisions uniting on Eighth avenue for the march uptown.

As the two divisions joined the masses, the broad avenue presented an inspiring sight, the whole street being filled with marching and singing men and women for routes up and downtown, red banners tossing in the breeze, the fifty or more bands blaring revolutionary music, and the sidewalks packed with onlookers.

At Columbus Circle the marchers were directed to the sidewalk of Central Park West, where they continued to 72nd street, giving that aristocratic street sights and sounds it had never before seen. The red banners beside the green of the park made a beautiful picture.

At Central Park
At 72nd Street the marchers turned in their banners and entered Central Park, where a fine concert by Kaltenborn's Band was given on the Mall to those who arrived in time; indeed, long after the concert was over the divisions continued swinging uptown.

Luigi Antonini, dynamic leader of the Italian Waistmakers and First Vice-President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, grand marshal of the parade, was chairman, and he introduced Norman Thomas, Louis Waldman and Isidor Nagler, who delivered brief addresses, which were wildly cheered.

There, on the Mall, a sea of faces greeted the musicians, and for a brief period, the May-Day speakers.

But for once the speakers were (Continued on Page Three)

Labor Indicts "New Deal" And Private Industry for Failure to End Depression

Scathing A. F. of L. Report Charges Government Has Lagged in Efforts to Cope with Crisis—Scores Sabotage by Big Business—11,500,000 Idle—22,000,000 on Relief.

Socialist Bill Reported Out In Wisconsin

Mass Demonstrations, Notable Propaganda and Educational Work Bring Results—Kiefer Bill Backed by Labor and Farmers.

By Andrew J. Biemiller
Special to The New Leader

MADISON, Wis.—The Socialist Party won a striking legislative victory when the Assembly Committee on State Affairs, by a vote of 8 to 1, favorably reported Socialist Assemblyman E. H. Kiefer's Production Corporation Bill, the central feature of the whole Socialist legislative program.

The favorable vote came only a day after more than 2,000 people jammed the Assembly chamber in one of the most remarkable legislative hearings in Wisconsin's history to demand the passage of the bill. Only three people appeared in opposition, one representative of the United Taxpayers' League and two representatives of the Communist party.

The legislative hearing developed into a stirring demonstration, and it is universally admitted that the show of strength back of the bill won over seven Progressive party Assemblymen to vote for a favorable report. Two Republicans refrained from voting and the one negative vote was cast by a Democratic member.

The legislative hearing followed a caravan to the Capital, a Petition on Wheels, it was called, representatives of hundreds of thousands of labor unions and farm organizations, Socialist locals and other organizations, coming to Madison by automobile, train, bus, truck, afoot, and by the hitchhiker's route.

(Continued on Page Three)

A SCATHING indictment of private capitalism and its failure to cope with the problems of the depression, together with an exposure of the weaknesses and inadequacies of the New Deal, are contained in the regular monthly report of the country's economic and social condition published this week from Washington by the American Federation of Labor.

The report reveals the little progress made toward recovery, failure of the government, sabotaged by big business, to meet the requirements of the unemployed and the larger economic needs of the nation, and the futility of further efforts in this direction unless they are based upon comprehensive planning and a determination to raise the standards of living of the people.

Among the principal points emphasized by the report are:

The relief population of the nation is now 22,000,000.

More than 1,000,000 persons have been added to the relief rolls since last July.

The number of unemployed is now 11,500,000, being almost as large as last year.

Consumer power has risen very little.

The income of farmers is today 2 per cent less than it was a year ago.

Industrial production is lagging, being now slightly below the corresponding period of last year.

There is no indication of any large rise in employment this fall. "Business plunges ahead only when sure of large profits."

"Conflicting purposes" and sabotage by business and industrial interests "with no real understanding of the human problem back of relief" has interfered with both relief and recovery.

Business interests have been permitted to drive down work relief wages to a level of mere subsistence, in some cases as low as 10 and 20 cents an hour.

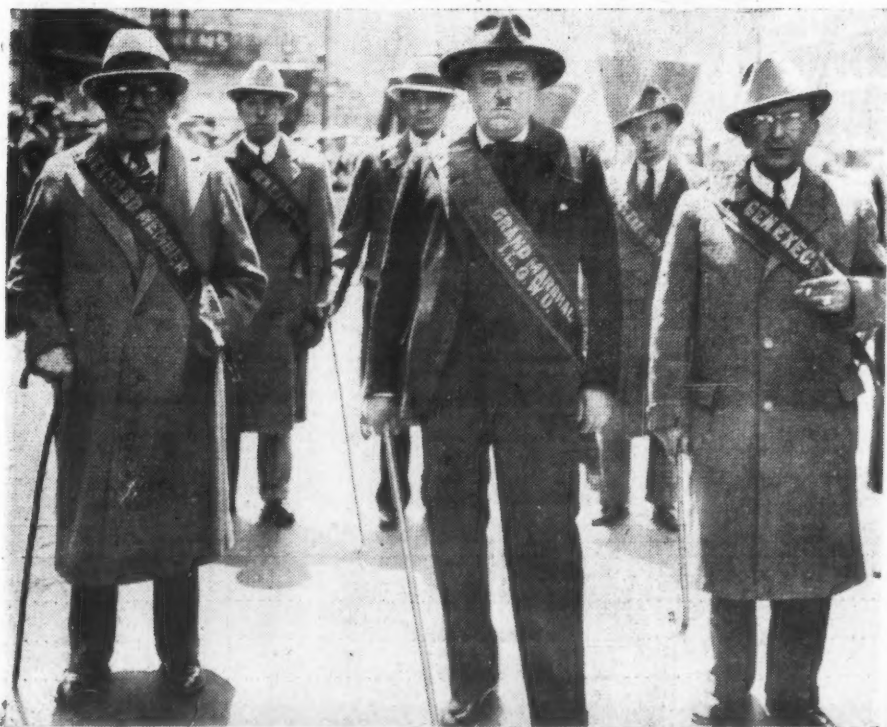
The new \$4,000,000,000 work relief program now specifies wages below the prevailing rate.

Relief is quite inadequate, with workers kept down to a bare subsistence level.

"At the very least, 1,500,000 American children are being under-

(Continued on Page Four)

THE GRAND MARSHAL AND HIS AIDES



Luigi Antonini, center, First Vice-President of the I.L.G.W.U., Grand Marshal, and his two aides, J. Breslaw, left, and I. Nagler, at the head of the May Day parade.

Age Security Law Is Adopted by Connecticut

By Abraham Knepler

HARTFORD.—The Connecticut Senate concurred with the House in unanimously passing the Old Age Pension bill, providing pensions to persons 65 years of age and over, who are without means of support "on a reasonable standard of health and decency," who have no person legally liable and able to support them, are citizens, and have been residents of the state for at least five years preceding application, but making aliens eligible if the Federal government grants funds for them, if they are not in jail, and if they have paid the old age assistance tax to the full extent of their obligation.

The tax referred to is a three-dollar head tax levied for each person between the ages of 21 and 65 (this latter will be changed to read 60 years, by an amendment which has been favorably reported out of the Judiciary committee, on a promise exacted by the Socialists).

Pension payments will not exceed \$7 a week per person, and funeral expenses are not to exceed \$100. A bureau of old age assistance under the supervision of the State Agent is set up to administer the act. Applications for pension will be received after October 1st and payment will begin starting April 15, 1936.

Socialists opposed the head tax provision of the bill unsuccessfully.



No May Day parade is complete without the Young People's Socialist League, and here they are.

Workers Fighting Richberg Behind the Scenes in Washington

U.T.W. Scores Borah for Help To Textile Industry Exploiters

Munition Workers in Colt Hartford Factory Face Employers, Bergoff Stool-Pigeons and Manufacturers' Association—Waging Gallant Battle But Need Aid.

By Victor Riesel

BY his flagrant protection of the Colt Manufacturing Company, enormously wealthy and powerful makers of revolvers and machine guns, Donald R. Richberg, acting head of the National Industrial Recovery Board and President Roosevelt's right-hand man, has made a national issue of a local strike of three unions against the big Hartford munitions corporation.

By his action Richberg virtually betrayed organized labor and crushed the effectiveness of Section 7A of the NIRA.

He ignored the decisions of the National Labor Board, which removed the Blue Eagle from the Colt company, and refused to notify the War Department that all contracts were to be cancelled because of the loss of that emblem, as the law required.

Bitterly assailing Richberg's testimony before the Nye investigation committee that the NIRA had merely "erred" in its decision, Francis P. Fenton, representing the striking unions, has appealed to the President to determine whether "we have been led up a dark alley by the government, to be slugged by Mr. Richberg at his blind end."

"For a year," he declared, "the workers I represent patiently followed your injunction not to strike before appealing to your Labor Board. When we appealed your board sustained us. Is Richberg the government or is the government the Colt company, which wants an exemption from the law because it is a monopoly?" Fenton asked the President.

Richberg Defies Laws

Openly violating the Federal laws, Richberg disdained to notify Secretary of War Dorn that any contracts with the Colts were to be cancelled after they lost their Blue Eagle. A great part of the Colt profits is derived from sales of machine guns and revolvers to the government.

Secretary Dorn laughingly told reporters that while he knew of the situation "unofficially" he had never been notified "officially." It is reported that President Roosevelt called upon Senator Nye to urge that the quizzing of Richberg on the Colt matter be postponed until the official notification of the loss of the NRA emblem was sent. When the latter was questioned he replied that "he was at a loss" to explain the situation.

After a year's sharp conflict with the Colt people the unions struck to force union recognition and collective bargaining as provided in Section 7A. The unions are determined to break the stranglehold of the notorious Hartford Manufacturers' Association, to test the sincerity of the government, its interpretation of collective bargaining, and the constitutionality of the NRA. A. F. of L. unions have fought the Manufacturers' Association unsuccessfully for many years. This time the Joint Council in charge of the strike promises it will be a fight to the finish.

Shortly after the NRA became law, attempts to organize a union of Colt employees were met with refusal to bargain, discrimination and discharge of the active workers, and the creation of a yellow-dog company union. A fighting combination of three organizations, the Plastic Workers, the Firearms Workers and the International Association of Machinists formed a Joint Council and smashed the yellow-dog group. Coordinating their forces the Council presented a series of demands to the Colts. The workers wanted a joint agreement, a 25% raise, seniority and improved working conditions.

Workers' Demands Spurned

When the company refused to bargain with the unions, for which over 80% of the employees had voted, the Joint Council applied to the National Labor Relations Board for assistance.

The NLRB found the company had been guilty of violating Section 7A for eighteen months and ordered the company to negotiate with the unions. Upon receiving word that the company refused to comply, after two unsuccessful attempts to mediate, over two thousand men walked out and are still striking.

By Benjamin Meiman

Our Washington Correspondent

IMMEDIATELY after President Roosevelt's fireside talk last Sunday evening, in which he made a strong appeal for cooperation to the entire nation, the United States Chamber of Commerce opened its gathering on one side of the White House and labor opened its conference on the other side of the White House. A sort of a symbol of the President's middle-of-the-road course.

Labor has no reason for being over-enthusiastic over the President's promises in his seventh radio address to the American nation. It's true they didn't expect more, but they couldn't get much less, either.

In the list of laws that Congress "must" pass at this session the President did not include the Wagner Labor Disputes bill, or the Black-Connerly 30-hour week bill, or the Guffey coal nationalization bill—all of which Labor demands. Still Labor seemed to be more pleased with what the President did promise than was big business. Also the liberals seem to be more pleased than the dyed-in-the-wool conservatives.

One explanation is the President's promise to go on fighting not only for recovery but also for economic and social reform.

The President must have surprised his enemies; they had inspired stories he was weakening. He was "on the run." He was "swinging to the right"; so, at least, we were told. The big special interests applied pressure on the White House and Congress until they were convinced they had blocked reform. The grapevine gossip whispered that the economic legislative program would have the heart cut out of it.

After this reassuring report on the policies and organization which are to turn the great \$4,000,000,000 emergency appropriation into work for the unemployed, the President said flatly that work relief was not enough. We must build for the future. We must enact reforms now before this Congress goes home.

Among all the necessary reforms listed he stressed those four which have been most endangered by lobbies—the social security, NRA, utility holding company, and banking bills.

To those who would cut down old-age pensions and throw out unemployment insurance, he replied: "The program for social security now pending before the Congress is a necessary part of the future unemployment policy of the Government. . . . It proposes, by means of old-age pensions, to help those who have reached the age of retirement to give up their jobs and thus give to the younger generation greater opportunities for work and to give to all a feeling of security as they look toward old age. The unemployment insurance part of the legislation will not help to guard the individual in future periods of lay-offs against dependence upon relief, but it will, by sustaining purchasing power, cushion the shock of economic distress."

To those who would prevent strengthening of NRA, he said: "We have found from time to time more and more useful ways of

promoting its purposes. No reasonable person wants to abandon our present gains—we must continue to protect children, to enforce minimum wages, to prevent excessive hours, to safeguard, define and enforce collective bargaining, and, while retaining fair competition, to eliminate so far as humanly possible, the kinds of unfair practices by selfish minorities which unfortunately did more than anything else to bring about the recent collapse of industries."

Opponents should mark well his determination to safeguard collective bargaining.

Replying to the giant power lobby against the utilities bill, he blasted the so-called widows-and-orphan-investment propaganda by showing that "This legislation will not only in the long run result in providing lower electric and gas rates to the consumer, but it will protect the actual value and earning power of properties now owned by thousands of investors who have little protection under the old laws against what used to be called 'frenzied finance.'"

Far from bowing to the banks opposing the Eccles bill, he described its provisions as a "minimum of wise readjustment of our Federal Reserve System."

The Ten Commandments of Big Business

HARDLY had the echo of the President's speech died away when the voice of the Chamber of Commerce was heard shrieking and screaming against "government interference in business," against "political domination of finance" and against "State Socialism."

The strong protest against governmental regulation of the economic system came in the opening address of the 23rd annual convention of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

The speaker, Mr. W. F. Gehart, said: "Election or appointment of men to public office does not thereby endow them with superhuman wisdom. To entrust them under a system of economic planning or state Socialism these complicated problems of industry and finance is to expect what cannot be realized."

The attack on the proposed banking legislation came in a report by a special sub-committee of the Chamber, vigorously opposing the act in its present form on the ground that it would subject the entire national financial system to political pressure. The report listed ten specific objections to the legislation, including the provision that the Governor of the Federal Reserve Board be permitted to hold office only during the pleasure of the President.

It argued that no changes are

Militant Labor Conferences in Washington

BLUNT threats of early strikes unless Congress heeds the legislative demands of organized labor marked a meeting of about 500 representatives of international unions and central labor bodies of the American Federation of Labor. It was a sort of an antidote to the Chamber of Commerce meeting on the other side of the White House.

While organized labor militantly launched a big push in its behalf, the Wagner Labor Disputes bill was favorably reported by the Senate Labor Committee. Only minor amendments were written into the bill in committee and the report came on the unanimous vote of seven of the twelve committee members present.

The bill creates a permanent labor board with quasi-judicial powers, writes majority rules into law, outlaws company-dominated unions and sets up rigid labor standards.

Bitterly opposed by spokesmen for business and industry, the measure carries penalties of a \$5,000 fine, or a year's imprisonment, for violations.

Speaking to the union delegates, President Green charged big business has turned Section 7A of NIRA into "an instrument of persecution."

Instead of outlawing company unions this law, because of ineffective enforcement, has enabled employers to strengthen them. President Green said. He declared the Wagner bill will provide the necessary enforcement of collective bargaining and added:

"The employers fear that the workers, given their legal rights under the Wagner bill, will discard company unions and come flocking into the American Federation of Labor by the millions."

Mr. Green attacked the Communist Party and the American Civil Liberties Union, accusing them of lining up with big business in opposition to the Wagner bill.

In addition to the Wagner bill the meeting specifically endorsed the Black-Connerly 30-hour week measure, proposed extension of NRA, the Administration's social security program and the Guffey coal stabilization bill.

The resolutions were adopted unanimously after Oliver Myers, a delegate from Toledo, protested that they were couched in timid language.

"The only language big business understands is force," the stocky Ohioan cried.

But Green said the workers will talk through the ballot box.

Declares Senator Has Distorted Important Facts Showing Workers Decay Under Revolting Regime of Textile Corporations—The Borah's Have Become Useless Bores.

SENATOR BORAH of Idaho, a "liberal" whose economics differ little from the economics of the classic reactionary, is very much exercised over the fact that cotton goods have advanced 31 per cent. He cited this the other day as proof that the NRA has been detrimental to the interests of the country. We hold no brief for the NRA insofar as it has failed to make good upon its promises. But insofar as, under the pressure of trade union organizations, it has succeeded in certain organized industries in raising wages and improving conditions, there can be no criticism of it, unless it be the criticism that not enough has been accomplished.

In a statement replying to Senator Borah, the United Textile Workers of America undertakes to teach the senator a few salient facts about the problem which he discusses with such emphasis but little knowledge. The statement follows:

"Senator Borah of Idaho, who professes a great friendship for 'the little business man,' in his opposition and resistance to a continuance of the National Recovery Act, announced to the country that cotton goods have advanced 31 per cent."

"That is probably true of cotton goods, and of a good many other things, and prices are still rising. Unfortunately, Borah did not tell the whole story; there is a sad distortion and suppression of facts in what he did say, and many consumers are doubtless led to believe that in the general price rise and movement toward recovery they are being swindled."

"Borah did not tell consumers that under ruthless competition, for the return of which he pleads, things fell to such a low state that the 31 per cent advance he refers to was in reality merely a partial return to decent standards of living, to decent wages, to decent working conditions, and to more adequate consumption of what the nation produces."

"He did not tell them that savage, wolfish competition in the decade preceding the Roosevelt administration and the advent of NRA forced wages in many localities to as low as \$4.50 a week."

Five-Cent Cotton

"He did not tell them that in recent years 5-cent cotton meant for the cotton farmer, and 3-cent tobacco meant for the tobacco farmer, a level below that of the Russian peasant, and put them in a position where payment of their debts was an absolute impossibility, forced them into bankruptcy,

drove them from their farms, and sent them with their families down against the mill doors looking for jobs at any wages they could get."

"He did not tell them that women and girls worked all night—11 to 12 hours—in mills in part of the country for this low wage during those years, and that children at a low wage were competitors of adults in seeking and holding jobs."

"He did not tell them that before the NRA certain cotton mills operated from 125 to 144 hours a week in a market already overloaded in an effort to lower costs and strangle competition."

"He did not tell them that textile workers waited in many mills for 12 years—from 1921 to 1933—without having regular employment in a single year out of the twelve."

"He did not tell them that many cotton mill stocks represent actual money invested, and quite often they are the life savings of the investors."

"He did not tell them that during that 12 years the dominant element in this industry was more interested in selling in a glutted and overloaded market than it was in living standards of workers and the payment of living wages."

The Price of Decay

"He did not tell them that the country has had to pay for those years during its depression—pay in scrapped industry, idle workers, lost wages, and relief doles."

"He did not tell them that prosperity comes, not from gluts of cheap goods but from plenty of work well paid for and a wide distribution and consumption of what is produced."

"He did not tell them that the best market is a home market, created by paying living wages to workers and adequate remuneration to farmers for what they produce."

"The trouble with these Borahs is that they have outlived their day. They adhere to a philosophy that has been swept away by the very cataclysm that it produced. They talked merely for the sparsely settled open spaces and the still more sparsely settled mountain peaks and valleys."

Louisiana

New Orleans.—Paul Porter and Clarence Senior will speak at the "Far South" organization conference here, according to Louise S. Jensen, state representative of the party. The conference, which will deal mostly with labor work and Socialist aid in the organization of southern farmers, will be held in the party headquarters Saturday and Sunday, May 18 and 19. Delegates are expected from Texas, Mississippi, Alabama and out-state Louisiana.

JIM MAURER'S Stirring Plea to Our Friends Throughout the Nation Must Be Answered Now!

We Must Attain This Goal To Build a Powerful Daily New Leader . . .

We can do it . . . set yourself a quota today . . .

SWING INTO ACTION FOR 5000 NEW SUBSCRIBERS TO THE NEW LEADER, America's Leading Labor and Socialist Newspaper

START NOW WITH THREE NEW SUBS (We'll take more) at the low rate of \$1.00 for one year.

Help to Build a Mighty Daily New Leader

Name Address City State

Bakers' Union Is Fighting Hanscom Co. in New York

Bakers' Union, Local 507, together with the Cake Bakers' Union, continues to wage a determined fight for union conditions against the chain of bakeries operated by the Hanscom Co. Teamsters' Union, Local 138, is also involved.

The firm has refused to negotiate with the labor organizations affected. An appeal is made to all unionists and their friends to help win this fight for the union.

Local 507 is also on strike against the Efron Bakery, located at 183rd St. The union charges that this concern refuses to comply with conditions laid down by the NRA, pays its workers far less than the union scale, works them without limit as to hours and in every way seeks to profit by the unemployment situation. The Union Labor Club continues to hold open-air meetings and is doing good work in promoting the popularity of the bakers' union label.

Local 507 will soon celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of its affiliation with the A. F. of L. Included in its many activities is a forum which is held the second Friday of each month, in the spacious headquarters of the union, 1258 Boston Road. The Labor Committee of the Socialist Party has been cooperating in this work.

Tennessee

Knoxville.—A Southern Mountain States Socialist organization conference will be held here Saturday and Sunday, May 25 and 26, according to Chas. W. Wallace, local secretary. It will be the third such regional conference held by the Socialist party this spring. Clarence Senior, Paul Porter, Zilla Hawes, Southern labor secretary of the party, and Franz Daniel, of the N.E.C., will lead the sessions.



One of the most popular floats in the May Day parade. This car evoked cheers wherever it appeared.

