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

No Scab Wages on WPA Projects

Army Rule in Canal Zone Menaces Press Freedom; Waldman Defends Editor

Roosevelt Faces Court for
Exposing Servitude of
Soldiers in Panama Army
Post

WHAT appears to be a case of gross brutality in the army and punishment of an editor for protesting against a particularly bad case of Junker methods in the American army in the Panama Canal Zone is the occasion for Louis Waldman, chairman of the Socialist Party of New York State, to serve as counsel for Nelson Rounsavell, publisher of the Panama American, at a preliminary hearing of his trial for criminal libel on August 24. Rounsavell was charged by army officials after he alleged inhuman treatment of soldiers at Fort Clayton.

The conflict between the dynamic, 60-year-old publisher and army officials was the outgrowth of four suicides and several attempts at suicide among the enlisted personnel of the army post during six weeks.

In the midst of the alleged "death parade," Rounsavell urged army officials to investigate conditions at Fort Clayton, but apparently nothing was done. Then Rounsavell began his own investigation after the fourth suicide.

He alleged that he found the following results, as a result of which he was charged with criminal libel:

1. That Fort Clayton soldiers were driven like slaves.
2. That no regard was shown for young, soft and inexperienced men who were unaccustomed to scorching tropical heat.
3. That the men took to smoking the drug "Marihuana" in their few spare hours and that while they were under the influence of the "weed" they did things, including suicide, which rational men would not do.

4. That General Fiske and Col. Heidt, whom Rounsavell called the "Simon Legree of the army," were driving the men to suicide.
5. That he (Rounsavell) was ready to prove his accusations before any tribunal.

Meanwhile, army authorities started an investigation. Their finding was that there was "no common cause" for the suicides at Fort Clayton. Rounsavell charged that the investigation was "whitewashed."

He was arrested in the Canal Zone on criminal libel charges and placed under \$2,500 bail. Harroldo Arias, president of the Republic of (Continued on Page Three)

Oregon Jobless Marching For Better Standard

Special to The New Leader
PORTLAND, Ore.—On Saturday, August 17, at 10 A. M., Portland will be the scene of a demonstration and parade on the occasion of National Unemployment Demonstration Day.

FERA Educating 40,000 Workers In Projects

Miners Being Taught English, Farmers Study Cooperation; Unions Are Aiding in Work

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Approximately 40,000 workers are attending weekly or semi-weekly workers' education classes, conducted under the supervision of the Educational Division of the F.E.R.A. Close to 1,000 workers' education classes have been established in 31 States. These are located in communities of all sizes, ranging from large metropolitan cities to small towns and backwoods-areas. Workers of all ages and backgrounds—men and women employed in a variety of occupations and unemployed workers—constitute the student body of workers' education.

A group of miners in Iowa is being taught English by the daughter of an Italian miner; a class in New Mexico is being taught in Spanish; farmers in Wisconsin and Minnesota are studying cooperative marketing and the problems of consumers; textile workers, taxi-cab drivers, shop girls, and ditch diggers are discussing problems of trade unionism and questions raised by current State and Federal legislation.

The Educational Division of the F.E.R.A. was established in the autumn of 1933 to provide work relief for unemployed teachers and education for unemployed workers (Continued on Page Four)

35-Hour Week Is Won By the Millinery Union

By Marx Lewis

THE 35-hour and the 5-day work-week became practically universal in the millinery industry by collective agreement during the past week when the Cap and Millinery Department of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union succeeded in securing the adoption of a series of agreements in all of the important out-of-town markets embodying these provisions.

With the 35-hour and 5-day week established in the New York market since early 1934 the collective agreements just negotiated in the markets of Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, and Philadelphia, and one that is expected to be signed shortly in Cleveland, will bring the benefits of the reduced work-week to about 85 per cent of all millinery workers who are members of the locals in the various cities.

Max Zaritsky, president of the International Union, who led the negotiations for the union in all of these cities, on his return from St. Louis, where it was felt that a strike might be required to compel the manufacturers to accede to the union's demands, pointed out that while the union had succeeded in getting the 35-hour week established by the Millinery Code, the agreements in most cities had provided for the observance of code conditions as to hours. With the nullification of the Recovery Act and the abolition of the code a movement was gotten under way by the manufacturers of several cities to deprive the workers of the favorable conditions. The agreements expired in all of the out-of-town markets almost simultaneously, and a break anywhere would have resulted, it was felt by (Continued on Page Four)

Administration Scale Blow To All American Workers



Building trade workers in the New York WPA strike on the Astor housing project.

THE battle of the workers against the coolie-wage level on WPA projects, and against President Roosevelt's amazing "Scab or Starve" order last week goes on.

Regardless of the outcome of the first flare-up in New York last week, the issues of the strike have not been settled and will not be settled until the workers have made it clear that they will not stand for a slashing of wages and a consequent reduction of the standard of living, which would inevitably result if the wage scales for which General Johnson battled so noisily on behalf of the President prevail permanently.

The President has estimated that the four billion dollar fund placed at his disposal will give employment to 3,500,000 workers. If that number of men are employed under scab conditions and at scab wages a terrific blow will have been struck at the labor movement and at the whole working class.

The first blood was drawn when Thomas Martin, a striking bricklayer on the Astor Project, was taken to the Home Relief Bureau by a committee from the Workers' Unemployed Union Wednesday and received an unemployed relief check despite the President's order of last week. This incident threw reactionaries into a panic, for they realized that the granting of relief to strikers against the orders of the President created a precedent that will make grave difficulties for them in the future.

Socialist Party Statement

The statement of Mayor LaGuardia, who hopped on the Scab-or-Starve bandwagon with Roosevelt and Johnson, that the relief check to Martin is an "exceptional case" and does not create a precedent, is merely whistling to keep up the courage of those who dare not face the implications of the situation.

The Socialist party, in support-

Vladeck Protests Post's Stand on WPA Strike

By B. Charney Vladeck
Member New York City Housing
Authority

Hon. Langdon W. Post,
Chairman, N. Y. C. Housing
Authority

Your announced intention to replace building trades craftsmen now on strike on Astor project with others on re-employment rolls is unfair to organized labor, and as a member of the Housing Authority I cannot approve of it. Labor has a fair grievance and not only has the right but is in duty bound to fight against the so-called "security" wage, which grants no security and endangers the whole wage structure which took over a generation to build at great sacrifice. The least we can do is not to make the situation worse by adding our moral and physical support to a purely political assault on labor standards. I do hope that you were misquoted.

ing the strike of the WPA workers, took its stand in the following statement:

"The wage policy of General Hugh S. Johnson, acting for the Works Progress Administration and in accord with President Roosevelt, is a menace to the incomes of wage workers throughout the United States, including men and women who are not organized into unions. Throughout the entire depression period powerful contractors and bankers have exerted continuous pressure to effect heavy wage reductions in the building industry of the nation, but due to the resistance of the workers these efforts have failed. General Johnson, with the full approval of the President, is now attempting through government pressure to

do what the organized employers and their banking allies have failed to do.

"By obscurantist arguments regarding the effects of this policy General Johnson assumes that he is acting in defense of workers' incomes and expanding relief for the unemployed. Both assertions are fallacious. General Johnson then assumes that opposition to this policy is in some way connected with Communists, thus endeavoring to mobilize ignorant fears in support of a program that means a general reduction of wages in the United States.

"The Roosevelt-Johnson plan is to pay skilled workers \$93.50 per month for 120 hours' labor. General Johnson declares that this means an increase of income for these workers who work 5 1/2 days per month for \$11.20 per day, or \$61.60 for 5 1/2 days. The total for the month is, of course, an increase but the pay is reduced to 77 cents and a fraction per hour and amounts to a 50 per cent reduction in wages while the hours of labor are increased about two-thirds, from 44 to 120 per month.

"It is doubtful whether in all labor history any employing corporation ever attempted such a drastic reduction in wages and increase in the number of labor hours required to earn the reduced wage. No argument of General Johnson can conceal these glaring facts.

Mocking the Jobless

"Moreover, the extension of the hours of labor by two-thirds for each worker means that much fewer men can be employed and that the boasted relief is a mockery for many who anticipated that the maximum of employment would emerge from this Works Progress Administration.

"Just as interesting is the fact that this policy means not only a heavy sacrifice for the union men (Continued on Page Two)

Plea of Red International For Unity Ignores Fourteen Years' War Against Unions

Jewelry Union Ends Strike With Victory

Wins Closed Shop, 35-Hour
Week and Good Wage
Scale — Workers Are
Jubilant

AFTER four weeks of strike, originally for the renewal of an agreement which has been in force for the past two years, which resolved itself into a struggle against an open-shop contract that the employers tried to force upon them, the International Jewelry Workers' Union announces that a settlement has been with the two main associations in their struggle as follows:

1. An Absolute Union Shop. Employers have the right to hire workers in the open market, but they must become members of the union within four weeks. All strikers to return to work and no new help hired until all are back.
2. A 35-hour week, with time and one-half overtime; overtime limited to 7 1/2 hours per week maximum.
3. Trial period for new employees of four weeks. Afterwards to be considered a regular member of the shop.
4. Equal distribution of work in slow periods.
5. All firms obligated not to do any work for firms called on strike by the union.
6. All discharges of workers for any cause whatsoever subject to (Continued on Page Four)

Bay State Labor for Independent Political Action

By S. Syrjala
Special to The New Leader

SPRINGFIELD, Mass. — The annual convention of the State Federation of Labor showed a definite tendency away from traditional policies. For the first time in many years, Socialist trade union delegates played a notable part in a state A. F. of L. convention.

The Socialist Party was officially recognized by including Alfred Baker Lewis, state secretary of the party, among the invited speakers. His greetings from the Socialist Party were enthusiastically applauded and it was evident from this courtesy that the A. F. of L. no longer looks upon Socialists as enemies but as brothers in labor's struggle.

The most important action taken was the passage of a resolution favoring vertical unions by a vote of 95 to 69. It is interesting to note that last year vertical unionism was defeated by 40 votes.

One interesting issue was the formation of a labor party. It was evident from the numerous speeches that there is a strong dissatisfaction with the two major political parties and a growing feeling for the need of a labor party, but it isn't quite strong enough to take decisive action. The resolutions committee recommended a referendum on the matter. This was defeated. A decision to refer the matter to the state executive council for investigating the possibilities of forming a labor party with instructions to report back to the 1936 state convention was passed.

In unmistakable terms the convention went on record against Hitlerism by deciding to boycott all German-made goods and instructed central labor unions to elect committees to visit merchants and storekeepers, urging them not to sell German imports, and in other ways to carry on an intensive boycott propaganda.

Leon Arkin, manager of the Boston office of the Jewish Daily Forward and a member of the party's state executive committee, (Continued on Page Four)

Lozovsky's Charge Against
Amsterdam Is Hypocritical
Avoidance of Communist
Attack on Unions

CONFIRMING the pessimism within the Communist movement due to its continuous disintegration in the past seven years all over the world, S. A. Lozovsky, head of the Red International of Labor Unions, (The "Profintern") in a speech at the congress of the Communist International in Moscow yearned for unity with the Trade Union International with headquarters in Amsterdam. The crumbling Communist movement is seeking allies everywhere in the hope of obtaining some elixir that will revive its declining health.

"Let us fight together," said Lozovsky, who followed this by saying that his organization had twenty times in 1921-27 proposed to the Amsterdam International "the establishment of a united front against the capitalist offensive and the war danger, and Amsterdam has either rejected or ignored our proposals."

Lozovsky did not quote the resolution adopted by the congress of the Red International in 1921, the first of the twenty he mentioned as having been made to Amsterdam. The "unity" that was proposed was for the trade unions of the world to be nice enough to join the Red International while the latter would be directed by the Communist International. This arrangement would have placed all trade unions under the direction of Lenin and Lozovsky, who had set up the rival organization composed mainly of Russian workers.

The Proposed "Unity"

The Red International congress in 1921 adopted a resolution which resolved to "bring all the trade unions into one united fighting organization with one international center—the Red Trade Union International."

In other words, the "unity" that was proposed was that Amsterdam should disband and urge the trade unions of all countries to join the organization dominated by Lenin and Lozovsky.

(Continued on Page Three)

Norway Repeals Vicious Laws Against Labor

OSLO.—In office less than five months, the Socialist government of Norway headed by Premier Johann Nygaardsvold has succeeded in wiping from the statute books a number of vicious anti-labor laws inherited from previous administrations, and in more than doubling appropriations for unemployment relief.

With 69 out of 150 members of the Storting, the lower house of the Norwegian parliament, the Labor (Socialist) Party governs with the support of a number of left-wing members of the Agrarians, who supplied the majority for the important Socialist measures the Nygaardsvold government has been able to enact in its first weeks of office.

The principal law affecting the organized labor movement thus far passed was the repeal of a law of eight years ago that protected strikebreakers and outlawed the struggle of the unions against them. That repealer was enacted June 14th, after three months of Labor rule. On May 25th, a law that disfranchised voters on relief in municipal elections was likewise repealed.

On July 2nd, the Nygaardsvold government passed a measure increasing relief appropriations from 54 million kroner to 77 million kroner, the increase to be raised by direct taxes upon the capitalists, and increased sales taxes.

Litvinoff Votes at Geneva to Enslave the Ethiopian People

He Made Fine Anti-Imperialist Speeches Before He
Sat in the League Council,—Now He Aims to Please,
For Business is Business

By Harry Rogoff

THERE was a time not long ago when the parlor-Bolsheviks in the United States used to cheer loudly every time Litvinoff made a speech before a League of Nations committee or any league meeting. This was before Soviet Russia became a member of the League of Nations, when Litvinoff used to appear as Moscow's representative at Geneva on occasions when Soviet Russia was specially invited. On all such occasions Litvinoff's speeches were devoted principally to exposing the hypocrisy of capitalist diplomacy. And he invariably concluded his orations with a "challenge" to the representatives of the other powers to speak and act as Soviet Russia did.

After each of Litvinoff's speeches the parlor-Bolsheviks used to express a fervent desire to see Soviet Russia in the League of Nations. They were convinced that with Moscow in the League the League would assume quite a different countenance, for the Litvinoffs would permit it to serve the interests of the great powers. The Soviet representatives in Geneva would surely compel them to act in accordance with the principles and Covenant of the League.

At last the wish of the parlor-Bolsheviks was realized. Soviet Russia became a member of the League, with Litvinoff as her principal spokesman. More than that: the League did Litvinoff the honor of making him president of the League Council, a position of great importance and influence.

Litvinoff now has not only the opportunity of making speeches before the League but to play an important part in the determination of its decisions and policies. He now has an opportunity to utilize his power in the interest of the principles of justice and fair play which he used to defend so fervently in eloquent phrases.

But what is Litvinoff doing? Is he properly utilizing the opportunity for which the Communist and semi-Communist enthusiasts once yearned? Unfortunately, he is doing nothing of the kind. Ever since Soviet Russia entered the League of Nations Litvinoff has lost his

Communist halo. He has stopped making revolutionary speeches in Geneva. He has stopped ridiculing the capitalist diplomats. He has also stopped his campaign in behalf of the weak and the injured.

The disappointment with Litvinoff's conduct reached its high point at the last meeting of the League Council, which considered the war danger between Italy and Ethiopia. Litvinoff presided at the meeting. But his name was hardly mentioned in the press reports. Nor did he take the floor to discuss the question. He did nothing, either at the council meeting or in the private conferences of the participating diplomats, to defend weak Ethiopia against the aggression of imperialist, fascist Italy. He suddenly lost his capacity to speak. He entirely forgot his sacred duty as a Communist, anti-imperialist and anti-fascist and sat quietly in his presidential chair while the diplomats were concocting their conspiracy against helpless little Ethiopia.

Only once did Litvinoff take the floor during the proceedings, and with the purpose of helping his (Continued on Page Six)

Something to Remember When Tipping the Waitress

By Gertrude Weil Klein

SINCE reading the stories about the miserable conditions of the employees in the hotel and restaurant business (I hope you read Pauline Newman's informative article in last week's issue) I have been trying to determine whether, if the girls in the restaurants where I eat did not wear the same color stockings and identical uniforms, my digestion, or the enjoyment of my food would be seriously affected.

I have come to a unanimous negative decision; nor have any of the people I have questioned so far dissented from my opinion. The waitresses I have spoken to don't care what they wear. Those in the Childs chain are especially peeved because in addition to uniforms they also have to buy their stockings from the company, and this means paying five or ten cents more a pair. Hence, it must appear that it is the owners and operators whose esthetic sense is disturbed by the misecene which would result from vari-colored stockings and uniforms, and certainly they should be sporting enough to pay for their own pleasures.

On the other hand, my digestion and the enjoyment of my meals is seriously disturbed when I realize that the young lady who is so efficiently serving me, must, out of her meagre \$2 or \$3 weekly wage—and some don't get any weekly wage—pay for uniforms, stockings, meals which they often cannot eat because they consist of leftovers, or also suffer from the uniform influence, pencils at 35c each, which they could buy in the five-and-dime, 25c a day to the bus boy, laundry, and a host of petty fines.

