

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

NEW LEADER

Vol. XVIII—No. 21

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, MAY 25th, 1935

Price Five Cents

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

Protest Mounting Against Roosevelt Wage Gigantic Demonstration for Labor's Program

Socialist International 'New Deal' Drops Its Mask Indicts Hitler's Regime For Plot to Unleash War

**Calls for Mobilization of World Opinion
Against Fascist Scheme to Wreck Peace
In Manifesto Outlining L. S. I. Policy in
Critical International Situation.**

BRUSSELS.—In a momentous proclamation addressed to all organized workers and lovers of peace and liberty, the executive bureau of the Labor and Socialist International has just made public from its headquarters here a ringing denunciation of the Hitler dictatorship, together with a declaration of the International's policy in the critical situation confronting the world.

"World peace is in grave and constant danger," the proclamation declared. "The German dictatorship has flung down a challenge to Europe and the world. Trusting to its own strength alone, it will not agree to join the other states of Europe in the organization of peace through the League of Nations. It has not abandoned its annexationist aims. It is endeavoring to involve other countries in its policy of international anarchy. It is in process of achieving military preponderance in Europe. The armaments race, an immediate consequence of this policy, augments the danger."

"To make use of every means for mobilizing the public opinion of the world against the Nazi dictatorship is one of the most important tasks in the struggle against war."

Cooperation with U.S.S.R.
While asserting that "the German people can only reconquer their freedom by their own efforts," the International welcomed "the cooperation of the Western democracies with the Soviet Union to prevent war."

"We desire no alliances against the German or any other people," the International declared. "We desire to guarantee the maintenance of peace for all by the cooperation of all peoples in full equality of rights. War is the greatest of all crimes against humanity. A second world war would affect the German people, in its isolation, more severely than any other, but it would also leave the rest of Europe a heap of ruins."

Warning against surrender "to panic or to a fatalistic belief in the inevitability of war," the International called for opposition "both to the jingoism promoted by recent events and to war itself," declaring that "the danger of war in Europe will be averted only when it is known and understood that every act of aggression will be confronted by a collective strength powerful enough to overcome it and promptly to restore peace."

Must Support Covenant
"To this end it is necessary for every member of the League of Nations to cooperate loyally and effectively, to an extent compatible with its military situation and geographical position, in support of the Covenant and in resistance to any act of aggression," the International declared.

Urging the necessity of restoring faith "in the sincerity of the declarations of the Briand-Kellogg pact and the reality of the collective peace system," the International proposed conclusion by all the nations of Europe of "a treaty of non-aggression and mutual assistance associated with the sanctions system of the Covenant, and including a definition of the aggressor in an international conflict."

"It is our earnest desire that any such treaties which may be concluded should be concluded with Germany if she is prepared to adhere to them, and that the pos-

Company Union Of Utilities Hit As Chief Bolts

**Mannix, Head of Edison
Employee Representation
Council, Quits and Joins
Brotherhood — Calls
Workers to Do Likewise.**

COMPANY unionism received a severe setback this week when the chief officer of what is believed to be the largest company union in the United States bolted the cause in favor of independent labor organization.

According to an announcement by the Brotherhood of Utility Employees of America, an independent union, James M. Mannix, chairman of the Cooperative Committee of General Councils of the Consolidated Gas system, has bolted the company union and has publicly announced a severe indictment of company unionism. The company union organization, of which Mannix was the head, is probably the largest organization of its kind in the country, embracing 14 gas and electric companies, employing 50,000 utility workers in the Edison and Consolidated Gas companies of New York, Brooklyn, Queens and Westchester.

Mannix is an employee of the New York and Queens Electric Light and Power Company. Simultaneously with his attack on company unions, he became a member of Queens Local 103 of the Brotherhood of Utility Employees of America.

Rebel Against Coercion
According to Martin Wersing, chairman of the Brotherhood local of Queens, Mannix bolted company unionism because efforts were being made by the Queens power company improperly to influence employees of that company as they were preparing to hold a plebiscite on the discontinuance of the "company union," known as the Employees' Representation Plan of the New York & Queens Electric Light and Power Company.

According to Wersing, the management of the Queens company attempted to influence the vote of employees. "Although the company has claimed that it takes no part in the affairs of the Employees' Representation Plan," said Mr. Wersing, "the management attempted to get Mr. Mannix to issue a statement saying, in part, 'In my opinion the Employees' Representation Plan is true industrial democracy and it can be made just as effective an instrument as you wish to make it. I believe that it has proved its value and should be continued.'" Mr. Wersing charged the management of the power company also attempted to induce Mannix to issue another statement, for the purpose of influencing the vote of employees in favor of the company union.

Company Union Hypocrisy
Mannix refused to issue such a statement. Instead, he bolted the company union and addressed a letter to his fellow employees, saying: "Your representatives in the Employees' Representation Plan have exerted every possible effort in your behalf to secure legitimate and reasonable demands for the improvement of your wages and

WHEN the news of President Roosevelt's shocking wage program for public works broke early this week there was general astonishment which passed into anger and bitter protests on the part of spokesmen of labor organizations throughout the country. Never before has there been such unanimous resentment against a policy of the Federal Government.

Those in the trade union movement who had seen one promising prospect after another turn into dead sea fruit as they watched the unfolding of the NRA and fought to make it serve the working masses, awoke to find the whole wage structure endangered by the President's wage policy. The wage standards built by many of the unions are the result of a half-century of struggle and sacrifice and the announcement of the government's wage policy is considered a terrific blow at these standards.

Inroads had already been made on wage standards since the beginning of the depression because of economic pressure which could not be successfully resisted. Outside of the organized industries wages had also declined for the same reason and here they fluctuated about a subsistence standard. This section of wage-income will also be affected by the deadly pressure of the wages fixed by the President in the government's public works program. In fact, every phase of incomes by wage labor will be affected.

Like an electric shock the working masses have been awakened to the stark dangers that confront the workers in general. In fact, this week may prove an important turning point in the history of labor struggles in the United States. The cool and objective language in which the

government's wage policy was announced also revealed that the President and his advisors have no comprehension of the human implications of this program. This has probably heightened the resentment felt everywhere by the workers of the nation.

The wages fixed in the lower brackets simply mean slow starvation for those who receive them. How the sponsors of this program imagine that even strong men can maintain their working vitality upon such wages passes comprehension. One estimate declares that such income is lower than what it costs to keep paupers on poor farms in the states.

There are those who have always asserted that the Socialist forecast of economic freedom and social democracy really would bring a dull level of industrial serfdom, an equality of the soup kitchen. They added that America is the "land of opportunity" where the workman could rise in the scale of well-being.

But here is the ghastly reality by government decree. Will the workers submit? They will not. From the factories, mills, mines, shops and stores are coming the protests of workers who understand the peril this policy threatens.

The blow aimed at the slender incomes of the working class will increase the tempo of resentment from week to week. Out of the privation which threatens will come a greater solidarity in the struggle against the fearful economic plague which has brought palsy to our economic life.

The Roosevelt wage policy would reduce the mass of workers to lower levels of degradation. The masses will fight this policy to the last ditch.

Garden Rally Demands Congress Pass Bills Sponsored by A. F. L.

More Than 50,000 Workers Fill Huge Auditorium and Adjacent Streets as 250,000 Quit Work to Back NRA Extension, Labor Disputes Bill and 30-Hour Week.

Green Predicts Strikes Against F. D. R. Wages

**A. F. of L. Chief Leads in
Protests Against Low
Scale Set by President—
Bankruptcy of New Deal
Seen.**

PROTEST strikes of workers on relief projects are predicted by President Green of the American Federation of Labor because of the outrageously low wage scale set by President Roosevelt under the federal government's new relief program. Mr. Green denounced the wage scale as "injustice" and as an incentive to private industry to lower wages.

Leading the protests of labor leaders and Socialists against the President's action, Mr. Green warned that widespread discontent would be the effect. Michael J. McDonough, president of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., characterized the President's scale as threatening labor standards everywhere and an invitation to employers to cut wages.

While George Meany, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, predicted that the scale set by the President would undermine the entire wage system in New York State, based upon the prevailing wage rate principle, and retard recovery, Joseph P. Ryan, president of the New York Central Trades and Labor Council, characterized the scale promulgated by President Roosevelt as likely to be the yardstick by which employers would measure wages.

"Labor must resist to the utmost this policy of enforced serfdom," was the statement wired to The New Leader by Darlington Hoopes, Socialist member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. Lilith M. Wilson, another Socialist member of the Pennsylvania legislature, wired this paper that the President's scale "indicates the political, economic and intellectual bankruptcy of the New Deal."

Algeron Lee, New York City chairman of the Socialist Party, denouncing the President's "slow starvation wages," said he preferred to see "Uncle Sam a niggardly charity monger than a scab shop boss." Among labor leaders who joined in sharp protests against the President's scale were James D. Graham, president of the Montana State Federation of Labor; Luigi Antonini, first vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; George Q. Lynch, president of the Patternmakers' League; Morris C. Feinstein, secretary of the United Hebrew Trades; Abe Miller, manager of the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and Samuel E. Beardsley, secretary-treasurer of the International Jewelry Workers' Union.

The statements follow:
Will Bring Protest Strikes
By William Green
President of the American Federation of Labor
In my opinion the fixing of a wage scale such as has been announced will cause a great deal of dissatisfaction.
(Continued on Page Two)

By Marx Lewis

LAUNCHING a counter-offensive against the forces led by the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, more than 50,000 organized workers in New York City assembled Thursday afternoon in and about Madison Square Garden in the mightiest demonstration New York City has witnessed to demand a better NRA, the enactment of the Labor Disputes Bill, the passage of the 30-hour work-week bill and a program of genuine security for American labor.

While 25,000 workers filled the Garden and the large basement auditorium, an equal number assembled in the adjacent streets.

President Roosevelt's work relief wage scale was denounced as a blow at decent standards and as an encouragement to employers to cut wages. The President's scale was assailed also as a betrayal of his own oft-proclaimed intention to raise living standards and in flat contradiction with his recovery program.

The power of labor was demonstrated not only by the tremendous number of workers who poured out of the shops in various parts of the city to march to the Garden, but in the fact that in some of New York's major industries all work came to a standstill as the workers dropped their tools to participate in the mass movement called by the leading labor organizations in New York. It is estimated that more than 250,000 workers participated in the stoppage.

The meeting was set for 3 o'clock. Long before that hour the exodus from the shops began. Acting under instructions from the shop chairmen in the needle industries, and, in the case of the other unions, their union representatives, preparations for the half-holiday which the leading New York labor unions had proclaimed were completed at about noon, when several hundred business agents, members of organization committees and international union officials completed their last round of the leading points at which the workers were in readiness to begin the demonstration.

Big Overflow Meeting
Officials of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City, representing a membership of 800,000, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, the four organizations which sponsored the demonstration, were impressed with the discipline and enthusiasm with which the hundreds of thousands of workers whom they represent responded to the call, and the readiness with which they cooperated with the more than 1,000 ushers.

Many thousands unable to gain admittance to the vast hall remained on 49th and 50th Streets, where amplifiers had been installed. The opening of the doors at 2 o'clock imposed the first test on the effectiveness of the arrangements. A huge crowd had already congregated and the tremendous Garden was rapidly filled up, while workers coming from shops which remained idle as they left continued for more than thirty minutes to fill the balance of the available space. Two orchestras added to the atmosphere.
(Continued on Page Three)

400,000 Miners Set for Strike As Parley Fails

WASHINGTON. — A general strike in the bituminous coal industry, involving approximately 400,000 miners, members of the United Mine Workers of America, after expiration of the existing collective agreement with the operators on June 16, loomed as a strong possibility this week with the breakdown of negotiations for a new contract.

Announcement that the negotiations had reached a deadlock was made by Duncan C. Kennedy, chairman of the Joint Conference Committee of Operators and Miners, which met here early in the week. The committee began a series of parleys on February 18 but has been unable to agree on wages, hours and conditions of employment.

Another meeting of the joint conference will be held in Washington on Monday. The full membership of the joint conference, consisting of 200 miners and 200 operators, will be in session to hear a report of the joint subcommittee of the scale committee. Those attending the conference will speak for more than 70 percent of the bituminous coal industry.

The full membership of the conference will be informed of the deadlock and is expected to adjourn sine die. The scale committee of the United Mine Workers is then expected to hold a separate meeting and make its strike recommendations.

The one thing that may avert the strike would be passage by Congress of the Guffey Coal Stabilization Bill by June 16. The statement was made here in informed circles that extension of the NRA, even for a two-year period, would not prevent the

The Labor Week By Chester M. Wright

Washington, D. C.

FEDERAL District Court in Washington, here on the unhurried Potomac, has said to the two building trades departments that the court doesn't like either of their houses. The decision, brought to determine whether the newer A. F. of L. Department, or the old Department, not recognized by the A. F. of L., should have the money and the title to legitimacy, holds that neither Department is legal.

Where the conflict will go from here is not yet known. It has been a bitter conflict. Every conflict over jurisdiction is bitter and while this is not precisely a jurisdictional conflict, it has the characteristics.

What next? I wonder. Two strikes to record today. One quick and victorious. In Detroit the employees of the Packard automobile body trim department walked out and quickly walked right back again with a 20 percent wage increase in their pocket. That buys more food, more shoes, more clothes and will create satisfaction and happiness wherever those workers go to do their buying.

In Cleveland, 800 employees of the Addressograph-Multigraph Corporation are out tonight in the climax of a deadlock lasting some weeks.

But to something more vital to the nation. The Wagner bill is on its way through Congress. President Green tells me the House is sure to follow the Senate. When that bill goes through and becomes law, it ought to mark the beginning of the greatest organizing movement America has ever known. Look for that and prepare for it. It is more than likely that most workers and most employers
(Continued on Page Four)

Negroes Score Peon Wage Set By President

SPEAKING in behalf of Negro workers, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent a telegram to President Roosevelt emphatically protesting against his relief wage scale, particularly as applying to Negro workers in the South.

The telegram was as follows:

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People urges rearrangement of the scale of relief wages which, as announced on May 20th, will fall with unusual severity upon Negro workers. Wage scales in Regions III and IV, running as low as \$19 per month for unskilled labor, in which regions majority of Negroes live, will mean a level of subsistence too low for decent living. "Racial prejudices of these two regions are notorious and will inevitably result in Negroes being uniformly classed as unskilled workers."

"In six states of Section III, 2,757,646 Negroes live, according to the 1930 census, while in Section IV, with the lowest wage scale of all, 5,647,471 Negroes live. Thus more than 8,000,000 Negroes, or two-thirds of the entire Negro population of the United States, will be subjected to these conditions."

"Even payment of the prevailing wage scale, as demanded by the American Federation of Labor, would not prevent hardships, since the wage scale for Negroes and many whites is that of the plantation, level. Revision of the work relief scale upwards is all the more imperative because of the collapse of the cotton crop and dire plight of sharecroppers and tenant farmers."

This telegram was signed by Walter F. White, secretary.

Labor and Socialists Denounce Pauper Relief Wages

Green Predicts Strikes Against F. D. R. Wages

A. F. of L. Chief Leads in Protests Against Low Scale Set by President—Bankruptcy of New Deal

(Continued from Page One)

I understand that zones have been outlined and standard rates set for each zone. That means a departure from the fixing of wage scales on the basis of local conditions to a situation where they are established on a zone basis. It means, therefore, going from a system that provides flexibility to one that provides rigidity.

That will mean injustice. For instance, Washington, in all probability, has a going wage as high or higher than in Canton, Ohio. Yet a security wage will be in force in Washington lower than that in Canton, Ohio. That will cause widespread dissatisfaction in Washington.

I am fearful of protest strikes among the employed, and I am also fearful that private industry will use these rates to reduce the wages they are paying now.

All Wages Imperilled

By Michael J. McDonough
President of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L.

A wage of \$19 a month in the South for a full month's work is certainly not a living wage. How a man can support a family on that meager income I am sure nobody knows.

The conditions established under the rules laid down by the President are not ones that will benefit the construction industry. They will further depress that industry which needs a quick revival.

It seems strange to us that at a time when an increase of purchasing power means so much there should be a wage scale set for a large amount of work which has the effect of lowering wages in private industry.

The organized workers fought for weeks to keep up purchasing power by having the McCarran amendment to the Public Works Bill adopted. At that time we warned that a low wage on government projects would threaten the established wage scales in industry generally.

Breaks Wage Structure

By George Meany
President of the New York State Federation of Labor

We are very, very much disappointed. I have no hesitation in saying that the scale fixed by the President presages a breakdown of the entire wage system in New York State. The New York State Federation of Labor and I personally are absolutely opposed to work relief conducted on this basis.

There can be no doubt in my mind that employers will use the President's proclaimed work-relief scale as a means of pulling down wages in private industry to that scale. This is not the way to promote recovery. I repeat we are very much disappointed.

Regimenting Poverty

By Lilith M. Wilson
Member Pennsylvania House of Representatives

READING, Pa.—President Roosevelt's wage policy, ranging from ten cents up to fifty cents an hour for professional services on a forty hour week basis, indicates the political, economic and intellectual bankruptcy of the capitalistic New Deal.

This attempt to regiment poverty must inspire united and determined opposition. Socialists must drive home the remedy.

A Blow at the A. F. of L.

By Joseph P. Ryan
President of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City

The President's order is a blow at the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to eliminate existing differentials, to raise wage scales and to maintain standards.

Speaking as leader of the longshoremen, which is the field in which I am immediately interested, I can say that steamship owners in New Orleans, Lake Charles, La.; Mobile and Gulf and South Atlantic ports, who have sought to press down wages on the basis of differentials, will take courage from the President's order. They will continue to take advantage of the surplus of labor to press down pay rates to even lower levels than those now existing.

In New York State and elsewhere private employers will use the President's scale as a yardstick for lowering wages. While

it is true that the President's order fixes wages for work relief only, we may be sure that unscrupulous employers will seek to make the scale set by the President the maximum in private industry.

Enforced Serfdom

By Darlington Hoopes
Member Pennsylvania House of Representatives

READING, Pa.—Low wages fixed by President Roosevelt for work program offsets any good which might have resulted therefrom.

Adoption of bare subsistence wage standards by the federal government will drive down the already too low purchasing power of workers and thus retard recovery.

Labor must resist to the utmost this policy of enforced serfdom.

Let Them Eat Grass!

By Algernon Lee
New York City Chairman of the Socialist Party

Does the President expect working people to go naked and eat grass? The wages he dictates are literally starvation wages. At this rate it would be better to junk the whole public works program.

Its net effect, if the President has his way, will be to break down standards in private employment. Better for men to beg on the street than to work for such wages as these. Better let Uncle Sam be a scabshop boss.

Repulsive to All Americans

By George Q. Lynch
International President, Patternmakers' League, A. F. of L.

NEW LONDON, Conn.—The rates of pay proposed by President Roosevelt should be repulsive to all those interested in preserving American standards of living. By his personal recommendations in the cigarette, automobile, and now the public works program the President has clearly demonstrated his desire to destroy rather than improve the conditions of the forgotten man.

A Pauper Wage

By James D. Graham
President, Montana Federation of Labor

HELENA, Montana.—The President is attempting to create a pauper wage. His policy is a contradiction of his previous advocacy that the workers on PWA projects should receive a wage sufficient to enable them to maintain a standard of living in decency and comfort. There will be a great boom in strikes.

Labor Must Struggle

By Abraham Miller
Secretary-Treasurer, N. Y. Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

Organized workers will have to strengthen and extend their ranks in order to protect the conditions they have won after many years of desperate struggle. These monthly "relief" wages are bound further to reduce the so-called American standard of living. With millions of American workers on coolie-wages labor's struggle becomes difficult and doubly necessary.

A Shocking About-Face

By Samuel E. Beardsley
General Secretary-Treasurer, International Jewelry Workers' Union

The wages scale for unskilled, skilled and technical workers under the \$4,000,000,000 Public Works Program as announced by the President is one of the hardest blows received by labor since the depression. It is a complete about-face of previous policies announced by the President; i. e., to increase the purchasing power of the workers throughout the country.

This wage scale will defeat every attempt now being made to establish decent minimum wages in the various industries and will be an encouragement to all employers to break down standards everywhere. The Southern wage scale of \$19 per month is one of the most outrageous wage standards ever proposed. No family can live decently under the amounts proposed. In my opinion, the carrying out of this proposed wage scale will bring some of the bitterest labor struggles the country has seen up to date.

Labor Must Speak!

By Morris C. Feinstein
Secretary, United Hebrew Trades

President Roosevelt's newly prescribed wagescales for his four billion relief program will tend to undermine the existing living standards of workers in private industries.

From the status of relief workers they will be reduced to a class of beggars.

Starvation wages are in contradiction to the so much acclaimed "increase of purchasing power," a principle which the President so professedly advocates. This condition will surely not help recovery.

Labor must strongly express itself against what appears to be an attempt to destroy the hard-earned working conditions created for American labor by its unions.

President's Pauper Wage Scale Pleases Organized Bosses of U.S.; But Workers Must Fight It Hard

By Louis Waldman
New York State Chairman, Socialist Party

THE relief wage scale is not only disgracefully low for the unemployed who are to be given jobs on the new government works program, but it is also a threat to the entire wage structure of the country. It is a direct attack upon decent standards of living.

Only one member in a family can hold a relief job. The wages prescribed by the President are supposed to be sufficient to support a whole family. The highest wage for a skilled worker in the North would be \$19.83 a week and for an unskilled worker \$12.88 a week; and the highest wage for professional men would be \$94 a month.

This wage scale is a triumph for the National Association of Manufacturers, and a blow to labor.

The program adopted by the National Association of Manufacturers at its national conference in December, 1934, calls for the following:

"Wage rates for work performed on work relief should be lower than current wage rates in private employment and must never be sufficient to entice workers from private employment."

The President responded to the call of the National Association of Manufacturers and adopted its program. His relief wage scale is from 40 to 50% lower than the wages paid in private industry for similar work, and they were pitifully low.

For years states have sought to build up wage standards on public works by establishing prevailing rate of wage statutes. The wage scale fixed by the President is a frontal attack on such standards. Moreover, it is a direct violation of the Work Relief Act. Though under Section 7 of that Act, the

President is given power to fix "such rates of pay for all persons engaged upon any project financed in whole or in part, through loans or otherwise, by funds appropriated by this joint resolution," the law specifically enjoins upon the President not to fix a wage scale that would "affect adversely or otherwise tend to decrease the going rate of wages paid for work of a similar nature."

But the President did the very opposite. The wage scale fixed by him would very definitely "affect adversely" the going rates of wages paid for work of a similar nature.

The wage scale as fixed by the President is illegal under the very joint resolution which appropriated the \$4,000,000,000 for work relief. That scale would also be illegal in the State of New York where under Section 220 of the Labor Law the prevailing rate of wages must be paid to workers on all contracts "to which the state or municipal corporation or commission appointed, pursuant to law, is a party and may involve the employment of laborers, workmen and mechanics."

In states and municipalities having similar laws, the President's wage scale could not and should not apply even though the work done by the state or any of its subdivisions is financed in whole or in part by funds provided for in the Work Relief Act.

Incidentally, the Attorney General has recently held that the prevailing rate law in New York is applicable to projects under the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration.

The stamp of approval of the government of a wage scale of \$19 a month in the South and \$94 a month to professional men in the North will be a signal to private business to depress wages and to degrade the American standards of living. It will have the direct tendency of further lowering the mass purchasing power of the American people.

It will have a disastrous effect upon recovery and will deepen the contrast between tragic poverty and luxuriant riches. Labor should and must demand the immediate revision of the relief wage scale or else the enactment by Congress of a law requiring all work relief to comply with the rate of wages prevailing in every community.

COMPANY UNION OF UTILITIES HIT

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working conditions. However, in spite of these honest and sincere efforts, the plan has been a failure and no substantial improvements have been secured."

Mannix, in his letter, urged the employees to vote in favor of discontinuing the company union and gave as his reason:

"I have come to the conclusion, after bitter experience with the Employees' Representation Plan, that only through an organization completely independent of the management, can genuine collective bargaining be secured. With this in mind, I have joined Queens Local 103, of the Brotherhood of Utility Employees of America and sincerely urge you to do likewise."

Amplifying his letter to his fellow employees bolting the company union, Mannix said:

"Your Employee Representation Plan, or company union, is a sham and a smoke screen. It is based upon hypocrisy and is dominated and controlled by the management. In spite of the management's expressed wishes, I refuse to lie about the merits of company unionism. My experiences for the past year tell me one thing, and that is that the Employees' Representation Plan is mislabeled. It should be called the Company's Representation Plan."

Behind the Scenes in Washington



By Benjamin Meiman

Our Washington Correspondent

SORRY these lines have to be written before the President delivers his veto message to Congress. But newspapers have their "deadlines" and cannot wait even for a President. Hence just a few risky predictions on the eve of the highly dramatic veto.

Never before has a President delivered a veto message in person. Mr. Roosevelt is going further than any President has ever gone in pressing a veto, for two good reasons:

1) The sincerity of the President has been questioned, and 2) The great importance attached to this particular bill.

For a week the underground gossip in Washington has been that, in substance, Mr. Roosevelt had tipped off some of his intimates that he expected to veto the bonus bill and had winked when he said it, as if to say that it would be just dandy if Congress should override him. Those who peddle the story explain that this would enable the President to make himself solid with conservative business interests by a veto, and at the same time avoid wrath of the veterans by letting them have their bonus.

Such talk would seem to cast a slur upon the presidential honor. But it was not so intended; in fact, the story came from sources friendly to Mr. Roosevelt. They encouraged the idea as a clever solution. None of those who encouraged this story would accuse Mr. Roosevelt of doing a dishonest thing. It is merely that a clever idea has a hypnotic appeal to a second-rate politician. First-rate politicians know that clever moves are full of traps.

President Roosevelt, anxious to show that he was not playing a game of political double-cross, is going out of his way to prove sincerity in his opposition to the bonus bill. In emphatic language Mr. Roosevelt told the newspaper correspondents last Friday that in his veto he will be as strong as he can possibly be. He said that with all his heart he hoped his veto would be sustained. Then he went still further and said he would go to Congress and read his veto. A gasp of surprise swept over the usually callous newspaper corps.

Some may consider this a somewhat theatrical performance, but it is excusable in view of the gossip, and also the importance

of the bill. The bonus for the soldiers of the World War has already cost an average of \$1,040,000 a day since the day the war ended 17 years ago.

America is now spending seven times as much every year on its veterans who fought 18 months, as England spends on its veterans who battled for four years and three months, nine times as much as Germany, and five and one-half times as much as France.

The present agitation is for immediate cash payment of a bonus that does not become due until 1945 and is based on the idea that the issuance of \$2,200,000 in greenbacks would do the country a lot of good, stimulating business and giving people more cash in hand. Bankers, of course, agree that although the possible credit stimulus would be terrific, the immediate effect would be to cram the bank tills with surplus currency, which would be shipped back to the government in a few months, with little benefit achieved. The matter of inflationary psychology, it developed last week, must also be considered, as government bonds took a small jump upward with the bonus talk.

Roosevelt's dramatization of the veto scared the Patmanites stiff. While they still claim enough votes to override the President's veto, they are really getting ready for a milder bonus bill.