Trade Union Conference Votes New Leader Drive

THE NEW LEADER in its new dress, its increased number of pages, and its special stories of labor struggles has made a hit in New York labor circles. From many sources come words of praise and support and this sentiment took concrete form last week when representatives of 46 labor bodies met in the Rand School of Social Science to consider ways and means of extending the circulation of The New Leader among union men and women.

Those who attended the conference represent hundreds of thousands of organized workers in Greater New York. Delegates were present from the United Hebrew Trades, local unions and Joint Boards in the needle trades and not a single word of criticism was heard of the labor policy of The New Leader. The renewal of interest in the response to the special attention given by The New Leader to local labor struggles and the general struggles of the organized working class throughout the country.

Among the speakers were Morris C. Finestone of the United Hebrew Trades; James Oneal, editor; Sol Levitas, business manager; Louis Waldman, and others. Comrade Levitas pointed out that unions in various sections of the country had ordered bundles of New Leaders because of its special labor stories, 200 for distribution in the Detroit Federation of Labor Council, a Detroit automobile local union sending 200 subscriptions, several hundred subscriptions for union members in Cleveland, and 800 subs obtained by Joseph Tuvim for members of Local 142 of the I.L.G.W.U.

Waldman pointed out the advanced position being taken in the past year or two by the trade union movement in relation to so-

cial legislation and its attitude towards government. Oneal looked forward to the time when The New Leader, with the continued help of the unions, could be expanded into a fighting working class daily.

"We know what we want," said one delegate, "so let's not waste too much time with speeches. Let's get down to action." That was the sentiment of the conference and it proceeded to act.

A committee was appointed to cooperate with a committee of The New Leader Board to work out a plan of continuous activities. The action committee includes Finestone of the United Hebrew Trades, Aronsky, Local 35; Tuvim, Local 142; Benson, Local 35; Levin, Local 10; Metz, Local 102; Belson, Local 17, all of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Baron of the Bakers' Union; Rose of the Millinery Workers; Reisel of the Bonnaz Embroiders' Union; Hershkovitz of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, King of the Joint Council of the Furriers, Williams of Local 4 of the Amalgamated, and the aid of two joint boards was pledged.

Word was received that a number of other unions would have been represented were it not for important union meetings being held the same night. They will come in later as the conference is a permanent body and will again meet after the joint committee of The New Leader Board and the conference has worked out plans.

The New Leader is not intended to displace the special publications of the various unions but to supplement them and interest the union members in the struggles of workers in other industries. Thus a wider sense of labor solidarity will be developed among the organized working class.

May Day Celebrations In Other Cities

NEW HAVEN.—For the first time in years, organized labor celebrated May Day here with a huge street parade, concluding in a mass meeting on the Central Green. More than 2,000 marched, while several thousand more attended the Green meeting. The demonstration was for the 30-hour week bill and the Wagner Labor Disputes bill.

The speakers included Frank R. Crosswaith, of New York; Thomas Burns, of the A. F. of L.; Harry Hines, president of the FERA Workers' Union; David Rodnick, of the Workers' Party; Colin McIntyre, president, and George Limosani, business agent, of the Building Laborers' Union; Aldo Curci, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union; and Celia D. Rostow, town chairman of the Socialist Party. Bernard Schub, state manager of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, presided.

By Abe Belsky

(Special to The New Leader)

PHILADELPHIA.—Philadelphia's May Day celebration was a glorious success. More than 10,000 working men and women jammed Rayburn Plaza, the first time that place had been secured for such a celebration and their enthusiasm for the cause of Labor and Socialism was unbounded.

The demonstration was followed by a gathering sponsored by the Women's Committee at the Labor Educational Institute, which also set a high-water mark of success.

UNION CITY, N. J.—James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, was the principal speaker at the May Day celebration here in the beautiful building of the co-operatives of Italian workers. Valentine Bausch presided and the other speakers were the president and vice-president of the central labor body and a German speaker. (Other May Day news on Page 6)

St. Louis Socialists To Hold Carnival

The Socialist Party of St. Louis will hold a three-day carnival and Labor exposition May 10th, 11th and 12th at Jeffia Halls, Jefferson and Lafayette Aves. The affair is patterned after the one held at Milwaukee last month, which 139,000 people attended.

Different trade unions and fraternal organizations have rented booths for propaganda purposes. Leaders of unions, unemployed organizations, fraternities and the Socialist Party will speak. On the last day of the carnival the speaker will be Norman Thomas.

There will be entertainment, labor dramatics, a political cabaret, a Vienna cafe and music. At the museum many exhibits on the history of the Labor movement in this city will be shown.

a float with a prison in which were the figures of some of Mussolini's victims; inside was a loudspeaker, and those who rode sang the *Bandiera Rossa*, the Italian Red Flag, and as they came to the words *Viva Socialismo!* thousands took up the song and the avenue rang with the inspiring words.

There was the Workmen's Circle, headed by the veterans Baskin and Weinberg and Rothman; followed by branch after branch, and they were followed by the children of the Workmen's Circles schools, led by Philip Geliebter, head of the education department of that great organization.

There were painters in overalls, and jewelry workers, butchers and bakers, and a grand division of millinery workers; there were belt makers and cap makers, pants makers and white goods workers (a misnomer, that name, if one is to judge by evidence in shop windows); there were the fighting I.W.O., and the various "splinter" groups; there was the fine Paole Zion organization, with their youth.

There were thousands . . . tens of thousands.

It was a great day for Labor. It was a great day for Socialism.

The sun shone and the skies were blue and the breezes were balmy and the marchers were happy. It was their day. It was their demonstration. It is their battle. And it will be their triumph!

Communists Capture Father Divine for Their May Day Masquerade

COMMUNIST demagoguery reached a new low on May Day when a prominent place in the Communist parade was given to Father Divine and 2,000 of his "black angels" and "cupids."

The angels and cupids marched to Union Square while the Harlem mountebank, arrayed in a pink shirt and brown suit, rode in a Rolls Royce limousine with a liveried chauffeur and footman.

At Union Square, Father Divine was invited by the Communists to address their "revolutionary" army, when he delivered a cheap, revivalist exhortation. As part of the "revolutionary" slogans dished up by the Communists on May Day were the following inscribed on the banners carried by Father Divine's entourage:

"Father Divine is God."
"Father Divine is the King of this World."
"Father Divine is the Lilly of the Valley."
"Father Divine is the Light of the World and the Bright and Shining Star."
"Father Divine is walking in the land like a mighty man."
"There is no space where Father Divine is not."
"To all of which we say:
"Long live the World Revolution of Stalin and Father Divine!"
The Communist May Day parade was an insult to Socialism and the working class.

Socialist Bill Reported Out

(Continued from Page One)

Before the legislative hearing there was a monster demonstration in the city, to impress the legislature with the widespread demand of the people for the bill.

The hearing itself had to be held in the Assembly chamber, the largest hall in the Capitol, the vast room was jammed, with hundreds standing in the aisles and more hundreds turned away.

The Kiefer bill was prepared and introduced as the Socialist Party's main legislative item. It embodies Socialist principles, but it was drafted with a view of being passed, not merely for propaganda. Political observers assert that it has an excellent chance of passing both houses; its fate then will rest with Governor Philip F. LaFollette, Progressive.

This bill is sometimes mis-called Wisconsin's Epic Plan. It differs from the Epic proposals in that it does not propose to set up a sepa-

arate society of unemployed, providing for their own needs but cut off from the rest of society, as Upton Sinclair's plan did.

The Wisconsin Production Corporation is empowered to take over any industry, idle or going, and to put the unemployed to work, making what is needed. These state-controlled industries will enter into direct competition with private industry, manufacturing and distributing goods. They will pay union wages and will work a thirty-hour week.

The strong showing for the bill before the Committee followed weeks of intensive work by the state office of the Socialist party. Every issue of the party's weekly, the Wisconsin Leader, and successive weekly broadcasts over WTMJ, the most popular radio station in the state, were devoted almost exclusively to building up support for the bill.

Innumerable locals of farm or-

ganizations, unions, and the Wisconsin Workers' Committee, militant unemployed organizations, sent in resolutions endorsing the bill. Committees called on their assemblymen suggesting that if they did not see fit to support the bill men would be returned next election who would. The clerk of Assembly was flooded with thousands of petitions, and the printing presses ran overtime supplying more petition blanks and additional copies.

Coming as it did almost immediately after the amazing showing in the spring election, when Glenn Turner polled 218,258 votes for Supreme Court Justice, the favorable report on the Kiefer bill has had a notable effect upon public sentiment in the state. The Socialist party is distinctly on the upgrade in the state.

For over a year State Secretary Al Benson, assisted by a corps of volunteer organizers, has been busy forming new locals, pepping up old ones, offering the help of the party in farm or industrial strike situa-

Henry Jager in Newark

Henry Jager, Socialist lecturer and writer, will lecture next Thursday, May 9th, at the Hawthorne Avenue School, Clinton Place and Hawthorne Avenue, Newark, N. J. His subject will be, "On Our Way—To What?"

The lecture is under the auspices of the South Side Branch of the Socialist Party.

tions, and his work is bearing fruit. Entering first simply as a friend of the farmers or workers, they have succeeded in gaining the attention and respect of many groups, and then in interesting them in Socialism and forming locals.

As Socialists everywhere know, militant groups of workers and farmers who have had a little experience with party workers soon form the habit of coming to the party for speakers, educational help, organizers, and general advice, and this soon forms a bond which draws them into the party.

It took 20 of America's Leading Woolen Mills to make this Amazing Offer possible!

We bought approximately 1,000,000 yards of fine fabrics . . . enough to reach the top of the Empire State Building 3000 times!

Largest Selection of Sport Suits in Town

Striped Back Pleated Pockets Window Pane Plaids
Pleated Back Bellows Pockets Country Colors
Bellows Back Patch Pockets Matching Outfits
Belted Back Country Checks Contrasting Outfits



Take your choice of over 125,000 custom quality garments—one of the largest selections in the United States—all at the one price—\$18.75

Single Breasted
Double Breasted
The English Drapes
Belted Backs
Plain Backs
Free-Swing Shoulders

Worsted
Tweed
Flannels
Gabardine
Doeskin
Checks

Stripes Plaids
Hound's-Tooth
Plain Colors
Patch Pockets
Bellows Pockets
Regulars

Tails
Shorts
Stouts
Young Men's
Conservative
Country Suits
Town Suits

FANCY BACK SPORT JACKETS \$10.75

SPORT SLACKS \$2 and up

CRAWFORD

CUSTOM Quality CLOTHES
STYLED BY D'AMBROSIO

NEW YORK
826 BROADWAY . . . Cor. 12th St.
801 BROADWAY . . . Cor. 13th St.
100 5th AVE. . . Cor. 19th St.
1282 BROADWAY . . . Cor. 33rd St.
462 7th AVE. . . Cor. 26th St.
208 WEST 42nd St. . . At Times Square
963 8th AVE. . . Cor. 57th St.
152 EAST 86th St. . . Near Lexington Ave.
115 W. 125th St. . . Near Lenox Ave.
1291 St. Nicholas Ave. . . Near 109th St.

BROOKLYN
467 FULTON ST. . . Cor. Lawrence St.
90 Flatbush Ave. . . Near Schermerhorn St.
1700 PITKIN AVE. . . Near Rockaway Ave.
1512 PITKIN AVE. . . Opp. Loew's Pitkin Th.
1622 Pitkin Ave. . . Cor. Hopkinson Ave.
26 MANHATTAN AVE. . . Near Varet St.

BRONX
10 E. FORDHAM RD. . . Nr. Jerome Ave.
340 E. Fordham Rd. . . op. K'sbridge Rd.
378 E. Fordham Rd. . . Nr. Webster Ave.
526 WILLIS AVE. . . Near 149th St.

NEWARK
94 MARKET ST. . . Cor. Washington St.

JAMAICA
168-05 JAMAICA AVE. . . Cor. 168th St.
At the End of the "L", Jamaica, L. & JERSEY CITY
4 JOURNAL SQUARE
317 CENTRAL AVE. . . Cor. Griffith St.
BOSTON
595 WASHINGTON ST. . . Cor. Avery St.
PHILADELPHIA
1225 MARKET ST. . .
38 S.

ALL STORES OPEN EVENINGS

Jobless Army Grows

(Continued from Page One)
nourished, permanently handicapped for life."
The rate of illness has increased 60 per cent.

"In our efforts to save relief costs we are wasting human lives."
"We have spent to save life less than half of what we spent to destroy life in 1914-1919."

Private business has failed to undertake the task of national rehabilitation and development because it saw little profit in this for itself.

"Millions of people will depend on government work for several years to come. We can either keep them on starvation wages or plan to give them jobs on decent pay."

Text of Report

The full text of the report follows:

Our relief population today numbers 22,000,000, or more than one-sixth of all persons in the United States. The government spent \$1,500,000,000 in 1934 to keep these people alive; its relief payroll supports more than our five largest industries combined.

In spite of small employment gains, relief rolls have been increasing rapidly. More than a million cases have been added since last July. Studies in a half dozen cities show that many of these newcomers—from 28% in Detroit to 59% in Omaha—are seeking relief for the first time. Years of unemployment have exhausted their resources, driven them to relief. A recent study in a typical small city shows that 60% of the unemployed have been out of work from 1 to 4 years or more, and 29% more than 3 years. In New York, about half the unemployed are already on relief.

What kind of people make up our relief population? Of the families on relief, 83% have at least one member able and eager to work; of those able to work, 66% held their last job for 5 years or more. Many of those now coming to relief for the first time—from 15 to 25%—are professional men and women, clerical workers, managers of industrial concerns. Relief rolls include substantial and responsible citizens.

What Prospects?

What is the prospect of finding work in private industry for those on relief? Business progress in the last two years has not been enough to scratch the surface of our unemployment problem. The number unemployed today is almost the same as last year—about 11,500,000. Consumer buying power, the basis for production and jobs, has risen but little. Income of workers and farmers has been increased by government relief payments and by the slight rise in business activity. When the increase in living costs is accounted for, the total increase in "real" monthly income of workers and farmers in two years (February, 1933, to February, 1935) was \$471,000,000, or 15.6%, including relief and benefits. All this gain came before February, 1934; last year the rise in living costs wiped out the income gain, and "real" income in February, 1934, was 2% below February, 1934.

Industrial production this spring is lagging; the Standard Statistics Index, which stood at 73.6% of normal in February, has fallen to 67.2%, preliminary for April, and is slightly below last year. Producers are holding back because of uncertainty over legislation in Congress, over enforcement of NRA through the courts, over the situation in Europe. Consumers are spending income accumulated, however, and preliminary reports show

Easter trade 10% above last year. This will eventually lift production; prospects are good for a healthy pickup in business next fall, but no indication yet of a rise large enough to reduce unemployment. Business plunges ahead only when sure of high profits. This means that millions of those on relief must expect to remain on relief rolls for several years. Even when prosperity returns, we shall have a large number on relief unless adjustments are made to offset the increase in workers' productivity and replacement of workers by machines during depression.

What is relief doing for its members? Relief policies have grown out of the emergency. Until recently, relief has been viewed as a temporary problem and not a social responsibility. Our first great relief effort was to save such institutions as banks, railroads, etc., and relief to workers has not yet equalled the large sums paid out for this purpose. Up to March 31, 1935, Federal Government expenditures for business institutions amounted to \$5,677,000,000, for farmers \$1,480,000,000, for the unemployed—including part of the drought relief to farm families—\$5,366,000,000. Of the payments to institutions, \$2,687,000,000 has since been repaid, and \$728,000,000 collected in processing taxes refunded a large portion of the farm benefits.

Business vs. Human Relief

Conflicting purposes have throughout hindered us from adequately meeting human need. On the one hand, Chambers of Commerce, business and financial interests with no real understanding of the human problem lack of relief have protested against large government expenditures. They measured the financial and ignored the human cost. On the other hand, FERA, with funds wholly inadequate to meet this national catastrophe, has made genuine efforts to raise relief standards from the pitifully low levels existing in many places. Relief budgets were supplemented with meat, cereals and other foods bought by the AAA in the surplus reduction program and by substance gardens, where in many states families on relief raised from 40 to 100% of their green vegetables. Increasing need and the effort to improve standards have raised relief payments from \$60,000,000 monthly, when the FERA began in 1933, to \$197,000,000 today.

While FERA has made definite progress in lifting relief levels in sub-standard areas, pressure from business interests has influenced the whole relief policy, driving relief wages downward until they permit only the barest subsistence. The Administration's first effort to create jobs gave us CWA, with an average wage of \$55 a month and jobs open to any unemployed worker. This was followed by the FERA work program, with an average wage of \$25 a month. Wage rates were reduced (November, 1934) from a 30 cents an hour minimum to the "prevailing wage," which in Southern states means 10 to 20 cents an hour. The new \$4,000,000,000 work relief program now specifies wages below the prevailing rate. Relief wages affording a decent standard of living might make workers unwilling to go back to subsistence wages of private industry.

Lowering Living Standards

Not only is his wage forced to a bare minimum; the worker on relief must prove his destitution before he can get either job or dole. Even then he cannot get a full-time job but may work only long

enough to complete the bare subsistence budget set by the case worker, although this may mean only one week's work in four. If he finds a part-time job in industry, his relief allowance will be cut. Thus workers on relief are not permitted to rise above bare subsistence.

Is the relief budget adequate even for subsistence? Most states have adopted the "adequate diet at minimum cost" of the U. S. Department of Agriculture as the food budget they hope to attain, but nearly all fall considerably below it. Some even fall below the "restricted" diet. In very many cases, relief budgets do not provide for rent and provide inadequately, if at all, for carfare, household supplies, personal incidentals. Most cities give grocery orders, not cash, for food; relief families cannot choose what they eat.

How have relief families fared on these budgets? In the City of New York, where relief budgets are at practically the highest level in the country, a study by Mayor LaGuardia shows significant facts: 20% of the children in relief families are undernourished; rent is very inadequate; nearly half the houses lacked the necessary sanitary facilities. Clothing allowance, which was reduced from \$11 to \$4 a month (per family), has not been enough for decency, greatly handicapping those who seek jobs. In only one of 34 precincts was the food allowance adequate for health.

If this is the situation where relief is most adequately administered, our relief population is clearly in serious danger. At the very least, 1,500,000 American children are being undernourished, permanently handicapped for life. A study by the Milbank Fund shows that, where depression has seriously reduced living standards, the rate of illness has increased 60%. In our efforts to save relief costs, we are wasting human lives.

Helping Big Capital

What has it cost the Federal Government to save banks, railroads, farmers, workers? Since 1929 our national debt has increased from \$16,931,000,000 to \$28,817,000,000 (end of March, 1935); that is, we have added \$11,886,000,000. This is a large sum but less than we added during the World War (\$22,500,000,000). We have spent to save life less than half what we spent to destroy life in 1914-19. Our debt per person in the United States today is less than at the end of the war—\$240 in 1919 and \$228 today—and less than that of Great Britain (which is \$844) or France (\$506). Our state and local debts amount to about \$20,200,000,000, a total of \$49,000,000,000. The cost of paying interest on this entire debt is about \$1,765,000,000 per year, or 2% of our national income in times of prosperity (1929); another 2% taken each year would repay the debt in a period of thirty years. This does not appear to be an excessive burden. The danger lies chiefly in this: We have no plan for refunding our national debt. Continued borrowing with no

Workers' Rights Amendment Wins in Penna.

Socialist Measure Passes Lower House 108 to 16—If Senate Approves, It Goes on to Congress.

HARRISBURG, Pa.—The proposed "Workers' Rights Amendment to the Constitution of the United States" was endorsed and the first steps taken to bring it before the law making bodies of the nation when the Pennsylvania House of Representatives by an overwhelming majority passed a Resolution No. 32 of Representative Lillith M. Wilson, Reading Socialist.

The amendment, drawn up by the late Morris Hillquit for Socialist legislators, provides that Congress shall have the power to establish uniform laws throughout the country to prohibit child labor, establish all forms of social insurance, and enact all forms of labor legislation without the danger of having such laws declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

The Pennsylvania bill, pressed by the two Socialist members of the House, received wide support in the state and when it came to a vote was passed 108 to 16. It now goes to the Senate.

One paragraph of the resolution reads: "Resolved (if the Senate concur) that the Legislature of Pennsylvania endorse such proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States and urges upon members of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States the passage of the same."

The passing of that bill, together with the success of our Connecticut comrades in forcing through considerable social legislation, is a tribute to the power of Socialists, even when in an apparently hopeless minority, to marshal support for legislation in the interest of the masses and to register solid gains for the workers.

plan for repayment weakens Federal credit.

The principle "no one shall starve" is not an adequate basis for national relief policy. More than one-sixth of our population is now concerned in the relief program. These men and women want work, not doles; they want jobs at a living wage, not part-time relief jobs at subsistence pay or below; they want independence, not domination by case workers. Furthermore, our national government has a task to perform which could give work to several million of our citizens. The National Resources Board has outlined work necessary to free our resources for the needs of our population and for business enterprises: To reclaim 250 million acres of land from drought and duststorms; to provide electricity for 5,000,000 farms; to build 1,500,000 low-cost homes for workers; to build roads and eliminate grade crossings; to give families "stranded" on poor farm land or dead industrial areas

Work with the Unions

By August Claessens
Secretary, Labor Committee of the Socialist Party, New York

In reporting our doings for the last few weeks I am sorry to report no great sensations, but measured with the yardstick of larger values I can mention some fruitful activities.

First of all, we are happy to report a remarkable rehabilitation of Local 338 (Grocery, Dairy and Fruit Clerks). Three months ago this union was in chaos, vicious charges and counter-charges among its membership and officials, no local membership meetings and general demoralization was in progress. Our Socialist League was an acrimonious debating society and only lent confusion to the scene.