I am impelled to leave a larger tip than I can afford, and this in turn results in my skipping one meal a week which does no one but myself any good.

At the minimum wage hearings continued in New York Tuesday hotel and restaurant associations pleaded "poverty" in answer to the proposed 18c hourly minimum. According to their experts an 18c hourly minimum would place such a burden on the industry that it would force most of the employers out of business. They even brought down a statistician from Columbia University who testified that a girl could live on \$11 a week, "in view of the other considerations."

When your reporter asked Rose Schneiderman, head of the Women's Trade Union League and one of the battlers for the exploited restaurant and hotel workers, what she supposed the "other considerations" were, Miss Schneiderman said it had been impossible to pin the gentleman down as to exactly what he meant. "It costs a girl from \$3 to \$4 a week for laundry, equipment and meals," said Miss Schneiderman, "leaving her entirely dependent on tips, and these are very meagre."

One of the highlights of the hearing was the testimony of Bernard Klein, an accountant with experience in the hotel and restaurant business, who told some behind-the-scenes stories of frenzied finance at its frenziedest. A man may open a restaurant, the rent of which is \$60,000 or more. It may be \$100,000; he doesn't care. He doesn't worry about overcapitalization because he intends to sell as soon as he can. He's gambling. Hotels are opened, bought or sold without any thought as to whether they can ever pay. It's all speculation, which the workers are ex-

pected to pay for by working at starvation wages.

"Eighteen cents an hour is a low enough minimum, and we deplore the fact that we have to fight so bitterly for so little," said Miss Schneiderman, "but if this is carried, together with the other provisions in our demand—the elimination of equipment charges and fines—it will represent an increase in weekly wages of from \$3 to \$4, which means a not inconsiderable gain at this time."

The Communists (Amalgamated Food Workers) were present, of course, and equally, of course, presented spectacular demands, most of which did not come under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner at all—but then, wot the'll, Archie "the show must go on!" The restaurant workers present were not impressed with the grandiose schemes the Communists had for them. They're willing to take an immediate betterment in their conditions, even a slight one, rather than gamble on the Communist "pie-in-the-sky."

State Industrial Commissioner Andrews announced that a decision on the minimum wage and other demands would not be made for ten days. We urge you to write to the Commissioner urging the adoption of the demands.

Reports are pouring in to the headquarters of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers from all parts of the country where the organization is making one of the most spectacular drives of its existence. The sunny South, where many labor unions have taken severe lickings, is giving a good account of itself. Over a hundred workers walked out on strike against a large clothing firm in Virginia which ran from New York some years ago. The entire plant will be tied up by the end of the week. Joseph Catalantti, co-manager of the New York Joint Board—there are no boundary lines in the ACW—is on the scene, together with J. S. Potofsky and Edith Christenson and Clemmie Schuk, local organizers who have been in the town for months.

In Fall River, Mass., the Ideal Novelty Co. signed a union agreement after a strike of several weeks, and a drive is under way in the entire Massachusetts territory.

In Springfield, Mass., where another large clothing firm is located, the organizers pulled off a stunt this week which is the talk of the town. The benevolent employers gave their workers an outing, the tickets to which read, "The Management Reserves the Right to Refuse Admittance," which meant "union organizers keep out!" The union organizers had to keep out, but since the picnic grounds faced a lake, "Papa" Artoni, both old time organizers and Socialists, and Joseph Salerno of Boston, hired a couple of row boats, equipped them with radio loudspeakers and rode slowly around and around the lake, speaking to the astounded and delighted workers. They're signing up.

The New York organization just signed an agreement with the manufacturers, making the 36-hr. week part of the official agreement.

In the Baltimore market, where five thousand clothing workers are now out of their shops, a similar agreement, it is expected, will be signed by the end of the week.

Hartford Unions Approve

Through the efforts of the Labor Committee of Local Hartford, Socialist Party, the following organizations endorsed and adopted resolutions in favor of the Workers' Rights Amendment: The Hartford Central Labor Union, Structural Building Trades Alliance, Local 481 Painters, Decor. and Paper-hangers of America.

And Was the Governor's Face Red?



By Geo. H. Goebel

TAKE a peep at this picture, and smile as we tell you the story. The "Honorable" Governor Hoffman of New Jersey is willing to be candidate for President on the Republican ticket. He knows who really decides such matters; and so, immediately after his inauguration urged upon the legislature ("In the interest of the poor, overburdened real estate owner, and business folks generally") a measure that taxes everything but love and kisses; even a kid with a lolly pop not being safe.

But even capitalist legislators these days know that Sales Tax gun IS loaded, and so they balked and balked. Whereupon Republican Governor Hoffman sent a cry over into Hudson Macedonia to Democratic boss Hague for help—The whip cracks, and the bill was jammed through by just a

nose—a soft of Capitalist United Front, as it were.

And then, oh boy, did hell break forth—and not maybe! Why, not even old party folks could stand the smell, and from Dan to Beersheba; from Secaucus to Cape May Courthouse, a roar is going up.

So in desperation the Governor, to save that presidential-to-be bacon, sallies forth to address audiences everywhere. He addressed an audience of select citizens of Dover the other day, and a beautiful time was had by all until—

It happened that in Dover is a group of young people—YIPSELS—What did these Yipsels do when they heard the Governor was coming? Did they sing: "We shall not be moved"? Did they sing, "That's what you get when the German Socialists did not try their eggs the proper way"? Did they

wait for some professional crew of front-makers to suggest to them what to do; making sure the big end of the purse went to the front-makers? Did they? NIX! Nein! No Sirree!

Look at the picture, and you will see what the Governor saw when he came out of that Dover hall—These Yipsels and these eloquent banners—and behind them a great mass of just ordinary citizens voicing their opinion in such terms that the police hastily escorted the Governor back into the hall, where he heard a few things not in his capitalist book—And as a by-product that money could not buy—pictures and a big story in the Dover papers—and this picture in the Newark News (the "N. Y. Times of New Jersey" reaching into every part of that state! Congratulations to our young comrades!

'Criminal Anarchy' Charge Fails Against Y.P.S.L.

Charges of "criminal anarchy" against Sidney Bykofsky, a member of the Young People's Socialist League, were dismissed after a hearing before Magistrate Samuel Katz in Bronx Magistrate's Court. Bykofsky had been arrested while making a street-corner speech.

Police Sergeant James H. Cox and officer Joseph Burke charged that the young man had stated to a crowd of two hundred persons that "if we all mass together in a

NO SCAB WAGES ON WPA PROJECTS

(Continued from Page One)

and disappointment for others who will be deprived of jobs, the government does not require corporations who supply material to provide them at lower than the current rates. Their incomes are to be guarded, not deflated, while the working masses are expected to stand by and permit government pressure to bear heavily down upon the wage standards in the building industry. This downward pressure will also extend to wage standards in other industries for all economic history shows that when upper wage levels are depressed the inevitable result is to depress lower wage incomes all down the line.

"Assume that the Roosevelt Administration is victorious in this heartless policy. How can the union workers go to the private contractors and demand the prevailing wages when the contractor answers that if the men can work for 50 per cent less for Uncle Sam they may also work for it in private construction? And if in private construction the contractors use this argument they are

not likely to refrain from insisting on wage reductions for all other workers in the industry. And what occurs in the building industry will set an example in all other industries and a general wage-cutting campaign will be in full swing. All workers, union and non-union, are vitally affected by this government policy so that the unions are fighting the battle of the working masses in general in resisting it.

Johnson a Demagog

"General Johnson's absurd economic and fallacious arguments are all the more objectionable in that he assumes that the foundations of this government are at stake in this issue. If the foundations are to be lower and lower levels of living and extension of the hours of labor, then they are precarious foundations that should not be permitted. If the hours of labor are to be lengthened instead of being shortened, then government policy means a march backward and the surrender of fairly decent standards which labor won in decades of sacrifice and struggle.

"When General Johnson goes on to say that union resistance to this policy means that the unions are 'taking Communist chestnuts out of the fire' and that 'Communist unions are openly leading this strike against the government,' he is drawing a Red Herring over the trail and in so doing he passes from the stage of intelligent argument. Every informed person knows that Communism does not have one-hundredth per cent influence in the trade unions. If protests against reduction of wages and increase of the hours of labor are to be branded as Communist then every such protest will come within this category. In making this statement General Johnson ventures upon a demagogic course that is irresponsible and unworthy of a responsible public official.

"General Johnson's ultimatum that the workers must surrender by Monday simply means that the enormous power of the government is to be used as a strike-breaking agency if his threat is carried out. The Roosevelt Administration had ample warning from the American Federation of Labor when this policy was first announced that it would have repercussions throughout the nation in protests and strikes. This forecast has come true.

"The Socialist Party and its members, in full sympathy with every struggle of labor for better conditions, will render all help they can in this crisis which has come to the working people as a result of an inept, shortsighted and reckless policy of wage deflation."

A. F. of L. Calls Convention For Atlantic City, Oct. 7

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor today announced the 55th annual convention of the Federation will open in Westminster Hall, Chelsea Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J., at 10 o'clock Monday morning, October 7, and continue in session until the business of the convention is completed.

"The importance of the convention of the American Federation of Labor," the Council said, "must be fully appreciated by working men and women throughout the United States and Canada. There are many reasons why the 55th convention will command wide public interest and attention."

"The report of the Executive Council, which will contain reference to the activities of the A. F. of L. in all its organizing work, its legislative policies, its attitude toward economic and social questions of great public interest and future recommendations dealing with the future policies of the Federation will be carefully considered and acted upon."

"Representation in the convention," the call said, "will be on the following basis: From national or international unions, for less than 4,000 members, one delegate; 4,000 or more, two delegates; 8,000 or more, three delegates; 16,000 or more, four delegates; 32,000 or more, five delegates; 64,000 or more, seven delegates; 256,000 or more, eight delegates, and so on; and from central bodies and state federations, and from local trade unions not having a national or

international union, and from federal labor unions, one delegate.

"Organizations to be entitled to representation must have obtained a certificate of affiliation (charter), at least one month prior to the convention; and no person will be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent."

"Only bona fide wage workers, who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other trade unions are eligible as delegates from federal labor unions."

"Delegates must be elected at least two weeks previous to the convention, and their names forwarded to the secretary of the A. F. of L."

"The importance of our movement, the duty of the hour and for the future, demand that every organization entitled to representation shall send its full quota of delegates to the Atlantic City convention, October 7, 1935."

"Under the A. F. of L. constitution, resolutions of any character or proposition to change any provision of the constitution cannot be introduced after the second day's session without unanimous consent."

"Under the law no grievance can be considered by the convention which has been decided by a previous convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor will any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not themselves previously held conference and attempted to adjust the same."

"Headquarters of the Executive Council will be the Ambassador Hotel."

Jobless and Unions to Demonstrate Saturday at 10

A huge demonstration is planned to be held in Union Square Saturday at 10 a. m. by the Workers' Unemployed Union in which quite a number of trade unions will participate. Similar demonstrations

solid army we can overthrow the government." Cross-examined by Matthew M. Levy, attorney for the defendant, Sergeant Cox admitted that the young Socialist did not call for the use of "force or violence."

Levy was assisted at the trial by Solomon B. Marcus and Aaron Levenstein of the Socialist Lawyers' Association.

Bykofsky testified that he had devoted his speech to a plea for the proposed constitutional amendment known as the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment. In moving to dismiss the complaint, Levy said: "In countries like Germany and Italy, where fascist dictatorship prevails, Socialists believe that insurrectionary methods at the proper moment are necessary. Having no right to political or trade union organization, the workers there have no other road open to them. In the United States, however, where democratic means are available to the workers, the Socialist Party believes in using the ballot to accomplish social change."

will be held in 30 states at the same time.

Local 3 of the Electrical Workers and the Structural Iron and Bronze Workers have urged their members to march. Thomas Murray is also urging the members of the Bricklayers' Union to participate.

Other unions that have decided to join the demonstration are the Dressmakers' Joint Board and Cloakmakers' Joint Board of the I.L.G.W.U.; Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Taxi Chauffeurs' Union, Suitcase, Bagmaker and Portfolio Workers' Union; Printing Pressmen Assistants' Union, International Pocketbook Makers' Union, Bookkeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union and New York Association of Unappointed Teachers.

The Socialist Party and Y.P.S.L. of New York have voted full support of the demonstration.

Receive Prevailing Wage

PITTSBURGH.—Organized workers in this area who will be hired on work relief projects will be placed on PWA contract work and receive the prevailing wage scales thus eliminating the threat of strikes by skilled workers, according to John F. Laboon, WPA regional director.

Out of a total of 54,000 workers on relief projects, 85 per cent are unorganized and they will be paid the security wage scale of \$35 to \$93 per month.

FREE ANGELO HERNDON!

Angelo Herndon, Negro radical, faces 20 years in Georgia Chain Gang under savage law of 1866.

Sign this Petition!

to

Gov. EUGENE TALMADGE, Atlanta, Georgia

WHEREAS the Georgia insurrection law of 1866, has been used to attack workers organizing for the improvement of their conditions, and WHEREAS Angelo Herndon is sentenced under that law to 18 to 20 years on the chain gang for demanding bread for hungry people, and WHEREAS 18 others are indicted for similar "crimes", THEREFORE we urge upon you action for the immediate repeal of the so-called insurrection statute, the dismissal of the eighteen indictments under it now pending in the courts of Georgia and unconditional freedom for Angelo Herndon.

WE, the undersigned, affix our names in this drive to secure 2,000,000 signatures to be presented to you in your capital by a delegation representing us.

INSTRUCTIONS: This petition when filled is to be mailed at once to THE NEW LEADER, 7 East 15th St., New York City. All names should be written clearly in ink or indelible pencil.

(Paste blank sheets of paper for additional names)

NAME	STREET	CITY-STATE
1. _____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____
5. _____	_____	_____

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\$25 four days

Thurs. supper Aug. 29 to Monday dinner Sept. 2
Minimum charge 2 days \$13.00

A FESTIVE WEEK-END program in the grand Tamiment manner. Celebrating two events. The Labor Day holiday and the Fifteenth Anniversary of the opening of Camp Tamiment. Gala concert with artists of International fame. Extraordinary floor show and stage revue with guest artists and old favorites. Costume Ball and midnight revel, including special prizes for the closing event.
NO ACCOMMODATIONS WITHOUT ADVANCE RESERVATIONS!

\$29 weekly

De luxe cabins at small extra charge

LECTURES... The lectures at Camp Tamiment given under the auspices of the Rand School of Social Science are attracting more listeners than ever. The lecturers for the balance of the season will be: Dr. William Bohn, Educational Director of the Rand School, and Dr. Alter E. Fischhof of Columbia University. The lecture season at Camp closes the Friday before Labor Day. Much interest in the work of the Rand School of Social Science is shown by the listeners at the lectures.

TAMIMENT, Pennsylvania

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More Labor Bodies Endorse Rights Amendment

Plea of Red International Ignores 14 Year's War Against Unions

(Continued from Page One)

A second section of the resolution provided for the "closest possible contact with the Third International." What that meant bit experiences of the trade unions for many years disclosed.

If Amsterdam had quietly stepped out of the picture in accord with the first two sections of this resolution a third section left no doubt of what the arrangement would mean. This section reads as follows:

"That it is imperative for every country to strive to unite the revolutionary trade union organizations, and for the establishment of close and everyday contact between the Red Trade Unions and the Communist Party for the carrying out of the decisions of both congresses."

Here nothing was left to the imagination. The unions were to work in the closest cooperation with the Communist party and in accord with the decisions of the Communist International and its trade union bureau, the Red International! That in turn meant that the Bolsheviks in Moscow were to be the bosses of the whole works.

In the years after 1921 Amsterdam received other offers as Lozovsky reports, but they were all a variation of the resolution adopted in 1921 and intended to accomplish the same result. Again and again Amsterdam pointed out the dishonesty of the offers, generally quoting some Communist official document to show that it was dishonest and intended as a maneuver to capture the trade unions or divide them into factions and annexing the fractions that could be induced to leave the Amsterdam organization.

The Profratern Law

The "unity" which the Red International had in mind was also incorporated in the constitution which it adopted in 1921. In that document it declared that the Amsterdam International "occupies itself with politics of the worst kind, with anti-proletarian, bourgeois politics." Another clause of the constitution declared Amsterdam an international "of impotence, confusion, subservience to the bourgeoisie."

Lozovsky now says that Amsterdam had "either rejected or ignored our proposals" twenty times, conveniently ignoring that the Red International had in its constitution declared Amsterdam "anti-proletarian." If Amsterdam was and is that, the Red International is self-convicted of desiring cooperation with an organization not fit to represent the working class.

The central council of the Red International in 1923 repeated this point of view in a resolution declaring "merciless struggle as before against the reformist theory

and practice" of Amsterdam.

