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Labor Hosts Hail Labor Day

German Workers Fight Hitler Rule as Strike Wave Rises in Germany

Fascist "Labor Front" Collapses Before Resistance of Toilers Loyal to Old Trade Unions—Government Fights in Vain to Halt Widespread Unrest.

THERE have been at least a dozen strikes in Germany since the end of May, most of them in Westphalia, and the authorities have, on the whole, been at rather a loss how to deal with them.

The demands of the workmen have usually been granted on condition that secrecy was observed, writes a correspondent of the Manchester Guardian. The Nazi dictatorship evidently hopes to prevent the strike movement from spreading by hushing it up, but news of the strikes spreads everywhere, none the less.

The conflict between the working class and the dictatorship has put the Nazi Labor Front into a severe predicament. The Labor Front was created to replace the trade unions which were totally destroyed in 1933. It has a strong bias in favor of the employers, but, so as not to estrange the workmen, it goes in for a certain amount of anti-capitalist demagoguery and sometimes harasses the employers, who, on the whole, regard it as a nuisance.

Both the workmen and the employers could do better without it, especially the workmen. It is really an instrument of Nazi domination, and serves no purpose analogous to that of the former trade unions or of the old employers' organizations. When there is a strike the Labor Front usually tries to lecture and pacify the men, telling them that strikes are unpatriotic and that, whatever happens, the outside world must not know.

Labor Unrest Grows
These tactics make the contrast with the bargaining and fighting efficiency of the old trade unions all the plainer. There are in Germany today no organizations at all for collective bargaining. Many employers look upon the present state of affairs as a kind of "Bolshevism," as they call it (though not, of course, in public).

The Nazi dictatorship is doing all it can to avert an open conflict with the working class as a whole, but workingclass solidarity is certainly growing.

It is impossible to see how labor unrest can be stopped by the dictatorship. Rearmament has given work to large numbers of men, both skilled and unskilled, but lack of raw material and the bad state of German finance are slowing down the pace of rearmament and compelling munition works to dismiss workmen, shorten working hours, and reduce wages everywhere. In some districts there are workmen who can no longer buy enough to eat. There have been some noisy scenes on pay days. Speakers at meetings of the Labor Front in the factories are often heckled, and sometimes the gatherings break up in disorder. General meetings of the Labor Front are often boycotted by workmen.

Satire Against Hitler

For the first time there is criticism of Hitler himself. Even in the early days of the dictatorship Herren Göring, Goebbels, Ley (head of the Labor Front), and other Nazi leaders were criticized and ridiculed. There are, for instance, whole series of popular jokes about General Göring and Dr. Goebbels. Hitler's name, however, remained as though sacrosanct. When the deeds of the dictatorship as a whole were questioned his responsibility was always explained away. He did not, so it was said, know about the torture of prisoners, the concentration camps, the corruption, the nepotism, and so on. The events of June 30 last year increased rather than diminished his prestige because he punished "the big noises" and not merely "the smaller fry."

But now there is murmuring (Continued on Page Two)

Labor in State Backs A.F. of L. Nazi Boycott

1,000,000 Organized Workers in New York Placed Behind Drive to Destroy Hitler Regime

INTENSIFICATION of the economic boycott against Hitler Germany was voted by the New York State Federation of Labor at its convention in Albany last week after President William Green, of the A. F. of L., in an address before the convention, declared that "American labor will not let up in its fight on Hitlerism until it is destroyed."

A resolution adopted by the convention, which spoke for 1,000,000 organized workers in New York State, called upon them to rally behind the stand of the A. F. of L. in the fight on Hitlerism and religious and racial persecution. It was declared that the New York State Federation will work in close contact with the A. F. of L. in this matter.

While the convention went on record as opposing formation of a Labor Party, contrary to the stand taken by other state federations of labor, it devoted much of its time to a review of the program of social legislation, headed by the new state unemployment insurance law, passed at the last session of the legislature, and discussed proposals for additional legislation to be presented at the next session. More than a score of such proposals were referred for study and action by the executive council.

An Important Amendment
George Meany was reelected president of the federation. This will (Continued on Page Five)

Oregon Unions Vote to Back Labor Party

Special to The New Leader
PORTLAND, Ore.—The thirty-third annual convention of the Oregon State Federation of Labor has taken further steps in the progressive trend the trade unions have been following in the past several years by a declaration against production for the profit gains of corporations and capitalists. The declaration reads:

We declare that the retention of profits by any commercial or financial institution is immoral so long as there is any citizen willing and able to work who is not employed.

The convention also adopted a resolution in favor of an independent party of workers and farmers, this in part being a reaction to the reactionary measures of Governor Martin to suppress the lumber strike and the support of those measures by leading capitalist journals, politicians, and business men.

Another significant resolution commended the late former U. S. Senator Lane who in 1917 was one of a handful who voted against the United States entering the World War. This was passed by a unanimous vote. During the World War the state was terrorized by war maniacs and several Socialists were indicted under the notorious (Continued on Page Five)



American Workers On the Alert As Congress Ends Long Session

Organized Labor Welcomes Progress in New Legislation But Sees Need of More Adequate Laws—Social Security, Labor Disputes, Railway Pension and Guffey Coal Acts Mark Record of Achievement for Union—Workers Prepare for More Aggressive Action.

By Oliver E. Carruth

ORGANIZED labor believes that the legislation passed at the session of Congress just ended marks great progress for American workers. It is far from satisfied with the record, however, and will press vigorously at the next session for even more advanced legislation.

While labor is pleased in the main with the new laws, it is placing more and more emphasis on the need of strengthening its own economic power by organization. This emphasis has been a feature of labor utterances in recent weeks and undoubtedly will be a feature of the forthcoming American Federation of Labor convention.

Since enactment of the N.R.A., more than two years ago, labor has come to see more clearly than ever before that economic power must back legislation to bring the best results. Failure of the extravagant hopes aroused by the NRA has driven home the lesson that the best friend of labor is labor itself and brought increasing realization that "The emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the working class itself."

Some of the labor and social legislation enacted by Congress, notably the so-called social security act, is plainly inadequate, in labor's opinion. But it does mark gain, if only in the principles acknowledged for the first time by the American government. The feeling was well expressed by Frank B. Powers, president of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America, who says in a Labor Day review:

"Just as the incoming tide advances and retreats, but each time marks off a new high point on the beach, so does labor legislation gradually advance labor's interests despite apparent setbacks from time to time."

Two Important Acts
Outstanding among new legislation of direct and vital interest to the Workers are the Wagner labor disputes act and the Guffey

coal stabilization act. The work relief and the social security acts are also of great interest to workers.

Protection of the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively is the main aim of the Wagner act, with the end in view of equalizing bargaining power between employers and employees and enabling the workers to increase purchasing power by winning higher wages. The act seeks to accomplish the same purpose as the famous Section 7A of the Recovery Act, no longer operative because of the Supreme Court decision invalidating the NRA.

Section 7A resulted in a decided

increase in labor organization. But 7A had certain weaknesses and it was not vigorously enforced and so only partially succeeded in its purpose.

The Wagner act is clearer and more positive in its provisions than old Section 7A. It states labor's rights in the field of organization and creates a National Labor Relations Board of three, appointed by the President. The National Labor Relations Board is a quasi-judicial body. Cease and desist orders can be issued when an employer is found guilty of unfair labor practices, which are defined as certain practices that interfere with the employee's right to organize and select his own representatives for collective bargaining. If the employer does not obey the rulings of the board, it can go to the Federal circuit court of appeals for a restraining order or injunction, violation of which is punishable as contempt of court. This method is said to have been successful in enforcing rulings of the Federal Trade Commission. How it will work in protecting labor's rights remains to be seen.

Best of This Time

Labor expects more effective protection of the right to organize under the Wagner act than by any previous legislation. While thinking trade unionists know that in the last analysis, the progress of the workers is largely dependent upon their own organizing ability, willingness to fight and make sacrifices and determination to win better conditions, they believe the Wagner act goes a long way to insure fair treatment by law. Labor's legislative representatives urged a stronger measure but they are of the opinion it was the best law that could have been passed at the recent session. If weaknesses develop, a fight will be made to strengthen the act.

The Guffey coal bill has been called a "little NRA" for the bituminous industry and this seems (Continued on Page Six)

Building of New Order Is Labor's Mighty Task

ANOTHER Labor Day, the sixth since the nations were plunged into the world depression. Will there be a seventh, an eighth, a ninth, each return of the day finding tens of millions of the workers penned up in an abyss of unemployment?

No one can give a definite answer to this question. However, all indications are that the depression is one of endless drift. It is an organic disease, not a temporary ailment. MODERN INDUSTRY HAS NO USE FOR MANY MILLIONS OF TOILERS. THEY ARE OUT OF INDUSTRY, BECAUSE MACHINES HAVE REPLACED THEM.

The wage worker, the working farmer, the teacher and the clerk—all who are capable of doing useful work—have been caught in this fearful economic disaster. Millions are organized into unions. Over a century the unions have worked out principles, aims and policies. They were, on the whole, adapted to normal conditions.

Suddenly the unions were hurled into an abnormal world unknown to their experience. Their members were no more dazed than were other millions outside of the unions. The first reaction was one of waiting and hoping. Conditions continued to get worse. They became alarming. They became dangerous!

Then came a recasting of policies to cope with the monstrous situation. In the old period, policy had been one of indifference and opposition to social legislation for the workers. It had been held that the unions could provide for the sick, the disabled, the jobless and the aged. Now it was obvious that they could not. WHAT THE UNIONS COULD NOT DO FOR THEIR MEMBERS THE GOVERNMENT MUST DO FOR THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS.

So the change to a social philosophy was effected. Tremendous difficulties in organizing workers in the mass production industries were also encountered. It was found that the old type of union would not fit into these industries. Members and leaders of the trade unions affected by such organization had to be won to organization by industry. THEY OBJECTED, THEN SLOWLY YIELDED, AND AN INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION EMERGED OUT OF THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY. OTHERS ARE TO FOLLOW IN OTHER INDUSTRIES.

Thus another sector of trade union philosophy yielded to a social philosophy. A combination of new economic conditions with education of members brought about the change.

There still remains the political field where the old ideas correlated with the old philosophy. Here they are stronger and yet they are also slowly yielding to new aims, new needs, and new duties. Local unions, central bodies, state federations and a few national unions here and there urge a change.

They are recorded in favor of political action independent of the two ruling parties, in favor of a labor party. This sentiment will also increase because the utmost that can be obtained from the ruling parties will not satisfy the unions and their members. That utmost is being reached. SOME OF THE LEGISLATION WILL PROVE UNSATISFACTORY, SOME WILL BE HAMSTRUNG BY ADMINISTRATORS, MANY ARE HALF-WAY MEASURES, AND THE COURTS WILL STRIKE DOWN OTHERS.

Therefore, the next change is in the direction of independent labor party action to get more than the ruling parties will ever consent to yield. The sentiment is growing. It will continue to grow. Eventually it will become irresistible. When it is accomplished the social philosophy of the unions will be completed. LABOR'S INDEPENDENT PROGRAM AND DEMANDS CANNOT DO OTHERWISE THAN EAT INTO THE PRIVILEGES OF THE OLD ORDER.

Then what? In the ensuing years through its increasing social vision labor will fight for the complete transformation of the old industrial system. The profiteer must go. The exploiter of human kind must give way to a human welfare economy. Industry must be used to serve all, not to enrich a few.

The complete social ideal will emerge out of the labor struggle. Evolution, change, transformation—call it what you will. It is going on. It will continue. The organized working masses have travelled far from their old moorings. They will travel farther in the coming years, onward and onward, to emancipation from the clammy brands of custom and precedent, fear and ruling class opinions.

WITH BANNERS FLYING AND SONGS IN THEIR THROATS, THE MASSES WILL FINALLY RESHAPE THE INSTITUTIONS OF A DYING OLD ORDER TO THEIR WILL AND MANKIND WILL BE FREE!