The fact is that both sides are willing to compromise, which means neither is sure of an absolute victory.

Accepting the veto as inevitable, Senator Joseph T. Robinson, Democratic leader, forecast a safe sustaining vote, then let drop the first authoritative hint of bonus legislation of a milder tone once the Patman bill is out of the way.

"If it were possible, I would like to see some legislation worked out and passed," he said. "I would be willing to contribute to that end."

Accompanying this development, Senator Bennett Champ Clark (Democrat, Missouri) announced that he is revising his bonus compromise plan, giving the President a choice of three methods of bonus payment—through a bond issue, through issuance of currency, or from a works fund allotment. As modified by Clark, the President would be permitted to use all three of the plans if necessary.

Anti-Labor Forces Caught Napping

THE Senate's adoption of the Wagner Industrial Disputes Bill was a great surprise to the anti-labor forces.

As most insiders knew, that bill was not supposed to be passed; at least, not so soon. All manufacturing lobbyists knew it occupied a place on the Senate calendar behind the NRA bill. This was satisfactory to them. The NRA bill was supposed to take up three weeks of the Senate's time. By then the banking bill would be ready for consideration, as well as the holding company bill and the social security legislation. This would have delayed the Wagner bill indefinitely.

But the Senate dizzily passed the NRA bill in three minutes instead of three weeks. It had nothing to do except consider the Wagner bill. And once it was considered, it could not be stopped. While there was much undercover opposition, only 12 Senators dared stand against such a politically advisable piece of legislation on the final roll call. Thus the opposition was caught flatfooted.

As a result of the Senate's action, prospects of the Wagner bill are reversed. The underlying situation in the House is the same as in the Senate. If the bill gets to vote it will go through with a whoop. Furthermore, it occupies such a preferred status as a result of premature senatorial action that the opposition probably cannot keep it from a vote. Mr. Roosevelt will sign it.

The Ox Knoweth Its Master

THE money for work-relief given out by the Roosevelt Administration is beginning to have its effect on the attitude of the so-called progressives. \$100,000,000 was allotted last week to Wisconsin for work-relief. Soon after that Governor Phil LaFollette declared against a national third party, plainly indicating that the LaFollettes are prepared to support Roosevelt next year. Upton Sinclair is cooling conditionally, in effect offering his California Democratic organization to the Administration if Mr. Roosevelt will endorse EPIC's production-for-use plan. Mayor LaGuardia, addressing LaFollette followers, heaves a brick at Huey Long's "share-the-wealth" program and talks about platforms rather than personalities. He's tied in close with the Administration on relief now and is not disposed to bite the hand that offers work to New York's relief rolls. The prospect of enlisting the liberals or progressives in a third party movement for the next presidential campaign is not very promising.

It looks as though the Socialists will have to stick to their guns for a long time.

President Has Forgotten His Campaign Pledges

By Luigi Antonini
First Vice-President, I.L.G.W.U.

I am deeply disappointed with the wage scale announcement by President Roosevelt for work relief projects. It is simply outrageous, and I think Labor must immediately mobilize all its forces to compel Federal Relief Administrator Hopkins to modify the standard fixed by the President.

As one who has supported in the past the labor policy of the Administration, I do not hesitate to state today, that President Roosevelt seems to have forgotten all his campaign promises in the matter of wages. What has happened to his theory of increased purchasing power of the workers as a prerequisite for the economic recovery of the nation?

Labor still has at its command powerful weapons to protect its rights. The task is to get ready immediately to defeat all attempts against the living wage scale on the part of powerful interests, who now have, apparently, won the President to their side.

400,000 MINERS SET FOR STRIKE

(Continued from Page One)

strike. In this connection it is pointed out that the price structure of the soft coal code has broken down and a large section of the industry has no faith in its possible revival or possibility of adequate enforcement.

Most of the operators favor the Guffey bill and are scheduled to meet here on Monday to propose amendments designed to strengthen the measure.

The situation recalls the circumstances which preceded passage by Congress in 1917 of the Adamson Eight-Hour Day law for the railroads. The threat of a nationwide railroad strike at that time brought about adoption of the law in time to avert the walkout.

The question now asked here with respect to the coal crisis is: "Will history repeat itself?"

Seger Farewell to Be Held June 3

In appreciation of the splendid work done in this country by Gerhart Seger in combating fascism a farewell banquet in his honor will be held on June 3, prior to his sailing for Europe the following day. Seger, former Reichstag deputy, escaped from a Nazi concentration camp, following which his wife and 20-months-old baby were likewise incarcerated as hostages but were later released owing to the storm of foreign protests in their behalf. The banquet is to be held at Rosoff's Restaurant, 147 West 43rd Street, June 3rd, at 7 p.m. (Price, \$1.75 per plate.)

SCALE OF "RELIEF" WAGES

The schedule of monthly wages by regions and types of work specified in the executive order which President Roosevelt issued is as follows:

COUNTIES IN WHICH THE 1930 POPULATION OF THE LARGEST MUNICIPALITY WAS:

Region	Unskilled Work				
	Over 100,000	50,000 to 100,000	25,000 to 50,000	5,000 to 25,000	Under 5,000
I	\$55	\$52	\$48	\$44	\$40
II	45	42	40	35	32
III	35	33	29	24	21
IV	30	27	25	22	19
Intermediate Work					
	I	II	III	IV	
I	65	60	55	50	45
II	58	54	50	44	38
III	52	48	43	36	30
IV	49	43	38	32	27
Skilled Work					
	I	II	III	IV	
I	85	75	70	63	55
II	72	66	60	52	44
III	68	62	56	48	38
IV	68	58	50	42	35
Professional and Technical Work					
	I	II	III	IV	
I	94	83	77	69	61
II	79	73	66	57	48
III	75	68	62	53	42
IV	75	64	55	46	39

Regions include the following States:

- I—Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Wisconsin, Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming.
- II—Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, West Virginia.
- III—Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas, Virginia.
- IV—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee.

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Select Your Own Route or Any Below:

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2. London, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Helsinki, Warsaw, Vienna, Zurich and Paris.
3. Madeira, Gibraltar, Malaga, Monte Carlo, Genoa, Venice, Naples, Rome, Beyruth, Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv, Istanbul, Odessa and other Soviet Cities, Warsaw, Vienna, Zurich and Paris.

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Mighty Tide of Protest Rises Against Pauper Wages

Pacific Coast Lumber Strike Severe Blow to Company Union

By Paul F. Smith

Portland, Ore.

THE lumber strike is a severe blow to the infamous 4-L, the company union organized in war times to put down the I.W.W., who were responsible for getting rid of the "blanket stiff," and establishing clean camps for the timber workers.

The 4-L kept the workers in submission for several years. This organization was never any good for the men, and never favorably considered by them, although they were forced to join to hold their jobs.

The Sawmill and Timber Workers' Union has grown rapidly, and at the Northwest Council held in Longview recently over 350 mills were represented, with more signed up since.

All mills have been paying a minimum of 45c per hour, and the strike calls for 75c minimum, 30-hour week. With the cost of living as high as it is, and every indication of going higher, a demand of a dollar an hour would not be unreasonable. Workers have not been working continuously, and having no opportunity to save anything, they have been in dire necessity during layoffs and short work weeks.

The Sawmill and Timber Workers' Union, Local 2532, Portland, has about 1,200 members. Monday, May 6th, was the deadline set for the employers to meet the demands of the union. Friday, May 3rd, the Eastern-Western sawmill went on strike on account of the management having police protection. At 7:55 A. M. every man walked out and proceeded to picket the plant. Mr. Colter, a stockholder, said he anticipated trouble and asked for police protection.

Pickets and Banners

The Secretary, Frank Johnson, said: "Mr. Colter, you brought on the trouble yourself. You should have waited till trouble started before you called for the police." Mr. Ranson, another stockholder, said that the police protection hadn't been requested, according to the daily press, so it seems that the stockholders are passing the buck. Clark-Wilson, at Linnton, was shut down already, on account of the logging camp being out on strike for a week or more. The following Monday, May 6th, all the rest went out. That morning, the Milt-nomah Box was steamed up, with thick black smoke pouring out of the smoke stacks. About eight uniformed police were there, and nobody went to work. The boys organized a picket line right away, and started out with strike banners. At the Jones mill, it is reported, officials of the mill told the men Friday that they could join the A. F. of L. union. On Monday there was no one at work but the watchman, and the fires had been pulled.

The boys went to picketing with two banners, and not satisfied with them, they made two more out of some old veneer they found lying about. The Portland Lumber Company has always paid 5c an hour more than the other mills, and most of the men have no complaint about the management, but they are on strike also. Inman-Poulsen is out.

Other Workers Out

The Southeast Portland Lumber Company, which had its Blue Eagle taken away some time ago on account of firing two men for belonging to the union, has been running mostly with strikebreakers from the waterfront strike of last summer. The management told the men that they wouldn't run Monday, but to come back Tuesday, thinking they could outwit the union. But the union, not to be outdone, went out there 200 strong, and persuaded the engineers and fireman to leave.

Practically every mill struck 100%, not including the bosses and office help, of course. It is difficult to get an accurate, detailed report, as things are moving too rapidly. The strike may be settled by the time this report reaches you. The bosses can't get any information about what is going on, because all the men are 100% union, and they didn't have their stoolpigeons planted. The capitalist press wails loudly about time lost through the strike, and, as usual, is much concerned about the "general public," but such concern is wasted, as the "general public" is in support of the men, just as they were in the longshoremen's strike of last summer.

The Communists howled for "rank and file" committees. It is rather ridiculous, considering the fact that since the union is a new organization, they are all rank and file officers, and committees. I don't believe more than 1% of them ever held union office before.

The Furniture Workers' Union has been building up membership rapidly, and gave their bosses till May 10 to accept their demands. The Molders are also threatening to strike, and are busy organizing the steel workers.

At St. Helens, beet planters, hired for 20 cents an hour, eight

hours a day, and fifteen cents a day for transportation to and from the job, went on strike. They went out for fifty cents an hour, six-hour day, and free transportation.

Workers and farmers in rural districts of Oregon have been cut off from relief, with the excuse that they can get enough seasonal work to live on. General Martin, Governor of Oregon, who is trying to force a military dictatorship on the population, has issued orders that anyone not accepting work in the berry fields will be refused further relief, and is setting up a system to provide for such discrimination.

Workers who have tried to make a living in the berry fields before have come back with less than they started out. There are such large numbers of pickers that there is not enough to keep them all working all day, and many days, when there are no orders on hand for berries, they do not work at all. The rate is so low that a fast picker can only make 50 or 60 cents a day, working hard. And with the governor threatening to put his forced labor decree into effect there is no hope that conditions will be any better this summer.

A "Relief" Machine

On this account the National Economic Welfare Federation, Inc., affiliated with the Workers' Alliance of America, whose Vice-President, W. K. Patrick, is President of the N.E.W.F., has been growing faster than the Central Office in Portland can keep up with it. There are about fifty locals now in seven counties, and more requests coming in constantly for information regarding organizing. The great discontent of the people with existing conditions, and the realization that there is no hope of bettering themselves under the present system, makes them seek for something more hopeful, looking towards the future. The immediate concern of the N.E.W.F. is in waging a ceaseless fight against the vicious belly-robbering set-up known as the State Emergency Relief Administration, a political machine of incompetent parasites. Its bigger concern, however, is in establishing a non-profit system of production and distribution for the workers, in which there will be neither depressions or parasites.

The N.E.W.F. has always supported strikes, and maintains a policy of disciplining members hiring out as scabs. It is partly due to the refusal of the majority of organized unemployed to serve as strikebreakers that strikes have been successful. The beet strike at St. Helens has been supported by the N.E.W.F., supplying pickets, and food for the picket line, also in gaining support of the people of St. Helens.

Keeping the Red Flag Flying in Enslaved Vienna

DESPITE the terror of the clerico-fascists who rule Austria by virtue of support of Mussolini's bayonets, and despite the feverish activities of the Hitlerites, the magnificent Socialist spirit of the masses refuses to be crushed.

When the big guns of the little assassin Dollfus crushed the Socialist government of Vienna the new rulers directed their first attention to the great municipal apartment houses that stand as a glorious monument to the long Socialist rule of that city. That one of the finest of the houses was named Matteotti in honor of the great Italian Socialist murdered by Mussolini in 1924 enraged the fascists, a constant reminder of the bloody nature of the great "friend" the fascist rulers of Austria had found across the Brenner Pass. Mussolini ordered that the name of Matteotti be changed at once, and today it is officially known as Giordanihof.

But to the dwellers the name of Matteotti, the hero who gave his life in the battle against Italian fascism, is and will remain sacred. And so despite the fact that for over a year a dozen policemen stand guard day and night over the building at least a dozen times it has disappeared under their collective noses, removed by the dwellers in the house.

And on every front the vast building has been painted a bright red, with the name Matteotti in huge letters painted in its sides.

The heart of Vienna remains red!

Another Nazi Murder

BERLIN. — The well-known Social Democrat and leader of the Reichsbanner Republican organization, Erich West of Lehnitz, has been found dead with a bullet in his head. West, who had been a prisoner in the concentration camp Oranienburg, was murdered by a youngster, Horst Seyring, son of the local Nazi leader and himself a member of the Hitler Youth.

STAND UP AND FIGHT!



Only by resolute and united action can workers defeat the attempt to drive them down to a slave level

Roosevelt's Bombshell Wage-Scale Would Drive American Standard Of Living Down to Pauper Level

By William M. Feigenbaum

WITH the shattering detonation of an exploding bombshell the President threw the whole world of labor into an uproar with the publication of wage schedules under the great work-relief plans that are such a vital part of the Administration recovery program.

The President has four billion dollars to spend; the unkind have been saying that Congress voted him a four billion dollar reelection campaign fund, but it may be that after the meaning of his wage proclamation has soaked in and permeated the minds of the workers to be re-employed it will not serve precisely that purpose.

That four billion dollars is to create work; the President has estimated that it will put over three million men back to work, while the reemployment of those millions and the billions in wages they are to receive will create new demands for goods, will send new blood streams coursing through industry, will quicken all forms of industrial activity and thus directly or indirectly create employment for three or four million more. And with six to seven million back to work the back of the army of the unemployed will have been broken, and the depression will be over.

That, at least, was the plan, and that is what the President hopes for. That there are serious difficulties in the way even the ever-optimistic President will admit. For example, even if three million men are actually reemployed in the work relief program the government cannot guarantee that they will all die by the end of the fiscal year. They will have to find something to do at the end of the year, and not even Mr. Roosevelt can possibly believe that industry will be so stimulated and quickened by the reemployment of three million men for a single year that at the end of that year private industry will have places for all of them.

An Annual Series

And that leads to the inevitable conclusion that the four billion work-relief fund must of necessity be the first of an annual series of such appropriations. In his presidential campaign Mr. Roosevelt spoke of establishing "self-liquidating" work for jobless men, but no one contends that boon-doggling such as painting the garbage cans in our public parks in gay colored frescoes is self-liquidating in the sense that subway-building is, or the establishment of projects like the T.V.A. The freshly boon-doggled garbage cans add a touch of springtime and color and gaiety to the landscape, they add to our joie de vivre, perhaps, but they do not pay for themselves. Nor does a large part of the work to be created promise to pay for itself, be it ever so useful or artistic.

And so the projects will have to continue after the close of the year; and the boon-doggling will go merrily on, and government will tend more and more to take over the responsibility for the lives of millions of our fellow-citizens. That may be quite all right; Socialists cannot conscientiously crit-

icise the principle of the substitution of government for private capitalist profit-taking employers; but our government is in the hands, not of the working class organized in a Social Democratic party but of Franklin D. Roosevelt and his colleagues of the Democratic party, and they believe in capitalism.

It is interesting to note that they have launched upon a course that leads inevitably to larger and larger participation of the government as such in the role of rival to private business. The government is finding that out in the suit that has been filed against T.V.A., seeking to restrain a public body from selling electric current in competition with private utility interests.

And so that is that; we are in for a large and growing participation of the government in the role of employer.

But what kind of employer?

Subsistence or Prevailing

When the big work-relief appropriation was being debated in Congress it was learned that the President wanted to be authorized to pay the millions of workers to be reemployed at subsistence wages; there was a terrific battle to get that changed to prevailing wages and for a time it seemed that the battle had been won. But with the publication of the President's wage scales, ranging from \$19 to \$94 a month, the battle is on again.

There is no need to become hysterical about the new wage scale. There is no need to denounce the President wildly, but there is need to sit down calmly and understand what is going on; and a great deal of what is going on is a matter of simple arithmetic.

There are over ten million men out of work. . . . And it appears that that unemployment is pretty nearly permanent, that our technological advance simply has made it impossible to employ them at the wages and hours and working conditions that were once common in our industries. In our private industry, then, we seem all set for a standing army of jobless of ten millions.

Now, ten millions is a lot of men, and most of them have dependents. Let us not assign them the beggarly \$20 a week upon which they might make ends meet under conditions of degrading poverty; let us assume that no man should get less than \$40 a week in order to have a decent standard of living, clothe his children, have something for amusements and culture, educate his sons and daughters, and lay something aside for illness and old age. That is by no means a scandalously low standard. Rather, it is a scandalously low standard, prices and the productivity of labor being what they are.

Now, ten million men are earning \$40 a week would be getting four hundred million dollars a week, or twenty billion eight hundred million dollars a year, which is a whale of a lot of money. Not

even statesmen of the New Deal era can contemplate such sums without an acute attack of heart failure. And naturally, no nation ever dreams of raising such colossal sums except for the noble purpose of blowing millions of human beings into mangled and bloody pulp.

There had to be some stop somewhere. We realized that we can no longer continue to appropriate hundreds of millions just for food tickets and relief checks; not only that method not getting us anywhere very fast but it was tending to pauperize millions of decent citizens, to destroy their ambition and self-respect, to kill their initiative, to give them an incentive to sit back upon their posteriors and do nothing while being paid for doing same.

Hence the President's sound plan of work relief—although it is a pity that the word relief had to get into it at all; as well call school teachers boon-doggers, street cleaners pensioners and sandhogs working in cassions under fearful air pressure to build the foundations for public libraries mere recipients of charity.

I am not among those who believe the President is consciously driving us toward fascism or an industrial tyranny. I believe he genuinely means to be generous and to see all men and women content and happy. And he has sense enough to know that even at the unthinkable forty dollars a week comfort and happiness are utterly impossible.

In his own life he knows that his boyhood and youth were happy, his education assured and the blows of dreadful misfortune softened by the fact that there was available for him far more than the amount that would be his share if there were even twenty billion a year for ten million people.

But I do believe the President has been caught in a trap that he cannot escape. Four billion dollars is a lot of dollars, but then ten million people multiplied by fifty-two weeks, each year multiplied by what it costs to buy food and pay rent and buy clothes and go to the movies and all the other necessities of life adds up to ever so much more money.

Then there is another consideration. There are plenty of people who live under conditions considerably better than the \$20 a week, or even the \$40 a week that cannot bring comfort and decency and contentment. But those standards have been won by hard work, by terrific struggle, by trade union organization, by battles on the picket line and in the legislative halls.

Decent Living Standards

Those millions who have won something by their own united efforts serve as a lift to buoy up the general standard of living. They serve as an inspiration, they show how it can be done. But the moment three or four million men are employed at considerably lower than even a subsistence, let alone the prevailing standard of living a blow is struck at the standard

Thousands Storm the Garden To Protest Roosevelt Order

(Continued from Page One)

President William Green of the A. F. of L., Senator Wagner, sponsor of the Labor Disputes Bill; John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers; Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Mayor LaGuardia; David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; and Max Zaritsky, President of the Cap and Millinery Department, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, were the speakers introduced by Joseph P. Ryan, President of the Central Trades and Labor Council.

Reactionaries Challenged

The speakers, demanding that NRA be extended for two years, accused the reactionaries, who are now charging that NRA failed to accomplish its purposes, of being responsible for what deficiencies there may have existed in its enforcement. They reaffirmed their belief that measures for the regulation of industry were indispensable, and that the National Industrial Recovery Act constituted the basis for such regulation. It was pointed out that the Communists and the Chambers of Commerce had achieved a united front in opposing the measure and its extension.

"They have done their utmost to defeat the recovery program by knifing it at every stage of the game, and now they declare that it has not worked," was the substance of the speeches. "They have used the courts, injunctions, interminable delays, and persistent violation of the plain intent of the law to prevent the organization of the workers and the restoration of the purchasing power of the masses, and now they have the effrontery to say that the law has not worked. If equality before the law was a fact to the extent that it is a theory, these industrialists would be behind prison bars. Individuals who have committed private breaches of the peace are jailed, while these industrialists have flagrantly violated the law, bringing distress and suffering to millions, with impunity."

Enactment of the Disputes Bill without an extension of the NRA would be ineffective, the speakers declared, and demanded that these two measures, together with the 30-hour work-week, be adopted as component parts of a legislative program that must be put into effect before the present session of Congress comes to an end. Resolutions embodying these sentiments were unanimously endorsed by the assemblage.

Similar meetings have been organized under the auspices of the needle trades international unions and other A. F. of L. organizations in St. Louis, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, Boston and several other large cities, to take place within the next few days, President Dubinsky announced.

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AIRPLANES NOW USED TO SMASH STRIKE

By Sidney Yellen

CLEVELAND, O.—For the first time in Cleveland labor history an airplane was used to break a siege of pickets at the plant of the Industrial Rayon Corp. where the United Textile Workers' Union called a strike Monday morning. A plane from the Cleveland Air Port, with special permission from the Federal government to fly low, one hundred feet above ground, dropped food for the few imprisoned scabs and an army of toughs hired for the purpose of breaking the strike.

The firm manufactures rayon silk and for the twenty years of its operation, it grew from a small insignificant shop to a vast corporation which employs now about 1200 workers, about 80 per cent women. The plant, which extends to the length of two blocks, is the largest in the country, famous as a slave-driving institution, similar to the cotton industry in the South. Ownership of the plant is a one-family affair and its vast fortune was made from paying low wages and from the stretch-out system.

Two years ago, two members of the Socialist Party started a drive to unionize the plant and after many months of persistent labor they succeeded. The management immediately launched a company union and has done everything possible to forestall the activities of the two tireless comrades.

William Kasson, now the district organizer for the United Textile Workers' Union, is in charge of the strike. The union claims a membership of more than 50 per cent of the workers. It is demanding recognition, an increase of 10 per cent in wages, no lay-off before everyone works not more than 32 hours a week.

A picket line of one thousand was the answer of the Cleveland Federation of Labor to the firm's contention that the strikers won't get the support of organized labor in Cleveland.

Socialist International Indicts Hitler's War-Making Regime

(Continued from Page One)
ability of acceding to them should remain open to Germany if she is not ready to sign them when the treaties are concluded."

The Danubian Problem

Welcoming "every attempt to promote the political and economic cooperation of the peoples in the Danubian basin," the International demanded that "the projected Danubian Pact should not upon the pretext of guaranteeing Austrian independence place the fascist government of Austria, and therefore Italian domination over Austria, under the protection of the Powers."

"On the pretext of prohibiting foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Austria it should not organize that intervention by putting the Governments under an obligation to assist Austrian fascism against the Austrian people," the International declared.

"On the pretext of resisting the attack of Hitlerism upon Austria it should not support the despotic regime in Austria. This regime is hated by the overwhelming majority of the Austrian people, and is driving the masses of the people to Hitlerism by constantly increasing their hatred and embitterment."

"On the pretext of organizing peace in Central Europe it should not facilitate the creation of armies at the service of aggressive Magyar revisionism, or the restoration of the Hapsburgs, and so make war in Central Europe inevitable."

"We recognize the claim of the Hungarian and Austrian peoples, as of all other peoples, to security; but we oppose the arming of Magyar semi-fascism, which threatens to an increasing extent to become an ally of Hitlerite Ger-

many, and of 'Austrian fascism,' which is a vassal of Italian fascism."

Disarmament Essential

The International demanded that "the world enter courageously upon the path of general disarmament" as essential to genuine security and to this end called for the immediate reconvening of the international disarmament conference, the conclusion of a convention for the reduction and supervision of armaments, internationalization of civil aviation, and drastic international control of the manufacture of and trade in arms.

"This convention should be drafted with the cooperation of Germany if she decides to return to Geneva," the International declared. "It should be submitted to her for signature even if she persists in her present isolation. The peoples united for the defense of peace should show by some definite act their desire for a genuine understanding. If in spite of this desire it should still be impossible to conclude a convention for supervised disarmament, then the full responsibility for the failure should be publicly established."

Convinced that economic war which capitalist countries wage against each other "not only intensifies the world economic crisis and increases unemployment, but also increases the risks of war as it has facilitated the fascist political offensive in many countries," the International demanded "economic as well as military disarmament, and the restoration of a freer, more abundant and more equal exchange of goods and services in the world market."

Socialism as Road to Peace

"While declaring the necessity for a collective organization of

security we call upon the workers in all countries to watch carefully that this is not abused for imperialist purposes or vitiated by private understandings," the International concluded.

"Nationalist propaganda must be prevented at all costs from degrading the struggle against fascism into a struggle against the German people. It is necessary at all costs to prevent certain governments from exacting payment for their adherence to the Collective Peace System by the complacency of other governments in regard to their imperialist plans. This danger has already made itself felt in the attitude of the Great Powers, which by their silence cover up the sinister plans of Italian fascism."

"It is necessary at all costs to prevent the capitalists of Western Europe from breaking off economic and political cooperation with the U.S.S.R., out of consideration for vested interests, although they know that this cooperation is indispensable for the maintenance of peace."

"It is necessary at all costs to prevent the danger of war from being used by capitalism as a pretext to involve the Labor and Socialist Parties in a party truce, and to divert them from their special task of emancipating the people."

"The working class, in possession of power, is alone capable of giving to the cooperation between States a genuine character and of freeing it from the abuses of capitalism and imperialism. We support the Governments in their efforts to prevent war. But at the same time we announce to the workers of the world that peace and liberty cannot be permanently guaranteed without the victory of Socialism."

Debs' Pilgrimage on June 16th Commemorates Canton Speech

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—Seven-teen years ago, on June 16th, 1918, Eugene V. Debs spoke at a rally in Nimsilla Park, Canton, in connection with the Ohio State Convention of the Socialist Party. Government agents took down that speech in short-hand and shortly thereafter the great Socialist spokesman was arrested, indicted, tried, convicted and sent to jail for "obstructing the draft."

On June 16th, 1935, Socialists from many cities and towns will make a pilgrimage to Canton, and at Nimsilla Park a memorial meeting will be held at which the comrades will re-dedicate themselves to the work the unforgettable Debs was doing when he was struck down by the forces of the law.

A state Socialist picnic will be held in connection with the pilgrimage, and the men and women who attend will be called upon to acquaint themselves with the ideals of Socialism and liberty to which Debs gave his life.

The Labor Week

(Continued from Page One)

do not yet realize just how deeply that measure will affect their everyday relations and their methods. It will change the whole picture.

There are forecasts already that the measure will be taken post haste to the Supreme Court for a test.

There's a popular song about "once too often."

I wonder if the dignified members of the Supreme Court have heard that song.