Naturally, the management committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions protested against "the hostile acts and attacks directed against the I.F.T.U. and its affiliated organizations." However, despite these attacks, negotiations were attempted for a joint congress between the two internationals throughout the year 1924 without making any progress. The I.F.T.U. congress of that year again protested against efforts of the Communist International to "use the masses for their party ambitions." Exchange of correspondence continued into 1926-27 with Moscow continuing a policy of insufferable arrogance.

Other Intrigues

In April, 1925, leaders of the British Trade Union Congress attempted similar negotiations after meeting with delegates of the Red International. The two organizations set up an Anglo-Russian Council of Trade Unions to promote trade union unity and negotiations continued between the two organizations to September, 1927, when the British Trade Union Congress gave up, ending the career of the Anglo-Russian Council.

After the breaking up of this Anglo-Russian Council the Communists transferred their intrigues to Finland and the Scandinavian countries and sought "reciprocity" agreements with the Finnish and Norwegian trade unions, which failed. In these negotiations, as in the dealings with the British for three fruitless years, the Red International used craft and soft words. When these tactics failed the Communists again opened their floodgates of abuse.

Reporting to the Stockholm Congress of the I.F.T.U. in 1930, its executive declared: "As all efforts to split the free trade union movement had failed, the Communists had no alternative but to continue their old tactics of calumny and insinuation, as conducted for years past."

Now there is another "strategic retreat" to craft and soft words as in the cases of the British, Finnish and Scandinavian trade unions, this time the whole world of unionism being the aim. "Let us fight together," says Lozovsky. There has been fourteen years of this zig-zag from the pillow to the bludgeon and from the bludgeon to the pillow, but Communism has not changed.

Amal. Coop.—Branch meeting Mon., Aug. 19. Reports of the City Central Committee meeting and Picnic Committee. Plans for the first sociable of the season in September. Settlement must be made for all Drive booklets. Assembly Hall, 80 Van Cortlandt Park So.

Poison Picture Propaganda

By William M. Feigenbaum

THE movies are the main mental meat of the masses. Those who make the movies exercise a more powerful influence upon the minds, the thoughts and the ideals of America's millions than all America's teachers, clergymen, statesmen and editors. And not the least important factor is the "news" reel.

For example, there is currently being shown a Pathé news reel that features the controversy over the pending Federal tax bill. There is no more important measure before America than that tax bill, and the Hearst newspapers that constantly refer to the proposed steeply graduated taxes as the "Soak-the-thrift" plan know what they are doing.

The Pathé "news" reel reports the "news" of the debate over that bill in this way:

The announcer informs the audience—who are, in the long run, the people of America—that under the provisions of the proposed bill the big magnates of America would be heavily taxed. And merely as a matter of interesting information the pictures of a number of these magnates are given—John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Andrew W. Mellon, Henry and Edsel Ford and J. P. Morgan. And lest the point of this "news" be lost upon the masses the announcer explains that these men have given employment to millions of people; whereas there are shown scenes of men employed in oil fields and in automobile plants and aluminum factories.

This vicious, partisan and wholly false propaganda is by no means an exceptional case. Edwin C. Hill, the Hearst-Metroton newsreel "reporter," makes it his business on every occasion to ballyhoo Benito Mussolini, even to the ridiculous extent of explaining that an

Italian automobile racer who won a contest somewhere is "Il Duce's man," and that workmen doing a job cleaning on statues somewhere in Rome are being kept busy by "Il Duce." Is it a mere coincidence that the Louis B. Mayer of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer is the reactionary "grass-roots" Republican national committeeman for California, intimate and admirer of Herbert Hoover and Frank Merriam?

The constant militarist and naval propaganda in the "news" reels is an old story. Hardly a "news" reel is shown that does not follow the conventional horse-race and bathing beauty contest with pictures of marching men, soaring bombing planes or magnificent warships plowing the waves, always sure-fire hokum.

There is hardly a man, woman or child in the United States who is not exposed to this vicious, often lying, always bitterly reactionary propaganda.

That is the way a whole nation is poisoned by the point of view of the exploiters, the militarists and the enemies of the well-being of the masses.

The people who resent this insolent attempt to poison the public mind have a remedy in their own hands.

WHENEVER YOU SEE SUCH VICIOUS AND LYING PROPAGANDA IN THE GUISE OF "NEWS" WRITE A STRONG PROTEST TO THE MANAGER OF YOUR LOCAL THEATRE. ORGANIZE BOYCOTTS AGAINST THEATRES THAT CONTINUE TO SHOW SUCH POISON. THAT WILL STRIKE THE MOVIE MAGNATES WHERE IT HURTS.

Army Rule in Panama

(Continued from Page One)

Panama, offered his personal check for the publisher's bail, but it was refused by Panama Canal officials. The Panama police force then brought the required amount in silver coins to Balboa Jail and Rounsevell was bailed.

Maintaining his right to be represented by American counsel, Rounsevell stated his attorney, Louis Waldman, would arrive in Panama from New York on Aug. 23. Most American lawyers in the Canal Zone are on the payroll of the government or receiving fees from it.

Waldman will sail from New York this Saturday to the scene of one of his previous legal triumphs. In 1934 he obtained the acquittal in a retrial of Corporal Osman, alleged spy, in a military court at Fort Sherman, Canal Zone. Osman had previously been convicted and sentenced to 20 years at Leavenworth.

"There are two issues involved in this case—humanization of the army in the Canal Zone and freedom of the press," Waldman said.

"This is not a fight between Mr. Rounsevell and the army, nor between the Panama American and the government. It is a fight by

THE GENERAL



THE EDITOR



Rounsevell and the Panama American for fair and decent treatment of American soldiers and to maintain the good name of the United

IN "CIVILIZED" GERMANY



Posted at conspicuous points in Germany, the signs pictured show Nazi sentiment toward German Jewry. Top, the sign reads: "Who buys from a Jew is a traitor to his country." Center, this sign at a German summer resort warns, "Jews not admitted here." Bottom, a display with illustrations has for a top line: "The race issue is the key to world liberty," and the lower streamer warns women: "Wives and girls, the Jews are ever corrupt."

States government in Latin and South America.

"It is also a fight to establish firmly the rights of newspaper editors to expose the evils of a community or organization regardless of whom they may affect."

Clayton, N. M., Ousts Socialist Speaker from Streets

By Pearl Swan Powell
New Mexico State Secretary
(Special to The New Leader)

CLOVIS, New Mex.—State Organizer J. C. Thompson has just made a tour of the drought-stricken section of the state. At Clayton, which has no ordinance against street speaking, and after being given permission to speak by the city manager, provided he would not cause a "riot," Thompson was ordered by the chief of police to discontinue after he had spoken but a few minutes.

Many persons voiced their indignation at this interference. They asked Thompson to return in a few weeks and they would have a new chief of police.

Though this section is financially in bad condition it will prove fertile ground for Socialist agitation and we hope to take advantage of the opportunity.

Verband Boat Excursion Saturday, August 17

The branches of the Jewish Socialist Verband together with the Workmen's Circle School will have their yearly excursion on the Hudson to Bear Mountain Saturday, August 17.

The Str. Clermont accommodates only 3,000 people. Advice is given that guests come early in order not to miss this pleasant and refreshing trip among beautiful scenery and good comradeship. The steamer leaves at 12:30 p. m. from Pier A, South Ferry.

Hillquit Workers' Rights Draft Gaining Big Support

Clerks See Labor Party Outcome of Amendment

CINCINNATI.—A new political alignment is foreseen by "The Railway Clerk," if labor swings behind the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment. After describing and giving reasons for the Amendment, H. M. Douthy, chief feature writer for the official organ of the Railway Clerks' Brotherhood, says, "It is possible that out of the struggle a genuine Farmer-Labor party would arise, with its base in the trade unions and the farm organizations. The struggle for a fundamental constitutional revision might force a fundamental political realignment among the social groups in the nation, for beneath the constitutional issue would lie economic issues of the gravest importance."

Four More Central Bodies Endorse Workers' Amendment

CHICAGO.—Endorsement by the Central Labor Unions of Spokane and Everett, Washington, and Latrobe, Pennsylvania, and by the Monongahela Valley (W. Va.) Trades and Labor Council of the Workers' Rights Amendment, House Joint Res. 327, was announced Monday by the Labor Committee for the Amendment. The committee consists of many prominent union leaders, such as Francis J. Gorman, United Textile Workers; Emile Rieve, Hosiery Workers; A. F. Whitney, Railroad Trainmen; Joseph Schlossberg, Clothing Workers; A. Philip Randolph, Pullman Porters; James D. Graham, Montana Federation of Labor, and several dozen others.

Other organizations which have endorsed the Amendment during the past few days include: Gem City Lodge, No. 299, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Dayton, O.; Carpenters No. 512, Ann Arbor; Baltimore Teachers' Union, No. 340; and the Ministers' Union, No. 1, New York City.

Individual endorsements were received lately from Florence Curtis Hanson, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers; Chas. Kreindler, vice-president, I.L.G.W.U.; F. M. Kirken-

dall, secretary, Local 299, B. of R. C.; Alan Strachan, secretary, United Automobile Workers, No. 18313; Bert Doolittle, secretary, No. 512, Carpenters; Rubin Latz representative, Dry Cleaners, Dyers and Laundry Workers' joint local, Minneapolis, and William A. Neizelt, secretary, No. 44, United Mine Workers, Glencoe, Ohio.

According to Leo Krzycki, chairman of the Labor Committee, the Amendment has now been endorsed by two state federation conventions, Wisconsin and Montana; by the international convention of the Hosiery Workers; by over a dozen central bodies, and dozens of local unions. Copies of the Amendment may be secured by writing Krzycki, Moxley Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

Security League Backs Workers' Amendment

BROOKVILLE, Pa.—The Jefferson County Committee of the Pennsylvania Security League, representing 4,000 members, has just endorsed the Workers' Rights Amendment to the Constitution and started a petition campaign in its favor. The Brookville local, which endorsed the Amendment last week, took the initiative in getting the endorsement of the larger group.

Youth Work on Hillquit Amendment Speeded Up

The New York Y.P.S.L. has appointed a special committee to spread the agitation for the Workers' Rights Amendment. It consists of Murray Plavner, secretary of the New York Committee Against Child Labor, Nat Weinberg, Al Hamilton of the Student L.L.B., Winston Dancis, and Aaron Levenstein, author of "Make Freedom Constitutional," the pamphlet on the Amendment which is being pushed by the Y.P.S.L. with the cooperation of the party.

Jugoslav Groups Boost H.J. Res. 327

CLEVELAND.—The Yugoslav section of the Ohio Association for Unemployment Insurance, a federation of the working class groups among that nationality in Ohio, has endorsed the Workers' Rights Amendment.



BASEBALL

Championship Playoffs

for
Amateur Baseball Championship of New York

at
Yankee Stadium

161st Street and River Ave., Bronx

Saturday, August 17, 1935

at 3:15 P. M.

I. L. G. W. U., Local 10

vs.
FRANKLIN SIMON

(Champs Dept. Store League)

PRELIMINARY GAME AT 1:30 P. M.

General Admission 35¢ — Reserved 75¢
Plus Tax

Get Tickets at Rand Book Shop, Locals of I.L.G.W.U. or 3 West 16th Street.

Summer Resort Program History

HAVE YOU HEARD

about the new buildings and other improvements at Unity House this season? All are amazed at these excellent facilities. Come and enjoy a week or two in advance of Labor Day and stay over for this gay holiday at the regular weekly rate.

\$27.00
A WEEK

Proportionate Reduction for Union Members

This Week:

Harry Elmer Barnes
TOSHA SEIDEL
Eminent Violinist
GREEN PASTURES
with the original cast

Next Week:

Adele T. Katz, music critic
"BLUE MONDAY"
Provincetown Playhouse
Success, original cast
HALL JOHNSON Choir

And Unity House climaxed a season of Gala Features by presenting:
Molly Picon - Hendrik Willem Van Loon
Von Grona - Sigmund Spaeth
"Black Pit"
condensed version with original cast

Labor Day Week Program

Aug. 24—Hall Johnson Choir
Aug. 25—Rose Marie Broncotto
Aug. 26—Amateur Night Finals, Hillbilly contest for trophy
Aug. 28—"Thin Man"—movie
Aug. 29—"Black Pit"—condensed version with original Theatre Union cast
Aug. 30—Musical Revue—words and music by Mike Reicher
Aug. 31—Gala Concert with galaxy of stars
Sept. 1—Mardi Gras, Costume Ball, Barbecue, Fireworks, Confetti, Prizes, added Rumba Orchestra

Labor Day WEEKEND

\$17.00

FOR 3 FULL DAYS

\$6 PER DAY

Friday Supper, Aug. 30th, to Monday Dinner, Sept. 2nd

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in **OUR LABOR DAY ISSUE**

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New Leader Series: The Theatre as a Social Force

The Theatre Speaks

WHAT is the social force of the theatre? How should it, how can it, be applied? Is it as propaganda, urging the adoption of a definite attitude, the movement to a specific act? Is it as the establishment of a general mood, a wider sympathy, a keener sensitivity to the feelings of others, so that one turns with a fuller understanding and emotional grasp of situations and persons, one becomes more aware of life's forces and more tolerant of the persons these forces sweep along. Or is it through the accordant appeal of art that the theatre should bind its audience, a unit because singly moved by the beauty and power of the drama displayed, bound because spellbound? What is the social force of the theatre?

As many answers may come as there are persons asked—and surely organizations. In endeavoring to arrange these points of view, so as to present a general consensus of the journey the theatre (and motion pictures) today must take, if it is to have any valid part to play in shaping the country's

future course, The New Leader has asked the various "groups" in the theatre, as well as outstanding experts and authorities in their various fields, what they think lies ahead. First the hopes of the amateur theatre, of college and community players, will be expressed in an article by Glenn Hughes, Director of the Division of Drama of the University of Washington, who first analyzes the general scene and then tells of his success in Seattle, where the college boys' plaything, the Dramatic Society, has been transformed into an active and forceful element in the life of the city.

After the community theatre, the professional theatre, and the restoration of the drama off Broadway, will be discussed by Katharine Cornell. Arthur Hopkins and other authorities will present the point of view of their professional interest and experience, in a wide survey of the potentialities of the theatre (and motion pictures) as a social force. We repeat that The New Leader will welcome letters from readers, at any stage of the series, commenting upon the articles, or adding a personal opinion or experience.

Joseph T. Shipley.

The "Cinema de Paris" (Formerly the Fifth Ave. Playhouse) With "Prenex Garde a la Peinture"

On Friday, August 16, the "Cinema de Paris" (formerly the Fifth Avenue Playhouse) re-opened with the American premiere showing of "Prenex Garde a la Peinture" (Look Out for the Paint!), a gay comedy of provincial life in France based on the theory by Rene Fauchois.

Included in the cast are Aquitapace, Paul Olivier, character actor who has appeared in many of Rene Clair's films, and Simone Simon, who has just obtained a Hollywood contract and will star for M.G.M.

Among the pictures scheduled for showing are the new Rene Clair film "Le Dernier Millionnaire" and "Maria Chapdelaine," the film that won the Grand Prix de France.

MUSIC

LAST 3 NIGHTS
STADIUM CONCERTS
PHILHARMONIC-SYMPHONY
SUNDAY NIGHT at 8:30—HAROLD
BAUER Soloist
Monday Night at 8:30
SYMPHONIC PROGRAM
Conducted by SMALENS

Tuesday Night at 8:30
MAX ROSEN Soloist
Violin
VAN BOOSTSTRATEN, Conductor
Lewishorn Stadium, Aug. 18, 19th St.
PRICES: 25c-50c-\$1.00—Admission 3-434

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Katharine HEPBURN
'ALICE ADAMS'
FRED STONE
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ON THE STAGE: "RE-
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divertissements in seven
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JOSEPH M. SCHENCK presents
CLARK GABLE
in
CALL of the WILD
with
LORETTA YOUNG
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20th Century Picture
A DARRYL ZANUCK production
RIVOLI at 49th
Doors Open 9:30 A.M.—Midnight Shows

STARS! SONGS! GAGS!
BROWN BRIGHT LIGHTS
A Fox National Picture with
ANN DVORAK - WM. GARGAN
PATRICIA ELLIS - Scores of Others
Warner Bros. Melody Novelty
Full of Girls-Gags-and Stars!
STRAND—25c
B'WAY & 47th St. to 1 P.M.

Fabian's
FOX
Master of a House of Horror!
Monster of a Room of Doom!
Boris KARLOFF
in "THE BLACK ROOM"
Stage: BILLY KEATON, Others
25c
195th W. 4th St.



Sunny song and dance highlight the glorious romance in **SHIRLEY TEMPLE'S** new Fox Film production, "Curly Top."

Adele T. Katz Gives Lecture Recitals at Unity House

"Music and Society," a series of four lectures illustrated at the piano, will be given by Adele T. Katz at Unity House, beginning August 19. Miss Katz, who is a member of the staff of the Rand School and of the Institute for Advanced Education, will present a survey of important periods in musical history in their relation to events which produced them.

