

## THERE IS NO TIME TO LOSE

WITH heated controversy dying in the Socialist Party the party members may well turn to the urgent work which present opportunities make possible. Let us take stock of the situation:

Out of more than 38 million votes cast in the presidential election of 1932 the Socialist Party polled close to 900,000. Probably ten million voters did not vote at all, and this is a conservative estimate. The Socialist Party vote was probably about one-fiftieth of the number of voters in this country.

There are tens of millions of voters, a majority of whom would not be able to define the difference between Socialism and nudism. They do not have knowledge of the simplest elements of the Socialist program. To reach them at all and enlist a mild interest in what we are striving for, it is essential to place before them our most elementary ideas.

They are not even in the primary grade of Socialist education. It is necessary to interest them first in our primary education before they will even become interested in the more advanced aspects of our philosophy and program. As the late Eugene Wood used to say, "In large sections of the country there are more white elephants than there are Socialists." That is, in large sections there are practically no Socialists at all.

Now the depression and its problems present us with unusual opportunities, but there are also disadvantages. Millions of workers have a sense of being the victims of unmerited wrongs, but long privations also tend to destroy hope and foster a sense of resignation. Let us not forget that the slums of the large cities were never strongholds of Socialism. On the contrary, they became fortresses of reactionary and corrupt politics. Misery does not necessarily mean intellectual awakening. Too often it brings stupor and loss of hope.

Making allowance for all this, it still is true that large numbers of the workers develop a fighting spirit. They are alert to what is happening and they are open to new ideas. The large following which the Kingfish and Father Coughlin have is evidence of their resentment. That they follow these demagogues is natural. They will begin to desert these gentlemen when we get our elementary ideas before them.

Unless we undertake this work now and keep it up into the campaign struggle next year, we are certain to reap disappointment in November, 1936. There is no time to lose. If we are candid with ourselves we must admit that we have lost nearly a year of fruitful educational work. The result is that we have come perilously near to a standstill and only resumption of brisk activities will enable us to recover important lost ground.

There is work to do and plenty of it. Let us go to the masses, give hope to the dullards, inform those who grope for knowledge, get workers into the party, teach elements and build for next year's struggle. Power follows education; education does not follow power. We repeat, there is work to do. Let's do it!

## N. Y. Socialists Approve Party's Harmony Pact

State Committee Unanimously Approves Compact With N. E. C.—Aggressive Legislative Campaign Planned

THE "peace pact," adopted the previous week by the Socialist party's National Executive Committee in consultation with nine members—constituting a majority—of the New York state committee, was unanimously ratified by the New York state committee at a highly important meeting Monday night, called to put the final seal of approval to a move designed to end the fratricidal strife that had been raging in the party for a number of months. The full text of the "pact" was printed in this paper last week, together with the story of its adoption.

The meeting, presided over by State Chairman Louis Waldman and meeting in the People's House, also approved of the legislative program drawn up by the Interstate Conference a few weeks previously, and created machinery to carry the program into effect.

That legislative program includes a series of highly important labor bills, and an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, based upon the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment, but brought up-to-date to meet the

(Continued on Page Five)

## Now Is the Time To Build Party, Says Hoan

With Disputed Issues Settled Socialists Can Now Build For 1936, Says Milwaukee Mayor of Party Situation.

By Daniel W. Hoan

THE Socialist Party may now go ahead with its constructive work without fearing a split. While of course no settlement of such a problem is going to be acceptable to all party members, I am certain that all will rejoice with me that now we can get down to work at a time when we must start to lay the foundations for the greatest campaign in all party history in 1936. Unless the ground-work is laid this year by printing and distributing millions of pieces of literature, sending out organizers, getting radio time, and building up the Socialist press, our campaign will not be the success it must be in order to help the workers and farmers organize to save America.

Our most immediate need now is a successful conclusion to the 1935 United Socialist Drive. About

(Continued on Page Two)

## Terre Haute Strike Was Uprising Against Commerce Chamber Rule

By James Oneal

A TWO-DAY "labor holiday" which became a general strike involving most of the trade unions in Terre Haute, Indiana, the birthplace and life-long home of Eugene V. Debs, began early Monday morning and was called off Tuesday night. The strike was in part the climax to a policy followed by the local Chamber of Commerce—for some twenty years. That policy finally provoked the finest demonstration of labor solidarity that has occurred in this country since the Seattle general strike in 1919. The members of 48 trade unions came to the aid of a group of their class who had been on strike in the Columbian Enameling and Stamping Company since March.

The patience of the organized workers came to an end when Thursday of last week strike-breakers were imported to break the strike. Delegates of 48 trade unions met the following night and issued an ultimatum that unless the strikebreakers were deported by 1 p. m. there would be a "labor holiday" Monday morning.

The scabs remained, and on Monday the economic life of Terre Haute came almost to a standstill. The city was without trolley cars, taxicabs, ice, gasoline, milk, and fresh meat. Eleven motion picture houses were closed. So was the Terre Haute House, the largest hotel in town, the Hulman wholesale firm, where Eugene V. Debs worked as a clerk, and other enterprises.

Governor Steps In

The economic life of the city was being paralyzed when Governor McNutt sent troops into the city and martial law was declared. McNutt was once a commander of the American Legion and is the most reactionary executive the state has ever

had. Several months ago he signed a drastic anti-syndicalist law which was sponsored by the Legion and reactionary organizations. The Governor's proclamation declared that no meetings would be permitted and that crowds and pickets would be dispersed. On Tuesday about 4,000 pickets and sympathizers gathered around the struck plant and the order was given to disperse them under the martial law ruling against public assemblies. The troops went into action with tear gas bombs and

members of the executive committee.

Members of the committee are: Frank R. Crosswaith, Chairman; A. Philip Randolph, Vice-Chairman; Winifred Gittens, Financial Secretary; Noah C. A. Walter, Jr., Executive Secretary; Julius Hochman, Vice-President; L. L. G. W. U.; Thomas Young, Building Service Employees' Union; Abraham Miller, Manager, N. Y. Joint Board, A. C. W. A.; Morris Feinstein, Secretary, United Hebrew Trades; Murray Baron, Suit Case Workers' Union; L. Lederman, Pocketbook Workers' Union; Clifford Meek, Building Service Employees' Union; Jos. Mackey, International Laundry Workers' Union; T. Poston, New York Newspaper Guild; Murray Gross, Local 22, I. L. G. W. U.; Wm. Alex. Conaway, Musicians' Union; Jack Butler, Taxi Drivers' Union; Norman Donaway, Dress and Waist Pressers' Union; Edw. Richardson, Van Drivers' Union, Local 814; Edith Ransom, Local 22, I. L. G. W. U.; B. F. McLaurin, Brotherhood of Pullman Porters; Lyra Sixot, Ladies' Neckwear Union; P. A. Moore, Dining Car Union Local 370; I. P. Levinson,

Trade Unionist Mayor Protects Workers in Right To Strike

ALEXANDRIA, Va., writes Labor, organ of the railway unions, lies across the Potomac River from Washington. It is one of the historic cities of the nation. There George Washington attended church and meetings of his Masonic Lodge.

At the present time Alexandria has a labor union mayor, E. C. Davison, secretary-treasurer of the Machinists. It also has a number of sweatshops, and that combination is the reason for this article.

When clothing workers struck against bad conditions Mayor Davison sent policemen to the plants. "The policemen are there," Davison told the strikers, "to protect your rights. This government gives you the right to strike and if anyone interferes with it, they're going to get locked up, not you."

## Terre Haute Workers' General Strike Call

ON Thursday, July 18, the Columbian Enameling and Stamping Company in Terre Haute imported 58 strikebreakers to break the resistance of its workers who had been on strike for several months. The following night representatives of 48 trade unions met in the Labor Temple and declared that there would be a "labor holiday" of the members of the unions if the strikebreakers were not deported out of Vigo County by 1 a. m., Monday, July 22. The text of the statement adopted by the 48 unions follows:

"WHEREAS: In protest of the action taken by the Columbian Enameling and Stamping Company and the city officials in their action of importing strikebreakers into the city of Terre Haute, and in this manner aiding and abetting an industry to break a peaceful strike of citizens and taxpayers of our fair city who were in the employ of this said industry which has never been civic minded enough to consent to being included in the limits of the city and pay taxes as such and carry their part of the city police and fire protection which they now are securing. They, in the past, having berated labor for so-called offenses of securing their legitimacy (Continued on Page Two)

Chamber policy in this matter was underwritten by the city government. The "open shop" became a religious creed of the Chamber Babbitts and since the death of Eugene V. Debs the Chamber has had the insufferable insolence to advertise Terre Haute as the home of Debs and mention the cemetery in which his ashes are buried. The exploiters who thus also try to exploit the memory of the great Socialist were among those who hounded Debs into the penitentiary.

(Continued on Page Two)

## Negro Workers Build Organization At Great Harlem Labor Conference

By Eli A. Kahn

A PERMANENT Negro Labor Committee, to help organize Negro workers into unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and at the same time to eradicate race prejudice and discrimination of Negro workers from the ranks of the labor movement, was created as a result of the fine Negro labor conference in Harlem last week.

The organization committee, after hours of labor, brought resolutions embodying the following program, which was unanimously adopted by the conference:

1-To cooperate with existing trade unions in the organization of unorganized Negro workers.

2-To conduct workers' education classes and institutes in order to make the Negro workers conscious of their class interests and power and find their rightful place as part of the broad American labor movement.

3-To participate in, and to assist in organizing and developing strikes on the part of existing bona fide trade unions against wage cuts, for higher wages, shorter working hours, better working conditions, and the right of self-organization.

4-To establish and maintain a Negro Labor News service for publicizing the struggles of the workers in general and the Negro workers in particular to the end of making the Negro workers more labor-minded.

5-To work in the interest of bringing all available Negro workers into the A. F. of L. and to advocate mixed instead of separate locals, and to oppose all discriminatory practices based upon race or similar differences wherever such exist.

6-To work and fight for the elimination of color bar and color pledges in the ritual of any national and international union affiliated with the A. F. of L.

The policy, program and general activities of the Negro Labor Committee will conform and be in harmony with the trade union policy and program of the A. F. of L., according to statements made by

Knitgood Workers' Union; Bertram Taylor, Union Mechanics' Association; Jacob Mirsky, President, Bricklayers' Union; Gordon Haynes, Carpenters' and Joiners' Local 1888; Jack Waldheim, Motion Picture Operators' Union Local 308.

William Green, president of the A. F. of L., in a letter sent his approval of the work being done by the Negro Labor Committee. "We are constantly endeavoring," Mr. Green wrote, "to promote a condition where all international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, clothed with autonomous authority, will conform to the declarations, procedure and principles of the A. F. of L. itself regarding the admission of members without regard to race, creed, color or nationality. We are certain that time and patience will bring about a solution of our vexed problem."

A similar pledge of cooperation was made by William Mahoney, State organizer for the Federation, who described the movement as a long-needed step in the right direction.

"Only too often," he declared, "have rapacious and greedy employers set black against white and white against black in an effort to defeat labor organization."

The conference adopted resolutions demanding removal of color bars in all labor unions, urging Federal anti-lynching legislation, favoring the 30-hour work-week, urging the Congress to pass the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment, a resolution asking Negro clergymen to devote at least one Sunday each month to consideration of the economic plight of the worker-pariah. Another resolution which was referred to the incoming executive committee condemned Mussolini's aggression in Ethiopia, called for freedom of the Scottsboro Boys and Angelo Herndon, and against war and fascism. It also called for the formation of a labor party by the workers.

Other speakers who addressed the conference were Morris Feinstein, A. Philip Randolph, Mrs. Gertrude Ayers and Frank R. Crosswaith.

## Berlin Race Riots Provoked To Divert Attention from Collapsing Nazi Regime

## Hitler Apes Czar In Stirring Up Persecution

Savages Turned Loose on Helpless Jews to Make Troubles.

By John Powers

INFORMATION from Germany indicates clearly that the Nazi regime is approaching an economic and political crisis threatening its existence.

In another column of this issue the reader will find an account by Francis Williams, financial expert of the London Daily Herald, of the critical financial situation developing in Germany as a result of the reckless expenditures on war preparations by the Hitler government, the undermining of the financial and economic structure of the country, and the effects this is having upon industry and social services.

The Hitler regime is obviously nearing a point when it will be called to account by the laws of finance and economics for its drunken-sailor policy of uncontrolled spending on instruments of war and the grave dislocations provoked by Nazi economic experiments.

Information reaching us direct from Germany is that the Nazi regime has lost greatly in standing and prestige among the masses of the people, that disillusionment and disappointment are becoming more and more widespread and that, in their search for escape the Nazis are compelled to stage a diversion which would deflect the attention of the people from the extremely serious internal situation.

Back of the Terror

This is the true explanation of the new wave of terror sweeping Germany against Jews, Socialists, Catholics, Free Masons and others. The situation recalls the conduct of the Czarist government in the last years of its decay, when it sought salvation in pogroms against Jews by arousing the sadistic instincts of the mob against helpless elements.

(Continued on Page Three)

## Wisc. F. of L. Backing Hillquit Amendment

Federation of Labor Takes Stand Against Profit System; Ohl and Handley, Socialists, Re-elected.

SPECIAL TO THE NEW LEADER  
APPLETON, Wis., Wisconsin labor unions have committed themselves to war upon the profit system.

Without a dissenting vote the delegates to the 43rd annual convention of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor, which met here last week-end, adopted a report from the executive committee which declared the sole remedy for the present misery and suffering is "a comprehensive plan of production for use and not for profit."

The Wisconsin Production Corporation Bill, the main Socialist legislative measure, was endorsed as a step in the right direction. This bill would empower the state to take over all factories and engage in any business it saw fit.

Four hundred delegates attended the convention, the largest the federation ever held. The general temper was militant and on practically every question the delegates took an advanced position.

Union members were urged to decline jobs on the federal relief program, in a resolution adopted on PWA. The resolution also urged

(Continued on Page Two)

Hitler Regime Cannot Stand Terrific Strain of Cost of Rearmament, Williams Shows.

By Francis Williams

Financial Expert, London Daily Herald

NAZI Germany, drunk with military ambition and the heady wine of armament expenditure, is staggering to a new financial and economic crisis. The outside world is confronted with a boastful, confident Germany, building airplanes and submarines, extending her army, rattling the sabre of militarism with a pre-war arrogance.

But the real masters of Germany, Schacht and his banker friends and the big industrialists, are growing worried. They are beginning to wonder how and when the bill is to be footed.

They have need to wonder. Under Hitler Germany is spending for war at a tremendous rate.

No one outside Germany knows quite at what rate. Certainly no one inside Germany, with the exception of the inner ring of those in control, knows.

The German public are asked to cheer a huge increase in the naval building program.

They are asked to support and apparently at the moment do heartily support the military training of over 8,500,000 men of the 1901 to 1915 classes who have been, or are to be, called up.

But they are not told what the cost of it all is to be.

Budget Kept Secret

So great indeed is the ignorance in which they are being kept that the Budget returns which were due on April 1 have been postponed again and again.

They are, presumably, too depressed to be published, for the previous Budget showed an accumulated deficit of close upon \$900,000,000.

On the revenue side the "invisible" Budget for 1934-35, about which men and women in Germany may talk only in lowered voices when they are sure they will not be overheard, is made up, it is believed, of large short-term borrowing.

But no one except Hitler and Schacht and a few others know. A frantic attempt is being made now to find some means of producing a budget which at any rate will balance—whether or not it is an honest balance does not matter. If the attempt proves too difficult, as well it may, no budget statement will be issued this year, for the Nazi financial authorities now affirm that neither in financial nor other matters are they bound by law "except in so far as the law accords with Nazi principles."

Peace Industries Depressed

Meanwhile, while Germany continues to spend for war, her peacetime industries become more depressed, her international trade continues to decline, and her foreign debtors remain largely unpaid.

Where, then, comes the money for armaments? How long can the present condition last?

There is, of course, in the affairs of all nations a distinction to be made between internal and external spending. A nation may have sufficient funds in its own currency to pay external debts, but because of exchange restrictions or the inability to export goods to the creditor countries concerned, in consequence of tariff barriers, it may be unable to secure sufficient foreign exchange to pay external debts in the currencies of the creditor nations.

Loan Defaults Certain

That was to some extent Germany's position when the moratorium on external debts was first declared. But although the German government used exchange difficulties

(Continued on Page Three)

# ALL OUT to the BIG ULMER PARK PICNIC; Saturday, July 27



# Fascist Italy to Spread "Culture" to Africa

## Who is This Man to Bring Light to the Abyssinians?

By Arturo Giovanitti

THE most ominous news of the last few days is, without doubt, that of the impending war between Italy and Ethiopia, or rather between Mussolini's hired assassins and the bare-footed, helpless hordes of Haile Selassie. That the war is now inevitable no intelligent person will gain say; short of some supernatural interference Il Duce will march; that is, he will make his gangsters march against the last African empire and drench it with blood.

The issues leading to this conflict are too vague and obscure to be discussed here, but it is safe to say that at the bottom of them there lie two ancient factors, the greed and rapacity of imperialistic nations which is common

rampant and the worship of brute force has taken the place of reason everywhere. Anything might set fire to this immense powder magazine and blow civilization into atoms, if civilization may be called the monstrous social arrangement which permits such horrors. But the gravest danger of all, perhaps the only real danger just now, lies in the criminal ambition of dictators and their mad terror of the people whose wrath, sullen and silent as it is, is ever smoldering about them.

Dictators arriving to power through great exploits on the red billows of war may, and often did, devote themselves to maintain peace; but those who suddenly leap out of obscurity to the limelight, the upstarts like the gramscian Hitler and the encyclopedian Mussolini are always destined to seek the only glory they conceive in the pomp and panoply of war.

Mussolini who is not even king, who never rose above the rank of corporal, who subdued no armed enemies, must feel this burning sense of inferiority to the great conquerors he so clownishly apes.

A primary grade schoolmaster who suddenly becomes the leader of 500,000 mercenaries, who sees his statues raised in the public squares and the stadia, who changes uniforms and charges three or four times a day, who wears the oak leaves of the Emperor on postage stamps and roars snappy Napoleonic phrases to cowed cheering mobs, cannot obviously permit himself to pass on to history without some mighty deed of valor. The idea that he will be remembered in the future only as the conquistador of poor Italian workers, his former followers, the pillager of cooperatives, the destroyer of labor unions, the Attila and the Tamerlane who laid waste hamlets and farmhouses inhabited by starving and unarmed peasants, must eat at his entrails like a cancer.

### The Great Hope

He must do something bigger and grander and he must do it in a hurry before he is felled by a bullet or, worse still, is laid ignominiously low by an attack of indigestion. Therefore, in order to appease the unholly ambition and the bloodlust of a brute, an entire nation in chains and in mourning must acclaim him godlike ("Mussolini is always right") is the first article of the code all Italian journalists must sign and be killed and tortured and be tortured without hope of respite and deliverance.

Who will stop this madman? Who indeed has any desire or interest to stop him? The League of Nations is impotent if not altogether dead; the Kellogg pact has no power and no one will even invoke it; the concert of nations is nothing but a palaver of hyenas around a carrion; the Vatican has lost its thunder and while cursing war doesn't excommunicate the warmakers, and the so-called spiritual forces of mankind confine themselves to prayers and sweet faith in the ultimate justice of God.

There is no hope then? There is!