Today a bill was introduced in Congress to provide that only by unanimous decision can the Supreme Court declare a law unconstitutional.

There is more thinking being done today than ever before about methods that can be used to stop five-to-four decisions from killing laws enacted by Congress—to stop any decisions from doing it, for that matter.

Today, of course, Washington is decidedly bonus-conscious. The President's veto was quickly brushed aside by the House. The Senate doesn't yet know when it will vote. From those who ought to know their facts I am informed that the President really wants a compromise. Whether he will get it, not the best of them can foretell. But the best of them do believe the veto message will be sustained in the Senate, probably by the slimmest of margins.

Labor watched with sympathy the work of the Industry and Business Committee for NRA Extension, led by Ward Cheney, silk manufacturer. This committee met, fully fifteen hundred strong in Constitution Hall, to demand a full two-year extension of NRA. Mostly, these men were small business men, merchants, manufacturers, many of whom were being strangled two years ago by the implacable forces of depression. Their payrolls and the volume of both jobs and wages have grown under NRA and they have come to feel that in some measure life is more nearly secure.

The conference adjourned and went to the House and Senate of- fice buildings in a racing fleet of taxicabs. It was unfortunate for them that this was bonus veto day, but they did as brave a job as they could. In the afternoon they adopted strong resolutions for NRA continuation. It is a note of interest, perhaps, that radio station WEVD broadcast a half hour of the proceedings. No other station covered the event.

Silk Code Administrator Vincent is hearing both sides on what to do about the silk and rayon industry. The big question in the hearing is what to do about rayon. There is some open rebellion among employers. With rayon under both silk and cotton codes, there has been chaos, both sides contend. The union contends that rayon should be put under the silk code, with a 30-hour week. The union also wants a re-defining of occupational rates of pay and enforcement thereof, with effective representation on the Code Authority.

LECTURE CALENDAR

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

SUNDAY, MAY 26

Brooklyn
August Claessens—"Social Attitudes Toward War and Peace." Midwood Branch, 1719 Ave. P.

MONDAY, MAY 27

Manhattan
G. August Gerber—"Functions of the Socialists in Trade Unions." Chelsea Branch, WEVD, Hotel Claridge.

TUESDAY, MAY 28

Manhattan
Herbert M. Merrill—"Capacity of the U. S. to Produce." Yorkville Branch, 211 East 84th Street.

Brooklyn
Frank Palmer—"Topic to be announced. 10th A. D., 6618 Bay Parkway."

Charles Solomon Calls for End of Capitalism at Anti-War Parade

By Eli A. Kahn

LED by a colorful contingent of Socialists and Socialist youth organizations, New York witnessed the most impressive anti-war parade and demonstration in years last Saturday when more than 20,000 men, women and children with banners and placards held aloft, marched along Fifth Avenue shouting, "No More War," "War Is Hell, To Hell With War."

At the head of the parade, which was formed in Washington Square, marched church leaders representing practically every Protestant denomination. Rabbi Wise and Goldstein represented the Jewish faith, Charles Solomon and Judge Jacob Panken representing the Socialist Party and Harry W. Laidler representing the League for Industrial Democracy. An important figure in the parade was Dr. John Haynes Holmes.

The clergymen, who wore their vestments of red and black, received applause from thousands of bystanders who lined the sidewalks to witness the parade fully

as enthusiastic as that accorded to the veteran Socialist and labor spokesmen.

The parade moved north on Fifth Avenue, then swung east on Twenty-sixth Street and turned into Madison Avenue and marched to Union Square where all the sections assembled to hear addresses by their leaders.

More than eighty organizations took part in the parade. The Socialist Legion marched into the square with their flaming red banners at their head. Among the placards carried were: "Abolish the C.M.T.C. and the R.O.T.C.," "Stop the Pacific Maneuvers," and many others.

"The causes of war are basically economic," declared Charles Solomon, Socialist leader, at the great rally at Union Square. "The economic factors that produce war or tend to produce war are rooted in our social system of competitive capitalism which inexorably breeds that modern imperialism which is the parent of these international frictions which cause war."

"President Wilson, in an address in St. Louis in 1919 declared the World War was a commercial

and industrial war and that the seed of war in modern society was in commercial and industrial rivalry. Eugene Victor Debs went to the federal penitentiary for saying the same thing."

Rabbi Goldstein asked the audience to pledge not to fight in any war that may be declared. "War is a crime and I refuse to be a criminal," he declared.

Dr. Laidler said that war is a grand jolly show where millions of workers are slaughtered for the profits of the capitalist class. "If we must fight, then let us fight to build the cooperative commonwealth," Laidler declared.

Dr. John Haynes Holmes predicted that in the event of another war there would not be enough jails to hold the conscientious objectors. He said that if he were compelled to choose between the uniform and that of a convict, he would take the convict's.

Other speakers who addressed the vast mass meeting were Morris Milgrim, organizer of the Students League for Industrial Democracy and Dr. John Nevins Sayers of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.



A small part of the great throng that cheered Charles Solomon, John Haynes Holmes, Harry W. Laidler and other speakers at the mighty anti-war rally in New York last Saturday.

Laidler's New Book Brings Socialism to Today's Problems

By Charles Solomon

IN this valuable and timely book*, Harry W. Laidler, outstanding Socialist thinker and writer, makes a notable contribution to the literature of social criticism and adds another to his already imposing list of works. The underlying thesis of Dr. Laidler's book is that the outstanding struggle in the world today is that between the upholders of capitalism and the advocates of a socialized society. Dr. Laidler appraises the forces making for a co-operative order.

His book is a fine example of clear thinking, painstaking research and patient accumulation of significant data. It might well be described as a condensed encyclopedia of vital information on contemporary social facts and movements.

The ground covered by Comrade Laidler is indicated by the fact that he inquires, among other things, into the evils afflicting the masses of our people; analyzes current attempts to uphold capitalism through reform and economic planning; surveys the forces within capitalism making for its disintegration and those which are laying the bases of the future Socialist society; considers the drives for social revolution, peaceful and violent; portrays the main outlines of the future cooperative society, depicting some of the problems with which it will be confronted.

Laidler leaves no doubt that the only alternative to what he calls the present drift towards chaos and some modified form of fascist dictatorship is "a truly socialized order in which the burden-bearers of the world for the first time in human history may genuinely begin to live." The Socialist challenge is therefore "the greatest economic and political challenge in the world today."

Planning under capitalism is carefully considered, with the prediction that increasing attempts at such planning are certain to be undertaken. "But national social planning, aiming at full utilization of all for the sole benefit of the

masses," declares Dr. Laidler, "is not to be expected so long as the profit system prevails."

"The New Deal is a far cry from social-economic planning," asserts Dr. Laidler, "planning dedicated to the full utilization



Harry W. Laidler

of our material and human resources with the one aim of advancing human happiness and human welfare. In agriculture and industry, the New Deal has restricted production, raised prices, increased the profits of the farm, lowered mass purchasing power, concentrated greater control of prices and production in the hands of industry, and utterly failed to bring security and plenty to the common people of the United States."

In an impressive chapter entitled "Undermining Capitalism in America," Laidler surveys the forces making for the disintegration of the foundations of the capitalist system, listing as foremost among them the fact of steadily increasing concentration of ownership and control of wealth, and supporting his contentions with an abundance of striking statistical data. It is this concentration which is preparing the way for socialization.

"Our greatest problem," says Dr. Laidler, "is how peacefully and speedily to adapt the social machinery of our civilization to the constantly changing economic structure so that security, abundance, freedom and peace may be the heritage of our children."

This problem is carefully and persuasively considered in two

illuminating chapter—"Will There Be a Revolution?" and "Plans and Tactics of Transition"—which are of especial interest to Socialists. In these chapters, as well as elsewhere in this book, Dr. Laidler makes it unequivocally clear that Socialism without thoroughgoing democracy is unthinkable. He argues that there is a genuine possibility of peaceful social change in this country and insists that "the revolutionary movement should strive with might and main to make this possibility an increasing probability as time goes on."

"As has been brought out," he says, "the conquest of universal suffrage, the rise of labor parties, and the development of great economic and educational organizations of the masses, place in the hands of the workers of today far more potent peaceful weapons than those possessed by any former generation or subject class."

Dr. Laidler emphasizes the difference between Socialists and Communists, pointing out, among other things, that the former, as distinguished from the latter "... are determined to do all that in them lies to secure the transfer of industry from private to public ownership, by means of the ballot, backed by powerful workers' organizations on the economic field. In socializing industry they hope to avert civil war and a period of dictatorship, and to evolve or resolve from a capitalist to a Socialist order through peaceful, orderly and democratic means."

Every effort, Dr. Laidler insists, should be made to avert civil war, which, given modern conditions of warfare, "is likely to be so terribly destructive to everything for which a Socialist order stands." He warns against attempts at universalizing the methods, tactics and experiences of the Russian revolution, insisting upon the vital differences between Russia and such western democracies as Great Britain and the United States.

While not unmindful of the threat of a modified fascism in America, Dr. Laidler insists that fascism is by no means inevitable for this country, and that it can be prevented by an intelligently directed labor solidarity.

"An objective analysis of the forces in this country for and against fascism," writes Dr. Laidler, "must lead us to the conclusion that, many of the forces which favored the development of fascism in Central and Eastern Europe are not operative, at least to the same extent, in the United States."

The book contains an index, an excellent bibliography and a very valuable appendix of "Footnotes to Chapters."

Protest Meeting on H.C. of L.

A protest meeting on the high cost of living under the auspices of the 4th A. D., Manhattan, and the Jewish Downtown Branch and the Women's Committee of the branch will be held Tuesday, May 28, at Clinton Hall, 151 Clinton St., New York. Following speakers will address the meeting: Wm. Karlin, August Claessens, Esther Friedman, Nathan Chanin, Isadore Korn and Morris Mankesheid. S. P. Ulanoff will preside.

Rumble of Protest Rises In Italy as Prices Soar

ROME.—The great promises of Mussolini to the masses a year ago before the workers of Milan have collapsed like a dream. Then the fascist government promised a general reduction of the cost of living in compensation for a governmental decree lopping off ten per cent of the already low wages of the Italian workers.

Now conditions are worse than ever before. Not only has the cost of living not been reduced, but prices have actually risen at an average of 20 per cent.

The failure of fascism along the economic front is visible everywhere. In no instance have the tendencies of rising prices been offset by a corresponding increase of wages. The rise of foodstuff prices and of cheap domestic articles borne by the working masses has been phenomenal. Butter prices have risen 30 per cent, rice 10 per cent, flour 25 per cent, and even the indispensable spaghetti 10 per cent. The rumble of discontent is felt far into the ranks of the black shirt movement, although the iron fist of fascism holds the restless masses in check.

Course in Union Work Completed at Katonah

KATONAH, N. Y.—Thirty-five students and a special faculty ended today the first Training-for-Trade-Union-Service institute, a definite attempt to prepare members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for improved service inside the movement. The student group was predominantly made up of women and included ten nationalities and three Negroes.

The courses given were "Labor Before and After the NRA," by Dr. Joel I. Seidman; "Economics of the Garment Industry," by Lazare Teper, and "Public Speaking and English," by Rebecca Jarvis.

Visiting lecturers included Emil Schlesinger, "Labor Under the Law"; Elias Lieberman, "Picketing and Injunctions"; Julius Hochman, "Strike and Negotiation Tactics"; Isidore Nagler, "Crisis in Cloak Industry"; Charles H. Green, "Compliance Machinery"; Pauline Newman, "The Worker's Health," etc.

This is the first of a series of institutes planned for the summer by the Educational Department of the I.L.G.W.U. The next, at Unity House, May 25-29, will be attended by 100 students.

TOM MOONEY WANTS ONLY FULL PARDON

By S. S. White

(Special to The New Leader)

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal.—Vindication and full pardon, not commutation of sentence, such is the demand of Tom Mooney.

The labor martyr made known his stand in a statement as a result of the vote of the California Assembly, asking Governor Merriam to commute the sentences of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

Mooney terms the effort to free him by commutation "an attempt to block my vindication." He asserts the move is "cowardly" and "contempt of the Supreme Court of the United States."

Governor Merriam made no comment on Mooney's statement. So far the governor has not acted on the commutation resolution. Should he commute the sentence, Mooney would have no choice but to accept freedom, according to legal authorities.

On the other hand, Billings would accept commutation. He has twice applied for a parole.

Mooney's statement was made through his attorney John F. Finerty of Washington, D. C., on the latter's visit to San Quentin to consult his client.

Mooney said "I have always been willing to accept an unconditional pardon as an innocent man. I am not willing to accept a commutation that would stigmatize me as a criminal—a convicted murderer and an ex-convict. I demand of the governor, if he is not willing to pardon me, to permit my case to take its ordinary course through the courts, as indicated in the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court."

Goes on Trial Monday for Slugging Picket

NEW ROCHELLE, N.Y.—Charged with assaulting a Butler store picket in New Rochelle Stephen Troiano, alias Stephen Kosrado, will be tried in City Court Monday, May 27. This is the second instance of company thugs attacking strike pickets in New Rochelle where effective picketing has cut store sales in half, according to Andrew Boyle in charge of activities in Westchester County.

Martin Kync, president of the Grocery Chain Store Employees' Union, A. F. of L., was warm in praise of the assistance received from the Socialist Party, through Leonard Bright, executive secretary. "The Socialists of New Rochelle," he said, "made it possible for us to picket the Butler stores when we could not do so in any other city in Westchester, and it was the Socialist Party again which aided us in winning our rights to picket and distribute literature in Mount Vernon. I have directed our men in Westchester to follow the advice of Brother Bright."

Monument to Sig. Haiman

A monument to the memory of the late Sigmund Haiman, who died last year, will be unveiled and dedicated Sunday afternoon, May 26, at 2 p. m., at the Workmen's Circle plot in Mount Carmel Cemetery, Queens.

Comrade Haiman was an old-time Socialist and trade unionist, and one of the directors of the Rand School of Social Science at the time of his death.

McLevy Backs Jim Maurer in Appeal for the NEW New Leader

Office of the Mayor

Executive Department,
City of Bridgeport, Connecticut

New Leader,
Dear Comrades:

I have enjoyed reading The New Leader for many years now, and have watched its growth ever since its inception. I want, however, to let you know that the paper in its new appearance makes it the most important and informative Socialist and labor weekly we have in this country. I look forward to the time when it will be possible to publish a daily. We must all work together, and work hard, to get The New Leader circulated throughout the country, and bring our message before the people.

I was very pleased to see James H. Maurer's appeal in The New Leader and want to back it with mine.

Fraternally yours,
JASPER McLEVY.

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TAMIMENT PENNSYLVANIA

DECORATION DAY WEEK-END

4 DELIGHTFUL DAYS for \$15

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Spring Time Is Here!

By Gertrude Weil Klein

THIS is the time of the year when I make my annual obeisance to spring. I didn't realize it until after nearly an hour of discarding one idea after another I still find myself with a sheet of blank paper in my typewriter. For me the melancholy days are here, and the brighter the sun shines and the greener the grass smells, the more the melancholy I become.



G. W. Klein

I think of poor Mr. Clarence Mackay (Postal Telegraph) unable to open his Long Island home because of the hard times. Or rather, he is opening it, but he was compelled to tell the staff of servants that it was impossible for him to pay them any wages. If they were willing to work for their keep—that is, he mentioned vaguely that there was ample fruit, vegetables and fowl around—he would be glad to keep them on.

And beautiful Barbara Hutton, riding out to California from whence she will embark for Europe, after a usually sloughing off a Prince and taking on a Count. Heaven knows how many totering noble families she will have to supply with hard keep and pop ponies before she is through, poor kid.

Well, at least the winter is over, and a strenuous winter it has been, too, with more charity affairs on the social calendar than any year for a long while back. Now Mrs. Vanderbilt and her twin sister Lady Something or other and the other gracious patronesses of charity can hide themselves away with hearts glad at the thought of good deeds done.

Meanwhile some of the poor slaves who carry on the grueling tasks associated with the not so glamorous side of social work are putting up a fight for union recognition. In fact, about five hundred members of their organization, the Association of Federation Employees, went on a two-hour stoppage this week in three hospitals as a demonstration of their strength.

A skeleton staff of union members was left in the hospitals so that service would not be interrupted. One hospital, the Lebanon, immediately discharged its strikers. And one of the big shots in the Federation told the workers that people doing social work should take into consideration the humanitarian aspect of their work, not the prosaic details of pay and hours and union recognition. Which might be all right if they could also hide themselves away in the spring and

Greetings from
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New Brooklyn Co-op. Gets Under Way

The Independent Consumers' Cooperative Society, Inc., sponsored a conference May 19th, at 2:30 P. M., at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 229 Sackman Street, Brooklyn. Fraternal and Labor organizations were requested to send delegates at which the nature and principles of the Cooperative movement were explained, as well as the work which is being done in Brooklyn.

The first project undertaken has been the laundry division. Although begun only recently it has shown encouraging growth. Already three trucks are in the field to meet the consumers' demands. All comrades are urged to help build a successful Cooperative. A postcard addressed to the Independent Consumers' Cooperative Society, Laundry Division, at 964 Rutland Road, Brooklyn, N. Y., will bring a representative.

the summer and the autumn and on week-days for rest and recreation.

"When thieves fall out . . . radicals will be grateful," gloats Karl Lore in the New Militant, organ of the American Workers' Party. "Brother" Lore is talking about the threatened break in the American Federation of Labor. I wonder whether this is a sample of the "American approach" to the labor movement which A. J. Muste, "Father" of the A.W.P., and Louis Budenz, talk so much about. Sounds like good old Communist tactics to us. "Come on you thieves, cut-throats and yellow dogs, let's get together and fight!"

Extraordinarily fine weather topped the Parent-Teachers conference at the beautiful country place of the Chaikins last Sunday. Nobody fell in the lake or the well, though there was imminent danger of the latter until I warned the children that it would ruin the water for drinking purposes. Since they were the children of modern parents and had been taught to cooperate, they refrained from falling into the well. The Women's Committee thanks the Chaikins, the speakers, teachers and parents, who led the discussion, the Rebel Arts Puppeteers, and Ruth Chaikins' dad who presided over the liquid refreshments and was otherwise helpful.

Thanks to Comrade William Plampon of Texas for vehemently insisting that it would be awful if I gave up my column; to Comrade Edmund James of California for preferring my prose to my verse (me, too) for the letter from the masculinist, which I hope to answer some day, for the letter from the young school teacher in West Virginia whose name I am asked not to mention, but whose letter we hope to publish, to Clara Scheched for her appealing article on flower factories which will probably appear next week, to Alice Burster for her stirring article on the strike of the house-dress workers of Carson, Pirie, Scott in Chicago, which will also appear in an early issue. It is not always possible for me to write personal replies but I do want all correspondents to be assured of my deep appreciation of their interest in The New Leader.

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

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Work of the Women's Committee; Organized Against the H.C. of L.

By Lena Morrow Lewis

REPEATED visits to New York City for the past 28 years have enabled me to keep informed as to the activity of the Socialist Party in this vicinity. On returning in January from a speaking tour in Massachusetts, I discovered a situation different from anything I had heretofore observed here.

Party activity in educational and organizational work in no way compares with former times. Disheartening as this situation is, a phase of work is being carried on that we suspect is little known and not as yet fully appreciated.

Women Start Doing Things

A request from Esther Friedman, chairman of the Greater New York Women's Committee, for me to address a women's meeting at the home of one of the Bronx comrades opened the way for speaking engagements in other parts of the city. The large attendance at most of the meetings, the interest manifested in the business as well as educational features of the clubs, or Women's Units as the groups are called, the generous compensation awarded the speaker, all evidenced constructive and efficient organization.

Some three years ago when Esther Friedman began the organization of women for special work, indifference blocked her at every side, but in spite of all this a few earnest comrades joined her in organizing and developing the women of the party for a worthwhile service. Study classes in Socialism, street meetings, home gatherings, social affairs, theatre parties, parliamentary law classes served to interest and educate the women, while some features served to fill their treasures.

From one central group the organization developed numerous units. There are three in Brooklyn—Bensonhurst, Brownsville and Midwood-Brighton. In the Bronx—West Bronx, Upper East Bronx, and Sholem Aleichem (Jewish).

Membership in the Socialist Party is not required to belong to a Women's Unit, but officers are all party members. The number



Lena Morrow Lewis

of members in the various units range from 20 to 50.

Things Accomplished
A number of women who attended the unit meetings have since joined the party; they are better informed, participate more freely in discussions at branch meetings, and attend legislative hearings.

Classes began three years ago with one group in the People's House. Today there are three classes in this building, one in the Amalgamated Houses in the Bronx and one each in Bensonhurst and Midwood-Brighton.

A grand get-together of all women attending the afternoon classes will be held next Saturday in the form of a class luncheon.

International Women's Day was celebrated the first Sunday in March with a fine concert and short speeches by women. The meeting proved to be a splendid drive for organization and membership.

Against High Cost of Living

A conference against the high cost of living was held at the People's House, 7 East 15th Street, the last of March to arrange for the demonstration at City Hall May 14th, a report of which appeared in these columns last week. Petitions were circulated and tens of thousands of names were enrolled on the protest which was presented to the Mayor.

A program to insure the health and decent living standards for

working class families was presented to Mayor LaGuardia as follows:

To Present Program May 14

The city income tax to remain so long as relief for the destitute is necessary. Family incomes of \$3,000 and less to be released from this tax. The tax rate to be made progressively higher upward of \$5,000 incomes.

Modification of the sales tax, eliminating tax on such goods generally bought by working class families. Increase the sales tax progressively on luxuries, such as high-grade cars, homes, jewels, apparel, pleasures, servants, pets, etc.

Immediate reduction of gas and electric rates, down to the level approximating charges under public ownership. Establishment of city-owned power plants and distribution of the service at cost.

Establishment of public markets, and thus eliminate the expensive and useless food gamblers—the middlemen.

To establish milk distribution service as a social service utility.

To increase appropriations for medical attention and free lunches to children in the public schools.

To take the slum clearance and construction projects out of the talking stage and as speedily as possible put men to work building needed houses, hospitals, schools, parks, sanitariums, etc., at not less than prevailing wages.

To oppose all proposals to increase the subway fares.

To encourage and support workers in their struggle for higher wages, shorter hours and the right to organize in unions of their own.

To restore all wage cuts which the city has imposed upon its employees of salaries below \$2,000 a year.

Women readers of The New Leader within the limits of Greater New York are urged to join the various activities of the committee. Any one desiring more information regarding the work of interesting housewives in the cause of our poverty and other ills, and the remedy the Socialist Party has to offer, may write to Street, Room 408, New York City. Mrs. Esther Friedman, 7 East 15th

SEGER TO SPEAK AT FAREWELL TO NEW YORK PARTY MEMBERS

COMRADE GERHART SEGER, heroic German Socialist and fighting foe of Hitlerism, will meet the Socialist Party members of New York Friday night (May 24th) on the eve of his return to Europe following a highly successful tour of the United States that lasted seven months and that took him from Coast to Coast.

Comrade Seger will speak on "A GERMAN EXILE SEES DEMOCRATIC AMERICA," and he will speak quite frankly. No one is to be admitted except party members, and they must show paid-up cards to gain admittance.

The meeting, which is under the direction of the Educational Committee of Local New York, will be held at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street, New York City.

Comrade Seger has an important message to all comrades, as well as a fascinating story of his tour. The meeting is scheduled for 8:30.

Party Progress

New York City WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

Saturday, May 25, 1 p.m., Class Luncheon at Betty Gould's, 314 W. 57th St., New York City. Charge 65 cents, including tip. Make reservations at once.

Class in Tragedy of Waste
Wednesday, May 29, 2 p.m., Midwood-Brighton Unit, 19th St. & Ave. P, B'klyn.

MANHATTAN

4th A.D.—Executive Committee meets Monday, May 27, at 8:30 p.m. The protest meeting against the High Cost of Living has been postponed to Tuesday evening, May 28, at 151 Clinton St. Members and friends are invited to join us at our Sunday, May 26, at 9 a.m., Upper West Side—General membership meeting next Monday evening at branch headquarters, 100 W. 72nd St. The present party situation will be discussed.

BRONX

Bronx Labor Forum

Norman Thomas will speak at the Bronx Labor Forum, 389 Westchester Ave., on Monday evening, May 27. His topic is "The Menace of Coughlin and Long." Matthew Levy, chairman.

Lower 4th A.D.—Card party and social will be held Saturday night, May 25, at the Workmen's Circle headquarters, 1638 E. 172nd St., cor. Horrod Ave. Admission 25 cents. Proceeds for the United Socialist Drive. Refreshments will be served. A branch meeting and educational program will be held Tuesday evening, May 28, at the same address.

Lower 8th A.D.—Business meeting Tuesday, May 28, at 8:30 p.m., followed by the first in series of lectures by Gus Tyler on "The History of the American Labor Party," at Burdette Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves.

KINGS

10th-11th A.D.—On Monday evening, May 27, at 8:45 p.m., at 285 Gates Ave., August Claessens will speak on "Two Years Under Roosevelt." All comrades are requested to attend and bring their friends.

Midwood Branch—Important business meeting, Monday, May 27, at headquarters, 179 Ave. P.
Party and Dance Saturday night, May 25, Admission 50 cents. This is the first dance given by the branch at its new headquarters. We urge all comrades to come and have a good time.

August Claessens will deliver the last in the series of five lectures on "Social Attitudes" Sunday, 9 p.m., at branch headquarters. Topic: Social Attitudes Toward War and Peace. Admission 10 cents, unemphatically free.

Midwood-Brighton Women's Unit—Elys Tarkenton, one of the outstanding lecturers on literature, will speak Friday, May 24, at 8:30 p.m., on "The Humor and Satire in Soviet and Russian Literature." Refreshments served.

Midwood Falcons—The Red Falcons, Crosswalk, Falcons, are again going to have a Charter Party the afternoon of June 9. Frank H. Crosswalk will present the charter. The branch at 151 Clinton St. is invited to the other Crosswalk Flight to come attend as our guests. There will be songs, tea, cake, speeches. Tickets 10c.

QUEENS

Astoria—J. Corniel will lecture at the Astoria, 30-32 Steinway St., Astoria, on Tuesday eve, May 28, on "The Future of the British Labor Party."

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2184 evening in the Council Room at 412 W. 40th St. Julius Hochman, Gen. Sec.; Philip Kapp, Sec'y-Treas.

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

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 16, I.L.G.W.U., Office, 90 West 35th St.; Phone, WI. 7-3011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmund Perlmutter, Mgr.; Sec'y: Louis Stober; Asst. Mgr.: Maurice W. Jacobs; Sec'y to Exec. Board: Nathan Saperstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, Downtown office, 640 Broadway; phone, SPring 7-4548; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St.; phone, WI. 7-1278. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 o'clock. Manager, N. Spector; Secretary, Treat, Alex. Rose; Organizers, L. B. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Uppenberg; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodas.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11416, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone, ALgonquin 4-7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottmann, Secretary-Treasurer.