A Bad Situation Solved

We got together the saner elements and in the numerous meetings with them finally found the source of the trouble. We went into a campaign to arouse the membership to higher ideals of unionism and lifted their morale. Now membership meetings are again being held without fights or disgraceful scenes, the spirit is good, improvements in management are being made. At the last meeting and amid great enthusiasm in a gathering of some 800 at Beethoven Hall, nominations were made for the election of new officers. Brother Sam Wolchock was nominated again as manager and secretary in a harmonious and affectionate demonstration. After a spirited debate Local 338 adopted an im-

nearly 19,000,000 persons—opportunity for a better living. Private business has not undertaken these tasks because they bring little profit; yet they are essential to national progress and welfare.

Already the FERA, AAA and other government agencies have performed essential emergency tasks by stepping in where buying power broke down to distribute products to those in need: 1,040,600,000 pounds of food, or 2% of the nation's food requirements, and 188,000 bales of cotton or 3.4% of cotton requirements have been bought from farmers and distributed to the unemployed as canned meat, flour, potatoes, blankets, piece goods. In addition, closing schools were kept open and 37,000 teachers given work, 100,000 college students aided, important research projects, such as the Census of American Business, carried on.

We have paid for these essential tasks at a relief wage so low that it means slow starvation for large numbers of the relief population. Relief costs have been doubled because the unemployed were not permitted to produce for their own needs for fear of competing with private business. Workers bear the brunt of this concession to business.

Millions of people will depend on government work for several years to come. We can either keep them on starvation wages or plan to give them jobs at decent pay.

portant change in giving the executive board the power to appoint business agents as against the old practice of having them elected by the membership. This innovation removes the source of much disturbance in the local and reduces the business agents to paid employees and servants of the rank and file instead of being petty czars responsible only to cliques. Our Socialist crowd is to be congratulated for the wholesome change and spirit in this local.

Another good bit of news is that we were able to provide the Paper Box Makers' Union with an organizer-manager. This union has been in a serious condition of neglect and helplessness for some time. There is a huge crowd of workers to organize and the conditions in the trade are shockingly bad. The union was poor in finance and spirit and pleaded for help. We were exceedingly fortunate in getting Comrade Abraham N. Weinberg to accept the job. Struggling against terrific difficulties and with Matthew M. Levy helping heroically, "Weinie" is making good. We are giving the Paper Box Makers' Union our best assistance.

Right now we are putting our Socialist heads together among the furriers. Here also is a tough job. Conferences are being held and action is being planned. If our high hopes and dreams are realized and the Furriers' Union emerges out of chaos and Communism in the very near future, our labor department is going to be too proud to talk to.

The Flower Girls Organize

During the last few weeks we went into action on a large scale assisting Local 142, I.L.G.W.U., in organizing the dress flower and feather trade. In the great drive among these thousands of unorganized workers the Socialist storm troops were conspicuously on the job. Picket lines were managed, workers were brought down out of the shops, halls were manned and Socialist speakers held forth in the huge meetings in the Manhattan Opera House.

These are the high spots. Among other recent activities the Labor Department has helped in the strikes of the N.B.C. biscuit bakers, the Butler chain grocery clerks, the dental technicians, the Bronx bakers and the radio workers, the Brotherhood of Utility Employees, Bakery Clerks, Auto Workers, Building Service Employees, and the Cleaning Dye House Drivers. We also aided the organization drives of the grocery delivery boys of Local 338, the laundry workers, the pattern makers of Local 31, I.L.G.W.U., the provisions salesmen and the Salespeople's Unions, Locals 107 and 717, who were so bitterly attacked in the "liberal" press during the last two weeks. We pledged our full support and cooperation to these unions in their drive to organize the retail clerks in the chain and department stores.

We are still very busy in helping the I.L.G.W.U. Educational Department in its splendid educational work in the city and out of town

MEETINGS OF TRADE UNION SOCIALISTS

All meetings held at 7 East 15th Street.

MONDAY, MAY 6

7:30 p. m.—Egg Inspectors.
8:30 p. m.—Cap Makers, Local 1.
SATURDAY, MAY 11
2:30 p. m.—Bookbinders.

National

Plans for an intensive drive in the South will be laid by Clarence Senior and Paul Porter in a two weeks' tour of Southern cities which will start May 12 in St. Louis. Porter and Senior will take part in two Southern organization conferences in New Orleans and Knoxville to prepare the way for an "invasion" of the South by prominent Socialist speakers and organizers this fall.

New Jersey

Passaic.—Second open forum in the present series sponsored by Branch One Friday, May 3rd, at 8:30, with George H. Goebel on "Social Security and the Roosevelt Program."
State Committee will hold May meeting in Passaic May 12 at 11 a. m. Polish branch will hold annual dance Saturday, May 18, at 40 Third Street.
Open air meetings for the Labor League candidates in the Commission election May 14, will be held in various sections of the city. Comrades are requested to keep in touch with headquarters for date and place of meetings to render assistance.
All party and Yipsel activities take place at 201 Washington Pl. (former post office building), Rooms 112-114.

PLANNED SAFETY

THE same meticulous planning that has promoted and governed the extraordinary growth of the Soviet Union; that has made possible the balancing of the nation's budget year after year; that has enabled it to provide economic security for its 170 million people; has been applied to the creation of a strikingly safe medium of investment—

SOVIET UNION 7% GOLD BONDS

These bonds incorporate the principle of "planned safety". A summation of the special safeguards behind these bonds will be sent upon request.

Ask for Circular N.13

SOVIET AMERICAN SECURITIES CORP.

30 Broad St., N. Y. Tel. HAnover 2-5330

Auto Walkouts Grow

(Continued from Page One)

been in progress since the week before.

William H. Black, president of the United Automobile Workers' Union, Local 19,440, sister organization of the union which called the strike in Toledo, declared that the stoppage was "a 100 per cent walkout."

As the workers began filing out of the two plants in this city, large crowds outside the gates cheered and applauded.

The strike was called after officials of the two plants had rejected an ultimatum by a committee of the union demanding signing of an agreement drawn up by the workers and threatening a walkout in event of refusal. The demands included wage and hours readjustments, guarantee of seniority rights, sick leave and collective bargaining.

A five-day week, a seven and one-half hour day, time and a half pay for overtime, and double pay for holidays were among the union's demands.

Union spokesmen declared the strike was in sympathy with the Toledo walkout.

In labor circles the strike was regarded as another indication of the determination of the workers organized under the American Federation of Labor to force a showdown in the long conflict for union recognition and establishment of genuine collective bargaining in the industry. It was believed that unless some action is taken by the automobile magnates to meet the demands of the men that the strike will spread to other cities and may lead to a general con-

Dingmen Out in Detroit

By L. S. Davidow

(Special to The New Leader)
DETROIT.—All the dingmen at the Chrysler Corporation went out on Strike, involving Chrysler, De Sota, Dodge and Plymouth cars Dodge trucks. The dingmen demand increased pay, better conditions and abolition of chiseling practices. All Chrysler products are defective while strike lasts.

Fisher Body Plant Closed

By Sidney Yellen

CLEVELAND.—Fisher body plant closed. Union answered with a strike. Nine thousand involved.

tion and improvements of wage and working conditions in the entire industry.

CLEVELAND.—Announcement of the strike in Cincinnati, following close upon the walkout in Toledo, brought a declaration from officials of the Fisher Body plant here that the plant, employing 9,000 workers, would be closed pending adjustment of the Toledo and Cincinnati walkouts.

The closing of the plant was regarded by union workers as an inexcusable attempt to bring pressure to bear upon the striking employees in the other two cities. It was predicted that any further attempts on the part of automobile manufacturers to extend the lockout may bring the spread of the strike movement on a scale that may surprise the employers.



A
Generous
Offer Much
Appreciated
by the
May Day
Throngs

Local 142,
I.L.G.W.U.,
the
Ladies' Neckwear
Union,
offers a
free necktie
for
a man
who appeared
to be
the most
unpopular
creature
in the
world

NEW YORK'S LARGEST CLOTHING CENTER

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

Situated on

STANTON STREET

Stanton Street merchants deserve the patronage of every well dressed man, young man and boy who is style and quality conscious.

The public at large for the first time in clothing history has the opportunity of buying spring and summer garments at the lowest prices that were ever heard of, for the better type of up-to-date suits, topcoats, and tuxedos.

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.
3. The prices are the lowest in New York because Stanton Street clothiers do not pay high rentals.

You are asked to come down to this street of good values and be convinced of quality, service and satisfaction.

HOW TO GET THERE

B.M.T. to Essex Street.
I.R.T. to 14th St. and Crosstown Car direct to Stanton St.
Elevated Trains: 3rd Avenue stop at Houston Street.
Elevated Trains: 2nd Avenue stop at Rivington Street.



Stirring May Day News Reels at All Trans-Lux Theatres

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

MILK OF HUMAN UNKINDNESS

"SOMETHING GAY." By Adelaide Heilbron. At the Morosco.

The deft ways of Tallulah Bankhead have plenty of opportunity for display in this play of balanced wits and witticisms; and the entertainment of the evening comes largely from listening to good actors as they dangle delicate situations and trifle with verbal quiddities. Hugh Sinclair, who carries the brunt of Tallulah's plotting—and eventually carries off the lady herself—is noted for his smooth, natural performance; between them they manage to make interesting figures they themselves (though by indirection) call puppets. For Hugh (Jay onstage) is a playwright; and he plots Tallulah's (Monica's) problem for her.

The problem is simple. The man Monica has married (after a quarrel with Jay) is having an affair with the cute widow Julia; how shall Monica win him back? After considering, and trying, several possibilities, they finally grow tangled in the toils of their own plotting, and Monica leaves her husband pleasantly expecting her instant return, while she runs off forever with Jay Cochran. A trifling gababout comedy, mainly of verbal plays and pleasant performance, of value for that; not a contribution to our social studies on the stage, but a pleasant evening's anodyne.

4th Edition of "Showboat Revue" Aboard the "Buccaneer" Due June 18th

Bobby Sanford, the young Broadway producer who has made a new vogue in summer entertainment by the presentation of his "Showboat Revue," announces that he has completed negotiations with James A. Kenyon, of the Hudson River Day Line, to present the 4th edition of his famous revue aboard the floating theatre, "Buccaneer."

Sanford also announces that in order to comply with the hundreds of requests received from Showboat patrons during the past three summers for periodic changes in the revue so that they may make several trips to this floating theatre during the summer season, he is formulating plans whereby he will present a complete new show—with new costumes, new principals and new songs—every three weeks.

Sanford plans to put the 4th edition of the "Showboat Revue" into rehearsal within a week and the premiere performance will take place on Saturday evening, June 1.

RAILWAY TRAINMEN MEET IN CLEVELAND

By Sidney Yellen

Special to The New Leader

CLEVELAND.—5,000 delegates and visitors are expected to attend the 26th convention of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen in Cleveland on May 13, in Public Music Hall, which will last about 2 weeks. Elmer Wessel of Albany, N. Y., the only living charter member, was specially invited by President Whitney to attend.

The Brotherhood has received 19,072 new applications for membership within the last year and is celebrating the restoration of the prevailing wages which were cut 20 per cent during the depression. The ladies' auxiliary of the Brotherhood will hold their convention at the same time.

One of the main questions will be the reduction of the hours of work and miles run, which will give employment to more than 12,000 men.

Bakers Prepare to Strike
The agreement of Local 19 of the Bakers' and Confectionery Workers' International will expire June 30, and some opposition from the major shops is expected when

Group Theatre presents
Waiting for Lefty
and
Till the Day I Die
by CLIFFORD ODETS
LONGACRE THEATRE, West 44th St.
Eves. 8:30—\$1.65 to 40c
Mats. Wed. & Sat.—\$1.10 to 40c
For Theatre Party Benefits, Call Helen Thompson, Penn. 6-7234, or write The Group Theatre, 246 W. 44th St.

The Star of "The Petrified Forest"



Leslie Howard in the Robert E. Sherwood play continues to play to capacity business and will, no doubt, stay on through the summer months.

"Swell-Head," Baseball Comedy, at Fox Brooklyn

"Swell-Head," a baseball comedy produced by Columbia Pictures, is now on the screen at Fabian's Fox Brooklyn Theatre in its world premiere showing.

Wallace Ford, Barbara Kent, Sammy Cohen and Mike Donlin are featured in the cast.

The new agreement is presented this month.

Local 19 has jurisdiction over the largest shops in Cleveland, shops which are chains of national concerns and it is expected to fight for full control of the union over the men employed. The contract calls for closed union shops and it seems the big manufacturers will get an acute attack of indignation when they read the new agreement. The union is, however, preparing for the fight. The large membership responded in the best union spirit when the executive committee recommended a tax for a strike fund. The recommendation was adopted without one negative vote. The meeting was addressed by Leo Krzycki, National Chairman of the Socialist Party.

The May Day celebration under the auspices of the City Committee at the Workmen's Circle was a tremendous success. The large hall of the Workmen's Center was so crowded that many workers were unable to get into the hall. The Workmen's Circle choir of 75 voices sang.

The assembly was addressed by Leo Krzycki, Ben Parker representing Local Cuyahoga County Socialist Party, and Sidney Yellen.

"HITS THE MARK!—VIVID, MUSCULAR"—Anderson, Eve, Journal
THEATRE UNION'S New Dramatic Success—By ALBERT MALTZ

BLACK PIT

"A Moving Play—brilliantly credible acting."—Hammond, Herald-Tribune
CIVIC REPERTORY THEATRE, 14th Street & 6th Avenue
Eves. 8:45—Prices 30c to \$1.50. No Tax. Wed. & Sat. 2:45—3c to \$1.00
FOR INFORMATION ON REDUCED RATES FOR BENEFIT THEATRE PARTIES CALL Watkins 9-2050

NATHANIEL PEPPER

author of
"MUST WE FIGHT IN ASIA?"

says: "I wish everybody who talks so easily now about navies and security and other big words could be compelled to see 'Flowers of the Forest.' There is no use in rational arguments about war. Only art can make the question real. Nothing I have seen does so more convincingly than Katharine Cornell in 'Flowers of the Forest.'"

MARTIN BECK THEATRE, 458 L. W. of 8 Ave. Nights 8:40. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

THE GROUP THEATRE presents
A NEW HIT BY THE AUTHOR OF "WAITING FOR LEFTY"

"AWAKE and SING!"

by CLIFFORD ODETS
at the
BELASCO THEATRE
44th Street, East of Broadway
Mats. Thurs. & Saturday

★ ★ ★ "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." —Burns Handle, News

CROSBY GAIGE, Inc., presents

ACCENT ON YOUTH

by SAMSON RAPHAELSON,
with CONSTANCE CUMMINGS, KENNETH MacKENNA
IRENE PURCELL
PLYMOUTH THEATRE, 45th St. West of Broadway
Eves. 8:40—Mats. Mon., Thurs. & Sat.

Al Jolson-Ruby Keeler on Capitol Screen

"Go Into Your Dance," Warner Brothers' spectacle with music—co-starring Al Jolson and Ruby Keeler (Mrs. Jolson), occupies the Capitol's screen this week.

Featured in support of the stars are the inimitable Helen Morgan, Patsy Kelly, Glenda Farrell and Benny Rubin, and a talented supporting cast includes Sharon Lynne, Barton MacLane, Phil Regan, Gordon Westcott and Joyce Compton.

Abe Lyman will present his new "Waltz Time Revue," which features the Saxon Sisters, Trainor Brothers, Rose Blaine, The Musketiers, Lyman's Californians and, as an extra added attraction, Mitzi Mayfair.

"Harlem Express," Colored Revue, on Albee Stage — "10 Raise" on Screen

"Harlem Express," said to be one of the fastest and merriest of colored musical revues, with a passenger list of not less than fifty of Broadway's well-known septuagenarians, including Jimmy Lunceford and his famous radio orchestra on board, pull into the RKO-Albee today for a week's stay. Coupled to this hot-cha downtown flyer is Peter B. Kyne's screen comedy, "10 Raise," with Karen Morley, Edward Everett Horton, Berton Churchill and Alan Dinehart.

Two New Films at Brooklyn Strand

"The Florentine Dagger," a thrilling and baffling mystery melodrama, is at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre as part of the double feature program. The cast is headed by Margaret Lindsay, Donald Woods, C. Aubrey Smith and Robert Barrat.

The second feature on the program is "Hold 'em, Yale," Damon Runyon's comedy of five Broadway wise-guys who go collegiate and help defend the Yale goal posts, with Patricia Ellis, Larry Crabbe, Andy Devine, Warren Hymer, William Frawley and Geo. Stone.

Bridgeport Holds Big May Day Celebration

BRIDGEPORT, Conn.—May Day was celebrated at the Workmen's Circle Hall on Wednesday with a mass meeting sponsored jointly by the Socialist Party, the Workmen's Circle, the Bakers' and Confectioners' Union, and the Young Circle League. Speakers were Frank R. Crosswaith of New York and Senator Audubon J. Secor and City Clerk Fred D. Schwartzkopf. The 35th annual banquet of the Socialist Party was held Saturday, April 27, at St. George's Hall, Stratford Ave., with 400 in attendance. Members of the State Executive Committee were guests of the local. Speakers were Devere Allen, State Secretary Arnold E. Freese, and Mayor Jasper McLevy. Entertainment and dancing were enjoyed later in the evening.

Pictures of Parade and Other Timely News-Shots Stand Today at Trans-Lux

The newsreel programs at all Trans-Lux Theatres, beginning Friday, May 3rd, for a full week at the Broadway and 49th Street house, and beginning Saturday at all Trans-Lux houses in New York City, Brooklyn and Philadelphia, leads off with pictures of the May Day parade in New York City which was one-quarter million strong and the biggest in history. The 34-item news program is full of liberal newsreel news, including Father Coughlin opening his campaign at Detroit, Huey Long splitting openly with the Democratic Party and announcing his intent to start a third party for the next presidential campaign, General Johnson making a dramatic defense for the NRA, and Pope Pius giving his message of peace to the world.

In addition, Frank C. Walker tells how that five billion dollars of relief money will be spent as New York's director of home relief. Glimpses of the Irish Free State demonstration on their nation's anniversary are also included.

The short subjects include a color cartoon, "Sunshine Makers"; Herb Williams in stuff and nonsense about his trick piano; a South America animal short, "Jungle Antics," and a "Boston Tea Party" John B. Kennedy "See America First" subject.

A Unique Theatrical Organization Is Formed

Mrs. Henry B. Harris has resigned as a director of the Players Group to become Executive Director of The Playshop, a newly formed theatrical organization.

The Playshop's operation is unique in New York's theatrical history. The organization will not produce plays for public performance but will show them to audiences of producers, managers, and critics. Many producers have shown an interest in the plans of the group and will have The Playshop work on the scripts which they own and are hesitant to produce because of the great expense of a tryout engagement. Thus many plays would not otherwise have passed the play-reader, will now be shown to critics and managers to be adjudged and passed on. The critic and public will also be spared productions not worthy of a public performance. The Playshop is the answer to many requests of dramatic lovers for a theatrical jury to render opinions on plays and

Stars in Anti-War Play



Katharine Cornell and her distinguished company of players are to be seen these nights in "Flowers of the Forest," the anti-war play by John Van Druten, at the Martin Beck Theatre

players before the theatregoing public is asked to pay admission to a theatre. The Playshop will present and rehearse its plays at a theatre to be chosen during the week. The Playshop will be limited in membership to thirty including its business staff. There are fifteen places to be filled. The Playshop prefers actors and actresses who are not yet prominent on the Broadway stage. Readings will be given and scripts read upon application, by mail only, to The Playshops temporary headquarters at 4 East 53rd Street, New York, N. Y.

Paul Duke's "Symphony in Smoke" a Success

Paul Duke, the man with the million dollar hands, is completing his twentieth week at Leon and Eddie's.

Acknowledged to be one of the foremost prestidigitateurs in the world, he is introducing nightly for Leon and Eddie patrons his "Symphony in Smoke," which is winning for him the acclaim of press and public alike.

Gilbert Miller & Leslie Howard in association with Arthur Hopkins present
LESLIE HOWARD
THE PETRIFIED FOREST
by ROBERT SHERWOOD
"THE REIGNING DRAMATIC HIT"—New York Times
BROADHURST Theatre, W. 44th St. 1st. 4-1515. Eves., 8:45
Mats. Wednesday and Saturday, 2:45

MAX GORDON presents
The Musical Hit!
Production conceived and directed by HASSARD SHORT
"THE GREAT WALTZ"
Book by Moss Hart - Music by Johann Strauss - Dances by Albertina Rasch
The CENTER THEATRE, 8th Ave. & 49th St., Evenings at 8:30,
5:30 to 8:30—Mats. Wed. & Sat. at 2:30,
500 Orchestra Seats Every Night at \$2.20

GOOD BAL-
CONY SEATS
50¢ \$1.00
\$1.50 \$2.00
3 MEN ON A HORSE
"HILARIOUS"
Lockridge—Sun
"A Knockout"
Sobel—Mirror

PLAYHOUSE 18th St. E.
Eve 8:45. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:45

★ ★ ★ ★—Daily News
"Perfect picture! Drama enough for a dozen pictures!"—N. Y. Sun

Joseph M. Schenck presents
Darryl Zanuck's production
of Victor Hugo's
"Les Miserables"

Starring
FREDERIC MARCH CHARLES LAUGHTON
A 20 Century Picture
United Artists
RIVOLI B'way 49th St.

Fabian's
FOX B'way
FLATBUSH at NEVINS
WORLD "SWELL-HEAD"
PREMIERE!
with WALLACE FORD - DICKIE MOORE
SAMMY COHEN - BARBARA KENT
PLUS A GALA SHOW!
75 ARTISTS ON STAGE
25¢
15¢
10¢

Advice to Playwrights!

"Not to be Taken Too Seriously!"