10,000 Shipping Clerks Strike In New York Garment District

The whole teeming garment section of New York is tied up by a remarkably effective strike of about 10,000 shipping clerks, members of the Apparel Shipping Clerks' Union, Local 19,953 of the American Federation of Labor.

All day Monday a huge sound truck moved through the district summoning the workers to quit work at the end of the day, and that night a huge mass meeting at the Hotel Delano voted to declare the strike.

The controversy between the union and eight manufacturer groups has been going on for several weeks. All week, through the traffic-

choked streets of the crowded garment center, the truck threaded, with a speaker on the back rallying his fellow workers to the strike meeting.

Alexander Alken, president of the local, outlined demands, a minimum wage of \$34 for a 5-day, 35-hour week. At present the clerks are receiving \$10 to \$14, he added, and working up to 72 hours and more in six days. There was also no security, the union heads assert, insisting that the closed shop was essential.

The strike has the full support of the American Federation of Labor and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Martial Law Reigns in Terre Haute With Support of 'Conciliator'

DUE to the continuance of martial law in Terre Haute long after the general strike had been brought to an end, the amazing actions of Dr. R. Clyde White, the federal "conciliator" who has openly served as the spokesman of reactionary interests, and the determination of the organized employing interests and their allies to crush all resistance of the organized workers, the most extraordinary situation in labor history has developed.

Mr. White is a professor of sociology in Indiana University and no more bootlicking creature of reactionaries can be found in this country. He not only issued what is practically a long manifesto condemning the workers in general; he appeared in court in habeas corpus proceedings brought to obtain the release of three workers held in jail by the military authorities. White appeared with those opposing the writ!

Moreover, it appears that the "conciliator" inspired a story in the Chicago Tribune which hinted that the general strike was called in an attempt at a "shake down" of employers to pay off a mortgage on the Labor Temple. When the alleged "shake down" failed, according to the Tribune story, the strikes began. The Tribune directly credited White with this story. T. N. Taylor, organizer of the A. F. of L., denounced this infamous tale and demanded that White "expose those that he accuses of being racketeers or fade out of the picture." White has not paid any attention to this rejoinder.

Powers Hapgood Jailed

Meantime, Powers Hapgood member of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party, has been arrested by the military authorities while attempting to interview Leo Vernon, Socialist organizer, who had been arrested last Sunday while addressing a meeting of protest against the continuance of martial law. Vernon was released on Monday with a warning by Major E. E. Weimar to leave the city immediately. Vernon replied that he would remain as long as the Socialist Party wanted him. The Major answered by warning Vernon that if he talked with more than two persons at a time, publicly or privately, he would be jailed without benefit of attorney, for as "many weeks as I wish to keep you there." Thus this military martinet regulates even the conversation of those within his power!

Hapgood was arrested just four hours before a second meeting which had been arranged to protest against what Socialists contend is an illegal use of the Governor's power in maintaining a "military district" and overriding the civil authorities. The Socialist Party's attorneys are planning far-reaching action and Aaron S. Gilman, secretary-treasurer of the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee, is in Terre Haute to help the defense.

New Leader Editor to Secretary Perkins

Following the story in The New Leader last week regarding Dr. White's amazing manifesto against organized and unorganized workers, the editor of The New Leader last Saturday sent a letter to Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, enclosing a copy of the White manifesto, and urging that White be discharged. The letter follows:

August 24, 1935.

Hon. Frances Perkins,
Secretary of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Madam:
I am enclosing copy of a long statement by Dr. R. Clyde White, federal labor conciliator, which appeared in the Terre Haute Tribune-Star, Terre Haute, Indiana, in the issue of August 18, 1935.

Dr. White's mission was intend-

Appeal for Funds to Help Organized Workers in Their Struggle in Terre Haute!

Trade unions, Socialist Party branches, fraternal organizations of the working class and all sympathizers who read this story of oligarchic rule in Terre Haute, all who realize that the workers of that city are fighting a brave battle against powerful reactionary forces, should help with financial contributions. Send your contributions for the defense without delay to Clarence Senior, national secretary, Socialist Party, 549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

ed as one of conciliation in the labor troubles in that city but this long statement of his is the most amazing document ever penned by one entrusted with such a responsibility. His statement, as you will see, is practically a manifesto directed not only against the labor organizations of the city but against the whole working population in general. It is insolent and provocative and reads like a proclamation issued by one of the local employing corporations.

Just as shocking is his appearance in court in legal proceedings to obtain the release of three prisoners held in jail for their participation in the general strike of July 22. The Terre Haute Star of August 20 reports that Dr. R. Clyde White, the same federal conciliator, appeared in court with the commander of the Indiana National Guard and others against the release of the three prisoners.

The dismissal of the petitions for writs of habeas corpus was granted by Judge Price "for want of jurisdiction" on the ground that the civil authorities have no power to interfere with measures enforcing martial law. As to the merit of this decision the writer does not have any opinion, but when Dr. White is included as one of the defendants in the petitions for the release of the prisoners it is also obvious that he is unfit for the official responsibilities to which he has been assigned and he should be discharged.

Very truly yours,
JAMES ONEAL,
Editor of The New Leader.

A writ of habeas corpus is being sought to obtain the release of Powers Hapgood and civil suits are being planned to remove Governor McNutt from office. The Governor is an ex-commander of the American Legion and a thorough reactionary. Trade union leaders, Socialists and citizens, are setting up a defense committee which includes Rev. Francis Kelly, Prof. Shannon of the Indiana State Teachers College and Phil Reinhold, local Socialist. The national office of the Socialist Party is also calling for a defense fund.

As a result of this labor struggle predictions are heard among labor men on all sides that independent political action by labor is necessary to clean house in Terre Haute.

Workers Aroused

While The New Leader last week urged trade unions throughout the country to adopt resolutions demanding the dismissal of "conciliator" White, T. N. Taylor, organizer of the A. F. of L., sent telegrams of protest to President Green and to Secretary of Labor Perkins urging that White be dismissed without delay. The Dresser Miners' Local Union No. 414 of West Terre Haute, representing nearly 800 miners, sent a long letter to the Secretary of Labor denouncing White, saying that "He is merely the mouthpiece of Governor P. V. McNutt," and demanding his removal.

The Vigo County Central Labor

Union through its executive board also issued a public statement in answer to White's "manifesto" and dissected its infamous allegations. The C. L. U. concluded the document with a note of defiance, saying that it will "Continue its fight for free speech, free assembly and a free press and will use every honorable means at its command to combat the attempt to set up a fascist-military dictatorship in Vigo County that deprives workers of their liberty, keeps them jailed without a charge against them, denies them counsel, trial by jury and even suspends the writ of habeas corpus. Organized labor still stands for liberty and justice."

This struggle of the working class in the home of 'Gene Debs' is of grave concern to the workers throughout the country. Local and central labor bodies should without delay demand the instant discharge of Dr. White and protest against the continuance of military rule in Vigo County. Financial help is also needed and readers of The New Leader should respond to the urgent appeal of the national office of the Socialist Party for defense funds.

STREICHER SPEAKS TO HIS PEOPLE



Here is Julius Streicher, notorious German Jew-baiter and intimate of Adolf Hitler, at his recent mass meeting in Berlin. The sign above reads that so long as there are Jews there is no hope for world peace.

Labor Unions and Company 'Unions'

By John P. Frey
President, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

From a Labor Day Address at Pittsburgh

SECTION 7-A of the N.I.R.A. made so-called company unions illegal as they were destructive to the worker's freedom of choice, for a company union was an organization forced or imposed upon the wage earners by their employer. From the beginning of the National Recovery Administration, Section 7-A was openly violated, the records indicating that company unions increased two-fold after the enactment of the law.

The evident intention of many employers to violate Section 7 (a) led to the President's appointment of the Wagner Board, which was followed by the Garrison and the Biddle Boards. These boards were of outstanding service for they made the issue clear. To the limit

of their ability the National Industrial Relations Board upheld and applied the principles established in Section 7 (a).

In many instances employers accepted the board's decision, but in several famous cases the board's decision was carried to the Federal Court, and decisions handed down which destroyed the value and the protection of labor's rights contained in Section 7 (a).

Organizations of Capital

There already existed far-reaching organization among employers and business men. There were the Chambers of Commerce and their national organization, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. There was the National Association of Manufacturers; the National Metal Trades Association, and many other national associations covering the various industries. But the members of these organizations and the employers who were not, learned that it was necessary for them to organize into industrial associations before codes of fair competition could be given to them. And, so the Administration NRA gave its assistance to the still further organization of business men.

No such assistance was given to labor. The right of labor to organize was announced, but at the same time labor was informed that the Administration NRA could give no assistance to organizing labor. Labor was left wholly dependent upon its own efforts to bring about trade union organization. Labor soon learned that its right to organize could not be fully protected by the law, for discriminations against workers who endeavored to organize were nationwide.

While the National Industrial Relations Board and the Compliance Division NRA rendered magnificent service, the employers' resistance was so great that labor's efforts to organize were severely handicapped, and, in many instances, wholly nullified.

Labor Must Fight

The experience under NRA taught labor certain definite facts. One was, that the labor provisions of codes were determined largely by the degree of trade union organization which existed among the employees. Labor also learned that compliance with the labor provisions of the codes depended more than anything else upon the degree of organization among the workers. Labor learned more definite-

12 N. Y. Unions Plan Big Drive To Unionize Hotel Industry

UNIONIZATION of the 50,000 employees in the hotels of New York City is the objective of a great drive now being planned by a combination of twelve unions supported by the State Federation of Labor. A resolution pledging support was adopted at the convention of the State Federation last week.

The unionization drive will be launched at a mass meeting called for September 10, in the Manhattan Opera House, 34th St. and Eighth Ave., at which President William Green of the American Federation of Labor and George Meany, President of the New York State Federation of Labor, will be the principal speakers.

The twelve unions cooperating in the drive have formed a joint committee which is now engaged in perfecting plans. All classes of employees are to be included in the campaign, with waiters, musicians, kitchen help and office workers taking the lead.

Included in the trade union group in question are Waiters' Union, Local 16; The United Musicians of Greater New York, Local 802; The International Union; The Culinary Engineers, Locals 30 and 30A;

The Building Service Employees' International Union; The Culinary Workers of Greater New York, comprising of seven locals with a

Celluloid, Catalin and Galilith Workers Strike

Sixty men and girls, picketing the plant of the Elite Jewelry Co. on 4th Ave. were arrested Monday evening when over 200 pickets were dispersed by a score of police. About 30 more pickets were arrested Tuesday night.

The pickets are members of the Celluloid, Catalin and Galilith Workers' Union, Local 19238, A. F. of L., which is conducting an organization campaign. Local 17 of the International Jewelry Workers, Local 94 of the Watchmakers, and the Machine and Toolmakers of the International Association of Machinists are also involved. Over 10,000 workers of this city are directly affected by the campaign which is conducted at the height of the season.

The strikers have been out for a week and only ten men were left working in the shop while over 170 men and girls have signed up with the union. The demands are a \$15 minimum wage, up to \$38 for skilled labor, the 40 hour week, union recognition, and the closed shop. Wages are now as low as \$8 and \$12 a week.

total membership of 11,000; The American Federation of Actors; Locals 816 and 817 of the Teamsters' Union; Local 56 of the Firemen and Oilers' Union; Local No. 1 of the Theatrical Protective Union; Local 3 of the Electrical Workers' Union; The Laundry Workers' Union, and the Bookkeepers' Union.

"This will really represent the first serious attempt to break down resistance of hotel interests to unionization," said Paul Coulcher, Secretary of the Waiters' Union and Secretary of the Joint Committee. "There are some 45 different crafts employed in hotels and most of them suffer under grievous exploitation. Efforts by individual organizations to win decent treatment have failed. We believe that combined efforts by all employees cannot fail."

Among the demands are recognition of all the unions, a union wage scale for all skilled workers, no split shifts, no overtime, and pay every week.

The drive in New York is the beginning of a state-wide campaign for the organization of 500,000 hotel and restaurant workers in this state. It is expected to prove one of the most important efforts undertaken by organized labor in New York in recent years.

Thanks to Our Friends!