WAITERS' and WAITRESSES' UNION, Local No. 1, A. F. of L., 11 E. 11th St., 290-7th Ave. W. Lehman, Sec'y; Tel.: LACKawanna 4-5483.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local No. 62 of I.L.G.W.U., 873 Broadway, New York City. Telephone, ALgonquin 4-1981. S. Shore, Manager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union, Office and headquarters, 919 Willsoughby Ave., Brooklyn; STAGG 2-0798. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice-President, Stephen Tobasco; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Munde; Treasurer, Albert Held.

JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAIST-MAKERS' UNION, Offices: 222 West 40th St., N.Y.C. Tel., LONGmead 5-1090. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening; Joint Board meets every Wed.

Cooperation with WA Promised by Green

DECLARING that the "fullest degree of cooperation possible be established between your state federation and representatives of the unemployed group called the Workers' Alliance of America," William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, has sent a letter to all state federations of labor with this recommendation.

This letter, which was made public by David Lasser, national chairman of the Workers' Alliance, follows a series of conferences between Mr. Green and Lasser, after the plan of the A. F. of L. to insert the prevailing wage clause into the Works bill was turned down by the United States Senate. The Works bill as signed by President Roosevelt gives him discretionary power on wage rates to be paid on works projects.

Lasser also announced that he would confer with William Green in Washington early next week to plan a drive for the payment of the prevailing wage scale. He will also confer with Harry Hopkins, Federal Emergency Relief Administrator, on wages, hours and conditions on relief projects.

Cooperation between the A. F. of L. and the Workers' Alliance, which claims 450,000 members in 26 states, will have the further purpose, stated Mr. Green in his letter, of guarding "against the lowering of wage standards through the establishment of the security wage" of \$50 a month, proposed by the administration. Lasser, upon receipt of a copy of the letter sent by President Green to state federations of labor, declared that he would instruct the local bodies of the Workers' Alliance immediately to contact the local labor bodies throughout the country to put the new policy of the A. F. of L. into practical operation.

How Many of These Were Planted There?

Several weeks ago 11 members of the New York Y.P.S.L. issued a mimeographed circular announcing their resignations and declaring that they were joining the Workers' Party, the Trotsky organization of Communists. The average period of membership of the deserters is one year, one claiming but seven months.

The circular also announced a mass meeting to be addressed by two of the deserters and by James P. Cannon, commissar of the Trotsky organization.

How many of the eleven were Communist plants in the Y.P.S.L. is not known. Naturally, the circular is devoted to a general attack on the Old Guard for its uncompromising attitude towards Communist elements in the party and the Y.P.S.L.

Public Works for Idle Are Planned in Canada

By A. F. of L. News Service
OTTAWA.—Sir George Perley, Acting Prime Minister, introduced a bill in the House of Commons authorizing the appropriation of \$18,000,000 for new public works and guaranteeing \$15,000,000 of railway securities issued by the Canadian National Railways for equipment orders. It was explained that the measure was designed as a means to provide employment throughout the Dominion.

The public works are in addition to those authorized by the Construction Act of 1934. The undertakings include railway grade crossings, geological survey and investigations, canal repairs and improvements, alterations and improvements in existing public buildings, Montreal Harbor improvements, and harbor and river improvements generally.

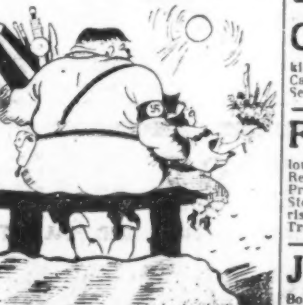
The measure authorizes the Minister in charge of the public works projects to exercise his discretion in having the construction work done either by the government or through private contractors, the best being economy and efficiency.

An Effective Strike In the Rockaways

THE furniture handlers and drivers employed by John Winkler's Sons warehouse in Far Rockaway are carrying on a stubborn strike now in its eighth week. The firm has grown wealthy in the business of shipping furniture of Rockaway residents to and from this locality. The number of men employed is very small and the exploitation is shamefully mean. Wages average between \$3.00 and \$5.00 for a 12 to 16 hour day. Mr. G. N. Winkler is a member of the Regional Code Commission and is empowered with the enforcement of the N.R.A. code for furniture handlers, but his own firm flagrantly violates this code and refuses to deal with the Union, Local 814, of the A. F. of L., representing his employees.

The Socialist Party and Workmen's Circle branches have been giving these strikers excellent assistance. With leaflets, outdoor and indoor meetings, house to house canvassing, publicity and picketing the struggle has been carried on effectively. The active support of our comrades has attracted widespread attention to the strike and has resulted in the organization of a trade union committee for assistance to workers in the building and other trades at Rockaway Beach.

At a public gathering, arranged by our comrades in the Workmen's Circle Center, 81-12 Rockaway Boulevard, last Saturday evening,



The Guild Shoots the Works and Joins the Red "Parade"

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

LEFTWARD HO!

"PARADE." A satirical revue with Jimmy Savo. Sketches by Paul Peters, George Sklar, Frank Gabrielson and David Leman. Lyrics by Peters, Sklar, and Kyle Crichton. Music by Jerome Moross. At the Guild.

"I'm telling you, Maudie, everything's crazy. . . I'm telling you, Louie, everything's screwy!" This gives the keynote of the Guild's "Parade"; the remainder of the evening presses home the idea. With emphasis. And illustration. And Jimmy Savo. And a lot of truth. And a lot of dancing. Giving away how the New Deal is a raw deal. Showing how the slapstick is swifter than the big stick—even if the bump is smaller. Insinuating, hinting, claiming, proclaiming, showing, shouting, that even if God's in his heaven, all's wrong with the world. And softly whispering, as the moon rises over the dancing couples in our own paper-littered Central Park, that it could, oh so easily, be such a comfortable world.

Following no consecutive story, as did "Of Thee I Sing" and other predecessors, "Parade" more leftward slings its satire, boldly (though with unequal success) in every direction. The sketch in which Jimmy Savo, for instance, impersonates a factory owner trying to run the plant all by himself, to spite the strikers, is hilarious; because Jimmy Savo is a born and bred comic; but in the chances for fun it leaps after, it goes over the bounds of social satire into pure nonsense. Savo is a figure out of burlesque, in the best comic tradition of burlesque; but he is scarcely more suited for this type of production than the dances (in cloth of silver or other elaborate costume) of the expensive Guild staging of what should be a workers' show. There are the dances and Jimmy Savo, if you are all for Broadway; there are the skits and the songs, if you are a worker. The best way to make them mix is with a blow-torch.

Among the effective sketches is one showing the plight of the farmer, whose cotton is ploughed under to raise the price, whose wheat is burned, whose milk is spoiled—and who finally wakes up and shoots the right jacks. "The Dead Cow," on the other hand, is so excessive in its exaggeration as to lose its power, its keenness of point. Perhaps the Russian peasant needs that blunt and broad stroke; the authors of these skits have succeeded with defer work. The song of poor, shelterless Peace is excellent; "Selling Sex" is a good account of one lure the times passed to catch satisfaction; "Tabloid Reds" smacks the anti-red news campaigns; "Send for the Militia" (with Eve Arden effective) pinks the sweet parlor liberal; Johnson and Muey Long and Pop Coughlin are shown (soldier and cleric and "statesman") affably chewing one another to bits; and the picture of a family behaving like a group of nations (just for a breakfast time!) is benevolent but potent bombing. Speaking of liberals reminds one of Savo's bright bit on the middle-of-the-way men, readers of The Nation.

Which brings to mind the producers, for the Guild has an audience of readers of The Nation. A conservative critic (Walter

Don Redman



The well-known bandleader and his orchestra open today at the Apollo Theatre after a successful tour of Canada and the western states.

Edmund Lowe in "Mr. Dynamite" at the Roxy

Dashiell Hammett's newest screen thriller, "Mr. Dynamite," starring Edmund Lowe, opens today at the Roxy Theatre as the featured film attraction following the run of "The Bride of Frankenstein."

Said to be written in the same vein as his very successful "The Thin Man," Dashiell Hammett in "Mr. Dynamite" has created a new sleuth, T. N. (Call Me Dynamite) Thompson, a wise-cracking private detective. Appearing with Mr. Lowe in the featured feminine role is Jean Dixon, well-known Broadway actress. Others in the cast include Esther Ralston, Victor Varconi, Verna Hillie, Minor Watson, Robert Gleckler, Jameson Thomas, Matt McHugh, G. Pat Collins, Greta Meyer, Bradley Page and James Burtis.

Richard Eaton has remarked: "One of the most striking features of the past two seasons has been the great success of radical propaganda plays." It might seem that the Guild, watching the way the band wagon and drink vodka with the winners—while the vogue is on. The truth is that these plays have succeeded in workers' theatres, at prices much lower than the Guild charges, and that the Guild audience probably is out of sympathy with most of the evening's stir. More power, then, to the Guild—even though one must add: more skill. But there's a deal worth seeing—lots to enjoy as well as to think about; and all interested in the theatre as a social force will march over to the Guild Theatre and join the "Parade."

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Eva Le Gallienne Heads Big Stage Show at the Capitol—Betty Davis on Screen

Starring three of America's famous personalities—Eva Le Gallienne, George Jessel and Gertrude Niesen—the Capitol Theatre's stage show for the week beginning today promises to be pretentious entertainment and very much worth while.

Miss Eva Le Gallienne—distinguished American stage star, who has never before appeared in a motion picture theatre—will be seen in Suro's one-act play "The Open Door." She will be assisted by the well-known leading man Donald Cameron.

George Jessel—a favorite with Capitol audiences—and the exotic Gertrude Niesen—song stylist—will share honors with Miss Le Gallienne. A group of the Danny Dare Girls will complete the stage fare. The screen feature for the week will be "The Girl from 10th Avenue," starring Bette Davis.

Two New Feature Films on Brooklyn Strand Screen

The new double feature bill at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre consists of "A Night at the Ritz," with William Gargan, Patricia Ellis and Allen Jenkins, and "My Heart Is Calling," a musical romance, with Jan Kiepura and Marta Eggerth.

Completing the program, the Strand offers a selected short subject and the Strand News Review. Another important feature at the Strand is the new low summer policy which went into effect a week ago.

Elizabeth Bergner in Screen Version of "Escape Me Never" at Music Hall

Elizabeth Bergner, noted actress of stage and screen, is to be seen at the Radio City Music Hall in a screened version of the Margaret Kennedy play, "Escape Me Never."

Miss Bergner just recently made her first Broadway appearance in the play, in which she was also sensationally successful on the London stage. She has appeared in the United States in only one previous motion picture, "Catherine the Great," which established her as a distinctive screen personality.

The original New York cast of "Escape Me Never," which played on Broadway in the footlight engagement, supports Miss Bergner in the new photoplay. It includes Hugh Sinclair, Griffith Jones, Leon Quartermaine, Penelope Dudley-Ward, Rosalinde Fuller and Lyn Harding.

In addition to the new Bergner picture, the Music Hall program will include an elaborate stage show titled "Land of Lace," produced by Russell Markert, settings by Bruno Maine, and featuring Robert Weede, the Music Hall Rockettes, Corps de Ballet and Glee Club.

Gladys George



Who continues in the leading role in "Personal Appearance," the Brock Pemberton Hit, which will stay at the Henry Miller's Thea. throughout the summer months.

"Thunder in the East" on Fox Brooklyn Screen—New Stage Revue

"Thunder in the East," previously titled "The Battle," is currently on the screen at the Fabian Fox Brooklyn Theatre. Charles Boyer, Merle Oberon, John Loder and Betty Stockfeld have the principal roles in this Leon Garganoff production, presented by Al Lichtman and released through United Artists Corp.

The new stage show at the Fox is headed by Barbara McDonald, featured dancer of "Strike Me Pink."

"Them's the Reporters" Set for the Barrymore May 29th

The exact date of the Broadway premiere of "Them's the Reporters," Philip Jay Reebach's new comedy of newspaper "leg-men" and district police reporters, is now definitely set for Wednesday evening, May 29, at the Ethel Barrymore Theatre.

The cast, with but one female among the personnel, includes Helen Kingsley, Dave Burns, Clegde Roberts, Nat Burns, Howard Negley, Frederick Sherman and John Neill. William D. Grier has been made stage manager.

"Them's the Reporters" is being staged under the direction of Addison Pitt. Karl Amend is responsible for the setting.

Benefit Performance

A galaxy of Broadway stars, in person, and one of the Island's most popular orchestras will combine on June 1st and offer their services at the Jamaica Jewish Center, where the first multiple annual charity dance, sponsored by the Crier Clubs of Long Island, will be staged.

Organizations benefiting from the event include the Jamaica Day Nursery, the Family Welfare Society of Queens, and Mons. T. A. Nummy's Free Cafeteria.

Shubert Theatre for "Knock on Wood"

The Shubert Theatre has been chosen to house "Knock on Wood," Allen Rivkin's new comedy, which George "Lefty" Miller will bring to Broadway on May 28.

Featured in the production are James Rennie, Bruce MacFarlane, Lee Patrick, Sally Phipps, Albert Van Dekker, Calvin Thomas and James Spottswood.

Opens TUES. Eve., May 28 THEATRE OF ACTION (formerly Workers Laboratory Thea.) presents
THE YOUNG GO FIRST
A drama of the CCC camps
By PETER MARTIN, GEORGE SCUDDER and CHARLES FREEDMAN
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Evens. 8:40—Mats. Sat. 2:40

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ALL THIS WEEK
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ON THE STAGE
THE FUNNYBONERS
BERT WALTON
DANNY DARE DANCERS
and other RKO Acts
PALACE B'way & 47 St.

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in
"Mr. DYNAMITE"
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ARMIDA
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"THUNDER in the EAST"
Merle OBERON - Chas. BOYER
AND GALA STAGE SHOW 25c
10 P.M. & 11 P.M.

"The Informer" Brings Victor McLaglen and Strong Cast to Albee Screen—New Stage Revue Headed by Three X Sisters

The self-wrought destruction of the primitive Irish giant whose life furnishes the theme for the RKO Albee's current screen attraction, "The Informer," pictures dramatically the fact that the atavistic brute has no place in a modern society, and inevitably harbors the instruments of his own doom.

Portrayed by Victor McLaglen, Gypo Nolan, the savage Irishman who wages a lone battle against the world in the screen play from Liam O'Flaherty's novel of the same name, battles himself against the unyielding traditions of his people. For money enough to satisfy the desires of the blonde woman he loves, Nolan betrays a friend.

The realization of the import of his crime engenders in the brutish Irishman a turmoil of biting, human emotions which at last force him to reveal his guilt and make the inevitable payment of his life for an act considered by his fellow Irishmen as the most despicable of sins.

In this tale which tells with,

searching humor and vital tragedy of the inevitable self-annihilation of the brute, Victor McLaglen receives fine support from a cast that includes Margot Grahame, Heather Angel, Preston Foster, Una O'Connor, and Wallace Ford.

The Albee is presenting on its stage the Three X Sisters, Le Paul, and an unusual dance revue, featuring Jean Deveroux, Fay, Tucker & Johnson, and Jack Seymour.

In Benefit Performance

Arthur Pierson, featured in "If a Body" at the Biltmore Theatre, will appear in his original sketch, "The Three Queens," assisted by Bruce Evans and Butler Hickson, at the Physicians' Equity Ass'n Benefit, this Sunday at the Center Theatre.

The sketch, a "satirical soliloquy" about Katharine Hepburn, Marlene Dietrich and Greta Garbo, was presented for the first time at the Lambs Club Public Gambol, which took place at the Waldorf several weeks ago.

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NOW PLAYING!
"My men are he-men or dead men when I get through with them."
The Hell-cat of "Bordertown" and "Of Human Bondage"
BETTE DAVIS
in
"The Girl From 10th Ave."
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COLIN CLIVE
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IAN HUNTER
a First National Picture
ON STAGE
The Distinguished American Actress
Miss EVA LeGALLIENNE
in "THE OPEN DOOR"
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America's Smartest Comedian
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Columbia Broadcasting System presents
STANLEY TWINS
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32

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Paul MUNI
in A First National Picture
"BLACK FURY"
TODAY, SAT., SUN., MON. — MAY 24, 25, 26, 27
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COMMODORE 2nd Avenue 6th Street
DELANCEY at Suffolk St.
116th Street
VICTORIA 123 Street West of 7th Ave.
KINGS, PT. WASH & Tilden
PITKIN, Pitkin/Saratoga
TRIBORO Steubenville & 26th Avenue
YONKERS, Lowe's
MOUNT KERNON, Lowe's
NEW ROCHELLE, Main St.
WHITE PLAINS, Lowe's
Today, Sat., Sun. May 24, 25, 26
42nd St. at Lexington Ave.
IN WOOD Dryden St. & Post Ave.
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RIO, 10th & Broadway
"Plus "Star Night in Coconut Grove"

ALL THIS WEEK
"The INFORMER"
with
Victor McLAGLEN
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RKO VAUDEVILLE
THREE X SISTERS
HARRY SAVOY
LE PAUL
and other RKO Acts
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THEATRE PARTIES
Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of THE NEW LEADER. Phone ALgonquin 4-4622 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th Street, New York.

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The Workers Abroad

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

By John Powers

The Election in Czechoslovakia

LAST Sunday's election in Czechoslovakia brought results which while not immediately alarming cannot be said to be satisfactory to those who would like to see Hitlerism and all its works smashed. While in the country as a whole the Socialists and democratic parties held their own, the majority of the German population, comprising about 3,000,000 of the country's total of 14,700,000, rallied to the support of Konrad Henlein's South German Front, which is the Hitler organization in Czechoslovakia.

Although it had been expected that the South German Front would gain considerably, due to large financial assistance from Berlin, the strong nationalist feeling of the German population favoring union with Germany, and the local terrorization conducted by the Hitlerites despite precautions taken by the central government at Prague, the South German Front came out of the election the strongest single party in the country, with 1,294,000 votes, as compared with 1,176,000 votes for the Czech Agrarian Party, which heretofore had held the lead.

The German-speaking Social Democracy lost heavily, its seats being cut from twenty-one to eleven. On the other hand, the Czech Socialists retained their strength virtually intact, losing only one seat. They will now have 37 seats in parliament. The Communists retained their thirty seats, the Czech Catholics lost three, while the native fascists (Gajda party), who in 1929 had failed to capture any mandates, will now have six. The Czech Agrarians will be represented with 45 seats in the new chamber, as against 44 for the South German Front. The party of Foreign Minister Benes, intensely democratic and socialist in principle, dropped from thirty-two seats to twenty-eight. Virtually every other party in parliament lost a seat or two. There are 300 seats in the chamber.

Summary of the Results

Summing up the results, it appears on the basis of fairly complete returns that while fascism has obtained an increased representation in parliament, the Socialist and democratic parties retain the upper hand, although in view of the number of seats controlled by the South German Front and the Communists, to which must be added the six seats of the native fascist party, it may be more difficult to form a new cabinet because of the multiplicity of parties.

We thus have a situation outwardly analogous to that which existed in the German Reichstag before the advent of Hitler to power: a multiplicity of parties, a combined fascist-communist opposition against democracy, and the consequent chronic interference with the normal functioning of democratic government, which found expression in increasing sentiment against parliament as such.

But this analogy must be tempered considerably by other, favorable factors, as regards Czechoslovakia. Unlike the agrarians in Germany, the Czech peasant party is intensely democratic, as are the great majority of the middle classes. Fascist sentiment among the non-German population of the country is very slight. Nevertheless, the victory of the South German Front and the presence of thirty Communists in the chamber, combined with the serious internal economic situation and the difficult international position of Czechoslovakia, wedged in among group of fascist states, will serve to make more difficult the problems confronting the gallant little republic which has so bravely held aloft the banner of democracy and liberty against the surrounding rising tide of fascism.

An Advantage for Hitler

It may be expected that Hitler Germany will take full advantage of the victory of the South German Front, whose adherents look to the union of the German districts of Czechoslovakia with Germany, with which they had never been united in modern times. Although Hitler Germany can do nothing about it at the present moment, the gains registered by the South German Front will give Hitler a big talking point for home and foreign consumption as indicating the advance of sentiment in what Hitler calls the German Irridenta for reunion of "the lost Teuton tribes" with Germany.

It would be futile to deny that the position of the Czechoslovak Republic, led by its great scholar-statesman Masaryk, has been rendered more difficult by the results of the election. But despite the new difficulties we may be sure that the democracy of Czechoslovakia will assert itself to the last and that in event of crisis it will have behind it the support of all democratic Europe and of the international Socialist and labor movement.

Communists Play Old Role

At this point we inevitably come to a discussion of the policy and tactics of the Communists. They failed to make any gains in the election, but have retained their strength. As in Germany, where they had left nothing undone to undermine the democratic order and assisted the fascists on every possible occasion in harassing and undermining the republican regime, so in Czechoslovakia they continue to pursue the same policy. Because of this they must bear a large share of responsibility for the present situation and its possible consequences. Like the Bourbons, the official Communists have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. They continue to play their role of handmaidens of reaction.

Honest Communists have begun to perceive this fact, and in various countries we find many such Communists returning to the fold of the Social Democratic and Labor parties in increasing numbers. Czechoslovakia is the only country, in addition to France, where there remains a Communist movement of any considerable proportions, but there, too, individuals and groups have begun to break away from Stalinite tutelage and are reaffiliating with the Social Democracy.

An encouraging development in this respect occurred before last Sunday's election in the town of Altendorf, in the German section, where the Communist town organization repudiated the Communist Party and rejoined the Socialists. In doing so the members of this organization made public a declaration to all workers calling upon them to follow their example. The text of the declaration was published in the Prague *Sozialdemokrat*, May 5. It follows:

Text of the Declaration

"We the undersigned former members and functionaries of the Communist Party have joined the Social Democratic Party. The following motives prompted us to this move:

"Before the split (in the Czechoslovak labor movement) we were Social Democrats. After the split we joined the Communist Party because we believed that by doing so we would serve the interests of the working class. Despite some disillusionments we remained in the Communist Party for more than ten years.

"But more and more we were compelled to perceive that the Communist policy was absolutely fruitless and that the revolutionary aspirations of the workers could not find expression in that party because of the rigid bureaucratic leadership.

"We perceived also the destructive consequences of splits and that despite all the talk of the Communist Party about a united front it was not honestly interested in the restoration of genuine proletarian united action.

"On the other hand, we perceived that the Social Democratic Party has remained united and capable of action. We perceived that this party has held firm in the midst of the storm of the crisis, that it was and is the true guardian of the interests of the workers, and has successfully defended the interests of the unemployed. We perceived that in the midst of the rising tide of fascism the Social Democracy has preserved for the workers in this state their most precious possession, political freedom, and that it has fought for cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Soviet Russia in efforts to create a world front for resistance to fascism.

"From these considerations and realizations, after mature deliberation, we have drawn the only true conclusion:

"We have returned to the Social Democratic mother party. We want to fight in the ranks of the Social Democracy for the emancipation of the working class and for the victory of Socialism.

"By this step we wish to contribute to making possible the unity of the working class, which we consider so essential.

"We appeal to you, workmen and workingwomen who still remain in the Communist movement, to follow our example. Do not waste your precious political right in the coming election, but vote for the party of struggle and unity, the Social Democracy!

"Freedom!"

This declaration, we may add, is the only road to a genuine united front.

The End of a Communist Illusion

By John Powers

TODAY the seventh congress of the Communist International is scheduled to meet in Moscow. There has been no congress of the Comintern since 1928. Several postponements of its convocation have marked the intervening period. The opening of the meeting scheduled for today was originally set for May 1, and no explanation was given for this latest postponement.

The reason soon became apparent, however, in the negotiations for a military alliance between Soviet Russia and France and the intervening visit to Moscow of Pierre Laval, French foreign minister, to cement the alliance.

It would be rather inconvenient to stage parades for "world revolution" simultaneously with a military review in honor of M. Laval and the military alliance with a bourgeois government. M. Laval's departure mercifully removed the embarrassment. Moreover it was difficult to shape the program and agenda of the Communist International until after M. Laval's visit. Russia's national interests required a clearing up of the status of her relations with France, which now forms the keystone of her foreign policy, before the Communist International could be permitted to speak.

M. Laval's visit thus served to emphasize what has long been apparent—that the Comintern has ceased to be an organ of revolutionary action and propaganda and has become a mere instrument of Russian national policy. From a mighty, threatening instrument of world revolution it has degenerated to the status of a second-rate bureau of the Russian foreign office. Today, as will be shown later, it is but a shadow of its old self, its degeneration and decline symbolizing more than anything else the political and moral bankruptcy of bolshevism. No longer does it dream with Trotsky of "carrying the revolution on Red bayonets to the banks of the Rhine." Bourgeois governments it had come to destroy are living in amity and cooperation with its master, the Soviet Government. Countries in which the Comintern had won its greatest victories in the early years of its career, when it sought to light "a world conflagration," are under fascist rule, made possible largely by its own policies and actions and those of its affiliated parties. Workers whose imagination it had fired with the vision and promise of

Rise and Fall of the Communist International—Comintern Congress Meets in Moscow Today for the First Time in Seven Years—Catastrophic Decline of Its Power and Prestige—Its Role as Parent of Fascism.

world revolt have abandoned it and have returned, in increasing numbers, to the Labor and Socialist International as the true instrument of working class emancipation.

A Tragic History

Tragic, indeed, has been the history of the Communist International, tragic in more senses than one. The illusions it cultivated have been cruelly shattered, but so also have been those organizations of the working class in a number of countries who have blindly followed along the line of irresponsible adventurism laid out by the Communist International under the direction of Moscow. It is now only a question of a short time when the once proud Comintern will become but a sad memory and a warning to the working class in its struggle for liberation, while Soviet diplomats continue to stage gala reviews and costly receptions for leaders of capitalist governments.

How has this come about? Why this political and moral collapse? And what are its lessons for the working class?

The answers to these questions must be sought in an examination of the historical development of the Bolshevik regime in Russia and the international Communist movement to which it gave birth. We have no space here for an exhaustive study, but we shall attempt to indicate the most pertinent points.

The Communist International was formed on Lenin's initiative March 4, 1919. Its one great purpose was to promote world revolution. World revolution was the keystone of the bolshevik theory and program as originally propounded by Lenin and Trotsky. The inevitability of world revolution was the accepted faith of the Communist dictatorship in Russia for the first six or seven years of its rule. The theory rested also on the conviction of Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, first president of the Communist International, and the other bolshevik leaders, that the Soviet regime could endure only if supported by world revolution. And with Lenin, its founder, the leaders of the Communist International proclaimed that the world revolution was around the corner.

Writing in the first issue of the

Komunistichesky International, organ of the Comintern, established May 7, 1919, Zinoviev declared:

Illusions and Realities
"Old Europe is dashing at mad speed towards the proletarian revolution. . . . The movement is proceeding at such terrific speed that we may say with full confidence within a year we shall already begin to forget that there was a struggle for Communism in Europe, because in a year the whole of Europe will be Communist. And the struggle for Communism will be transferred to America, perhaps to Asia and to other parts of the world."

"Perhaps we shall see—for a few years, and side by side with Communist Europe—American capitalism continue to exist. Perhaps even in England capitalism will continue to exist for a year or two, side by side with Communism victorious in the whole of continental Europe. But such coexistence cannot last long. To use the expression of the mouthpiece of the French bourgeoisie, *Le Temps*, we may say: capitalist America and Communist Europe cannot live together. Certainly not for any length of time."