Beginning with "Music and the Church," as her first lecture on Monday, Miss Katz will discuss the rise of music in religious services, from the time of the first Temple to the Reformation. The lecture will be illustrated by selections from old Hebrew melodies, the Gregorian chant, a Palestrina mass, a Bach Choral and one of Bach's Brandenburg Concertos.

"Music of the People" will constitute the subject of the following lecture on August 20. Illustrations will be given from troubadour songs and folk-songs of the Middle Ages, songs of the Minnesingers and German and Italian madrigals.

Subsequent lectures on succeeding nights will deal with "Music and the Spirit of Revolution," as evidenced by Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, and "Music and the Machine," illustrated by "Petrouchka," by Stravinsky.

This is the first appearance of Miss Katz on Unity House programs. She will be assisted by Frieda Luther.

Albee Beauty Contest to be Staged Annually

The success of the Albee Beauty Pageant, just concluded, prompts RKO to announce that the contest for Miss RKO Brooklyn will be made an annual affair at that theatre. The winners on Monday evening were Dorothy Jordan, brunette, of 352 Parkside Ave., first prize; Marie Davis, red head, of 454 6th St., second place, and Ruth Starrett, blonde, of 1915 Ave. V, third award.



Gingham dresses and bonnets accentuate Janet Gaynor's piquant charms in Fox Film's "The Farmer Takes a Wife," the glamorous, action-filled romance of American life in the 1850's.

HELD OVER 2nd Big Week
CLARK GABLE
JEAN HARLOW
WALLY BEERY
in
'CHINA SEAS'
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture
CAPITOL B'WAY AT 51st

Read
THE LAND of the FREE--SOCIALIST AMERICA
See what would happen to railroad workers, stenographers, farmers, storekeepers, teachers, college grads, under Socialism.
Ten cents, coin or stamps.
SOCIALIST PARTY OF U.S.A.
549 RANDOLPH ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

FERA EDUCATING 40,000 WORKERS

(Continued from Page One)
and other adults. Workers' education is only a part of the program of general adult education carried on by the F.E.R.A. in cooperation with the United States Office of Education. Workers' education offices have been established in 19 States, where supervisors of workers' education have been appointed by the State departments of education. Qualified teachers on relief rolls are hired by the State supervisors to conduct workers' study groups organized within the State. Classes are formed in response to requests received from trade unions, industrial groups, and community associations.

In the larger cities, workers' study groups meet in the public schools, union headquarters, and community centers. In many rural communities classes are held in farmhouses and private homes. From a teacher in Arkansas comes this description of such a rural group: "I met my first class last evening. I drove 10 miles over a lonely country road, through a dreary rain, to a poor 3-room farmhouse. There in the living room I found a double half-circle of chairs placed before a crackling fire in the fireplace. A kerosene lamp on the mantle lighted the bare room. By 7 p. m. the chairs were filled with work-hardened men. Soon we were deep in a discussion of the Bankhead Act."

Attendance is largest and discussions are liveliest in classes in economics and economic history, government, legislation, history of the labor movement, parliamentary law, and specific industrial problems. Classes in English are constantly requested by workers who realize the importance of developing their power of written and oral expression. Classes in painting, modeling, writing, music, and drama also serve to increase the effectiveness of the workers' self-expression.

The "workshop" method of educating adults is also used extensively in workers' classes. Graphic charts of economic conditions, maps of State legislation, and miniature models of machinery made by the worker himself bring to life dry statistics and colorless words. Dramatic skits which interpret current conditions, such as the effect of the drought on a midwestern farm family, have proven popular as a means of translating the worker's experience into vivid form. Drama classes write their own plays and present them at union meetings, public gatherings, and over the radio.

Teachers must be either on relief or eligible for relief in order to get a job under the workers' educational program of the F.E.R.A. In March 1935, the 552 teachers and supervisors of workers' classes were paid a total of approximately \$27,300 in wages and salaries. Individual earnings of teachers varied greatly, depending upon the State in which the work was carried on. Salaries of teachers and advisers constitute 99 per cent of the money spent by the F.E.R.A. on workers' education. The balance is spent on materials and rent.

Socialist School Opens Saturday at Pipersville, Pa.

PITTSBURGH.—Under the direction of Prof. George W. Hartmann of Pennsylvania State College, Socialist candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, the third session of the Pennsylvania Socialist Summer School will open Saturday evening, August 17. The school is held at Camp Hoffnang, Pipersville, Bucks County.

The first class will be held Saturday evening with August Claessens, who will teach public speaking. Those who desire to attend but have thus far failed to register, may do so all day Saturday at the camp office.

There will be courses and lectures on Socialist Fundamentals, Labor Problems, Labor and Socialist History, and Problems of Party Organization. Instructors and lecturers include Algernon Lee of the Rand School of Social Science, Joseph Shaplen of New York, Darlington Hoopes, Socialist member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, August Claessens, Labor Secretary of the Socialist Party in New York City, James Oneal, editor of The New Leader and labor historian, and Sarah Limbach, state secretary of Pennsylvania.

James Oneal will speak Sunday

BAY STATE LABOR

(Continued from Page One)

was accorded the floor on the German boycott, and his attack was warmly applauded.

The convention decided to back the Tom Mooney Molders' defense fight for freeing Tom Mooney and also instructed its council to give financial aid. Letters appealing for support will be sent to all affiliated bodies.

The Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment was considered a matter of national concern and was referred to the coming national convention of the A. F. of L.

A feature of the convention which struck the eye of the old timers particularly was a group of young delegates who showed every sign of being alert, capable and efficient.

Credit for the success of the Socialists at the convention belongs to Max Hamlin, member of the party's state labor committee, veteran of the Jewish Socialist Verband and the Jewish Trade Union movement of Boston. Hamlin's years of training in the labor movement and acquaintances with union men went a long way in helping the less experienced delegates.

Among Socialists attending the convention were Sylvester McBride of the Boston Typographical union and member of the party's state committee; Michael Flaherty, treasurer of the Painters' union of Boston; John D. Connors, vice-president of the New Bedford C.L.U.; Prof. Harold Faulkner of the Teachers' union, and Leslie Richards of the L.L.G.W.U.

There were 16 party members as delegates. The full strength of the Socialists was 50 out of a total of 200 votes.

JEWELRY WORKERS WIN

(Continued from Page One)

arbitration. Arbitration Board or impartial chairman to have power to restore lost earnings to any worker found unjustly discharged and ordered reinstated.

7. Wages remain same as in the previous contract. Minimum wages from 85c to \$1.50 per hour.

8. Agreement binding upon employer for term of contract, should he resign from the association.

9. Term of contract from August 14th, 1935, to February 1st, 1936, with provision that agreement be reopened within thirty days prior to February 1st, 1937, for readjustment of wage scales and other working conditions.

This is regarded by the International as a great victory and an improvement over the agreement that was already in force. Only one association of the three that control the trade in New York City is still holding out for the open shop. It is understood that an assessment will be voted upon all returning to work—which means 85% of the trade—to force these firms to sign the agreement. In consideration of the fact that the firms that are signed up with the union are bound not to do any work for firms on strike, and the steady picketing that will continue in their shops, the union is confident of bringing the remaining 15% of the trade into line with the present agreement, which runs until 1938, with the provisions hereinabove noted.

How Communists Help Socialism in 4th A. D.

For several years Communists have tried to disrupt meetings in the 4th A. D., Manhattan, disturbing inexperienced members who have tried to speak. As the majority of the branch members are unemployed or have small earnings as members of A. F. of L. unions, the Communists have only helped to increase interest in the Socialist Party and provoked antagonism to everything savoring of Communism.

Whenever agents of a Communist organization or an "innocent club" approach members with some kind of a united front and response is a unanimous rejection of such offers. Drawing upon the experience of older party members, Henry Jager's object lessons in the present campaign have been of big service to the branch. Jager's method of handling the Communists when they turn up has been to increase the size of audiences, to create sentiment favorable to the Socialist Party, and to get applications for party membership.

afternoon at Local Philadelphia's "Socialist Day" at the camp. Sunday evening and Monday morning he will lecture on the History of the Labor Movement and the Socialist Movement in the United States.

THEATRE PARTIES

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

35-HOUR WEEK WON BY MILLINERY UNION

(Continued from Page One)

union officials, in a fight on numerous fronts.

Manufacturers in each city were hoping that the manufacturers in the others would take the lead in a show-down with the union. In each city, however, the membership, at a series of mass meetings addressed by President Zaritsky, solidified their forces and prepared themselves for any emergency that might be created should the manufacturers attempt to reduce labor standards in the new agreements.

Philadelphia came second, and Chicago, the second largest market in the nation, followed suit. St. Louis, where a minority of the manufacturers appeared determined to force a fight, yielded when the ranks of the manufacturers in these other cities gave way.

The settlement of all differences in these markets without a strike has left the union free to concentrate its energies on the few remaining markets where no collective relations between the union and the employers exist at this time. These include Los Angeles and San Francisco, on the Pacific Coast, Dallas, Birmingham, and Atlanta in the South, Boston, Detroit and Buffalo. Altogether, they have less than 15 per cent of the total number employed in the industry, but the intolerable conditions under which the workers are employed in them, and the effect these small markets have in competing with the others, require that they be unionized as soon as possible.

In Atlanta a fight is now being waged by the union, and in both Los Angeles and San Francisco a show-down is expected soon. In Boston a recent strike has convinced some of the manufacturer that the time is approaching when an agreement with the union can't be avoided. In the others, organizers are now engaged in lining up the workers behind the union.

New York City MANHATTAN

17-18-20 A. D.—If the well-laid plan drawn of the joint campaign committee of the 17th and 18th A. D. mean anything, the 17th will be heard from in the coming election. Charles Youngstein, campaign manager and is candidate for Assembly, in the 18th. The alderman candidate is I. Minkoff, while M. Gaf will be the candidate for the same of the 17th. With Ben Blumenfeld, for Assembly, a call will be sent out for workers to assist in the holding of open air meetings, canvassing voters and literature distribution. Contribution should be sent to M. Gaf, 143 E. 103 St.

KINGS
District Council No. 1.—All candidates for office, campaign managers, chairmen of the campaign committees and organizers are to meet with the district council to work out plans for cooperation and mutual assistance in the coming campaign. Meeting Monday, Aug. 19, at 8:30 p. m., at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St. Bensonhurst Jewish Branch.—Open air meeting Friday, Aug. 16, Day Parkway and 68th St. Henry Jager.

Features of the Week on (1200 Kc.) WEVD (531 Mc)

Sun.—11 a. m., Forward Hour, music and sketches; 12:45 p. m., Jewish Air Quartet; 10, Symposium.
Mon.—8:10 a. m., The Melody Clock, popular music; 8:25, City Consumers' Guide.
Tues.—8 p. m., Dolores Hanford, soprano; 8:30, Charles Tonkazy, violin; 8:45, Talk, University of the Air; 10, New Leader News Review; 10:15, International Parade, music; 10:45, Show Tunes.

Wed.—8:15 p. m., City Affairs Committee; 8:30, Don Avlon, Orchestra; 10, Radio Drama Group, L.I.D.; 10:15, University of the Air, talk; 10:45, "Charity Musical Clock."
Thurs.—8 p. m., Marilyn Mayer, songs; 8:15, University of the Air; 8:30, Amateur Variety Show; 10:15, Talk, "Church in Action for Peace."
Sat.—10 a. m., Voice of Local 89, Italian Variety Show; 6 p. m., "Jewish Events of the Week"; 6:30, "Annie and Benny"; 8, Metropolitan Singing Ensemble; 8:30, "Jolly Rendezvous"; 10, Opera.

Fri.—8 p. m., WEVD String Quartet; 8:15, University of the Air, talk; 8:30, Amateur Variety Show; 10:15, Talk, "Church in Action for Peace."
Sat.—10 a. m., Voice of Local 89, Italian Variety Show; 6 p. m., "Jewish Events of the Week"; 6:30, "Annie and Benny"; 8, Metropolitan Singing Ensemble; 8:30, "Jolly Rendezvous"; 10, Opera.

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PARTY NOTES

Illinois

Jacksonville.—The State Executive Committee held an important session here Aug. 16. The committee voted to launch an intensive drive for the building of the Socialist press. An organization campaign is to be launched in the early fall, probably beginning with a rally in Rockford in September, and in order to finance work of the party, a sustaining fund was set up to which each branch in the state will be asked to contribute a minimum of \$1 a month.

Additions were made to the Labor Committee, Nate Egnor of Decatur, I.L.G.W.U. organizer, being designated chairman, and Arthur McWright, member of the Chicago Federation of Labor from the Teachers' Union, secretary. An organized state-wide drive among labor unions and other friendly organizations is to be launched on behalf of the Workers' Rights Amendment to the Constitution.

The next meeting will be held in late September or early October. A special sub-committee made up of Chicago members was put in charge of protecting Socialist Party interests in connection with the move of Chicago unions to form a Labor Party.

Connecticut

Bridgeport Picnic.—The annual August picnic of the Bridgeport Socialist Club will be held all day Sunday, Aug. 25, at Columbus Park, North Park Ave., Bridgeport. This is the second of the two picnics sponsored annually by Local Bridgeport, and usually attracts visitors from all over the state and from neighboring states. A splendid program of amusements, contests, prizes, and dancing has been arranged. Refreshments will be available at the usual reasonable prices. The admission charge of ten cents pays also for a chance for a valuable gate prize.

C. H. TAYLOR PLANS TOUR OF TEXAS

SAN ANTONIO, Tex.—Clarence I. Taylor of Baltimore, veteran Socialist propagandist, is arranging a series of speaking dates through the southern tier of states, and will soon reach Texas. Locals hat want Taylor dates are requested to apply to the state office, 1032 South Alamo St., San Antonio.

A number of Texas Socialists are expected to attend the New Mexico encampment at Estancia, New Mexico, August 29, 30 and 31. The sessions will be held in the City Park, and in addition to propaganda talks there will be an Old Time Fiddlers' Contest.

Local Houston held a fine picnic July 21st, and the Comrades are encouraged by the fine turn-out and the funds raised there for party work.

BRONX

Lower 6th A.D.—Branch meeting Tues., Aug. 20. A. Herszkowitz, candidate for assembly, will speak on "Trade Unionism in the U.S. after NRA." Discussion and questions. At headquarters, 1638 S. 172nd St.

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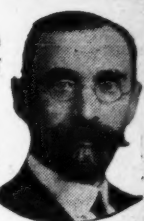
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The Crisis in the French Socialist Party

Handcuffed By the United Front With the Communists the Party Faces Political Suicide--An Analysis of the Bewilderment and Confusion in the Ranks of French Socialism For Not Exposing Communist Bankruptcy

By Raphael Abramowitsch
Member of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International



(The following article sent by Comrade Abramowitsch from Paris throws an illuminating light on the crisis in the French Socialist Party arising therefrom. The article raises questions of vital importance to Socialists everywhere and the integrity of the Socialist ideal.)

THE Socialist Party of France finds itself today in a condition of extreme bewilderment and confusion. This is due, first, to the general political situation, closely bound with the international situation in Europe, and second, to the fact that the Socialist Party is now engaged in a united front with the Communists.

The international situation in Europe has led to a coalition of governments, headed by France and Russia, against Hitler Germany and other countries within Germany's orbit (Hungary and certain Baltic and Balkan states). Preparations are under way for a new war, or, to be precise, the possibility of a new war. The brutalities of Hitlerism from day to day are breaking down the psychological resistance against all militarism which only recently had been the guiding force of all Socialist parties in Europe. This is true of all countries which feel that Hitler's imperialism is, or may be directed against them.

It would be erroneous and, at any rate, premature to assume that war is inevitable in Europe and that there are no means of averting it. On the contrary: there is hope that all the forces of European Socialism will be directed successfully toward developing new methods of averting the war danger. But the countries of which we speak continue to be troubled by fear of what may happen if Hitler is not held in check, and if war does after all come.

Socialists and Communists
The catastrophe in Germany was the result in large measure of the policy pursued by the German Communists (I will not speak here of other causes or the mistakes of the German Socialists). The stupidity and irresponsibility of Communist policy in Germany consisted in the fact that instead of fighting Hitler the Communists fought the German Social Democrats. Instead of uniting all the forces of the working class and creating a united front of all available forces, including the democratic bourgeoisie, to the extent to which the latter still existed, for combatting fascism, the German Communists devoted all their energies to splitting the working class and thus they made impossible any unification of the working masses themselves and of the workers with the democratic elements of the country. Nay more: on many occasions they united directly with the Hitlerites in savage struggle against the "social fascists," as they liked to term the Social Democrats.