THE NEW LEADER extends hearty thanks to the trade unions, fraternal organizations and party branches all over the country for their cooperation in making this the biggest Labor Day edition we have ever issued. It is welcome evidence of the awakening of the working class.

Orders for this edition have poured into The New Leader office for two weeks and they are still pouring in as we go to press. Practically all of the states except some in the South are included in these orders. It is the most successful Labor Day number we have ever published.

Over 180 labor organizations and party branches have ordered from a hundred to a thousand copies of this issue. Thanks for the support, comrades and friends. It inspires to a still better effort next Labor Day.

German Workers Fight Hitler

(Continued from Page One)

against Hitler too. Some verses that are popular in the Solingen district reproduce a common mood amongst the working class:

Heil dem Führer,
Es wird alles durrer!
Bald giebt's einen grossen Krach—
Dann sagen wir wieder "Guten Tag!"

(Hail to the Leader! All is getting scarcer. Soon will come a big crash. Then it will be "Good morning!" again.)

In other words, Herr Hitler will go and the old greetings will replace the Nazi "Heil."

There has been a characteristic incident at the Schönwalde Aerodrome, which is still under construction. The workmen there were ordered to do overtime without extra pay. Two of them refused and urged the others to refuse as well. They were arrested by the

"Gestapo" (secret police), whereupon the others declared that they would strike if they were not released. They were released at once.

The atmosphere in Germany is growing more and more sinister. The dictatorship will, so it is felt, hit out ruthlessly before the end of the year. Intelligent workmen, especially those who belonged to the old Socialist, Communist, and Centre (Catholic) parties, are fully aware that it will, sooner or later, have to make up its mind how it will deal with labor unrest. An ever greater number of workmen are convinced that a real trial of strength will come and that an organized working-class attack on the Nazis will be possible some time, although not yet. The Nazis themselves are awaiting the autumn and, still more, the winter with some apprehension.



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Hillquit Amendment Wipes Out Power of Supreme Court Over Vital Labor Legislation

Central Bodies, Local Unions, Farmer Organizations Unite in Drive to Put Amendment Into Organic Law.

THREE months ago the Socialist Party launched its nationwide campaign for the enactment of the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment to the Federal Constitution, and today that Amendment stands endorsed by labor, farm and fraternal organizations representing millions of people.

The drive for the Hillquit Amendment, which has already been ratified by two state legislatures, has contributed in no small measure to the awakening of interest in the Federal Constitution as a vital issue before the American people.

Socialists have long realized that the Constitution drafted in 1787 can be used—despite its 21 amendments—as a permanent bar to human welfare and labor progress. The long line of Supreme Court decisions declaring labor legislation in violation of the Constitution called attention to the fact that the Constitution as it stood and was interpreted could be used as a bulwark of reaction.

Several years ago Morris Hillquit, as National Chairman of the Socialist Party, drafted an amendment designed to take away from the Supreme Court the power—which had never been granted but which it has exercised ever since the day of John Marshall—to declare any labor and welfare legislation unconstitutional, by specifically granting Congress the Consti-

tutional right to enact such legislation. When the Schechter "sick chicken" decision was handed down by a unanimous court and all the safeguards won by the workers under the codes were thrown on to the ash heap the Socialist Party launched a drive for the enactment of the Hillquit Amendment, which has already won wide support.

The Pennsylvania and Wisconsin Legislatures have adopted resolutions urging congressmen from those states to vote for the Amendment, and Congressman Vito Marcantonio, who represents a district in which Morris Hillquit made sensational runs for Congress in 1916, 1918 and 1920, introduced it as House Joint Resolution 327.

More Farm Groups Support Hillquit Amendment

CHICAGO.—Additional endorsements for House Joint Resolution No. 327, introduced by Congressman V. Marcantonio of New York, which presents to Congress the late Morris Hillquit's amendment draft to permit national legislation for the general welfare, have been received during the past week from the following farm organizations: Lincoln county, Wisc., Equity Union; Agricultural Workers' Union No. 19724; Bryan county, Okla., Farmer and Farm Laborers' Union; Medill, Okla., F. & F. L. U.; Southern Tenant Farmers' Union; Luck Local, Farm Labor-

ers' Union; Polk county, Wisc., Farmers' Equity Union.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Contending that recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court have "seriously endangered the future of all legislation on behalf of city and farm workers," the convention of the Brotherhood of Utility Employees of America, held here this week, adopted a resolution supporting the constitutional amendment proposed by Representative Vito Marcantonio of New York, which would validate such legislation.

New Labor Endorsements Pour In

CHICAGO.—The Labor Committee for the Workers' Rights Amendment reports the following new endorsements received during the past week:

International: Brotherhood of Utility Employees.

State organizations: Rhode Island, A. F. of L.; Rhode Island Textile Council.

Central Labor Unions and City Federations: Pawtucket, R. I.; Hartford, Conn., Building Trades Alliance; Lake county, Ind.; Sheboygan, Wis.; Hudson county, N. J.; Charlestown, S. C.; Cleveland, Ohio.

Trade Union Locals: United Textile Workers No. 224, Albion, R. I.; U.T.W. No. 486, Pawtucket, R. I.; Machinists Lodge, Newport, R. I.; Painters No. 481, Hartford, Conn.; Barbers, Gary, Ind.; Machinists, Gary, Ind.; Teachers' Union of St. Louis and St. Louis county, Mo.; Elevator Constructors No. 14, Milwaukee, Wisc.; Electrical Workers No. 8, Toledo, O.; International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union No. 22, New York, N. Y.; Railway Carmen No. 17, Dallas, Tex.; Electrical Workers No. 3, New York, N. Y.; United Mine Workers No.

CAMDEN STRIKERS WIN UNION RECOGNITION

By Sonia Teitelman

SPECIAL TO THE NEW LEADER
CAMDEN, N. J.—The Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers at a general membership meeting received the reports of Thomas Gallagher, chairman of the union's negotiating committee, and John Green, executive secretary, and accepted the arbitration plan

6814, Bay City, Mich.

Unemployed: Reading, Pa., Taxpayers' Protective League.

Labor Fraternal Societies: Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Association, Dallas, Tex.; Workmen's Circle, Dallas, Tex.; Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Association, St. Louis, Mo.; Workmen's Circle No. 98, Philadelphia, Pa.

of President Roosevelt which came only after much pressure had been brought to bear on him. The New York Shipbuilding Corporation earlier in the day announced its acceptance of the arbitration plan and the union at the mass meeting formally ended the militant three and a half month strike at the Camden yards.

The strike started May 11 and affected 4,600 employees, of whom more than 3,700 were members of the union. By the terms of the Presidential order, an arbitration board of three is set up to decide all issues in the strike within sixty days. The arbitrators are Admiral Henry A. Wiley, U.S.N., retired, chairman; Robert W. Brucere, of New York, and Colonel Frank P. Douglass, of Oklahoma City. By specific designation, the issues to be considered are:

First—The matter of piece work or incentive work. Second—The

matter of adjustment of wages. Third—Matters relating to employment and working conditions which have been in dispute in connection with the renewal of the agreement between the strikers and the company of May 11, 1934.

The arbitration board is specifically instructed to deal with the union. The company is thus virtually forced to recognize the union.

Recently a check for \$10 was received by the union, accompanied by a note that read: "Conscience money from a holder of 10 shares of New York Ship stock."

The settlement is a victory for the union, which withstood the terrific assaults of not only the New York Shipbuilding Corporation, but the Shipbuilders' Manufacturers' Association, the Navy Department and the Labor Department. The workers resumed work Friday.

Labor and Consumers' Cooperative Organizations

JOHN F. McNAMEE,
Editor Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers' Magazine

AGAIN the cost of living is going up and up and the burden on the family's bread-winner is proportionately increasing, as is likewise the resultant worry. What is the basic cause of this? Greed, human selfishness, insatiable yearning for more and more wealth on the part of individuals already prosperous and in large proportion wealthy.

Those who control our markets decide on an advance in the price of this commodity or that and consumers everywhere must obediently abide by the ukase. Almost invariably each raise in the cost of living is attributable to nothing more than wanton gratification of a desire for greater profits.

Have the working classes a remedy within their reach? They have, and that remedy is the control of the market through the medium of the consumers' cooperative movement, just as that movement operates in the British Isles and other European countries. The purchasing power which American labor has at its disposal is conservatively estimated at \$20,000,000,000 a year. This amount is spent each year by workmen and women for food, clothing, shelter and minimum comforts of life.

If properly directed the money spent for these necessities could become a powerful weapon for the control of the market; a tool with which could be constructed a system of distribution in which goods be produced and distributed for use, and in which labor would not be exploited for private profit. Today practically all of labor's purchasing power is poured, undirected, back into the pockets of the enemies of labor. While we are fighting as producers in labor unions for better living conditions, as unorganized consumers we are unconsciously supporting things as they are. With \$20,000,000,000 in our hands with which to bargain as consumers, we must now use our strength as organized consumers as well as organized producers in an increased effort to raise our standard of living.

British Cooperation

If the labor organizations in the United States and Canada would take the same interest in the expansion of the cooperative movement on the North American continent that the labor organizations take in maintaining the movement in the British Isles they would be rendering an inestimably valuable service to their members. For the English cooperatives have not only made goods available to the working class without profit, but they have created an industry which added to its pay rolls during the depression and increased the "real wages" of its laborers. American wholesalers and retailers cut their staffs from 17 per cent to 26 per cent during the first five years of the depression and cut wages 49.7 per cent. While private dealers were throwing employees into the breadlines the cooperatives in England increased the number of employees by 31,600, a rise in employ-

ment of slightly more than 11 per cent. Wages in the cooperatives were maintained at the pre-depression level in spite of the falling price level and as a result "real wages" were increased.

In Great Britain and Ireland, at the close of 1933, the total membership in consumers' cooperatives was 6,917,138. When allowance is made for the fact that as a rule each member of one of the societies represents a family, it is found that approximately one-half the population of the British Isles are supplying their own needs through this movement. The Cooperative Wholesale Society of England, according to a report published last fall, owns 139 factories and other productive plants which turn out a great variety of goods. At the close of 1933 this wholesale had 43,307 employees.

Industrial production in Sweden was greater in 1934 than it was in prosperous 1929, the prime reason being the power of the consumers' cooperative movement in that country. That movement has succeeded in breaking up a number of private business monopolies and its efforts have indirectly curbed "big business" in other fields.

American Cooperation

The Consumers' Cooperative Movement in America did not begin large scale growth until immediately after the War. Constantly expanding frontiers and the American tradition of rugged individualism did not create a situation favorable to cooperative activity. With the beginning of the agricultural depression, from 1920 on, farmers were forced to begin to work together in order to survive. The first consumers' cooperative oil station in the Northern States area was organized fifteen years ago. Today 1,800 oil cooperatives in eighteen states are supplying their members with \$35,000,000 worth of petroleum products a year and saving farm and city consumers more than \$3,500,000 annually. Farm supply, insurance, milk, grocery, general merchandise, restaurant, credit and medical cooperatives have sprung into existence in every section of the country.

The onslaught of the depression forced city people as well as farmers to learn to cooperate. Today 1,800,000 people do a cooperative non-profit business of \$360,000,000 a year, approximately a million dollars a day. The movement is attracting national attention. The Cooperative League of the U.S.A., with headquarters at 167 W. 12th St., New York City, lists affiliated organizations in nearly every state in the union. Consumers' cooperatives have already become a powerful factor in American economic life and expect to follow the leadership of European cooperatives in

(Continued on Page Six)

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Cinema de Paris Presents A Fine Group of French Films

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The new Cinema de Paris offers motion picture lovers who are looking for a different viewpoint the best of French films in an ultra-modern setting. Parisian as its name, the newly redecorated and renamed Fifth Avenue Playhouse bids fair to assume a focal part in heading the way to the new art of the cinema. The program for the current year, just announced, is an ambitious one. "L'Ordonnance," from the story by Guy de Maupassant, was the first of the season's attractions, and was hailed by the critics as consistently interesting, and, in spots, exciting. This was followed by "Prenez Garde a la Peinture," based upon the play "The Late Christopher Bean." The current film "Charlemagne" is now in its third week, and features Raimu, star of "Marines and Fanny." And the future promises even more. Next on the theatre program is "Maria Chapdelaine," winner of the Grand Prix of the French cinema, similar to our award of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts. The story is best characterized as "the epic of French Canada." The film is said to be tender and beautiful and true, the hard, bitter life of the peasants neither glossed over nor idealized. But throughout the story runs the tale of the virtues and weakness of a simple people that is said to equal the best films of Russia. The actors, except the few leads, are French-Canadians, though the dialect is the French of France.