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is the order of the day in the whole of the civilized world."

All our disappointments of today will, in a few months, appear utterly insignificant in comparison with the great victories which we shall have won in the meantime. There is no more durable building than the building of the Third International whose foundations were laid in March 1919. Under the flag of the Third International the working class will be victorious throughout the entire world."

Zinoviev was echoing the views of Lenin. Speaking at the fifth congress of the Comintern, which met from June 17 to July 8, 1924, when it had already become clear that the Communist conception of world revolution was sheer illusion, Zinoviev shamefacedly declared:

"There was a time—during the peace negotiations of Brest Litovsk—when even Vladimir Ilyich [Lenin] believed that the victory of revolution in a number of advanced European countries was a question of merely two or three months. There was a time when we, in the Central Committee of the party, measured in hours the progress of events in Germany and Austria. First, then, we believed that if we seized governmental power we should by this very fact tomorrow give free hand to revolution in other countries. Second, we believed

that if this by any chance did not take place, then we, as an isolated revolution, as a sole revolutionary country left to itself, could not survive and were doomed to destruction."

Writing at the time of the formation of the Communist International, Bukharin said:

"Under the existing conditions of world economy and the interdependence of the various states—organized groups of the bourgeoisie—it goes without saying that the struggle in one country cannot be successful without the victory of the corresponding combatants in other civilized countries. And this is a question of our front, and very largely a question of the development of the world revolution."

Lenin's Strategy

As a Marxist, who until a few months before the Bolshevik coup d'état had never expected the Russian Revolution to assume Socialist form (because of the political, social and economic backwardness of Russia), Lenin had found it difficult to reconcile his Marxist position with his seizure of power for the purpose of immediate introduction of Socialism in Russia. He, therefore, invented the theory of immediate world revolution. Socialism in backward Russia was to be made possible through revolution in the more advanced industrial countries. Russia under bolshevism was to be the "springboard," as Lenin termed it, for world revolution. And, indeed, Lenin's faith

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Police and Vigilantes in a battle with striking longshoremen at Jackson, California. Picture shows the scene after the police had thrown a gas bomb.

Is Fascism Inevitable in All Countries?

Theory of Fascism as Last Stage of Capitalism Not Borne Out

By Facts—A Critical Analysis of This Theory :: By David Shub

A VIEW now widely prevalent in "radical" circles both here and abroad is that fascism represents the inevitable last stage of capitalism, the final means whereby the ruling classes attempt to retain power and save themselves from extinction. Many of these radicals even maintain that fascism, in one form or another, is inevitable in all countries unless the working class makes haste to seize power by force and establish a dictatorship of "workers and peasants" or of "revolutionary parties."

This view is particularly fashionable among our parlor-bolshevik intelligentsia, of whom Mr. John Strachey is the saint and prophet. The ruling classes, we are told, will never give up power voluntarily. As soon as they perceive the imminence of a working class government coming into being by legal, democratic methods, a government pledged to the expropriation of the expropriators, they will immediately throw overboard the democratic constitution and establish a fascist dictatorship. Events in Italy, Germany and Austria, say these "radicals," will be repeated in other countries if the workers rely on "capitalist constitutions" and "capitalist democracy," and fail to make timely preparation for a dictatorship of their own.

The future of Socialism and democracy would, indeed, be dark if the situation were really as our left wing and parlor-bolshevik friends picture it to be. Fortunately, this is far from the truth. It would be futile to prophesy what sort of regime will succeed the present fascist government in Germany or Austria. It is possible that the regime will be succeeded by a Socialist order, as predicted by some. But to maintain that fascism is everywhere the final stage of capitalism is self-deception. It is impossible to determine when the final stage of capitalism will begin and what forms this final stage will assume.

The Socialist "Danger"
To be sure, fascism has been and is supported by many capitalists. This is not, however, the same as saying that fascism represents the means whereby the capitalist classes attempt to save themselves from the dangers of Socialism. The "Socialist danger" is much greater in

Sweden, Denmark and Norway, where Socialists are at the helm and are effecting many radical reforms, than it was in Latvia or even in Germany and Austria before the advent of fascism. No thinking person will assert that there was any danger last spring of the Latvian capitalists losing their power and property, or that there was any Socialist or Communist "danger" even in Germany in 1932.

The labor movement in Germany had never been so weak in the fourteen years after the revolution of 1918 as it was in 1932, due to the effects of the prolonged depression, the consequent mass unemployment and the political situation as it had been developing for some time. There was a Socialist "danger" in 1928, when the Socialist Herman Mueller was chancellor and the Social Democrats and the Socialist trade unions were strong and militant. At that time, however, the German fascist movement was very weak, in fact non-existent as a mass movement.

A similar situation prevailed in Austria. Not even the most radical

members of the Austrian Social Democracy had ventured in 1932 or 1933 to advocate a proletarian revolution with the immediate establishment of Socialism. In Austria, too, there was no imminent danger threatening the capitalist class before the fascist overturn.

In Great Britain the Socialist "danger" is much stronger today than it was in Germany in 1932 or in Austria in 1933. Nevertheless, fascism is making little, if any, headway in Great Britain. The same is true of Scandinavia.

The reasons for the development and triumph of fascism in certain countries are not to be sought where Communists and some Socialists try to find them. The theory that fascism is the deliberate invention of capitalism as a means of saving it from Socialism is quite erroneous.

Fascism in Italy, Germany, Austria and Latvia rests primarily upon the support of the peasants, the urban middle classes and large sections of impoverished and despairing intellectuals and workers, particularly unemployed workers, who were not at all enthusiastic

supporters of capitalism.

For every capitalist in Italy supporting the fascists when they came into power there were ten others who gave their support to various anti-fascist parties. In Germany, only a part of the capitalist class supported Hitler and with all their support Hitler would not have been able to establish his sadistic regime without the support of millions of Germans of other classes.

The Roots of Fascism
The roots of fascism vary in the different countries. There were three conditions, however, as a rule, common to all countries where fascism succeeded in imposing its sway. These conditions were:

1. Acute economic crisis, with great unemployment and suffering among large masses of the population.
2. The weakening of parliamentary government, leading to a situation in which no party was strong enough to compel adoption of desired and necessary legislation, since the other parties were numerous enough to block it.
3. The existence of a large Communist movement, excepting in Austria, or a similar movement preaching a "revolutionary dictatorship."

In every country where fascism has triumphed these conditions existed to a greater or lesser degree.

The economic crisis everywhere created a favorable soil for propaganda against the existing order. In countries like the United States and Great Britain, with a two party tradition or system, the mass dissatisfaction with existing conditions expressed itself in the ousting from power of the governments in control and their substitution by governments of the opposition. In countries whose political system was characterized by the competition of many parties, however, and where no single party or combination of parties was strong enough to force its will upon parliament the result was complete disillusionment with the parliamentary system and a growing yearning for "a strong hand."

The Historic Record
Fascism would never have succeeded, however, if the Communists by their tactics and propaganda had not created a fertile soil for it. Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin pointed the way for Mussolini and other dictators. Lenin and Trotsky had proclaimed that freedom was a bourgeois superstition and that democracy was nothing but a swindle of the ruling classes. For years the Communists had done everything possible to malign and discredit democracy and the parliamentary system in the eyes of the masses. This was a fundamental contribution to the destruction of liberty by fascism wherever it has gained control.

In Italy, the senseless tactics of the Communists and their allies, the Maximalists, brought about the situation that enabled Mussolini to seize power. In 1920 the Socialists were the most powerful party in the Italian Chamber of Deputies. If they had entered into a coalition with the democratic bourgeois parties and groups that were definitely hostile to fascism, as had been suggested by Nitti and others, it would have been possible to set up a strong and stable government which could have successfully defied attempts at overthrow. The Communists and the left Socialists, who were then in control of the Socialist party, refused to enter

(Continued on Page Eight)

Important Series of Articles by Kirby Page Will Begin in Next Week's New Leader

WHAT is the economic set-up in the United States regarding the ruling forms of property? How is income distributed, how unequal is the distribution, and who gets most of it? What is capitalistic property, anyway? What about the division of society into classes? Does the class struggle become sharper? Can capitalism emerge out of the depression?

All these questions can only be answered by a study of the facts of current economic life in the United States in the light of Socialist theory and philosophy. This is work that has too often been neglected by Socialists. What are the facts?

The New Leader is glad to announce that Kirby Page has made a searching study of present-day American capitalism, and that his

analysis, interpretation and conclusions will appear in The New Leader in a series of articles that will begin next week. Here will be found the authentic answers to the questions asked above.

There has been too much guess-work in these matters and now our readers will have the benefit of the keen research of a competent student and writer in these articles.

We urge our readers to tell their friends about this series. They contain solid and reliable information which no reader could dig out of ponderous books and dreary reports because he has not the time. Every important fact and statement is based upon some reliable authority.

Follow this series. Tell your friends. Remember: The first installment appears next week!

YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO MISS THE NEW LEADER!



Kirby Page

The Guild Shoots the Works and Joins the Red "Parade"

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

LEFTWARD HO!

"PARADE." A satirical revue with Jimmy Savo. Sketches by Paul Peters, George Sklar, Frank Gabrielson and David Lekan. Lyrics by Peters, Sklar, and Kyle Crichton. Music by Jerome Moross. At the Guild.

"I'm telling you, Mazie, everything's crazy. . . I'm telling you, Louie, everything's screwy!" This gives the keynote of the Guild's "Parade"; the remainder of the evening presses home the idea. With emphasis. And illustration. And Jimmy Savo. And a lot of truth. And a lot of dancing. Giving away how the New Deal is a raw deal. Showing how the slapstick is swifter than the big stick—even if the bump is smaller. Insinuating, hinting, claiming, proclaiming, showing, shouting, that even if God's in his heaven, all's wrong with the world. And softly whispering, as the moon rises over the dancing couples in our own paper-littered Central Park, that it could, oh so easily, be such a comfortable world.

Following no consecutive story, as did "Of Thee I Sing" and other predecessors, "Parade" more leftward slings its satire, boldly (though with unequal success) in every direction. The sketch in which Jimmy Savo, for instance, impersonates a factory owner trying to run the plant all by himself, to spite the strikers, is hilarious—because Jimmy Savo is a born and bred comic; but in the chances for fun it leaps after, it goes over the bounds of social satire into pure nonsense. Savo is a figure out of burlesque, in the best comic tradition of burlesque; but he is scarcely more suited for this type of production than the dances (in cloth of silver or other elaborate costume) of the expensive Guild staging of what should be a workers' show. There are the dances and Jimmy Savo, if you are all for Broadway; there are the skits and the songs, if you are a worker. The best way to make them mix is with a blow-torch.

Among the effective sketches is one showing the plight of the farmer, whose cotton is ploughed under to raise the price, whose wheat is burned, whose milk is spoiled—and who finally wakes up and shoots the right jacks. "The Dead Cow," on the other hand, is so excessive in its exaggeration as to lose its power, its keenness of point. Perhaps the Russian peasant needs that blunt and broad stroke; the authors of these skits have succeeded with defter work. The song of poor, shelterless Peace is excellent; "Selling Sex" is a good account of one lure the times press to catch satisfaction; "Tabloid Reds" smacks the anti-red news campaigns; "Send for the Militia" (with Eve Arden effective) pinks the sweet parlor liberal; Johnson and Muey Long and Pop Coughlin are shown (soldier and cleric and "statesman") affably chewing one another to bits; and the picture of a family behaving like a group of nations (just for a breakfast time!) is benevolent but potent bombing. Speaking of liberals reminds one of Savo's bright bit on the middle-of-the-way men, readers of The Nation.

Which brings to mind the producers, for the Guild has an audience of readers of The Nation. A conservative critic (Walter

Don Redman



The well-known bandleader and his orchestra open today at the Apollo Theatre after a successful tour of Canada and the western states.

Edmund Lowe in "Mr. Dynamite" at the Roxy

Dashiell Hammett's newest screen thriller, "Mr. Dynamite," starring Edmund Lowe, opens today at the Roxy Theatre as the featured film attraction following the run of "The Bride of Frankenstein."

Said to be written in the same vein as his very successful "The Thin Man," Dashiell Hammett in "Mr. Dynamite" has created a new sleuth, T. N. (Call Me Dynamite) Thompson, a wise-cracking private detective. Appearing with Mr. Lowe in the featured feminine role is Jean Dixon, well-known Broadway actress. Others in the cast include Esther Ralston, Victor Varconi, Verna Hillie, Minor Watson, Robert Gleckler, Jameson Thomas, Matt McHugh, G. Pat Collins, Greta Meyer, Bradley Page and James Burtis.

Prichard Eaton has remarked: "One of the most striking features of the past two seasons has been the great success of radical propaganda plays." It might seem that the Guild, watching the way the wind blows, decided to get on the band wagon and drink vodka with the winners—while the vogue is on. The truth is that these plays have succeeded in workers' theatres, at prices much lower than the Guild charges, and that the Guild audience probably is out of sympathy with most of the evening's stir. More power, then, to the Guild—even though one must add: more skill. But there's a deal worth seeing—lots to enjoy as well as to think about; and all interested in the theatre as a social force will march over to the Guild Theatre and join the "Parade."

Eva Le Gallienne Heads Big Stage Show at the Capitol—Betty Davis on Screen

Starring three of America's famous personalities—Eva Le Gallienne, George Jessel and Gertrude Niesen—the Capitol Theatre's stage show for the week beginning today promises to be pretentious entertainment and very much worth while.

Miss Eva Le Gallienne—distinguished American stage star, who has never before appeared in a motion picture theatre—will be seen in Sutro's one-act play "The Open Door." She will be assisted by the well-known leading man Donald Cameron.

George Jessel—a favorite with Capitol audiences—and the exotic Gertrude Niesen—song stylist—will share honors with Miss Le Gallienne. A group of the Danny Dare Girls will complete the stage fare. The screen feature for the week will be "The Girl from 10th Avenue," starring Bette Davis.

Two New Feature Films on Brooklyn Strand Screen

The new double feature bill at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre consists of "A Night at the Ritz," with William Gargan, Patricia Ellis and Allen Jenkins, and "My Heart Is Calling," a musical romance, with Jan Kiepura and Marta Eggerth.

Completing the program, the Strand offers a selected short subject and the Strand News Review. Another important feature at the Strand is the new low summer policy which went into effect a week ago.

Elizabeth Bergner in Screen Version of "Escape Me Never" at Music Hall

Elizabeth Bergner, noted actress of stage and screen, is to be seen at the Radio City Music Hall in a screened version of the Margaret Kennedy play, "Escape Me Never."

Miss Bergner just recently made her first Broadway appearance in the play, in which she was also sensationally successful on the London stage. She has appeared in the United States in only one previous motion picture, "Catherine the Great," which established her as a distinctive screen personality.

The original New York cast of "Escape Me Never," which played on Broadway in the footlight engagement, supports Miss Bergner in the new photoplay. It includes Hugh Sinclair, Griffith Jones, Leon Quartermaine, Penelope Dudley Ward, Rosalinde Fuller and Lyn Harding.

In addition to the new Bergner picture, the Music Hall program will include an elaborate stage show titled "Land of Lace," produced by Russell Markert, settings by Bruno Mainie, and featuring Robert Weede, the Music Hall Rockettes, Corps de Ballet and Glee Club.

Gilbert Miller & Leslie Howard in association with Arthur Hopkins present
LESLIE HOWARD
THE PETRIFIED FOREST
by ROBERT SHERWOOD
Theatre, W. 44th St. L.A.C. 4-1515. Evens, 8:45. Mats. Wednesday and Saturday, 2:45

JUDITH ANDERSON and HELEN MENKEN
THE OLD MAID
PULITZER PRIZE PLAY 1935
EMPIRE THEATRE Mats. Wednesday and Saturday 49th STREET

★★★ "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." —Burt Mantle, 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
Evens, 8:40—Mats. Mon., Thurs. & Sat.

GOOD BAL-
CONY SEATS
50¢ \$1.00
\$1.50 \$2.00
3 MEN ON A HORSE
Lockridge—Sun
"A Knockout"
Sobel—Mirror
PLAYHOUSE 18th St. E.
Eve 8:45 Mats Wed. & Sat. 2:45

Gladys George



Who continues in the leading role in "Personal Appearance," the Brock Pemberton Hit, which will stay at the Henry Miller's Theatre throughout the summer months.

"Thunder in the East" on Fox Brooklyn Screen—New Stage Revue

"Thunder in the East," previously titled "The Battle," is currently on the screen at the Fabian Fox Brooklyn Theatre. Charles Boyer, Merle Oberon, John Loder and Betty Stockfield have the principal roles in this Leon Garganoff production, presented by Al Lichtman and released through United Artists Corp.

The new stage show at the Fox is headed by Barbara McDonald, featured dancer of "Strike Me Pink."

"Them's the Reporters" Set for the Barrymore May 29th

The exact date of the Broadway premiere of "Them's the Reporters," Philip Jay Reeback's new comedy of newspaper "leg-men" and district police reporters, is now definitely set for Wednesday evening, May 29, at the Ethel Barrymore Theatre.

The cast, with but one female among the personnel, includes Helen Kingsley, Dave Burns, Cledge Roberts, Nat Burns, Howard Negley, Frederick Sherman and John Neill. William D. Grier has been made stage manager.

"Them's the Reporters" is being staged under the direction of Addison Pitt. Karl Amend is responsible for the setting.

Benefit Performance

A galaxy of Broadway stars, in person, and one of the Island's most popular orchestras will combine on June 1st and offer their services at the Jamaica Jewish Center, where the first multiple annual charity dance, sponsored by the Crier Clubs of Long Island, will be staged.

Organizations benefiting from the event include the Jamaica Day Nursery, the Family Welfare Society of Queens, and Mons. T. A. Nummey's Free Cafeteria.

Shubert Theatre for "Knock on Wood"

The Shubert Theatre has been chosen to house "Knock on Wood," Allen Rivkin's new comedy, which George "Lefty" Miller will bring to Broadway on May 28.

Featured in the production are James Rennie, Bruce MacFarlane, Lee Patrick, Sally Phipps, Albert Van Dekker, Calvin Thomas and James Spottswood.

Opens TUES. Eve., May 28 THEATRE OF ACTION (formerly Workers Laboratory Theatre) presents

THE YOUNG GO FIRST
A drama of the CCC camps
By PETER MARTIN, GEORGE SCUDDER and CHARLES FREEDMAN
PARK THEATRE (On Columbus Circle) 59th St.
Evens, 8:40—Mats. Sat. 2:40
PRICES 25c, 50c, 66c, 83c & \$1.10

LAST WEEK!! LAST WEEK!! THEATRE UNION'S STIRRING PLAY
BLACK PIT
CIVIC REPERTORY THEATRE, 14th Street & 6th Avenue
EVENS, 8:45—Prices 30c to \$1.50, No Tax—Mats. THURS. & SAT. 2:45—30c to \$1.00
"It serves excellently to define the worker's responsibility to his class—a decided advance in production standards."—JUSTICE

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"AWAKE and SING!"
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BELASCO THEATRE 49th Street, East of Broadway
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SHOWPLACE OF THE NATION RADIO CITY MUSIC HALL ROCKEFELLER CENTER
where better pictures are shown
ELISABETH BERGNER in
"ESCAPE ME NEVER"
ON THE STAGE, "Land of Lace," Russell Markert's gay fantasy in four colorful scenes with entire Music Hall ensemble; and the Symphony Orchestra under direction of Erno Rapaport; and AND... New Walt Disney Color Silly Symphony "Cookie Carnival"
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ALL THIS WEEK
"THE INFORMER"
with
VICTOR McLAGLEN
ON THE STAGE
THE FUNNYBONERS
BERT WALTON
DANNY DARE DANCERS
and other RKO Acts
PALACE B'way & 47th St.

Edmund LOWE
in
"MR. DYNAMITE"
★ PLUS STAGE SHOW ★
ARMIDA
DON DAVIS
FOUR TROJANS
JIMMY HADREAS
GAE FOSTER GIRLS
FREDDY MACK
ROXY ANY DAY!
25c to 2 P. M.
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11th Ave. & 80th St. ANY SEAT!
SHOW "FILL OF THE NATION"

Fabian's
FOX B'KLYN
FLATBUSH & NEVINS
"★★★★★"
—Daily News
—N.Y. Times
"THUNDER in the EAST"
Merle OBERON - Chas. BOYER
25c
AND GALA STAGE SHOW

"The Informer" Brings Victor McLaglen and Strong Cast to Albee Screen—New Stage Revue Headed by Three X Sisters

The self-wrought destruction of the primitive Irish giant whose life furnishes the theme for the RKO Albee's current screen attraction, "The Informer," pictures dramatically the fact that the atavistic brute has no place in a modern society, and inevitably harbors the instruments of his own doom.

Portrayed by Victor McLaglen, Gypo Nolan, the savage Irishman who wages a lone battle against the world in the screen play from Liam O'Flaherty's novel of the same name, battles himself against the unyielding traditions of his people. For money enough to satisfy the desires of the blonde woman he loves, Nolan betrays a friend. The realization of the import of his crime engenders in the brutish Irishman a turmoil of biting, human emotions which at last force him to reveal his guilt and make the inevitable payment of his life for an act considered by his fellow Irishmen as the most despicable of sins.

In this tale which tells with

searching humor and vital tragedy of the inevitable self-annihilation of the brute, Victor McLaglen receives fine support from a cast that includes Margot Grahame, Heather Angel, Preston Foster, Una O'Connor, and Wallace Ford.

The Albee is presenting on its stage the Three X Sisters, Le Paul, and an unusual dance revue, featuring Jean Deveroux, Fay, Tucker & Johnson, and Jack Seymour.

In Benefit Performance

Arthur Pierson, featured in "If a Body" at the Biltmore Theatre, will appear in his original sketch, "The Three Queens," assisted by Bruce Evans and Butler Hickson, at the Physicians' Equity Ass'n Benefit, this Sunday at the Center Theatre.

The sketch, a "satirical soliloquy" about Katharine Hepburn, Marlene Dietrich and Greta Garbo, was presented for the first time at the Lambs Club Public Gambol, which took place at the Waldorf several weeks ago.

Capitol
B'way & 31st St. Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir.
NOW PLAYING!

"My men are he-men or dead men when I get through with them."

The Hell-cat of "Bordertown" and "Of Human Bondage"

BETTE DAVIS
in
"The Girl From 10th AVE."
with
COLIN CLIVE
ALISON SKIPWORTH
IAN HUNTER
a First National Picture

ON STAGE
The Distinguished American Actress
MISS EVA LE GALLIENNE
in "THE OPEN DOOR"
with DONALD CAMERON
America's Smartest Comedian
GERTRUDE NIESEN
Columbia Broadcasting System presents
STANLEY TWINS
32 DANNY DARE GIRLS

at **LOEW'S** near your home

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Paul MUNI
in A First National Picture
"BLACK FURY"

TODAY, SAT., SUN., MON. — MAY 24, 25, 26, 27
14th Street & 6th Avenue
★ **SHERIDAN** 125 Street West of 7th Ave. (L.A.C. "Love in Bloom")
★ **KINGS** 97th Street & Hudson (L.A.C. "Love in Bloom")
★ **PITKIN** 175th Street & Broadway (L.A.C. "Love in Bloom")
★ **TRIBORO** Broadway & 6th Ave. (L.A.C. "Love in Bloom")
★ **YONKERS** 100th Street & Broadway (L.A.C. "Love in Bloom")
★ **MOUNT VERNON** 100th Street & Broadway (L.A.C. "Love in Bloom")
★ **WHITE PLAINS** 100th Street & Broadway (L.A.C. "Love in Bloom")
★ Plus "Star Night in Coconut Grove"

Today, Sat., Sun. May 24, 25, 26
42nd St. at 1st Ave. (L.A.C. "Love in Bloom")
★ **IN WOOD** Dyckman St. & Post Ave. (L.A.C. "Love in Bloom")
Sat., Sun., Mon., Tues. May 25, 26, 27, 28
R.I.O. 100th & Broadway (L.A.C. "Love in Bloom")

ALL THIS WEEK
"THE INFORMER"
with
VICTOR McLAGLEN
★ RKO VAUDEVILLE ★
THREE X SISTERS
HARRY SAVOY
LE PAUL
and other RKO Acts
ALBEE Albee Square BROOKLYN

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The Workers Abroad

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

By John Powers

The Election in Czechoslovakia

LAST Sunday's election in Czechoslovakia brought results which while not immediately alarming cannot be said to be satisfactory to those who would like to see Hitlerism and all its works smashed.

While in the country as a whole the Socialists and democratic parties held their own, the majority of the German population, comprising about 3,000,000 of the country's total of 14,700,000, rallied to the support of Konrad Henlein's South German Front, which is the Hitler organization in Czechoslovakia.

Although it had been expected that the South German Front would gain considerably, due to large financial assistance from Berlin, the strong nationalist feeling of the German population favoring union with Germany, and the local terrorization conducted by the Hitlerites despite precautions taken by the central government at Prague, the South German Front came out of the election the strongest single party in the country, with 1,294,000 votes, as compared with 1,176,000 votes for the Czech Agrarian Party, which heretofore had held the lead.

The German-speaking Social Democracy lost heavily, its seats being cut from twenty-one to eleven. On the other hand, the Czech Socialists retained their strength virtually intact, losing only one seat.

They will now have 37 seats in parliament. The Communists retained their thirty seats, the Czech Catholics lost three, while the native fascists (Gajda party), who in 1929 had failed to capture any mandates, will now have six. The Czech Agrarians will be represented with 45 seats in the new chamber, as against 44 for the South German Front.

The party of Foreign Minister Benes, intensely democratic and socialist in principle, dropped from thirty-two seats to twenty-eight. Virtually every other party in parliament lost a seat or two. There are 300 seats in the chamber.

Summary of the Results

Summing up the results, it appears on the basis of fairly complete returns that while fascism has obtained an increased representation in parliament, the Socialist and democratic parties retain the upper hand, although in view of the number of seats controlled by the South German Front and the Communists, to which must be added the six seats of the native fascist party, it may be more difficult to form a new cabinet because of the multiplicity of parties.

We thus have a situation outwardly analogous to that which existed in the German Reichstag before the advent of Hitler to power: a multiplicity of parties, a combined fascist-communist opposition against democracy, and the consequent chronic interference with the normal functioning of democratic government, which found expression in increasing sentiment against parliament as such.

But this analogy must be tempered considerably by other, favorable factors, as regards Czechoslovakia. Unlike the agrarians in Germany, the Czech peasant party is intensely democratic, as are the great majority of the middle classes. Fascist sentiment among the non-German population of the country is very slight. Nevertheless, the victory of the South German Front and the presence of thirty Communists in the chamber, combined with the serious internal economic situation and the difficult international position of Czechoslovakia, wedged in among group of fascist states, will serve to make more difficult the problems confronting the gallant little republic which has so bravely held aloft the banner of democracy and liberty against the surrounding rising tide of fascism.

An Advantage for Hitler

It may be expected that Hitler Germany will take full advantage of the victory of the South German Front, whose adherents look to the union of the German districts of Czechoslovakia with Germany, with which they had never been united in modern times. Although Hitler Germany can do nothing about it at the present moment, the gains registered by the South German Front will give Hitler a big talking point for home and foreign consumption as indicating the advance of sentiment in what Hitler calls the German Irridenta for reunion of "the lost Teuton tribes" with Germany.