The greatest, the most ancient force in the world, vigorous, irresistible, imperishable like time and life is ever awake and ever watching.

It is the force of labor which even now decrees once again that there is a state of war between the Workers of the World and fascism in all its forms a war of extermination and extinction which shall never be mediated nor brought to a truce, the rumble and roar of whose merciless battles are even now to be heard in the distance by all those who have ears to hear!

### NOW TO BUILD UP PARTY!

(Continued from Page One)

a dozen states are ahead of their contributions last year at this time, which is encouraging, but it is not enough.

Every member should make it his business to check up on his branch or local Drive Director, or the secretary, to see what his own organization has done on the Drive, and dig deep for Socialism.

### Blumenberg Takes Charge Of Rand Book Store

Ben Blumenberg, formerly of The New Leader staff and frequent contributor to its columns, is now in charge of the Rand School Book Store, 7 East 15th St., having been appointed to this position by the management committee. Comrade Blumenberg was for many years in the book business in Detroit.

He said that special efforts will be made to cooperate with Socialist and Labor organizations carrying on educational work, particularly labor colleges and libraries. Comrade Blumenberg's welcome contributions will continue to appear in these pages.

## NEGRO WORKERS UNITE FOR TRADE UNIONISM



Some of the Trade Unionists who participated in the notable Negro trade union conference in Harlem last week. Story on Page 1.

### Terre Haute Strike Was Uprising Against C. of C.

(Continued from Page One)

A week before the general strike broke the Chamber issued what the union workers called a "fascist manifesto" in support of the enacting plant. This document stirred the labor movement to its depths and contributed to the decision in favor of the "holiday."

The backgrounds of this labor upheaval are of unusual interest. Terre Haute lies in the heart of the Indiana bituminous coal field. Years before the economic crisis began in 1929 the mining villages were centers of revolting misery. The decline of the industry left thousands of miners and their families stranded and dependent upon charity. The city was also becoming known as a "little Pittsburgh."

The Chamber of Commerce brought plant after plant to the edge of the city limits and kept the "open shop" flag flying.

### The Chamber Blacklist

One by one the unions were beaten in the "prosperity" years of Coolidge and Hoover and the Chamber practically ruled the city. The Labor Temple became almost an empty shell. The organized workers lost their fighting spirit. For a time the central body even sent a delegate to the Chamber in the vain hope of changing its policy. The Building Trades Council in 1929 sent a long communication to the Chamber appealing for a more "Christian" spirit. This was accompanied with references to the life of Christ and concluded with a quotation from Longfellow's "The Arsenal at Springfield."

Surely, workers could not be more humble before ruling organizations than in this Golden Age of Coolidge and Hoover.

The industrial crisis found the organized workers weakened and almost crushed. A number of times when the writer returned to Terre Haute he found it difficult to hold a public meeting. Socialist agitators were quietly blacklisted and were compelled to leave the city. The local party organization slowly crumbled and the Communist warfare against the party almost finished the work done by the Chamber of Commerce.

### Revival of Fighting Spirit

So this economic ulcer festered until the enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act. Its possibilities electrified the workers. Eventually the city which was less than 20 per cent organized became almost 90 per cent organized. Again came disappointment. The unions found that the NRA of itself contained no magic. To reap gains the workers had to be on the job, to insist and to strike, if necessary. Numerous local strikes occurred in the weeks before the "labor holiday" was declared. The working class was no longer humble before the Chamber oligarchs. The fighting spirit of the unions had returned, and it was a timely revival.

On the edge of the city stood the Enameling plant. For twenty years it had stood as an example of Chamber policy. Workers struck for a wage of \$20 per week. The struggle was on with the Chamber allied with the plant. Police, guards and scabs were called in. Later the Governor responded with troops, rifles and tear gas bombs. For 48

hours the organized workers demonstrated a solidarity and restraint in a situation filled with dangers and came out of the struggle with their forces intact.

Whatever may be the result at the struck plant, this emergence of the trade unions out of a long period of torpor, their challenge to the domination of the Chamber of Commerce, the revival of their fighting spirit, and their assertion of the spirit of solidarity in a general "labor holiday" will prove fruitful of good results in the coming months and years.

The past is dead. A new era dawns in the labor movement in Terre Haute. A new spirit has come. It was a thrilling struggle and it will also hearten the working masses in other cities and states.

### Terre Haute Workers' General Strike Call

(Continued from Page One)

ate labor representatives to aid them in peaceful negotiations with employers as is provided by the laws of our country, we representatives of organized labor in the city of Terre Haute and Vigo County do hereby RESOLVE:

"That unless these strike-breakers are deported out of Vigo County by or before 1 a. m. Monday, July 22, 1935, we, organized labor of every craft and industry in the city and county, will declare a labor holiday until such action has been enforced. Be it further RESOLVED: That copies of this resolution

### Czech Socialist Federation Backs The New Leader

Special to The New Leader

CHICAGO.—Recommendation of The New Leader and the Wisconsin Leader to its youth organization was included in the resolutions passed by the recent conference of the Czechoslovak Federation of the Socialist Party here.

Other resolutions included endorsement of the American Olympics to be held in Cleveland on July 4th, 5th and 6th, 1936, and greetings to Comrade Frantisek Seduk and congratulations of his re-election to the presidency of the Czechoslovak Senate.

The following resolution was embodied in a telegram which was sent to the National Executive Committee meeting in New York: "Dear Comrades: The Czechoslovak Federation of the Socialist Party, in conference held at Vajta Napistek School, 28th Street and Homan Avenue, Chicago, on July 13th, appeal to you to preserve the unity of the party. Unity is essential; everything else is secondary."

be furnished The Terre Haute Star and Tribune newspapers and the press wires.

"THE PUBLICITY COMMITTEE. "John J. Appler, Butchers' Union. "Lewis L. Harvey, I. U. of O. E. "James Robb, secretary Dresser Miners' Local No. 414. "George E. Rowley, City Traction Local No. 1064."

## W.S. & D.B.F. Still Leads German Working Masses

By Paul Sturm

National Secretary, Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund

The 17th Convention of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, held from June 10 to 24th in the society's fine administration building at 714 Seneca Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., learned that the society made a surplus of \$289,276.72 during the past four years. The solid financial foundation is evidenced by the large reserves. Funds on hand December 31, 1934, amounted to \$3,533,808.73.

The convention did not act as a "rubber stamp" for measures prepared to amend the society's constitution, but deliberated all business very thoroughly, after several special committees had gone over the constitutional amendments and rendered its report. More than forty members of the convention took part in the discussion.

Since the organization of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund in 1884, the society grew by the sole activity of its members. No organizers nor agents were employed, nor money appropriated for such solicitation. The convention, however, decided to fall in line with modern conceptions of organizing and empowered the administration to employ from the ranks of the membership organizers on a temporary as well as a permanent basis to build up the society.

"Ad those who are in distress," is the foremost characteristic of

the society and the organization paid out \$66,315.90 in the form of relief for dues and outright contributions to needy members during the past four years. To provide for a wider scope of relief the revenues for the national relief fund were increased.

Tom Mooney's fight for freedom was considered and a resolution passed unanimously to donate \$2,000 to the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee to help to set this victim of injustice free.

A resolution was also passed to aid suffering and destitute miners with a \$1,000 contribution.

With hearty greetings and best wishes to the administration the convention concluded its work on June 24th after the last tunes of appropriate songs faded away.

## Workers Everywhere Back The Hillquit Amendment

CHICAGO.—The week has brought important developments in the way of additional labor groups that are lining up behind the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment, according to today's report made by Frank N. Trager, secretary of the Labor Committee for the Workers' Rights Amendment.

### Montana Labor Backs Bill

In reporting the endorsement of the bill by the Montana State Federation of Labor, President James D. Graham described the action of the Federation "as enthusiastic and unanimous."

### Wisconsin Labor Endorses Hillquit Amendment

APPLETON, Wis.—The Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment was endorsed by the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor on a motion by Al Benson, representing the Metal Polishers' Local Union No. 10.

HOPEWELL, Va.—The central labor union of Hopewell and Petersburg last week unanimously endorsed House Joint Resolution 327, the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment, introduced into Congress by Representative Vito Marcantonio.

CHICAGO.—Endorsement of the Hillquit amendment was carried by the Garfield Park Lodge, Local 478 of the International Association of Machinists, after a speech by John Murphy Collins, former president of the union, and formerly a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

Other labor groups which have added their organizations to the already long and growing list of endorsements are: Lodge No. 99, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, Local No. 161, International Ladies' Garment Workers; Passaic Co. (N. J.) Central Labor Union; Silver Bow (Mont.) Trades and Labor Council; Local No. 1397 United Textile Workers; Local No. 168, Pretzel Workers' Union; Local No. 66, International Association of Machinists; Pittsburgh-Hopewell (Va.) Central Labor Union; Local No. 392, Railway Equipment Painters.

The Keystone Workers' Association of Reading, Pa., voted endorsement of the Workers' Rights Amendment at their membership meeting this week, and have sent notice of their action to Hatten W. Summers, chairman of the House Judiciary committee. Relief workers in Monroe County, N. Y., the Workers' Federation of Punxsutawney County, Pa., and the Workers' Alliance group in Grinnell, Ia., have taken similar action.

F. C. Pieper, member of the National Council of United Automobile Workers, writes:

"I have been watching this movement closely, and assure you not only am I interested, but I am ready to support and fight for it. I feel that unless we are successful in this, the people of the United States will suffer at the hands of industry and capitalism as they have never suffered before."

Pieper will serve on the non-partisan Labor committee being organized for the support of the bill under the chairmanship of Leo Krzycki. Others who have given their consent this week to serve on this committee are: Francis J. Gorman, first vice-president, United Textile Workers; Romaldo Cerruti, International Ladies' Garment Workers; B. Clayton Bennet, Locomotive Firemen and Engineers; Bert Doolittle, Carpenters' Union; May House, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Dan Killinger, Pot-

ters' Union. Louis Segal, secretary of the Jewish National Workers' Alliance of America, will serve on the committee of representatives of workers' fraternal organizations that will support the bill.

### WISCONSIN LABOR BACKS HILLQUIT AMENDMENT

(Continued from Page One)

close and friendly cooperation with the Workers' Alliance of America. Union support was pledged to those on relief rolls who refused to take jobs at low wages, in case relief officials attempted forced labor.

Wage provisions in the federal program for Wisconsin were branded "woefully inadequate," "viciously anti-social," "putting relief workers on a subsistence basis," "furnishing a medicine drop instead of an economic pump," and "forcing skilled workers onto relief and shifting them from a higher to a lower level," in the resolution adopted.

The executive board was instructed to call a conference in October to survey the possibilities for a Farmer-Labor party. Under the terms of the resolution two representatives each of the Farm Holiday Association, the Farmers' Equity Union, the Wisconsin Cooperative Milk Pool, the Socialist Party and the Farmer-Labor-Progressive League will be invited to meet with the labor leaders. If this group finds sufficient sentiment, it is authorized to call a convention to launch such a party.

The Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment was enthusiastically endorsed and all unions were urged to carry on a campaign for it. A demand was made on the House judiciary committee that it immediately hold a public hearing on the measure and all Wisconsin congressmen were urged to support it when it reaches the floor of the House.

Kenneth W. Hones, president of the Wisconsin Farmers' Equity Union, addressed the convention and called for the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth.

Henry Ohl, Jr., was reelected president for the 18th successive term and John J. Handley secretary-treasurer for his 23rd term. Both are Socialist Party members. Both were elected by acclamation.

### Wisconsin

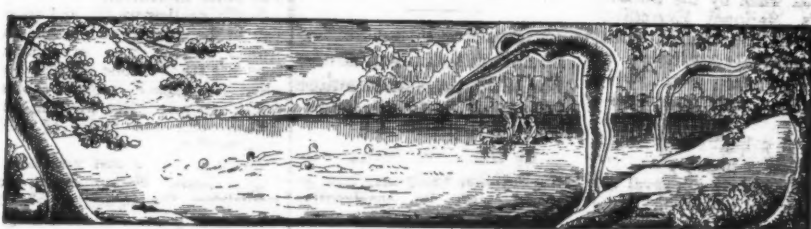
Madison.—Socialists of Dane County will hear three important speakers on the afternoon program that will be the leading attraction of the annual picnic at Olin Park. Charles D. Egley of St. Paul will speak on "Cooperatives, the Way Out." Howard J. Williams will talk on "Does the United States Need a New Third Party?" while Maynard C. Krueger will discuss the Socialist Party's stand on a new third party.

### Oneal's Articles on Bolshevism in a New Pamphlet.

Due to many requests received for several months for a pamphlet that would consider the differences between Socialism and Bolshevism, James Oneal published five articles in The New Leader dealing with this issue. The articles considered the conflicts between the two movements in historical interpretation, principles, dictatorship and methods.

These articles will soon appear in a pamphlet and will be available at a low price. Special rates will be made in lots of 25 or more.

In party circles in many states there has been need for a pamphlet of this sort. The pamphlet will be published by the Rand Book Store and a further announcement will be made later.



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# Nazi Germany Staggers To Financial Ruin

## Masses Kept in Ignorance and Inflamed by Nazi Race Hatred

### EXPERT TELLS OF COMING HOW MASSES ARE DRIVEN FINANCIAL COLLAPSE TO DEEDS OF VIOLENCE

(Continued from Page One)

culities as an excuse for not paying debts to foreign investors and traders, it has made no serious effort to overcome these difficulties.

On the contrary, it has been clear for a substantial time that Germany, under her present rulers, has no intention of paying the majority of her debts. A further default on foreign loans still paid is practically certain.

Although the figures of armaments expenditure are being carefully concealed, the price which Germany is paying for Nazi rule in economic and financial distress is already becoming clear.

It is beginning to frighten even the Reichsbank authorities themselves who, faced with the ever-increasing financial demands of the Government, fear a crash of the mark and a repetition of the currency chaos of the post-war inflation period.

#### Ominous Warnings

Thus, recently Dr. Dreyse, Vice-President of the Reichsbank and close associate of Dr. Schacht, Germany's Economic Dictator, issued a warning that the Government's schemes had required the expenditure of extraordinarily large sums which could not be obtained immediately from the proceeds of taxation or from loans and the Reichsbank had therefore agreed to step in and finance them through short-term credits.

Already the Government's commitments on short term credits for various purposes for which revenue from the ordinary sources cannot be obtained total approximately about \$2,285,000,000, and further demands are being made.

Householders have been compelled to come to the assistance of the Government by what is in effect a forced loan of \$100,000,000. They have been forced to accept State Loan Bonds not negotiable or even available as security in place of the rebate on the house rent tax promised them.

Industrialists have meanwhile been told by Dr. Schacht that they will be called upon to provide either "voluntarily" or through the form of a special tax more than \$415,000,000 to subsidize exports.

This subsidy for exports is part of a desperate attempt now being made by Germany to sell more goods abroad, even at a loss, in order to obtain foreign exchange to finance the purchase of raw materials for the armament industry.

**Normal Industry Starved**  
Import trade cannot, however, be restricted sufficiently to provide a balanced trade while the armament campaign proceeds, because of the need for raw materials, but other industries are being starved of the materials they need from abroad if they are to carry on.

Last year, although Germany's export trade declined drastically by \$290,339,000, her imports, despite restrictions and control, rose by \$103,906,900.

Originally the Nazis declared they would by the development of substitutes make Germany independent of outside raw materials. Significantly that policy was abandoned when the new military program was announced, and many other things beside the original policy of economic self sufficiency have had to be dropped to foot the bill for war preparation.

Public works schemes previously sanctioned have now been withdrawn, and a large building program abandoned. Unemployment relief plans are being drastically curtailed. The social services, with promises of which the Nazis secured votes, have gone overboard.

**Public Works Withdrawn**  
How much longer can this continue? With increasing momentum the standard of living of the ordinary people in Germany is being reduced, vast industries once concerned in foreign trade are faced with ruin, employment in the export trade is 1,250,000 below normal.

Confidence in the Government's bonds has practically disappeared. Industrial firms called upon to invest their profits over and above a fixed dividend of 6 per cent in Government securities are indeed refusing instead to declare any dividends, and are doing their best to get their money out of the country.

Germany set out to frighten the world with her war preparations. Now, when they are being forced to rule themselves must find it difficult to avoid fear. For they have started on a road which if it is continued must inevitably bring the German people to bankruptcy.

So far there is no sign of them turning back. And the day of the economic crash comes nearer.

ments of the population. We know that diversions of this sort served only to speed the downfall of the regime. The Hitler regime, too, is rapidly becoming its own most effective grave-digger.

From sources in direct touch with Socialist and labor circles in Germany we learn that the Social Democratic Party has restored completely its great network of local organizations and that when the moment for action arrives the revived Socialist movement will take the field.

When that moment will come cannot yet be discerned. It is probable that an intermediary stage in which the army may assume political control of the country will intervene between the downfall of the Hitler regime and the resurrection of the better Germany, but it is clear from information at our disposal that the Nazi government is doomed.

"Reports reaching us from all parts of the country show that the National-Socialist Party as such no longer has any standing with the people," is the statement we read in an account of the situation made public through the regular information service maintained by the executive committee of the German Social Democratic Party in Prague.

This is no mere generality but is supported in the account in question with voluminous, detailed data from all parts of the Reich. The spectacles staged in the streets of Berlin by Nazi hoodlums led by the notorious Julius Streicher are not likely to add to the standing of Hitler's party among the rank and file of decent Germans, who are by no means a minority.

"The fact that anti-Jewish riots, two years after Hitler established his dictatorship, are still possible in the heart of Berlin," writes John Elliott, correspondent of the Herald Tribune, "indicates that under the cloak of the censorship the economic and social tension is continuing with unrelenting pressure."

**Government Responsible**  
It may be argued, as Mr. Elliott and others suggest, that there is a struggle between the "radicals" and so-called moderates of the Hitler regime, represented by Hitler himself and President Schacht of the Reichsbank, who are supposed to be bent on holding the wild men of the regime in check. Fundamentally, the disgraceful spectacles staged in the streets of Berlin under Streicher's direction are an inevitable accompaniment of the regime itself. Moreover, Streicher's activities in the German capital and the appointment of the sadist Heildorf as police chief of Berlin could not have taken place without the consent of the central government. As Mr. Elliott says, "for the moment, Der Führer is pursuing his favorite game of playing both ends against the middle and waiting until the last possible moment."

**Among the Advertisers In Streicher's Paper**  
UNDoubtedly Julius Streicher must live (cries of "Why?" from the galleries), and his publication *Der Stürmer* must have means of support in order to continue its cultural work of creating insane and murderous fury among the Nazis against the Jews. ("The Jews are our misfortune" is the banner line in every issue of that eminent publication.)

Hence *Der Stürmer* carries paid advertising, among the paying advertisers is Intourist, the official Soviet governmental travel agency. According to the Manchester (England) Guardian one of the last issues of *Der Stürmer* carries an ad, paid for out of the public funds of "the workers' fatherland", that "recommends the Moscow theatres to German tourists in Russia."

When Streicher's followers get into Moscow they will be able to get together with the Bolsheviks and have a grand good time damning and blackguarding Socialists, trade unionists, libertarians and believers in and practitioners of democracy, and they will be able to compare notes on control of the press and public opinion, staging demonstrations and conducting blood purges.