Last but not least is the new Rene Clair film, "The Last Billionaire." Pare Lorentz has compared it to "A onus la liberte," hitherto the most important of the Rene Clair cycle. This time it is the dictator who feels the touch of the ace director. No broad, pointed strokes these. Here is the rapier-thrust of a master, delicate, pointed and a thousand times more deadly for its very delicacy.

Embassy Newsreel Theatre: A Cultural Force in Screen Journalism and Education

Presents in Vivid Form a Vital Study of Life and Conditions Of the Day

In the past five years a new force in journalism and education has come to the fore—the newsreel. This new form of screen journalism with the actual sound recorded with the picture gives an accurate impression of what is taking place in the world. The newsreels from foreign countries make for a better understanding between the peoples of various nations.

For example, soon after May Day, The Embassy Newsreel Theatre at Times Square was showing pictures of the May Day celebrations from various parts of the world. One could compare the masses of Moscow with those of Paris, Tokyo, Buenos Aires, and New York. These splendid pictures do more than a mere word description of the events.

Names that we read about in the newspapers become more than mere names when we see and hear those persons talking from the screen. We feel that we know them better, and we feel that we have met them. The latest development along these lines is the newsreel theatre. It may be compared to a living newspaper. Here one sees and hears news from all parts of the globe; scenes of troop mobilization in

"Diamond Jim" Continues

After the most successful first weeks' run ever recorded at the Roxy Theatre, the new Universal photoplay, "Diamond Jim," is now being held over for a second week.

In addition to "Diamond Jim" the Roxy also presents for a second week the new stage revue, arranged especially to inaugurate the new show season and featuring in person such well-known variety artists as Herman Hyde and Company, the Twelve Aristocrats and others.

Ethiopia; an earthquake in Japan; League diplomats in session at Geneva; all kinds of sports; and world-famous personalities speaking on important subjects. All of this makes for a vital study of life and conditions of the day.

Perhaps the most important of all is the recent innovation of Pathe News, which presents the "Man on the Street" giving all types of persons a chance to voice their views on current problems. This was first started with tremendous success during the presidential campaign of 1932 when the voters from all sections of the country told why they were voting for their candidate.

"Inferno" and "Orchids to You" on Albee's New Double Feature Program

Beginning its new double feature policy with "Dante's Inferno" and "Orchids to You" the RKO Albee is offering two distinct types of pictures, the combination of which it is hoped will find favor with Brooklynites.

Dante's immortal tale of tortured spirits suffering penance in the everlasting flames of the Inferno, a classic for more than six hundred years, is the basis of the drama in "Dante's Inferno."

In "Orchids to You" John Boles, popular singing star of the screen, plays the role of a clever lawyer.

Elisabeth Bergner



Who continues to attract capacity houses in "Ariane," now in its eleventh week at Max Goldberg's charming 55th St. Playhouse.

New Double Feature Bill at Brooklyn Strand

Joe E. Brown's first musical comedy romance, "Bright Lights," heads the double feature program now playing at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre. The feminine leads are played by Ann Dvorak and Patricia Ellis; while scores of beautiful chorus girls appear in dance and song numbers staged by Busby Berkeley, who directed the entire production. The second feature is "Atlantic Adventure" with Nancy Carroll, Lloyd Nolan

Jean Muir, Charles Butterworth, Ruthelma Stevens, Harvey Stephens and Arthur Lake have the supporting parts.

NOTICE

Due to the limited space in this Labor Day issue, the second part of Glenn Hughes' article on "The Theatre as a Social Force" will appear in the following issue.

Garbo-March in Tolstoi's "Anna Karenina" at the Capitol Theatre

Garbo, supported by Frederic March, in "Anna Karenina" opens today at the Capitol Theatre. Tolstoi's immortal story of a heart-ache is said to take on new color and warmth in the actorship of both Garbo and March. Clarence Brown, who directed, fills out the cast with favorites, including Mary Astor, Betty Blythe, Joan Acker and Robert Warwick—stars of other days—as well as May Robson, Maureen O'Sullivan and little Freddie Bartholomew, juvenile hero of "David Copperfield."

The inquisitive movie camera invades the fabled Picaresque Isle for the first time, and the Capitol screen, now specializing in brief film novelties and news-reels as extra added attractions, will show the Island as it is today, 150 years after it was settled by the outlaw muntineers and pirates who scuttled the British warship "Bounty," and founded a new civilization.

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

"Page Miss Glory," Marion Davies' New Film, Has Premiere at Strand

The Manhattan premiere of "Page Miss Glory," Marion Davies' first Cosmopolitan Production for Warner Bros., was held last Wednesday evening at the Strand Theatre.

"Page Miss Glory" was directed by Mervyn LeRoy, who has been

responsible in the past for such successes as "I Am a Fugitive From a Chain Gang," "Little Caesar," "Oil for the Lamps of China" and numerous others.

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

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Labor Day Began Fifty Years Ago In Days of Henry George Battle

By Julius Gerber
Executive Sec'y, Socialist Party,
Local New York

ALMOST fifty years ago the Knights of Labor was powerful in New York City. The labor organizations acted together, including District 49 of the K. of L., independent unions and American Federation of Labor

Unions through the Central Labor Union.
In 1885 the Labor movement of New York was in a rebellious mood. The 8-hour day was the great dream and the goal of the workers. Politically, the workers were restive because of the action of the governor in sending the militia to crush the strike of the railroad workers in Buffalo. Henry George had just published

his "Progress and Poverty" and the Society to Abolish Poverty had enlisted the support of Father McGlynn, a Roman Catholic Priest, and many other outstanding men who lent their powerful support to that movement.

The labor unions, dissatisfied with the treatment of Tammany Hall, talked of an independent labor party, and in 1886 organized the United Labor Party and ran Henry George as their candidate for Mayor. In that spirit the unions decided to set aside the first Monday in September as "Labor Day" and on that day the organized workers of New York marched through the streets of the city to demonstrate their willingness to fight, if necessary, for their regulation.

In the fifty years that followed, the 8-hour day has become a fact and the 5-day work week, which was a dream of the K. of L., became a reality to most workers, even the unorganized. Labor Day has been made a legal holiday and that took the edge off it.

Politically the workers were disillusioned, they were cheated out of their victory in 1886. Tammany Hall was successful, by foul means, in defeating Henry George and in electing his candidate, the Philanthropist Abraham S. Hewitt, son-in-law of Peter Cooper.

The Socialist Labor Party took an attitude of opposition to the trade unions, thereby making it impossible for a Socialist to be heard in a union, and nullifying all the propaganda that had been done in the labor unions and among their members. With a few concessions from the employers (most of them small) and from the politicians, labor accepted the crumbs and settled down.

In the following fifty years American capitalism reached its zenith. The small individual employer disappeared and instead came the huge corporations with thousands of stockholders, absentee owners, and tens of thousands, aye, hundreds of thousands of employees.

Industry became mechanized, displacing labor, and doing away with the skilled mechanic. The year 1935 finds 12 million willing workers unable to find employment.

After five years of depression, the Federal government was compelled to do something for the unemployed. The NRA and all the other alphabetical commissions and boards were created, but they did not reduce the number of unemployed. Where labor was organized and resolute, it availed itself of the NRA and got better conditions for their members, but the workers as a class gained little from all the alphabetical combinations, and the little gained was nullified by the Supreme Court when it declared the law unconstitutional.

In the sixth year of the depression the government came to the conclusion that the only remedy is to put people to work and Congress appropriated almost five billion dollars for a works program. Uncle Sam is to become the largest employer in the country if not in the world, and the great White Father in the White House is to determine the wages and the conditions under which millions of men and women are to work. The first step the great White Father takes is to cut wages in half, thereby giving impetus to private employers to reduce wages.

The great White Father in the White House becomes a chiseler, reducing wages and shouting "Work or starve," thereby reducing the whole working class to a state of slavery.

Again the organized workers are restive. They are not ready to accept the dictum of the Great White Father, his Little General, and the brainless "Brain Trusters," to abolish with a stroke of the pen the achievements of 50 years gained by the labor unions through pain and suffering. American Labor

will not be reduced to the position of a coolie without a fight.

Since the government has become the largest employer, setting standards of wages and conditions of work, many workers realize that the government can not be fought as they fought private employers. There is another and more direct way: that of labor organizing its own political party, electing its own representatives instead of "friends of labor."

Here and there, in various places, groups are organizing for independent political action. Social workers, professionals, editors and writers, have at last realized there is something wrong in a country of abundance where millions starve, crops are plowed under to give the farmer a living, while millions are clamoring for the food that is destroyed, or not raised, and are starving because the cost of commodities is rising.

A Workers' World
But prayers and preaching will not change things. Only organization, economic and political, will help. Here is where the Socialists come in.

For fifty years we have patiently advocated that the workers must organize in unions to fight on the economic field, and in a political party of their own; nominate and elect their own candidates who, when elected, will be responsible to the workers; that hours of work must be reduced as machinery takes the place of human labor; that the place of children is in school and not in the factory; that adequate pensions must be provided for the workers as we provide pensions for over-paid judges and underpaid government employees; and that unemployment, poverty and misery can not be abolished as long as we produce for profit.

The Socialist Party as an organization and its members as individuals have a duty now: to utilize the opportune time, not to become leaders, but to point out to the organized and unorganized workers the necessity of organization, economic and political, the principles for which labor has fought all these years and which are sacred to us, must be maintained, and that the ultimate goal must be production for use and not for profit. This is our goal; to propagate these principles is our mission and to their achievement we must dedicate our lives.

Let this Labor Day be the indicator pointing to a better day to a better world—a workers' world.

Oregon Unions For Labor Party

(Continued from Page One)

Espionage Act. The trade unions at that period went along with the national trade union policy; and now by a unanimous vote they accept the position taken by the Socialist Party in 1917.

By a unanimous decision the convention approved legislation for old age pensions of \$200 per month, the fund to be raised by steeply graded income taxes, thus differentiating it from the sales tax program of Dr. Townsend.

It is unnecessary to ascribe the actions of the convention to a recent lecture tour by Upton Sinclair in this state. The labor organizations of Oregon do not shift their policies as a result of lectures by a propagandist who is not identified with their movement.

The fact is that Oregon labor has in the past several years been changing to more and more radical views. This is due to the active educational work of Socialists mainly in Portland, the largest city in the state, who are members of the unions, and to the lessons drawn from labor struggles in recent years.



Labor in State Backs A.F. of L. Nazi Boycott

(Continued from Page One)

be his second term. Mr. Meany has proved a wise and capable leader of the federation and his reelection, as well as that of all other officers, was unanimous.

Of particular interest to Socialists and progressives in the labor movement of this state was an amendment to the constitution adopted by the convention which will make it possible for no less than 200,000 workers in the needle trades of this state to become affiliated with the state federation.

Strange as it may seem, the powerful needle trades unions are not members of the federation, membership in which is by locals and central bodies. The main obstacle to the affiliation of the needle trades has been the fact that the membership dues have been too high—a cent and a half per member per month. This proved quite prohibitive. Some locals in the needle trades who count their membership in scores of thousands would have had to pay from \$5,000 to \$8,000 a year in dues.

A Larger Federation
To remove this obstacle and make it possible for all labor organizations to join the federation, the convention decided to limit payment of dues by a local to the first 5,000 of its members. Thus a local having a membership many times this number will be able to join at the old rate of dues, but will not be called upon to pay on more than 5,000 members. Representation at the convention will be on the basis of 5,000 members or any such number above that on which a local may desire to pay. Payment on 5,000 members will entitle a local to eleven delegates at the convention, but the road remains open to increased representation, depending upon the amount of dues paid by an organization.