It would be futile to deny that the position of the Czechoslovak Republic, led by its great scholar-statesman Masaryk, has been rendered more difficult by the results of the election. But despite the new difficulties we may be sure that the democracy of Czechoslovakia will assert itself to the last and that in event of crisis it will have behind it the support of all democratic Europe and of the international Socialist and labor movement.

Communists Play Old Role

At this point we inevitably come to a discussion of the policy and tactics of the Communists. They failed to make any gains in the election, but have retained their strength. As in Germany, where they had left nothing undone to undermine the democratic order and assisted the fascists on every possible occasion in harassing and undermining the republican regime, so in Czechoslovakia they continue to pursue the same policy. Because of this they must bear a large share of responsibility for the present situation and its possible consequences. Like the Bourbons, the official Communists have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. They continue to play their role of handmaidens of reaction.

Honest Communists have begun to perceive this fact, and in various countries we find many such Communists returning to the fold of the Social Democratic and Labor parties in increasing numbers. Czechoslovakia is the only country, in addition to France, where there remains a Communist movement of any considerable proportions, but there, too, individuals and groups have begun to break away from Stalinist tutelage and are affiliating with the Social Democracy.

An encouraging development in this respect occurred before last Sunday's election in the town of Altendorf, in the German section, where the Communist town organization repudiated the Communist Party and rejoined the Socialists. In doing so the members of this organization made public a declaration to all workers calling upon them to follow their example. The text of the declaration was published in the Prague *Sozialdemokrat*, May 5. It follows:

Text of the Declaration

"We the undersigned former members and functionaries of the Communist Party have joined the Social Democratic Party. The following motives prompted us to this move:

"Before the split (in the Czechoslovak labor movement) we were Social Democrats. After the split we joined the Communist Party because we believed that by doing so we would serve the interests of the working class. Despite some disillusionments we remained in the Communist Party for more than ten years.

"But more and more we were compelled to perceive that the Communist policy was absolutely fruitless and that the revolutionary aspirations of the workers could not find expression in that party because of the rigid bureaucratic leadership.

"We perceived also the destructive consequences of splits and that despite all the talk of the Communist Party about a united front it was not honestly interested in the restoration of genuine proletarian united action.

"On the other hand, we perceived that the Social Democratic Party has remained united and capable of action. We perceived that this party has held firm in the midst of the storm of the crisis, that it was and is the true guardian of the interests of the workers, and has successfully defended the interests of the unemployed. We perceived that in the midst of the rising tide of fascism the Social Democracy has preserved for the workers in this state their most precious possessions, political freedom, and that it has fought for cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Soviet Russia in efforts to create a world front for resistance to fascism.

"From these considerations and realizations, after mature deliberation, we have drawn the only true conclusion:

"We have returned to the Social Democracy for the emancipation of the working class and for the victory of Socialism.

"By this step we wish to contribute to making possible the unity of the working class, which we consider so essential.

"We appeal to you, workingmen and workingwomen who still remain in the Communist movement, to follow our example. Do not waste your precious political right in the coming election, but vote for the party of struggle and unity, the Social Democracy!

"Freedom!"

This declaration, we may add, is the only road to a genuine united front.

The End of a Communist Illusion

By John Powers

TODAY the seventh congress of the Communist International is scheduled to meet in Moscow. There has been no congress of the Comintern since 1928. Several postponements of its convocation have marked the intervening period. The opening of the meeting scheduled for today was originally set for May 1, and no explanation was given for this latest postponement.

The reason soon became apparent, however, in the negotiations for a military alliance between Soviet Russia and France and the intervening visit to Moscow of Pierre Laval, French foreign minister, to cement the alliance.

It would be rather inconvenient to stage parades for "world revolution" simultaneously with a military review in honor of M. Laval and the military alliance with the bourgeois government. M. Laval's departure mercifully removed the embarrassment. Moreover it was difficult to shape the program and agenda of the Communist International until after M. Laval's visit. Russia's national interests required a clearing up of the status of her relations with France, which now forms the keystone of her foreign policy, before the Communist International could be permitted to speak.

M. Laval's visit thus served to emphasize what has long been apparent—that the Comintern has ceased to be an organ of revolutionary action and propaganda and has become a mere instrument of Russian national policy. From a mighty, threatening instrument of world revolution it has degenerated to the status of a second-rate bureau of the Russian foreign office. Today, as will be shown later, it is but a shadow of its old self, its degeneration and decline symbolizing more than anything else the political and moral bankruptcy of bolshevism. No longer does it dream with Trotsky of "carrying the revolution on Red bayonets to the banks of the Rhine." Bourgeois governments it had come to destroy are living in amity and cooperation with its master, the Soviet Government. Countries in which the Comintern had won its greatest victories in the early years of its career, when it sought to light "a world conflagration," are under fascist rule, made possible largely by its own policies and actions and those of its affiliated parties. Workers whose imagination it had fired with the vision and promise of

Rise and Fall of the Communist International—Comintern Congress Meets in Moscow Today for the First Time in Seven Years—Catastrophic Decline of Its Power and Prestige—Its Role as Parent of Fascism.

world revolt have abandoned it and have returned, in increasing numbers, to the Labor and Socialist International as the true instrument of working class emancipation.

A Tragic History

Tragic, indeed, has been the history of the Communist International, tragic in more senses than one. The illusions it cultivated have been cruelly shattered, but so also have been those organizations of the working class in a number of countries who have blindly followed along the line of irresponsible adventurism laid out by the Communist International under the direction of Moscow. It is now only a question of a short time when the once proud Comintern will become but a sad memory and a warning to the working class in its struggle for liberation, while Soviet diplomats continue to stage gala reviews and costly receptions for leaders of capitalist governments.

How has this come about? Why this political and moral collapse? And what are its lessons for the working class?

The answers to these questions must be sought in an examination of the historical development of the Bolshevik regime in Russia and the international Communist movement to which it gave birth. We have no space here for an exhaustive study, but we shall attempt to indicate the most pertinent points.

The Communist International was formed on Lenin's initiative March 4, 1919. Its one great purpose was to promote world revolution. World revolution was the keystone of the bolshevik theory and program as originally propounded by Lenin and Trotsky. The inevitability of world revolution was the accepted faith of the Communist dictatorship in Russia for the first six or seven years of its rule. The theory rested also on the conviction of Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, first president of the Communist International, and the other bolshevik leaders, that the Soviet regime could endure only if supported by world revolution. And with Lenin, its founder, the leaders of the Communist International proclaimed that the world revolution was around the corner.

Writing in the first issue of the

Komunistichesky International, organ of the Comintern, established May 7, 1919, Zinoviev declared:

Illusions and Realities

"Old Europe is dashing at mad speed towards the proletarian revolution. . . . The movement is proceeding at such terrific speed that we may say with full confidence within a year we shall already begin to forget that there was a struggle for Communism in Europe, because in a year the whole of Europe will be Communist. And the struggle for Communism will be transferred to America, perhaps to Asia and to other parts of the world."

"Perhaps we shall see—for a few years, and side by side with Communism Europe—American capitalism continue to exist. Perhaps even in England capitalism will continue to exist for a year or two, side by side with Communism victorious in the whole of continental Europe. But such coexistence cannot last long. To use the expression of the mouthpiece of the French bourgeoisie, *Le Temps*, we may say: capitalism America and Communism Europe cannot live together. Certainly not for any length of time."

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is the order of the day in the whole of the civilized world."

All our disappointments of today will, in a few months, appear utterly insignificant in comparison with the great victories which we shall have won in the meantime. There is no more durable building than the building of the Third International whose foundations were laid in March 1919. Under the flag of the Third International the working class will be victorious throughout the entire world."

Zinoviev was echoing the views of Lenin. Speaking at the fifth congress of the Comintern, which met from June 17 to July 8, 1924, when it had already become clear that the Communist conception of world revolution was sheer illusion, Zinoviev shamefacedly declared:

"There was a time—during the peace negotiations of Brest Litovsk—when even Vladimir Ilyich [Lenin] believed that the victory of revolution in a number of advanced European countries was a question of merely two or three months. There was a time when we, in the Central Committee of the party, measured in hours the progress of events in Germany and Austria. First, then, we believed that if we seized governmental power we should by this very fact tomorrow give free hand to revolution in other countries. Second, we believed

that if this by any chance did not take place, then we, as an isolated revolution, as a sole revolutionary country left to itself, could not survive and were doomed to destruction."

Writing at the time of the formation of the Communist International, Bukharin said:

"Under the existing conditions of world economy and the interdependence of the various states—organized groups of the bourgeoisie—it goes without saying that the struggle in one country cannot be successful without the victory of the corresponding combatants in other civilized countries. And this is a question of our front, and very largely a question of the development of the world revolution."

Lenin's Strategy

As a Marxist, who until a few months before the Bolshevik coup d'état had never expected the Russian Revolution to assume Socialist form (because of the political, social and economic backwardness of Russia), Lenin had found it difficult to reconcile his Marxist position with his seizure of power for the purpose of immediate introduction of Socialism in Russia. He, therefore, invented the theory of immediate world revolution. Socialism in backward Russia was to be made possible through revolution in the more advanced industrial countries. Russia under bolshevik rule was to be the "springboard," as Lenin termed it, for world revolution. And, indeed, Lenin's faith

(Continued on Page Eight)



Police and Vigilantes in a battle with striking longshoremen at Jackson, California. Picture shows the scene after the police had thrown a gas bomb.

Is Fascism Inevitable in All Countries?

Theory of Fascism as Last Stage of Capitalism Not Borne Out

By Facts—A Critical Analysis of This Theory :: By David Shub

A VIEW now widely prevalent in "radical" circles both here and abroad is that fascism represents the inevitable last stage of capitalism, the final means whereby the ruling classes attempt to retain power and save themselves from extinction. Many of these radicals even maintain that fascism, in one form or another, is inevitable in all countries unless the working class makes haste to seize power by force and establish a dictatorship of "workers and peasants" or of "revolutionary parties."

This view is particularly fashionable among our parlor-bolshevik intelligentsia, of whom Mr. John Strachey is the saint and prophet. The ruling classes, we are told, will never give up power voluntarily. As soon as they perceive the imminence of a working class government coming into being by legal, democratic methods, a government pledged to the expropriation of the expropriators, they will immediately throw overboard the democratic constitution and establish a fascist dictatorship. Events in Italy, Germany and Austria, say these "radicals," will be repeated in other countries if the workers rely on "capitalist constitutions" and "capitalist democracy," and fail to make timely preparation for a dictatorship of their own.

The future of Socialism and democracy would, indeed, be dark if the situation were really as our left wing and parlor-bolshevik friends picture it to be. Fortunately, this is far from the truth. It would be futile to prophesy what sort of regime will succeed the present fascist government in Germany or Austria. It is possible that the regime will be succeeded by a Socialist order, as predicted by some. But to maintain that fascism is everywhere the final stage of capitalism is self-deception. It is impossible to determine when the final stage of capitalism will begin and what forms this final stage will assume.

The Socialist "Danger"

To be sure, fascism has been and is supported by many capitalists. This is not, however, the same as saying that fascism represents the means whereby the capitalist classes attempt to save themselves from the dangers of Socialism. The "Socialist danger" is much greater in

Sweden, Denmark and Norway, where Socialists are at the helm and are effecting many radical reforms, than it was in Latvia or even in Germany and Austria before the advent of fascism. No thinking person will assert that there was any danger last spring of the Latvian capitalists losing their power and property, or that there was any Socialist or Communist "danger" even in Germany in 1932.

The labor movement in Germany had never been so weak in the fourteen years after the revolution of 1918 as it was in 1932, due to the effects of the prolonged depression, the consequent mass unemployment and the political situation as it had been developing for some time. There was a Socialist "danger" in 1928, when the Socialist Herman Mueller was chancellor and the Social Democrats and the Socialist trade unions were strong and militant. At that time, however, the German fascist movement was very weak, in fact non-existent as a mass movement.

A similar situation prevailed in Austria. Not even the most radical

members of the Austrian Social Democracy had ventured in 1932 or 1933 to advocate a proletarian revolution with the immediate establishment of Socialism. In Austria, too, there was no imminent danger threatening the capitalist class before the fascist overturn.

In Great Britain the Socialist "danger" is much stronger today than it was in Germany in 1932 or in Austria in 1933. Nevertheless, fascism is making little, if any, headway in Great Britain. The same is true of Scandinavia.

The reasons for the development and triumph of fascism in certain countries are not to be sought where Communists and some Socialists try to find them. The theory that fascism is the deliberate invention of capitalism as a means of saving it from Socialism is quite erroneous.

Fascism in Italy, Germany, Austria and Latvia rests primarily upon the support of the peasants, the urban middle classes and large sections of impoverished and despairing intellectuals and workers, particularly unemployed workers, who were not at all enthusiastic

supporters of capitalism.

For every capitalist in Italy supporting the fascists when they came into power there were ten others who gave their support to various anti-fascist parties. In Germany, only a part of the capitalist class supported Hitler and with all their support Hitler would not have been able to establish his sadistic regime without the support of millions of Germans of other classes.

The Roots of Fascism

The roots of fascism vary in the different countries. There were three conditions, however, as a rule, common to all countries where fascism succeeded in imposing its sway. These conditions were:

1. Acute economic crisis, with great unemployment and suffering among large masses of the population.
2. The weakening of parliamentary government, leading to a situation in which no party was strong enough to compel adoption of desired and necessary legislation, since the other parties were numerous enough to block it.
3. The existence of a large Communist movement, excepting in Aus-

tria, or a similar movement preaching a "revolutionary dictatorship."

In every country where fascism has triumphed these conditions existed to a greater or lesser degree.

The economic crisis everywhere created a favorable soil for propaganda against the existing order. In countries like the United States and Great Britain, with a two party tradition or system, the mass dissatisfaction with existing conditions expressed itself in the ousting from power of the governments in control and their substitution by governments of the opposition. In countries whose political system was characterized by the competition of many parties, however, and where no single party or combination of parties was strong enough to force its will upon parliament the result was complete disillusionment with the parliamentary system and a growing yearning for "a strong hand."

The Historic Record

Fascism would never have succeeded, however, if the Communists by their tactics and propaganda had not created a fertile soil for it. Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin pointed the way for Mussolini and other dictators. Lenin and Trotsky had proclaimed that freedom was a bourgeois superstition and that democracy was nothing but a swindle of the ruling classes. For years the Communists had done everything possible to malign and discredit democracy and the parliamentary system in the eyes of the masses. This was a fundamental contribution to the destruction of liberty by fascism wherever it has gained control.

In Italy, the senseless tactics of the Communists and their allies, the Maximalists, brought about the situation that enabled Mussolini to seize power. In 1920 the Socialists were the most powerful party in the Italian Chamber of Deputies. If they had entered into a coalition with the democratic bourgeois parties and groups that were definitely hostile to fascism, as had been suggested by Nitti and others, it would have been possible to set up a strong and stable government which could have successfully defied attempts at overthrow. The Communists and the left Socialists, who were then in control of the Socialist Party, refused to enter

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Important Series of Articles by Kirby Page Will Begin in Next Week's New Leader

WHAT is the economic set-up in the United States regarding the ruling forms of property? How is income distributed, how unequal is the distribution, and who gets most of it? What is capitalistic property, anyway? What about the division of society into classes? Does the class struggle become sharper? Can capitalism emerge out of the depression?

All these questions can only be answered by a study of the facts of current economic life in the United States in the light of Socialist theory and philosophy. This is work that has too often been neglected by Socialists. What are the facts?

The New Leader is glad to announce that Kirby Page has made a searching study of present-day American capitalism, and that his

analysis, interpretation and conclusions will appear in The New Leader in a series of articles that will begin next week. Here will be found the authentic answers to the questions asked above.

There has been too much guess-work in these matters and now our readers will have the benefit of the keen research of a competent student and writer in these articles.

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Kirby Page

What Has Father Coughlin to Offer? A Fourth Rate Thinker, He Demands Unthinking Obedience of Those Who Follow Him :: By James Oneal

IN periods of economic disaster we have always had the Messiah of liberation. They come with queer programs that get a following among sections of the population afflicted with the disaster. In addition to the Messiahs a babel of voices give varied interpretations of the causes of economic crises. The sum total of all this is confusion of thought and action that leads up a blind alley.

This confusion of thinking has been typical of every industrial crisis in our history since the first severe one in 1837 and the crisis of 1857 heaved up many Father Coughlins, Huey Longs and Dr. Townsends. The terrible calamity mystified journalists, politicians, bankers and parsons and their explanations of the crisis were amusing. The Rev. Dr. Cheever declared that "God had never put into any nation's framework better machinery than he put into this nation, but when the fires of prayer, truth and honesty go out, the machinery ceases to work, and there is no hope left. Their only hope now is in prayer."

Father Coughlin gets some of this mysticism into his "Principles" which are mailed to anxious inquirers. He asserts that the unequal distribution of wealth is due to the "harsh, cruel and grasping ways of wicked men who first concentrated wealth into the hands of a few." If that be true, then parson Cheever's prayers to soften the hearts of "wicked men" should be effective in establishing a more equitable distribution of wealth.

"Explaining" Depressions
Even that erratic genius, Horace Greeley, ascribed the crisis of 1857 to the tariff of 1846 and the increase of foreign and domestic debts. Henry Ward Beecher emphasized stock gambling and Theodore Parker thought one important cause was the "increased expense of city, town and state governments." Other reasons offered were the unprofitable building of railroads, decrease in immigration, excessive importation of ornamental goods, neglect of the "homelier and manlier occupations,

particularly farming," and excessive fondness for "meaner callings—such as storekeeping, banking and speculation."

Three Congressional committees investigated the causes of the depressions of 1873 and 1886. Representatives of the various groups and professions mentioned above appeared before these committees and their explanations were largely an expansion of the interpretations of 1857. Among the "causes" of depressions which the Longs and Coughlins of that day presented were the following: Undue influence of agitators, want of confidence, corruption of municipal governments, an impractical common school system, devotion to new fashions in dress, harmful indulgences, intemperance, withholding the franchise from women, free passes on railroads, faulty collection of government revenue, agitation of the tariff, adulteration of food, inadequate training of girls for future duties, excessive use of tobacco and—"want of employment!" The "explanations" offered to these Congressional committees by the "thinking men" of that period were classified by Commissioner of Labor, Carroll D. Wright, under 68 main heads! His "Report on Industrial Depressions," which appeared in 1886, when compared with the intellectual output of today, shows little advance in general understanding of the causes of industrial depressions.

Father Coughlin's Program

Father Coughlin has come to the East and we have seen that in one basic idea he agrees with the Rev. Dr. Cheever in 1857. Father Coughlin's "Preamble and Principles of the National Union for Social Justice" presents a careful outline of his program. All of his broadcasts are based upon these principles. The fundamentals are contained in Clauses 2, 3 and 4. The remaining clauses are merely expansions and explanations of these fundamentals. Here are the basic clauses:

"I believe that every citizen willing to work and capable of working shall receive a just and living annual wage which will

enable him to maintain and educate his family according to the standards of American decency."

"I believe in nationalizing those public necessities which by their very nature are too important to be held in the control of private individuals." By these I mean banking, credit and currency, power, light, oil and natural gas and our God-given natural resources.

"I believe in private ownership of all other property." The first clause, instead of explaining, requires explanation. What is "a just and living annual wage"? What are "standards of American decency"? Father Coughlin, perhaps, thinks that if a worker can "maintain and educate his family according to the standards of American decency," then he receives a "just" wage.

For the purpose of discussion, let us assume that the average annual wage becomes \$3,000 and that the worker can maintain and educate his family on this income. This will realize Father Coughlin's idea of "social justice."

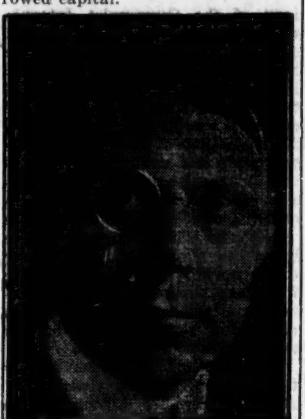
But assume further that the average annual value created by the workers is \$4,000; that is, a thousand dollars in excess of the \$3,000 wage; should the working class be satisfied with this arrangement? If so, then Father Coughlin's idea of "social justice" is consistent with the perpetuation of capitalism which Coughlin denounces.

Coughlin Accepts Capitalism

Moreover, his use of the word "wage" without the slightest hint at the abolition of the wage system shows that he accepts the system of capitalist production which is the basis of the exploitation of labor and the basic cause of industrial depressions. Socialists also fight for more wages side by side with the workers in their struggles, but they also have in mind the ultimate abolition of the wage system. Why?

The payment of a wage by capitalists implies that they own the machinery of production and distribution. Workers must have access to this machinery in order to live. Workers have labor power

and capitalists buy it. They buy it by paying a wage. When labor power is bought, there is human exploitation. The workers produce values in excess of the value of labor power. The capitalist reaps a clear gain by paying a wage for labor power. What is left after paying a "living annual wage" goes into the pockets of the capitalists, except for the rent they may pay and the interest paid upon borrowed capital.



James Oneal

Here is the source of the robbery of the working class and one of the main causes of industrial depressions. Excess values eventually accumulate in the market. The owners want to sell commodities, but workers cannot buy. Decreased consumption is due to a deficit of purchasing power. We could use what we cannot buy, but we cannot buy what we want to use. Here is a conflict between human wants and the capitalist system of exchanging the commodities that would satisfy these wants.

Father Coughlin's "social justice" guarantees the capitalist class the continuance of their power to exploit labor!

Favors Labor Exploitation

Father Coughlin considers certain "public necessities" . . . too important to be held in the control of private individuals." These necessities are banking, credit and currency, power, light, oil and natural gas and "our God-given natural resources." These he would nationalize. Very well. But why nationalize banking, power, light, oil and natural gas sources and plants and not the railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steel, coal, textile, copper, aluminum and other big industries? Are the industries which he omits from his program angelic examples of "social justice" which do not require nationalization? If not, why is he silent regarding many industries which are revolting examples of measureless exploitation of workers and the company unionism of slave-drivers and spies?

He declares that the enterprises which he would nationalize are "public necessities" and "too important" to be left in private hands. Why are not those we have mentioned also public necessities and too important to be left in private hands? Coughlin's "principles" give no hint whatever for the arbitrary selection he makes.

On the contrary, he goes on to say that, excepting the enterprises he mentions, "I believe in private ownership of all other property." He tosses five or six big enterprises into the category of nationalization and says to the owners of big capital in hundreds of other industries: "I favor your class ownership and your power to exploit labor in your industries. It is perfectly consistent with my principles."

No Program for Farmers

Even the nationalization which he supports may mean substituting state capitalism for private capitalism. The state can be as mean an exploiter of labor as the corporation, as postal workers long ago learned. His nationalization makes no provision for labor representation in the administration of nationalized industries, and this is vital if we are to avoid a bureaucracy similar to the bureaucracy over workers in the corporation industries.

Father Coughlin's "principles" contain nothing of interest to another section of the labor army—the working farmers—except the nationalization of banking and credit. Assume that this is accomplished; will the working farmers be released from the terrible exploitation which has been their lot during most of the period following the Civil War? Certainly not.

The farmer is the victim of many of the industries which Coughlin omits from his program of nationalization, especially the manufacturers of farm machinery and supplies, the railroads, elevator companies, the steel and aluminum corporations, the numerous organizations of middlemen and gamblers on the grain and cotton exchanges. Knowing the long and legitimate grievances of the tillers of the soil against the financial usurers, Father Coughlin throws a sop to them in urging nationalization of banking and credit.

Then there is a whole crop of natural disasters which fall almost exclusively upon the farmers and

which should be carried by society as a whole which Father Coughlin does not consider. The farmer bears the cost of weather hazards, of drought and hail, of floods and pests and dust storms. All these should be a social charge upon the whole of society, distributing the burden so that through some form of insurance against losses the rest of the population will help to bear them. The "social justice" that does not take this into account is like the traditional figure whose eyes are bandaged.

"Follow Me!"

There is another aspect of the "principles" that should not be ignored. It is contained in the final paragraph which reads:

"These are MY beliefs. These are the fundamentals of the organization which I present to you under the name of the National Union for Social Justice. It is YOUR privilege to reject or accept MY beliefs; to follow ME or repudiate ME."

Here is the dangerous cult of "leadership" to be found in the careers of Hitler and Mussolini. "I present to you. Follow me." Nay, he even says that it "is YOUR privilege" to follow him!

It is Coughlin's organization, his ideas, his program, his leadership, and he sounds the tocsin, "follow ME." This course is a repudiation of democratic organization and substitution of the will of the leader. Father Coughlin would yet his course is that of the demagogue, one who does not trust the masses, one who thinks of himself as a Messiah, and who thinks that he is extending a "privilege" to workers to enroll under his banner.

A Fourth-Grade Thinker

Neither his program, his methods or his organization is ranged against capitalism, and the tendency of his self-imposed leadership is to capitalize the misery of the working class for his own prestige. His course is quite in contrast with that of Eugene V. Debs, who always said: "I am not a leader and do not want to be a leader."

The laboring masses must learn to rely upon their own resources, their own thinking and their own organizations which they democratically control to win deliverance from the nightmare of the depression. The "leader" who carries an organization in his pocket and cries "follow me" is a dangerous demagogue. He is more likely to lead the masses to the shambles than anywhere else.

Father Coughlin's vague and contradictory program also shows that he is a fourth-grade thinker, incapable of understanding the basic economics of the capitalist system.

The Socialist program, based upon the interests of the laboring masses, on democratic organiza-

tion of the voters, demanding the collective ownership and control of all industries based upon exploitation, will alone solve the problems of the industrial crisis. In building for this social revolution we have no need of Führers—clerical, political, military or otherwise.

The New Leader Book Corner

MOSCOW CARROUSEL

By S. M. Levitas

Up to a year or two ago it seemed that publishers were unwilling to print serious books critical of the Soviet regime. For one reason or another it appeared that there was no market for such works, and only books ballyhooing the Soviet experiment, and those savagely antagonistic to all radicalism appeared to be able to find publishers.

There has, however, been a change and within the past year we have had such fine books as William H. Chamberlain's "Russia's Iron Age," Madame Tchernavina's "Escape From the Soviets," and now we have "Moscow Carrousel" by Eugene Lyons, for many years United Press correspondent in Russia ("Moscow Carrousel," Alfred A. Knopf).

If the first book is an excellent contribution to the study of the economic development of contemporary Russia; if the second gives a vivid picture of the life of the Russian intelligentsia under the yoke of the Communist party dictatorship, Lyons' book should be called one of human relations in Soviet Russia.

The reader will not find any charts, plans, statistics or figures, but from the first to the last page you are moved by the terrible humdrum existence of the average man in Soviet Russia. You feel that every page is drenched with tears, soaked in blood, and bitter with the privations of the average Russian citizen.