This *Stürmer* ad recalls a special Russian-American supplement to the Wall Street Journal about a decade ago, in which the biggest American banks and industries took full page ads boasting of the magnitude of the business they were doing with the U. S. S. R. Among them were the biggest and bitterest foes of union labor in the United States.

And this is referred to whenever it is referred to.

sible minute before making an irrecoverable decision."

If there are any "moderates" in the Hitler regime they are actuated solely and entirely by considerations of expediency. The responsibility rests fundamentally on Hitler, Dr. Schacht and all other "respectables" who gave the Nazi regime birth. They have set up a Frankenstein that will eventually destroy them. There is no forgiveness for any of them. As Mr. Elliott puts it, the anti-Semitic riots staged by the Nazi "radicals" are to be attributed to

able to defy all attempts to remove him."

**Sadist Aims**  
"Last Spring Joseph Grohe, the Nazi regional leader in Cologne, let the cat out of the bag in a public speech in which he declared that he was able to say on Hitler's authority that within five years there would be no more Jews in Germany. This speech was suppressed by the ministry of propaganda because it feared its effect on foreign public opinion." It is obvious that in its present desperation the Hitler regime has



the failure of the Hitler-Schacht system "to solve the economic crisis of the Third Reich." The crisis is the direct consequence of the Hitler-Schacht system.

Nor can Hitler escape responsibility for Germany's moral crisis. Mr. Elliott writes: "Hitler, who has never been very nice in his choice of companions (witness his strange friendship for the unrepentable Roehm) honored his Nuremberg palatine (Streicher) on his birthday this year by publicly riding about with him in the streets of the Hans Sachs city. The pogrom in Gunzenhausen and the frequent unofficial boycotts in Bavarian towns against Jewish shops, which are due to Streicher's influence, frequently have brought this burly agitator into conflict with the moderates, but thanks to Hitler's friendship, he has been

thrown to the winds all consideration of foreign public opinion. Streicher's presence and activities in Berlin were made possible only with the consent of Hitler. The new draconic legislation contemplated against the Jews emanates directly from the central government authorities. The Nazi press is permitted to conduct unrestricted its revived violent anti-Jewish propaganda. What is under way is an attempt on a large scale to rob the Jews of all their property to help the empty Nazi treasury.

Under such circumstances there can no longer be any talk of "moderates" and "radicals." The regime, rotten through and through, is struggling desperately to save itself from being overwhelmed by the rising waves of economic crisis and popular discontent.

History has already pronounced its verdict upon it: extermination.

## YPSL Increases Age Limit To Thirty Years

### Pittsburgh Convention Elects Fischer Secretary Over Winston Dancis—Ernest Weber New Chairman.

Special to The New Leader.

PITTSBURGH.—The Eighth National Convention of the Young People's Socialist League of America was opened Friday evening, July 19, with delegates and visitors from all over the country, from New York to California in attendance.

The convention opened with a fine mass meeting Friday morning, with a capacity audience.

The Saturday sessions were occupied with the election of ten convention committees.

National Secretary Winston Dancis in his report stated that the membership was now about four thousand. County or city organizations are now functioning in New York, Philadelphia, Reading, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago and Milwaukee. State Federations are chartered in Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Wisconsin and California. The National Educational department has been more active during the past two years, he said. A whole series of Blue Cover Educational Outlines have been issued, besides many other publications for circle study outlines. The industrial work for the National Biscuit Company and the great needle trades strikes were outstanding.

The Cultural Department has issued a list of labor plays which have proved very useful and have resulted in an increase in dramatic work. The most widespread and successful sphere of YPSL work revolves about the student activity. The past two years have witnessed a considerable increase in the production of supplies and literature.

Red Falcon work has made substantial progress. Yipsels have supplied most of the Guides and Leaders for the children's work.

Syd Devin of Chicago, editor of Challenge, reported that the paid circulation of the Challenge was now ten thousand and that from now on it would be published in eight pages.

The majority report of the Constitution Committee, submitted Sunday, to increase the age limit to 30, from 25, was adopted after much discussion, by a vote of 43 to 41. This question will be submitted to a referendum of the League membership.

The age limit of 30 years had been abolished at the Cleveland convention three years ago by a unanimous vote. All so-called "left" elements, two groups which had issued "unauthorized" statements and the "militants" supported the proposal. Alex Retain of New York said it was dangerous to let young people "decay" in the party. Nathan Lopatin ad-

vised that those who believed that "decay" awaited young people in the party should leave as membership in the Yipsels must be regarded as training for work in the party. Feeling ran high in the debate.

The N.E.C. reported a resolution on publications providing that "No group of individuals" or member may publish "organs or statements" unless the group is a "constituted subdivision" that "authorizes and controls such publications." The statement explained that factional papers are run by an "inner group" which controls opinions and excludes other views; it develops its own inner life and activity and comes into conflict with the organization. Official papers would allow all points of view.

A minority report opposed this. It approved official organs of subdivisions and the right of groups or members to issue statements. The majority report was defeated by a narrow margin and the matter will go to a referendum vote. Many organizations and leaders of the Socialist and Labor movement sent greetings to the convention, among them Mayor Hoan, Joseph Schlossberg, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Charles F. Hohmann, International Secretary of the Bakery and Confectionary Workers' International Union, George Rhodes, President of the Reading Federated Trades Council, the Workmen's Circle, Young Circle League, the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Unemployed Citizens' League of Pittsburgh, the Socialist Parties of Reading, Philadelphia and Milwaukee, and the State Organizations of Wisconsin, New York, Illinois and Connecticut.

Ernest Weber of Chicago was elected National Chairman over Arthur G. McDowell; Ben Fischer defeated Winston Dancis for reelection as National Secretary; Hy Fish of Ohio, Winston Dancis and Aaron Levenstein of New York, Milton Weisberg and Leon Shull of Pennsylvania, Tarmo Hannula of Massachusetts, Gloria Waldron of Missouri, Willie Goldberg of California and Chas. Hryniewicz of Wisconsin were elected members of the National Executive Committee. August Tyler of New York was elected delegate to the Socialist International Youth Congress in Copenhagen and Arthur G. McDowell of Chicago as alternative.

On Monday, the new National Executive Committee laid plans to carry out the work of the convention.

**Suit Case Makers**  
The local office of the Suit Case, Bag and Portfolio Makers' Union announces its re-affiliation with the United Leather Workers' International Union, after a period of protracted negotiations. The local retains its original charter number 48.

## The Poor Little Rich Girl; And Her Poor Little Sister

By Gertrude Weil Klein

"MACHINE" Guns Guard "Gloria." "Libby Holman's Son Under Constant Watch." "Rosamond Murray Guarded After Extortion Threats."

Poor little rich children! Not one of them but lives under a hanging cloud of fear and danger. I used to sniff at the "hard lot" of the poor little rich child, but I'm not so sure that a child whose every movement is spent under the watchful eyes of guards has any better chance of growing into normal happy adulthood than the underprivileged child whose growing days are cramped by the restrictions of poverty. One shivers at gangsters in the movies, and the other shivers at gangsters as a reality. In both cases there is little opportunity for all that is implied in "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Curiously enough, the lives of the excessively wealthy and the lives of the poor, after performing a wide arc, sometimes come together again in a drab end. A prominent lawyer, nephew of the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, falls victim to the lure of a group of small-time prostitutes and a pimp. Living a resplendent life of ease and luxury, with all the refinements of our highly civilized time at his command, this man goes on a spree with graduates of the gutter as his companions, in much the same way as the sordid little merchant takes a holiday when away from his home and family for a few days.

A cheap pick-up, a drunken party, a dismal end. He a victim of his wealth just as surely as they are victims of their poverty. Men like Dickinson, children who inherit huge fortunes, are just as likely to grow up emotional and mental cripples as are the children who, from a very early age, must use their wits to keep alive. At both ends we are breeding anti-social characters and characteristics.

The recent National Conference of Social Workers reported findings of a survey on child delinquency. In neighborhoods of higher economic rating the proportion of delinquency is 1 child in 910; in the poorer neighborhoods 1 in 183. As Socialists we, of course, have always pointed out the link-up between poverty and crime. The picture is more graphic when we get it in detail this way, backed up with careful figures.

The annual report of our own police department was also a striking corroboration of this thesis. Major crimes in New York increased 15.3 per cent in 1934 over 1933. A large share of the increase involved burglaries, and almost a fourth of the prisoners had never been arrested before. In a majority of cases the crime was a theft involving less than \$100 in cash or clothing. And most of the "criminals" are young people.

Small thefts by young people are frequently the inverted result of a praiseworthy desire. More tragic perhaps than the actual lack of luxuries or necessities is the feeling of frustration, of miserable failure on the part of those whose greatest happiness it would be to provide those dear to them with what they need and desire. It is often as a compensation for this feeling of defeat that the more audacious, the more quick-witted youngsters acquire the philosophy of getting something for nothing, of beating the sharks at their own game. Some times such a one is successful and becomes a big shot gangster. Not often.

Small thievery is always stupid as well as wrong. The New York financiers whom Ferdinand Pecora put over the bumps in the Senate investigation two years ago went after sums that were worth while. They used their financial power to unload doubtful securities on "country banks"—anything outside of Manhattan is country. They financed the wholesale gambling that brought the crash of 1929. And many bankers who joined the much advertised pool to "support prices of stocks" and "steady the market" sold short with one hand while saluting the flag with the other. No, they haven't gone to jail, but the police-net will get the little weakling for dipping into the bank's till, after the bank has dipped into his pay envelope. Isn't

there a poem whose refrain is "Be sure to git a plenty while you're gittin'?"

The united front of Father Divine and the Communists seems to have captured Harlem. At least so you would imagine by reading the newspapers. But there is steady, solid work going on among the Negroes in Harlem which is not "picturesque" enough to get into the papers and so you hear little about it.

The Negro is good copy when he is "hallelujah" shouting or indulging in any of the time-honored antics supposedly associated with his race. The intelligent, self-respecting Negro, like the intelligent self-respecting white worker, does not often break into print. That is why we hear so little about what our Negro comrades are doing and so much about the Father Divines and the Communists. I had a meeting last week with a newly formed group of Negro women in the home of Comrades Frank and Alma Crosswaith. Here you had a cross-section of Negro working men and housewives with whom it is a pleasure and a privilege to be associated. They have banded together through the efforts of Alma Crosswaith to study social and economic problems. You may be sure that no chauvinism or charlatanism of any brand will capture them.

**The Pennsylvania Front**  
SOLOMON AT READING PICNIC AUGUST 4th

Special to The New Leader  
READING, Pa.—Charles Solomon, recent Socialist candidate for Governor of New York, will be the main speaker at the Socialist picnic at Socialist park near here Sunday, August 4th.

The local Socialist picnics usually attract between 7,000 and 10,000 people and are an important feature of Reading life.

Solomon will make a plea for Socialist organization and for the election of a Socialist city administration, in addition to his propaganda speech.

Comrade Solomon has just completed a series of five lectures on the fundamentals of Socialism at

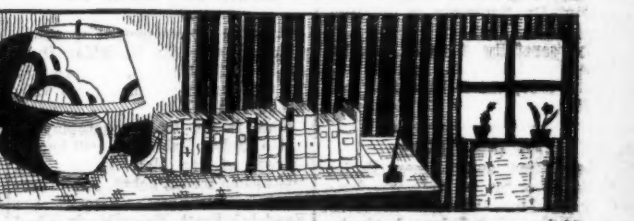
**Hoopes to Speak at the Erie Ox-Roast and Picnic Aug. 4**

Special to The New Leader  
ERIE, Pa. Darlington Hoopes, Socialist member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, will be the main speaker at the Ox-Roast picnic of the Socialist Party to be held at Auer's Grove near here August 4.

Hoopes will speak on the recent legislative session, in which he played an important role not only as Socialist spokesman but also as spokesman for the program of the Federation of Labor.

Trucks will leave 18th and State, and 28th and Parade, on the hour and half hour from 1 to 4 p.m.

the Hillquit Grove at Camp Tamiment, Pennsylvania. The attendance set a record for that camp and the lectures won warm praise.



HERE is the Opportunity to Add to Your Collection of Books That Have a Permanent Value.

**NOTE THE REDUCTIONS**

Wealth, Work and Happiness of Mankind by H. G. Wells (2 vols.) Reg. 7.50 **\$2.75**  
Karl Marx, His Life and Work, by Otto Rühle. Now **\$1.69**  
Dynamite, by Louis Adamic. Regular price \$2. Now **\$1.79**  
Loose Leaves From a Busy Life by MORRIS HILLQUIT. Regular price \$2.50. Now **\$2.00**

"Socialism Versus Bolshevism," by James O'Neal, will be off the press in a few days. This pamphlet is destined to have a big sale. Price 5 cents a copy. Liberal discount in quantities.

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## Grand Picnic

Saturday, July 27, Ulmer Park 25th and CROSEY AVES., BROOKLYN, N.Y.

ALL-STAR SHOW—CONTINUOUS DANCING  
OPEN AIR MOVIES—SPEECHES—SPORTS

Two Orchestras will play

Baseball Game Dressmakers' Joint Board vs. Cloak Drivers' Local 102 ILGWU ★ Soccer Game Cutters' Local 10 ILGWU vs. Young Circle League

**FREE - FREE**  
10 Weeks' Vacation Given Away as Door Prizes  
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CAMP TAMIMENT  
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**SPEAKERS**  
JASPER McLEVY  
Norman Thomas  
Judge Jacob Panken  
William Karlin  
B. C. VLADECK  
August Claessens  
Chairman

**ALL-STAR MUSICAL AND DRAMATIC PROGRAM**

Following artists from the Chicago Opera Co. directed by Maestro Alfredo Salmaghi: Sidney Rayner, Tenor; Lorenzo Poekio, Tenor; Annunziata Garrotto, Soprano; Elvira Helal, Soprano; Cino Montanari, Baritone; Florence Wyld, Mezzo Soprano; Leta May, Soprano. The Jewish Stage will be represented by Menashe Skolnick and Jos. Rumshinsky.

**ALL OUT to Ulmer Park** Take B. M. T. West End Line to 25th Avenue

AUSPICES: TRADE UNIONS, SOCIALIST PARTY AND LABOR FRATERNAL BODIES.



# "The Great Waltz" to Make a Welcome Return to the Center

## Viennese Operetta to Reopen August 5 With Original Cast

After a brief summer vacation "The Great Waltz" will enter its second season at the Center Theatre in New York City, on Monday evening, August 5, with the original cast intact. Max Gordon's lavish Viennese operetta returns to the same playhouse that it occupied for nine capacity months last year, to resume an engagement that has already broken most of the box office records in the modern theatre.

When "The Great Waltz" opened at Radio City's legitimate playhouse last September, it was hailed as the outstanding musical production of recent years. Guy Robertson had the role of Johann Strauss, Jr., who sought to succeed his father as Vienna's waltz king, while H. Reeves-Smith appeared as that paternal tyrant, the elder Strauss. Mr. Gordon brought Marie Burke and Dennis Noble over from London to play the roles that they had created in the English production of "Waltzes from Vienna."

The same players will be reunited when "The Great Waltz" returns to the Center Theatre, nearly a year after its American debut. Each has added several cubits to his dramatic stature through his performance in the Strauss operetta. Miss Burke and Mr. Noble need no longer fear the nature of their reception by an American audience. After 398 performances they may be reasonably sure that their solos will be as handsomely applauded in Radio City as ever they were on Piccadilly Circus.

When the closing of "The Great Waltz" was announced last June thousands of would-be spectators stormed the box office of the Center Theatre in vain for seats to the final performances. Accordingly, Max Gordon decided to reopen the show on August 5 at the playhouse wherein it had already scored a tremendous success.

## "Awake and Sing" to Same Program With "Waiting for Lefty" at Belasco

Last Monday evening the Group Theatre experimented with an unusual program. It was the continued presentation of "Awake and Sing" at the Belasco Theatre, presenting with it the much-discussed "Waiting for Lefty."

This arrangement makes it possible for many members of the original cast of "Waiting for Lefty," who are now playing in "Awake and Sing," to appear in the shorter play. Clifford Odets, the author of both plays, is appearing in his own original role, that of Dr. Benjamin in "Waiting for Lefty."

By carefully figuring, it has been found that the curtain will rise at 8:30, and fall no later than 11:15.

## At the Palace

Lee Sims and Ilomay Bailey, radio favorites of network fame, will headline the new vaudeville bill at the RKO Palace, beginning today, in a program of their best-known radio songs.

On the screen, "In Caliente," musical comedy film starring Dolores Del Rio, with Pat O'Brien, Leo Carillo, Edward Everett Horton, Glenda Farrell and Wini Shaw in support.

## Stadium Concert Programs Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra

Sunday evening, July 28, at 8:30 JOSE ITURBI, CONDUCTOR & SOLOIST (Mr. Iturbi's last appearance at the Stadium this year)  
Overture to "The Marriage of Figaro".....Mozart  
Harpichord Concerto in D major.....Haydn  
(Mr. Iturbi at the Harpichord)  
Intermission  
"Per la Fior del Lirio Blu" ("For the Flower of the Blue Lily").....Joaquin Rodrigo (First performance in America)  
Hungarian Fantasy.....Liszt  
(Mr. Iturbi at the piano)

Monday evening, July 29, at 8:30 ALEXANDER SMALLER, CONDUCTOR  
Water Music Suite, for Orch.....Handel (Arranged by Hamilton Hart)  
Symphony No. 1 in C major.....Beethoven  
Intermission  
Symphony No. 2 in D major.....Brahms

Tuesday evening, July 30, at 8:30 ALEXANDER SMALLER, CONDUCTOR  
Symphony No. 4 in F minor.....Tchaikovsky  
Intermission  
Tone Poem, "Don Juan".....Strauss  
"Death and Transfiguration".....Strauss

Wednesday evening, July 31, at 8:30 WILLEM VAN HOOGSTRAATEN, COND. (Mr. van Hoogstraaten's first appearance at the Stadium this year)  
Symphony No. 3 in C minor.....Beethoven  
Intermission  
Overture-Fantasy, "Romeo and Juliet".....Tchaikovsky  
Two Nocturnes for Orchestra.....Debussy  
"Naxos".....Peters  
Symphonic Poem, "The Moldau".....Smetana  
Overture to "Der Freischütz".....Weber

Thursday evening, August 1, at 8:30 Friday evening, August 2, at 8:30 "TOSCA" by Giacomo Puccini  
Alexander Smaller, Conductor

## MUSIC

Lewisohn Stadium, Amst. Av. & 138th St.  
**STADIUM CONCERTS**  
PHILHARMONIC-SYMPHONY  
Symphony Programs at 8:30  
July 27 and 28  
Conducted by ITURBI  
July 29 and 30  
Conducted by SMALLER  
July 31 and Aug. 3 and 4  
Conducted by VAN HOOGSTRAATEN  
Opera Performances with Star Cast  
Thursday and Friday Nights at 8:30  
Conducted by SMALLER  
PRICES: 25c-50c-75c-1.00-1.50-2.00-3.00-4.00-5.00

## "Love Me Forever," Grace Moore's New Film, Has Brooklyn Premiere at the Fox—Leo Carrillo and Michael Bartlett in Film Directed by Schertzing

Honored by the Society of Artists and Sciences for "Conspicuous achievements in raising the standard of cinema entertainment," Grace Moore, star of the Metropolitan opera, is to be seen this week at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre in her latest Columbia film "Love Me Forever," which it is said, broke all records at the Radio City Music Hall recently, where it was held over for three weeks.