Under the new system it will be possible for the needle trades to be represented at the next state convention by a bloc of eighty to one hundred delegates. Approximately 600 delegates comprised the convention held last week.

Mr. Meany expressed the hope that unaffiliated unions would avail themselves of the opportunity now given them to affiliate and that the next convention would see all the needle trades and others represented.

From a Socialist point of view and from the point of view of the interests of the labor movement, it is hoped that this will be the case. The state federation exhibited a genuine spirit of democracy in opening the doors to unaffiliated unions, most of which are led by Socialists and are considerably to the left of the more conservative trade unions in the state.

The presence of the needle trades in the state federation would constitute a valuable addition to the strength of organized labor in this state and would contribute materially to its progress in many directions. There being now no excuse for their remaining outside the state federation, it is expected that they will not delay their affiliation.

Miller of the Amalgamated
Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer of the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, is at present in the "sunny" south, on the battle-line in the fight which the Amalgamated is making against chiseling open-shoppers. It was impossible for him to communicate personally his message to The New Leader and New Leader readers, but I am sure he would not wish this Labor Day to pass without some word reaffirming his faith in the Socialist ideal and pledging his service to the cause of the embattled workers wherever they may be.

G. W. K.

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Churches to Hear Strong Plea For Justice on Labor Sunday

THE Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America have issued a Labor Sunday message which cites the "untold hardships" suffered by the masses during the depression and declaring that American resources are fully capable of banishing poverty if intelligently used. The message continues in part:

"For the first time in human history man has the technical knowledge to solve his economic problem. He can at last provide sufficient material goods for an abundant life."

"Since the depression the researches of scientists and engineers, the findings of private and government commissions, have been reiterating this same basic fact. The natural resources of the United States of America and the industrial and agricultural equipment are sufficient to give every man, woman and child the material basis for the good life."

"Recent governmental estimates and other authoritative studies have indicated that had our plant been used to capacity in 1929, over \$4,000 in goods and services could have been supplied to every American family. Nevertheless, sixteen million American families, or nearly two-thirds of our people, actually received in that year less than \$2,000. That was six years ago."

"Since then inventions and improvements in technological processes have marched steadily on. The clear truth is that from a purely physical, engineering point of view we could now produce

enough fully and completely to banish poverty. Yet, in spite of this potential plenty, restricted production in both industry and agriculture is the rule, while devastating poverty and unemployment continue."

"Efficient means must be found to eradicate sins of selfishness and to make this abundance available for all. The solution of the deplorable maladjustment in distribution is adequate income for the masses and security of employment. Only by a more equalized ability to purchase can the anomaly of want in the midst of abundance be solved. To achieve such an end new forms of social control must be designed."

"But these new ways cannot be found unless men are free to discuss frankly and openly the problems before them. We rejoice in the great American principle of free speech and press which is enshrined in our Federal and State Constitutions. This principle has its roots in the Christian faith."

"We would solemnly point out that the changes which must come in our economic set-up can come peacefully only if the channels of communication are kept open. True Americans and true Christians must be ever alert to repel any attempt to deprive them of these civil rights so important in a democracy."

"Moreover, they must champion these rights for the weakest among us, for if one group be suppressed it will be only a question of time until such suppression is extended to all who dare voice opposition to those temporarily in power."

BATHROBE WORKERS TO STRIKE IN N. Y. C.

A general strike in the bathrobe industry of New York City has been called by Locals 91 and 10 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The strike began Thursday with the distribution of general strike circulars outside the bathrobeshops calling upon the employees to report directly to the Rand School, 7 East 15th St., which has been set up as strike headquarters. The general strike call was issued in the name of the General Executive

Board of the I.L.G.W.U. and in the name of Local 91 and 10, the Bathrobe Makers' Union and the Cutters' Union respectively.

The strike follows the failure of repeated attempts on the part of the union to reach a peaceful settlement with groups of employers and with individual employers in the industry.

The union demands call for a 36-hour week, a general wage increase of ten per cent, time and a half for overtime, and classified minimum wage scales for operators, pressers and finishers.

It is expected that the strike will spread to affect shops in nearby areas, such as Bridgeport, South Norwalk, Fall River and Jersey.

WATCH FOR THESE ARTICLES NEXT WEEK!

AMONG the articles unfortunately crowded out of this issue is one by E. Rabkin of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America on the big organization campaign that organization is waging in the industry and its pursuit of runaway shops, some into the southern states. The nullification of the NRA and tendency of code conditions to decay and the eagerness of open shoppers to take advantage of these conditions form a dramatic economic background in the Amalgamated struggle.

E. Rabkin will tell the story of this campaign of a strong union to combat the disintegrating forces that face it and other unions.

Another article will tell the story of the remarkable growth of the Building Service Operators' Union 32-B, during the past year. Watch for these articles!

American Workers On the Alert Fifty Years of International Socialism Told in Beer's Book

By William M. Feigenbaum

FIFTY YEARS OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM. By Max Beer, New York, the Macmillan Company.

MAX BEER, historian of the British Labor movement and for many years London correspondent of the Berlin Vorwärts, reviews an interesting and often exciting life in this book which he began upon the occasion of his 70th birthday in the summer of 1934. Beer's work is well known to students of Socialist history, his History of British Socialism, his studies in Chartism, and his excellent biographical work on Karl Marx having become invaluable.

But Beer is more than a Socialist historian; for years he was an active participant in the international movement, and an intimate of leaders of all wings of the movement in a number of countries.

A man of deep feeling and warm sympathies he seizes the opportunity presented by the writing of his memoirs to discuss world events of his lifetime. Among his most fascinating chapters are those describing the boyhood and youth of a studious Jewish lad in Austrian Poland, and his chapters on anti-Semitism. For with the passing of years this international Socialist reverts more and more to his early Jewishism and he recalls the problems and difficulties of his ghetto youth. Indeed, as he grows older he looks with admiration upon the pioneers of the *Halutzim*, or the Valley of Jezreel. For in a world menaced by war, poisoned with race hatreds and being wrecked by dictatorships, his mind dwells gratefully upon Zionism as a way out, at least for his own tortured people.

Beer came to England about 1894, and became friendly with Frederick Engels, with Eleanor Marx Aveling, and with all the leaders of the then budding Socialist movement. As a journalist and active Socialist he attended party and international congresses and became well acquainted with the great world figures of Socialism, Bebel, Jaures, Vandervelde and others; among the British leaders he knew very well Hardie and MacDonald, Mann and Hyndman. In England he became very intimate with Lenin, and he devotes a considerable chapter to long talks with the founder of Bolshevism, both before and after he had conceived the Bolshevik program.

As correspondent for the New York *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, a Jewish Socialist daily (of which the father of the oversigned was editor), Beer interviewed Emile Zola on the Dreyfus case and on the Jewish

question, and he devotes a fascinating chapter to that interview. Later he came to New York for several years as expert in international affairs on that paper.

Still later, after the Bolshevik revolution, he spent several years in Moscow, not as a Communist but as a deeply sympathizing Socialist of the Left. He lived in Berlin for many years as a member of the Social Democracy and as a party editor.

With this background, Beer is able to review fifty years of enormous changes, both in the world and in our movement. It is not necessary to agree with him in his judgments of men and parties; for example, he shows no particular admiration for Bebel or the German Social Democracy, either before, during, or after the war. He has the deepest contempt for Ramsay MacDonald from the very beginning of his career (although there is no sign of that contempt in his "History of British Socialism"), and he cordially disliked Hyndman. His admiration for Keir Hardie, however, is enormous; and he has unqualified praise for two men he has known—Lenin and James.

But after all is said and done, the book is of enormous interest for the facts, for personal anecdotes, for the side-lights and the point of view one can read there. One need not agree with Beer's appraisal of the German Social Democracy of Debs and Gompers, of Bebel and Zionism, of Bolshevism and Lenin to appreciate most deeply a beautifully written book, the revelation of a sensitive and highly intelligent soul, an invaluable addition to the library of any Socialist.

Incidentally, Comrade Beer feels that one of the greatest of the achievements of the past century is the building of the British Labor Party upon the solid foundation of the organized labor movement. As he looks back upon the past half-century he sees that as one of the greatest events of the years he has lived. And so do we all!

Stay Off WPA JOBS

ALBANY, N. Y.—The Albany Central Trades and Labor Council has adopted a resolution urging all its members to stay off WPA jobs under present security wage levels.

"One of our principal fears," said William T. Bennis, vice-president of the council, "is that the unscrupulous contractor in this district will use the WPA wage levels as a hammer to beat down the wages on private work."

Similar action is being taken in Buffalo, Binghamton and other up-state cities.

(Continued from Page One)

ting and stabilize production and employment in the demoralized soft coal industry. It also aims to conserve coal resources and bring general betterment to bituminous mining.

Under the Guffey bill, which was vigorously supported by the United Mine Workers of America, with President John L. Lewis taking the lead, the labor movement hopes for decided improvement in the bituminous industry, for many years a disgrace to the nation because of its miserable wages, ruthless suppression of workers' rights, high death and injury record and almost universal strife and waste.

Overproduction is at the root of the demoralization in bituminous mining. Under the present system of production for profit, America "mines twice as much coal as it can use. This brings cut-throat competition, resulting in constant effort to drive down wages and a long train of other evils. Production, prices and trade practices must be controlled to bring order in the industry. The Guffey bill sets up a national commission to provide this control and regulation.

Attempt to remedy the evils in the industry is placed in the hands of a National Bituminous Coal Commission of five members with power to make and enforce fair trade practices and labor relations. Under provisions of the act, an effort will be made to eliminate wage cutting and wage disparities by wage and hour agreements arrived at by collective bargaining procedures. A Bituminous Coal Labor Board of three, appointed by the President, will adjudicate disputes. It may offer to serve as mediator, and it has power to mediate if asked by both parties.

A Disappointment
The \$4,880,000 work relief act, the first big piece of legislation enacted after Congress met in January, was hailed as a measure that would deal a heavy blow at the depression by taking the unemployed off the relief rolls and putting them to work. Up to date the measure has made scarcely a dent in unemployment and the depression is still with us. Halting progress so far indicates that the Roosevelt administration had next to no plan for making effective use of the measure. Labor knows, however, that getting under way of a work relief program of the magnitude contemplated by the act is a tremendous job, not to be done in a day and it is hopeful that the program will soon get better results.

Labor supported the work relief bill, though it considered it inadequate. It failed in its efforts to have the measure specify payment of the prevailing rate of wages on relief projects. It fought the so-called "security wage" provided by the bill and set in the President's Executive Order and its stand has been justified by the bitter feeling, leading to strikes in New York and other places, aroused as a result of the "security wage." The A. F. of L. is urging that projects on

which skilled labor is employed be put under the Public Works Administration, where prevailing rate of wages is paid. There are some indications that this will be done, at least to a certain extent. If skilled union workers continue to be paid the "security wage," labor fears that a damaging blow will be given wage standards in the building trades won by years of effort and sacrifice.

Inadequate Security
The social security bill, which also had labor support, is regarded as a definite and significant gain, though inadequate in its provisions. Labor thinks that the "security" aimed at in the measure is of a meagre kind but it regards the act as a big progressive step as it establishes, for the first time in this country, the broad principle that the nation is obligated to care for its citizens in their old age and insure them against unemployment. In addition to the four measures touched upon in the foregoing, other important measures of direct interest to labor were passed.

First perhaps in importance, because it affects the workers in the great railroad industry, is the railroad pension act, designed to take the place of the retirement act knocked out by the Supreme Court for the pensioning of railroad employees at the age of 65 or after 30 years' service. Both employees and the railroads contribute to the fund for the payments.

Another important labor act provides the 40-hour week for postal service employees. This places the Federal government in the van among big employers as far as the working week goes and is expected to make thousands of additional jobs for substitutes in the postal service.