Eugene Lyons does not belong to the group of pseudo-intellectuals, who, after a three-day visit in Moscow, come back to America for a circuit of three months' lecturing. Lyons lived in Russia for six years, from 1928 to 1934, where he travelled extensively. What he tells us in the 357 pages of the book is worth reading and studying. It shows us the different life of the various classes in Russia and, as Lyons declares, "There is not one Moscow, but a thousand."

The bourgeois lives a different life from the political commissar,

the G.P.U. (secret police) and the worker; the office employee and the director of the factory. Here is an opportunity to look in, not on the parades, not on the disciplined Red Army, not on the hand-picked congresses of the Communist party, but into the kitchens and bedrooms of the Russian people.

He tells us about the canonization of Stalin and brings undeniable proof that even Lenin now occupies a secondhand position in the press, in the posters and the well-organized publicity campaign. As Lyons says, "Nowhere in the world is the cult of the personal leader so deeply rooted. The century-old habits of ikon-worship and submission to a personal autocracy have been transmuted and given new forms, but they have by no means been expunged."

It is very interesting to read the chapters on heretics and orthodoxy which give us an inside picture of how the Communist party deals with all those who disagree with Stalin, who may have been leaders of the former party movement in and out of Russia.

As in every dictatorship, bureaucracy is an organic part of the system. As Lyons puts it, "Bureaucracy eats into the body of Soviet life like a cancer. It cannot be cured as long as the forms of power remain as they are. Even the campaigns against it become cluttered and impotent through bureaucracy."

Every real friend of Russia ought to read this book because it is humane and opens for us the inner life of the "communized" Russia.



The End of an Illusion

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in the imminence of such revolution constituted the *raison d'être* of the Communist dictatorship. This was the big excuse Lenin and his lieutenants offered for the forcible seizure of power by the Communists and the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, the first all-Soviet parliament in the history of the world, forcibly dissolved by the Bolsheviks in January, 1918.

The theory of "Socialism in a single country," rejected by Lenin and today still opposed by Trotsky, was developed later, under Stalin, when it had become quite clear even to the Bolsheviks around the ruling Stalin group that the world revolution in which Lenin and Trotsky believed so fervently was but a mirage. The theory of "Socialism in one country" had to be invented as a new excuse for the continuance of the Communist dictatorship in even more ruthless form than under Lenin and Trotsky. Bolshevism has shown a remarkable capacity for changing its theories to suit the convenience of the dictatorship. Some people call it clever *realpolitik*. Others, who still believe in Socialist principles, give it the more proper name of shameless opportunism.

Zinoviev is today in prison and Trotsky is in exile. Communist dissidents in Soviet Russia are being shot and exiled by the hundreds. But this should not be surprising. When a dictatorial regime, proven wrong by history, seeks nevertheless to find new excuses for remaining in power—and no dictatorship has ever surrendered power voluntarily—it does not stop at the destruction even of those who gave it birth.

The Logic of Dictatorship

The present stage of the Communist dictatorship in Russia, the logical consequence of the theory of "Socialism in one country," and very properly characterized by Trotsky as tending toward Bonapartism and fraught with grave dangers for the revolution, is but the inevitable fruition of the dictatorship as established by Lenin and Trotsky and of their pet theory of world revolution. As events have demonstrated there was no more real basis for the theory of world revolution than there is for Stalin's theory of "Socialism in one country." Lenin and Trotsky did not believe in "Socialism in one country." That is why when the illusion of world revolution had been shattered by events Lenin turned the wheel sharply to the right and introduced his New Economic Policy, in March, 1921—"seriously and for a long time."

The introduction of the New Economic Policy was the beginning of a return to old Marxian positions. Trotsky opposed and sabotaged the New Economic Policy. After Lenin's death in 1924 he persisted in defending his theory of

"permanent revolution," as he continues to do today, and demanded a return to "military communism." In the ensuing factional struggle for power Stalin accepted Trotsky's position, but minus the world revolution—and minus Trotsky.

We do not know what would have happened if Lenin had lived, whether the New Economic Policy would have been permitted to take its natural course, with all the salutary developments for Russia and the revolution which such a course would have entailed, or whether Lenin, too, would have performed another of his zigzags to preserve the Communist dictatorship. The fact remains, however, that Stalin and Stalinism are only the mature expression of what Lenin and Trotsky built when they based their whole strategy upon world revolution and persisted in maintaining the Communist dictatorship long after their strategy had been proven erroneous by events and the retreat to the New Economic Policy. Dictatorship has its own inexorable logic.

History's Own Criticism

Was the theory of world revolution propounded by Lenin and Trotsky any more tenable than Stalin's of "Socialism in one country"? Events have given the answer in the negative. Trotsky now maintains that "Socialism in one country" is threatening Russia with Bonapartism. But is it not a fact that the theory of world revolution, and the actions and policies arising therefrom, as pursued through the instrumentality of the Communist International since its formation in 1919, have led to fascism in a series of other countries? Trotsky may now assert that he opposed the Communist policy in Germany as directed by Stalin. But was it not he who helped direct the policy of the Communist International when it facilitated the rise of fascism in Hungary, Bavaria and Italy and thus laid the foundation for the further development of fascism?

No, the decline and degeneration of the Communist International is to be sought in its beginnings, in the principles and policies as laid down originally by Lenin and Trotsky.

The Socialist View and Warning

Socialists in Russia and elsewhere rejected the Lenin-Trotsky theory of world revolution because they considered it reckless and utopian. Very properly they argued that because a certain type of revolution had occurred in Russia, the offspring of conditions peculiar to that country alone, there was no reason to expect that such a revolution would occur in the industrially advanced countries of Western Europe. And with equal truth they maintained in 1917-18 that while revolutions of a type peculiar to the countries in question might be expected in Germany and Aus-

tria in event of their military defeat, there was no valid reason to expect that such revolutions would assume the forms desired by Lenin. As regards the probability or possibility of revolution in the victorious countries, only illusions could have expected it.

The Socialist critics of Lenin and Trotsky pointed out that those who believed that the Bolshevik revolution could be repeated successfully in Western Europe or America simply did not understand the character and composition of the modern state and the vast differences in the balance of class relationships between Russia and other countries.

Fearing, therefore, the grave dangers that would ensue from any artificial attempts to fan Communist revolution in the countries of Central and Western Europe, Socialists in Russia and elsewhere warned that such attempts would lead only to the triumph of reaction. Their warnings have been amply justified in Horthy, Mussolini, Hitler and the fascist regime in Austria.

New Theories as Excuses

To cover up the miserable failure of their theory of world revolution, the Communists then invented two new theories. The first is the theory of "social fascism." The second is the theory of the inevitability of fascism in all countries. The second theory, according to which fascism is "the inevitable last stage of capitalism," is dealt with elsewhere in this issue. The first theory, according to which the failure of the world revolution to materialize is to be attributed to the "treason" of the Socialist parties and Socialist leaders in the various countries, needs only to be stated to find its own refutation.

If we are to believe this theory, revolutions are made to order and are not the result of the play of political, social and economic forces. In their anxiety to cover up their failure and contribution to the triumph of fascism, the Communists have conveniently forgotten this elementary tenet of Marxism. And how has it come about, we may ask, that fascism has been triumphant in several countries?

Honest Communists, who have freed themselves from the tutelage of Moscow, admit frankly that had the large Communist Party of Germany cooperated with the Social Democrats, instead of helping Hitler to destroy the democratic republic, there would have been no fascist regime in Germany. Fascism in Austria was the inevitable consequence of the triumph of Hitlerism.

How flimsy is the Communist excuse for the bankruptcy of the Comintern may be seen by tracing the decline of its strength from its beginning to the present day. This will be treated in a forthcoming article.

Is Fascism Inevitable?

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to such a coalition government or to lend their support to any non-Socialist democratic government. The result was the added weakening of the government in power and its inability to maintain itself.

But the Communists and Maximalists did not rest content merely with their oppositionist attitude in parliament. They coupled this with a widespread agitation for the "dictatorship of the proletariat," Russian style, and began to seize factories indiscriminately, and to establish soviets. This provoked the counter-attack of the military and middle class elements grouped around Mussolini. The spectre of a Communist revolution and the disorders and threatening anarchy generated by the Communists and Maximalists drove the great mass of the Italian middle classes into the arms of fascism. The "revolutionary" tactics of the Socialist deputies in parliament made the formation of a stable government impossible. These were the factors that enabled Mussolini to seize power without any struggle or resistance from the Communists and left Socialists, and to become dictator of Italy.

The same thing occurred in Germany, with slight variations. From the first day after the Kaiser's abdication the Communists never ceased attacking democracy and the republic. We have no space here for an analysis of all the causes responsible for the growth of fascist sentiment among the German middle classes and peasants.

Fascism, however, would never have triumphed in Germany if not for the Communists. By their long and persistent agitation and propaganda against democracy and for dictatorship the Communists contributed very materially to the destruction of the republic. They gave food to the fascist movement with their irresponsible uprisings and "revolutionary demonstrations."

In the Reichstag and the various state diets the Communists frequently voted with fascists and thus gave Hitler direct assistance for his seizure of power. "Right wing" Socialists are not alone in this belief. Even a leader of the Socialist left like Otto Bauer admits the truth of this statement.

Bauer's Analysis

In his article "Socialists and Communists in Austria" (Kampf,

July, 1934) Bauer writes as follows:

"The Communists still continue their struggle against democracy, notwithstanding the danger of fascism. Thus, consciously or unconsciously, they become the comrades and allies of fascism."

"The Communists hope that after democracy will come the dictatorship of the proletariat and they, therefore, refuse to let up in their struggle against democracy."

"They believe that their attack on democracy on one flank, and the fascist assault upon it, on the other, will so smash the democratic order that the dictatorship of the proletariat will follow inevitably upon the fascist dictatorship."

"The history of Germany before Hitler's advent to power presents a clear and unmistakable example of the development of this Communist theory. It is an example which even a child can understand."

"When the German petty-bourgeoisie and peasantry threw themselves into the arms of fascism and fascism flooded Germany there was only one possibility of saving Germany and maintaining the democratic and parliamentary system."

"This possibility lay in cooperation of the large Communist Party of Germany with the large Social Democratic Party and the democratic bourgeois groups."

"Together these groups would have been strong enough to defend democracy and to prevent Hitler's Nazism and fascism from coming to power."

"The Communists, however, refused to cooperate with the Social Democrats and the bourgeois democratic parties. Simultaneously with the attacks upon democracy from the right by the nationalist bourgeois, the Communists on the left redoubled their own assaults."

"No working government majority could be formed in the Reichstag because of the nationalist-fascist faction on the right and the large Communist group on the left. The Reichstag could not function and the parliamentary system proved unable to carry out any program."

"Power thus fell into the hands of Germany's president, Von Hindenburg, i. e., to the generals and reactionaries, who held President Von Hindenburg in the palms of their hands. Without much deliberation or forethought, these reactionary elements soon handed over the power to Hitler."

Thus Bauer, too, holds that fascism in Germany was victorious because the Communists helped the fascists discredit and destroy the democratic regime.

The fascist overturn in Austria came as a result of the Nazi victory in Germany. Mussolini's pressure upon Dollfuss and the fall of the radical government in France facilitated this development. It is quite possible, however, that if the Austrian Socialists had not followed their "leftist" policy, which ruled out the possibility of coalition with a non-Socialist parties, the Austrian government would not have fallen so easily into the hands of fascist elements.

In Latvia, the fascist *coup d'état* was effected by the Peasant Party. Here, too, it was brought about by the above-mentioned factors: the economic crisis, the impossibility of forming a stable, working majority in parliament, and the existence of a numerically strong left wing labor movement.

Left Theory Erroneous

We see, therefore, that the whole left wing theory of fascism as the inevitable final stage of capitalism does not stand up under critical analysis.

Fascism everywhere is the result of special circumstances. Where these special circumstances do not exist there is little fascist danger. Moreover, fascism has triumphed only in countries where democracy has not had time to become rooted in the minds and hearts of the people. In countries where the democratic order, where civil and political liberties have a long historical existence, neither fascism nor communism present any serious danger.

The Conservatives in England are just as hostile to fascism as are the Liberals and Socialists. The same is true of most Republicans and Democrats in America, and of all the leading democratic parties in France, which comprise the overwhelming majority of the French electorate.

If there is any danger of the development of any appreciable fascist sentiment in the democratic countries, which represent by far the largest portion of the modern capitalist world, it lies not in the myth of the inevitable tendency of capitalism to fascism but in the activities and agitation of those "revolutionary" elements who preach dictatorship, discredit democracy and pour water on the mills of fascism.

Three Spokesmen of Labor On Political Action

THREE points of view were presented on the desirability of a labor party at a symposium arranged by Mark Starr of the educational department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union last Saturday. Abraham Lefkowitz of the Teachers' Union heartily favored it; Thomas R. Amle, Progressive Congressman from Wisconsin, agreed but was not hopeful of its early realization, and John P. Frey, representing the policy of the A. F. of L., was opposed.

Julius Hochman of the I.L.G. W.U. presided and said that many changes had been made in the philosophy of American trade unions, more will take place, and that the two important questions before the labor movement were political action and industrial unionism.

Dr. Lefkowitz made an excellent argument for a farmer-labor party. He contended that labor had obtained little by the policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" and drew upon his own experience in lobbying at Albany. This he supplemented with a critical review of the NRA and what has happened to the workers in the last decade.

Congressman Amle was sympathetic to an independent line-up of workers and farmers and brought a mid-western point of view to the discussion. He believed that something had been won in the past by pressure politics, but that little more can be obtained by this method. There is a big demand in the Middle West for a change, but this has not crystallized into any generally agreed course of action.

Many in this region want cheap money. Upton Sinclair had sent out a letter urging work through the Democratic Party, a course which Amle considered fantastic. Only a planned economy of collective ownership will do.

John P. Frey emphasized the differences between historical conditions in Europe and this country, and pointed out that there were differing backgrounds even in the movement in Northern and Southern Europe. In Europe there had long been privileges of birth, custom and even of law which had not been known here. Early labor parties had failed here and politicians had entered them and contributed to internal strife. Frey also feared that racial and religious prejudices would become more important than trade union issues. Coupled with the political ambitions of leaders union purposes are likely to decline. Non-partisan political action, he declared, had accomplished much of value for labor and it would accomplish more, but too many workers think as Democrats and Republicans. He regarded with fear and trembling the organization of a labor party.

The addresses were followed by questions and discussion. James O'Neal declared that while it is true that conditions differed here from Europe and must be taken into account, he believed that Mr. Frey exaggerated the differences. He pointed out forms of aristocratic privileges that had survived here into the forties and declared that, while it is true that the early labor parties into the seventies all failed, it is also true that the trade unions had failed throughout that period. The failures of both he attributed to the recurring depressions, beginning in 1837. Not until the industrial crisis of 1893-94, said O'Neal, were the trade unions able to survive industrial crises.

The symposium was followed with much interest and all present agreed that it was worth while.

Tri-County Picnic

OLEAN, N. Y.—At a tri-county meeting, held in Salamanca, May 19, plans were made for a big basket picnic for Western New York, to be held in Gowanda some time during July and featuring a nationally known Socialist lecturer. Exact date and name of speaker to be announced later.

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ON THE PENNSYLVANIA FRONT

Federation of Labor Is Moving Toward Politics

Calls Special Convention to Consider Political Action—Hoopes' Address Sent to All Affiliated Locals

HARRISBURG.—The thirty-fourth annual convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor held here voted to hold a special convention in July to consider a suggested formation of a Labor Party and to determine its attitude toward the proposed new state constitution.

The convention, one of the largest and liveliest held by organized Pennsylvania labor in many years was addressed by William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and member of the National Industrial Recovery Board, and Darlington Hoopes, Socialist member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, among others. President Green and Hillman spoke at a mass meeting at which delegates from the organized unemployed joined the unionists.

In opening the convention, President Phillips paid tribute to his predecessor, James H. Maurer, as head of the State Federation. His remarks were greeted with great enthusiasm. The convention sent flowers to "Our Jim" confined to his home in Reading by illness.

Green sounded the battle cry for the fight for shorter hours and higher wages. He challenged employers to "offer a better remedy for our economic ills than this remedy." Hillman criticized the modified NRA legislation passed by the Senate as a sham and a fraud and asserted that "we must make certain to our representatives that we won't stand for a policy that will take away what little we have received through the NRA." He referred to the bipartisan political parties as carrying on destructive activities by saying

they were both motivated by a desire to keep the workers from securing a measure of industrial justice.

Hoopes Plays Democrats

On the closing day Darlington Hoopes urged the need of a labor party and pointed out that only through the organization of a real labor party can the workers obtain real social security. He indicated the lack of sincerity on the part of the Democratic administration of Governor Earle in its labor welfare program and referred to a statement of the Governor in which he said that he would "submit a modification of his social legislation program if he found it went beyond the labor program of other states." Hoopes pointed out that "there is not an industrial state in the entire union that has adequate social legislation." In conclusion, the Reading Socialist legislator assured the delegates that as long as Socialists sit in the House they will continue to uphold the rights of the workers.

He was given a standing ovation of thanks. By unanimous approval the convention ordered that copies of his address be sent to all the affiliated locals.

The convention adopted a resolution against fascism, urged repeal of the Pennsylvania Anti-Sedition Act passed during the war hysteria and criticized the labor views of Arthur Brisbane, Hearst editor; William Randolph Hearst and Bernard Macfadden, publishers.

The convention also pledged itself to further the organization of unemployed workers and called upon the federal relief administrators to continue to pay prevailing wage rates on relief projects "so that the general wages paid by private industry be maintained."

"From the point of view of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, based upon the great number of additional affiliations during the past year," said Mr. Phillips, President of the Federation, "there is a definite trend towards organization of Pennsylvania workers which will bring thousands of additional workers under the banner of the American Federation of Labor the next few years."

August Claessens at Reading Picnic

READING.—Reading Socialists will hold their first picnic of the season Sunday, June 2, at Socialist Park in Sinking Springs.

The principal speaker will be August Claessens. Others participating in the speaking program will be former Mayor Stump, Representative Hoopes and Raymond Hofses, editor of the Labor Advocate.

A fine program of entertainment has been arranged and games and races for the children. In the evening there will be dancing.

Brookwood Players in Pittsburgh

PITTSBURGH.—The Brookwood Labor Players are scheduled to appear in the Pittsburgh district for a series of six performances. Monday, May 27, they will present their program of plays, mass recitation and songs at the Moose Hall, 628 Penn. Ave. under the joint auspices of the Socialist Party and the Unemployed Citizens' League of Pittsburgh.

Their schedule follows: Tuesday, May 28, at Latrobe and May 29 at McKeesport, where they appeared before locals of the International Brotherhood of Foundry employees; Wednesday, May 30, at Jeannette under the auspices of the Socialist Party; Tuesday, May 31, at New Kensington for the Aluminum Workers; Wednesday, May 31, at Tarentum under the auspices of the Flat Glass Workers' Union; and Thursday, May 30, at Blairsville High School.

Pittsburgh Picnic

PITTSBURGH.—Pittsburgh Socialists will gather at the first picnic of the season Saturday, June 1, at the Valley Refug Cabin in Riverview Park.

The picnic will be held under the auspices of the North Side Branch. A program of sports and dancing is planned, the feature of the day being a mush ball game between the members of the Universal Branch and the North Side Branch.

Editorial Shears Wielded Over Soviet Criticism

Several months a protest meeting was held in New York against the Stalin blood purge in Russia, at which Madame Tchernavina, author of "Escape From the Soviets," and a number of Socialists spoke. The appearance of the Socialists, especially of Algernon Lee, on the same platform with Madame Tchernavina aroused the ire of the self-styled militants to such a degree that vehement protests were filed in the party office by several branches they control. Criticism of the Soviets, even by indirection, was not to be tolerated!

Shortly thereafter Norman Thomas referred to Madame Tchernavina's book in the column he prepares for a number of papers, and still later he referred to a book similarly criticizing the Soviet regime, written by Vladimir V. Tchernavina, Tchernavina's husband. The column sent out two or three weeks ago contained the following reference to the "experiment" in dictatorship:

"I should like to call attention to two books on Soviet Russia that are worth reading. The first is: 'I Speak for the Silent,' by Vladimir V. Tchernavina (Hale, Cushman and Flint, Boston). This book is a companion to Madame Tchernavina's 'Escape From the Soviet.' It is an interesting, bitter and, I fear, essentially truthful account of one scientist's experience with an arrogant, inefficient, dictatorial bureaucracy of a sort which is a curse to the success of true Socialism."

"But one gets the Russian picture in much truer and more ample perspective in Louis Fisher's 'Soviet Journey,' (Harrison Smith & Robert Haas, New York). This is the book of a man who is frankly a Soviet sympathizer but one who does not see everything through rose colored glasses. There is no essential conflict between his story and Tchernavina's tale. Both may be true. But the future of Russia and much of the hope of mankind will depend on the success of the Soviet in preventing any future possibility of truth in such a story as Tchernavina has written, or as Chamberlain gave us in 'Russia's Iron Age.'"

These paragraphs appeared in several papers that print the Thomas column. But the dual party organ printed in New York wielded the censorial shears over the Thomas copy and they did not appear there. Readers can draw their own conclusions and make their own deductions from the incident.

Memorial to B. Feigenbaum Sunday at Mt. Carmel

Branches of the Workmen's Circle will be joined by many Socialists Sunday afternoon at the dedication of a monument over the grave of B. Feigenbaum, Jewish Socialist writer and teacher, in the Workmen's Circle section of Mount Carmel Cemetery, Queens County, N. Y. C.

B. Feigenbaum died November 8th, 1932, after a long and painful illness, and many of the younger generation are not acquainted with his remarkable work in bringing Socialist philosophy and idealism to the Jewish workers in every part of the world. But the older generation, especially his colleagues on the Jewish Daily Forward and in the Workmen's Circle, hold his memory in profound reverence. Millions of copies of his books, pamphlets and brochures have been distributed, often secretly in the underground countries, and they went far in winning large sections of the Jewish working masses for Socialism.

The unveiling will coincide with the anniversary of the death of Mrs. Feigenbaum, whose ashes are buried in the same grave.

The ceremonies, which will take place at 2 p. m., will be conducted by Branch 315 of the Workmen's Circle, with which the late comrades were affiliated to the end of their lives.

Butcher Workers in Drive To Organize Meat Cutters

Butchers' Union Local 234, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has received authorization to proceed immediately with the organization of meat cutters employed in non-kosher shops. The officials of the union claim that there are 10,000 meat cutters waiting for the call to join a trade union that will endeavor to secure for the workers a decent living wage and decent working hours.

An energetic organization campaign will start shortly and the union plans to call a general mass meeting at the New Star Casino, 107th Street and Lexington Ave., New York City. Workers employed in non-kosher shops are urged to call at the office of the union at 231 East 14th St., New York City, between 8 a. m. and 7 p. m.

Joseph Belsky, secretary of the union, reports that the efforts of his organization to unionize the butcher industry will meet with success.

Dual Party Organ Loses Endorsement by 5-2

The motion submitted by Norman Thomas to members of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party to place the organ of a dual party organization in New York City on the accredited list of the party, was lost by a vote of 5 to 2. The vote in favor was Thomas and Haggood; against, Graham, Hoan, Hoopes, Coolidge and O'Neal; not voting, Krzycki, Allen, Daniel and Krueger.

In voting for the motion, Haggood gave as his reason "O'Neal's

Up-State Socialists Discuss Problems of the Party

Special to The New Leader

SCHENECTADY, N. Y.—Problems and differences of opinion within the Socialist party were thrashed out at the first of a series of conferences between the party's State Executive Committee and the membership of various locals in the Capital District in connection with the monthly meeting of the S.E.C. at the Labor Temple.

More than 150 party members from Troy, Albany, Nassau, Saratoga as well as this city, came to hear James O'Neal and William M. Feigenbaum of the S.E.C. present the point of view of the state organization on various matters now the subject of party controversy, after which the members discussed the party problems for several hours. Professor Coleman B. Cheney of Skidmore College, member of Local Saratoga, presided.

All hands agreed that much good had been accomplished and hoped that all future discussions be conducted with the same candor and consideration for the welfare of the party.

Comrade O'Neal, who was the main speaker, followed Comrade Feigenbaum who spoke of the general political and industrial situation and who asserted that never were prospects for the success of Socialist propaganda and organization greater than they are now, providing the party is able to find a way to unity and harmony and take advantage of its fine opportunities.

Comrade O'Neal outlined the world Socialist situation, and then discussed the trends that had recently appeared in the party that have thrown the movement into violent controversy, together with the causes of that confusion.

In the discussion that followed a number of misapprehensions of the position of the New York organization were brought out and corrected, while several members by their contributions to the discussion, contributed ideas that indicated some of the reasons for the confusion that has reigned in the party for several years.

A member named Merrick, in the party two years, took issue with O'Neal in deploring the collapse of the party's vote in certain states. Merrick declared that elections were useless and that we must rebuild on a new basis. O'Neal answered that rejection of political action was the old position of the anarchists and that a member who held this point of view should resign from the party. Another member wanted to know why The New Leader permitted a criticism of the Soviet Union and O'Neal answered that two groups were touching about such criticism, the bolsheviks and the liberals, while the Socialists of the world did not regard even their own movement as immune from criticism. Another member declared that the Socialist Party was too much in the good graces of the "pink parlor intellectuals." O'Neal answered that it was the Communists who had won the love of the parlor intelligentsia in general.

Levi Tonks presented the view that the real issue was "undemocratic" actions of the anti-imperialists, declaring that the New York delegation had tried to adopt the unit rule, that Norman Thomas had been opposed in the state convention last year for several reasons.

O'Neal replied that the unit rule has always been decided by each state delegation and that the only delegation at the Milwaukee and Detroit conventions adopting and enforcing it was the Wisconsin delegation. As for the contest for U. S. Senator, O'Neal declared that the humblest member of the party had the right to be nominated against Thomas, Waldman, O'Neal or anybody else.

Murray Baron of New York had five minutes to say that "thousands of young members" were kept out of the party and declared that there was need of a shift to the "left." O'Neal countered by saying that we face a shift to confusion, and that the "militant" left was cowardly centrist, the R.P.C., the latter was cowardly centrist, the C.P. was cowardly centrist, the latter was the same to the C.P., and within the C.P. the problem is settled by sending the left to the hoosegow or into exile. O'Neal's contention was that "left" is merely confusion.

The meeting adjourned with good feeling and was helpful in clarifying ideas.

The business meeting of the S.E.C. disposed of a number of routine matters and issued one statement of importance in the unsettled state of the party. In reply to a demand of the national organization of the Y.P.S.L. that the Young Socialist Alliance immediately disband the S.E.C. authorized a statement to the effect that the latter is an organization of young Socialists loyal to the party and its organ, The New Leader, who find it impossible to work for Socialism in the Y.P.S.L. under present conditions, but that as soon as the Y.P.S.L. follows the orders of the N.E.C. and abides by the discipline of Local New York the Alliance will disband and its members take their proper place in the Y.P.S.L. in working for and with the party.

tirade against Norman Thomas which indicates either insanity or that his faction is deliberately provoking the fight. In either case, The New Leader will be incapable of non-factionalism. Hence I am voting to put the Call on the accredited list now."