Directed by Victor Schertzing, who was also responsible for her first Columbia success, "One Night of Love," the new film features in support of the star such able

actors as Leo Carrillo, Michael Bartlett, Luis Alberni, Robert Allen and Gouin Gordon. As in her first picture, Miss Moore is given ample opportunity to display her singing versatility and artistry, and in it she sings "Jingle Bells," "Il Bacio," "The Bells of Saint Mary" and selections from "La Boheme" and "Rigoletto."

On the stage, the Fox offers The David Bines Dancing Girls, the Lucky Seven Trio, Billy Keaton, who serves as master of ceremonies, Harry Proser, and John Meritt, and Anthony and Rogers.

## In Albee Finals



Dorothy Jordan, one of the Brooklyn participants in the RKO Albee Beauty Pageant Grand Finals, which will be held Monday evening, July 29.

## "The Arizonian" With Richard Dix at the Roxy

At the Roxy Theater this week the feature film is "The Arizonian" with Richard Dix, Margot Grahame, Preston Foster and Louis Calhern.

Many well-known personalities of the variety stage are featured in this week's Fanchon and Marco revue. In response to requests from thousands of Roxy patrons, Joaquin Garay, young Mexican singer, has been brought back for a return engagement. Freddy Mack is again at the helm as master of ceremonies and conductor of the Roxy Rhythm Orchestra, and the Gae Foster Girls appear in new ballet creations.

Rounding out the screen program is "Stop That Noise," a Betty Boop cartoon.

## "She," Fantastic Story of Eternal Youth on Screen of Radio City Music Hall

"She," a motion picture spectacle adapted from Sir H. Rider Haggard's fantastic tale, is currently on the screen of the Radio City Music Hall.

This is the weird photoplay in which Helen Gahagan, well-known actress of the New York stage, makes her screen debut, and others in Miss Gahagan's support are Randolph Scott, Helen Mack, Nigel Bruce, and a cast of hundreds.

A special musical score was written for the production by Max Steiner, and dances created by Benjamin Zemach, noted ballet master.

In addition to the photoplay, the Radio City Music Hall is presenting the first stage production created by Leon Leonidoff since his return from a tour of Europe's leading theatrical capitals.

## "Hooray for Love" Opens on Monday at Albee, Will Rogers' Latest Through Sunday

Three kinds of entertainment—radio, night club and musical comedy, highlight the plot of "Hooray for Love" featuring Gene Raymond and Ann Sothern; and which has its first Brooklyn showing at the RKO Albee Monday morning. Will Rogers in "Doubting Thomas" concludes its engagement at that theatre Sunday night.

In his role of a young college man with an ambition to become a theatrical producer, Gene Raymond presents a four-act revue which includes a beautiful ballet, a hilarious black and tan number, and double piano act. A chorus of beautiful girls is used in the "Hooray for Love" finale.

Pert Kelton, comedienne, returns to the screen after several months of vaudeville, and is seen in a part particularly fitted to her inimitable style.

## "The Murder Man" on Capitol Screen. Holtz, Belle Baker Top Big Stage Show

The new Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer picture, "The Murder Man," featuring Spencer Tracy and Virginia Bruce, is the Capitol Theatre's new screen attraction for the week beginning today.

The story is an original for the screen by Tim Whelan, who directed the picture, and Guy Bolton, the playwright. It deals with a New York star reporter, a specialist in crimes of violence, known as "The Murder Man," who aids the police in solving a murder mystery, with disastrous results to himself.

One of the biggest stage shows ever presented during the summer months supplements the screen feature. It includes the following stars: Lou Holtz, Belle Baker, fresh from European triumphs—and Block and Sully—and features Moore and Revel, and Tip, Tap and Toe.

**RADIO CITY**

**"SHE"**

An RKO-Radio Picture  
Filmed in mighty spectacle  
by Merian C. Cooper, creator  
of "King Kong," with a cast  
of thousands including  
**HELEN GAHAGAN**  
**RANDOLPH SCOTT**  
ON THE STAGE  
"CALLIOPE".....Leonidoff's  
gala carnival of the  
midway; Music Hall  
Ensembles; Glee Club;  
the Ballet, the Rock  
the Circus, the Street  
the Show, the Show

Popular Prices  
Reserved Seats 25c-50c-75c-1.00-1.50-2.00-3.00-4.00-5.00

**Grace Moore**

IN HER  
**LOVE ME FOREVER**

A COLUMBIA PICTURE

MON. NITE AT 9 THE BIG FOX  
AMATEUR HOUR BROADCAST  
FROM STAGE OVER WMCA

**Dolores DEL RIO**  
**PAT O'BRIEN**

**"IN CALIENTE"**

ON THE STAGE  
**SIMS and BAILEY**  
**HARRIS and HOWELL**  
**THE GREAT GRETONAS**  
**SYLVIA and CLEMENCE**  
and other RKO Acts

**PALACE** B'way & 47th St.

## "Broadway Gondolier" Holds Over at the Strand

"Broadway Gondolier" is now in its second week at the Strand Theatre. Dick Powell and Jean Blondell head the stellar cast of this Warner Bros. musical comedy film. Also featured are Adolphe Menjou, Louise Fazenda, Judy Canova and the Hillbillies, the Four Mills Brothers, William Gargan, Hobert Cavanaugh, Joseph Sawyer, Grant Mitchell, June Travis and others. Lloyd Bacon directed the story of a New York taxi driver whose singing voice carries him to fame, fortune, romance and a lot of trouble.

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**PAT O'BRIEN**  
FRANK McHUGH  
ALLEN JENKINS  
OLIVIA DE HAVILLAND

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**BELLE BAKER BLOCK & SULLY**

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**SPENCER TRACY**  
in "THE Murder Man"

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**CAPITOL** B'way AT 51st

**MUSIC HALL**

SHOW PLACE OF THE MONTH

**"SHE"**

An RKO-Radio Picture  
Filmed in mighty spectacle  
by Merian C. Cooper, creator  
of "King Kong," with a cast  
of thousands including  
**HELEN GAHAGAN**  
**RANDOLPH SCOTT**  
ON THE STAGE  
"CALLIOPE".....Leonidoff's  
gala carnival of the  
midway; Music Hall  
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the Circus, the Street  
the Show, the Show

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**FOX**

FLATBUSH AT NEVINS

**Grace Moore**

IN HER  
**LOVE ME FOREVER**

A COLUMBIA PICTURE

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AMATEUR HOUR BROADCAST  
FROM STAGE OVER WMCA

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Ann Sothern - RAYMOND  
Bill Robinson

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**YOUNG CIRCLE LEAGUE**

**WORKMEN'S CIRCLE**

At the N. Y. Center the Young Circle League has opened the first Organizers' Institute ever to be held by the League. There were present 17 students from New York, New Haven, Chicago, Boston, Cleveland, Philadelphia and New Jersey. The Institute was entirely devoted to the Workmen's Circle and Y.C.L.A. The teachers traced the birth and growth of both organizations and stressed their functions and relations.

On Monday Educational Director Philip Gellert outlined the development of the W.C. His talk was supplemented by H. Lillienblum, chairman of the City Youth Committee.

In the afternoon Norman Dorfman spoke on methods of organizing a club and how to budget club expenses. Later in the week, also, the N.Y. City District gave a lecture on the place of the Y.C.L.A. in the labor movement. "The League" in the labor movement, "The League" in the labor movement, "The League" in the labor movement.

Tuesday morning B. Levitan, chairman National Youth Committee, detailed the structure of the Y.C.L.A. to the National Youth Committee. General Secretary Baskin touched on the organization of the Y.C.L.A. the following day.

Y. Murray Goldman showed the students the educational, labor and organizational work which the League was doing. He pointed out the necessity for planned programs and activity and showed the students how they can be most effective in their districts. As a part of the educational work of the League, the students were divided into three sections: educational, social-recreational and cultural. These were assigned specific tasks. The two former had definite projects to work on and will send them to the office as soon as they complete them. The cultural group put out a newspaper about the Institute. The League intends to use this work as a basis for future club programs. Fred Shulman on Wednesday afternoon spoke on educational work, but he attacked the problem of subjecting "you must understand the people you are dealing with," he said, "you must understand their psychological reactions to your program." It is important to consider not only the execution of the programs, but also how to construct them.

That the intermediates offer a very fertile field for organization work was brought out by J. T. Zuckerman. He said that they really composed youth organization and many organizers are necessary.

The students of the Institute participated in two public speaking forums during the week. It was the second of these forums that marked the conclusion of the Institute.

## Tamiment All-Sports Week August 5 to 12

Men and women are invited to participate in the Camp Tamiment competitions which will start Monday, August 5. Prizes will be awarded to the winners of all events and a cup goes to the best all-around athlete in Camp. Groups having baseball teams will vie with nine from other cities. Basketball, football, men and women, will play eliminations with awards to the winners. Gold and silver medals will be given to the winners and runners-up of the men's and women's tennis and handball tournaments.

There will also be swimming, diving and boating events in addition to volleyball, ping-pong, quoits and shuffleboard.

There are in Tamiment 15 tennis courts, 6 handball courts, a baseball diamond, basketball court, golf practice course, a 150-foot swimming pool on the lake with 100 boats and canoes.

The management promises a full week of athletic competitions under the directorship of Syd Apfelbaum assisted by an efficient staff.

## Butchers' Union Local 234 Moves to Larger Quarters

The Butcher Workers' Union Local 234, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, announce the removal of their offices to larger and more spacious headquarters at 40 West 17th St., N. Y. C. More office space was needed due to the increased activities of the union.

In a short space of 12 months the union reports that it has increased its membership 100 per cent, due to the organization of several hundred delivery clerks, and the campaign that the union is carrying on to organize the meat cutters employed in non-kosher meat shops.

## Edna Peters Koller Named National Falcon Chairman

Edna Peters Koller, active Milwaukee Socialist and Falcon organizer in that city, was elected National chairman of the Red Falcons of America at its first annual convention in Pittsburgh last week. Max Weber, also an active Falcon guide in Milwaukee, was chosen financial secretary.

The convention adopted a constitution which makes the Falcons an integral part of the Socialist Party of America and the Socialist Education International.

Sam Verne of Cleveland and Sam Schwimer of New York were nominated for national secretary and the convention recommended to the N.E.C. of the Socialist Party to choose one of the two. Besides Koller and Weber the other members of the Falcon N. E. C. are Mathew Metzler, New York; Sam Schwimer, New York; and Mary Parker, Cleveland.

The national office of the Falcons will be moved from New York to the headquarters of the Socialist Party, 549 West Randolph St., Chicago.

## PARTY NOTES

### Massachusetts

Summer Institute under party and Yipsey auspices at Salina Park, Fitchburg, starting Aug. 18th and continuing through the week. The courses will include Essentials of Socialism, Organization, Labor and Socialism, Cooperation, and Labor Dramatics.

State Secretary Alfred Baker Lewis will teach the course on the Essentials of Socialism. Prof. Harold Faulkner of Smith College will give two lectures on Labor and Socialism in the United States. Winston Daniels of the Y.P.S.L. will handle the course on Organization. Kenneth Pohlman of the educational committee of the Fitchburg Cooperative will give two lectures on Cooperation, and Robert Smith of the Eastern States Cooperative will give a popular lecture. Arrangements are being made to have Hilda Hulbert, formerly of the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, coach a labor play to be given Saturday night, August 24th. Further information from Alfred Baker Lewis, 88 Leverett Street, Boston.

State Picnic Sunday, August 18, at Salina Park, Fitchburg. In addition to speakers, who will be announced later, arrangements are being made for athletic contests.

State Labor Committee met Saturday, July 20, and discussed the part the Socialist trade union delegates should take at the State Federation of Labor convention in Springfield beginning Aug. 5. All Socialist delegates were urged to vote for the Federation of Workers of the following measures: Hillquit Amendment to the Constitution, Check for the Liberation of Workers of Europe, Workers' Alliance, Labor Party, and Industrial Unionism.

### New Jersey

Essex County Picnic.—Local Essex County will hold its annual picnic Sunday, July 28, from 11 to 11 p.m. at the State Federation of Labor picnic grounds, Irvington. Norman Thomas will head the list of speakers, and there will be music, games, dancing and refreshments.

State Picnic.—On August 11th Socialists and trade unionists from all parts of New Jersey will attend the annual Socialists' Picnic in Metuchen. The principal speaker will be Norman Thomas. To reach the park by automobile take either highway 28 or 27 to Metuchen, then follow arrows. By train use Pennsylvania R.R. to Metuchen and bus or taxi to park. Bus fare will be about 10c. Tickets may be purchased at branch clubrooms or at the boat battery park. From the committee in charge. The picnic will be held in full swing for two months. At the next branch meeting Tuesday, July 30, Dr. Stark will speak on Socialized Medicine.

### Indiana

Socialist Picnic.—At Pottsville Park (avenue No. 8), South Bend, Sunday, August 18, speaking at 2:30 p.m. sharp (daylight saving time) by Ed. Henry of Indianapolis and others. Our state secretary will be there to meet you. Games, sports and music. Bring the kiddies and invite your friends. Park location—one mile east of Mishawaka Ave. Same park, same oven as last year.

### California

Los Angeles.—The Second Annual Socialist Summer School at the Workers' Circle Camp in Carbon Canyon from August 18th to 24th has been announced by the City Central Committee. For further information write or call 129 N. St. Louis St. Because of limited housing capacity, enrollment must be made early.

### New York City

Jamaica Headquarters, 9218 N.Y. Blvd. "Downfall of the Communist International," Alexander Alexieff, speaker. Downtown Branch, Manhattan.—Henry Jager will speak at Clinton and Broomer Sts., Wednesday, July 31.

6th A.D. Branch.—Friday, July 26, 8:45 p.m., Boynton and Westchester Aves. Bronx. Speakers to be announced.

18th A.D. Br. L. Brooklyn.—18th A.D. is greatly pleased with its new headquarters at 1140 Eastern Parkway. Clubrooms are used every night by Y.P.S.L. and Young Circle League groups. Aug. 4 boat ride to Bear Mountain on S.S. "Clermont." Tickets may be purchased at branch clubrooms or at the boat battery park. From the committee in charge. The picnic will be held in full swing for two months. At the next branch meeting Tuesday, July 30, Dr. Stark will speak on Socialized Medicine.

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**New York State**  
Rockland County.—Annual picnic will be held at New City Park, New City, Sunday, August 4th, under the direction of a committee headed by Comrade J. Sauter. There will be a program of music, swimming and games.  
David Roth of Valley Cottage is candidate for Assembly this year. A full ticket for the town of Clarkstown will be named, headed by W. W. Davis, candidate for Supervisor.

## Features of the Week on WEVD (1200 Kc.) (311 M)

Sun.—11 a.m., Forward Hour; 12:45 p.m., Jewish Art Quartet; 2:30, "Uncle Nuchem and His Kids"; 8, Eugene Byron Morgan, baritone; 10, Symposium; 10:30, "H. M. S. Pinafore".

Mon.—8 a.m., "Starting the Day Right," Jacob S. List.

Tues.—3:30 p.m., "The Family Corner"; 8, Dolores Hanford, soprano; 8:15, Irving B. Altman, editor, "The People's Money"; 8:30, Cecil Burrows, baritone; 8:45, WEVD University of the Air, Dr. Abraham Epstein; 10, New Leader News Review.

Wed.—8:15 p.m., City Affairs Committee, talk by Louis Waldman, Socialist Party State Chairman; 8:30, Premier Instrumental Trio; 10, Radio Drama Group, L.I.D.; 10:15, University of the Air, talk by Matthew Wolf.

Thurs.—8 p.m., Panel Discussion, Children's Union; 8:30, Charlotte Tonhazy, violin; 8:45, Irving B. Altman, editor, "The People's Money"; 10, Edith Friedman, piano; 10:30, Ruth Robinson, soprano.

Fri.—3:30 p.m., King Neesen, "The Street Beggars," songs; 8, WEVD University of the Air, Frank P. Walsh; 10:15, The Church in Action for Peace, talk by Dr. William Erskine Blackburn; 10:30, Medical Hour, talk; 10:45, Ham Cabbage, instrumental trio; 12 mid., Symphony Hour.

Sat.—10 a.m., Voice of Local 89, Italian Variety Show; 11, Anthony Meli, baritone; 11:15, Children's Hour; 6 p.m., Jewish Events of the Week; 6:30, "Annie and Benny"; 7:30, "Jolly Benedictons," music and farce; Friedman, violin; 8:30, Don Avlon's Orchestra.

## Caruso's Voice Heard Over WEVD in Italian Program

Listeners-in on WEVD last Tuesday evening heard a program which was not only striking in its originality but a fitting tribute to one of the finest voices the world has ever known. Although Enrico Caruso has been dead thirteen years his golden voice, once the delight of music lovers throughout the world came, living and vibrant, over the ether from the station's studios.

In a program dedicated to this greatest of all tenors, WEVD brought back from the world of shadows, with the aid of the miracles of modern science, the voice that thrilled millions. In a program which embraced the favorite arias of opera which had given the poor Italian boy his fame, WEVD showed that although its owner has long since returned to the dust he magic voice of Caruso, as rich as though he stood in person before his audience, is imperishable and will continue to delight the lovers of opera throughout the ages.

For the benefit of the thousands of Italian lovers of the voice of their countryman who regularly tune in on WEVD, the program was announced in Italian as well as in English. This is only one of a series of programs of great interest to music lovers which this station is placing on the air.

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# The Road to Power in America

By  
William E. Bohn

I HAVE just read a long article on The Problems of Revolutionary Socialism. It covers a whole page of news-print and is filled with quotations. They are from Marx and Trotsky and all the theorists round about and in between. The idea is that revolutionary Socialism is a great thing and that the way to get at it is to find the right quotations. This is a fine remedy for what ails you. You just make sure that you get it from the right bottle and take it with your eyes shut. It is for all mankind.

Now one thing is clear. Whatever changes will be made in England during the next fifty years will be made by Englishmen. Any changes in Germany will be made by Germans. It is even possible that Americans will have something to say about what happens in America. It is true that the citizens of the United States—or any other country—are not free to follow their fancies. They are limited by geography, climate, industrial development, international relations. But the coming changes will be made within the framework of these conditions by the people now living within the boundaries of the country and by their descendants.

In a previous article I developed the thought that we Americans being in the British tradition would just naturally make our changes more or less gradually through political parties and labor unions. There went with this the notion that progress here would take the form of specific changes, tangible improvements, rather than of sudden and systematic utopian transformations. In the present article it is my intention to take a rapid look at the American people, to stress the actual situation of workers within our boundaries rather than their political or trade union tradition.

## Skeleton Theories

A large part of the bad thinking done by Communists and the bright young liberals is due to the magic of words. They glance at a skeleton theory without sweating over the material that lies back of it. Then—with a few slogans—they are all set to tell the dumb workers just what should be done. There is a capitalist class. So all capitalists look alike and are going to

do thus and so. There is a working class. So all workers have such and such impulses, and the world will remain forever the same or we shall have revolution at 9:15 tomorrow morning, Daylight Saving Time. There is a capitalist system. So it will collapse like the wonderful one-horse shay, and we must have a new cart ready to take its place.

Hardly anything is more rewarding than to look past words to facts and past classes to people. The inhabitants of these States are a widely scattered and bewilderingly varied lot. In a short article I cannot do more than sketch outlines, indicate what ought to be studied.