A prominent novelist, who began his writing career in the Village and has refused to move away from it, told us recently that one of the trials of nearly every well-known writer was the frequent requests he receives from other people to read their manuscripts.

"I suppose," he said, "that I am one of the very few writers who take time out from their own work to give help to struggling young authors. I do not in the least mind having people send me their stories and novels to criticize, but if you were to publish the fact in your paper, I should be deluged with more requests than I could possibly handle."

When asked what, in the way of general advice, he dispensed to these would-be authors, the novelist said:

"I have one stock answer. 'Sit down and write and write and write,' I tell them. 'But above all, write about the things you know.'"

Write about the things you know! That sounded like good common sense. And yet there is one young playwright who has managed to be quite successful writing of something he doesn't know. This is Lawrence Riley, who is responsible for the comedy hit, "Personal Appearance."

Until last October, Mr. Riley was a comparatively unknown writer. He had sold stories to the pulp magazines with fair regularity, but you can't exactly call that fame. Like most writers, he wanted to do a play, so he sat down and wrote one. It was "Personal Appearance." This is how he says he did it:

The story of the play concerns itself with the adventures of Carole Arden, a glamorous and beautiful motion picture actress on a personal appearance tour.

"But when I wrote the play," Lawrence Riley insists, "I had no such person in mind. I had never been to Hollywood. In fact, it wasn't my original idea to write the play I did. I had planned to write a mystery story with a tourist home as a setting. Then that seemed not quite original enough. It needed a splash of color—and that splash of color turned out to be Miss Carole Arden with her malapropisms, press agent and foreign car in tow. She simply walked off with the play!"

"The result has been so successful that I am now writing a play about Palm Beach. I hope some day to go there. If my new play, 'Cardboard Castle,' meets with the same success as 'Personal Appearance,' I assure you I shall probably spend the rest of my life writing of things I know nothing about."

Then we remembered that Lawrence Riley has established himself as one of the leading humorists among playwrights, so we decided not to take his advice too seriously.

James Cagney in "G Men" at Strand Theatre

The world premiere of James Cagney's latest starring picture for First National, "G Men" which is also the first of the new cycle of films about the work of the United States Department of Justice's Bureau of Investigation, was held at the Strand Theatre last Wednesday morning.

A large supporting cast appears with Cagney in "G Men." The leading feminine roles are played by Margaret Lindsay and Ann Dvorak. Among the masculine players who appear either as "G Men" or as public enemies are Robert Armstrong, Barton MacLane, Lloyd Nolan, Russell Hopton, Regis Toomey, Edward Pawley, William Harrigan,

go into your dance

he sings she dances

al jolson · ruby keeler

CAPITOL 51st STREET & BROADWAY
Major Edward Bowes, Mng. Dir.

on stage
abe lyman
and his
californians
"waltz time
revue"
with
saxon sisters
mitzi mayfair

SHOWPLACE OF THE NATION RADIO CITY ROCKEFELLER CENTER
where better pictures are shown
NOEL COWARD in "THE SCOUNDREL"
A Paramount Release
Written and produced by Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur
ON THE STAGE, "Contours", in three scenes, "The Fisherman's Legend", "In An Old Quaker Town", "Night and Day", produced by Leonidoff; symphony orchestra under the direction of Erno Rapce.
1st Mezzanine Seats Reserved Phone COLUMbus 5-6335

ALL THIS WEEK
Edward Everett-Horton in 'Ten Dollar Raise'

ALL THIS WEEK
RKO VAUDEVILLE
HARLEM EXPRESS
ALL COLORED REVUE
and other RKO Acts
R K O ALBEE Albee Square BROOKLYN

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

THE SCREEN'S MOST FAMOUS BAD MAN JOINS THE "G-MEN" AND HALTS THE MARCH OF CRIME! — WARNER BROS. EPIC OF GANGDOM'S WATERLOO!

JAMES CAGNEY in the Sensational "G-MEN" • STRAND • 25c

Produced by the same company that gave you 'Public Enemy,' with Ann DVORAK, MARG. LINDSAY, ROBT. ARMSTRONG—B'way & 47—to 1 p.m. weekd.

MARGARET LINDSAY • PATRICIA ELLIS

in "THE FLORENTINE DAGGER" in "HOLD 'EM YALE"

BROOKLYN STRAND • 25c Fulton & Rockwell — Midnite Show Sat. — To 6 p.m. weekdays



The Workmen's Circle 35th Jubilee Convention



35 YEARS OF THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

By J. B.

A JEWISH LABOR FRATERNAL ORDER

THE Workmen's Circle was not, by any means, among the first fraternal orders in these United States. Long before its inception, and long after, countless orders and lodges have been chartered which today include some 10,000,000 members, together with all their fanaticism, contrivances, rituals, mystic insignia and secret rites.

These organizations grew and flourished because the average worker and little fellow did not feel any too secure, because the flag he so patriotically saluted did not offer him nearly enough material protection; and because he was forced to live from hand to mouth with little insurance against disease or disability.

When the American citizen was forced to look to his own for fraternal aid it was natural that the Jewish immigrant, coming to a strange land in an alien environment should organize an order of his own with his own. And the foundation was laid for the many Jewish orders, such as the middle class Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, B'nai B'rith, etc. These organizations, including hundreds of thousands of members, began to play an important role in the life of the Jewish community.

Radical Beginnings of the W. C. With the advent of the 20th century and intense Czarist persecution in Russia a new element, the radical workers and revolutionaries, came to these shores for shelter. Here they found a home free from the more hated oppression of a Czar, but at the same time they were engulfed in an alien bourgeois society, where the very fire of life was slowly extinguished. They worked in sweatshops—near bosses and foremen. Could they discuss their innermost longings and aspirations with these men, their recognized enemies? So, imbued with their old revolutionary idealism, unable to adjust themselves to the existing order, they decided to organize an order, a home for themselves.

1892 saw the beginning of the first Jewish worker's fraternal organization of men and women in this country—the Arbeiter Ring Society—out of which emerged a few years later the Workmen's Circle. The aim and purpose of our founders can no better be illustrated than by turning to the keynote of their Declaration of Principles in which they designated themselves as "Friends"—for friends they were: friends in need and friends in deed. Established to afford protection and security to the worker in times of duress.

More Than Material Protection But soon a very important problem arose. Was the Workmen's Circle going to limit its energies, its activities, simply to material protection inherent in sanatoriums, sick benefits, mortuary provisions, etc., or was it to take an active part in the cultural development of its membership? Was the Workmen's Circle to be just another lodge, another insurance order or was it going to put its shoulder to the wheel of the class struggle and take active part in the labor movement of America? The membership, realizing that the laboring masses will never be rid of the evils of the existing economic order unless the system itself is overhauled, rose as one with the belief that the aim and goal of this order should be to strive for a change in the existing system, to build for the cooperative commonwealth, the land of the workers—to enlist in the radical labor movement as a fighting ally battling side by side with its soldiers. The aim of the Arbeiter Ring was to be, first and foremost, to help the workers on every front, to be their succor in battle, their friend and mainstay in times of adversity.

Revolutionaries fleeing from the Thermidorian Reaction of the first Russian revolt in 1905, Social Democrats, Social Revolutionaries, Bundists and others soon began to swell the ranks of an organization whose very preamble had accepted a blood relationship with the radical labor movement and in short time the zeal of the revolutionary worker, the laborer with an ideal, burned an indelible mark on the character of the Workmen's Circle—it was now a Jewish Radical Fraternal Order.

Education became the means toward an end in the Workmen's Circle. The Workmen's Circle

knew that naught would avail by mass of numbers and brawn unless these were harnessed into a cultured understanding whole, unless the masses learned their position in the class struggle, saw the paradoxes of capitalistic economy and had an understanding of the way out, which would better enable them to battle for the overthrow of the existing order and the building of the new, based on a greater understanding of the common justice.

But while this vast struggle and its ideology was of paramount importance, the leaders of the Workmen's Circle did not overlook or neglect the day-to-day needs of the membership. The ideal of a classless society was therefore, interwoven with the daily needs of the membership so that they could have recourse to various institutions and departments when distressed or stricken.

Sick benefits were rigorously planned and enforced, mortuary assistance was offered, old-age insurance, sanatoriums for consumptives, a medical Health Clinic, a social service department and other minor devices were established to be used by the member when necessary. Children's schools and clubs for young people were set up to provide the younger generation with a training intrinsically sympathetic with the ideals of the Workmen's Circle.

Combining these two elements of necessity and ideal brings to mind the Biblical analogy of Jacob's dream of a ladder: its top reaching into the heavens, its ends rooted in the earthy soil. How like the Workmen's Circle whose social aim and ideal of a classless society reaches graspingly into the heaven of a happier existence while the reality of its day-to-day activity and struggle for material improvement is firmly rooted in the ground.

The Workmen's Circle, always an integral part of the Labor movement as an entity, has room in its ranks for all radical and progressive elements imbued with the energetic spirit of a more rational justice, afire with the willingness to fight for a better social order, a happier world. The Workmen's Circle is an army of such men and women who are continually striving to the end that some day a new sun shall rise on a new social order, free from the miserable brutalities and class crimes of our crazed capitalist system.

W. C. 35th Jubilee Convention Held In New York Week of May 5th to 12th

FIRST LARGE NATIONAL CONVENTION SINCE 1925

Proceedings Open with Huge Mass Meeting at Madison Square Garden May 5; Over 1000 Delegates to Assemble

WITH banners flying and enthusiasm rampant some forty thousand men, women and children participated in the opening of the 35th Jubilee Workmen's Circle Convention at Madison Square Garden, New York, where delegates from the far corners of the nation assembled together with members, Workmen's Circle school children and Young Circle Leaguers to inaugurate this important function of the Workmen's Circle.

Every activity, every major committee, the combined membership of the organization is represented here in a mass assemblage to hear reports of the various departments, executives, committees and General Secretaries; to discuss the same and outline the future year's work making any and all necessary changes dictated from the record of the past few years' experiences. Nor is this a run-of-the-mill conference of routine deliberations. This convention is a nation-wide undertaking in which the Workmen's Circle participates once every ten years. With this fact in mind the proceedings take on an added importance, a weightier significance.

The Workmen's Circle is a vast organization today with some seventy thousand members organized into branches and units through the length and breadth of this country and certain portions of Canada. In such an organization, where constant general conferences are impractical and unwieldy, it is vital to the interests of the working body and the individual membership, that a representative convocation be called periodically to afford a closer tie between member and national organization.

There is not a department, an activity, a function of the Workmen's Circle that can escape the close scrutiny of the assembled convention. It is here that our various departments must lay open the books and records of their transactions and labors, it is here that they must justify any and all proceedings. For which reason the various heads of departments and their staffs have long been at work preparing comprehensive and detailed reports to be delivered at the Convention during the allotted sessions.

All the major advances made by the Workmen's Circle in the past

two decades resulted from resolutions and decisions handed down by the various conventions where problems and difficulties may actually be brought before a body of some thousand men and women, representing every section and phase of the Workmen's Circle. Sympathetic and understanding judgment may be rendered here when all sides of any question may be adequately heard. At these conventions the chairman, vice-chairman, the treasurer and the rest of the officers of the Workmen's Circle are elected for a period of two years. The retiring officers address the assembled delegates at an allotted moment during the lengthy proceedings to briefly sum up their efforts and offer any and all suggestions to the body and the succeeding officers.

The Thirty-fifth Convention of the Workmen's Circle finds the organization financially healthy, organizationally alert and morally active. But although all wheels are moving smoothly, although all departments can report progress still this year, as every other year, there are many weighty matters to be delivered into. In the first place

there is the question of the Old Age Home and adequate protection for our more senior members, there is also a problem of altering the conditions of specific cases of sick benefits, the different taxes must be considered and discussed and any additions for the Workmen's Circle school and Young Circle League duly deliberated.

In order further to aid in these deliberations the National Executive Committee of the Workmen's Circle, which will soon yield office to the newly elected body, has, as

(Continued on Page Eight)



IN THE VANGUARD OF PROGRESSIVE YOUTH

By Y. M. G.

THE YOUNG CIRCLE LEAGUE OF AMERICA

BULLETIN—The Young Circle League of America will hold its first National Conference in preparation for the W. C. convention on Saturday, May 4, at the new Y.C.L.A. Center, 11 Union Square West, New York. This convention will assemble the various delegates from the Y.C.L.A. branches to the W. C. Convention. —S. Q. C.

WITH the advent of the 35th Jubilee Anniversary Convention of the Workmen's Circle it is important to see what has evolved by way of a youth movement from the frugal beginnings first seen at the 1929 Convention in Chicago where the League sent its first two official delegates to a Workmen's Circle Convention.

In the short span of these six years the Young Circle League has effectively demonstrated that it is not just another youth movement—for heaven knows there are enough of those—but that it is a youth organization of a unique kind, a youth organization with a distinction.

A unique youth organization? A youth organization with a distinction? . . . And wherein lies this distinction?

The answer is this: The Young Circle League is not merely a youth organization but a fraternal youth organization; and it is not only a fraternal youth organization but a "Labor Fraternal" Youth Organization. What's more, besides being in its own right a prominent nation-wide youth organization it is an integral and active part of the largest Jewish Fraternal Order in the United States—The Workmen's Circle.

Therein lies its distinction—therein is its uniqueness.

Today the Young Circle League of America offers its members what most other youth organizations do not—a chance to throw in their lot with a cause worthy of the inexhaustible energy, the vast creative imagination of youth; the ceaseless efforts of Labor to win for itself a secure place in a society free from the blight of hunger, war and fascism. It is no easy flippant task this, no mere academic hypothesis Modern Youth, whether through economic necessity or sheer intellectual honesty, is more and more coming to realize its blood-relationship with organized labor in the struggle for a better world.

This the Young Circle League

holds out to its members as a worthy goal to strive and fight for—through education, through agitation and concrete day-to-day activity.

In addition it also offers something else, something immediate and necessary—fraternal assistance in the form of insurance, medical and disability benefits, consumptive care, mortuary and the like. In these days of crisis, of insecurity and the uncertainty of a job, it is a vital and necessary guarantee.

In a word, the Young Circle League is an organization National in Scope, Labor-Radical in Orientation, Social-Educational in Method and Political in Character.

National in Scope

The Young Circle League—or YCL.A.—has clubs and branches with thousands of members in every major city in the country. It embraces Youth between the ages of 12 to 30 in the following categories:

Junior (Alumni) Clubs, 12-16
Intermediate Groups, 16-18
Senior YCL.A. Branches, 18-30
There is no sharp division between the three categories, but on the contrary, all form a continuous link in the vast evolving chain of organization.

The field of the Young Circle League is the unplowed field of American Youth—the youth of all ages, all creeds, all colors, all nationalities—youth of every opinion and leaning. It is our purpose to mold this vast strata of unassimilated youth into the finished product of a more national society.

Labor in Orientation, Non-Political in Character

From its very inception some seven years ago, the YCL.A. has had as its aim, "to provide youth with an opportunity for physical, intellectual, social and ethical development in an atmosphere sympathetic to the ideals of the Labor movement."

This has been no hollow slogan, no abstract aim. From the first day of its existence the League has tied up its hopes and destinies with those of the organized Labor movement. With it, it has fought for greater progress and better living conditions, against fascist encroachments and for a real "New Deal."

The YCL.A. is non-political in character. It gives its members utmost freedom in the political field bound only by the limits of its preamble which is: sympathy with the ideals of the Labor movement—and so although the League is non-political in character it is decidedly partisan in aim being definitely with the forces driving for Socialism in its broadest sense.

Social-Educational in Method

The broader social aim of the YCL.A. is intrinsically tied up with its immediate program of educational, recreational and fraternal activity. The various clubs therefore participate in cultural activities such as debates and symposia on such vital topics as Fascism, Anti-Semitism, Revolutionary Literature; the district organizations sponsor dramatic groups which present labor plays and recitations such as those produced at the recent Labor Drama Festival, and by way of pure recreation: socials, dances and boatrides are pleasantly intermingled with Sports, Hikes and Encampments.

Protective in Character

With the advancing years youth, despite the careless assertions of some of its more flippant members, is vitally interested in some sort of material protection. The YCL.A. in answer to this need provides life insurance from \$100 up, Tubercular Benefit of \$600, or consumptive care for one year at the Workmen's Circle's own sanatorium at Liberty, New York, medical treatment, cemetery provisions and a special system of sickness and disability benefits.

A young Circleite has the welcome feeling that he is not alone in his little secluded corner of this vast, cold, alien world, but with him are thousands of other youths in scores of cities, like him and of him, striving, fighting, hoping and accomplishing the same thing for which he is striving, fighting and accomplishing.

35 Years of Workmen's Circle Progress

An Account of Past Activities and Present Problems

By JOSEPH BASKIN

General Secretary, W. C.

FROM the far corners of the United States and Canada, with enthusiasm rampant, some thousand delegates representing practically every branch of the Workmen's Circle will assemble in a huge Thirty-fifth Jubilee Convention in New York for the week of May 5th to 12th. Such a convention in the Workmen's Circle is not merely a series of plenary sessions, it is rather a testimonial, a vast demonstration of the might, heritage and ideal of the Great Ring—where once again the eyes of the world may see displayed the very soul of the Workmen's Circle—all that it has achieved through the long years of its existence—financially, culturally and ideologically. A demonstration not so much of numbers as of intrinsic value.

It is needless to repeat the obvious platitude that the Workmen's Circle is not merely another fraternal organization, but more, far more than even the fondest dreams of its pioneer founders; for from its very inception, realizing its blood relationship with the Labor movement which was an integral factor in its development, the Workmen's Circle closely allied itself economically with the Trade Unions, politically with the Socialist movement and has over its long years of progress fought bravely in the ranks of both, offering of its counsel and aid, until today, grown in to the largest Jewish Labor Fraternal Order in the World, the Workmen's Circle stands loyal as one of the vital bulwarks of the Labor movement in America.

Never resting on laurels for past achievements the Workmen's Circle, with commendable foresight, began to look into the to-

morrow, to see just where the Labor movement in general, and the Workmen's Circle in particular, was going to acquire new recruits, who were to carry on the noble tradition of unselfish effort and devotion to a cause. In the early years of organization, when immigration doors were wide open, hundreds of young Russian, Polish and Roumanian workers were yearly bolstering the ranks of the Workmen's Circle in numbers, and what is more, adding their zeal and energy of continental radicalism to the very character of the organization they were entering. But when stringent immigration laws were passed, the Workmen's Circle together with all other immigrant organizations, as well as purely American ones, began to worry about possibilities for increased membership in the future. Fraternalism in America had lost its first life-blood—it was beginning to decline rapidly, a fact which can not be more fully discussed here.

The Workmen's Circle Organizes Its Youth

It was only natural then, that for some time, the problem of new members was discussed at all conferences, at all meetings, and finally a very logical conclusion was reached. The Workmen's Circle would and must interest its youth, and the youth of America, in the tenets and ideals of its order. After it had been decided to establish such a Youth Section the problem became one of delving into the pulse interest of the young men and women—activities and atmosphere had to be created which would be amenable to the young man of today, which would lead him into our order and imbue him with the same

radical spirit for which we had so tenaciously built, which had become synonymous with the very name "Workmen's Circle." An entirely new approach had to be formulated, it was. A new division of the Workmen's Circle had to be established—it was—The Young Circle League of America.

That we have been successful can best be illustrated by the proud fact that throughout the land we have today some 3,000 Young Circle League of America members, good Workmen's Circle cohorts all, interested in our interests, battling in our battles, and today, entering forty strong as delegates in our deliberations at the convention.

And so in the short span of a few years the Young Circle League has crystallized into a definite and integral unit of the Workmen's Circle and an important power among the Youth movements in America. Its daily progress bodes well for the hope of even greater achievement in numbers and activity in the future.

Women Branches in the W. C.

Another recent addition to the rolls of the Workmen's Circle were the women's branches. Previously there were numerous Women's Clubs throughout the land which did herculean work for the declassed Jews of war-ridden Europe as well as being the focus of activity of the Workmen's Circle schools. At the 29th Convention in Chicago where it was decided to organize Young Circle League branches, the women's clubs were given the prerogative of joining the Workmen's Circle as full-fledged branches. In them the Workmen's Circle has found a happy addition

to its membership.

As has been previously noted, one of the major activities of the Workmen's Circle has always been a close cooperation and appreciation of the Trade Unions in America. At all times have our members offered material and personal aid in the many struggles between worker and boss, at all times have the various unions felt that in time of stress, in time of need—the Workmen's Circle stood ready to do its all in support of the union's struggle for a better life. This was especially true in our sister-organization the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Nevertheless, in the past, the response of these unions to the many Workmen's Circle appeals had been disheartening; due to the privation of their conditions, due to the amount of time and resource necessary to keep the union healthy and alive, they were unable to lend a hand to the Workmen's Circle.

Membership Drive in the Unions

Fortunately, however, the conditions of certain unions have been recently bettered—morally and financially they have been imbued with a new spirit, a new lease on life; the National Executive Committee of the Workmen's Circle, taking advantage of this change in circumstance launched an intensive organization campaign amongst the organized Jewish workers, which had its first happy result in the recent International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union convention in Chicago which sent out a resolution to all its locals urging them to support the Workmen's Circle. Organization is now going on all cylinders to welcome into

our ranks strong, able, sympathetic branches from the membership of the unions in which effort we have the loyal support and aid of other units of the Labor movement, such as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who have promised to aid us in our present and future membership campaigns.