Quite different became the tactics of the French Communists when it developed, after February 6, 1934 (the day of the big fascist riots in Paris), that a reactionary-fascist movement was under way also in France. On February 6, the Communists still operated on the German model: they sent their followers into the streets to demonstrate together with the fascists against the democratic government and against the Socialists. But suddenly there was a change. Instead of continuing to follow in the footsteps of the German Communists, Stalin's disciples in France (acting on direct orders from Stalin) changed their course.

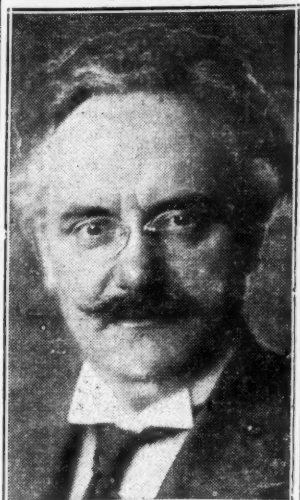
Communists Retreat
They ceased their stupid talk about "social-fascism." They came to those whom heretofore they had branded as "social-fascists" with a proposal for a united front, without making any conditions, declaring, on the contrary that they were ready to accept all the conditions of the Socialists! Nor did they demand that the united front be revolutionary in character, although this had been their demand on hundreds of previous occasions. Their practical program was, first, defense—in France—of bourgeois democracy (democratic liberties), support of any democratic government, even though it be bourgeois, engaged in fighting fascism; second, and this was the most important feature of the Communist program, energetic support of the proposal for a political, diplomatic and military alliance between France and Russia.

Because of the fact that the capitalist-democratic parties are still the dominant political force in France, the Communists have, for the time being, abandoned everything that might displease or annoy the ruling capitalist parties

and rouse their hostility to Soviet Russia.

Subdued, well-behaved, democratic and quite reformist have the French Communists become on Stalin's orders!

This being so, the French Socialists found it difficult not to accept the Communist united front proposal. Why not accept the Communist proposal, they argued,



Jean Longuet
French Socialist Leader

if the Communists are now acting like Social Democrats—and like right wing Social Democrats, to boot?

The difficulty was, and still is, that the Communists, who are particularly strong in Paris, took the management of the united front into their own hands. It was they who assumed the initiative. It was they who jumped to the forefront, unburdened by principle or consideration of principle, for Communism is concerned not with principle but with power.

Formal Unity of Action

The result of all this has been the united front in France, which has been in force for more than a year. To put it more precisely: there are now two working class parties in France, with the broad masses, and even the working masses, unable to detect the difference between them. The two parties act together. They arrange joint demonstrations. They march together at the polls. They even vote together in parliament and, publicly at least, they engage in no acrimonious controversies. The difference between the two parties, so far as practical politics is concerned, seems to have disappeared, and the public cannot understand why the one is called Communist and the other Socialist.

To be sure, the public perceives that there are some theoretical differences between the two, that the two parties differ in their *Weltanschauung*, that there used to be differences in their platforms, that they belong to different international organizations. But so far as purposes of propaganda among the masses are concerned, the important element is not in theoretical and historical differences but in the practical acts performed by the two parties from day to day. And the practical action of both parties has been the same for nearly a year.

This would seem to indicate that there is no longer any need for the existence of two parties, and that, logically speaking, there is now but one thing to do: to transform the united front from a temporary alliance into a permanent union, i. e. to unite into one party, that is, "organic unity."

Such is the situation as it appears to French public opinion from the outside.

Were There Losses?

Some comrades perceive a danger so far as the future of the Socialist Party is concerned in the losses which the party is supposed to have suffered in the last communal elections. This is erroneous, because in reality the Socialist Party suffered no losses. In Paris and vicinity the Communists elected many more deputies to the communal councils and local administrations than the Socialists. But this is not to say that the Socialists lost, rather, the Communists registered greater gains than the Socialists in the area in and about Paris. It must be remembered, however, that before the elections the Socialist Party had passed through two splits—to the right and to the left. If we compare the present number of Socialist deputies not with the number previous to the splits but with that after the splits we will see that there have been no losses. It is a fact, however, that the Communists have gained and that the Socialists have stood still.

To be sure, this is a fact only in Paris and vicinity. In the provinces, particularly in the industrial centres of France, the gains of the Communists have been slight, while

the Socialists did very well. It cannot be denied, however, that as far as the country as a whole is concerned, the Communists have gained much more than the Socialists.

This was due to the role of leadership assumed by the Communists in the united front. As I see it, the moral losses suffered by the Socialists as a result of this fact are much more important than their failure to make gains in the elections.

Socialists Handcuffed

For those who look beneath the surface of political events it is clear that the united front in France is based in reality upon the capitulation of the Communists. They have repudiated their former principles, have burned their former gods and have taken to wor-

shipping new gods, even "worse"—from the standpoint of their formerly held position—than the Social Democratic gods. If the Socialist Party had the freedom of criticism under the united front agreement, if it had full opportunity for propaganda, it would expose this fact to the workers and the Socialists would be the gainers in the moral bankruptcy of Communism. But under the united front agreement both parties are forbidden to engage in free criticism of each other and in sharp attacks. If the Socialist Party permitted itself to be guided by narrow party interests (which the Communists are always doing) it would have repudiated the united front and launched a strong anti-Communist propaganda. This the Socialists could not do, how-

ever, for it would have meant following in the footsteps of the German Communists. Because of the peculiar situation in France and because of the fascist danger in that country it became necessary to sacrifice party egoism for the sake of general, broader and higher interests.

In my opinion, the French Socialists could not have acted otherwise. But while retaining this point of view, it was by no means necessary to go so far as to remain silent on the bankruptcy of French Communism. Unfortunately, this is precisely what our French comrades have done. This was the point at which their mistakes began and the source of their present embarrassing situation.

At the time of the conclusion of



Scene during the recent shipyard strikes that convulsed all France.

PROPERTY By Kirby Page

Three Aspects of the Problem of Revolutionizing the Capitalist System of Property and Bringing About Socialism



If a person is to be free to reach his destination safely and quickly, he must preserve this liberty through collectivism in the form of traffic rules and regulations. Personal safety in a metropolitan community can be preserved only by giving up freedom to transform home into arsenal and by relying upon collective processes of security. In a congested area personal health can be preserved only through a vast network of collective preventing measures.

If individuals exercise the freedom to seek their own gain through the competitive struggle and to acquire unlimited wealth and property, the result for most of the population will be bondage to destitution and insecurity. By throwing away the lesser freedom of individualism and by seeking through collectivism in the basic industries mutual prosperity and security for everybody, a far higher freedom may be won and preserved. If a considerable proportion of the present generation is to achieve individuality it must travel the road of collectivism. And not every form of collectivism creates opportunities for individuality. On the contrary, the collectivism of fascism subordinates the individual to the totalitarian state and subjects him to ruthless dictatorship.

If adequate motivations are released, there can be little doubt that a system of socialized basic industries and drastically regulated private industries, accompanied by a high degree of equalization of economic privilege, offers the mass of people a far better chance of self-expression than they can ever attain under competitive individualism. Collectivism for six or eight hours daily will make available plenty for everybody and thus furnish a secure foundation for maximum individuality during hours of leisure, in addition to reducing enormously the wear and tear upon personality produced by the competitive struggle. If rugged individualists would throw away the right to fight for special privilege and would cooperate in a collective endeavor to secure plenty for everybody, they would have time, energy, and desire to explore higher pathways of living. The competitive struggle forces men and women to spend an excessive amount of time in the kitchen of life and thereby denies them maximum opportunity of appropriating the values of library, conservatory, chapel and living room.

How Shall Property Be Socialized?

If private property in the basic industries is to be replaced by public ownership without civil war, the transfer must be made by purchase, not by confiscation. Under the long-established right of eminent domain, private property may be taken for public use upon the payment of a just price. Present owners will be paid in bonds, based upon the value of the industry being socialized, and yielding a fair return for a fixed period of time, say thirty years. This means that small investors—specifically, the widows and orphans about whom we hear so much—will not be defrauded of their source of income, but will be afforded increased security of income. In the case of heavy investors, a substantial share of the income received from bonds of socialized industries will be taken back in taxation—income, luxury, excess profits, and inheritance taxes. And let the fact be emphasized that taxation is not confiscation, but an orthodox, constitutional procedure, 100 per cent American in nature. Any time the people of this country so desire they

can make it legally impossible for any citizen to receive an income of more than \$20,000 or any other specified amount.

Education and Organization

There are three aspects to the process by which the present property system may be revolutionized: evangelism, education, organization. Attitudes and loyalties must be shifted, minds must be illumined, and social pressure must be exerted. Conversion from a selfish struggle for special privilege to cooperative action in behalf of the common welfare is desperately needed. Illumination concerning the inherent weaknesses and vices of economic individualism and concerning the superior advantages of cooperative collectivism is urgently required. Workers must be organized in national unions, consumers in national cooperative societies, and voters in a national political party. The basic industries will be socialized by national legislation authorizing their purchase and creating authority for the establishment of boards of directors of the various socialized industries. Whether the present owners will resist with armed force this process of socialization is a subject upon which there are vigorous differences of opinion. My own conviction is that if the transfer cannot be made without civil war, it cannot be made at all, and that there is a reasonable probability that, if the government is supported by a considerable majority of citizens and if it is reinforced by a powerful labor movement and cooperative movement, the change may be brought about without armed resistance from the owning class.

Principles and Methods
The program that I have outlined herein is, of course, that of the Socialist Party of America, although not all Socialists will agree with everything that I have written. This procedure differs sharply from that of the Communist Party and that of the American Workers Party, both of which repudiate the strategy of non-warlike revolution and take the position that eventually it will be necessary to arm the workers and to seize power through victorious civil war. The official position of the Socialist Party on this question is crystal clear, although there are many dissenting voices within the party.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

Turn to the theatrical page for the detailed announcement

The Theatre Alliance
Sam Jaffe

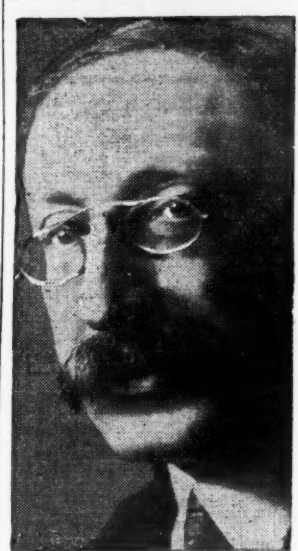
and many others prominent in and authoritative on the theatre will contribute their interpretations.

Arthur Hopkins
James Cagney
Edward G. Robinson
Katherine Cornell
The Theatre Union
The Theatre Guild
The Group Theatre

of the forthcoming symposium in THE NEW LEADER on the theatre as a social force.

(Continued next week.)

the united front agreement between the Socialists and Communists, one of the provisions of which was that the two parties obligate themselves to refrain from attacks upon each other, the Communists sought to obtain from the Socialists an undertaking not to criticize Soviet Russia. Leon Blum, Socialist leader, declined to give any such undertaking, assert-



Leon Blum
Leader of the French Socialist Party

ing that he and his party reserved the right to criticize such actions of the Soviet Government as the Socialists considered contrary to Socialist conscience. This was a courageous declaration, but unfortunately during the entire year the French Socialists have resorted very little to this freedom of criticism which they had reserved for themselves.

Relation to Soviet Russia

During this entire period only a couple of notices have appeared in the Socialist press protesting mildly against particularly savage outbursts of terror in Soviet Russia. Not a single sharp or extended criticism of Russian bolshevism and the conduct of the Soviet regime has appeared in the French Socialist press during this entire year. On the other hand, the Socialist press has been publishing in increasing measure and frequency official Soviet material, unaccompanied by any explanatory or critical articles.

Still worse is the situation with regard to public meetings arranged jointly by the Socialists and Communists. The Communists come to these meetings in organized masses and stage raucous demonstrations for Stalin and the Soviet regime. They fill the halls with cries for the Soviet regime and turn every meeting into a demonstration for Russian bolshevism. And what can the Socialists do under such circumstances? Can they bring their own banners and placards assailing Stalin? In the atmosphere of alleged fraternity that is supposed to dominate these joint meetings this would be quite impossible. As questions concerning Soviet Russia are likewise avoided by the French Socialists at their own meetings, French Socialism has lost its own countenance on the question of bolshevism, its own position on the question of Stalinism, and has become the tail to French Communism.

With respect to internal and external French policy the united front in France is distinctly right wing in character. But it gives the appearance of being left wing because outwardly it is colored entirely in Stalinist hues.

The Socialists are not very happy about it but they are keeping quiet. And this, in my opinion, is the great mistake which has placed the French Socialist Party in an extremely dangerous position.

Socialism vs. Bolshevism

The recent conference of the Socialist Party has demonstrated that despite the noisy agitation of the party's revolutionary left wing the party remains firmly on the ground of democratic Socialism. The resolutions of the Trotskyists, the most extreme leftists, and of the leftist Zhiromski group obtained few votes. Almost two-thirds of the delegates voted for the moderate Faure-Severak-Labat resolution, representing the position termed in Europe "democratic centrism." This is the tendency that does not confine itself to reformist and parliamentary measures and action and does not repudiate the necessity, under certain circumstances, of revolutionary measures, but seeks to bind these tactics with the will of the majority of the people. This is the position occupied in the Labor and Socialist International by Vandervelde and Fritz Adler, Otto Bauer and Leon Blum. It remains the position of the overwhelming majority of French Socialists, regardless of the united front with the Communists.

But it is the duty of all Socialists everywhere to take a position with respect to Russian bolshevism. The tremendously important position occupied today by Russian bolshevism and the even more important role played today by the Soviet state in international politics forbids Socialists to be silent on the Russian question. Socialists must speak frankly and unequivocally on this question. They must state openly what they accept and what they reject in Soviet Russia. Nor is it sufficient to say this in the party platform and let it go at that. It must be proclaimed every day and implanted in the hearts of the workers to whom Socialists seek to appeal.

The French Socialist Party has failed to do this since entering into the united front with the Communists. Everybody knows that Leon Blum does not sympathize with the terror in Russia. Everybody knows that other French Socialists shake their heads when they hear of the horrors of the G. P. U. But the French Socialist Party as such has failed to take a practical political position with respect to the problems raised by bolshevism for the entire world.

Handcuffed by the United Front
As long as there was a Communist Party in France which behaved as stupidly and fanatically as all other Communist parties in Europe and America continue to behave it was not difficult for the French Socialists to fight the Communists, to take the masses away from them and to gather into their own hands the leadership of the proletariat. The successes which the French Socialists had in the struggle against the French Communists were due primarily not to the sharp conflict of ideas between the two but, first and foremost, to the political mistakes of the Communists. As soon as the French Communists adopted more cunning tactics, however, as soon as they stopped making their former mistakes, the conflict between Socialism and Communism became essentially a conflict of ideas. To achieve victory in this conflict the Socialists must take a position with respect to all problems of Socialist world policy, and this includes also the problem of Soviet Russia.

A Socialist Party, particularly a Socialist party which has entered into a united front with the Communists, can maintain its independence only when it makes clear its hostility to the dark aspects of the Bolshevik experiment. For on no other question is it possible to emphasize so clearly as on the question of Soviet Russia and bolshevism the principles of Social Democracy as against the dictatorship imposed and maintained by force. A Socialist Party that keeps silent on the question of Russia for the sake of "politics" or with the deliberate intention of avoiding clarity eventually ends in suicide.

This is precisely the position into which the French Socialist Party has permitted itself to fall. Because of its failure to develop an independent policy, because it has dodged the question of Soviet Russia, because it has failed to show the masses the difference between the Socialists and the Communists there is now but one alternative open to it: organic unity with the Communist Party or abandonment of the united front and resumption of open struggle against Communism.

For a time it appeared that the French Socialists would take the second road. There were indications that the French Communists themselves were growing tired of the united front and no longer desired united action. A "divorce" of the two parties appeared impending and it was expected they would return to an independent existence. But it appears now that Stalin disapproved of that, and as the results of the recent elections were advantageous to the Communists they may be expected to continue the united front, which is tantamount to a capitulation of their party, but constitutes so far as the outside world is concerned a capitulation of the Socialists to Stalin.

The Socialists are handcuffed by the policy of the Communists, by Stalin's policy. And they will remain handcuffed, with their internal difficulties continuing, until they get up sufficient courage to reassert the intellectual freedom of which Leon Blum spoke a year ago, while retaining the united front for purposes of internal French politics, as far as this may prove possible. And this means that the French Socialist Party must take a clear position with respect to Russian bolshevism and all problems of international Socialism.

The Workers Abroad

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

By JOHN POWERS

A Summary of the Comintern Congress

THE seventh congress of the Comintern, convened after an interval of seven years and repeated delays and postponements, will go down into history as the congress at which international Communism revealed its complete moral and political bankruptcy.