In 1930 there were in this country 124,746,573 persons. Here they are—spread over a continent—from the fishermen of Maine to dock-wallopers of San Francisco. These are the folks to be studied. Anyone who wants to know what will happen in America must find it in the minds of these people, their organization or lack of it, their geographical distribution, industrial classification—all that they are and all that tends to change them.

## The Human Material

There are four great groups of people who do the work of this country and who can determine from year to year what sort of country it is to be. These are the manual workers, nearly thirty millions; white collar workers, nearly eight millions; farmers, about six millions; and professional workers, more than three millions. They add up to about forty-five millions. In 1930 the census reported 48,829,920 persons gainfully employed. The difference between these two figures is accounted for by capitalists and such groups as soldiers and sailors.

A glance at such a rough classification immediately suggests that the great majority of these forty-five million persons are practically unorganized and leaderless. About five millions are in labor unions; about a million vote the Socialist ticket; a few hundred thousands belong to farm organizations; varying numbers join from time to time in local political or economic movements. But something like six-sevenths of them are merely a mass of individuals with no unity, no direction, no sense of power. As individuals they would compare

favorably enough with any similar population—say that of England, France or Belgium. Their political tradition makes them excellent material for organization. But right now they rank very low from the point of view of political and economic dynamics. With all their individual intelligence they are herded into company unions and massed behind reactionary or demagogic political leaders.

## Workers and Voters

More than thirty-six millions of these people are technically proletarians, workers who should be in labor unions. Twenty-eight millions of them do hard physical labor, live in an environment which rubs in the fact that they are workers.

There are in the country over fifty million potential voters. If the twenty-eight million manual workers had any sense of unity they could rule all the industrial states and could elect the President of the United States. It is this group which forms the basis of our national pyramid. It is this group that John Dewey has no faith in. It is this group that bright journalists have in mind when they say that the American Federation of Labor has failed in its job of organization. And, one the face of it, the record does look bad—five millions organized in a land that has twenty-eight million manual workers.

But let us think about the men and women themselves rather than of figures on a page. This is not Belgium or England, where people jostle one another. Nearly three millions of these twenty-eight are farm laborers scattered, literally, from Maine to California. No doubt they should be organized—and will be organized—but here is a job which requires more than moral fervor and a knowledge of Marx-Leninism.

Again, there are nearly three million laborers whose census classification under "trade," not white collar workers but the men who do the hard work in connection with the distribution of goods. They, too, are strewn from end to end of the land—and most of them in small establishments. In these two groups of widely distributed workers are as many men as in the entire organized labor movement of the country.

In 1929 there were more than a million persons working in small factories, many of them in isolated



Dr. William E. Bohn

places. Workers so situated tend to follow the surrounding population in their thought—or their lack of it. Only a great national movement or a skillful and well maintained union drive can teach them that they belong to a class.

It is true that the number employed by large concerns has tended to increase, that it doubled between 1914 and 1929. In the latter year the number working for concerns producing a million dollars' worth of goods annually was more than five millions—as compared with one million employed by concerns producing products valued at less than a hundred thousand. This tendency toward the concentration of labor power is of prime importance, but five million workers are a comparatively small number in relation to the whole population. And in the basic industries, where the concerns tend to be large, the unions have not made much progress.

## Economic Classes

There is nothing like an official estimate of the white collar workers in the United States. There are more than four million "clerk workers," nearly half a million "clerks" in stores, two million salesmen and saleswomen, and other very large groups. They add up to at least eight millions. And this group is potentially more important than present figures show. From 1920 to 1930 the number

of miners in this country decreased by about one-tenth. The number of factory workers grew only 10%, and the general increase in the number of "gainfully employed" was about 17%. During this period the number of persons engaged in trade grew by 40% and the number of clerical workers by 30%. The white-collar class includes a constantly growing fraction of the population.

Much has been written about the psychological "set" of this great section of the working class. Probably their inherited ideas of individual business success are the chief cause of their backwardness in organization and purpose. Another is their physical distribution—working in twos and threes and dozens all over our far-flung map. Whatever the causes—right now they are futile and sterile as far as American life is concerned. Swinging them into line, getting them to think something of themselves, to amount to something, is no job for a magician.

The farmers present an entirely different picture. In 1930 there were in this country just about six million persons managing farms, and since 1920 the number had decreased by about four hundred thousand. During the same decade the number of wage-workers on farms had increased by about the same amount. The number of owners had decreased from about four millions to something over three million five hundred thousand, and the number of tenants had increased by about two hundred thousand. Of the owning farmers nearly half were burdened with mortgages, and the proportion so burdened tends slowly to increase.

## A Slow Process

A revolutionary fatalist may say: "Very well, the economic process is turning the independent American farmer into a proletarian; let nature take its course." But the process is slow. And the psychological change is slower than the economic process. The unorganized farmers tend to set the tone for the whole group. The mortgaged one and those who have lost their land tend to retain the ideas of their former state. Organizing them is easy to write about in an editorial office but hard to do in the field. There are organizations, but they are comparatively small and tend to remain sectional. The single-crop farmers are divided along production lines, and each production group is broken up into widely separated geographical sections.

The cooperative movements, the strikes, the boycotts have all been sectional and ineffective. The political movements for fiscal inflation have been almost the only ones which have united any great number of farmers over great stretches of territory. Lacking effective economic cohesion, the farmers have tended to turn to politics for salvation. But here they have been hopelessly divided and bewildered.

The professional groups add up to a still smaller number, something over three millions. But dur-

ing the decade before 1930 they increased by 50%. And their importance in our national thinking goes away beyond their arithmetical proportions. They include such disparate groups as clergymen, lawyers, engineers, trained nurses, newspapermen, teachers. More than one-half of them receive wages or salaries and so are, technically, wage workers. But the unions which have been started among them are still in their initial stages. And the other groups, the physicians, dentists, engineers—though they have among them much of uncultivated social spirit—are for the most part unrepentant individualists.

## Job Yet to Be Done

Here we have our millions of American workers. The figures are from the census of 1930. Since then some things have changed for the better, some for the worse. Having ten million unemployed makes organization more difficult. Here is a great part of the population dependent on the government for a dole and robbed of what little initiative and courage it once had. However, under the stress of economic crisis and encouraged by the social and political situation which grew out of it, our trade unions have made substantial progress. Labor is more conscious of its problems, its strength, its enemies. It even begins to sense the meaning and power of politics.

But so far as the actual lining up of the millions of men and women is concerned—that is still in its early stages. The situation is hopeful, for there is a genuine and powerful impulse to go on. But the chief part of the job still remains to be done. The central core is organized, but the great masses recognize no organization, have no leaders, sense hardly any unifying ideas. They can still be mobilized by politicians, demagogues, slogans, hysterics. Judged by all historical precedents, it will take decades for them to develop to the point at which labor domination on a large scale will be possible.

Into this scene come our revolutionary theorists with their quotations from Lenin and Trotsky. Capitalism will collapse on Tuesday, fascism will be here by Wednesday, we must do something heroic or the devil will have us all before Thursday.

**Future Developments**  
Any sensible person looking the situation over will come to quite different conclusions. (1) The American labor movement's process of growth and orientation, which will in the course of time involve in its activities a large proportion of the forty-five millions of workers scattered over this continent, will necessarily be difficult and prolonged. (2) It will proceed along traditional lines, with only gradual changes to new ideas and new techniques, and will be centered about indigenous institutions which have grown in response to social needs. (3) Any experiments based on mechanical theories drawn from experiences which occurred under non-comparable conditions may result in disaster.

## Bombast and Rhetoric Do Not Serve Working Class

By Ben Lichtenberg

An Argentine Socialist periodical, "Ideas," publishes the following under the title "Revolutionary Declaration," which your translator believes aptly describes a certain vociferous faction in the local movement:

"The orators of the revolution have abounded for some time past. . . . The literateurs and the rhetoricians of the proletarian insurrection, those who, by their own decision, appoint themselves—in abstract, of course—the vanguard of our movement, and who, by virtue of that position deem themselves authorized to admonish with vituperation and defamatory adjectives those of us who, according to them, are in the 'pusillanimous' ranks of 'reformism,' without 'class spirit,' accusing us of apostatizing Marx and the 'doctrine.'"

"Those who assume this position have not always the antecedents to qualify as men of action; they commonly live in a world of theoretical abstractions, where they perform the function of copyists, a species of typewriters of others' thoughts, passing themselves off as erudite 'doctrinaires,' with no other merit than that of the placidity of intellectual ruminants."

"It is necessary to defend the thought and doctrine of Marx against these moths, because their 'interpretations' betray Marx. Marx, wishing to emphasize the scientific, anti-fetichist, anti-dogmatic significance of his doctrine, asserted that he 'was no Marxist,' meaning that his name should not serve as a fetish for fanatical and ignorant worship, nor his theory accepted as the 'revealed truth' indisputable and unchangeable through time and space."

"In his time and face to face with the problems it was his lot to analyze, Marx was undoubtedly a formidable critical spirit—and a

genial constructor of general ideas, since his economic conception of history, his 'Critique of Political Economy,' his exegesis in 'Capital' as well as the orientation which is developed in the 'Communist Manifesto' of 1847, are and will continue for a long time to be the most fundamental and enduring contributions to Socialism. But Marx could not foresee the entire future (although, with prophetic vision, he foresaw considerable); nor could he leave us miraculous formulas for the solution of all present-day tactical and theoretical problems."

"Evolutionary processes have gone on in society, historical conditions are no longer the same, much of that which was an ideal to be striven for in the time of Marx has ceased so to be by having become a living reality. In the 'Communist Manifesto' we find with what justice and reason Marx was able to subject to the scalpel of his incisive critique all the contradictions of capitalist society; we see how he was able to trace the course of the class struggle throughout history, signaling the various stages of social evolution, and finally demonstrate that Socialism would have to supplant the capitalist system of production and exchange, and that capitalist society would reach the critical period of its inevitable dissolution. But if Marx was able to give us all this, which is of great value as a basis for the doctrine which guides us in action and gives us an objective, he could not, however, foresee everything and give us infallible recipes for every contingency."

"Marx was, above everything else, a philosopher of reality, and therefore vanquished the Utopians, satirized Proudhon to the point of ridicule and worsted Bakunin, because the Utopians, as well as Bakunin and Proudhon in different

Persons who talk of the sudden collapse of American capitalism and the techniques for quickly taking charge of a great population in the midst of a revolutionary situation are not exhibiting courage—rather they lack of it. They are essentially escapists, romanticists, utopians. They lack the strength necessary to say: This is a tough job and a long one, but it has got to be done. Great bodies, great movements, great ideas move with the leisure and force of giants.

It took a century of English history to create the mechanics of parliamentary government. It has taken more than a century to build what we now have of labor unionism. Both achievements required stout hearts and heroic sacrifice. Thousands died for both without ever seeing the end.

We are now engaged in an epochal struggle for a greater change. While some escape from the vast historic process by having tiny revolutions in their own heads, the American labor movement will go slowly and awkwardly onward. But it will go, and in going it will create the future.

## N. Y. Socialists Ratify Party Peace Pact

(Continued from Page One)

exigencies created by recent court decisions.

A committee consisting of William Karlin, Marx Lewis and State Chairman Waldman was entrusted with the task of organizing sentiment for such a program in various industrial states, preparing bills for introduction in the various legislatures either at the winter sessions or at special sessions, and building machinery of publicity and propaganda for the program in the various states. The committee will also seek to get organizations of the Socialist Party not included in the Interstate Conference to adopt similar programs.

## Approval Unanimous

The ratification of the peace pact came after a report by Usher Solomon on the negotiations between the nine members of the State Committee with the N.E.C. The motion to ratify the agreement was unanimous, two members of the committee, Fred Sander of Syracuse and James Bartistoni of Buffalo sending their votes in by mail.

To carry out the terms of the agreement, the State Committee likewise unanimously voted to rescind its action of November 11, fixing 21 years as the age limit for admission of members of the Young People's Socialist League in the party. Under the pact New York will accept properly-qualified Y.P.S.L. applicants at 18. A provision was added to that motion that all Y.P.S.L. applicants for party membership must abide by the rules of the party, including the first point of the pact defining the adherence to Communist principles and practices that make applicants ineligible for membership.

The amendment to Point 4, adopted by the N.E.C., was then ratified, providing that all Y.P.S.L. applicants for party membership waiting several months for admission will, upon acceptance in the party, have their membership dated from July 15th, 1935.

A committee, consisting of Herman Kobbe, Julius Gerber and Sarah Volovick, was entrusted with the task of a thorough survey of the Y.P.S.L. situation, to report back to the State Committee for action under the various points of the peace pact.

Following the adjournment of the meeting the State Committee held a brief joint session with the New York City Executive Committee at which the actions of the state body were reported.

## Women's Outing Tuesday Was a Big Success

More than 100 women, accompanied by about a dozen husbands who were able to take the time off, enjoyed a delightful outing Tuesday up the Hudson and at Indian Point, under the auspices of the mittee.

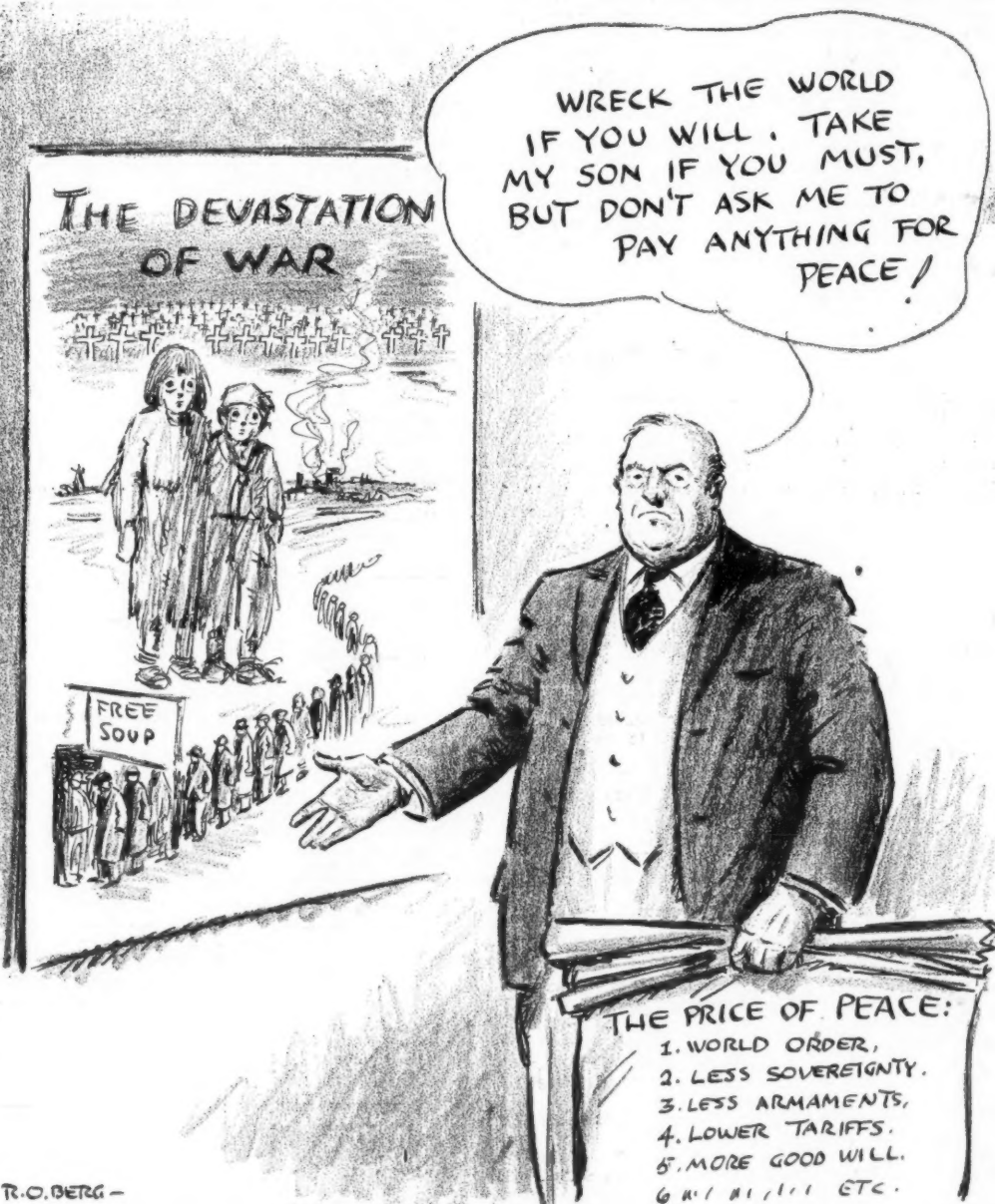
The women (and the dozen husbands) reported the picnic was a big success, and that they had a swell time.

Similar outings, with an even larger attendance, are expected for the near future.

Sam Friedman, who was to have led the singing and other expressions of glee, was unable to attend because of a broken arm. But like the loyal soldier that he is he came to the boat and begged to be excused.

revolution as are today certain self-styled Marxists who deny Marx both in action and in thought. Marx the scientist cannot be reconciled with the fetishists and miracle-workers of the 'revolution,' that is those who orate and leap out of a vacuum into a void."

## IN MEMORIAM \* \* \* \* \* OUTBREAK OF THE WORLD WAR AUGUST, 1914



— R.O. BERG —

TWENTY-ONE years ago the "war to end war" emerged out of economic, political, nationalist, dynastic and imperialist forces that had been accumulating for decades. Capitalism had expanded overseas and had been bringing weaker peoples under its dominion. There were rivalries between the Powers over trade, concessions, loans. Armaments were piled on armaments until they constituted a powder magazine. Some dramatic incident would serve as a match to touch it off. The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand proved to be the match.

The British Government has just abandoned the principle of naval ratios and now asks the Powers what size navy each wants by 1942. The Kellogg pact which had its origin in the United States and to which the United States is a party now plays the role of a pious wish in the foreign policy of the Roosevelt Administration which has done little to help the forces of international peace and stabilization.

The Nazis and fascism provide a new complication. Their expansion into other countries means the destruction of all the achievements of the workers, the smashing of every human right won by mankind in generations of struggle, and savage rule by ruthless gangsters. Imperialism is bad enough but it is sweetness and light compared with fascism. Intelligence, class consciousness and generalship by the Labor and Socialist movement must be ever-ready to meet any crisis brought by the new situation, especially the menace of the fascist Colossus to the peace of the world and the freedom of action of the working class.



## At the Hillquit Grove

By Samuel Shore

attended the unveiling of the Hillquit bust at the Hillquit Grove in Camp Tamiment on June 29. As I witnessed the ceremony it dawned on me that the death of Morris Hillquit is felt more keenly and painfully now than ever before.

We live in a day of confusion and bewilderment. People seem to have lost their balance emotionally, and in some cases even mentally. Many turn their backs on their beliefs of yesterday, and look blurry-eyed into the mists of tomorrow.

What crying need there is today for Hillquit's penetrating, analytical mind, his superb tact, and his matchless gift to reconcile divergent and opposing views!

He was a master of the phrase, yet he was no phrasemonger. He was a profound and original thinker, who did not peddle his ideas for the plaudits of the immature and unknown. Misrepresentation, gallery appeals and vilification were not his instruments of warfare.

He despised demagoguery and hated demagogues. He had a high sense of responsibility, as uncompromising and firm as his faith. He had the courage of his convictions. He spoke his mind unafraid, challenging the fury of even a war hysteria that swept the country in the year of 1917.