Problems of the Convention

And it is with pride that we find ourselves one of the few fraternal orders that has not decreased in membership during the last year; in fact we can happily record an increase of some few hundred over last year. And this in a year when a crippling depression was in full stride, when unemployment was a national scourge, when countless millions had to resort to relief for their very livelihood. In view of these facts it is needless to state that the Workmen's Circle had a difficult problem of providing succor, and at the same time maintaining its strength. Many were the members who could not possibly pay their bills to the organization, almost as numerous were the means and methods devised to ease these members, to lessen these payments so that expulsions for non-payment of bills might be minimized. What more glowing tribute that a heroic job was done than the fact that the number of members expelled for the year 1934 was the lowest in the history of the Workmen's Circle since 1918. And as for funds, figures show, remarkably enough, that in the last fiscal year instead of a loss the Workmen's Circle can boast a gain of some \$400,000 with all departments and benefits in a solid, healthy condition.

(Continued on Page Eight)

"RED CROSS" OF THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

By S. C. A FRATERNAL BENEFIT FOR NEEDY MEMBERS

THERE is a steady stream of unfortunates coming into the Forward Building headed for the seventh floor which terminates in the little lobby outside of an unimposing door bearing this simple inscription in English and Jewish: "Social Service Department." One room into which thousands enter gloomily to return after a short interval with a smile of hope . . . a gleam of salvation . . . a thread on which to cling to this world which, although theirs, is pitted against them.

We were curious to see and hear the stories of the different people entering the haven of the Social Service . . . we wished to see what was done for them . . . we entered and sat down in a corner to observe quietly. . . . A woman entered, apologetically, afraid to tell her story . . . Her child . . . her only child was suffering from a mental disorder . . . he had gotten out of her control . . . she would even now suffer him to be placed in a proper institution . . . the director negotiated to have the child placed in a psychiatric ward . . . the mother left silently . . .

. . . A man strides across the threshold . . . he is out of work . . . How can he manage? . . . he has an old father . . . very old and with the depression he can't . . . the old man is now a happy inmate of the Home for the Aged . . . a young girl seats herself at the desk . . . "I quit school, my father's not working . . . I need a job" . . . phones ring . . . voices argue . . . the girl leaves . . . with a job . . .

Another woman followed . . . Her husband, breadwinner, had met with an accident . . . "Wouldn't you please try to . . ." She left with a faint glimmer of a smile . . . she was being aided.

The Social Service Department of the Workmen's Circle was founded on July 15, 1929, under the able guidance of Miss Rose S. Ash. Miss Ash has estimated that during its brief existence it has rendered aid to more than 15,000 members. The Department is now an institution of great import, as essential, if not more so as any other Department of the Workmen's Circle. The masses must be reached. The primary way to reach them is to aid them materially and, as a result, pave the way for cultural development.

In the past year the Department has served 4,369 members, among whom 451 were sent to hospitals, 696 to places of rest, 155 were aided in matters of compensation, 225 sent to camp, 424 sent to clinics for medical aid, 829 were given employment, and countless others aided in getting licenses. Many families were even given direct monetary assistance.

The list of activity is indeed imposing one . . . but is it necessary? Should families need aid in a country where millionaires thrive . . . in a country where enough is produced to feed the entire world? The time will come when there will be no need for a Social Service . . . the government itself will be a gigantic service department established by, and providing for, all workers.

AN IDEAL SUMMER SPOT



Part of the beautiful water-front on the shores of Sylvan Lake where the Workmen's Circle maintains its Parceling (N. Y.) Camp. The camp has been completely remodeled for the coming summer offering many new innovations for young and old. It's the Workmen's Circle vacationing haven.

Vital Facts and Figures.

THE Workmen's Circle today boasts a recorded membership of close to 70,000 distributed over some 710 branches in 38 states of the Union and cities in Canada.

Today the total assets of the Workmen's Circle aggregates to the sum of \$6,200,000 in cash, mortgages and bonds. The organization rightfully ranks among the million dollar fraternal orders which are well capable of supplying the needs of a vast membership. The yearly income of the order is close to \$1,000,000 with fiscal expenses falling a few hundred thousand dollars short of this sum.

For the year 1934 it is remarkable to note that only 4,037 members left the ranks of the Workmen's Circle for some reason or other. This total is the smallest number of expulsions since 1918.

Over a period of one year the amount of money paid out in sick benefits alone totals to some \$310,000. This does not include the direct aid given needy members since the onset of the depression which sum alone is well over the \$250,000 mark.

The Workmen's Circle Sanatorium at Liberty, New York, one of the major organization benefits,

consists of a group of up-to-date buildings costing well over \$650,000 to build. The yearly maintenance of this vast enterprise runs over \$100,000.

One of the youngest institutions of the Workmen's Circle, the Social Service Bureau, has handled some 8,000 cases the past year and given of some form of relief to 80 per cent of them.

The Workmen's Circle boasts a highly efficient Cemetery Department which adequately serves the needs of the membership in times of acute grief with inexpensive funeral provisions. Incidentally the past year's death benefits totaled well over \$200,000.

In the last fifteen years, the Workmen's Circle has contributed close to a million dollars to aid various labor and progressive institutions, including the following: \$80,000 to labor unions; \$70,000 for the relief of victims of the last war; \$100,000 to HIAS; \$70,000 to the Jewish schools of Poland; \$25,000 to The New Leader; Wecker and similar Socialist publications; \$15,000 to the Rand School, Brookwood and other labor colleges; \$40,000 for famine relief in Russia, and thousands of dollars to hospitals, orphanages and convalescent homes.

What the W. C. Offers Its Members

Materially:

- Disability Benefit up to \$28 weekly.
- Insurance Policies ranging from \$100 to \$3,000.
- Sanatorium Treatment for 12 months or \$600 in Consumption Benefit.
- Cemetery and funeral provisions for the entire family.
- Medical Treatment at a minimum cost.
- Direct Material Aid in times of need.

Culturally:

- Lectures, Debates, Forums, Concerts.
- Workers' Choirs, Dramatic Groups.
- Jewish Schools, Youth Clubs.
- Children's Orchestras, Literary Publications.

Recreationally:

- Athletics, Dramatics, Social Activity.
- Summer Camps, Labor Lyceums.
- Comradeship, Labor Solidarity.

The Agenda of the 35th Jubilee W. C. Convention

BULLETIN: The Women's Committee of the Rand School will hold a reception Tuesday afternoon in honor of the wives of the delegates to the Workmen's Circle 35th Jubilee Convention, now being held in New York.

The reception will be held in the studio of the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, at 2:30. There will be tea and refreshments.

Opening of the convention Sunday, May 5th, 1 p. m., at Madison Square Garden, New York:

1. Official opening by E. Jeshurun, chairman of the Convention Arrangements Committee.
2. Introductory address by the Chairman of the National Executive Committee, Jacob Weinberg.
3. Greetings by Abraham Cahan, B. C. Vlodeck and Joseph Baskin.
4. Musicales—Workmen's Circle Choir and symphony orchestra.

Monday, May 6th

At the St. Nicholas Palace, 69 West 66th Street:

- 9:30 a. m.—
1. Election of Credentials and Rules and Regulations Committees.
2. Greetings from representatives of various organizations.
3. Report of Credentials Committee.
4. Election of chairman, vice-chairman and secretary.

- 2:30 p. m.—
1. Report of Rules and Regulations Committee.
2. Election of Distributing Committee which shall detail delegates to the following committees:

- a) Resolutions Committee
- b) Directing Committee
- c) Press and Educational Committee
- d) Organization Committee
- e) Sanatorium Committee
- f) Benefit Committee
- g) Election Committee
- h) Committee on Reports
- i) Convention Committee.

3. Report of the National Board of Directors.

Tuesday, May 7th

- 9:30 a. m.—
1. Report of the Distributing Committee.
2. Report of the National Organization Committee—Discussion.
3. Report of the National Youth Committee—Discussion.

- 2:30 p. m.—
1. Report of the Benefit Committee—Discussion.
2. Report of the Office Committee—Discussion.

Wednesday, May 8th

- 9:30 a. m.—
1. Report of the Sanatorium Committee.
2. Report of the Educational Committee.

Wednesday at 2 p. m. a luncheon is being tendered to the delegates at the Mecca Temple.

Thursday, May 9th

- 9:30 a. m.—
1. Special session of the Funeral Committee.
2. Report of the National Executive Committee—Discussion.

- 2:30 p. m.—
1. Report of the General Secretary—Discussion.
2. Reports of the various committees—Discussion.

Friday, May 10th

- 9:30 a. m.—
1. Reports of the various committees (continued).
2. Discussion on the reports.

- 2:30 p. m.—
1. Reports of the various committees.
2. Discussion on the reports.

Saturday, May 11th

- 9:30 a. m.—
1. Report of the Election Committee.
2. Election of National Officers.

- 2:30 p. m.—
1. General report.
2. Discussion.
3. Closing of convention.

W.C. PAST PROBLEMS AND PRESENT ACTIVITIES

(Continued from Page Seven)

The Workmen's Circle, therefore, comes to this Convention enthused with past achievements, straining at the leash for future accomplishments, new work and improved organization. As to the role of the Workmen's Circle on the social and economic scene there is little to debate or discuss inasmuch as the years have established that everything vital to the laboring masses is vital to the Workmen's Circle. All oppressions and discriminations against the laborer and the Jew have always been valiantly fought by the Workmen's Circle and we may rightfully point with pride to the salient fact that the Workmen's Circle was the necessary initiating impetus to establish the existing Jewish Labor Committee which evolved from a general conference to find means to battle the menace of fascism.

The Convention will be a huge one. From the distant outposts of the United States and Canada delegates will assemble to give and hear reports, to discuss vital issues and decide weighty matters. Nevertheless we do not expect to find alien or new problems brought up for discussion, subjects which previous conventions have never undertaken to decide . . . for as we do not expect, for example, that a good engineer will find new developments in his machine each day . . . similarly do we not expect a convention of an established orderly organization to bring to light drastically different tenets, unwarranted problems. During the thirty-five years of the growth of the Workmen's Circle all sorts of problems as to activity, existence and development of the Fraternal Ring have been brought to conventions, duly considered, and most of them decided to the satisfaction of all. However, such current and new problems as the Old Age Home, the protection and benefit of our elderly members, the support and subsidy of standing and necessary institutions will all be duly weighed and discussed.

The combined membership of the Workmen's Circle has been at fever pitch in the many preparations for this thirty-fifth convention. Every branch has exerted almost impossible efforts in a concentrated drive to attain the quota of new members prescribed by the National Executive Committee.

The assembled delegates, as well as the general membership of the Workmen's Circle find in this convention an testimonial of the aims and ideals of the Workmen's Circle and to all of us it gives a new ray of hope, a promise of safety in the future and a confident feeling that we may and will win in this immortal struggle for a better world . . . for a cooperative commonwealth.

W. C. 35th JUBILEE CONVENTION OPENS MAY 5

(Continued from Page Seven)

is the custom, at a recent meeting adopted many important recommendations which it shall present to the convention for approval. Among these are various changes in the constitution, measures for old age protection, and an increase in the tax for school and Young Circle League activity. The convention however, in session, will give the final verdict in all cases.

Yet as the old adage has it "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy," and inasmuch as to most of the delegates coming from the distant cities and states a visit to New York is, after all, some sort of a holiday, more than adequate entertainment has been provided for the convention delegates throughout the entire week.

A Convention arrangements committee, under the chairmanship of E. Jeshurun, has prepared a series of events and functions which will make this 35th Convention a landmark in the history of the Workmen's Circle as well as in the lives of each individual delegate. After the gala opening at Madison Square Garden where the Workmen's Circle choir and a symphony orchestra will entertain in between greetings and addresses, a series of affairs are planned which include a luncheon at the Mecca Temple, a noteworthy dramatic and choral evening at the Peoples Theatre, an evening of Workmen's Circle school presentations at the Manhattan Opera House and a legitimate performance of "Carmen" rendered by the Chicago Opera Company at the Hippodrome.

It is inevitable therefore that the week will establish a new high in entertainment for the delegates and taking sincerely, obvious devotion and enthusiasm as a criterion it is just as inevitable that the convention shall reach even greater heights as a constructive organizational success.

S. C.

OUR ENGLISH SPEAKING DIVISION

The vigor and strength of the Workmen's Circle cannot be better proven than by the fact that it is constantly broadening the scope of its activity. The driving power of its growth impels the Workmen's Circle to create additional benefits, to extend its educational and social influence, and to seek new fields for soliciting members.

Among its most realistic recent efforts is the renewed emphasis it has placed on the development of its English Speaking Section. The Workmen's Circle realizes that the restrictions placed upon immigration has eliminated a valuable source of membership, making it necessary to interest the American-born population in the organiza-

NATIONAL OFFICERS OF THE W. C. 1933-1935



From left to right: Dr. A. Zeldin, Treasurer; Philip Gellibter, Educational Director; Jacob Weinberg, President; Joseph Baskin, General Secretary; Louis Rothman, Recording Secretary; and Elias Lieberman, Vice-President.

The W. C. "Schulen"

105 Schools Where the W. C. Child Receives a Jewish Radical Training—Where the Adults Meet in a Culture Center.

When the Workmen's Circle marches, with banners flying and bands playing, to participate in a May Day mass meeting or a Hitler protest demonstration, small little feet respond quickly to the strains of the "Internationale" as youthful, excited voices bare its tune in defiance of oppression, in anticipation of an ideal. The children of the W. C. schools are marching!

These children of the W. C. school, or *Schule*, are the pride of the elder members who are doing noble work in aiding and abetting the education of their children in other than the capitalistic schools of America. For in the W. C. *Schule*, which is under the supervision of the National Educational Committee, the child is given a basic training in Jewish as well as a socialistic background for cultural and intellectual development.

A Jewish Socialist Training
In the 105 schools which extend as far north as Toronto and Winnipeg, as far south as Texas, and even penetrate as far west as Los Angeles, Calif., the Jewish child is taught to read, write and speak the language of his father. Jewish history and literature is laid bare before him, an appreciation of which leads to a more profound feeling of the Jew—his life and radical tendencies. The children are given a new slant on things about them. Of this radical education in the W. C. schools Friend Philip Gellibter, director of the Educational Department, has this to say: "I do not think it advisable or proper to teach children the doctrines and theory of Socialism as

such; what we do is rather to interpret the courses of history, literature and current events in the light of the Socialist eye."

The school system does not stop, however, at the elementary school. There are W. C. high schools, or *Mittel Schulen*, in Toronto, New York, Detroit, Philadelphia and Chicago, where the graduates of the elementary schools may continue their education. The students here are adolescent young men and women, who can already appreciate the defects of their civilization. Here, too, under able guidance, they continue their Jewish and Socialist education with courses in history, literature and biography, as well as advanced courses in the history of the Labor and Socialist movement. In New York the *Mittel Schule* meets every Saturday and Sunday morning at the Rand School under the direction of Z. Yefroiken.

The schools are governed by individual local school committees which are centralized through a central committee and the National Educational Committee. The W. C. spends about \$50,000 yearly toward the maintenance of the schools. The small tuition fees, together with the local school committee which is really a parents' organization made up of W. C. members, manages to supply the rest with personal contributions and income from various affairs.

This so-called "Verwaltung" is the governing body, and is responsible to an eager and interested parents' association, or "Eltern Verein," which meets regularly to hear reports about the school activity. In view of the fact that the flourishing and princely American school system has vainly attempted such a parent interest, and also because it is to these parents that the schools owe their existence, the W. C. is therefore indeed proud of these members who are devoting time, money and energy to the worthy cause of child education in a Jewish Socialist atmosphere.

Recently the Educational Department of the Workmen's Circle held a successful national conference at the Philadelphia W. C. Labor Institute in commemoration of fifteen years existence of the schools in Philadelphia. The conference heard greetings from the various officers of the W. C. as well as representatives of the different committees. And in conjunction with this conference an interesting exhibition of the works of W. C. school children opened May 3 at the new Young Circle League Center, 11 Union Square West, New York City. This exhibition is featuring the literary and artistic accomplishments of school children from the various sections of Workmen's Circle activity. Essays, on literature, history and the labor movement are on display together with magazines, drawings and diagrams all from the hand and brain of the students at the W. C. school. Here one may actually see the splendid work done by the many children in the Workmen's Circle schools.

—S. Q. C.

AMONG THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE INSTITUTIONS

THE W.C. Sanatorium at Liberty, N. Y., one of the finest and best equipped of its kind in the country, is valued according to conservative estimates at over \$500,000. In the 24 years of its existence some 4,000 patients have passed through its doors, close to 90 per cent of whom have been permanently cured. Incidentally, a year's stay at the Sanatorium is worth \$2,000, for which the member pays less than \$2 yearly, making it unquestionably the best insurance buy in the country.

The W.C. operates seven summer camps in the U. S. and Canada, without profit, for the benefit of its members. The Pawling W.C. Camp alone, which accommodates 1,300 people, is valued at more than a quarter of a million dollars.

The W.C. maintains 100 Jewish elementary schools, 6 kindergartens and 5 high schools with an enrollment of 6,000 children, at an annual cost of \$225,000.

In addition, it boasts 115 youth clubs and branches and 33 women's clubs with a total membership of over 6,000.

The Medical Department of the W.C. maintains a staff of 43 district physicians; 20 consultant specialists in the treatment of heart, lungs, stomach, eye, ear, nerve and skin; and an up-to-date Health Center, with a staff specializing in surgery, dentistry, X-ray, bone specialties and men's and women's diseases, offering its 16,000 affiliated members—with their families 65,000 to 75,000 persons in all—the finest medical service at a cost of no more than 77 cents quarterly to a single member and \$1.27 to a family.

The W.C. provides adequate cemetery and funeral provisions for the entire family of a member. It owns seven cemeteries in and around New York alone, with a gross area of 600,000 square feet, valued in the neighborhood of a half million dollars.

To effectuate this purpose it has created an English Speaking Section, composed of branches in which the language used and the psychological media employed are in accordance with the cultural background of the persons to whom the appeal is made.

These branches must not be confused with the Young Circle League branches, to whom they stand in the relation of older brothers. The League caters to young people of from 16 to 25 years of age, while the English Speaking Section is intended to accommodate people between the ages of 25 and 45 years.—F. S.

15 Years of Medicine In the W. C.

By S. K.

NEW YORK was in the throes of an epidemic relentless in its course and raging through the country like wildfire. It was the fateful winter of 1919-1920 when influenza rampaged through thickly populated centers, resulting in thousands of deaths and an equal number of permanently injured. Upon the meager shoulders of the Workmen's Circle Medical Department, scarcely four months in existence, fell the heavy task of ministering to its members. The situation was met with all possible speed. The newly organized machinery swung into action. Any request for aid resulted in immediate service. And so many lives were spared.

W. C. Socialization of Medicine

Today, fifteen years after its inception, the Medical Department of the Workmen's Circle functions as one of the most important units of the Order in New York. The movement started in 1915, when a resolution was brought before the Chicago convention to establish a National Medical Department. Voted down by the membership, certain New York members decided that their locality needed medical reform; that the old method of selecting branch physicians was archaic, and that they were going to institute a Medical Department in New York on a socialized plan but primarily promising to serve the needs of the members. Rising from this idealistic dream, this institution today has succeeded in serving adequately 235 branches in New York, or approximately 65 per cent of the city membership. Each member contributes \$1.27 per quarter towards this service which provides health insurance for himself and his family. If he is single, he pays only 77 cents.

New York City is divided into 13 districts, each served by a physician who charges no fees for

visits either to his office or to the patient's bedside. Possibly the patient needs specialized treatment. That is where the Medical Clinic comes into the picture. Located at 401 Broadway, this Center is one of the most modern of clinics. With its Dental subdivision, it is manned by 13 doctors, 3 nurses and 22 specialists, and boasts the latest type of equipment. The chronic sufferer, referred here, has at his command specialized treatment for a price materially reduced. Approximately 7,000 members are examined by specialists in their offices annually and about 400 operations are performed each year. 4,000 new patients are treated yearly, hundreds of them coming from neighboring states.

Treating the Unemployed

And what if a member is unable to pay for certain specialized services for which there is a fee? For this contingency there is the General Fund for the Unemployed which was instituted by the Department. Each member pays two cents per quarter included in his membership dues. Last year about 1,000 persons received material assistance without the customary stigma of charity.

Our Own "Kranken-Kasse"

S. Koner, manager of the Medical Department, in a recent statement, emphasized the fact that his Department is much akin in principle to the socialized "Kranken-Kasse" of many foreign countries. It differs from these systems only in the fact that the members support it instead of the government and employers. In the short period of its existence, the Workmen's Circle Medical Department has endeavored itself to thousands of its members. It has helped them in time of need and distress. It proves once more the indispensable role the Workmen's Circle plays in the present day-to-day life of the Jewish worker.

SOCIALISTS AND WORKERS!

The Workmen's Circle is Labor's Fraternal Order. It is the organization which stands able and ready to offer of its material protection and aid to all Socialist and progressive elements, men, women and children. There are Branches of the Workmen's Circle in all parts of New York and in the more important cities throughout the United States and certain portions of Canada. If you are interested and seek further information fill out the attached blank and forward to: General Office, Workmen's Circle, 175 East Broadway, New York City.

Name

Address

City..... Age.....

The Workers Abroad

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

British Labor Prepares for Battle

WITH Socialist governments at work in the three Scandinavian countries and our comrades in Czechoslovakia preparing for a general election which is expected to enhance the power and prestige of their movement; with the Belgian Labor Party participating in a new government in which it is the main driving force determined to introduce fundamental changes in the economic life of the nation, and with Socialist victories reported from Switzerland, attention is now turned to the coming parliamentary elections in England. The contest is certain to mark a new milestone in the progress of British Socialism and its outcome will be of the utmost importance to the whole of Europe.

Our British comrades are preparing for the elections, which may take place in the Fall, with a discipline and energy truly remarkable. They are out to capture the support not only of the workers but also of the middle classes in order to assure a solid majority for the Socialist program.

Some pertinent remarks on the importance of gaining the support of the middle classes were made recently by Herbert Morrison, leader of the London Labor Party and its chief representative in the London County Council.