The barrage of arrogance and bluff behind which the Comintern sought to conceal its impotence and decay failed to accomplish its purpose. It served only to emphasize the true character of the situation. The once mighty Comintern, which was to light a "world conflagration" and lead the organized working class of all countries to the "final conflict," stands shattered and deserted by the overwhelming majority of the workers, a rusty, broken instrument of Russian national policy—the object of derision and contempt of the international proletariat. To the international proletariat the Comintern and the movement it represents are primarily the allies of fascism and the instruments of internecine strife and disorganization in the ranks of labor. Nothing that the Comintern can now do or say can wipe out this fact—not even its clumsy and hypocritical conversion to the cause of "bourgeois democracy."

Nor are the organized workers everywhere ignorant of the present insignificance of the Communist parties of the respective countries, despite the vain attempts of the Comintern congress to conceal this fact.

What could be more pitiful than the appearance of Browder, Foster and Darcy before the Comintern congress with their fake reports of the onward sweep of Communism in America? In Moscow this may have made an impression and will facilitate the continuance of subsidies for the American Communist Party, but in America every intelligent person knows that the Communist Party is of no significance whatever as a serious political force. Only the innocents will take the reports of Stalin's American agents seriously. The practical significance of that will be, however, that shekels will continue to flow for a while longer from this source into the treasury of the racket known as the American Communist movement.

As Norman Thomas well put it, "any smart boss in the shipping trade would have paid Sam Darcy to make the kind of speech he made about the threatened general tie-up of shipping" on the Pacific coast. This was the speech in which Darcy, supporting the reports of Browder and Foster, told the Comintern what big shots the Communists in America are, how successfully they lead the American labor movement, what important a role they have played in recent labor troubles, and how energetically they are preparing new labor conflicts in this country. No paid agent of the employers could have done better had he appeared in Sam Darcy's place before the Comintern.

Anyone possessing a modicum of knowledge concerning the American labor movement knows that the Communists have never enjoyed so little standing and influence in the trade unions of this country as they do today. Their dual organizations are completely down and out and their boring from within, upon which the Comintern has now ordered the Communists to concentrate, is hopelessly ineffectual. As allies of the most reactionary elements among American employers, the Communists continue undoubtedly to perform yeoman service. On this score Darcy, Browder and Foster acquitted themselves very well in Moscow, and in doing so served to emphasize the general atmosphere of charlatanism that pervaded the Comintern congress.

Their reports concerning the situation in America were quite in harmony with the reports concerning other countries. Thus, Dimitroff, described in cables as playing a role at the congress second only to Stalin, sought to conceal the decline of international Communism by stating that "the various Communist parties of the world are stronger than the respective memberships might appear to indicate"—a metaphysical gesture designed to conceal the stubborn language of undeniable facts and figures. Dimitroff it was, also, who let the cat out of the bag with respect to the Comintern's sudden espousal of the cause of "bourgeois democracy." "What of it?" he said. "It is a purely strategic retreat to the followed when the time is ripe by a strong swing back to the left." What is the Constitution between friends, and what are principle to Communists? As Comrade Abramowitch points out in his article in this issue, Communists are not concerned with principles—only with power.

The practical significance of the Comintern's conversion to "bourgeois democracy," as we have pointed out repeatedly, is limited, however, to those countries of immediate strategic importance to the Stalin dictatorship.

"In view of what the Comintern spokesmen have now said," cables Ralph W. Barnes from Moscow, "a new policy of alliance with sections of the bourgeoisie would appear to have a real meaning only in the case of a Communist Party such as that of France, which in time of war might be in a position to render real aid to the Soviet." The same principle would apply to Czechoslovakia, which, like France, has a military alliance with Russia, and to Poland, where the Stalin dictatorship is interested in paralyzing the ruling elements inclined to alliance with Hitler, who has never concealed his ambition for a robber campaign against Russia and her dismemberment.

To straighten out the "party line" on the question of support of democracy, the Comintern found it necessary for the time being to apply the same strategy to other countries as well, but in all other cases support is to be accorded only to "the remnants of bourgeois democracy." It will not do to admit that democracy in other free countries where the Communists have done their best to destroy it, as they did in Germany, Italy, Hungary and elsewhere, is anything but a "remnant." This would be too much of a swing to the "right" and might make more difficult the subsequent swing to the "left" promised by Dimitroff. Moreover, the Comintern has by no means given up its aim of establishing Stalin dictatorships wherever possible. As Mr. Barnes cables, "political unity" between the Communists and the Socialists is to be sought only under an agreement recognizing "the necessity of revolutionary overthrow of bourgeois domination and establishment of dictatorship, proletarian in form, for the Soviets."

Only the naive and Communists, who in their moral and intellectual degeneration have no more respect for the intellectual integrity of others than they have for their own, can believe that the new policy will be any more successful than the previous one of direct assistance to fascism, such as the Communists rendered to Hitler in Germany, for example. In Germany the Communists entered into open alliance with the Hitlerites on both the economic and political fields with the calculation in mind that by helping to destroy the republic and the Socialist and labor movement they were clearing the road for Communism. All they succeeded in accomplishing was to clear the road for Hitler. Under the new policy, the Comintern undertakes to stifle democracy by hugging it to its treacherous breast. Then, as Dimitroff says, will come the swing to the "left."

The new policy of the Comintern serves to emphasize the ill-concealed contempt which Communists seeking dictatorship over the working class have always had for the workers and the masses in general. Such has always been the attitude of "professional revolutionists" who believed themselves called upon by history to force salvation upon humanity and thereby served only the cause of reaction.

Whatever success the new policy of the Comintern may have in the ranks of the Lumpen-Proletariat, in parlor-Bolshevik drawing rooms and among innocents in general, the organized workers everywhere struggling for emancipation will give it the treatment it deserves.

The United Front in England

DOES any one in his senses believe, for example, that the latest united front proposal to the British workers made at the Comintern congress by Harry Pollitt, British Communist leader, will even be dignified by a reply from the British Labor Party or the British trade unions? Only Herbert Zam in the Socialist Call and a few others like him may be so naive as to expect any "rapid acceleration" of the united front" (to use Zam's characterization) from Pollitt's proposal. It was the same Pollitt, who at the Comintern congress urged that negotiations be undertaken at once between the Comintern and Labor and Socialist International, who only three months ago declared in an article in the "Communist International," the Comintern's official organ, that "no middle policy is possible between the Second and Third Internationals" and that "all attempts to find any middle ground can easily end not in a forward movement to revolution, but in a move

Litvinoff Votes to Enslave Ethiopian People

(Continued from Page One)

colleagues of the capitalist and imperialist countries. As the correspondent of the New York Times reported, in agreement with the reports of correspondents of the world's other prominent newspapers and news agencies, Ethiopia's representative protested against the proposal that the question should be decided on the basis of the secret treaty of 1906. He argued that Ethiopia had taken no part in the making of that treaty. He was insistent on this point. The objections of the Ethiopians assumed dramatic form. Litvinoff, as president of the council, was persuaded to ask the representative of Ethiopia to read the resolution on the proposal. Litvinoff then requested the Ethiopian representative to approve the resolution. The latter refused, saying "You are offering us the alternative between assassination and suicide," and adding that Ethiopia preferred to be assassinated, for in that case it would at least be able to shout for help.

Treaty of 1906

The proposal to settle the Ethiopian question on the basis of the treaty of 1906 is even more cruel than Mussolini's war plan against Ethiopia. The treaty of 1906 provides that Ethiopia be dismembered into three parts and divided between England, France and Italy. There would be no hope for Ethiopia if the provisions of the treaty were to go into effect. Against Italy alone Ethiopia might still be able to defend herself, but not against the combined forces of the three powers. Resistance in such case would be quite hopeless. For this reason Ethiopia's representative before the League Council fought so stubbornly against the proposal.

The remarkable thing, however, is that Litvinoff helped pass the dismemberment resolution. He even tried to persuade the Ethiopians to give it their approval. Litvinoff was not satisfied with the conspiracy against Ethiopia. He actually tried to persuade her to commit suicide.

Litvinoff voted for all three resolutions dealing with the Ethiopian question.

Sharing the Spoils

The first resolution was pure hypocrisy. It provided that the arbitration committee appointed several months ago should continue its labors. Every member of the League Council voting for the resolution knew that it was quite without significance, that the arbitration committee would do nothing, and that any decision it would make would have no effect upon the situation because the immediate question to be arbitrated had no relation to the problem as it now presents itself.

The second resolution provided that the League Council assemble again early in September to discuss once more the possibility of an agreement between Italy and Ethiopia. The object of the resolution was to deceive Ethiopia. It is not impossible that before the next meeting of the League Council is held Italy's war on Ethiopia will be under way.

Youth to Boycott Olympics If Held in Nazi Germany

The National Council of the American Youth Congress has made public a resolution, sponsored by the Joint-Actions Committee of the Anti-Olympic League, and unanimously adopted by it, calling for a nation-wide campaign to boycott the 1936 Olympic Games if held in Nazi Germany.

The American Youth Congress is an organization claiming to represent 1,350,000 youth throughout the country and was set up a year ago in New York City, and which at its second Congress, held in Detroit, July 4-7, voted to refer the matter of carrying out a boycott of the Olympics to the National Council.

In addition to adopting the resolution the Council also voted to send a delegation to visit the national and district offices of the Amateur Athletic Union, and set up a Sports Committee which will arrange to run immediate conferences with the end of running counter-Olympics throughout the country, and to disseminate anti-Nazi information through the medium of its members and affiliates throughout the nation.

backwards to reformism.

Poor Pollitt, on arriving in Moscow he discovered that the "party line" has been changed by Stalin with respect to this and other questions and that from now on attempts must be made to bring about what Pollitt and all other Communists had considered quite out of the question. Pollitt may console himself, however, with the fact that the principle remains unchanged, that there can be no compromise between Socialism, struggling for the emancipation of humanity, and Communism, fighting only for power, Stalin's change of strategy to the contrary notwithstanding.

As for Pollitt's call to the British workers in his article in the "Communist International" to choose between the Labor Party and the Communist Party, between a "rev-

The third resolution is the most dangerous. This concerns the treaty of 1906, against which the Ethiopian representatives fought so bitterly. The purpose of the resolution is not to permit Italy herself

highest respect; the Nazi flag is not insulted; German goods are imported and sold to the Russian people. There are no protests, no demonstrations either on the part of the Soviet Government, or the

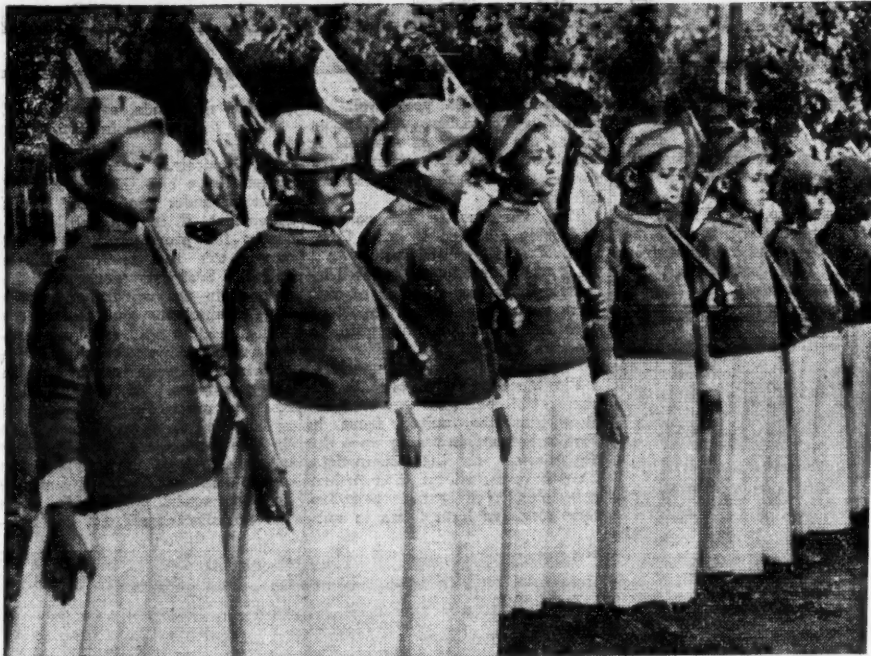
Soviet Russia has military alliances with France and Czechoslovakia, but because Hitler is just too nice to start a war without an excuse! Anyone familiar with the facts

of world history knows that no country desiring to make war ever finds difficulty in citing excuses. In the event of need excuses are invented or faked, as Bismarck did before the Franco-Prussian War. If Hitler were ready to begin a war on Russia at once he would not postpone action for a single moment because of lack of an excuse. His best excuse would be that he is seeking to save the world from bolshevism, the very same argument he is using in his pogroms on the Jews and in the suppression of all freedom and justice in Germany.

No, our Communist writer's explanation of why Soviet Russia is so polite and friendly to Hitler Germany will not stand criticism. The reason for Soviet Russia's conduct with respect to Germany is to be sought in the motives that actuate her friendly relations with all fascist and barbarian countries. Soviet Russia has exchanged kisses with Mussolini although he is drenched with the blood of Socialists and Communists. Moscow has acted likewise in its relations with other dictators. In all these cases there was no excuse that Soviet Russia feared the dictators might make war upon her.

The real explanation is simple: business. The same reason that moves capitalist countries to be tolerant to the Hitlers and the Mussolinis moves also the Soviet Government. The same god of profit and money who dictates the political policies of the capitalist countries dictates also the political policies of the "workers' fatherland."

ETHIOPIAN GIRLS READY FOR BATTLE



Not to be outdone by Mussolini, who has mobilized baby boys in his blackshirt legions, the Ethiopian army is drilling girls for the coming battle for "civilization."

to devour Ethiopia. England and France forced adoption of the resolution in order that they might participate in the dismemberment of Ethiopia in the event of failure to keep Italy from making war on the little country.

And Litvinoff voted for all three resolutions!

How hypocritical are the demonstrations of the Communists and the noise they raise against imperialism and war when we view the conduct of their representative and diplomat-in-chief in the League of Nations!

We have often pointed out the contradiction in the conduct of the Communists in the United States and their conduct in Russia with respect to the Nazis. In America the Communists stage noisy demonstrations before German consulates; they tear down the Nazi flags from German ships in New York harbor; they demand that the United States break off diplomatic relations with the Hitler government and agitate for a boycott on German goods.

But in Soviet Russia the German consulates are treated with the

Russian masses. To our question as to why the Communists in Soviet Russia are so friendly and so polite to Hitler while in the United States they stage demonstrations against him, a Communist writer has finally deigned to make reply. He said that if the Soviet Government were to permit demonstrations against the Nazis, Germany would declare war on Russia.

"The Nazis dream only of an opportunity to unleash a war—even on the slightest excuse that would justify it in the eyes of the German masses," he said. ernment fawns upon Hitler because it is afraid.

We will not dwell here upon whether this is a fitting excuse for a revolutionist, a preacher of revolution and barricades. What does interest us is the political "conception" of this Communist teacher.

Kissing Hitler and Mussolini

The only thing that keeps Hitler from making war on Soviet Russia is that he has no excuse; this is the argument of our Communist savant. The reason, we are given to understand, is not that Hitler is not yet prepared for war or that



A Revolution of the Minds

By Victor L. Berger

Last week the whole Socialist movement commemorated the sixth anniversary of the death of Victor L. Berger. The following article, in Berger's characteristic vigorous style, is one of the best of its kind in Socialist journalistic annals.

WE are revolutionists.

We are revolutionary not in the vulgar meaning of the word, which is entirely wrong, but in the sense illustrated by history, the only logical sense. For it is foolish to expect any result from riots and dynamite, from murderous attacks and conspiracies, in a country where we have the ballot, as long as the ballot has not been given a full and fair trial.

We want to convince the majority of the people. As long as we are in the minority, we of course have no right to force our opinion upon an unwilling majority.

Besides, as modern men and true democrats, we have a somewhat less romantic and boyish idea of the development of human beings and social systems. And we know that one can kill tyrants and scare individuals with dynamite and bullets, but one cannot develop a system in that way.

Therefore, no true Social Dem-

ocrat ever dreams of a sudden change of society. Such fanatic dreamers nowhere find more determined opponents than in the ranks of the Social Democrats.

We know perfectly well that force serves only those who have it, that a sudden overthrow will breed dictators, that it can promote only subjection, never liberty.

The Social Democrats do not expect success from a so-called revolution—that is, a smaller or bigger riot—but from a real revolution, from the revolutionizing of minds, the only true revolution there is.

The Socialist republic will come by evolution. It cannot come any other way. We may see, however, the most fearful revolutions (and many of them) as a part of that great evolution.

Bloody revolutions will not hasten—they may even retard—the coming of the Socialist republic. And whether such eruptions are to take place at all, will depend as much upon the policy of the capitalist class as upon the leadership of the proletariat.

We are Social Democrats because we have recognized that the economic development of the present capitalist system, with its concentration of wealth, its trusts, etc., leads toward Socialistic production. Socialism is the next phase of

civilization, if civilization is to survive.

Revolutions—and special evolutions—are brought about in human affairs not so much by the dissemination of a multitude of ideas, as by the concentration of a multitude of minds upon a single idea.