In the history and growth of the International, he played a singular part. He helped shape its policies and determine its course. He was not only with the International; he was of the International. He infused it with the spirit of his brilliant personality, which

is reflected in its aggressiveness, idealism and common-sense leadership.

The sorrows, struggles as well as the triumphs of the International were his very own. His name



is virtually synonymous with that of the International, and his name will live on as long as there will remain a memory of the International.

The cause to which he dedicated himself is our cause. What we hope for and strive for—and countless thousands all over the world have died for—will ultimately triumph. Mankind will redeem itself. And in the new society that must follow, enlightened, carefree men and women will be taught the legend of a useful, fruitful life—the life of Morris Hillquit.

## The Work of the Socialists In the Trade Unions

By August Claessens

Secretary, Labor Committee, Socialist Party of N. Y.

THE Trade Union movement does not close its doors when the temperature rises and the humidity thickens. A labor organization is a delicate body and can suffer no neglect. It requires constant attention and application. Hours, days, season or weather bring no exemptions to routine and service, and strange as it may sound to the average vacationist as soon as the weather gets unbearable, labor troubles break out like a scourge of prickly heat. I write this as a preface to a brief report of the work of the Socialist Party Labor Department of New York City during the last six weeks.

Immediately following the Supreme Court's invalidation of the N.R.A., a number of trade unions called membership mass meetings and mobilized for action against any chiseling of labor standards. The I.L.G.W.U. was particularly militant. Its officers and organizers were in the field arousing the membership. The Socialist Party was asked for assistance and a number of our speakers were enlisted for this service.

I was especially honored by being sent as a representative of the I.L.G.W.U. to address its membership in Mt. Vernon, New Rochelle and Corona, New York; in Bridgeport, Stamford, and Waterbury, Conn.; in Plainfield and Elizabeth, and in Fall River, Mass. In the last city I also addressed a mass meeting for the United Textile Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Unions.

**Internal Union Troubles**  
Then came calls for organization and educational work from the Paper Box Makers, the Butchers, the Grocery Clerks and the Building Service Unions. Assistance was also given to strikes of the Provision Salesmen, Bakers and the Consumers Biscuit Workers and the Waterbury, Conn., underwear strikers.

An unusual amount of internal trade union troubles came to our office during these weeks. Many long and wearisome hours were spent in attempts to straighten out difficulties. To mention but a few, Butchers' Local 174 had an incipient race problem upsetting its membership; the Radio Telegraphers had a bad dose of Communist intrigue splitting its small ranks; the Dental Mechanics, recovering from a disastrous strike, now seeking affiliation with the A. F. of L.; the Bee Line and Fifth Ave. Bus drivers and their apparently hopeless struggle to get aid from the municipal authorities and the franchise contracts with these arrogant corporations. Many more hours of conference on other cases were spent.

In recent sensational newspaper attacks upon locals 107 and 717, Retail Salespeople, and upon Local 15, Hotel and Restaurant Workers, the Labor Department was far from inactive. Comrades who love the limelight, who rush into print on the slightest provocation and add their amen to reckless attacks upon unions and officials, did not inquire of their own Party Labor Committee as to what it was all about. Had they inquired, they would have learned many things not printed in the Post and the World-Telegram, and that there

are many more factors involved than these newspapers would care to discuss.

The work of cleansing a union requires more than an exposure of officials in "collusion with racketeers." So-called exposures also contain much misrepresentation, exaggeration and deliberate falsehoods.

### Some Nasty Cases

I accompanied a delegation of Local 16 to the editor of the New York Post and I listened to the two-hour reply of Bro. Coulcher to the attacks made upon him. I hope the editor was impressed that the union's side of the story differed immensely from his paper's account. As I wrote in a previous article, there is much that is not kosher in some unions, but purification will not be effected by the capitalist press. That job is one of quiet and persistent work among the rank and file along the line of education and the organization of the cleaner members.

For example, the Motion Picture Operators' Union, Local 306, has been and still is a disgraceful mess. Thanks to Judge Panken, Matthew M. Levy and a fine group of Socialists in this union, the decent elements have grown in strength and courage. A terrific battle is now on between the International Union and a determined number of members who insist upon democratic rights and a clean union.

It is easy to shout "Nemser," or to go into moral convulsions whenever his name is mentioned and presume that he is a devil incarnate. But not one has had the courage to prefer charges against Nemser and to back his accusations with proof. Your Labor Department and the United Hebrew Trades have given many long hours of attention and investigation of the troubles of the Retail Salespeople's unions. It has gone into the relations and difficulties of these local unions and their International and the alleged practices of Hyman Nemser and others. The facts are quiet different from the rumors.

However, more serious than the damage done to personal reputations is the bitter, senseless and absolutely ruinous fight going on between the rival locals in this trade and the utter demoralization that has set in among the membership. Last week I spoke to the warring factions of what was recently a growing and promising organization and I am happy to report that we have effected a movement towards unity and the end of this pitiful warfare, and that this movement will be carried to the further aim of rebuilding a stronger and a more democratic organization among these viciously exploited retail salespeople.

In future articles I will tell the story of the Paper Box Makers' Union and the problems, racketeers and difficulties that bedevil this small but growing organization. Another interesting story will be told of the long battle of a group of egg inspectors against a brutal union official and the heroic fight made by Irwin Nussbaum and a number of our comrades against high labor officials condoning this terrorism and how we succeeded in organizing an effective opposition in this union.

Members of the Brotherhood of Painters are now meeting frequently with the Labor Department and a growing opposition is being organized against the nasty conditions in the several locals of this union. More about this will

## The Socialist Party's Stand On the Wagner Labor Act

The following is the text of the resolution of the Socialist Party National Executive Committee on the Wagner Labor Relations Bill. The resolution was drawn up by William Martin and Matthew M. Levy in cooperation with the party's National Labor Committee.

**THE National Labor Relations Act**, popularly known as the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill, notwithstanding some of its defects (referred to later), has the possibility for advantageous use by militantly aggressive labor organizations. The statute recognizes "the inequality of bargaining power between employees who do not possess full freedom of association or actual liberty of contract and employers who are organized in the corporate or other forms of ownership associations."

It guarantees to employees "the right to self-organization, to form, join or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activities, for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection"; and it condemns the interference with or coercion by an employer in the exercise by workers of these rights. It makes it an unfair labor practice for an employer to refuse to bargain collectively with the representatives of his employees, to discriminate against a worker because of membership in any labor organization, or because he has filed charges or given testimony under the act.

Nothing in the act "shall be construed so as to interfere with or impede or diminish in any way the right to strike." An employer may make agreements with bona fide labor

organizations "to require as a condition to employment membership therein, if such labor organization is the representative of the employees" for collective bargaining purposes. Representatives selected for the purposes of collective bargaining by the majority of the employees in a unit shall be the exclusive representatives of all the employees in a unit shall be the sets up machinery for enforcement, thus in some measure, remedying a defect in the NIRA.

In view of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Schechter Case, declaring the National Industrial Recovery Act unconstitutional, it is likely that the Labor Disputes Bill will be construed to exclude from its operation those millions of workers employed in industries which will be held not to directly affect inter-state commerce. Thus the vast majority of the workers employed in mining, manufacturing, building and service trades will receive no benefit from the law. It is important for the Socialist Party and the labor movement to wage a vigorous fight for the adoption of the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment to the federal constitution which gives to Congress the undisputed power to enact legislation of this character applicable to intra-state as well as inter-state commerce.

In the meanwhile, similar but more adequate state legislation can be enacted to cover industries not affected by inter-state commerce. Such a bill, containing the best features of the national act, and providing severe penalties for employers convicted for unfair labor practices, was introduced in and forced through the Pennsylvania House of Representatives by Darlington Hoopes, Socialist member, with the endorsement of the Pennsylvania State Federation of La-

bor. However, it was killed by a Senate committee.

The Wagner law excludes from its operation "the United States, or any State, or political subdivision thereof." This means that unions or organizations of civil service employees and all other employees of the government, local, state, and national, including the millions who may be compelled to stay on relief work for an indefinite length of time, will not be recognized for the purpose of collective bargaining as a result of the enactment of the law.

Like the NIRA, the National Labor Relations Act is drawn in loose fashion and contains vague phraseology. It may be construed by an unfriendly board or by reactionary courts in a fashion contrary to the interests of labor. Much depends upon the administration of the act; and labor representation is not officially afforded membership on the National Labor Relations Board, which was created to enforce the statute.

The workers must remember that they will be given only what they have the power to command. The workers must on all occasions be ready to resort to strikes as their powerful weapon to enforce their demands. Reliance for the protection of labor's rights can be placed only upon the strength of labor organization. This instrument of compulsion will have an effect not only upon employers but also upon any machinery of administration of arbitration.

We call upon Socialists everywhere to continue to urge the workers to help build fighting mass organizations, strong enough to overcome all obstacles in the way of labor and democracy.

In the final analysis, it has become increasingly clear to workers throughout the land that what is needed is a political party of their own making, of, for and by labor.

## PROPERTY By Kirby Page

Incentives Prompting Human Beings Under Capitalism and Under a Society of Social Ownership and Control



IN his accurate sense, how important a role does the profit motive play in industry under individualism? Three answers must be given. In the case of a small section of the Americas people, say the richest one hundred thousand persons, a substantial portion of income is derived from profits, and it would be reasonable to assume that in the case of these individuals, the expectation of profit proves to be a powerful incentive in the determination of ways in which property is to be utilized. Even in these cases, however, as I shall point out in a moment, numerous other incentives are operative.

A second group is composed of men and women who receive returns from investment, in the form of dividends or interest, but who derive only a small fraction of their total income from profit. A typical illustration is furnished by a skilled worker who with great difficulty has saved \$1,000 and has invested this amount in a corporation that pays 6 per cent dividend, or \$60 per year. It is obvious that in such a case the profit motive is far less impelling than the income motive. That is to say, a carpenter is far more interested in rates of wages and in regularity of employment than in profit from a small investment.

**Unwarranted View**  
A far larger company is made up of individuals whose income is derived almost wholly from wages and salaries. Most of these individuals have only the remotest hope of receiving a substantial share of a large income from interest or dividends. It is therefore an unwarranted misuse of

appear later. A fine development is going on among our group of Socialist furriers. This group is growing rapidly and is taking an important part in the huge task of rebuilding the union and organizing an efficient check upon the Communist affliction that has almost completely destroyed this once powerful union.

**Bulk of Unions Sound**  
Fortunately, these troubles concern only a small fraction of the local labor movement. The reader must be assured again and again that in spite of sensational news reports in the "liberal" press, and in spite of some complaints I have mentioned and will continue to mention, there is ever so much more good news to report about the trade union movement in general. Two weeks ago I was specially honored by the Educational Department of the I.L.G.W.U. in being appointed its teacher for a class of some forty young men, members of Local 10, Cutters' Union, in the history of their great organization, the I.L.G.W.U. This has been a much more thrilling experience to the teacher than to the pupils. Although this class has im-

language to say that they are driven by the profit motive. The truth of the matter is that, even under individualism, only a small fraction of the population is impelled chiefly by the profit motive, and that vast multitudes of men and women are motivated by other incentives than the desire for profit.

But we must deal with the contention that even though the number of individuals prompted primarily by the profit motive is small, nevertheless, they are strategic individuals whose activities are essential to efficiency in industry. The rich man who is active in management is almost certain to be impelled by wider motivations than the mere desire for profit. Such instances will be considered in a moment. The absentee owner or investor is the person whose conduct is most likely to be dominated by the desire for profit, and it happens that his significance is rapidly diminishing, while that of technicians and managers is increasing. While it must be admitted that the class of rich absentee owners or investors would doubtless be far less interested in industry if the profit motive were eliminated or subordinated, they represent the group that makes the smallest actual contribution to efficiency in industry. Their initiative could be "sapped" and their energy "paralyzed" by the withdrawal of the profit incentive without in any way seriously hindering industrial efficiency. The capital needed for replacement and expansion under socialization will be derived from three sources: from the proceeds of the socialized industries, from a system of socialized banking and credit, and from small

investments on the part of a vast number of citizens.

### Real Incentives

The actual participants in industry under individualism are prompted to action by the following combination of incentives: desire for an income, desire for a higher income, desire for security, satisfaction received from shouldering responsibility or from wielding power, the joy of participation in creative activity, and the desire for applause and prestige. Certain it is that so far as the vast proportion of the men and women responsible for industrial efficiency are concerned, this combination of incentives is many fold more dynamic than is the profit motive. And all these motivations may be conserved and strengthened under socialization.

### Efficient Incentives

Let us therefore come to grips with the question of incentives in industry. Under a system of socialization why should men and women bother to work? A satisfactory answer to this question must be based upon an understanding of the reasons why the employees of industry carry on their operations under individualism. The popular answer that they are driven by the profit motive is wholly inadequate and misleading. What is the profit motive? Is it identical with the income motive? Intelligent discussion of this question must be predicated upon an understanding that the profit motive is the desire or expectation of receiving income from ownership, profit from investment. In a technical sense, profit has an even more restricted meaning. Profit is the balance remaining for dividends from total income after all costs of operation have been met, including payment of income in the form of wages and salaries, and after interest has been paid on bonded indebtedness. The profit motive therefore is the desire to receive dividends from money invested; or in a wider sense, the expectation of receiving interest or dividends, that is, a financial return from ownership.

Let us consider this crucial problem more in detail. Why should men and women work efficiently under socialization? First, because they receive an income, a minimum income as high as the prevailing level of productivity permits. Second, because faithfulness, efficiency and special ability are rewarded with a higher income. If the minimum income is \$2,000 per year, the maximum income may rise to \$5,000 or \$10,000 or even to \$20,000. This latter sum is ample for the legitimate economic requirements of any family. Third, because security is provided through a minimum or differential income or through social insurance. Fourth, because higher capabilities and deeper loyalties to the social good are rewarded with wider opportunities to administer responsi-

## The Workers Abroad

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

By JOHN POWERS

### More About the United Front

ONCE more we return this week to the vicious dualism of Communist policy with respect to the international Socialist and Labor movement. Words of sweetness combined with treachery and vile intrigue continue to mark the conduct of the "united fronters."

Last week we contrasted the new policy of the Communists in France with the attitude of the "Communist International," official organ of the Comintern, with respect to other countries, calling attention in particular to the Communist policy in England. This week we have the contrast of Poland and Belgium.

In line with the new Communist policy in France, as pursued under direction of the baton of Stalin in Moscow, the central committee of the Polish Communist Party addressed a communication on July 1 to the Polish Socialist Party and other Socialist groups in Poland, as well as to the Peasant Party and peasant youth organizations, suggesting not a united front but something more—"a broad anti-fascist people's front." While reaffirming their aim of establishing a Communist dictatorship in Poland, the Polish Communists declare that they have "always fought and continue to fight against all attacks of the reaction upon democratic rights as the most important conquest of the masses in capitalist society."

To Socialists and all other champions of freedom and democracy it will be news, of course, that the Communists have always fought for democratic rights or have ever regarded them as "the most important conquest of the masses in capitalist society." However, "new times—new songs."

In their communication to the aforementioned parties and organizations, the Polish Communists added:

"We have always fought and continue to fight for the extension of these [democratic] rights. There exists, therefore, a platform for common struggle of all workers against fascist reaction, and for the organization of a broad, anti-fascist people's front."

Appended to the Communist communication were a series of proposals upon which, the Communists declared, united action of all the parties and groups in question was possible. The proposals themselves are of an extremely moderate character. There is not a trace of Communist bluster in them. To make them palatable, the Communists couched their proposals in terms designed to please the mildest of bourgeois radicals. Summarized, the proposals constitute an immediate program of quite simple political and economic demands.

The maneuver of the Polish Communists is an exact replica of the new Communist policy in France. The reasons behind it are likewise the same.

France is now Soviet Russia's military ally. The national interests of Russia and the political interests of the Communist dictatorship in Russia demand a united front in France, and if this requires lip service to democracy and the sudden discovery on the part of Communists that democratic rights are "the most important conquest of the masses in capitalist society"—why not? It doesn't cost much—just a sheet of paper.

What makes the proposal of the Polish Communists interesting, however, is that in this case the Communists speak of "a broad, anti-fascist people's front." This is precisely the development that has eclipsed the united front of Socialists and Communists in France, which has definitely begun to pall on all thinking French Socialists. Hence the Communist attempt to appropriate the broader front for their purposes. They need it in France for the purposes already stated, and they need it in Poland which, like France, occupies a strategic position affecting the very life interests of the Communist dictatorship in Russia. Poland may be an ally of Germany in a war against Russia; hence Moscow's desperate need of altering the political situation in Poland even at the price of Communist "conversion" to the principles of democracy. Let us hope that in the interest of peace and the higher interests of the Russian Revolution as distinct from the selfish interests of the Stalin dictatorship, Polish democracy will reassert itself in effective and determined manner, as it has in France, without hypocritical aid from the Communists.

### New Communist Treachery

HOW treacherous and hypocritical Communist policy is may again be perceived in the contrast between the latest Communist maneuver in Poland and the attitude of the official organ of the Comintern with respect to Belgium. In France and in Poland the Communists want not only a united front with the Socialists but a "broad anti-fascist people's front." But in Belgium where such a front exists and controls the government, the Communists denounce it as a reactionary bulwark of capitalism. Particularly vicious are the attacks of the Communists on the Socialist members of the new Belgian anti-fascist government. We quote the following from the "Communist International" of June 10, the organ of the Comintern financed and directed from the Kremlin:

"The working masses of Belgium are becoming increasingly animated by the desire to pose the question of acquisition of power, of the overthrow of capitalism. But reformist illusions still continue to make themselves felt powerfully among them. They do not believe as yet in the possibility of a victorious proletarian revolution through armed insurrection, and they still believe that a government in which the Labor party is a participant will carry out Socialist reforms. These sentiments are being craftily utilized by the reformist leaders."

"The Communist Party of Belgium is exposing the treachery of the Social Democratic leaders. The Communist Party seeks to show that reformist labor governments or coalition governments defend the interests not of the working class but of the capitalists. The government of Van Zeeland, Vandervelde, de Man and Spaak, as the true servant of his Majesty Leopold III, constitutes no exception."

Here we have, from the highest official Communist source, a direct appeal for the armed overthrow of an outspoken, determined anti-fascist government. Here we have a repetition of the Communist treachery that put Hitler in power in Germany. Here we have an appeal for the destruction of all labor and democratic governments by the same gentlemen who prate about the values of democracy in countries where the Stalin dictatorship finds it necessary, for the moment, to promote "a broad anti-fascist people's front" on the basis of its own program of mild immediate demands.

The voice is the voice of Jacob, but the hand is the hand of Esau, the Communist Esau—the most brazen traitor that ever struck at the heart of the international Socialist and Labor movement. Is it any wonder that organized workers in all countries recoil in increasing disgust and horror from this traitor and all his works?

ability and to wield power. This dynamic will prove to be far more significant under collectivism than under individualism, although even now it furnishes the mainspring of economic activity for many men high up in the ranks of industry. Fifth, because increased economic security affords added opportunities for creative expression along numerous lines. Sixth, because social approval and applause are bestowed upon those members of the community who are carrying the heaviest burdens for the common welfare. Seventh, because social disapproval and social penalties are imposed upon members of the community who are chronically unwilling to carry a fair share of the corporate load. Eighth, because a sense of duty and patriotic devotion increases zest for socially useful activities. Ninth, because among truly religious people passionate concern for the common good transcends less worthy incentives, and diminishes the significance of other motivations.