As reported in the Glasgow Forward of March 23, Comrade Morrison said:

"Labor is reaching a sensible attitude towards the middle classes. And about time, too! Not long after I became Secretary of the London Party I realized that London could not be captured or held for Labor and Socialism unless we won considerable support among the 'black-coats.' I said so. The occupational census statistics proved it when I got my colleague, D. H. Daines, to analyze them.

A Fact That Must Be Faced

THE fact must be faced that what is generally known as the middle class is the only growing class in the community.

"They are as important to Labor as the rural workers.

"They make valuable recruits. Even though I attach considerable importance to the working class elements being powerful in the Labor Party, we must face the fact that we cannot win the country with Trade Union votes alone.

"Nor would it be good for the party or the country if our electoral appeal was too narrow.

"Potentially, the middle classes are the easiest victims of fascist propaganda.

"This makes it doubly important for them to be won for Socialism. Despite these irrefutable facts, I used to be told scornfully by the so-called Left that I was 'fishing for middle class votes.'

I. L. P. and Communists After Votes

DO not let us humbug ourselves. All political parties—including the I. L. P. and the Communist—fish for all the votes they can get. The important thing for the Labor Party is so to educate the electorate in the principles of Socialism that its voters are well-informed and accept our Socialist views. Better somewhat fewer Labor votes and more Socialists than more votes and no real Socialist mandate.

"We must not hide our Socialism. In my view, the more reasoned, constructive and frank Socialism we preach to the middle classes, the more support we shall get from them. We are more likely to get them by a Socialist appeal to reason than by mere denunciation and negation."

Contest Between Capitalism and Socialism

THAT the general election will be a clear-cut contest between capitalism and Socialism is admitted even by Tory members of the government, which makes the position of MacDonald's National Labor Group all the more uncomfortable. An interesting sidelight on this aspect of the question is thrown by the Manchester Guardian Weekly, which considers MacDonald still a "Socialist." In its issue of April 5, this journal writes:

"The Prime Minister's National Labor group is getting uncomfortable. It sees one Tory member of the Government after another talking about the next election as a great fight between the National Government and Socialism, and it does not like it. It is a little too personal, for, after all, Mr. MacDonald is still a Socialist. It is also bad tactics; if this kind of thing goes on the Government will get no Labor support at all. As the 'News-Letter,' the organ of Mr. MacDonald's group, today says, 'The number of Labor voters who support the Government has diminished since 1931.' The main cause, it thinks, is this bad propaganda. When the National Labor voter, who calls himself a Socialist, reads in his newspaper or hears from speakers that 'the issue is between National Government and Socialism' he naturally rebels. But one wonders whether the National Labor group's idea of tactics is any better. It does not want the return of a Socialist Government pledged to introduce Socialist measures; that would be a 'tragedy,' because within twelve months 'there would be such disillusionment on the part of its faithful and hopeful followers that there would be a danger of a violent reaction.' The theory is, therefore, that 'the thoughtful working man who calls himself an evolutionary Socialist' sees this, and is quite content to vote against those who pledge themselves to introduce Socialism if only he can think 'that his Socialist leaders should sit in a National Cabinet and put their ideas into a common pool with the ideas of Conservative and Liberal leaders.' The 'News-Letter' is hardly up to date in its metaphors. The pool now most familiar to the working man, thoughtful or other, is one into which you can put quite a lot but have only a thousand-to-one chance of taking anything out. But perhaps that is pretty much the position of the National Labor group in the present Government's pool."



Yea, the voiceless wrath of the wretched
And their unlearned discontent—
We will give it voice and wisdom
Till the waiting time is spent.

The Parable of the Coconut Grove

By B. F. Bierly

ONCE upon a time there was a coconut grove inhabited by a large tribe of monkeys. Abundance of coconuts grew in this grove for all the monkeys in it. Every coconut each monkey picked was his own, until one day a wise old monkey invented a coconut picking machine. When operated by six monkeys they could pick six times as many coconuts per monkey as they could by hand, and do it a great deal easier. He called all the monkeys together and told them he would build a machine for each six monkeys in the grove, provided they would give him half the coconuts they picked, and that they then would have three times as many coconuts per day as they had before with less labor.

So they agreed, and in one-sixth of the time formerly required they picked the crop and delivered one-half to the wise old monkey. Before the following crop was ready to pick the monkeys were out of coconuts; so they requested the wise old monkey to give them some of his coconuts to tide them over until the new crop was ready to pick, but the wise monkey told them they had to learn to economize, to live within their income.

The spokesmonkey answered him that they never needed to economize before the machine was invented and there were as many coconuts in the grove as there ever were.

The wise old monkey then asked them: "How are you going to pay me back?"

The spokesmonkey answered: "From our next picking."

The wise monkey answered: "You cannot pay for past consumption and still have enough to live on from your next picking."

When the wise monkey saw that there was discontent among the monkeys, he said he would draw a title for the grove. If they would grant him such a title he would provide them with abundance of coconuts.

So they did, and they had abundance until the crop was ready to pick and a long time after; but the same result occurred as the previous year. When they called for coconuts again to tide them over for the next crop, again came the reply: "You working monkeys must learn to economize. The great trouble is you working monkeys want to feed your young monkeys equal with me, the monkey who owns the grove and the picking machine."

But the spokesmonkey said: "I told you we did not need to economize before the machine came and there are as many coconuts in the grove as ever, and what are you going to do with your surplus?"

He replied that was none of their business as they were his coconuts, picked in his grove with his machines. He would do as he pleased with them.

So the spokesmonkey advised the monkeys, as a reward for his brains, should pick all the coconuts, break a fresh supply for the wise monkey each day and that he would need to do nothing but eat coconuts and take his ease.

But he refused, so the spokesmonkey said: "There is but one thing left for us to do, throw you out of the grove." So he had to consent.

The spokesmonkey told the wise monkey when he died his brains

"Your Baby's Crying, Missus"

By Gertrude Weil Klein

"YOUR baby's crying, missus, fit to bust his hide."

She turns down the flame and hurries outside,

"Don't cry baby, here comes mother on the run,

Did the wicked woman leave you lying in the sun?

Now your bath is ready and your vegetables are done,

So don't cry baby, here's your mother on the run."

"I know my clothes are out of style,

But I don't care; will you look at that smile!

Will you look at those legs, are they strong, are they straight!

Dr. Baker's shoes, they balance the weight;

Of course, they're expensive, but I'd rather choose

To save on something else and get the right shoes."

"Listen, young fellow, like a good little chap,

Put on your rubbers and take your cap,

It's blowing up cold and it's going to snow,

And old man Winter's going to lay you low,

So don't be a smartie and don't be a sap,

But put on your rubbers and take your cap."

"Listen, mom, the laundry never came,

And I ain't got a handkerchief to my name,

And gee, whiz, mom, will you tell that pest

To keep out of my room when I'm getting dressed.

Look at her toys all over my floor. . . ."

"DON'T say ain't; look in the linen chest,

Take one of dad's, but don't take the best,

Come here sister, if you want to play,

Or pick up your toys and put them away."

"Of course he's going to college, I don't know where

But he made a 90 average and he has a flair

For history and languages; his dad is bent

On sending him to college if we borrow every cent."

He wrote home to his mother, "Yours truly" took the prize

For knocking co-eds gaga with his big blue eyes,

Everything was "swell" except the food was not so "hot,"

And the first year he was homesick quite a lot.

The last year was great,

He made Phi Beta

He won a language scholarship to study in France

And wore his father's dress-suit to the senior dance.

THEN came the war for sweet Democracy,

Death and destruction and disease set free,

And bombshells tore the skies, tore the ground where they fell,

Tore the tender flesh of boys, marching on to hell.

Your baby's crying, missus, fit to bust his hide,

Torn in twenty places on the barbed wire outside,

We can't go out to get him 'cause there's hell loose all around,

And a thousand others like him on the bloody, stinking ground.

Socialists of Westchester In Battle With Utility Companies

WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.—Before the hard-boiled Republican Budget and Appropriations Committee of the Westchester County Board of Supervisors foes of the Westchester Lighting Co. demanded the rejection of an offer made by the Power Trust to cut the rates for lighting of county parkways and buildings so as to save the county only \$2,000 a month.

The strongest arguments against the Power Trust were presented by Leonard Bright, county executive secretary of the Socialist Party, who also represented Local 143,

would die with him and his young monkeys would have to help pick the coconuts. From that day forth the machine was a blessing and the grove was again the heritage of all the monkeys.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and Local 445, International Brotherhood of Teamsters. He used figures of the New York State Power Authority to bring out the extent of stock-watering by the utilities.

Referring to the recent admission of Floyd L. Carlisle, chairman of the Consolidated Gas Co., that its stock is watered and its assets written-up, Bright called on the Supervisors to tell the Westchester Lighting Co. that they would not do business with the Power Trust a minute longer than is necessary and to make plans immediately for a county owned light and power plant which would serve the county and the consumers both.

"The Power Trust," he said, "has robbed the people, it has spent large sums on 'educational' propaganda in schools and colleges, it has corrupted legislators—witness Senator Thayer—and is unworthy of any consideration. Stop bargaining with these crooks."

"The Socialist vote is growing in Westchester," said Bright. "The reason is obvious."

Rocky Mountain Socialist Conference Recalls Grim Labor Battles of the Past

By Ida Crouch Hazlett
Santa Fe, N. Mex.

A WESTERN conference of Socialist Party organizations of the Rocky Mountain region, to be held in Denver or Salt Lake City next July, promises to be a notable gathering for the building of the party organization in the West.

The western organizing committee is a sub-committee of the National Executive Committee, with James D. Graham, a member of the N.E.C. and president of the Montana Federation of Labor, as chairman. Graham was also formerly the manager of the Montana News, the paper most influential in the big struggles of the Western Federation of Miners many years ago.

Thousands of workers in this region are coming to understand that they must fight their way out of the abyss into which modern machines have thrust them. They must own the machines or perish, and it is expected that the regional conference of Socialists will make clear to them the importance of a party of their own.

The conference recalls the terrible struggle that organized labor made against the Mine Owners' Association and the smelter trust thirty years ago, a struggle in which Socialists participated. The Western Federation of Miners was organized on advanced and aggressive lines such as no union in this country had ventured upon, an organization that was overwhelmed and finally destroyed by the assault made upon it by organized capital.

The Western Federation of Miners had among its advisers a number of men and women prominent in economic thought and radical ideas—among them, first and foremost, Eugene V. Debs, the martyr of working-class liberties in America; Carl D. Thompson, long the secretary of the Municipal Ownership League of Chicago; Victor L. Berger, the first Socialist Congressman; Robert Hunter, Socialist authority on housing and American poverty; Clarence Darrow, and other distinguished thinkers on economics and social and political problems. Under such influences the Federation adopted as its political policy the platform of the Socialist Party, demanding the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution.

It may well be imagined, with the economic and social chaos, what a state of mind such a declaration from the working class would make upon the great exploiters of labor. Ominous strikes followed—in the Cœur d'Alene, Idaho; in Cripple Creek, Colorado; in the Black Hills of Dakota—practically throughout the jurisdiction of the Federation, the mining and milling industry of the West. The masters established the bull-pen in Idaho, with its usual horrors, and atrocities of the militia. Pettibone, one of the three defendants in the historic labor trials that followed, a Denver business man and merely a friend of the Western Federation, was with others in the bull-pen, and pierced through the stomach by a bayonet in the hands of a guard. The railway depot at Independence, in the Cripple Creek district, was blown up, scabs were said to have been killed, and a reign of terror

prevailed. The blame for these crimes was laid on the miners.

Labor Martyrs

The union claimed that they were committed by assassins hired by the mine owners. The Governor of Idaho was blown into bits as he was entering his own gate. A similar fate overtook the sheriff of Bakersfield, who had intended giving testimony at the trials in favor of the Western Federation, but after hearing one trial changed his mind and was about to give evidence against the union. The cases lasted over a year, at Cripple Creek, Boise and Rathdrum, Idaho.

Not a union man was convicted. The defendants were Bill Hayward, secretary of the Federation; Charles H. Moyer, president, and Pettibone. Moyer was urged by his wife to give up his office, but stuck to his place in the struggle. He was, however, attacked several times and beaten almost beyond the semblance of a man. Hayward was placed under indictment again and again—finally he left the country secretly and died in Russia. Pettibone died under the pressure of the persecution.

The Cripple Creek district has never been able to rally as a union town again, and the blight that fell on Cripple Creek has extended and remains like a dust fog over the entire mining territory, while the submission of many toilers is like that of the bonded slave—glad for his keep.

Do we need Socialism in the West? In other words, do we need the right to live and the means to live on this earth? There is no other way but the collective ownership of the means of life. It is Socialism or chaos.

Organized Labor Meets in Washington Conference

Organized Manufacturers and Chamber of Commerce March on Nation's Capital in Opposition to Labor's Program and Demand Its Destruction.

ORGANIZED workers and organized capital and finance confront each other in the nation's capital this week. Labor meets in a special congress to back up proposed legislation which is considered vital to its existence and growth and necessary.

It is a dramatic spectacle, the representative of two classes confronting each other before the national legislature. Important legislation is reaching a critical stage. One gathering supports it and the other opposes it. Labor wants the Wagner Labor Relations Bill, the Thirty-Hour Week Bill, the Social Security Bill and other measures. Organized capital and finance has mobilized to defeat the measures the workers want.

A striking thing about this conflict is that labor has massed all of its resources in a pressure drive upon the government. The organized workers have become conscious of the need of having government power back of their demands. Not having it, they are required by the terrible conditions of the masses to call the spokesmen of the labor army to Washington.

Back in 1923, the American Federation of Labor decided not to present the claims of labor to Congress. Labor feared government intervention in industrial relations. Labor declared that by organization of the industries it could solve its problems.

The Tragedy That Came to Unionism

Then came the terrible calamity near the end of the year 1929. More and more the burdens of the capitalist failure fell upon the trade unions. They tried to take care of their stricken members. In a few years union treasuries were being exhausted. The wage level declined. In some trades in sheer desperation union men quietly worked for less than the union scale with the knowledge of union officials. It could not be avoided as the enormous pressure of the depression compelled unions to yield.

However, labor could not forever remain isolated from government. Especially in the light of what had happened after the collapse in 1929. At first the "captains of industry" deserted. They were in full flight before the terrible economic storm that swept them out of the picture. They were pathetic in their cowardice. They had nothing to offer that would stay the ravages of the collapse. They waited to see what the government would do.

Then came the National Industrial Recovery Act. The big bankers and big business men came out of their hiding places. They recovered from their fright and became aggressive. Government must do this and must do that, they said. They wiggled themselves into every niche of the NRA. They became a power, a menacing power to the organized workers.

Labor had already been moving away from its old isolation from government. It had approved the principle of old-age pensions. Then came support of legislation for unemployment insurance. The codes provided by the N.I.R.A. also made it imperative for organized workers to have their sentinels at Washington. The battle began for labor representation on the codes. Soon the organized workers were involved in a maze of legislative proposals and the old idea of isolation from government in 1923 did not survive even as a memory.

So the organized labor movement today is government conscious. It knows the importance of having legislative power on its side. The economic struggle is not neglected. On the contrary, it goes on as before. The industrial struggle correlates with the struggle to wrest something substantial from the governing powers.

While the national trade union congress deliberates the National Association of Manufacturers is also on the ground. As the manufacturers issue a manifesto on how to recover from the depression, hundreds of delegates of the United States Chamber of Commerce also gather in the capital. Both sections of organized capital and finance declare against the intrusion of "government into business." That is, they take the position which had been taken in 1923 by the American Federation of Labor and which the latter has abandoned.

The Future Political Struggle!

With consummate brass the manufacturers declare that they can spend twenty billion dollars in factory expansion and production if "political uncertainties" are removed. They single out the legislative measures the organized workers want as the "uncertainties" they oppose. They want no thirty-hour week, no unemployment insurance by the government, no guarantee of genuine union bargaining over wages, hours and other conditions. They want the old anarchy rule of their class which brought universal misery to the toilers in industry and agriculture.

So the struggle is waged between organized workers and organized capital and finance within the shadow of the nation's capital. The struggle is a dispute over the control of government agencies, over legislation and administration, over laws and their interpretation and enforcement. It is a political struggle.

The masters of industry and finance have a vast majority of dollars. Labor in industry and agriculture has a vast majority of votes. The next stage in the political evolution of the organized working masses is the independent organization of their votes to defeat the dollars of the masters of industry and finance.

That political evolution must in the end develop the independent labor party of the workers. Unity on election day. One union movement and one labor party, both united for common aims, both cooperating in every struggle of the masses for relief now and liberation in the future.

Swiss Socialists Gain in Basel Elections

The recent elections in the Swiss canton of Basel-Stadt resulted in a substantial victory for the Social Democratic party. As already reported in The New Leader, the Socialists now have four seats instead of two in the council of ministers or executive body of the canton, which has seven members in all.

In the new cantonal legislature the Socialist delegation has been increased from 38 to 44, in a total of 130. The Catholic party just held its 14 seats, while the Liberal, Radical, and Communist parties each lost two, the Peasants' party lost three, and a new party, of somewhat problematical character, made its advent with three members.

British Labor Party Scores Big Increase

The British Labor party is moving forward irresistibly. Another by-election, this time in the Perth constituency in Scotland, shows the relentless tide toward Socialist victory at the next general election. Perth has always been considered a hopeless district for Labor. In 1931 the Labor party was defeated by 30,845 votes. At the recent by-election the Tory majority was cut to 9,601.

In the last general election the vote was 34,550 for the National candidate to 3,705 for the Socialist, who lost his deposit for failing to poll eight per cent of the total vote. At the by-election the vote was 17,585 to 7,984 for the Socialist, a turnover of votes in Labor's favor of 21,244 in a single district.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Democracy Is the Only Road to Socialism

by H. Kautsky



(Conclusion)

SOME believe that the methods of democracy have failed throughout the world, and that progress can be made only through dictatorship. The future, the immediate future, at any rate, belongs to dictatorship, we are told. The truth is, however, that the advance of the general democratic conception, accompanied by its widespread realization, has been the outstanding characteristic of the historic process, beginning with the advent of modern industry and communications in the 18th Century and developing increasing momentum since the 18th Century. This process continued to the end of the World War, the conclusion of which was marked by great victories for democracy everywhere. Certain effects of the war and of the peace treaties, and, finally, the world economic crisis of the past several years, brought with them,

however, a setback for democracy through dictatorship. But this, too, is not a fact everywhere.

Politically, Europe may be divided into two great regions. The first comprises the countries where democracy is firmly rooted. These are the countries in which the middle classes, bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, together with the proletariat, for a long time bound politically to these classes, had developed sufficient strength at an early period to acquire the freedom of action they required to assert their power through direct opposition to and destruction of the monarchist absolutist state. This was first accomplished in Switzerland then in Holland. The British (and also the Americans) and, finally, the French, even before the advent of the 19th century, came next in line. I have described this process in detail in the first volume of my work, "War and Democracy."

In the Democratic Countries

All these countries passed through revolutions which implanted firmly a deep sense of independence in the minds of the masses. The blind, docile submission to the organs of the state which absolutism and dictatorship bring with them is either entirely out of the question in these countries or is so utterly foreign to the consciousness of the population as to condemn to failure attempts to erect any new, enduring absolutism.

Quite different is the situation in those countries where lack of political and economic development had retarded the urge and need of the middle classes and of the proletariat for intellectual, political and economic freedom of movement. Economic and political development which supplies the basic impulse for such urge and need, had not begun to attain the requisite maturity in these countries until the proletariat of the West

had already begun to develop a feeling of independence, creating thus a current of proletarian-democratic aspirations side by side with those of the democratic bourgeoisie.

The later development of military technique, however, rendered the masses of the people helpless against modern armies in any civil war encounters. Added to this was the important economic factor of the development of commodity production in agriculture, which set the peasantry in competition with the urban population, with which it used to cooperate in the past. The peasants are interested in high food prices, while the urban population wants to keep prices down.

This situation while not killing the aspirations of the bourgeoisie and petty traders for a certain measure of democracy is responsible for their abandonment, since 1848, of the revolutionary road to attainment of democracy.

Developments Since 1917

The liberties achieved in the countries in question since 1917 and 1918 failed to eradicate entirely in the great masses of the people the age-old spirit of docility and lack of independence with respect to the authority of the state which had remained quite pronounced, except in a revolutionary minority. This made possible the reestablishment of a new absolutism in Russia only after a few months of complete freedom. The same process occurred, although not with equal speed, in some of the newly created free states, west of Russia. There was a gradual accumulation of political and economic difficulties emanating from the war and the world depression. As these difficulties gathered scope and momentum, increasing numbers of the population lost their political balance, this negative process affecting not only the bourgeoisie, petty tradesmen and peasants, but also that portion of the proletariat which had not yet attained to any degree of intellectual independence or had degenerated into a parasitic class kept by the state. The psychology of

such a class approaches ever closer the proletarians of ancient Rome, who sold their liberty to the highest bidder, to the Caesars. All these elements lost faith in themselves and yearned for a strong leadership. They followed wherever they felt they could get such leadership. And this constitutes the psychological basis of the popularity of the dictatorships of our time.

The dictatorships of our time have founded no new dynasties. In this respect they are not the descendants of the Caesars, nor are they Bonapartist in character. This may appear to indicate a measure of progress, but a rather questionable one. In hereditary monarchies the state is the domain not of the individual monarch but of the dynasty. The monarch believes it his duty to leave the state to his heirs in good condition. The dictator has no such motive. He captures the state in order to plunder it. After him the deluge. All he is concerned with is to be kept by the state. The representatives of the new absolutist state themselves do not believe in its capacity to endure.

A Pertinent Question

Are we to assume that this state of things is bound to come everywhere, that the slavishness of the masses, which is the prerequisite to every dictatorship, has become characteristic of all modern peoples, and that this slavishness is to serve as the psychological basis for the emancipation of the proletariat?