On May 7, a motion by Graham was submitted to postpone any action until the next meeting of the N.E.C., the vote closing on May 14. O'Neal voted in favor, although not satisfied with the implication of the motion that further action may be considered, his view being that no dual party organ should be accredited. Coolidge requested that his vote be counted "in such a way as to oppose accrediting the Call at present, without prejudice to the possibility of doing so at the next meeting."

Editor's Corner

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

By James O'Neal

Opportunities of Youth

RETURNING to youth as a subject for discussion, there is one thing that must be obvious to those who have studied young people in the movement in recent years. Last week we mentioned a type which discounts serious study, which acts upon emotion and impulse, because it does not consider years of education necessary. Many of this type come from deflated middle class families and exhibit the arrogance of that class towards workingmen. The high school and college contribute quite a number of them, and one may find some older members who encourage this emotional and impulsive type.

The future, however, belongs to sober and serious young people who understand the need of educational preparation to serve the movement. The emotionalist is certain to fail when he is given important responsibilities, while the other type is more likely to make good because it gets the education that is essential to make good. The first remains in the exhibitionist stage and the second eventually takes up important responsibilities that are of real value to the movement.

If the Socialist Party were stabilized and normal, the younger generation would now be taking advantage of the richest opportunity for intellectual pioneering in our history. It would not only become acquainted with the classics of Socialist literature; it would be using this knowledge for the development of a pamphlet literature which would later be expanded into larger works of inestimable value to the Socialist movement and the working class in general.

The United States is the region for the highest developed capitalism in the world. The economic structure of a Socialist society is more complete here than in any other nation. Strip it of its capitalistic features, reorganize it in accord with Socialist science, and the result will be the most advanced Socialist society that is conceivable.

Rich Ore to Be Mined

A VAST amount of material has been published by government and private agencies, and special studies have been written by non-Socialist writers which constitute rich ore for the young Socialists who are willing to train themselves to mine it. In this field they will find an outlet for their creative energy, a field that will satisfy their yearning for service. Here the impulsive and emotional type will find itself lost, here the sober and studious type will become the responsible guides and leaders of the movement in the years to come.

In economic and social history the university presses in the past twenty years have issued many invaluable studies, some of them amazing in their content, and they are practically unknown to modern Socialists. Supplemented with a mass of documentary collections issued by various historical societies and quarterlies published by these bodies, we have a reservoir which should be utilized by Socialist students. Here is the material for a number of Socialist books on agriculture, on industry, commerce, and the history of the working class; on ruling class ideas, on the evolution of capitalist and labor politics, on the history of industrial depressions and the history of capitalism itself.

This vast bed of rich ore is awaiting the Marxian students who will transform it into pamphlets, monographs and books. In addition to this historical ore, there is the immense material relating to the modern period, the evolution of industry into the merger period with the parasitism it has brought; the various stages in the development of imperialism; the class distribution of income since the end of the Civil War; the evolution of the two-party system of ruling politics to the stage where big magnates of capital and finance own both parties, and the place of American capitalism in the modern scheme of world capitalism and imperialism.

Chewing Old Cuds

ALL this is only a hint of the real work and rich service that awaits the young Socialists. Much of the discussion of Marxism in this country is like a cow chewing a cud over and over again. Those who chew have not learned that Marxism is a method as much as a philosophy, and as a methodology it always beckons Socialists into new fields to study the accumulating material which the development of capitalism unfolds and the new collections of historical lore which specialists are always placing at our disposal. It was just this sort of material, historical and contemporary, which Marx mined that enabled him to write his remarkable "Capital." Had he been content to chew theoretical cuds instead of applying his methodology to the history of capitalist production, he would not have won the place that he did in the world Socialist movement.

One who looks over contemporary Socialist literature will be appalled. It consists of the cud variety on the one hand and of amateur output on the other. The first is offered as theoretical and the second as propaganda. With few exceptions, this is the case since the end of the World War. In the last several years our efforts have been confined largely to chewing old cuds with disputes as to whether the other fellow was chewing his properly. It need surprise no one that European Socialists find the American movement largely a mystery to them.

Mention is made of this special field because of its education for those who may take up the work and the educational values it also has for the movement itself. Outside of it is the general field work carried on for many years by the soap box organizers and agitators.

A Cure for Emotionalism

THIS work is also educational, but of a different kind. It does not require as much preparation as for the other fields, but it will give the volunteer invaluable experience while helping to build the party. It would also sober the hot-head who thinks that the revolution is around the corner but that some old fossils are holding it back. It is a good cure for infantile leftism when the field worker learns of the mass of human inertia that must yet be moved before one can even think of sending a few Socialists into legislative halls. Here is real militant work. When the Socialist Party becomes stabilized, when cud-chewing is abandoned and the exhibitionists fade into obscurity, when we get started on the real job of mining the material that lies at our feet, we will be building on solid foundations.

If some one replies, Why don't you undertake this work, the answer is that we are all kept so busy with cud-chewing and the inner party conflict that schooled Socialists are denied the opportunity of transmuting the rich ore into gold. Much work of the kind that is urged would be under way now, but this work and much other that is essential simply cannot be done because of the confusion and conflict. Not only is much party activity paralyzed; the vote declines in a number of states and on the whole the membership is at a standstill. Despite this paralysis, however, some time can be devoted by the more serious section of our youth in preparing for this future service. The comrades who venture into this field now are those who will forge to the front as the organizers, theoreticians, editors and executives in the years to come because they will qualify for service while others are content to chew cuds.

Dust Storm Fails to Halt Socialists in Texas

By William Plampin
State Secretary,
Socialist Party of Texas

SAN ANTONIO.—A new local has been organized in Coke County, despite the dust storms. Comrades Carroll, Nutt and Correse made a 50-mile trip to attend the meeting at the Silver Peak school house, at which the local was organized. About 100 people attended. The new local is starting a library and expects to launch a study class to cover all of the county. Mrs. Letitia M. Savage of Silver is secretary.

Activity in Houston.—Houston comrades have formed a class to study Paul Porter's "Commonwealth Plan" and it was a success

right from the start. Not only the party members attend but others joined and it is resulting in a good distribution of the book. Houston also reports good progress on raising their quota in the 1935 United Socialist Drive.

Local Witharal Goes Ahead.—Comrade Young, newly elected secretary, reports good attendance at meetings even though the membership is spread all over Hockley County. That's the old pioneer spirit and that's what it takes to build a movement! Some of us city folks who complain about coming across town for meetings think of these boys.

Dust Storm Didn't Stop Comrade Tomlinson

The dust hit the Panhandle hot and heavy but R. D. Tomlinson groped his way around distributing literature, getting subs, and helping to raise Local Gruver's quota in the drive.

Features of the Week on (1300 Kc.) WEVD (131 M)

Sun.—8:15 p.m., Edith Friedman, piano; 8:30, Chicago Opera Company; 10, Symposium; 10:30, Social Drama by the Theatre Union.
Mon.—8 a.m., Starting the Day Right, with Jacob S. List; 3:30 p.m., String Ensemble.
Tues.—8 p.m., Irving B. Altman, editor, "The People's Money," on "Taxation or Inflation"; 8:15, Frank Bohn, news commentator; 8:30, Cecil Hurvay, baritone; 10, New Leader News Review; 10:15, "The Three Debs," vocal trio; 10:15, Guy H. Brown, songs.
Wed.—8:15 p.m., Welfare Series, talk; 8:30, Don Avlon's Orchestra; 10:15, "National Labor Scene," University of the Air, talk; 10:30, Metropolitan String Ensemble.
Thurs.—8 p.m., Slavsky String Quartet; 8:15, Blackbirds Orchestra; 8:30, Royal Dutch Travelogue, Hendrik De Leeuw; 10:15, Newspaper Guild on the Air, talk; 10:30, Negro Peoples Theatre and Choir.
Fri.—8:15 p.m., Frank Bohn, news commentator; 8:30, Sigmond Spaeth, "The Talent Detective"; 10, League for Industrial Democracy Presentation, sketch; 10:15, Medical Hour, talk; 10:15, L. Sumner Conkey, Bridge lessons.

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NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

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

Published Every Saturday by The New Leader Publishing Association, 7 E. 15th St., New York City. Telephone No. ALgonquin 4-4622.

Entered as Second Class Matter, January 19, 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 \$1.50 1 Year to Foreign Countries \$3.00 1 Year to Canada... \$2.50

Vol. XVIII—No. 21

SATURDAY, MAY 25th, 1935

DRAGGING WAGE LEVELS DOWN

ANNOUNCEMENT of the wages to be paid by the government in its public works relief program should not surprise anyone. President Roosevelt has fixed rates of pay even less than a subsistence wage, and this was to be expected considering that he opposed the living wage program.

The rates, which vary from one to another of four regions, range from \$19 per month for unskilled workers in seven southern states, to \$94 per month for professional and technical workers in twenty-six northern and western states. The rates provide for a very low subsistence level, the lowest meaning a semi-starvation level for hundreds of thousands of workers.

There is little doubt that this program will serve as a heavy weight to drag down the whole wage level. It will stimulate private corporations to insist on wage cuts and this, in turn, will provoke strikes. The organized workers will be compelled to resist the enormous downward pressure upon the whole wage structure which government action imposes. It is a terrific blow to the whole working class.

No doubt, the President wants the four billion dollar appropriation stretch as far and as long as possible in a desperate effort to stimulate the revival of prostrate capitalist industries. Government borrowing must end some time, goods gathering dust on shelves must enter the channels of exchange, and capitalism should be on the road to recovery before the presidential campaign becomes hot next year. These are the factors in Roosevelt's reasoning.

But the price he exacts for all this will be paid by the workers. Not only in terribly pinched incomes by those who are transferred from relief rolls to public works jobs, but by the workers who have jobs who will face desperate struggles to prevent their reduction to lower standards of living. There will be a gain in purchasing power due to even the low rates paid in public works projects but this, in part, will be offset where wages fall in the private industries. The President has probably inaugurated a new era of labor struggles, and the working class in industries still functioning will be fully justified in not yielding an inch to government pressure upon wage scales.

FOODLESS DAYS HAVE COME

WHEN the United States entered the World War, this was followed by "meatless" days and "wheatless" days. It remained for this hideous industrial depression to bring a "foodless" day in Illinois, with starvation actually brooding over thousands of working class homes. A few citations from press stories reveal the stark situation. One item: the "grim race between widespread hunger and the dissolution of the relief crisis became, it was hoped, a matter of hours." Another: in Chicago and vicinity "nearly half a million indigents exhausted food handouts or husbanded sufficient only to eke out scanty meals until Tuesday." A third: the Mayor of Chicago declares the crisis "a keg of dynamite" and the Cook County relief administrator transferred \$45,000 intended for rent medical bills to an emergency food-purchase account.

Last Sunday was actually a foodless day for many families in Illinois. So capitalist "civilization" in a large state fertile in natural and industrial resources rests upon a sea of human misery, and some other states are little better off. It is a ghastly indictment of the misuse of great productive powers that are capable of providing for the wants of every man, woman and child in the state.

THE "SERVICE" BALLYHOOSERS

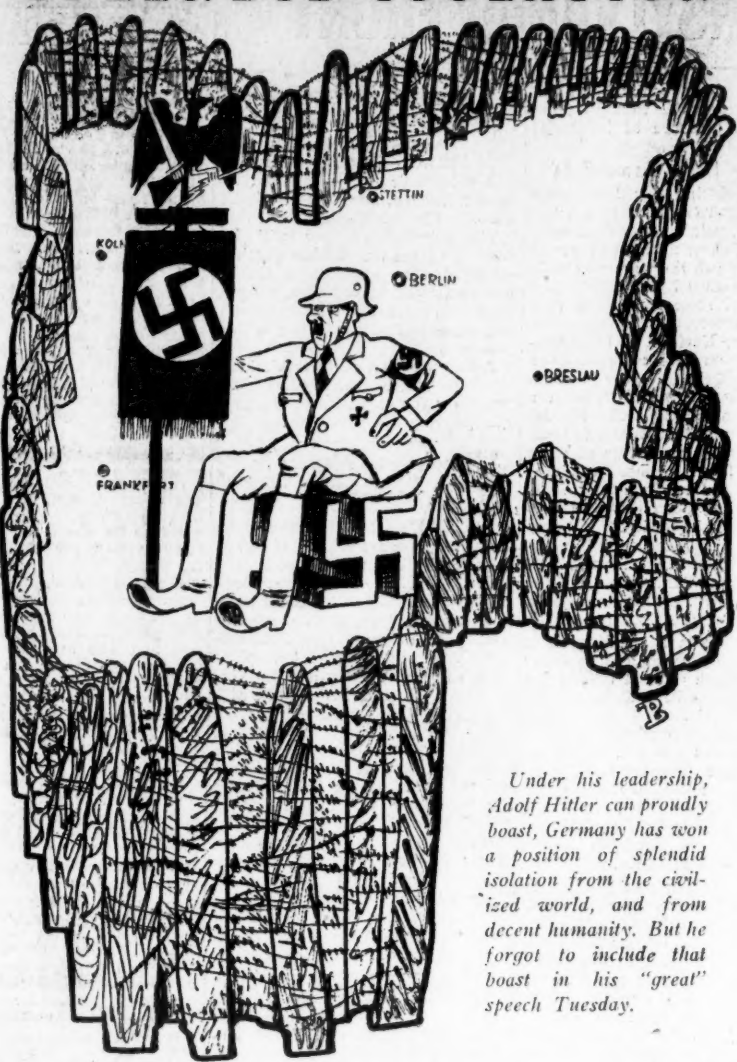
COUPLED with the shocking wage program of President Roosevelt and the increasing distress swallowing up families in states like Illinois, is the pious attitude of the big exploiters. They claim that twenty billion dollars are available for plant expansion and equipment as against the four billion appropriated for public works, but the big shots cannot look ahead with any confidence. They have their own program of "business as usual," which at Washington means that their dominion should not be obstructed.

But what has become of that slogan of our reigning Babbitts that they are in business for "service"? At Rotary and Chamber of Commerce dinners the silk hats have for years advertised their businesses as ventures into philanthropy and religious piety.

Here is your chance, gentlemen. Never mind profits; start your rusting plants and give us a little "service." Translate a little Rotary piety into action. We prefer to take over your plants for real service to the masses, but we do not have the power. You do. Don't talk but act, so that we can eat, not idle.

Speaking of his rubber stamps in the Reichstag on Tuesday, Hitler proclaimed his regime a democratic one. The proof? "The German people have elected with 38,000,000 votes one single deputy as its representative." Adolf pressed a button and every rubber stamp registered. Unanimous assent! The scene moves us to tears. Some artist should paint it on canvas for the museums of the future. There is Adolf with a military boot pressed into the face of a prostrate man whose features register agony. He passes a paper into Adolf's hand bearing the inscription, "I love my Leader." A little skunk cabbage for a crown and the "democratic" regime is complete.

SPLENDID ISOLATION



Under his leadership, Adolf Hitler can proudly boast, Germany has won a position of splendid isolation from the civilized world, and from decent humanity. But he forgot to include that boast in his "great" speech Tuesday.

"Production for Use"

By Wallace M. Short

Editor, Unionist and Public Forum, Sioux City, Ia.

WE are now hearing a good deal about "Production for Use," in contrast to "Production for Profit."

We believe in "Production for Use." We were engaged in production for use a long while ago. As a boy on the farm down in Page County we were producing chickens and corn and sorghum molasses and cows and milk and wheat and apples and strawberries and cabbages and pumpkins and swine and potatoes and beans and eggs and butter and cheese and grapes and plums and peaches and peas and wood and hay and oats—FOR USE.

We did a little exchanging of products, but not much—we wanted the wheat transformed into flour; so we would take a few sacks of wheat in the lumber wagon, and drive to Snow Hill or to Sham-baugh or to Braddyville, and fish or swim in the mill pond while the miller made our wheat into flour and bran. The miller would keep part of the flour in pay for his work and his investment in the mill. Sometimes father and mother would complain that they thought the miller kept too much of the flour for his share of the transaction. But so far as we can remember the miller never got rich.

We wanted a little fresh meat; but we had no refrigerator. In winter we could hang the meat out the window and keep it from spoiling—if there were not too many warm days. But in summer we joined with other neighbors in butchering a "beef" once or twice a month; each neighbor taking a few pounds for family use. And here again arose the problem of which neighbor should get which portion—the neck or the soup bone or the steak?

Also we wanted a few things that we could not grow conveniently ourselves; so we exchanged a little of our products for the sugar of Louisiana. Here the trade had to be made through the medium of money. But we never had very large use for money. We produced, directly or indirectly, for USE.

And the world is still producing for use. Only the question of how much of our wheat the miller shall take, or how much of our product (our money) the merchant shall take for getting out pork and cheese to Louisiana and getting the sugar and cotton back to us—this has become an acute question.

It is easy for us to use a lot of catchy phrases, and just float around in the clouds with these catchy phrases, without knowing just what we mean, and without doing a single practical thing to remedy conditions; in fact, do nothing but fool ourselves and fool the people.

Our trouble is that we have permitted the miller and the merchant and the transportation company to get too large a share of our product.

And, worst of all, we have permitted the corporation to develop into a master instead of a servant; have permitted the banker to manipulate the miller and the merchant and the transportation company to multiply the share the banker gets; have permitted the banker in the great centers of finance to manipulate our money.

Our problems are not very mysterious, if we will quit floating around in the clouds with catchy phrases; if we will get down to earth and find out just what we mean.

"Cooperative Commonwealth"

That is another catchy phrase we like to use. And a good many of the people who use the phrase are about the last people who would ever cooperate with anybody.

The people can unite to stop the miller and the packer and the transportation company and the utility and the banker, and a lot of these giant corporate entities that we have created, from taking too large a share of our product, any time we wish.

But we will have to quit chasing around in the clouds after catchy phrase-makers who cannot tell what they mean by their phrases. And we will have to quit following would-be leaders who are really interested only in fooling the people with phrases that sound pretty, but have no grip on realities.

We believe in PRODUCTION FOR USE. We believe in the COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH. We think the time has come when we should and must DO SOMETHING.

We would suggest that we try our hands at a little practical cooperation. We suggest that the people unite to place in the State House officials who have the intelligence and the will to make and administer laws in the interest of production for use.

We have the ballot. We can do it any time we wish. This state is only a part of our big country; but it is a mighty important part.

It is just as easy to run our institutions for the welfare of the many as to run it for the unjust advantage of the few—if only we can find enough men who know what they mean by their phrases, and who have the intestinal fortitude to stand up.

[And when we get the Cooperative Commonwealth, it will no longer be a question of corporations taking "too large a share." There will be no corporations to share in what we produce.—Editor.]

A Noble Woman Passes

By William M. Feigenbaum

THE Daughters of the American Revolution, the American Legion and other "patriotic" organizations can now take the name of Jane Addams from their list of "dangerous radicals," the list she headed so long and so honorably. They can now heave a sigh of relief that she will no longer disturb their snug complacency by her presence on the earth.

But to all others the passing of this wonderful woman is a grievous loss. Jane Addams was one of that small but noble company of women who can be called really great, the serene beauty of whose character, the largeness of whose outlook were matched by her love and pity for suffering humanity.

Jane Addams was not a Socialist as was that other great woman whom she so closely resembled, the late Florence Kelley, but she had a warm spot in her heart for Socialists as well as for all other foes of the industrial system that

produces the terrible evils with which she was face-to-face during all her useful and beautiful life and against which she waged such tireless warfare.

Many social workers enter the practice of what has become a highly-organized profession in a sense of condescending superiority to those among whom they go to live. Not so Jane Addams. She was the daughter of a fighting father, Senator Addams who stood by the side of Abraham Lincoln in his struggles with the slave power. She knew life at first hand; she became intimately acquainted with the noble work of the saintly Arnold Toynbee of Toynbee Hall in London, and she established Hull House not as a gesture of condescension to shed the radiance of her superior station upon the poor, but because, being Jane Addams, she had to find a home down among the disinherited, the doomed and the damned. And there she lived and toiled. And there she will live in the hearts of millions.

Jane Addams lived a long life, a useful life, a beautiful life. She fought the good fight for peace,

for justice, for humanity. She pleaded for milk for babies in "enemy" countries when to say a word for Germans and Austrians was to invite persecution and even violence. That was characteristic of her. She never bowed her brave head to prejudice and passion. Hysteria may have swept away her closest associates, but she was unmoved. She had to fight for humanity, and she fought.

For she was Jane Addams, and she did not shrink from her duty. What did Jane Addams do? Name any evil during the past half century, and know that she fought it!

When the patrioteers began to draw up lists of "dangerous" pacifists and foes of the established order, her name was naturally included among them. And because of the accident of spelling her name usually headed all such lists made out in alphabetical order. And it was quite right that this should be so. For when the names of friends of humanity are listed, the name of Jane Addams, like Abou ben Adhem, will lead all the rest.

Craft vs. Industrial Unions: Or Is It 'Versus' After All?

By Algernon Lee

THE recently published news of a danger (somewhat exaggerated, there is room to hope) that the American Federation of Labor would be split asunder by conflict between craft unionism and "vertical" or industrial unionism in the heavy industries could not but revive memories of "old, unhappy, far-off things, and battles long ago." What fierce fights they were— and how wrong-headed and futile!—that were fought over that issue in the ten or twelve years before the outbreak of the World War. The story of the rise, the culmination, and the decline of the Industrial Workers of the World, and of the havoc which that organization (and still more its "intellectual" clique) wrought within the Socialist Party is now known to the younger generation of our comrades only by vague tradition or through some dissertations written by college professors who themselves knew it only by study of the printed word, not by experience in either camp. It is rather a pity, for the history is an instructive one.

Quoting and commenting on Hegel, Karl Marx says that history repeats itself, "first as tragedy and then as farce." If the predicted schism in the ranks of organized labor comes true, we shall have to reverse Marx's bon mot, and say that the controversy of twenty-five years ago was a sort of burlesque dress rehearsal to a real tragedy.

In its native Far West the I.W.W. was not unreal. It fitted the needs of a certain type of workers during certain stages in the development of that new country—men who had no permanent residence and no permanent occupations, who within a year or two might rove from Texas to Vancouver and from Manitoba to the extreme Southwest, working successively in the harvest fields and the lumber woods, on railway construction or in metal mines and smelters, and for whom accordingly neither political action in any ordinary sense of the term nor economic action on craft lines was practicable. Within that field the I.W.W. had much in it that was heroic. Rightly viewed, its story was indeed a tragedy of the sombre kind, having the interest which attaches to the end of an era, not that which is roused by a new beginning. The "blanket stiffs" of the I.W.W. were the disinherited last generation of the race to which the backwoodsmen, the squatters, the cowboys, and the placer miners and prospectors had belonged.

But when the attempt was made to extend the organization of the I.W.W. into the industrial establishments of the settled East and Middle West, and when its rough-and-ready practices were codified into the theory of Anarcho-Syndicalism and this theory was preached in Socialist meeting halls and applauded in the parlors of "radical" millionaires—then it lost all touch with reality. Anarcho-Syndicalism was purely utopian, except when its utopian purity was sullied by the influence of the glib-tongued adventurer, the "sore-head" union-splitter, or the professional disruptionist. In this stage it parodied both the Marxian theory of social revolution and

the practical policy of industrial unionism. As burlesque it might have amused thoughtful observers, if they could have overlooked the harm it did by demoralizing large sections of the Socialist movement and by discrediting the very name of industrial unionism in the mind of organized labor. The fact that many union men nowadays prefer to speak of "vertical organization" rather than of industrial unionism shows what a bad taste that episode left in their mouths.

Industrial or vertical—call it whichever we will—the form of organization which groups workers according to the industries in which they are employed instead of grouping them according to the kind of work they do pretty certainly has a future in this country. It will make headway because the conditions of employment to which it is best adapted are coming to affect larger sections of the working class. It will probably never become universal, because those conditions will not universally prevail. The notion of making it universal, of wiping out craft unionism in order to set up industrial unionism in its place, was characteristic of a utopian sect.

Industrial or vertical unionism as a living thing will not be the outcome of that sectarian propaganda; it will be the result of workingmen's experience in specific situations. It will stem back, not to the I.W.W., but to the United Mine Workers and the United Brewery Workers and other bodies of workingmen which were organized on industrial lines before the I.W.W. was born.

Very likely it will not be able to establish itself in the industries where it is needed without sharp opposition from craft unions which have already organized some of the men in those industries. That is probable, not because there is an irreconcilable conflict between the principle of industrial unionism and the principle of craft unionism, but just because organizations once established tend to perpetuate themselves. The brewers and maltsters had to fight, not just against the brewery owners, but against other unions to get into their organization all the manual workers in and around the breweries. The coal miners had to fight hard, not just against the mine owners, but against other unions, to get into their organization all the manual workers in and around coal mines. They didn't fight over an abstract principle; they fought for a concrete interest. They were not concerned with repudiating craft unionism; they were concerned with effectively organizing their industries.

Such inter-union struggles are, of course, regrettable. Many regrettable things cannot be avoided. When they cannot be avoided they should at any rate be minimized as much as possible. One way to minimize the evil effects of any inter-union conflicts which may attend the effort to build effective organizations in the automobile industry and the steel industry and others like them is to treat each question of method in a specific case, not a question that can be settled by general and rigid formulas.

[At this point the editor draws the line on space. What more is to be said under the double-deck caption of this article must wait for a week. It is hoped that the world will be able to endure this postponement.]

Wages Slashed Under NRA

By Senator Hendrik Shipstead

From an address over Station WEVD

COMPLAINTS against the NRA

have been voiced with a great deal of justification in that because of the suspension of the anti-trust laws it permitted monopolies, and as a result retail prices were raised higher than there was purchasing power to consume unless the Government furnished the money to buyers to buy goods at these high prices.

Complaint has also been made that the NRA has favored big industries to the disadvantage of labor because under its provisions the hours of labor were reduced and as a result where labor is paid by the hour its weekly or monthly pay check was also reduced in amount. Of course, what the average working man wants to know is what amount of money does he have at the end of the week or month with which to support his family. Under the NRA how has the working man fared, for instance, in the paper industry, one of the most important industries in this country?

According to the Code Authority figures the average working man in that industry in the northern zone in 1929, being paid by the hour, had an income of \$125 a month. In 1934, working under the NRA he had an income of \$60 a month. The Code Administrator explained that there were two rea-

sons for the drop in his monthly check from \$125 to \$60. One was that in 1929 the industry was working only 50% of capacity, while in the Spring of 1934 it was working only 50% of capacity and that as production increased the working man would put in more hours, which would increase his monthly income. The question then became important as to how much he could make if production increased to 100% of capacity and the working man could work as many hours as allowed under the code. It was then discovered that, the hourly wage remaining the same, the most he could possibly make under the NRA would be a few cents over \$90.

The answer is made that we have put more men to work, that we have given men an income now who did not have any before the NRA. Now the question is, how was that accomplished? For instance, we will say, I have no work and you who are listening to me have a job, so we cut down your working time and income in order that I shall have a job and income. We make you divide your job and your income with me. Therefore, I get a job and income at your expense.

I call that making the poor support the poor. Together we have no more purchasing power than you had alone before this arrangement was made for me. We just divide the income you had before and that is just distributing poverty and misery and not wealth.