### Robins and Gras Freed Of Assault Charge

Complete reversal of the conviction, and dismissal of the indictment against Harold Robins and Andrea Gras, convicted members of the Amalgamated Food Workers in April, 1934, of an alleged assault on a scab chef during a hotel strike, was won through the work, supplied gratuitously, of Abraham Abramowitz of the Socialist Lawyers' Committee.

Appeal was granted, and a new trial secured, because of the open and avowed prejudice of Judge Corrigan who presided over the original trial.

The defendants had been incarcerated for over 8 months.

### Michigan

Michigan Socialists will hold a basket picnic August 4 at Narrow Lake, 7 miles south and three miles east of Charlotte. Comrades and their friends are invited to take part.

(To Be Continued)



# Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

## "Stumbling Into Socialism"

THERE is a type of journalist who is an expert within his restricted field, but outside of it gets beyond his depth. David Lawrence is of this type. In a recent article in the Saturday Evening Post he writes that Roosevelt is "stumbling into Socialism." His argument is supplemented by pairing in parallel columns nine proposals of the national platform of the Socialist Party with a similar number of alleged accomplishments of the New Deal. The argument is likely to convince the uninformed.

This recalls the campaign struggle of 1912 when Terrible Teddy Roosevelt entered the presidential race with his "social justice" platform. The Terrible One had paraphrased many proposals of the Socialists in this platform; in his second administration he had effected some reforms and used the Big Stick on what he called "malefactors of great wealth." Teddy was accused of being a Socialist and some Socialist sympathizers deserted to the Bull Moose standard. The Socialist Party had a splendid organization and a well informed membership, and not only held its own but more than doubled its best previous vote, polling close to a million.

It should not be forgotten that Woodrow Wilson to some extent played the same role that year. He had to put on a show similar to the one put on by Teddy. Wilson's was given the title of "The New Freedom" and a book of his bearing this title had a large circulation. Wilson was also for "social justice." It is not unlikely that the Democratic and Republican candidates for President next year will play the same role. It is, therefore, necessary to pay some attention to the Lawrence article.

In the first place his pairing of Socialist proposals with alleged New Deal achievements is strained. A comparison establishes a contrast, not an identity. For example, the Socialist Party proposed "public ownership and democratic control of mines, forests, oil and power resources, public utilities, transportation, communication and basic industries." Lawrence pairs this with the New Deal's Tennessee Valley Authority and the "control" of the coal industry, of communications and transportation, and pending bills for government ownership of railroads.

Only the Tennessee Valley Authority establishes a similarity with the Socialist proposals and even this is lacking in the Socialist insistence on "democratic control." Public ownership of railroads has reached the stage of bills, but even the realization of this would not be "stumbling into Socialism." If it meant this, then many other governments that own railroads began to stumble in that direction many years ago.

Nor is the social security of the New Deal what the Socialists are demanding. The New Deal concedes the principle, but years of struggle by the working class will be necessary to make the legislation fairly satisfactory to the masses. Over and over again the struggle of the working class for legislation has been a history of yielding or partial yielding the principle by enacting unsatisfactory bills, measures filled with jokers, half-way concessions, unsatisfactory enforcement, inadequate appropriations and clauses that invited the use of the bludgeon by the courts.

## The Class Struggle

IN other words, the class struggle underlies the history of all such measures from the time of the struggle for manhood suffrage to the latest old age pension bill in a modern legislature. Those who think that the ruling classes and their political agents will "stumble into Socialism" imply that these classes will eventually commit suicide. Some Socialists may even think that our job in fighting for a working program will be unnecessary some years ahead because capitalist parties are "stumbling into Socialism." That would be for us to abandon the immediate interests of the working class for shoddy compromises yielded by the enemies of the workers. It would be for us to abandon the genuine claims of the masses.

Again and again this situation has appeared in American Socialist history and has brought some confusion of thought among Socialists and their sympathizers. When Hearst started his yellow rag in New York City in 1896, for several years it carried full page and often double page articles by Arthur Brisbane, illustrated by drawings and cartoons. Brisbane had not yet forgotten his father, Albert Brisbane, his writings and work in organizing Fourierist Phalanxes.

These articles were amazing in their simplicity. Many of them with a very little editing could have been reprinted as Socialist tracts. They were the nearest approach to elementary Socialist propaganda since the days when Horace Greeley opened the columns of his Tribune to the utopian Socialists of the forties. Hearst's Journal captivated many uninformed Socialists. He was almost "stumbling into Socialism." The Journal obtained an enormous circulation. It isn't necessary to write of what Hearst journalism stood for within a few years and what it stands for today.

## State Capitalism

THE New Deal is simply a shift from the old individualism to a social policy. The old policy simply could not be adapted to the grave issues emerging out of the depression. The Tennessee Valley Authority, for example, could not have been set up under the old philosophy. However, this social policy is not necessarily a Socialist policy. On the contrary, it is perfectly consistent with state capitalism which means substituting the government as capitalist for the private or corporation capitalist. State capitalism may or may not be better than private capitalism. It all depends upon who administers it and how it is administered. If conservative men are vested with administrative powers over government enterprises the latter may become as bad as a company union enterprise.

It is because of this that Socialists always stress the need of "democratic management" in publicly owned enterprises. It is essential that the workers have a voice in their management. Even this is not Socialism, but where it is realized the trend is toward the Socialist ideal. It gives some assurance of democracy in industry even before the realization of Socialism.

President Roosevelt is not "stumbling into Socialism" and he is not likely to even if his full social security program becomes law and the mines and the railroads are taken over by the government. The politicians of the capitalist parties will, under the enormous impact of the depression crisis, yield to the principle of social control but their measures in accord with the new policy will be grudging and inadequate. The working class is compelled to fight for years to make these measures more and more satisfactory and this struggle will correlate with education for the abolition of capitalism itself.

He who thinks that because a capitalist party in a city, a state or in the nation becomes sponsor for social legislation or even for some forms of public ownership is, therefore, doing what Socialists want to do simply abandons the basic idea that the political struggle is also a class struggle. Moreover, he surrenders a real program for something that is fraudulent and thus unwittingly renders a disservice to the laboring masses whose interests are of primary interest to the Socialist Party.

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## McLevy Seeking Aid for Slum Clearance Work

Travels to Washington to Get Federal Fund of \$1,500,000 for Bridgeport Project.

By Abraham Kaepler  
Special to The New Leader.

BRIDGEPORT, Conn. Mayor Jasper McLevy traveled to Washington this week to learn more about the possibilities for a \$1,500,000 slum clearance program in Bridgeport, and also to obtain more authoritative information about the Works Progress Administration, the new federal relief program.

Under the federal arrangements for slum clearance and housing, most of the elements of a really Socialist-like housing program are absent, but the Socialist administration is lending every possible encouragement to the slum clearance program in general, since, if carried through it will mean a vast improvement in the living conditions of the workers in the most populated sections of the city. A more or less private housing corporation must be formed to promote the plan, but it is expected that the corporation will be on a cooperative, non-profit basis.

In connection with the housing program, which may be slow in getting started if the federal government setup runs true to form, the Socialist administration is making plans for playgrounds in the proposed slum clearance section. The city will develop the playgrounds without waiting for the fruition of the housing scheme.

The new WPA federal relief program has not only Bridgeport, but the entire state wondering when it will get under way, and when it does, how often orders and regulations will be changed. To date so many conflicting reports, and revisions of regulations, have been made that local relief programs are becoming topsy-turvy. Just how much the federal program can be counted upon to relieve the local relief burden or whether it will merely add to the local burden; what projects can be undertaken; what half-completed FERA projects may have to be discontinued; what is the maximum expenditure for any single project; who can be hired and fired, and by whom; to what extent the WPA will serve as a strike-breaking agency by forcing relief workers to accept poorly paid private employment when offered, or lose their relief if they refuse—these are among the countless questions which remain unanswered, or half-answered, or which receive frequently revised answers.

This whole messy plan to keep capitalism afloat is so confused (not only to the writer, or to the local and state relief heads, but obviously to Washington also) that the only persons who appear optimistic about it are some expectant Democratic ward heeler. As a patronage dispensing machine, the program appears okay. As a relief program it's—well, you say.

## Stedman Will Speak At Milwaukee Picnic

MILWAUKEE.—Seymour Stedman, nationally known Socialist orator, vice-presidential candidate with Eugene V. Debs in 1920, and a veteran of many political battles, will be one of the principal speakers at the Socialist picnic, Sunday, July 28, in State Fair park, here.

J. F. Friedrich, organizer for the Federated Trades council, and another nationally known Socialist orator will also speak. Carl Hampel, chairman of the picnic committee, announces.

## Three-Day Institute Starts at Brookwood for ILGWU Members

KATONAH, N. Y.—Forty-five men and women, workers in different sections of the women's garment industry, will assemble at Brookwood Labor College for a three-day institute arranged by the educational department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in cooperation with Brookwood faculty, July 27, 28.

The worker-students, who come from locals of the union, will take short courses in the economics of the garment industry, labor problems, public speaking and parliamentary law.

The institute is the second one this summer by the I.L.G.W.U., which is also offering ten scholarships for the summer session to be held August 12 to 23.

Union members who attend will meet at 4:30 p. m., Friday, at the Grand Central Terminal information desk. Julius Hochman and Lucia Antonini will speak.

## For the Women's Booth At the Big Picnic

The Women's Committee of the Socialist Party, under the joint chairmanship of Minnie Weisberg and Jennie Goldman, will conduct a special booth at the big Ulmer Park picnic Saturday.

All comrades who come to the picnic are urged to bring gifts for that booth, the proceeds to be donated to the High Cost of Living campaign of the Women's Committee.

## One-Cent Pamphlet Series Started by N. Y. Socialists

Two attractive one-cent pamphlets on fundamentals of Socialism have just been issued by the Socialist Party of New York City, the first of what is expected to be a long series and that will supply all party workers with pocketful of literature to flash upon would-be converts at any and all occasions.

August Claessens is author of "The Blue Eagle Is Dead—So What?" and "An Appeal to White Collar Workers and the Professions" is by Harry W. Laidler. The pamphlets, which are 16 pages each and well printed, are excellently written and carry the Socialist message in clear and simple terms.

With a campaign just ahead it is confidently expected that the first batch will be quickly exhausted and more numbers added to the series.

Branch officials, and locals outside New York are urged to get samples from the office of Local New York, 7 East 15th St., N. Y. C.

## Fight for Use of Streets in Philadelphia

Special to The New Leader.  
PHILADELPHIA.—The local Socialists have been having some difficulty with the police in holding street corner meetings.

For years they have held large and successful meetings at German town and Lehigh Aves., which is in the mill district. A few weeks ago the usual notice of intention to hold the meeting was sent to the police and a reply received from the Supt. of Police that the meeting could not be held because of complaints from business interests in the neighborhood, blocking of traffic, etc. This in spite of the fact that the Salvation Army, a medicine man and mission groups continue to conduct meetings on the same corner regularly.

An attempt was made to hold the meeting with the result that two comrades were arrested and held for court.

The following week another attempt was made and two comrades arrested on the charge of "violating a city ordinance," which gives the police the right to decide as to who shall or shall not conduct street meetings. This was the first time since the ordinance was passed in May, 1934, that the police have arrested anyone on this specific charge. Heretofore, some other charge, such as disorderly conduct, etc., has been trumped up.

The two arrested were fined \$10.50 each and costs. After consultation with attorneys, it was decided to appeal the case. A hearing was held last Friday in Quarter Sessions Court, when our attorney attempted to show that the ordinance was unconstitutional, and that this was a clear case of discrimination. The appeal was lost with the result that the fines plus accumulated charges had to be paid.

Plans are now being worked out to take the case to a higher court, and trade union support is being enlisted since the same ordinance can be invoked in strike situations.

## Socialists Demand U. S. Action in Ethiopian Crisis

A special committee, consisting of National Chairman Leo Krzycki, Norman Thomas and Daniel W. Hoan, Mayor of Milwaukee, was appointed by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party to call upon President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull to present proposals for action on the part of this country in the Italo-Ethiopian crisis. The program outlined by the Socialist executive body for presentation to the President is as follows:

"In view of the confessed intention of the Italian fascist dictator to make war for conquest upon the Ethiopian nation; the shipment of troops and war supplies to the Ethiopian frontiers; the shameful abandonment of the Ethiopian people by the League of Nations under the pressure of Mussolini, and the terrible consequences of a war to the people of Ethiopia as well as to the regimented youth of Italy;

"We call upon all labor and

## Boston Names Full Ticket at Meeting Aug. 5th

By S. Syriala  
Special to The New Leader

BOSTON. In order to put as many Socialist candidates as possible in the field in the coming city election, in which a city council and members of the school committee will be elected, the City Central Committee of Boston is calling a general membership meeting for Monday, August 5th, at 8, in the Bradford hotel.

Plans were also made by the committee to start a campaign to support the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment and other social legislation for the benefit of the workers. Unions, Workmen's Circle branches, churches and progressive organizations will be contacted and a conference will be called soon to mobilize the forces for the constitutional change.

Lena Morrow Lewis has been working for the party in Boston for the past week and has addressed a number of open-air meetings. The schedule of the weekly street meeting held under the auspices of the City Central Committee is: Mondays: Tremont and Milford Streets, South End; Wednesdays: Blue Hill and Talbot Avenues, Dorchester; Thursdays: Blue Hill and Lander Road, Dorchester; Fridays: Blue Hill and Lawrence Avenues, Dorchester; Saturdays: Harvard and Standish Streets, Dorchester; Blue Hill Ave. and Lander Road.

In addition to the street meetings house-to-house literature distribution is conducted on Tuesday nights by a group of comrades.

Lena Morrow Lewis to Tour Western Massachusetts

The state office reports that Comrade Lena Morrow Lewis, who has been speaking for the party in the state, has begun a two-week speaking tour of Western Massachusetts with an open-air meeting at Holyoke on Thursday, July 25th. Her itinerary will be announced later.

## Calafati Heads Ticket In Westchester County

Special to The New Leader.

NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.—Contending that the future of the Socialist Party is bright in Westchester County, Jacob Jay, Westchester County Chairman, in a keynote address to the delegates to the county convention declared that the Socialist Party was the only one to increase its vote and prestige in recent elections.

The following candidates were nominated for county offices at the convention:

Sheriff: Joseph Calafati, New Rochelle.

County Register: Elsie Gerber, Yonkers.

Comptroller: John H. Ford, Scarsdale.

Commissioner of Public Welfare: Dora Le Vine, Mount Vernon.

Judge of the Children's Court: Emil Schlesinger, of Scarsdale.

Candidates for Assembly:

First A. D.: Ben Juris, New Rochelle.

Second A. D.: Philip Schaller, Harrison.

Third A. D.: Cornelia Valenstein, Peekskill.

Fourth A. D.: Andrew Peterson, Yonkers.

Fifth A. D.: Frederick Bennetts, Yonkers.

The convention unanimously rejected the request of a committee of three for the endorsement of the candidacy of Dr. George Banks, Negro Independent Republican candidate for county council.

Speakers from the floor declared that it was against party policy to endorse anyone who did not accept the principles of the party. Comrade Jay added that all Socialist candidates are pledged to support discrimination against anyone because of color or creed.

The party's platform for Westchester includes public ownership of all public utilities, a pact between the states for a 30-hour week, 30-hour week on public works, and a revision of tax schedules so as to relieve the burden of the small homeowner.

John Haggerty, veteran New Rochelle Socialist, spoke at the convention for the old age pension plan, saying, "Let a man's age be the only requirement for a pension."

peace organizations to institute a nationwide boycott of Italian goods; we ask the United States Congress to adopt legislation establishing an embargo on the export of war materials and the extension of credit to Italy; and we urge the Federal government to insist upon immediate payment of the unpaid sums of principal and interest on the war debt owed by Italy to the United States;

"We call upon all Socialists, Socialist organizations, and the Socialist press to do everything possible to promote these ends."

## MILLINERS GAIN COURT VICTORY IN ATLANTA

ATLANTA, Ga.—What is regarded as one of the first, if not the first, important legal contests to be won by labor in Georgia courts in recent years was won by the Cap and Millinery Department of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union when the Superior Court of Fulton County, Atlanta, granted the union's petition for a temporary injunction against the American Hat Company, one of the largest of the southern millinery firms.

The union had struck against the firm last April and May. It was concluded when the employer agreed to enter into an agreement with Local 50 of the International Union, the Atlanta Local, as soon as the fall season began, to re-employ all of the strikers, to discharge the strikebreakers, and to arrange for an equal distribution of work, which would prevent discrimination against active union members.

Notwithstanding this agreement, the firm kept delaying the employing a group of the strikers on the ground that they had been guilty of violence during the strike. Early in July the union representatives sought a conference to draft an agreement. The employer resorted to dilatory tactics, with the result that on July 11 the union, through its attorney, Joseph Jacobs, filed an application for an injunction to prevent the employing of any new help until all strikers are reemployed, and to compel the firm to keep its promise to enter into an agreement.

Judge Virlyn B. Moore, pending a determination of the other issues involved, and after a hearing in which the firm sought to obtain a continuance, granted the union's

## Important Gain by British Labor in By-Election

The British Labor Party has won an important by-election, success in the victory of Joseph Gibbins, veteran Labor member of Parliament, over the government candidate in one of the larger industrial sections of Liverpool.

Gibbins' majority in this year's election was larger than his majority in the same constituency in the 1929 general election when Labor reached its high water mark in the nation. In the 1931 election he lost by a narrow margin, but this year he polled almost twice as many votes as were given his Conservative opponent.

The election was necessitated by the elevation of the sitting Tory member to the bench.

demand for a temporary restraining order prohibiting the firm from engaging any outside help until the formerly employed union members are reinstated. With the season coming on the firm will have to engage the most militant of the union members. In the meantime, union officials are preparing to resume the strike, should it become necessary.

The firm employs about 350 workers. The Atlanta Federation of Trades has taken an active part in the fight. The decision is expected to have an important and favorable effect on a number of closed shop agreements which other unions in Atlanta have obtained.

## Zaritsky Urges Labor Party

Special to The New Leader

PHILADELPHIA.—A new slogan for labor, "We don't want friends in Congress, we want representatives," was proposed by Max Zaritsky, president of the Cap and Millinery Department, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, in an address at the convention of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers.

With other leading representatives of the labor movement, President Zaritsky urged the delegates to rely on the independent political power of labor, rather than on seeking crumbs from the representatives of the old political parties.

"It is high time that the United States Supreme Court ruled wage slavery, poverty, and starvation to be unconstitutional," Zaritsky declared. "Congress and the courts have been trained to protect property rights and to be indifferent to human rights."

"Labor must today launch its fight for the acquisition of new rights. We must convey the message of political and economic reform to the tens of millions of unorganized workers and develop a mighty new party of labor in this country that will force courts of law and legislators to place human needs above the rights of property."

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# NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

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

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SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1935

## THE LOBBY REPUBLIC

THE "lobby" has been a Congressional annex at Washington since the Civil War. By some it is called the "third House" and it often has been as influential in legislation as either House established by the Constitution. One lobby provokes organization of a counter-lobby and today the lobbies number more than a hundred. Other lobbies are found at the state capitals and our governing structure might well be called the Lobby Republic.