Those who believe this understand neither modern history nor

the democracy of the West to which it gave birth. Fascism will never cross the Rhine. It will certainly never cross the North Sea. In France, England, America it will remain the novelty of a few insignificant mountebanks. Nor has the idea of a Socialist dictatorship any better prospect in these countries.

In countries possessing a strong and politically enlightened prole-



Drawn by Arthur Fassberg.

ariat it is possible so to strengthen the existing democracy as to render it quite impervious to the assaults of enemies who would supplant it by dictatorship and absolutism. It is also much easier to destroy a dictatorship by raising the slogan of democracy than by seeking to substitute one dictatorship for another. The number of those interested in the latter objective will always be much smaller than those who demand complete

political freedom of movement not only for themselves but also for others.

Some among us, however, are not satisfied merely with the conquest and maintenance of democracy and the opportunities it offers to all mass parties, including the Social Democracy, for educating and organizing their followers and leading them to political and economic power. Not a few among us demand more: they demand a regime

which would not only make it possible for us to achieve power but to hold it under any circumstances, regardless of the sentiments of the great masses of the people. Democracy, to be sure, offers no such guarantee. Dictatorship of our own party, we are told, does offer such a guarantee, i. e., a dictatorship which must necessarily involve also a dictatorship of leaders within and over the party.

No Guarantee in Dictatorship

The fact is, however, that despite the monopoly of political power implicit in a dictatorship it cannot guarantee to the party resorting to this method the control of political power under all circumstances. This is particularly impossible under modern capitalism, which gives rise to quite unexpected and novel crises and catastrophes. The fundamental mistake of Hitlerism is the belief that once dictatorship is achieved it is possible to enjoy power forever.

No dictatorship can endure indefinitely. Every dictatorship leads either to the decay of the state and, hence, to its own destruction, or to mass revolution against the new masters, however well intentioned they may be. There is not a single instance in history of a dictatorship surrendering its power voluntarily or promoting the true welfare of the people.

Neither dictatorship nor democracy can guarantee the permanent

stabilization of the political power of any party, including our own. The idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes an absurdity where the proletariat is divided into different parties.

Like democracy, dictatorship holds no guarantees against contradictions and conflicts within the state. Dictatorship is merely another framework for the clash of these contradictions and conflicts.

Dictatorship makes impossible the transfer of power from one party to another except through destructive, bloody catastrophes, domestic and foreign. The forcible subjection of the masses, while serving to cultivate revolutionary fanaticism, cripples at the same time their capacity for free organization and clear thinking. The longer the dictatorship lasts the more aggravated and universal does this condition become, which, in turn, paves the way for another dictatorship or chaos. The general consequence is to bar the road to

Democracy Is Essential

The working classes cannot do without democracy even where they are not in power. Dictatorship is detrimental to the interests of these classes, intellectually and materially, even where it is in the hands of friends of labor.

Dictatorship can maintain itself only by keeping the masses in subjection, which destroys their capacity for criticism and initiative. Eventually this leads to the degeneration of the people and decay of the state. This effect is inevitable under any circumstances, even

though the dictatorship may set itself Socialist aims, for these aims can be achieved only when the working classes can take part in the building of production and the new state with enthusiasm, understanding and intellectual independence.

To be sure, the mere existence on paper of a democratic constitution cannot break the economic power of the exploiters. But how can the working masses wage a systematic, organized struggle against their exploiters when de-

prived of democratic rights?

The fact that democracy itself does not assure the victory of Social Democracy and cannot be forever made secure against assaults does not in any way diminish its value or the importance of the task to preserve it and make it stable with all the powers at our command. The stabilization of democracy is necessary and possible. The enduring stabilization of a party dictatorship is impossible. The very attempt to achieve this leads to unbearable conditions.

Big Socialist Increase in Brussels Poll

The special parliamentary election held in Brussels on April 15 has given great encouragement to the Belgian Labor party. The reelection of P. H. Spaak, Socialist member of the new coalition government, was confidently expected, but what was surprising was the great increase, both relative and absolute, in the party's vote.

The total number of voters was 7,800 larger than in 1932, but the Socialist vote was 13,162 larger. The party's percentage of the total rose from a little less than 28 to almost 32. The Communists and fascists also gained, as did also various small splinter parties.

Local Elections in Holland

The quadrennial election of provincial legislatures in Holland were held in the month of April. Returns from ten of the eleven provinces give the Social Democratic Labor party 114 seats, out of a total of 528—a loss of one seat as compared with 1931. The "left wing" secession group grew from three to four. The Communists and fascist parties both made considerable gains, which were balanced by losses for the Liberals and Radicals.

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

Must Capture Soul of Workers

The very circumstances that the rule of Social Democracy in a democracy cannot be assured without other factors compels us, as it does all democratic parties seeking to serve the interests of the masses and depending upon them for support and existence, to devote the greatest possible thought and energy in extending and enlarging our labors for the people. We do not seek to anchor the rule of our party in any political regime. We do not wish to make such a regime a comfortable bed in which we may rest upon our laurels. But where we do achieve power and influence we must continue to strive unceasingly to anchor our power and prestige in the soul of the working class. This implies not the mere seizure of power, to be retained at all cost and with which we are to remain forever satisfied, but a tireless struggle for the defense of proletarian interests, which coincide with the general interests of society. Democracy compels us to recognize both, precisely because the mere existence of democracy does not insure the rule of Social Democracy. Once it comes into power, all measures undertaken by our party assume a Socialist tendency. The determining consideration of all social measures and innovations then becomes centered in the question whether or not they contribute to the material and moral wellbeing of the masses. In evaluating such measures it would be absurd to draw a line of demarcation between "reformist" and "revolutionary" measures, to exclude the first, or to draw a distinction between two kinds of Socialists—to condemn the reformists and to hail the revolutionists. Reformist measures are those compatible with the existing system of production. Revolutionary measures are those designed to promote its abolition.

Marx the "Reformist"

When the First International was founded in 1864, under the inspiration and leadership of Karl Marx, it set before itself, first and foremost, the task of building trade unions and promoting labor and social legislation in the various countries. Revolutionists condemned this task as reformist and, therefore, inadequate. They argued that trade unions and labor legislation do not strike at the roots of the evils of capitalism and leave untouched the system itself. Hence, they said, they are a waste of time and effort. On the other hand, they maintained that establishment of cooperatives strikes at the wage system itself, being, therefore, revolutionary in character.

In reality, however, the work of the "reformist" Marx in the International acquired, with the years, the highest significance, while the "revolutionary" founders of state-subsidized cooperatives have left no trace behind them. As we have already indicated in previous articles, every Socialist is a revolutionist by virtue of the aims he sets himself. The extent to which any measures we may undertake are to be regarded as reformist or revolutionary depends at all times upon the historic circumstances. To be sure, it would be ridiculous

to remain reformist at all times and on all occasions. But no less ridiculous is it to confine ourselves at all times to revolutionary measures. When we achieve power we shall be called upon to institute both reformist and revolutionary innovations.

Some of us want democracy but only for the proletariat. But nobody has yet explained how democracy for the proletariat is to be reconciled with dictatorship over all other sections of the people. Until a satisfactory explanation is given, I venture to characterize the whole conception as an absurd fantasy. I do maintain, however, that after the downfall of fascism in the countries where it is in power it may be quite possible to restore democracy, to make secure its foundations, and thus promote progress toward Socialism.

I say "it may be quite possible." There can be no guarantee that democracy can be maintained under all circumstances and that democracy must of itself lead to Socialism. The security of democracy and advance toward Socialism are possible only with the existence of a certain all-important prerequisite: the presence of an intellectually developed, highly organized and politically experienced proletariat.

No Other Road to Socialism

Where such a proletariat does not exist, democracy cannot lead to Socialism and may itself be threatened. But where such a proletariat does exist, there is also no other road to Socialism. It is possible to erect a non-capitalist or anti-capitalist state without democracy and the type of proletariat of which I speak, but its substance will be a state economy based upon state slavery, a system of production economically inadequate and leading to the decay of all intellectual and moral capacities of the workers.

Only under democracy, under the free play of intellectual currents within the masses of the people, can the proletariat achieve the power and capacity to emancipate itself and administer the productive processes of society. And only under democracy can this capacity be utilized in a manner conducive to the establishment of a system of production superior to capitalism, a system which Marx and Engels characterized in the Communist Manifesto as "an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

Those who assert that a Socialist society can come only through dictatorship and not through democracy are governed fundamen-

tally not by lack of confidence in democracy but by mistrust of the proletariat.

The ideology of dictatorship is an ideology that reduces the proletariat to the status of sheep, to an ignorant, unthinking herd. Those who accept this ideology admit the moral bankruptcy of Socialism, however much they may desire it.

We, however, believe in the proletariat, in its capacity for development, in its future, and for this reason we have full confidence in democracy.

For one hundred and fifty years the working masses of Europe have been fighting for democracy. Many were the defeats they suffered, but never did they lose courage. Never did the fighters for democracy lose confidence in it. And always did democracy rise triumphant.

We continue to hold aloft the banner which for one hundred and fifty years has inspired our fathers and forefathers, the banner which has ever guided them forward, despite some painful failures, and which has altered fundamentally the face of the world. A single defeat should not move us to abandon the old, well tried road, which alone can lead our party to victory and assure the permanent liberation of toiling mankind.

Socialist Victory Blow At Fascism in Argentina

By Ben Lichtenberg

THE last batch of *La Vanguardia*, Argentine Socialist daily, which just arrived, discloses that the Socialist vote in the recent election for national senator from the Federal capital, which resulted in such an overwhelming landslide for the Socialist candidate, Dr. Alfredo Palacios, was a most emphatic repudiation of fascist tendencies developing in Argentina.

With one minor exception all the other parties combined on the *Concordancia* candidate Teran. Despite the coalition of the opposition, Comrade Palacios polled 179,619 votes against 30,359 for the fusion candidate representing all parties backing President Justo. [Buenos Aires has a population of 2,214,700; women are not enfranchised yet.]

A year ago the Socialist candi-

date polled 131,376 votes for the same office. The gain in one year was thus 48,243.

The Socialist Party carried on an intensive campaign, holding innumerable meetings of tremendous proportions and waged an unremitting fight against nascent fascism, bringing the message of Socialism to the masses and sounding a clarion call for the defense, preservation and extension of democratic principles and institutions which were being assailed by the reactionaries.

In a message to the voters the day before the elections Palacios wrote, "I send my cordial salutations to the workers who are struggling for a free, prosperous and virile Argentina, reminding them that political liberty is one part of the total liberty which man needs for the fullest development of his being; and is integrated by economic liberty; its conquest is the specific function of

Socialism.

"Let us consecrate our efforts toward raising the level of existence to its greatest heights. This is an arduous task which cannot be accomplished solely by an electoral contest. We realize this and are therefore engaged in creating cooperatives and in cultural and trade-union activities. Such integral activities firmly root our party in the public conscience and its organic power of growth, constituting it an unrestrainable force of exuberant and inexhaustible vitality."

Senator Palacios is one of the founders of the mighty Argentine Socialist Party and is well known in international Socialist circles in Europe.

Socialists Aid Many Strikes in Texas

By William Plampin

Texas State Secretary, Socialist Party

SAN ANTONIO.—State Organizer Lane is preparing to get out in the highways and crossroads to tell the folks about Socialism. He has been in the center of big strikes in Dallas and other places, and is eager to get dates from locals in every part of the state.

In addition, J. C. Thompson is preparing for action in the East and Northeast of the state.

Led by Comrade Carl Brannin, president of the Central Unemployed and Workers' Federation, the Dallas unemployed have been camped for over a week in the City Hall demanding restoration of a 40% cut in their relief.

Food is being collected from sympathetic merchants and prepared in a kitchen in Socialist headquarters. A hunger march on Austin is planned for the near future if the cut is not restored.

In Dallas, also, a garment workers strike is going strong and Socialists are active on the picket line despite frequent arrests. The local is gaining new membership as a result of these activities.

In San Antonio the cigar strike, about which *The New Leader* carried a story several weeks ago, is still going strong. The chief issue is recognition of the union, and abolition of a system under which workers are penalized for turning in what the foremen call bad cigars. One girl ended a week's work owing the company 35 cents.

Good reports are received from Fort Worth, Beaumont, Childress, Temple and other localities. Everywhere the comrades are working with local unions in their struggles.

Racketeering is a scheme by which human parasites graft themselves upon and live by the industry of others, maintaining their hold by terrorism, fraud, misrepresentation and manipulation.

Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

Radicalism and Revolution

WITHIN the past few weeks we have received several letters inquiring about the basic differences between Communism and Socialism. On the other hand, there are those who assume that there are few or no differences except that Communists act in a way that makes it difficult or impossible to cooperate with them. It is further assumed that if they would change their conduct, not only cooperation but amalgamation with them would be possible.

This view is widespread but it is erroneous. Then there are those who say that the difference between the two movements is that Communism is a little more "radical" than Socialism, or that Socialism is "reformist" while Communism is "revolutionary." Neither view is true. In this country Communists pack ten-fold more "reformist" measures into their platforms than Socialists do. In fact, they include some demands that are comic. For example, "self-determination for Negroes."

As for being more "radical," this word is vague. By some it means going to the root of things; by others, it means the extreme. Still others use the word merely in relation to some other movement. Here are some examples. Some Democrats are said to be radical, but they are only radical in relation to other Democrats. The LaFollette followers are said to be radical compared with the radical Democrats, while the Farmer-Laborites are regarded as radical compared with the LaFolletteites. So one might enumerate others, including the Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist Party and the numerous Communist organizations.

The word "radical" is relative in its meaning. When used it relates to something else and the relative meanings depend upon the point of view of the person who uses the word. What a Democrat would consider radical a Farmer-Laborite would not, and what a Farmer-Laborite considers radical others would not. Therefore, the word tells us nothing as applied to any organization. It is useless because it is illusive.

The Radical and the Demagogue

THEN there are those who think a speaker is radical if he uses hot invectives. Many people think of Huey Long and Father Coughlin as "radicals" because of the language they use. As a rule the rabble-rouser can be better defined if we call him a demagogue rather than a radical. Communists can use burning invectives, especially when they are thumping other "radicals."

The word "revolutionary" has a more definite meaning than the word "radical" and yet all that is designated as "revolutionary" is not what the word implies—a basic change in all the institutions of society. The "King Fish" and Father Coughlin are often referred to as "revolutionaries" despite the fact that neither has ever declared for any basic change. The old force Anarchists were regarded as "revolutionaries" by many people and yet every school of Socialism declared them to be reactionaries. Every group of Communists declares that it is "revolutionary" and we dispute the claim.

Confusion also arises over the phrase "revolutionary tactics." It is assumed that there are methods that are revolutionary. This may well be disputed. Let one assume that armed insurrection is a revolutionary method. The answer is that reactionaries have used this method for reactionary purposes in Rumania, Bulgaria and, especially, the Latin-American countries. Methods that can be used by revolutionary and reactionary movements cannot be said to be revolutionary. Neither is voting revolutionary or reactionary. Neither is a strike. Methods may be adapted to aims in one situation and not to another, but they are neither reactionary or revolutionary.

The Aim and the Method

THERE is only one thing by which we can determine whether a movement is reactionary or revolutionary, and that is its aim. If its declared aim is a complete basic change in society it is revolutionary, no matter what its methods are. If its aim is reactionary it remains reactionary, no matter what methods it uses. Voting, striking, rioting, physical force, mass meetings, marches are merely methods that any movement may use regardless of what its purpose is. It is well to keep this in mind when a person is talking of "revolutionary tactics."

Then whatever method is used at any time is not a matter of free choice regardless of historical conditions. A movement may choose a method which in one set of circumstances will serve it and in another set of circumstances it would be folly. The same thing is true of a strike. There are times when a strike is fully justified but where the conditions are such that it would be foolish to declare it. It would be folly because of sure defeat and weakening the union's resources and the morale of the members, making it more difficult to strike when conditions did become favorable. Movements do not function in a vacuum. External conditions impose limitations on what we will do. What we will do to do and what we can do, do not always correlate.

Moreover, the use of a legitimate method at the wrong time is likely to bring the reverse of what a movement expected to attain. It may weaken the movement and strengthen the enemy. In a tense struggle the enemy likes to have us do the thing that will strengthen him. It is the duty of the movement to find out what the enemy wants us to do and then—don't do it!

The Main Duty of Socialists

ABOVE all, in a country like ours, where the political and economic movements are weak, it is important to remember that our main task is organization and education. As Comrade Abramowitch recently wrote, in the United States our fundamental problem now is not the road to power but finding the road to the masses. Until we have traveled this road we will not have the power to socialize a hot dog stand, to say nothing of the basic industries.

And of what are the masses thinking? They are thinking of jobs, bread, rent, wages and, above all, security. The road to the masses cannot ignore what they are thinking of day and night. Never mind if the Rooseveltists and others talk of these things. The fact is that the capitalist parties will never satisfy the yearnings of the masses, no matter how much their spokesmen talk. We should be with the masses in their demands but also warn against illusions. While fighting side by side with them, we must point out the need of the abolition of capitalism itself.

The masses are not thinking of the need of this abolition. Not now, but they will later if we are fighting side by side with them against further degradation. The road to the masses is not hard to find. The road to power is, even after we have recruited millions. Let us travel the first road, convert and organize these millions, develop their self-reliance, class-consciousness and a will to win. When we have done that, when they have developed and trained their spokesmen and leaders, the seats of power in government and industry and what to do with this power will become a burning issue and not before.

A Personal Note

MORRIS HILLQUIT believed in 1933 what he believed in 1922 that "Whether the Socialist order be ushered in by a revolutionary coup d'etat, or by a series of legislative enactments or executive orders it can be maintained only by the people in control of the country."

As a Social Democrat, he believed in the rule of the majority. He hoped that when the Socialists will have the majority of the people with them, the capitalist minority will concede its defeat. But if the minority will try to oppose it by using violence, the Socialists will know how to use force against force.

Vera Hillquit.

Would a World War Bring Us Prosperity?

Noted Economist Shows Such a War
Would Be the Supreme Disaster for
American and World Civilization

by John T. Flynn

By John T. Flynn

IF war were to be declared tomorrow, we are told, a country that has been unhappy and discouraged would immediately leap to strenuous life with everybody at work.

Every textile mill, shoe factory, steel mill, shipyard and farm would be mobilized to produce uniforms, equipment and supplies. And so, recently, everywhere—in little towns, in Pullman cars, in city offices—you hear the observation that a good war would get us out of all our troubles pretty quickly. For instance, just read the following:

"Millions of men continuously out of jobs. That's bad as war. Ask some of the men that went to France. They'll tell you. They were happier when they sat in the mud there than they are now rotting in idleness. Who wants war? Nobody. But we're likely to get it, and it might not be as bad as it seems. Wars always end depressions."

That paragraph appeared in a syndicated article which was printed in two score American newspapers. Or read this one in a Sabbath day address: "The one thing that will produce \$2 wheat is war."

All this means that in times like these vast numbers of men lose their hatred of war. Men who are charged with the government of their nations try one device after another for bringing back prosperity and see them all fail. They grow weary and muddled. Then, almost without knowing it, they begin to say to themselves that there are things worse than war. Any number of observers have noted this mood of tolerance for war in the world today. It is a state of mind that is full of danger. And alas, it is a state of mind that is founded on a terrible mistake. A war will not bring us out of this slump.

A Different Situation

But why is it that war, which made us prosperous in 1915 until its end, will not do the same thing for us now. The answer is simple. When every nation in Europe sprang to arms in 1914, immediately something happened in this country. For two years or more

business had been sinking down. Then suddenly every ship that arrived from Europe brought representatives of every nation to buy anything that we had on the shelf—wool and cotton textiles, guns and ammunition, chemicals, wheat, corn and meat. The "help wanted" sign went out on every factory and store. Wages went up. Business rose magically.

But here is the point we must remember. These warring nations came to this country to buy with cash in their hands. In those days they were richer in money than we. We were a borrowing nation then. After a year their resources began to lag a little. But they were still able to borrow billions from their own people, and the continued to spend a large part of them here.

When we got into the war we began to grow even more prosperous. Millions of young men went into the army. We had to call the women from their homes to work in the factories, to run street cars and elevators. Then we began to borrow billions for our own war expenses. We loaned more billions to Europe and the greater part of that was spent here. But almost all the money that was spent by

the European nations and ourselves was borrowed money. It was created by selling bonds. Now the war is over. The prosperity is over and gone. But the bonds are still here. Practically 10 billion dollars is due us on these old war debts. And, besides, the nations of the world owe us an additional 17 billion in private debts.

The End of War

Now then, suppose Europe were to go to war again tomorrow, what would happen in this country? Would these warring nations come to us to buy again with cash in their hands? Of course not. All of these countries are very near the edge of bankruptcy. The vast loans made from their own citizens during the last war are still unpaid, save in Germany and Russia, where they were wiped out by inflation. The vast sums they borrowed from us are still due. What is more, Europe has practically announced

her intention of never paying. It is then likely that she can come to our shores again and buy and borrow for a new war? The European nations have not the cash; their credit is wrecked. All this being so, a European war now would turn out to be a very unprofitable piece of business to us. It would be a terrible disappointment to our munitions makers, our farmers, and our manufacturers. It could completely destroy the little international trade left.

If we were to attempt to pile another such mountain of debt on top of the last one, the troubled world would sink into one vast bog of universal bankruptcy. Another war would collapse because of our inability to carry it on, and what started as war would end up in world revolution. It would be for the world the supreme disaster. So let no one build any hope on a rescue of hard times by war.

Bad Breath is a warning—

Poisonous food wastes held too long in the digestive system cause bad breath. Ex-Lax rids the body of these wastes promptly. Better for you than vile, violent cathartics.