Widespread Chiseling
The act continuing the NRA as a skeleton organization concerned with research and fact finding is also of importance to labor. It does not satisfy labor, which fought for a new and stronger NRA. The skeleton organization is proving of value by keeping tab on wage and price cutting since the death of the original NRA. A report made public this week revealed widespread "chiseling" on hours, wages and prices. Labor believes the report proves the need for another NRA to set minimum wages and maximum hours, especially in industries and trades employing unorganized workers.

LEVY GAINS A DECISION IN CRIMINAL COMPLAINT AGAINST UNION MEMBERS

Magistrate David L. Malbin has dismissed all criminal complaints and charges lodged against seven members of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America, Local No. 505, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, for alleged violations of the injunction issued to the Standard Baking Company by Justice Steinbrink in September of 1934.

The dismissal of the complaints was hailed by Matthew M. Levy, Socialist and attorney for the Bakers' Union, as an important victory for labor in general, and as a vital precedent in the interpretation of the recently enacted

The members of the Bakers' Union had been charged with violation of Sec. 600 of the Penal Law in that they had been in alleged contempt of the Steinbrink injunction. A motion was made by Levy to dismiss the complaints on the grounds that under the newly enacted labor laws violation of a labor injunction was no longer a criminal offense.

The dismissal of the complaints, after submission of briefs by the respective attorneys, was a complete vindication of the contention set forth by Mr. Levy on behalf of the bakers. As a result of Magistrate Malbin's decision, contempt cases growing out of labor disputes are no longer criminal offenses punishable in the criminal courts.

The Labor and Consumers' Cooperative Organizations

(Continued from Page Three)

obtaining for labor a larger share of the goods it produces. If the people of the U. S. and Canada understood the cooperative movement as it really is, if they had a knowledge of its tremendous success, of the amount of money it keeps in the hands of the consumers which would otherwise go to swell the private fortunes of monopolists, of the extent to which it operates to prevent the accumulation of wealth in private hands and thus lessen the power which the possession of such wealth gives to control legislation and government, if the masses of the people of the U. S. and Canada had this understanding of consumers' co-operation, it certainly would not take long for them to utilize it as a great emancipating agency to release them from the burdens of oppression to which they are subjected by big business and big money.

NECKWEAR WORKERS WIN DEMANDS; ARE READY FOR STRIKE

THE Men's Neckwear Workers' Union, now affiliated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, registered its first victory in their determined stand for the preservation of the 36-hour week and against reduction in wages. Last Monday the Manufacturers' Association decided to accede to the Union's demand that the agreement be renewed on the old terms, retaining conditions provided in the old NRA code.

The agreement, according to Louis Fuchs, manager of the Union, will be signed before the week is over.

As late as Thursday of last week a conference between the Association and the representatives of the union resulted in a stalemate. The manufacturers had withdrawn their demand for a wage reduction but persisted in the demand for a 40-hour week. Fuchs and J. Schlossberg, as well as the union's attorney, Matthew M. Levy, served an ultimatum on the association that they must give a definite answer not later than August 28 to the demand for renewal of the agreement on the old terms, serving notice that if the agreement were not renewed a general strike would be called immediately after Labor Day.

The Association's acceptance of the union's conditions does not reverse the decision for calling out the shops outside the Association. All arrangements for the strike, which involve about 185 shops in the metropolitan district and many more in Philadelphia, as well as other cities in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, were already completed by the organization. The strike committee had a meeting last Tuesday when final arrangements were made for calling out the shops.

So far the union is not even talking settlement, and negotiations with the non-associations manufacturers will not begin until after all these shops are stopped off, but Fuchs announced that one of the demands to the manufacturers will be that they give a cash security that they will live up to the terms of settlement.



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Jacob Hillquit Heads Ticket in N. Y. City

JACOB HILLQUIT, Socialist and labor lawyer, will head the Socialist ticket in the fall elections in New York as candidate for Justice of the Court of General Sessions for New York County. The full slate of Socialist candidates filed by Executive Secretary Julius Gerber contains the names of Socialist veterans and men and women of the younger element in encouraging proportions.

The candidates, as filed with the Board of Elections, are technically candidates for nomination at the primaries, but as all Socialist nominations are made in the organization the primary election is merely a formality so far as the Party is concerned.

The full Socialist ticket for the November elections follows:

NEW YORK COUNTY
Judge, General Sessions, Jacob Hillquit.
Justice, Municipal Court, 2nd District, Irwin Nussbaum; Municipal Court, 5th District, Nathan Turk; Municipal Court, 7th District, James Lipsig.
Representative in Congress, 22nd District, Tyrell Wilson.
Assembly, 1st A. D., Bruno Fischer; 2nd, David Lasser; 3rd, Joseph Goldberg; 4th, Julius Green; 5th, Marx Lewis; 6th, Abraham N. Weinberg; 7th, Siegfried Lipschitz; 8th, Joseph Belsky; 9th, Bruno Rantane; 10th, William S. Farrall; 11th, William Edlin; 12th, John F. Sullivan; 13th, Dorothy E. Pfaff; 14th, Elizabeth Solomon; 15th, Adrien Gambet; 16th, Joseph Sugar; 17th, Benjamin Blumenberg; 18th, Charles Youngstein; 19th, Alma Crosswaith; 20th, Abraham Grossman; 21st, Noah C. A. Walter, Jr.; 22nd, Brendan Sexton; 23rd, Saul Parker.
Aldermen, 1st A. D., John Braun; 2nd, Morris Goldowsky; 3rd, Edward R. Hardy; 4th, Samuel P. Ulanoff; 5th, Norman Furman; 6th, August Claessens; 7th, Murray Baron; 8th, Joseph Mandelson; 9th, Henry Fruchter; 10th, Edwin Koppel; 11th, David Rubinow; 12th, Rose Perlman; 13th, Joseph Gott; 14th, Martha Hochman; 15th, Louis Binger; 16th, Philip H. Schmitt; 17th, Max Gaft; 18th, Isaiah Minkoff; 19th, Uccell Forde; 20th, Isaac Schiff; 21st, Annie Peters; 22nd, Fred Hodgson; 23rd, Hugo D'Agostino; 24th, Joseph Beckerman.

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District Attorney, Leonhard Lazarus.
Register, Julia Kaplan.

Justices, Municipal Court, 1st District, Henry Doering, George A. Gibbs.
Assembly, 1st A. D., Emerich Steinberger; 2nd, Anna Berowitz; 3rd, Henry Layburn; 4th, John Colquhoun; 5th, Arthur Simpkins; 6th, Edward P. Gottlieb.

Aldermen, 5th A. D., Jack Humphreys; 58th, James O'Neal; 59th, Vito Tancredi; 60th, Benjamin H. Hill; 61st, Edwin C. Johnson; 62nd, Matthew Cerdia.

RICHMOND COUNTY

County Clerk, Monitor Rider.
Assembly, 1st A. D., Walter Dearing; 2nd, Richmond E. Lawler; Aldermen, 63rd A. D., Anton Christensen; 64th, Zekor Antonson; 65th, Frank Kahrs.

PARTY NOTES

Ohio

Bridgeport—Charles Pogorelec, secretary of the Yugoslav Federation, has completed an organization tour of eastern Ohio. He organized a branch at Maynard and has been getting subscriptions for the "The Class Struggle" newspaper. Spravednost, on "The Underground Activity of German and Austrian Socialists"; Sept. 20; Morris Pearlman, teacher on "The Class Character of the Origin of the U. S. Constitution".

Illinois

Chicago—The 24th Ward Branch announces the following September program: Discussion group, meeting every other Friday night at 8:30 at its new headquarters, 3400 Douglas Blvd. Sept. 6th, Laddie Janik of the Bohemian Socialist newspaper, Spravednost, on "The Underground Activity of German and Austrian Socialists"; Sept. 20; Morris Pearlman, teacher on "The Class Character of the Origin of the U. S. Constitution".

The branch is arranging its Open Forum for October and November. Among the subjects are: "What About the Communist International?"; "The Significance of the Workers' Rights Amendment"; "The General Strike as a Weapon in the American Labor Movement"; "The Metaphor of the Metropolis Press"; "The Accomplishments of the A. F. of L. Convention"; and "The Socialist International vs. the Communist International" (a symposium). Speakers are: Albert Goldman, Paul Porter, Frank Rosenbaum and Carl Haessler. The chairman and vice-chairman are respectively Mordecai Shulman and Morris Pearlman.

A house-warming party in the new headquarters will take place Saturday, Sept. 21.

New York City

Town Hall Mass Meeting, Sept. 25
The opening mass meeting will be held Sunday afternoon, Sept. 25, in Town Hall, West 4th St., New York. Announcement will be made later of the complete program. Branch officers and party members are urged to note the date and cooperate in making it an overwhelming success.

Meeting of Candidates and Organizers

As a means of coordinating plans for an effective campaign, a joint meeting has been called of all candidates and branch organizers for Thursday eve, Sept. 5, in Room 402, People's House, to exchange views, arrange programs of indoor and outdoor meetings, arrange for printing new literature, etc., etc. Every candidate and every branch organizer should be present. Organizers of foreign-language branches should be with us.

Help Needed!
Volunteers are needed to address envelopes for a mailing to more than 20,000 voters relative to the coming primaries and campaign. All comrades able to assist are urged to come to the Party Office, Room 407, 7 East 15th St., New York, any day between 10 a.m. and 9 p.m.

Literature Available
We still have a quantity of booklets by Harry W. Laidler, "Appeal to the White Collar Workers," and by August Claessens, "The Blue Eagle is Dead—So What?" These booklets can be sold at meetings for one cent each. They are sold to branches for \$6 per thousand.

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INTERNATIONAL BAKERY & CONFECTIONERY WORKERS' UNION
LOCAL 507
1353 Boston Road
M. YANOFKY, Sec'y

BAKERS' UNION
LOCAL 505
315 Grand St., N. Y. C.
L. KORMAN, Sec'y

Massachusetts Socialist Summer School



Here are the fine and intelligent young men and women who attended the recent Socialist Summer School at Fitchburg, Mass. Seated with the students, who came from every part of the state, are August Claessens and Winston Dancis, who were among the instructors.

Philadelphia Socialists Must Register September 3-4 to Qualify for Election

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Tuesday, Sept. 3, and Saturday, Sept. 7, will be the last regular registration days for Philadelphia voters. All Philadelphia Socialists are urged to go to the polls in their respective divisions and register Socialist. All previous registrations are void. You must register again in order to vote at the Primary and November election. 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 polls will be open from 8:00 a. m. to 2:00 p. m. and 5:00 p. m. to 11:00 p. m.

The Socialist Party candidates are Dr. Charles Mazer for Mayor, Joseph Karmark for Receiver of Taxes, H. Berger and Dr. Kutikoff for City Commissioners, Sonia Teitelman, Clerk of Quarter Sessions Court, Pauline Zoloth, Recorder of Deeds, David Braginsky, David H. H. Felix, Alice Hanson, Kazimir Miller and J. Huss for Magistrates. Councilmen have also been nominated. Dr. George Hartman, Judge of Supreme Court, and William Adams, Judge of Superior Court.

Don't fail to register. For information or assistance call the Party Office: Kingsley 9373.

MANHATTAN

4th A.D.—Special campaign headquarters will be opened shortly on Delancey St. to carry on the campaign. Branch also voted to participate in party bazaar to be held the week of Thanksgiving in the People's House. We will have our own bazaar and sale of new and used goods, clothing, etc., etc. The bazaar will be held at 100 W. 2nd St. to local and city-wide candidates in conjunction with a social for party members and enrolled voters. Sept. 16, 8 p.m. With McAllister Coleman as master of ceremonies, entertainment will be provided by a hot dance band; the German New Theatre Group will make their first appearance at any English-speaking branch in skits, novelties and group singing. Brief talks by Frank Grosswaith, Algeron Lee, Murray Baron and others. Invitations have been issued to Norman Thomas, Harry W. Laidler and others. There will be a complete spread of home-prepared refreshments.

East Side Campaign
At a joint meeting of the 6th, 8th and 9th Ward Workers' Branches and the Young Socialist Alliance, held Monday last at 95 Avenue B, at which about 80 comrades were present, Irving Alexander as chairman introduced August Claessens, A. N. Weinberg and Joseph Mandelson, who outlined the plans for a great campaign in the 6th and 8th Assembly Districts. More than 200 Socialists will be organized for all kinds of activities.