Sometimes the lobby gets a little out of hand. Gas, electricity and railroads got out of control in recent weeks with considerable embarrassment to their owners. The Associated Gas and Electric Company with its many units in twenty-six states made a drive against the "death sentence" clause in the Utility Holding Company Bill and investigation disclosed that 1,300 telegraph protests against the bill from one Pennsylvania town were sent by copying names out of a telephone directory. The "peepul" had spoken for gas and electricity but the "peepul" didn't know it.

Labor, the weekly organ of the Railroad Unions, also turned the spotlight on the railroad magnates and found that Congressmen were classified in various states according to the railroads that ran through their respective districts. Railroad agents were assigned to keep Congressmen "under proper influence." Dividing up Congressmen among the big railroad systems must have been a difficult job, but it appears to have been accomplished.

The American Babbitt is vulgar and his vulgarity stands out in bold relief in these two incidents. He reduces everything to merchandise in accord with the capitalist system of commodity production for exchange.

## AN AGRICULTURAL PUZZLE

A FEDERAL Circuit Court of Appeals in Boston has nullified the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and this comes at a time when government forecasts indicate a surplus production of wheat despite reduction of acreage. A 40-cent duty on wheat to keep domestic prices above world prices will also be nullified so far as stabilization of prices to the satisfaction of the farmers is concerned. A downward pressure upon grain prices is now practically assured, with increased suffering for the farmers, unless the decision is reversed.

In two years the government has paid out \$900,000,000 to farmers who cut down their production and the court declares that this is illegal. The farmers have spent the money. Another \$700,000,000 has been obligated. At least 3,000,000 farmers are involved by this two-to-one decision. The effort to control crops may collapse.

It is too bad that Gilbert and Sullivan do not live to stage this phase of Roosevelt's New Deal in a musical comedy. First, pay farmers not to produce. Second, pay out nearly a billion dollars for not producing. Third, a two-to-one judicial decision that paying the money is illegal. Fourth, collect the illegally-paid money—if you can. Fifth, locate the farmer. If he isn't in a coma he may talk.

## WHITE AND BLACK CLASP HANDS

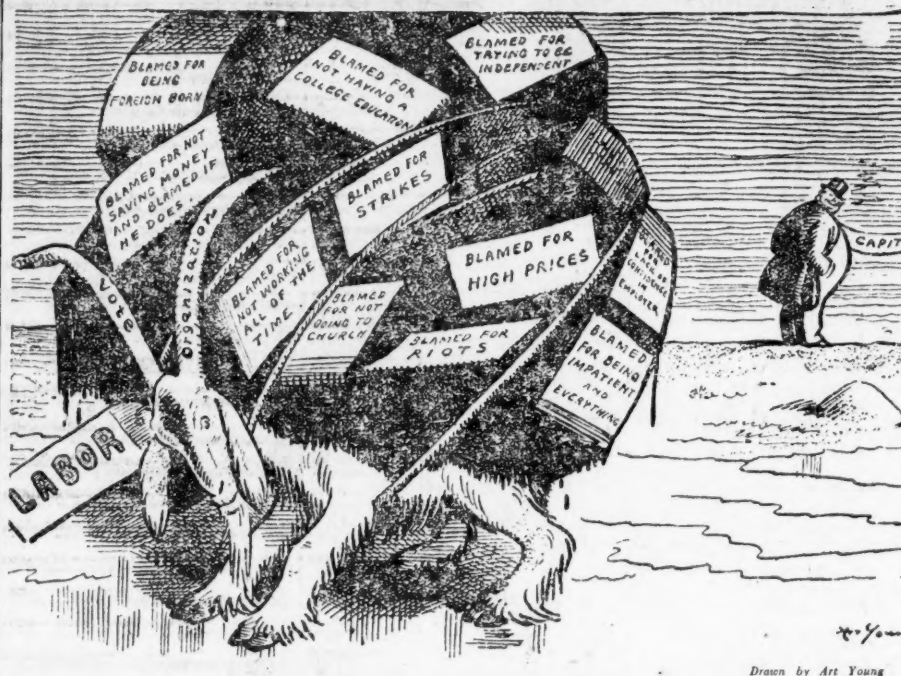
WHEN 110 trade unions are represented in a union conference in New York City and the delegates pledge to eradicate race prejudice and foster white and Negro solidarity, it is an event in the development of American trade unionism. This event will also have its influence in other trade unions and contribute much to the elimination of what remains of color prejudice in the unions.

Inherited ideas and prejudices are not easily broken down. Through long observance they become the very tissue of habit and custom and to destroy this tissue is often the work of generations. In the old South white workers came to hate Negro slaves because the slave standard of living acted as a constant pressure upon wages, keeping them at a low level. Lacking education, the mass of white workers could not understand that their real enemy was the slave owner.

Prejudice against the Negro was widespread even in the North. The masses who fought in the Union armies were willing to fight for the Union but not for emancipation. It was because of this general northern sentiment that Lincoln withheld his Emancipation Proclamation as long as he did. The old colored prejudice survived and now it is being washed out. The depression knows no race or color line. The workers of all races, colors and nationalities should recognize only one division—that which divides the producer of wealth from those who live on the labor of the workers.

There is now little doubt that the savage attacks on Jews in Germany are largely due to a desire to divert attention from the increasing economic and financial crisis that faces the Hitler regime. Prices are rising, wages are falling, the government debt is increasing, and there is prospect of the Nazi system plunging into the abyss of inflation. Workers of the world will rejoice when it expires and the working class rules the Reich.

## USE YOUR HEAD!



## Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman  
Our Washington Correspondent

LAST week one Congressman suggested impeaching President Roosevelt. It is true this kind of talk should not be taken too seriously; it came from the mouth of Bertrand Snell, an impudent ignoramus, a stuffed shirt who still thinks he is the Republican floor-leader of the House of Representatives. In reality he is a "leader" without a following. Most of the Republican Congressmen pay no attention to the Führer; certainly none of the progressive Republicans. But the incident does show how much the opposition to the New Deal has become emboldened.

Certain members of the Republican High Command are inwardly perturbed over the outbursts of such peanut-politicians as Snell, Schall and others, who started their campaign too soon and their screaming on too high a pitch. The Republican floor leader of the House said that President Roosevelt has come close to "impeachable grounds" and was on the borderline of violating his oath "to preserve and uphold" the Constitution.

There was a time not long ago when Republicans and all other opponents of the New Deal carefully avoided any direct attack on the President himself. They blamed the "brain trust," the "Probing Professors," the "Laboratory Theoreticians," the "Frankfurter boys," anybody and everybody but Roosevelt himself. Now that's all over. Since Roosevelt came out openly for the Wagner Labor Bill, for the Guffey Coal Bill, for the elimination of the utility holding companies and for the inheritance and gift tax, commonly called a "share-the-wealth" or "soak-the-rich" tax, all the bought-and-paid-for politicians began to attack him openly and viciously.

This is a fact worth knowing.

### Last Week Farmers—Next Week Labor

THE farmer was in the ascendancy in the Senate during the past week.

For six days Senators debated farm conditions, farm prices, basic commodities, minimum prices, processing taxes and the right of citizens to go into court to test the legality of any tax collected. The debate ran on into Saturday. But next week labor comes to the fore.

Having obtained passage of the Wagner Trades Disputes Act, President William Green and the other leaders of the American Federation of Labor are now concentrating their influence with Congress to obtain the Guffey coal bill and the Connery 30-hour-week bill.

President Roosevelt is looking at their manifestation of power in Congress with sympathetic interest.

The Guffey coal bill is now high up on the presidential list of "must" legislation which Congress is expected to ratify. The New Deal and labor strategists are determined to force it through the weary Congress at this session despite the criticism of its alleged unconstitutionality.

In the meantime sentiment will be whipped up for the Connery bill. If Congress could be persuaded to enact this bill before complete exhaustion sets in, the A. F. of L. will climax a session crowded by some victories.

### More Than a 30-Hour Program

THE Connery bill, as reported to the House, is drafted to the complete satisfaction of the labor leaders. It is much more than a 30-hour week program; it provides for complete regulation of all the employers of America in their relationship with the employees.

The outstanding features of this bill are:

1. It requires that a license for the right to do business shall be obtained by every business firm in the country which ships, receives or handles, directly or indirectly, any article in interstate commerce.
2. These licenses are to be granted, suspended and revoked by a Federal licensing commission of three members, one of whom shall be the Secretary of Labor, another representing labor and the third representing the employer.
3. Under the terms of their licenses the employers would be compelled to guarantee that their workers are employed not longer than six hours a day, five days a week.
4. The commission would be empowered to establish a standard minimum wage for all industry throughout the country. The business men, under the terms of their license, would be obligated to pay not less than such wage.
5. Persons receiving goods in interstate commerce would be prohibited from buying except from manufacturers and producers licensed by the Government.
6. The commission could revoke the licenses and thus put the firm out of business for violation of any of the terms of the license.

A. F. of L. leaders had one or two other ideas that they wanted to incorporate into the Connery bill but which they consented to waive at this time because of the contest that would be provoked in Congress.

Whether the present session of Congress can be prevailed upon to take up the Connery bill seriously is doubtful. It would be certain to provoke a controversy. Whether the President admits it or not, Congress is in a desperate mood.

The members are anxious to get back to their homes.

### Unions Make Charge of "Super Lobby"

WHAT was characterized as "an entirely new wrinkle in American lobbying" came when the Railway labor unions submitted to the Senate Lobby Investigation Committee evidence of a "super lobby" maintained here by the American railroads.

Edward Keating, editor of Labor, weekly publication of the railroad unions, said he had presented document and evidence to Senator Hugo Black, chairman of the Senate Investigation Committee, proving that railway officials "cover" each member of Congress.

But even without this "new wrinkle" the lobby investigation grew juicier and juicier every day. At first the Committee of Public Utility Executives admitted spending \$300,000 to defeat the so-called "death sentence" on holding companies. Then came the discovery that the Associated Gas and Electric Company had appropriated for the same purpose \$700,000, making a total of a million dollars.

But what made the public lean forward on their chair-edges was the story of the faked telegrams sent to Congressmen using names copied out of city directories and telephone books; also the fact that records of the telegrams were burned after the investigation was ordered.

It is a swell-staged show—a typical melodrama in which the villain goes in bulldog fashion after the papers. It has all the prospects of a good long run on our national stage.

## Profits, Profits, Everywhere

By William M. Feigenbaum

PROSPERITY notes for mid-Summer;

The preliminary annual report of the Associated Gas and Electric Corporation for 1934 shows gross revenues of \$83,975,089, a gain of \$2,641,787 over the previous year. And to match that a Fall Lamp Show was held at a big New York hotel, and there are reported "firm prices and an exceptionally heavy registration of buyers."

Walter P. Chrysler reports that the half-year income of his motor firm has more than doubled over the similar period last year. To be exact, the profit for January-June of this year was \$18,656,309 as compared with \$8,192,084 last year. The Chrysler business showed the best half-year in all its history, and that's that.

And while rumors of war stir the blood and thrill the souls (of munition manufacturers) the Du Pont people aren't going into bankruptcy, either. They're patriotic as hell, and their virtue carries its reward in the shape of a net profit of \$22,450,485 for six months for the E. I. du Pont de Nemours company.

Sears Roebuck likewise reports a big sales increase. The total for four weeks ending July 16th is \$30,065,361, or 38.9 per cent higher than the previous four weeks, and is within a very few dollars of the highest figure ever attained by that company in all its history.

The Federal Reserve Board's condition statement of weekly reporting member banks in ninety-one leading cities on July 17 shows increases for the week of \$273,000,000 in holdings of United States Government securities, \$75,000,000 in other loans and investments, \$174,000,000 in government deposits and \$38,000,000 in net de-

mand deposits and decreases of \$145,000,000 in reserve balances with Federal Reserve Banks and \$16,000,000 in time deposits.

Loans on securities to brokers and dealers in New York increased \$21,000,000 at reporting member banks in the reporting district.

All factors which previously have meant record markets were evident yesterday when the New York Furniture Exchange opened its week's showing of new Fall furniture styles. Prices were firm with reports of impending advances; attendance, which exceeded 900, was the heaviest for any Fall market opening day in years.

All of which indicates that business is just great, that the depression is over, that prosperity has arrived and that God's in His heaven.

There is nothing to mar the beauty of the picture . . . except about 11,000,000 workers who cannot find work, falling wages, a drive by the employing class against the organizations and living standards of the masses.

Everybody is having a swell time . . . except the people who create the wealth and do the world's work and suffer and pant and sweat to pile up the huge profits that the master class is enjoying.

There's nothing the matter with the world—except the capitalist system, the exploitation of one class by another and the comparative helplessness of the workers due to their lack of complete solidarity.

Only the unity of the workers in organizations of their own class will transform this idyllic picture of prosperity for some into a world in which the welfare of those who do the useful work of the world will be the highest—indeed, the only—good to be sought!

## The Chicago Conference And Its Call for a New Party

By Algernon Lee

(Concluded)

I SPOKE last week of the two types of political organization in which a Socialist may place his hopes—the party of ideas (as I called it, for want of a better name), the party which is composed of those individuals, regardless of class, who accept a common program and voluntarily associate themselves to make propaganda for it; and what I called the party of action which is in effect merely the political formation of the basic economic organization of the working class, though it may admit persons from outside that class who are desirous of supporting it.



Algernon Lee

The former type of party naturally comes first, because a considerable number of individuals get the Socialist idea long before the working class as a whole, or even the bulk of its economically organized elements, realize the need for political action. Only under special circumstances, which have never yet existed in this country, can this type of party grow to such size and power as to give adequate practical service to the working class on the political field, grow to be itself an effective party of class action, and so obviate the need for the separate establishment of a party of the second type, which can be numerically strong and organizationally solid from the start, but is not likely to be theoretically clear and mature. What shall be the relations between them when such a large working-class party is finally established depends mainly on how the small party of the earlier type has behaved in the past. If their relations are not friendly, the new class party is likely to be more or less injured and the older party is pretty sure to be destroyed—or, worse yet, to degenerate into a freakish nuisance.

In the United States thus far (leaving out of account some premature and abortive attempts towards the formation of a labor party) we have had only parties of the first type. Heaven knows, we have had more than enough of them all through the last sixty years—not only one after another, which would not be so bad, but often two or three or more at the same time. The Socialist Party, which is now thirty-five years old, has been and is by far the largest and the most normal of them all.

This party of ours has never won the support of more than seven per cent of the voters, and there is reason to believe that if at that time the suffrage had been more widely extended our percentage would have been smaller still. It has never been able to elect more than one congressman at a time, nor to get a majority in any state legislature. It has had but little direct influence on the making of the administration of the laws.

To say this is not to belittle the Socialist Party nor to question its usefulness. It is just to state a fact, which must be recognized if we are to understand our problems.

I consider that the Socialist Party has been immensely useful, even if we judge it by a so-called "practical" test—that is, by the extent to which, through its influence on public opinion, it has indirectly influenced legislation, administration, and the judicial interpretation of the laws.

I consider that it has been still more useful in another way, or in two other ways—first, by its educational propaganda, which prepares people's minds (especially working people's minds) for the moment when a great political realignment can take place; second, by the moral support which (except for some cases when it blundered badly for a while) it has

given to the basic class movement of Organized Labor. Our party has been worth all it cost, and it is today worth our best effort to strengthen and improve it. In this critical time it has a task to perform that far exceeds its actual powers; but I believe that it is potentially equal to that task—that we can make it strong enough to do what it must do or fail.

The primary duty of such a party as ours is neither to increase its voting strength nor to increase its organized membership. If it is doing its primary duty the number of its voters and of its members will increase. But if it makes numerical growth its principal aim, it will probably not grow numerically and will pretty certainly neglect its proper functions.

The almost incessant splitting of such a party as ours, and the ever recurrent launching of short-lived little new parties in competition with it, are largely if not mainly due to forgetfulness of this fact. Measuring the importance of our party by its numerical strength, rather than by the extent to which it is doing the things that such a party can and should do, we become discouraged and impatient. Tiring of slow progress along our right road, we seek for short cuts and land in blind alleys or in bogs of confusion. All sorts of stunts are proposed:—Let's change the party name, so that people who are not Socialists will vote for Socialism without knowing it; let's try to unite with all the minority parties, which are still smaller than ours, and with whose principles and policies we heartily disagree, in the hope that, if they stay with us, we shall have four per cent of the vote instead of three per cent we now have; let's "capture" the trade unions and "swing" the vote of the union members to our party ticket; let's make a special bid for the votes of the little business men, or the professionals, or the collegians, or what not; let's lengthen our platform by including everything that any minority is demanding and so unite all the odds and ends of discontent under a flag of many colors; let's shorten our platform by omitting everything that any particular discontented group could object to, and so rally them all under a flag of no color at all; . . . and so on to the end of the chapter—if it has an end.

These stunts never work—or rather, they always work the wrong way. It's high time we Socialists should know better than to waste time on them.

So long as the time is not ripe for a genuine Labor party—a party created by the deliberate act of Organized Labor—so long as the time is not ripe for the birth of what I have been calling the party of class action, so long the Socialist propaganda party, the party of ideas, has its duty to fulfill. And I repeat, its duty is not to grow big at all costs, but to go right and so prepare the ground for something both big and real. No "third party" that is not essentially socialistic can fulfill this duty; to launch a new party which is essentially socialistic, but is afraid to say so, is only to divide those who ought to stand together.

Whenever a real Labor party arises, I shall be for it. I shall be for it just because I am a Socialist. I know that if it is a real Labor party, really the party of a self-reliant working class, it will develop in the direction of Socialism. It will have to develop in that direction, not because we Socialists will lead it by the nose (God forbid!), but because its development will be controlled by the experience of the awakened working class.

I shall welcome the advent of such a party. I think that, if we Socialists stick to our proper work and don't meddle in things that are outside our function and beyond our power, it may come within five years. I wish it might come sooner. But I don't let my wishes fool me. It does not seem at all likely to come by 1936. Till it comes, I put my faith in the Socialist Party, not in some new substitute, for it.

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## To Abolish Industrial Slavery

By President George Q. Lynch in Pattern Makers' Journal

EVIDENTLY it will require an amendment to abolish industrial slavery as it required an amendment to abolish physical slavery. We express the fervent hope that this addition to the Constitution will not be so costly.

When the anachronism of private ownership of things essential to modern life is thoroughly understood the system which gives rise to industrial exploitation will be abolished. The desires of a people may be thwarted but never defeated. The situation calls for more and better education. The labor movement can and must make the issues clear.

We shall be asked to decide if it is the prerogative of the Federal Government to insure the safety of its people. Can our people be deprived of the right to enjoy the fruits of scientific and industrial progress? Must people con-

## A Striking Similarity

By Dr. H. L. Franklin

From an Article in Justice, Organ of the I.L.G.W.U.

WHAT has happened in Germany may serve as an object lesson to organized labor in this country to be constantly on guard against the rise of fascism (Nazism) here.

There is a striking similarity of the demagogic promises made by our Huey Longs and Father Coughlins with those held forth by Hitler and his chieftains in order to gain power in Germany.

suffer privation in the face of abundance? Shall nine men in medieval cap and gown or elected representatives, control the destinies of 126 millions of people?

Let us not lament an imaginary loss but seek to establish legislation that will deal effectively with changing methods of production. The Supreme Court's decision contained one big virtue. It terminated pretense.