Important Note! There's nothing else like Ex-Lax. Its scientific laxative ingredient is made more effective through chokolating by the exclusive Ex-Lax process. Ask for Ex-Lax by name and refuse imitations.

Keep "Regular" with
EX-LAX
The Chocolated Laxative

Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund

Organized 1884 Incorporated 1888
Main Office: 714-716 SENECA AVENUE, Ridgewood Station, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Telephone—Hegeman 3-4058

OVER 50,000 MEMBERS IN 352 BRANCHES
Reserves on December 31, 1932—\$3,500,000.00
Benefits paid since its existence:

Death Benefit \$5,300,000.00 Sick Benefit \$13,000,000.00

WORKERS! PROTECT YOURSELVES!
In Case of Sickness, Accident, or Death!

Death Benefit according to age at time of initiation in one or both classes:
Class A: 40 cents per month—Death Benefit \$350 at the age of 16 to \$250 at the age of 44.
Class B: 50 cents per month—Death Benefit \$550 to \$230.
Parents may insure their children in case of death up to the age of 18. Death Benefit according to age \$20 to \$200.

SICK BENEFIT PAID:
Per week \$12.00 for 50 weeks and \$6.00 for another 50 weeks.
\$6 or \$9 for 40 weeks and half of that amount for another 40 weeks.

SICK BENEFIT FOR WOMEN:
\$8 per week for the first forty weeks; \$4.50 for another forty weeks.

For further information apply to Main Office, William Spahr, National Secretary, or to the Financial Secretaries of the Branches.

Greetings from WORKMEN'S CIRCLE BRANCHES

3—New York	200—New York
4—New York	207—Atlanta, Ga.
42—New York	209—Philadelphia, Pa.
62—Passaic, N. J.	355—New York
93—New York	419—New York
116—New Rochelle, N. Y.	529—Syracuse, N. Y.
120—Richmond, Va.	711—Springfield, Mass.
124—Philadelphia	806—New York
147—New York	828—Toronto
183—New York	

THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

75,000 MEMBERS

The Largest Radical Workmen's Fraternal Order in Existence

\$5,000,000 ASSETS

100 Branches All Over the United States and Canada

Insurance from \$100 to \$2,000

Sick benefit, 15 weeks per year, at \$5, \$10, \$25 and \$50 per week. Many branches pay additional benefit from \$1 to \$5 per week. Consumption benefit \$400 and \$600 or nine months in our own sanatorium, located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.

For information apply to

THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

175 East Broadway, N. Y. City

Telephone ORchard 4-0000

Columbia Tea Co.



Order from your grocer this famous Russian Tea known to millions as "ZVIETCHNI CHI"

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

WORKMEN'S MUTUAL FIRE INSURANCE SOCIETY, INC.

(ORGANIZED 1873)

A co-operative Fire Insurance Society, affiliated with the Cooperative League of America and operating under the supervision of the New York State Insurance Department.

Why Pay Exorbitant Fire Rates?

When our Society offers you

HOUSEHOLD FIRE INSURANCE AT ACTUAL COST

ONLY

10¢ Annually \$100 Insurance for Every \$1,000

Insurance for Every \$1,000

Insurance for Every \$1,000

Insurance for Every \$1,000

Insurance for Every \$1,000

Insurance for Every \$1,000

Insurance for Every \$1,000

Insurance for Every \$1,000

Insurance for Every \$1,000

Insurance for Every \$1,000

Insurance for Every \$1,000

Insurance for Every \$1,000

Insurance for Every \$1,000

Insurance for Every \$1,000

Insurance for Every \$1,000

Insurance for Every \$1,000

Insurance for Every \$1,000

Insurance for Every \$1,000

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.

Published Every Saturday by The New Leader Publishing Association, 7 E. 15th St., New York City. Telephone No. ALgonquin 4-4623.

Entered as Second Class Matter, January 15, 1924, at the Post Office at New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

1 Year, New York City Edition \$2.00 1 Year, Nat'l Edition \$1.00
1 Year to Foreign Countries \$3.00 1 Year to Canada.. \$2.50

Vol. XVIII—No. 18

SATURDAY, MAY 4th, 1935

THE PRESIDENT FACES TWO DEFICITS

FOR the first time since early last January President Roosevelt was heard on a nation-wide hookup last Sunday night. He explained his program, the expenditure of billions of dollars to take the jobless from the relief rolls and employ them on public works. He was cautious and avoided figures regarding the number of unemployed and how many he expected would be employed. He asserted that "many million more people" have work today than one year or two years ago, that every day "offers more chances for work" and that "unemployment remains a serious problem."

These statements are so cautious that his opponents will have difficulty in quoting them against him in the campaign next year. At the same time, in admitting the human deficit of the millions of jobless, he hinted that the program of spending billions to get the unemployed back to work must eventually come to an end. Of the jobless he said, "it is obvious that we cannot continue to create governmental deficits for that purpose year after year."

One gets the impression that this program implies one huge tug to pull the stricken economic system out of the ditch. If it does not revive capitalist production in general, if those who find jobs are sent back to the relief rolls when the public funds have been exhausted, what then? The public debt must reach a limit some time. Will it be a plunge into wild inflation, with its orgy of speculation as prices soar, and millions stripped of what little resources they have?

Whatever else was mentioned in this radio address, it is of minor importance compared with this vast human deficit which, if not wiped out, is likely to bring another financial catastrophe that will make the bank holiday in March, 1933, a pleasant vacation in comparison.

THE GOVERNMENT'S SILVER POLICY

THE silver policy of the government should sober the money cranks who think that some solution of the "money problem" will bring satisfaction to workers and farmers. The government has forced up the commercial price of silver. Both silver and gold are commodities, their values fluctuating the same as other commodities.

By forcing up the price of silver the American government is bringing misery to China because Chinese merchants have increasing difficulty in obtaining credits. The Mexican government has suspended the circulation of silver and India is likely to take some action. The idea in this country is to remonetize silver, but in doing so it is likely to demonetize it in countries with a silver standard, as it will be profitable to melt the silver and sell it as a commodity.

Capitalism is commodity production and the basis of its money is gold or silver, both commodities. A Socialist society will abolish commodity production and so will not be troubled with the commodity basis of the exchange of goods.

HUEY AND CHARLEY

HUEY LONG and Father Coughlin appear to have a considerable following. This is possible because the masses in general are not accustomed to subjecting the Long and Coughlin proposals to a critical examination. Long in Des Moines and Coughlin in Detroit last week said nothing that could be reduced to a clear idea.

Coughlin was only clear in supporting "the right of private property." That carries with it the ownership of industries, banks, etc. But this right must be subordinate to "human rights." He would protect the masses from "greed" and "exploitation" and would secure to all the "application of the principles of social justice." He is also against Communism, Hitlerism, fascism "plutocratic individualism" and "immoral capitalism."

Sum all this up and what does it mean? It is simply an appeal to the emotions of human beings in distress. Except the reference to property, and that is safe for capitalism, one may read anything into the other words and phrases. "Each for all and a grunt for each" might well be the slogan. Unfortunately, many poor devils are lured by this precisely because any meaning can be read into Coughlin's address.

THE NAZI BULLY

THE German ruling class throughout its history has been especially apt in the art of stupidity, if it can be called an art. Its members remind one of the thick-head bully who again and again makes himself a nuisance and expresses surprise in not being accepted as a nice fellow.

Great Britain has attempted to follow a neutral course between France and Germany, and now Hitler's resumption of submarine building is like a blow in the eyes to Great Britain. Hitler's action means the forging of the final link in the chain of enemies around Germany, a chain more complete than the Junkers faced in 1914. Nazi stupidity is simply the old Junker stupidity bearing the swastika label. The outlook for peace in Europe is not bright.

WHILE MILLIONS STARVE



While the ruling classes gorge themselves with the fruits of the unpaid labor of the working class, their greed may plunge them into the abyss.

IT DOES MOVE!

By John M. Work

IT is always encouraging when you can detect a slight movement of the average human mind—provided it is not a backward movement.

So little does the average human mind move, that it has the appearance of a stagnant pool. Not a case of "still waters run deep," for it is shallow. But the appearance is deceptive; it does move slightly. Over a period of years you can detect it.

A slight movement forward may be seen in the average mind's reaction toward old age pensions. Most people favor them now.

Only a few years ago, their reaction was quite different. You could tell them that retired generals, retired judges and widows of deceased Presidents got big pensions, that a general is of no more importance than a shop worker, that a judge is of no more importance than a farmer, that a President's widow is of no more importance than a workingman's widow, that those who do the useful work should be the first to be pensioned, and that

if anyone should do without pensions it should be the generals, the judges and the Presidents' widows who are well-to-do and do not need them—but, so askew was the average mind that the average man threw up his hands and exclaimed that an old age pension would pauperize a factory worker. It was not explained why it would not pauperize a general, a judge or a President's widow.

Maybe you won't believe it, but that is exactly the species of absurd argument we had to meet, only ten years ago, when we were contending for old age pensions.

The average mind has abandoned that ridiculous position. The average man and the average woman are heartily in favor of old pensions now. Likewise of unemployment insurance. We are not certain, but we rather believe the average person would also sanction socialized health service.

We state these facts for your encouragement. The average mind is not altogether stagnant; it does move slightly. The movement is provokingly slow, and it is no wonder you become impatient—but it does move!

The Story of the Marseillaise

FOR three quarters of a century the *Marseillaise*, the national anthem of the Third Republic of France, has been sung by Socialists and played at great Socialist demonstrations.

In the terrible year 1792 "eight hundred Marseillais who knew how to die," as Carlyle put it, marched into Paris with revolutionary fervor in their hearts and on their lips the song that was worth more to the Revolution than an army corps. It became the song of the First Republic, only to be outlawed by the first Napoleon.

More than half a century later his nephew, Napoleon III, who feared the masses as much as his uncle had hated them, made the playing of the *Marseillaise* an offense against the Second Empire, and in its stead he adopted as the national anthem the sickly-sweet sentimental song, "Partant pour la Syrie," written by his mother, Queen Hortense. But even during the Second Empire the *Marseillaise* was sung in the clubs and secret meeting places of the workers who prepared for the day when the tyrant would be overthrown; while the court composer, Jules Offenbach, cleverly bootlegged a few strains from the hymn into his operetta "Orfeo," a political joke that was as much appreciated by the masses as it annoyed the tinsel Emperor.

All the revolutionary movements of Europe adopted the *Marseillaise* as their song. The German workers sang, as they were driven from their meeting halls by Bismarck's police, the Workers' *Marseillaise*, concluding with the words: "Nicht zählen wir den Feind, Nicht die Gefahren all; Den Bahn, der kühnen, folgen wir Die uns geführt Lassalle."

And in Belgium the Socialists sang a *Marseillaise* ending:

Vive Republik!
Social-democratie!

Sung in Other Lands

And in England and Italy, Austria and the Scandinavian countries the Socialists thundered the *Marseillaise* at all their great demonstrations. In 1886, on the occasion of a monster demonstration in London, William Morris marched at the head of the hosts of Socialists and trade unionists singing the *Marseillaise*. The British version contains the words, "The day is here; the black night flies," instead of "Behold their tears and hear their cries."

Only in France, where the Third Republic adopted the great revolutionary song as its official anthem, did the Socialists refrain from using it as their own, and from

France came the Internationale, by common consent considered the official song of the Socialist movement. The *Marseillaise* is still, however, widely used by Socialists everywhere except in France and Russia.

Rouget de Lisle, author and composer of the song, was born in Lons-le-Saulnier in May 10th, 1760. It was while he was an officer of engineers in the French army stationed at Strasbourg in the winter of 1792 that he wrote and composed the song, originally "The Song of the Army of the Rhine." Its stirring words, its flaming music, its glorious and unconquerable spirit, swept Revolutionary France like wildfire, and it soon became the most popular song of the revolutionists, quickly displacing for first place such songs as *Ca Ira* and the *Carmagnole*. De Lisle lived to be 76, and he later published many songs, none of them important. He died at Choisy-le-Roi June 26, 1836.

The following interesting article appeared in the Los Angeles Social Democrat, a paper published by the California Socialist Party and edited by Chester M. Wright, on July 12th, 1913. The editor said it was discovered by a Los Angeles resident in a book purchased by her parents 35 years previously. Nothing is known of the authorship of the article:

Composing the Hymn

ROUGET DE LISLE was a young officer of engineers at Strasbourg. He was born at Lons-le-Saulnier, in the Jura, a country of revelry and energy, as mountains commonly are. He relieved the tediousness of garrison life by writing verses and indulging a love of music.

He was a frequent visitor at the house of Baron de Dietrich, a noble Alsatian of the constitutional party, the mayor of Strasbourg. The family loved the young officer and gave him inspiration to his heart in its attachment to music and poetry, and the ladies were in the habit of assisting, by their performances, the early conceptions of his genius.

A famine prevailed at Strasbourg in the winter of 1792. The house of Dietrich was rich at the beginning of the revolution, but had now become poor under the calamities and sacrifices of the time. Its frugal table had always a hospitable place for Rouget de Lisle. He was there morning and evening as a son and brother.

One day when only some slices of ham smoked upon the table, with a supply of camp bread, Dietrich said to De Lisle, in sad

serenity, "Plenty is not found at our meals. But no matter, enthusiasm is not wanting at our civic festivals, and our soldiers' hearts are full of courage. We have one mere bottle of Rhine wine in the cellar. Let us have it and we'll drink to liberty and the country. Strasbourg will soon have a patriotic fete, and De Lisle must draw from these last drops one of his hymns that will carry his own ardent feelings to the soul of the people."

The young ladies applauded the proposal. They brought the wine and continued to fill the glasses of Dietrich and the young officer until the bottle was empty.

The night was cold. De Lisle's head and heart were warm. He found his way to his lodgings, entered his solitary chamber, and sought for inspiration at one moment in the palpitations of his citizen's heart and at another by touching as an artist, the keys of his instrument, and striking out alternately portions of an air and giving utterance to poetic thoughts. He did not himself know which came first; it was impossible for him to separate the words from the music, or the sentiment from the words in which it was clothed. He sang altogeth and wrote nothing.

Hymn Brings Tears

In this state of lofty inspiration he went to sleep with his head upon the instrument. The chants of the night came upon him in the morning like the faint impressions of a dream. He wrote down the words, made the notes of the music and ran to Dietrich's.

He found him in the garden, digging winter lettuces. The wife of the patriot mayor was not up yet. Dietrich awoke her. They called together some friends who were, like themselves, passionately fond of music, and able to execute the composition of De Lisle.

One of the young ladies played and Rouget sang. At the first stanza the countenances of the company grew pale; at the second tears flowed abundantly at the last a delirium of enthusiasm broke forth. Dietrich, his wife and the young officer cast themselves into each other's arms. The hymn of the nation was found.

Alas! it was destined to become a hymn of terror. The unhappy Dietrich a few months afterward marched to the scaffold at the sound of the notes first uttered at his own hearth, from the heart of his friend and the voice of his wife.

The new song, executed some days afterward publicly at Strasbourg, flew from town to town

Army and Navy Are Worried; Well, So Are the Housewives

By Algernon Lee

THE Secretary of War is alarmed. So is the Secretary of the Navy. Not by the news that Germany is re-arming, that Japan and Great Britain are building battleships, that France



Algernon Lee No, that is not what disturbs our Army and Navy Departments. What worries them is the rise of food prices.

Last year the government allowed 32 1/2 cents per man per day for the purchase of food for soldiers, and 42 cents for sailors. The army allowance has been raised to 37 1/2 cents. But that does not halfway meet the need. Responsible officials say that the actual cost now figures out to 50 cents per man per day on land and a few cents more at sea. On less than this, they declare, the men cannot be given enough plain but wholesome food to keep up their health and strength.

Naval officers say that meat costs more than twice what it did a year ago. Just within the last four months, army officers tell us, ham has risen four cents on the pound, pork and sausage five cents, veal six cents, bacon five cents, poultry eleven cents. Beef is now going up, they allege, at an average rate of a cent and a half each week.

The Women Know All About It Housewives who do their own marketing know about all this. For them, buying in small quantities, the problem is much harder than it is for the army and navy. And alas! there is no Secretary of Housewifery in the President's Cabinet to force the thing upon the attention of Congress and get something done about it.

The soldiers and sailors are not going to go hungry. The necessary food will be purchased, and if this year's appropriations are exhausted, Congress will make deficiency appropriations. There is always a way to arrange these things.

But who is going to arrange things for the millions of housewives who are breaking their heads over the question whether to cut down the family's food supply or to let the children go without needed shoes or clothes or to forget the landlord and take the chance of a dispossession warrant? No one, until they themselves organize and make their protest heard in the highest quarters.

Of course, it is not food prices alone that are going up. Other kinds of goods too are becoming dearer—not so rapidly, but enough to make the problem graver still.

There is no excuse for such a condition. It is not due to natural causes. The country is capable of producing all the food the people need, and far more. The shortage in millions of homes is man-made. It has been deliberately brought about, either because our Democratic and Republican officials and law-makers do not know any better or because they do not care what the people suffer, if only they can serve the business interests.

New York's Sales Tax Here in New York City our Fusion administration has played

through all the orchestras. Marseilles adopted it to be sung at the opening and adjournment of the clubs. Hence it took the name of the Marseilles Hymn.

De Lisle Flees The old mother of De Lisle, a loyalist and a religious person, alarmed at the reverberation of her son's name, wrote to him, "What is the meaning of this revolutionary hymn, sung by hordes of robbers who pass all over France, with which our name is mixed up?"

De Lisle himself, proscribed as a federalist, heard it re-echo upon his ears as a threat of death, as he fled among the paths of Jura.

"What is this song called?" he inquired of his guide. "La Marseillaise," replied the peasant. It was with difficulty that he escaped.

The "Marseilles" was the liquid fire of the revolution. It distilled into the senses and the soul of the people the frenzy of battle. Its notes floated like an ensign, dipped in warm blood, over a field of combat. Glory and crime, victory and death seemed woven in its strains.

It was the song of patriotism, but it was the signal of fury. It accompanied warriors to the field and victims to the scaffold!

There is no national air that will compare with the *Marseillaise* in sublimity and power: it embraces the soft cadences full of the peasants' home, and the story clangour of silver and steel when an empire is overthrown; it endears the memory of the vine-dresser's cottage, and makes the Frenchman in his exile cry, "La belle France!" forgetful of the sword and torch and guillotine, which have made his country a spectre of blood in

its part. The sales tax does not affect food, indeed, but it does affect clothes and shoes and hats and kitchen utensils and household furnishings and all sorts of other necessities. It amounts to only a few cents on each purchase, as a rule. But it falls most heavily on those who have to purchase in small quantities, and who can least afford even those few cents at a time. In many other cities and some states this same vicious tax is making their lot harder to bear.

Our Democratic state government has its share of responsibility. One of its "great achievements" is that of regulating the price of milk. The regulation is not meant to keep the price down for the benefit of the urban consumers, but to keep it up—ostensibly for the benefit of the farmers, but in effect injuriously to them and very profitably for the middlemen.

Worst of all, however, is what the Roosevelt Administration has done on a national scale. Maybe it has been done with good intentions, but the road to hell is paved with intentions just as good.

The Administration has deliberately set out to restrict agricultural production. It actually pays farmers for raising smaller crops and for destroying crops already grown. It frankly declares that its purpose is to force up the price of farm produce. But farm produce means food and clothing materials. To force their prices up is to make it harder for the half-employed and ill-paid masses of working people to feed and clothe themselves and their children.

That is no civilized way, no humane way, no honest way to help the working farmers. And, in fact, it helps them far less than it helps the speculators and dealers who stand between the farm and the city home.

As if this were not bad enough, the Roosevelt "recovery plan" not only permits but requires manufacturers, wholesalers, jobbers, commission men, retailers, to organize for the purpose of pushing prices up and keeping them up.

And, of course, all these capitalists, big and little, do not miss any opportunity to raise prices, especially on the prime necessities of life, which everyone needs, which everyone must buy if he possibly can, even at the cost of giving up the comforts and modest luxuries and cultural goods that make life really worth living.

Don't Blame the Capitalists

Let us not blame the capitalists. They are in business solely for profit. So long as the masses vote to continue the capitalist system, the profit motive will dominate the business men's minds.

Let us not, for that matter, blame Mayor LaGuardia and Governor Lehman and President Roosevelt. They believe in capitalism and act accordingly. If what they do injures the masses, it's just too bad. We cannot expect them to do otherwise, unless the masses demand it.

But, without blaming anybody, it is possible to combat the evil. Let the mayors and governors, the law-makers of city, state, and nation, and the Chief Executive himself, hear the victims' voices, not in humble complaint but in a chorus of clear and emphatic protest and demand—let that indignant chorus spread and swell, and it will be heard and heeded, and the price-raising policies will be reversed.

You who suffer from the rising cost of living, the remedy is in your hands.

Hearst, MacFadden Placed on Unfair List By Milwaukee Labor

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—The union movement here has placed the Hearst and MacFadden publications on the unfair list because of their "Fascist and un-American activities."

This action was taken by the Federated Trades Council last week on a motion introduced by Local 998 of the Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America. The resolution states that "The Hearst Press and MacFadden Publications have been leading the attacks against labor and have been propagandizing against all forms of liberal thought and academic freedom, which policy indicates the growing reaction which soon limits, restricts, and even abolishes all right of criticism of extant social, political and economic institutions and leads to dissolution and suppression of trade unionism and opposition to working class political parties and unemployed organizations."

This action follows closely on a protest lodged by the Trades Council against the renewal of the license of WISN, Hearst radio station here. This station has refused to sell labor time, but has permitted the Law and Order League to launch vicious attacks on the organized labor movement on its time.

the eyes of nations. Nor can the foreigner listen to it sung by a company of exiles or executed by a band of musicians, without feeling that it is the pibroch of battle and war.