A temporary campaign committee of three delegates from the four branches is being organized. It will be composed of the Polish and Italian groups and the Socialist Consumers League. Temporary officers are: Joseph Beckerman, 6th A.D., secretary. A meeting of all branches at the Rand School on Monday, Sept. 9, 8 p.m.

BRONX

Lower 6th A.D.—Branch meeting Tuesday, Sept. 3, at 1638 E. 172nd St.
Lower 8th A.D.—Branch is preparing for an intensive campaign in conjunction with the other branches in the 8th A.D. Branch auto picnic to Dr. Silverberg's home at 1638 E. 172nd St. held Sept. 8. Make reservations now with George Steinhardt, \$1 per person.

KINGS

Bensonhurst Branch—Henry Jager will speak at 67th St. and Bay Parkway Friday, Aug. 30, 8:30 p.m.
16th A.D.—Regular meeting of Branch on Tuesday eve, Sept. 3, at 6618 Bay Parkway.

GREETINGS from

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We extend our greetings to the workers of the world on this labor holiday. On with the march for a Socialist Commonwealth.

PAINTERS LOCAL No. 261
GUS GREENBERGER, President
M. GAFT, Secretary-Treasurer

B'klyn Cooperative Society Plans Membership Campaign

The Independent Consumers' Cooperative Society, Inc., 964 Rutland Road, Brooklyn, has plans under way for an extensive and intensive membership drive. The success of their first practical experiment—the Laundry Division, and the comprehensive scope of their educational program in the field of Cooperation has created considerable interest in this organization, which now seeks to add new members.

The progress being made by the Laundry Division has also furnished the impetus for extending the service (which heretofore has been confined to Brooklyn) to the lower part of Manhattan. It will be but a short time before this plan materializes, and the trucks of the Cooperative will be proclaiming to the populace of Manhattan that the establishment of a genuine Consumers' Cooperative is not merely an ideal and hope, but a practical fulfillment.

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7 East 15th St. Phone ALgonquin 4-3657.
3655, Executive Board meets every Tuesday night in the office of the Union, 31 West 16th Street, New York City.
Manager, L. A. Barkinsky, Sec'y-Treas.

CAP MAKERS UNION, Local No. 1.
Tel. Orchard 4-9860—Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Ave., New York City.

CLOAK, DRESS, DRIVERS' & HELPERS' UNION, Local 182, I.L.G.W.U.
Affiliated with A. F. of L. 131 West 3rd St., Chickering 4-3681—Saul Metz, Manager.

CORSET AND BRASSIERE WORKERS' UNION, Local 32, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.
31 West 16th Street, New York City. Abraham Snyder, Manager.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, Local 1, N.Y.C.
New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th St., New York, N. Y. Phone Temple 5-5400. L. Hollender, J. Catalinotti, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

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Office and headquarters, 949 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn; Stags 2-4788. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice-President, Stephen Tobasco; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Heib.

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The Mollin Twins

Dr. Abraham Mollin, well known Socialist of the Bronx, became the proud father of two sons this week. Anne Sherman, his wife, also a member of his branch, and the twins are doing well.

Colorado

Denver—James D. Graham, president of the Montana Federation of Labor and member of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party, is desirous of having a Western States Socialist conference in the near future. Tentative plans for the meeting have been made for Denver on September 20, 21 and 22. Its purpose will be the formulation of an effective program to build the movement in the light of problems peculiarly Western and the laying of plans for the 1936 campaign.

Write to Paul S. McCormick, Secretary, Socialist Party of Colorado, Room 205, 1026 17th St., Denver, regarding this conference.

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Socialist Legislators Fight Battles of the Workers

Two Reading Members Bear Brunt of Labor's Fight in Harrisburg

By Darlington Hoopes

LILITH WILSON and the writer were first elected to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives in 1930, and have served through three regular sessions—1931, 1933 and 1935—and four special sessions. During these sessions, except the regular session of 1935, the Republican Party was in full control of all branches of State government. In November, 1934, the Democrats elected a Governor, and the majority of the House of Representatives, while the Republicans retained control of the Senate by a reduced majority.

During the period the Democrats were in the minority, many of their members went along with the two Socialists on much of the proposed social and labor legislation. They waged their 1934 campaign upon a platform which advocated such measures, and their statewide ticket had the endorsement of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

When the two Socialists took their seats this year, the Democrats boasted that they had stolen our thunder and would, themselves, propose such a broad program to the common people that there wouldn't be anything left for the Socialists to do. We merely chuckled, told them that their actions would speak louder than their words, and went ahead and introduced the same measures which we had presented at previous sessions with some additions, a few of which I shall briefly discuss.

Pennsylvania, like many other states, has its seditious or criminal syndicalist law, which makes it an offense, subject to twenty years' imprisonment and \$10,000 fine, to write, publish, print or utter any statement, which tends to bring the Government of this State or the United States into hatred or contempt, and mere membership in any organization, the purposes of which are seditious as defined by the act, is also made a separate offense. At every session we have introduced a repealer of this act, but were never able to get it out of committee. This year, we finally obtained a public hearing, after the President of the State Federation of Labor had written every member of the committee urging favorable action, and at this hearing, some of the State's most conservative lawyers advocated the repeal of the act because it was a restriction upon free speech and free press, and the committee reported it out.

A Holy Alliance

The American Legion lobby then got into action, and urged the defeat of the measure on the ground that if the seditious law were repealed, people would be permitted to make speeches attacking the Government. On the floor of the House I pointed out that most of the Democratic candidates in the last campaign had, undoubtedly, violated the act in their speeches, attacking the Republican Administration, and that while they had not been prosecuted the act had been used in many cases against strike leaders and others whom the employers wished to get out of the way, and that for this reason the repealer had the wholehearted support of Organized Labor. When the vote was finally taken, a great number of members walked out of the House without being recorded either way; more than fifty of the self-styled "liberal" Democrats, and most of the Republicans voted "no," or failed to vote, and the measure was defeated by a vote of 78 to 104, thus proving what we had contended all along, that the Democrats were not really liberal, and only voted for measures favored by Labor when the administration ordered them to do so for political reasons.



Darlington Hoopes

We re-introduced our Unemployment Insurance Bill, which was originally drafted by Morris Hillquit. The Democrats never gave it any real consideration. Late in the session, they jammed their own bill through the House, but it provided for much smaller benefits, payable over a very limited period, and lacked the safeguards for the workers contained in our measure.

My colleague again presented a 30-hour week bill, but as the administration couldn't get the House to pass a 40-hour week bill for women only, it is no wonder that they didn't support our bill. She also presented a Constitutional amendment to permit the enactment of a real old age pension act, which was passed by both the House and the Senate, and was the only measure presented by either of us to get that far at this session. However, the legislature submitted the question of holding a Constitutional Convention to the people for a vote at the September Primary Election, and if the vote called, then the passage of this amendment, by the Legislature, will not mean anything. In any event, it will have to be re-passed by the next Legislature before it can be submitted to the people for a vote.

Killing Labor Measures

A Social Insurance Bill, which provided for medical, surgical, dental, hospital and nursing services, and maternity and death benefits to every employed person in the Commonwealth earning \$50 a month, or less, with certain exemptions, and which would have meant the virtual socialization of medicine in this State, was presented by Mrs. Wilson, and attracted a great deal of attention; a public hearing was held, at which, Dr. Harry W. Laidler most ably presented arguments for the bill, but the committee killed it.

We renewed our drive for an Anti-Eviction Law, which would have required five days' notice in advance of any such proceedings, during which time, the occupant of the dwelling could petition the court, and upon a showing that through unemployment or other economic condition beyond his control he was unable to pay rent or interest, the courts were authorized to grant a stay for six months. This measure provided protection to tenants somewhat similar to that which had at a previous session been given to property owners threatened with mortgage foreclosure. The House passed it, but it died in the Senate.

Other measures which we pushed provided (1) Licensing of private detectives, including inside shop operatives of labor-spy agencies; (2) that the meetings of all municipal bodies be open to the public; (3) authority to cities to acquire land and erect dwellings; (4) increased appropriations for (a) old age assistance; (b) blind pensions, and (c) unemployment relief; (5) authority to cities to acquire and

operate electric light and power, natural and artificial gas and heat plants and water works, without the consent of the Public Service Commission which, in the past, has acted as a tool of the private employers, outlawing company unions, and imposing severe penalties upon employers for violation thereof. The Democrats had pledged such action in their platform, but had done nothing about it. When our bill came in, they had to endorse it, and put it through. A couple of months later, Governor Earle, in a radio talk, referred to it as "Our Collective Bargaining Bill." Apparently he adopted it, but its parents were not consulted concerning the adoption.

We also re-introduced our bill imposing a capital levy upon all property within the State in excess of \$50,000. This, I believe, is the broadest measure, in fact almost the only measure, of its kind introduced into any legislature.

Winning the Workers

The foregoing summary, of course, includes only the measures which we introduced. Needless to say, we took up the cudgels for every bill which promised to ease the conditions or increase the security of the workers. At the close of the session, we were responsible for an amendment, which increased the appropriation for Old Age Assistance from less than twenty million dollars to forty million dollars. This amendment was adopted by the House, and approved by the Senate, but the appropriation was reduced by the Governor, which is the best example we have of the insincerity of the Democratic campaign promises, because their platform definitely pledged "adequate old age pensions," and yet their Governor halved the appropriation for assistance to aged paupers.

When the two Socialist members first went to Harrisburg they did not have the full confidence of the labor movement of the State, but as we have voted for every measure that Labor wanted, and against every one that it opposed, and have led the fight for Labor on many occasions when they could get no Republican or Democrat to take the floor, we have won their unqualified backing, with the result that upon my recent tour of the State, officials of the Central Labor Unions were present at a great majority of my meetings, and I was an invited guest speaker at the last convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, and the convention voted to send a copy of my speech along with that of Governor Earle to every local in the State; this, in spite of the fact, that my speech was an attack upon the Democratic Administration, which had been endorsed by the Federation, and an appeal for independent political action.

Kiefer Bill Killed By Wisconsin Legislature

Special to The New Leader

MADISON, Wis.—The Wisconsin legislature, completely dominated by the LaFollette Progressive Party, voted in the last hours of its regular session to kill the so-called Kiefer bill, backed by the Socialist Party and the whole labor movement of the state.

The aim of the bill was to establish a Wisconsin Production Corporation under which the state would be empowered to go into business as a direct employer and thus to make possible the employment of an almost indefinite number of workers at decent wages and under union conditions.

The bill, introduced by Socialist Assemblyman Edward H. Kiefer, won wide support throughout the state, and after a hearing several weeks ago attended by over 1,500 people was favorably reported out of committee by an almost unanimous vote.

Republicans, Democrats and LaFollette Progressives united to defeat the bill when it finally came up for a vote.

Governor Philip F. LaFollette, who had the power to compel the legislature to pass the measure, did nothing, and there is not even the poor consolation of an emasculated bill purporting to cover the same ground.

PAPER BOX MAKERS WIN STRIKE WITH AID OF MILLINERY UNION

An important short strike has been won by the Paper Box Makers' Union, Local 18239, A. F. of L., against the Custom Paper Box Co.

The strike received the fullest cooperation of the officers of the Millinery Workers' Union, Local 24, which brought it to a speedy and successful conclusion. The strike was caused by the employer's efforts to get rid of active union workers and an attempt to impose a "speed-up" system that would have enslaved the workers to an even greater extent than that of the industry is already famous for.

The manufacturer involved produces almost exclusively paper boxes used in millinery shops. The strikers appealed to the Millinery Workers' Union to help them by influencing various union shops of

By Abraham Knepler

(Special to The New Leader)

BRIDGEPORT.—Connecticut this year will observe the tercentenary celebration of its founding in 1635. Pageants, radio, newspapers, books, booklets, magazines—every sort of fanfare is publicizing the state's three-hundredth anniversary, and to glorify the state's growth. The state's inhabitants are characterized by professional ballyhoosers as typical shrewd Yankees with a passion for rugged individualism that out-Coolidges the late Cal.