And this idea must be clear enough and comprehensive enough and of sufficient importance to stir the very soul of the masses.

Mere theoretical or dogmatic phrases—no matter how "clear-cut"—are not capable of producing the universal enthusiasm required to institute any fundamental innovations.

Besides, doctrinarism and dogmatism lead to splits and to the formation of political sects. But when people are constantly absorbed in doing things, and in preparing for still greater things, the petty jealousies and small causes for strife and dissension disappear.

We must not expect that the Socialist era will come all at one stroke. Neither capitalism nor feudalism arose "at a certain date," nor can the Socialist form of society have its beginning on any fixed date.

Besides, although capitalistic society has already passed its zenith, yet even at the present day feudalism holds a very important place in modern society. This is the case not only in Germany, in spite of its high economic develop-

ment, but also in England, the "classic land" of capitalism. Just so with any revolution.

Capitalism will not vanish in one day, or in one decade. Even after the triumph of the working class the commonwealth cannot take upon itself all kinds of production.

Many industries today are not concentrated, and therefore are not ripe for collective production. Some will become so in time, others perhaps will not. The writer is no prophet and will not attempt to predict details.

The capitalists fear Socialism. They point to poor Russia—which is undergoing the pangs of rejuvenation—where a new society is to be born out of chaos and pain—as an example of Socialism. This is not the time nor the place to explain Bolshevism—but there can be no doubt that Bolshevism is the natural result of czarism and of the methods the czars used against the Socialists.

Socialists know that capitalism cannot and will not last forever, any more than the feudal system lasted forever. Socialists desire to create a new and higher civilization which is to succeed capitalist civilization—retain its advantages and overcome its evils.

having Norman Thomas declare, in another:

"Communists begin by overtures of good-will in working with the labor movement and then announce publicly in Moscow their intention to run a strike of the shipping industry outside the regular labor movement. Communists announce a new affection even for bourgeois democracy and proclaim their willingness for a united front of extraordinary width; then they are obliged to say that, of course, they do believe that the only thing that will save mankind is the dictatorship of the proletariat, which to them does not mean a workers' democracy but a dictatorship of their own organized party."

"All proposals for anything else are temporary and exceedingly precarious trial marriages. How in the world can this sort of program be worked out?"

Will the Socialist Call please answer?

The United Front in Czechoslovakia

THE Socialist Call's foreign expert did not relish being called to account in this column for his misleading report on the "rapid acceleration" of the united front in Czechoslovakia. By stretching and misconstruing the remarks of Dr. Czech, leader of the German Social Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia, Zam tried to give his readers the impression that both Dr. Czech and his party were advancing rapidly toward a united front with the Communists. To make his point, Zam found it necessary to ignore the party's official reply to the most recent united front proposal of the Communists as given at the party's conference at which Dr. Czech made the address misrepresented by Zam.

To correct Zam's misinformation we printed in this column a lengthy

abstract of the party's reply to the Communists. In the Call of August 10, Zam seeks to escape his consequent embarrassment by insisting that he quoted Dr. Czech correctly. We never said he did not. We merely implied that he drew a wrong conclusion from the quotations—and failed to present the true facts as given in the party's official reply. In fairness to its readers the Call should reprint the reply since Zam insists on keeping it from the readers of his column.

And the Call should be more careful in the future in what it permits Zam to print on "the progress of united actions between Socialists and Communists"—or on any other subject, for that matter.

And why not try to achieve some consistency of position and principle? Why permit Zam to continue whooping it up for the united front in one column while

Editor's Corner

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

by James Oneal

Problems of Socialist Education

ONE problem in Socialist agitation is how to make it most effective and reach the largest number of voters. Three methods are followed, public meetings, marches and demonstrations, and distribution of literature. All are necessary, but the question is, Which is the most effective?

Public meetings in halls and the open-air are helpful, but how much there is no means of knowing. They, of course, will always continue and, supplemented by publicity in the press, we reach many people whom we would otherwise not reach.

What of marches and demonstrations in the streets with banners held aloft bearing slogans? These are also necessary, but their value as education is questionable. Moreover, there is a tendency to engage in such marches too often so that they become commonplace and do not attract the interest and attention they should if held less frequently.

There are certain occasions when they are absolutely essential, as on May Day and Labor Day when tens of thousands of members of working class organizations participate in such marches. There are also special occasions when some dramatic crisis or important grievance concerns the workers which makes parades and street demonstrations important.

Marches arranged for minor issues, or for an important issue like relief for the unemployed, if held too often, are likely to be regarded by observers in the street and the press as routine performances of agitators who like to be seen in the streets. Moreover, the Communists march so often that the impression left upon observers by too frequent parades by Socialists is that we in some way are related to them. This should be avoided.

The inscriptions on banners, while often striking, are necessarily too short to convey the philosophy back of them. At best they awaken a momentary interest and then are forgotten. They have no permanent educational value. The same may be said of frequent marches.

Importance of Literature

FROM the point of view of education of the masses, distribution of literature is much more important. There is nothing dramatic about it and no thrills, as in the case of marches. It is plodding routine—but it gets results. This is not theory. History and experience confirm it, and yet it is too much neglected and probably completely neglected by many sub-divisions of the party.

First, as to history and experience. There is no instance of a victory or partial victory of the Socialist Party in any city without extensive distribution of literature. This is true of Milwaukee, Reading and Bridgeport. It is true of a hundred or more cities before the World War when the Socialist Party was partly or wholly successful in local elections.

Other cities that relied upon public meetings and marches and neglected systematic distribution of literature were never successful. Even in New York City in 1917 when we were successful in electing delegations to the Legislature and to the Board of Aldermen there was extensive distribution of literature throughout the city. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets were placed in homes week after week.

Now if we can turn much of the energy that is put into street marches into the less dramatic work of placing literature into the homes of the masses week after week, we are likely to get better results. A person may read a hundred placards we carry in the streets and never know what we are after. That same person reading a different leaflet for ten successive weeks explaining our philosophy and program will come to understand who we are and what we represent. Multiply that person by the tens of thousands that we can reach with leaflets for ten or twenty weeks before an election and we have some idea of how much more effective this work is.

The frequent and dramatic street demonstrations had their origin in the I.W.W. thirty years ago. The I.W.W. was always in the headlines. There were occasions when they were fully justified and others when they were not. Demonstrations became a habit but they never built a movement.

The Communists were next. They also made the headlines, made them often and still make them. It is probable that some of us think that we should do the same and not let the Communists have the spotlight, but if we are Socialists we will not care for the spotlight; we will be interested in the most effective way of educating the masses. Let us quietly reach them in their homes by organizing trained distribution squads. Start a rivalry between branches for the best record in this work. Let us inform, not amuse, educate, not thrill, the hundreds of thousands who are susceptible to Socialist education.

Retail Clerks' Union Strife Is Ended by Agreement And Now Matthews Seeks A Democratic Nomination

THE elimination of strife among the unionized men's retail clothing salesmen in New York City and vicinity has been accomplished and the foundation laid for the establishment of one strong union under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor.

An agreement has been entered into between representatives of Local 1006, Retail Clerks' International Protective Association, affiliated with the A. F. of L., and the Men's Retail Clothing Salesmen's Union of Greater New York, looking to the amalgamation of both organizations.

The unions were brought together through the efforts of Ben Golden, of the Regional Labor Board; Charles Solomon, and Morris C. Feinstein of the United Hebrew Trades; Mr. B. Mogulsky, president of the World Clothing Exchange, in front of whose store the rival unions had staged counter-demonstrations, sat in the deliberations and contributed to their success.

Hyman Nemser, manager of the Independent union, stated that he would resign in the interests of peace and harmony and the establishment of one strong local. It was further agreed that pending a general election of officers of the new local to take place not later than the last week in September, the affairs of the fused locals are to be conducted by a committee of six, under the impartial chairmanship of Golden. The committee members are chosen as follows: three from each local by secret ballot.

The general election in September will be conducted under the supervision of a committee of four representing the clerks international, the U. H. T., the A. F. of L. and the Central Trades and Labor Council.

Nemser pioneered in the work of organizing the retail clothing salesmen in New York City and vicinity. He stated that if he could contribute to the bringing about of amicable relations in the trade by stepping out, he was ready to do so. He offered his fullest cooperation in the work of extending the organization of retail clerks.

Hartmann Plans Intensive Tour of Pennsylvania

SPECIAL TO THE NEW LEADER
PITTSBURGH.—Dr. George W. Hartmann of Pennsylvania State College, Socialist candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court, is available for a series of dates.

Dr. Hartmann, a member of the Teachers' Union, is an excellent speaker. He holds the degree of Ph.D. from Columbia University, and after spending many years in Germany, became Professor of Educational Psychology at State College. He is known throughout the educational world as a leader in his field, is the author of many specialized studies, a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Psychologie.

This would be an excellent way to start off your 1935 campaign! Comrade Hartmann is willing to speak at either an indoor or outdoor meeting, so that if you cannot secure a hall, arrange a good street meeting. As our candidate for Congress last year in his district, he campaigned vigorously so that soap-boxing is no new experience to him. Terms to locals are reasonable.

The state office feels confident that after a meeting with Comrade Hartmann it will not be hard to arrange more meetings and get a good crowd to attend.

Hartmann may not be in position to campaign later in the year. Write the state office, 122 9th Street, Pittsburgh.

Special to The New Leader

ERIC LABOR DAY PICNIC
ERIE.—The Socialist Party of Erie will join with the Erie Central Labor Union in celebrating Labor Day at a picnic on Monday, Sept. 2.

HARTMANN IN ALLENTOWN
ALLENTOWN.—Dr. George W. Hartmann, Socialist candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court, will speak here on Wednesday, Aug. 21.

VAN ESSEN AND PAULI AT JEANETTE
JEANETTE.—Dr. W. J. Van Essen of Pittsburgh and Karl E. Pauli, organizer, Socialist Party of Pittsburgh, will speak at the annual picnic of Local Westmoreland County Sunday, Aug. 18. The picnic, at Oakford Park, Jeanette, will open the county campaign and offer an opportunity to Socialist sympathizers to meet the candidates for county and various municipal offices.

FULL TICKET IN PITTSBURGH
PITTSBURGH.—A full county and city ticket has been filed. The campaign committee is completing plans for an intensive political campaign. The opening political rally will be held on Wednesday, Sept. 11, with Dr. George W. Hartmann of State College, Socialist candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court speaking.

PAULI AVAILABLE FOR DATES
PITTSBURGH.—Karl E. Pauli, organizer of the Socialist Party of Pittsburgh, is available for speaking dates in Pennsylvania. Pauli, who previously was state organizer of Ohio, was active in

the organization of the Union Growers' Union, the first agricultural local chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

Branches desiring his services will please communicate with the State Office, 122-9th St., Pittsburgh.

Special Notice!

The State Office calls attention of all Socialist voters of Pittsburgh to the fact, that the bill prohibiting the raiding of party tickets does not apply to the judiciary. To prevent old party candidates from getting on the Socialist ticket, Socialists must register and vote for the Socialist candidates in the primary election.

The Socialist candidates for state-wide offices to be nominated in the primary election Sept. 17 are: George W. Hartmann of State College, Judge of the Supreme Court, and William Adams of Pittsburgh, Judge of the Superior Court.

New Branches

PITTSBURGH.—The State Secretary announces the following new branches have been organized: Lock Haven Branch, Clinton City; Glenrich Branch, Clearfield City; John W. Slayton Branch, Allegheny County; Fifth Ward Branch, Allegheny County; Millvale Br., Allegheny County.

Michigan

DETROIT—The Wayne County local has chartered a boat for a moonlight ride to Put-In-Bay on Monday, Aug. 19, at 8:30 p.m. Boat leaves foot of First St. Tickets available from all party members and at the ticket office at the dock. Three gangway prizes.

THOMAS OPENS COOPER CAMPAIGN IN OLEAN

OLEAN.—Scheduled speakers at the municipal campaign rally and banquet last Wednesday evening included Norman Thomas and Robert A. Hoffman and Ernest D. Baumann of Buffalo in addition to John G. Cooper, candidate for Mayor.

In the 1933 municipal campaign Comrade Cooper polled 1,492 votes, within 300 of the Republican candidate.

Candidates for Alderman this year are as follows: 1st Ward, Oscar Carlson; 8th Ward, James Harding; 9th Ward, James Kellets; 10th Ward, Paul G. Redstone; 11th Ward, Leo M. Brushingham.

Candidates on the Cattaraugus County ticket are Guy G. Loomis for Assembly and Alda O. Loomis for County Treasurer. County Supervisor candidates in the city of Olean are Rube Hall, Frank P. Loeffler, Nelson Brant, and John Croyle from the 2nd, 8th, 10th and 11th Ward, respectively.

Esther Friedman at Camp Eden

Esther Friedman of the New York Socialist Women's Committee will deliver a series of lectures at Camp Eden, the Socialist summer camp on the Hudson, beginning next Monday.

The lectures will be given every day for a week.

Protest WPA WAGES

ROCHESTER, N. Y. — Relief workers here filed protest against WPA wage scales as an attack on the American standard of living. In a letter to Robert A. Hoffman, district director; Fred Struble, secretary of the Relief Workers' Organization, declared the establishment of a \$35 monthly wage for unskilled workers is little better than making the government "full-fledged sweatshop employer."

A two-thirds vote to expel and the vote was 47 for expulsion and 37 against, less than the required two-thirds. By a majority vote Kruger was suspended and the case for expulsion will be appealed to the State Committee. The "militant" bloc of delegates voted against the expulsion of Kruger.

Communist Issue Before Local Central Committee

THE story below is a factual account of the actions of the City Central Committee of Local New York last week. The future growth and harmony of the party warrant some comment. Expulsion from the party of Shapiro, Bertman, Atkins and Matthews was a matter of routine. No issue was drawn as they were already out of the party, three of them going to Communist organizations and one to the Democratic Party.

However, there is no denial that the four were Communists while also members of the Socialist Party. This situation has been the issue in the New York organization. The fact that three joined Communist organizations is evidence that the issue is a real one.

The Kruger case, therefore, was the only one that brought a clear test. It wasn't necessary for him to also join a Communist organization to reveal his Communism. He advocated his Communist ideas in writing. He asserted his right to advocate these ideas in the party. When this real test came the "militant" bloc voted against expelling Kruger. This bloc is recorded in favor of keeping such members and permitting them to agitate Communism in the party.

The section in the peace agreement declares that any party members who "practice or advocate" violence, insurrection, dictatorship, or abandonment of democracy cannot remain members. They cannot ADVOCATE these views in the party.

The vote of the "militant" bloc in the Kruger case would have justified the bloc in voting for retaining Shapiro, Bertman, Matthews, and Atkins if these four had not left the party. When delegates vote that any members may ADVOCATE Communism in the party and when the vote is taken on a member who admits his advocacy of Communist views, such action cannot be reconciled with the peace agreement.

Meeting of the City Central Committee

FOR the first time since the peace agreement was signed by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and the New York State Committee, the City Central Committee of Local New York met last week, Wednesday, Aug. 7, and it served as a test of the effectiveness of that agreement. By decision of the previous meeting, reports of the Grievance Committee, which had no chance to report for more than a year, were taken up.

The committee reported dropping several charges which were the outcome of the factional struggle and then recommended the expulsion of Bessie Shapiro, Julius Bertman, David Atkins, and J. B. Matthews because they had cooperated with Communists in united fronts, that they believed Communism, and advocated armed insurrection and force as a necessary method of bringing about Socialism.

During the discussion it was revealed that Shapiro, Bertman, and Atkins had joined either the Communist Party or the Trotsky Communist Party and that J. B. Matthews is seeking the Democratic nomination for the Assembly in Warren County, N. J. They were of course expelled.

The Grievance Committee then recommended the expulsion of Abe Kruger as a Communist. He had written a letter to a comrade in Jamestown, N. Y., saying: "In the course of my study and discussion I have gradually come to believe in most of the principles commonly known as Communism, although I disagree with the Communist Party on several questions of policy and tactics." Kruger admitted his authorship of the letter before the Grievance Committee and also in a statement which he read before the City Central Committee. In this statement he added that while he would not advocate armed insurrection in public meetings he would reserve the right "under party democracy" to advocate his ideas.

In the course of the discussion the delegates were reminded of the fact that these views were in direct conflict with the section of the peace agreement defining Communist views that are irreconcilable with membership in the Socialist Party. Point 1 provides: "The adherence to the resolution of the N.E.C. providing the ineligibility of advocates of Communism and violence in the party. This shall be interpreted as applying to persons who practice or advocate (1) violent insurrection; (2) dictatorship or abandonment of democracy either as a fact within the party or as an ideal method of achieving Socialism."

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Full Speed Ahead is the Word for N.Y. Socialists

"FULL steam ahead!" is the word in Socialist Party circles in New York.

The long and paralyzing internal quarrel is over; the peace-pact between the National Executive Committee and the State Committee has been signed; new officers have been put in charge of party work in the Metropolitan area; a full ticket has been filed for the September primaries, and the decks are cleared for aggressive, positive and constructive action.

Julius Gerber, who resigned as Executive Secretary of Local New York in the midst of the recent controversies in order that he might not stand in the way of harmony, has been reelected by the City Executive Committee, and he has taken up his duties with characteristic vigor and enthusiasm.

His first job was to file the nomination papers for the local ticket, after the petitions had been prepared and the signatures gathered under the supervision of August Claessens, who took over that job in addition to his work on the party's Labor Committee.

"Now that the peace-pact is in effect," said Comrade Gerber, "there is no excuse for any party member to hold back. There is much work to be done, and every party member is expected on the firing line. There are no distinctions among party members—no matter what position they held during the months just past they all belong together."

"After the ticket is placed on the ballot, the political work of the party includes getting out a good primary vote, getting out a large enrollment during registration week, and conducting a whirlwind campaign and winning a big vote."

"But there is much other work to be done. There is trade union work, standing shoulder to shoulder with our brothers and sisters of the labor movement in the shops, in the unions and on the picket line. There is anti-fascist and anti-war work to be done. There is sentiment to be worked up for the Socialist point of view in all the public questions before the masses."

"There are the slave-wages of the WPA to be fought; there is the tax bill that may yet impose unbearable taxes upon the workers; there are many city problems clamoring for solution."

"The Socialist Party has many duties just ahead. It cannot afford to neglect its duty to the masses. Every comrade must be ready for his job in the battle. Let no one stand in the way of the successful carrying on of the party's work!"

New York State

Port Jervis.—The Socialist Party has filed the following city ticket: for Mayor, Melvin Platt; for Aldermen, George Alexander Milway; for Aldermen from the six wards respectively, Adolph Galtzinger, Eric W. Brown, William Burrows, Robert Denham, George Melnick and John Lemons.

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THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 16, L.G.W.U., Office, 66 West 5th St., Phone, WIshington 7-0031. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmund Perlmutter, Mgr.; Louis Stolberg, Asst. Mgr.; Maurice Jacobs, Sec'y to Exec. Board; Nathan Superstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24, 100 West 18th St., New York City. Phone, WIshington 7-0031. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 o'clock. Manager, N. Specter; Secretary, Treas. Alex Ross; Organizers, L. Goldberger, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Rodos.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11614, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St., Phone, ALgonquin 4-7052. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:30 in the office. Ed Gottman, Secretary-Treasurer.

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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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A DISGUSTING PERFORMANCE

NOTHING more demagogic has been staged by a government representative in years than the speech of General Johnson last week in condemning the WPA strike. It was designed to pin Communism on the strikers, well knowing the abysmal ignorance regarding that movement that generally prevails. He could say that Communist unions are not "openly" leading the strike and add, "I do not charge any Communism in the building trades." With this was coupled the statement that some union leaders "have allowed themselves to be euchered and outgeneraled into raking Communist chestnuts out of this fire." All this was capped with the statement that if "A. F. of L. Unions are made to appear as the spearhead in a communistic strike, public support will depart from unionism."

These statements are about as precise as the speeches of Hitler, and it is because they are vague that they are demagogic, irresponsible and dangerous. It is obvious that if Johnson had evidence of Communist influence he would have presented it. Lacking it, he resorted to cowardly innuendo, hints, implications and surmises. It was the most disgusting performance ever staged over the radio and in the press. By employing the same methods, a speaker could make an audience suspect Johnson of being a yegg without directly saying so.

NEW DEAL CONTRADICTIONS

BEHIND every move, at Washington dealing with the depression is the idea of not disturbing the holy institution of capitalistic property. Human beings outside the range of this view are dealt with as animals to be kept alive until the owners can use them in industry.

The latest move is the WPA program for reducing wages in the building trades one-half and extending the hours of labor. This is intended to shift workers from relief rolls to payrolls of the government. Only a little over a hundred thousand have thus far been shifted from idle relief to employment relief. In the Middle West some states have cut off relief to force those receiving it to work in the harvest fields.

Of the WPA program another situation is developing. There are those who are jobless but who have some resources not yet exhausted. Not until they become bankrupt will they be eligible for idle relief, but they also can get no WPA jobs as these jobs go to those receiving relief. The job preference of the idle is thus coming to be called the "aristocracy of the idle." Later the jobless man whose resources are finally exhausted will have the glorious privilege of being a member of this "aristocracy."

Meantime, the WPA program will exert a fearful downward pressure on wages throughout the country, thus reducing purchasing power and increasing the number of the idle. These contradictions and absurdities are the direct outcome of policies that seek the preservation of production for the profit gains of the capitalist class. Misery without end is the price of all this unless the masses have the intelligence to end the capitalist system out of which this torture and uncertainty issue.

ALCATRAZ HORRORS

CAPITALISM is at its worst in dealing with its human misfits, those creatures of society who are unable to adjust themselves to an anti-social order. Some criminologists hold that in many instances the criminal is a man who would fit into one social order but not into another one. For example, in primitive society a member of a tribe who tried to monopolize some form of useful wealth would be a criminal; today such a person receives homage as a respectable man. In the childhood of the race a person with the wealth-itch of Rockefeller would be exiled from the tribe.

Prison regime in this country was once a den of revolting horrors and there are some survivors today. A prisoner recently released from Alcatraz Island Federal Prison revealed a subtle form of endless punishment of prisoners that is unspeakably cruel and certainly unnecessary. Prisoners are not permitted any radios and newspapers and not a word is permitted to convicts in line, at table, at work and in their cells. Whispering is severely punished. Only from 1 to 3:30 on Saturdays are convicts permitted to talk.

This is simply hideous brutality. Is the Federal Government so weak that it must impose this endless torture on its prisoners? This is not reclaiming these unfortunates. It means transforming them into wild unsocial creatures seeking revenge on the society that can so treat them.

IN THE NAME OF CIVILIZATION



But while the Powers are wondering what to do about Ethiopia, they might look behind them.

Behind the Scenes in Washington



By Benjamin Meiman
Our Washington Correspondent

THE strong desire of the Congressmen to adjourn and go home made them pass the President's tax bill which has been labeled by its enemies as a "soak-the-rich" or a "share-the-wealth" makeshift. It was passed in the House by 282 to 96. It was then sent to the Senate. There it was put on the operating table in the Finance Committee. The operation was successful, but the patient may die. Surely President Roosevelt will not recognize his poor child.

Saturday the tax-the-rich bill became the "soak-everybody" bill when the Senate Finance Committee completed a new revenue measure to raise \$440,000,000 annually by cutting deeply into incomes in the lower brackets. The House bill was unrecognizable when the Senate finished its face-lifting operations.

Primarily the work of Wisconsin's Progressive Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., the bill starts surtax rates at 4 per cent on salaries of \$3,000 to \$4,000, lowering exemptions to \$800 for single and 2,000 for married people, and yet graduates levies rapidly upward to a 70 per cent tax on incomes of \$500,000 up to a 75 per cent tax on everything over \$5,000,000, in addition to the 4 per cent rate.

The inheritance taxes of the House were eliminated completely. Capital stock taxes were sharply increased and excess profits taxes adjusted to yield the same as the House levy. While Democrat and Republican conservatives generally hailed the new bill as better, opposition is strong and in fighting mood, headed by Senators Borah and Norris, both supposed to be long to the so-called Senate Progressive Group.

"I do not see the justice or the wisdom, economically speaking," Senator Borah said, "of lowering the exemptions."

"Neither do I think we ought to increase the rates on small incomes. Families with small incomes are now paying more than their proportion of taxes and at the same time they are facing an increase in prices for food, clothing, fuel and rent."

"To increase taxes in this region and among these taxpayers is to accentuate their burden which is already heavy enough and necessarily to lower their standard of living."

The lion's roar of protest from Senator Borah, assurances of House leaders that taxes on lower incomes will never be approved by that body, and strong influences from the White House, caused the Senate Finance Committee to turn a complete about-face on Monday afternoon. About midnight they reported to the Senate a tax bill somewhat nearer the one adopted by the House, but minus the inheritance levies, starting at 5% on the first taxable \$10,000 and ranging to 75 per cent on more than \$10,000,000.

In lieu of this, the committee earlier decided to lift the estate tax rate from a maximum of 60 per cent to 70 per cent on estates of over \$50,000,000, with exemptions lowered from \$50,000 to \$40,000. The committee estimates that the new estate tax, combined with a gift tax approximating three-fourths of the estate tax, would yield \$100,000,000 in revenue.

The defeat of the LaFollette amendment undoubtedly avoided a prolonged floor battle and made an early adjournment possible.

At Last a Social Security Law
ALL other activities on the welfare horizon were eclipsed last week by the passage of the Social Security bill by both Senate and House. The signature of the President is all that is necessary before the bill becomes law.

In eliminating the controversial private pension amendment from the final form of the measure, legislative hammers and nails have finished shaping the law, which is designed to provide old age pensions, unemployment insurance, maternity and child aid, pensions to the indigent blind and an enlarged public health service for a vast part of the nation's population.

Inasmuch as the bill depends upon Federal-State cooperation, benefits will not be made available to citizens until State laws are either revised or constructed to conform with Federal requirements. Almost all State legislatures are out of session by this time. It is believed by officials that the greater part of them will call special sessions in the near future so that laws may be drafted which will bring their residents greater security against economic hazards.

How will the average citizen benefit under the security act? The measure, with a few significant compromises and many minor changes, now provides for:

Old-Age Assistance.—The Federal Government will aid the States in providing old-age pensions to men and women over 65 years of age who are dependent upon the public for support. The expenditures of the States will be matched, with the limitation that the Federal grant will not exceed \$15 per person per month.

Although the Federal aid is so limited, there is nothing in the act which limits the pension to \$30 a month. That is to say, the State may, if it elects to do so, give more than \$15 per person per month as its share.

Administration of the pension grants is also left to the States.

Security for Wage Earner.—Designed by its sponsors to provide a more adequate measure of old-age security for those workers now employed, the act further provides for the establishment of a system of contributory old-age annuities for substantially all urban workers other than those who are employed in private, agricultural, domestic or governmental service. To build up reserves for these pensions,

workers earning up to \$3,000 a year would be taxed 3 per cent, starting at 1 per cent in 1937 and reaching 3 per cent in 1949. A similar tax would be placed on employers of these workers.

Food Tariff Not the Way To Aid the Working Farmers

By Algernon Lee

A GOOD friend and comrade in the Far West takes the present writer to task for having found fault with that plank in the platform of the Commonwealth Political Federation which declares against "importation of farm products produced in the United States." He can see no good reason for our objecting to this plank, and can explain our attitude only by supposing that New York Socialists know little and care less about the conditions and interests of the working farmers. Making all due allowance for midsummer irritability, let us mildly suggest that abuse is not argument. The question is worth discussing calmly, if it is worth discussing at all.

The C.P.F. proposes to give American farmers a monopoly in so far as concerns all foodstuffs and other farm produce that can be grown in this country. Whether this is to be effected by imposing heavy import duties or by simply prohibiting importation is not stated, and does not matter in the least. The object in view is to force up the final selling prices of agricultural products by cutting off all outside competition. That this would be its effect, can hardly be denied. How much of the increased price paid by the consumers would find its way into the farmers' pockets, and how much of it would go to retail and wholesale dealers, speculators, processors, transport agencies, mortgage holders, and landlords is another question, and a very important one.

Lessons From Experience

The experience of other countries may help us to answer it. All through the eighteenth century and half of the nineteenth century Britain had what were called the Corn Laws, imposing duties on imported grain for the avowed purpose of keeping the price of grain in Great Britain above what it otherwise would have been. As the urban population increased with the development of the factory system in the latter half of this period, the wage workers complained bitterly of the rising price of bread which naturally followed. The manufacturers agreed with them and advocated the repeal of the Corn Laws, in the hope that cheapening the workers' food would make it possible to reduce the workers' wages. The landowning class of course predicted national ruin if foreign grain were admitted to the British markets. The workers on the land—miserably poor, mostly illiterate, and altogether unorganized—then counted for almost nothing in politics, and their voice was hardly heard; it appears, however, that they generally accepted the landlords' view.

The Corn Laws were repealed in 1846 and from that time till the World War foodstuffs came in free of duty. Of course many other changes in public policy took place, and it is not possible to trace each particular effect to one particular cause. What can safely be said, however, comparing the seventy years before 1846 with the seventy years after, is that the agricultural landlord class declined, that the industrial capitalists gained ground, and that the economic condition both of the tenant farmers and the agricultural laborers and of the wage workers in industry was far better in the later period than in the earlier one.

establish and maintain more adequate public health services. Much of the money will be used in building up services in rural areas.

Also, provision is made for the investigation of disease and problems of sanitation by the Public Health Service.

Collective Bargaining Wins

FOR the first time the cause of collective bargaining has won a clear-cut victory in a Federal court. Not the Labor Relations Act, but the Railroad Labor Act was at stake, but the chief issues decided are vital to both measures.

The decision came in the Federal District Court at Norfolk, Va. It concerned the Virginian Railway Company, which was ordered by the Court to bargain with duly elected employee spokesmen, in this case American Federation of Labor unions, and to cease promoting a company union.

Furthermore, the workers were to repair shop men, working entirely in intrastate productive operations. These operations, however, were ruled by the Court to have a direct effect on interstate commerce, and hence to come under the scope of the Act.

Public Health Services.—An annual appropriation of \$8,000,000 will be used in helping the States

The German "Hunger Tariff"
Imperial Germany, largely dominated by the Junkers or rural landlords, had several decades of experience with protective tariffs on agricultural products. That the Junkers profited by this system is certain. The German industrial capitalists, for special reasons that need not be gone into here, never developed a strong and self-reliant Liberal party. They opposed the food tariffs, but their opposition was ineffective. It was the Social Democracy, the party of the working classes, that boldly and sharply attacked what it called the "hunger tariff." And it was able to show, not only that the burden of artificially enhanced prices bore terribly hard on the industrial wage workers, but that the actual workers on the land, whether tenants, small proprietors, or hired laborers, got no compensating benefit.

But it will be said that American conditions today are different from those of Germany twenty-five years ago. That is true. In no two countries and in no two periods are conditions ever exactly the same. But it does not follow that we have nothing to learn from the experience of other nations or of other times. Before we reject the lessons of this experience, we must be shown just what there is peculiar to American conditions that would make those lessons inapplicable.

Can't Have It Both Ways

Our correspondent denies that exclusion of foreign foodstuffs would raise the urban workers' cost of living. By what course of reasoning does he justify this claim? Why, he says, the prospect of a rise of prices resulting from the proposed American monopoly of the American market would stimulate American farmers to produce more wheat, corn, potatoes, meat, milk, cotton, wool and so forth than they now do; this increase in supply would prevent the prices from rising and so the urban workers would get their foodstuffs and clothing materials as cheap as ever. This answer to the cost-of-living objection destroys the only argument in favor of the proposal. If the thing worked out as he says, if the prices of farm produce did not rise, then the farmer would not get the expected benefit. You can't have it both ways.

It may, however, be seriously doubted whether it would work out in this way. The farmers themselves, if once they saw that the exclusion of foreign produce was not giving them higher prices for what they raised, and that this was due to the increase of their own output, would pretty certainly demand other measures to protect them from their own mutual competition—such, for example, as the Rooseveltian plan of having the nation pay farmers to limit their output or destroy part of it, or else the plan of having the nation buy enough farm produce to keep prices up at home and "dump" it at a loss in trade with other countries. If they did not, they would prove less shrewd than we simple-minded city folk think them.

Do we, then, while approving protective tariffs on manufactured goods, condemn protective tariffs on farm produce? Assuredly not. We oppose the so-called protective policy in either case. Too long have the bulk of the industrial wage workers been deceived by the plea that protection for their employers protected them. That illusion must be dispelled. But the situation will not be improved by leading the workers on the land to fall into the same error.

OCCUPATIONS OF WORKERS ON RELIEF

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Forty-four and one-half per cent, or 1,549,000 of the 3,485,000 men and women between the ages of 16 and 64 receiving relief in urban areas in May 1934, had previously been employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries. Workers formerly employed in these industries, which include building trades, iron and steel, textiles, automobile manufacturing, etc., constituted the largest single group of workers on city relief rolls in May 1934.

The service trades, such as hotels, restaurants, laundries, cleaning and pressing establishments, and barber shops, supplied the second largest group of workers on relief. They accounted for 549,400 persons, or 18.6 per cent of all the workers on urban relief. Transportation and communication contributed 393,600 workers, or 11.3 per cent of the total; wholesale and retail trade 315,800 workers, or 9.1 per cent. Farmers and farm laborers on relief numbered 183,100 and constituted white-collar workers on urban relief rolls in May 1934 accounted for 4.7 per cent of the total.

These estimates are based on a survey made by the Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance of the FERA, covering occupational characteristics of workers on relief in May 1934 in 60 representative cities having a population of 25,000 or more.