Connecticut is the land of steady habits, where the farmers keep right on voting Republican because their grandpappies did. But that does not keep Connecticutians from pointing proudly to their advance in customs from the time when the colonial legislature passed a law making it a criminal offense for a man to kiss his wife on Sunday.

Yet, in one sense, Connecticut truly came of age on its three-hundredth birthday. For the first time in the state's history the Socialist Party was represented in the General Assembly, and the Socialist delegation made its influence felt at crucial moments. The activities of the most progressive state legislature in recent Connecticut history, that of 1935, cannot be intelligently discussed without considering the outstanding role played by Bridgeport's five Socialist legislators, three state senators and two representatives.

In the Senate the three Socialist votes controlled the balance of power until almost the end of the session. On the whole, that balance was wisely wielded. It forced concessions from the old parties that otherwise would never have been obtained. It marked the achievement of more progressive social legislation than two previous decades of legislative sessions had enacted, and meanwhile staved off much reactionary legislation which professional patriots and capitalist henchmen were successful in inducing other states to pass this year.

Rotten Borough System

Not everything that the Socialists wanted was passed. Not everything that the Socialists opposed was defeated. But considering the organized anti-Red hysteria of the millinery trade to use only union made boxes.

The Paper Box Makers' Union extends its fullest appreciation for the cooperation of the Millinery Workers' Union, Local 24, and particularly its officers, Nathan Specter, manager; Alex Rose, Secy, and Business Agents I. H. Goldberg, Morris Rosenblatt, Max Goodman and I. Mendelowitz.



Mayor Jasper McLevy

times, considering the records of past Connecticut legislatures, and the legislatures of other states, and considering the makeup of this legislature, the Socialists won greater laurels for the workers of the state and for their own Bridgeport constituents than they had dared hope. And all this in face of the fact that the legislature still operates under the "rotten borough" system, under which the rural elements, the most backward in the state, control the lower house of the legislature by an overwhelming majority. As an example, the state's three largest cities, Hartford, New Haven and Bridgeport, ranging in population from about 175,000 to 147,000 respectively, send two representatives each to the lower house of the General Assembly. Union, the smallest town, with a population of 196, also sends two representatives to the House. So it is that the rural section, which constitutes about half of Connecticut's population, controls two-thirds of the House of Representatives, besides controlling half of the Senate.

It is necessary to know this in order to understand how difficult the Socialist task is, and to realize the actual extent of their accomplishments and shortcomings.

Instead of seeking to make concrete gains, the Socialists could have spent all their time in "propagandizing," making demonstrations and protests, and calling the other legislators everything under the sun. They might have shown their zeal (or lack of it) for the workers by introducing the most revolutionary proposals to a legislature composed almost entirely of conservative and reactionary elements, knowing that their proposals would be thrown into the waste basket after a mock hearing, and then boast to the masses that they were "representing" THEM. What they would have accomplished, how the welfare of the masses would actually have been improved, would actually have been improved, graceful zero.

Policy of Socialists

Instead of seeking the impossible and gaining nothing, the Socialists resolved to work for concrete measures—to concentrate on some they felt would have a chance if sufficient strength were rallied behind them, and to push others which, while they probably would have no chance of passage at this session, could be introduced with the idea of educating the public and paving the way for their enactment at the next regular session.

"Homes" in these times of "Home Relief"—A family on a New York sidewalk after being convicted for the crime of not being able to pay rent.



A Labor Day Speech [Not] Delivered by the President

By George R. Kirkpatrick

MY Fellow Citizens:

"Today, Labor Day, 1935, the supreme joy of my life comes to me, the joy of making two extraordinary announcements which will thrill you, ay, more, will thrill all mankind.

"The first announcement is this: The future has arrived—in the United States. I mean that a situation has here developed toward which for ages men and women of all the world have longingly looked forward—a time, a stage of industrial-technological progress which actually makes it easily practicable to produce plenty—abundant plenty—for everybody; yes, really, everybody. Naturally I have the keenest possible pleasure in making this announcement at a time when at least a hundred million of our people are living on much less than plenty. Think of it, fellow-citizens, plenty for everybody. The eyes of the world are upon us. Let us rise to the sublime situation, and rejoice in pride and gratitude.

"The second announcement is: Henceforth, in my plans and policies as President I shall be guided and controlled—every minute—by this supreme fact that our country is able to produce plenty for everybody. Henceforth I shall urge the Senate and the House of Representatives—I shall urge all governors and state legislatures, and the thousands of editors and educators—and also every labor leader in the land—I shall earnestly urge all—all of these to help me bring this glorious fact vividly to the attention of all the people, in order to rouse the people to want plenty, expect plenty and demand plenty—not a dime less than plenty.

"Whatever I can do I will do to make it mandatory that our nation's industries shall be set going and proceed at full capacity for the production of plenty for everybody. Moreover I shall insist that the

workers' reward shall be plenty to buy plenty—that consumption privilege shall equal production, capacity production.

"With this huge purchasing power the multitude will buy in vast quantities: the depression will vanish. A new era will dawn—wholly new in the tragic history of mankind, the Better Day, Labor's Day. Here and now I urge every worker in this land to prepare for war, a new kind of war—not with guns and shells and poison gas, but with facts, facts that rouse the reason to revulsion against the hideous, coward silence on plenty for everybody. O, toilers—all in mill and mine, in forest, office, schoolroom and on the farm—rouse, rouse for

"The War Worth While: A war for the new justice—plenty for everybody.

"A war for the new statesmanship—plenty for everybody.

"A war for the new goal—plenty for everybody.

"A war with wholly new social planning—plenty for everybody.

"A war with a new battle-cry: Plenty, Plenty, Plenty, not a Dime Less than Plenty for Everybody.

"A war with new ammunition and new weapons—facts that explode the piffle and drivels of less than plenty for everybody in a land of plenty for everybody. . . .

with a wild whoop for cold-blooded Cal Coolidge? And for the frigid and brutal Herbert Hoover who detests them?

"And look at the mountain of votes they piled up for me—the aristocrat who also despises them so thoroughly that I have arranged a minimum wage of \$19 a month for millions of poor devils who are cornered and whimpering under the lash of poverty. . . . Bah! Until the workers have wit enough to demand plenty and gumption enough to get together and go after plenty—why should I have respect for them?

"One of the very great differences between the 'better' class and the working class is this: the 'better' class insists on having plenty—and plenty of the best. (That's what makes them better!)

While the working class as a whole never demands, never mentions, never even dream of plenty for themselves. . . .

"How wonderful it all is! The chloroform of bunk and promises and piffle and rhetorically perfumed drivels are so much less expensive than soldiers and jails for keeping the working people in their places, gullibly contented with less, far less than plenty in a land of embarrassing plenty. Really, it is almost comical. Tra, la, la, la—it is so easy. I wonder how many speeches will be made this Labor Day with the usual careful—or stupid—silence on plenty for everybody.

"Well, at any rate I am glad that the speech I made in my dream will not be delivered anywhere by anybody—except, probably, by the Socialists. Secretly, quite secretly, I respect the Socialists. They refuse to take it lying down whimpering any stupid gratitude for less than plenty in a land of plenty. Politically, they will yet sweep the world, for they are wise to the situation. . . . And, of course, we, my class, are through as soon as the workers are roused to see the situation—clearly."



In "Civilized" California—Here are two of the victims of a reactionary mob that tarred and feathered several radicals.

The Parable of the Water Tank

By Edward Bellamy

Edward Bellamy, spiritual father of much of the Utopian Socialism of today, wrote "Equality" as a sequel to and amplification of his enormously popular "Looking Backward." "Equality," however, was written in a more serious mood than the earlier book, and while it retains the fictional form of the adventures of Julian West of the Boston of 1887 in the Boston of the year 2000, the conversations between him and Dr. Leete, his host in the Socialist world, are in reality a series of serious discussions on serious economic subjects. The book, therefore, is not as well known as the earlier one. However, one of its chapters, here-with reprinted, is one of the most popular Socialist statements on crises and depressions in our language. The drawings were made especially for this issue by Arthur Fassberg.—Editor.

"The other day, at the museum, I was delving among the relics of literature of the great Revolution, with a view to finding something that might illustrate our theme. I came across a little pamphlet of the period, yellow and almost undecipherable, which, on examina-

tion, I found to be a rather amusing skit or satirical take-off on the profit system. It struck me that probably our lesson might prepare us to appreciate it, and I made a copy. It is entitled 'The Parable of the Water Tank,' and runs this way:—

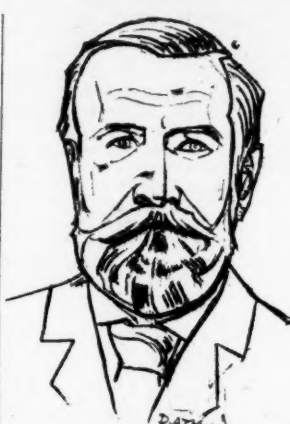
"THERE was a certain very dry land, the people whereof were in sore need of water. And they did nothing but to seek after water from morning until night, and many perished because they could not find it.

"Howbeit, there were certain men in that land who were more crafty and diligent than the rest, and these had gathered stores of water where others could find none, and the name of these men was called capitalists. And it came to pass that the people of the land came unto the capitalists and prayed them that they would give them of the water they had gathered that they might drink, for their need was sore. But the capitalists answered them and said:

"Go to, ye silly people! Why should we give you of water which we have gathered, for then we should become even as ye are, and perish with you? But behold what we will do unto you. Be ye our servants and ye shall have water."

learned in dark sayings, who joined themselves to the capitalists by reason of the water of the capitalists, that they might have thereof and live, they and their children. And they spake for the capitalists unto the people, and did their embassies for them, seeing that the capitalists were not a folk quick of understanding, neither ready of speech.

"And the capitalists demanded of the soothsayers that they should interpret this thing unto them, wherefore it was that the people bought no more water of them, although the tank was full. And certain of the soothsayers answered and said: 'It is by reason of overproduction,' and some said, 'It is glut'; but the signification of the two words is the same. And others said, 'Nay, but this thing is by reason of the spots on the sun.' And yet others answered, saying, 'It is neither by reason of glut, nor yet of spots on the sun, that this evil hath come to pass, but because of lack of confidence.'



Edward Bellamy

concerning the sun spots, and also wherefore it was that these things had come upon them by reason of lack of confidence. And it was even



"This thing is by reason of the spots on the sun."

"And while the soothsayers had said, so tended among themselves, according to their manner, the men of profit did slumber and sleep, and when they awoke they said to the soothsayers: 'It is enough. Ye have spoken comfortably unto us. Now go ye forth and speak comfortably likewise unto this people, so that they be at rest and leave us also in peace.'

"But the soothsayers, even the men of the dismal science—for so they were named of some—were loath to go forth to the people lest they should be stoned, for the people loved them not. And they said to the capitalists:

"Masters, it is a mystery of our craft that if men be full and thirst not but be at rest, then shall they find comfort in our speech even as ye. Yet if they thirst and be empty, find they no comfort therein, but rather mock us, for it seemeth that unless a man be full our wisdom appeareth unto him but emptiness.' But the capitalists said: 'Go ye forth. Are ye not our men to do our embassies?'

"And the soothsayers went forth to the people and expounded to them the mystery of overproduction, and how it was that they must needs perish of thirst, be-

cause the people their wisdom seemed emptiness. And the people reviled them, saying: 'Go up, ye bald-heads! Will ye mock us? Doth plenty breed famine? Doth nothing come out of much?' And they took up stones to stone them.

"And when the capitalists saw that the people still murmured, and would not give ear to the soothsayers, and because also they feared lest they should come upon the tank and take of the water by force, they brought forth to them certain holy men (but they were false priests), who spake unto the people that they should be quiet and trouble not the capitalists because they thirsted. And these holy men, who were false priests, testified to the people that this affliction was sent to them by God for the healing of their souls, and that if they should bear it in patience and lust not after the water, neither trouble the capitalists, it would come to pass that after they had given up the ghost they would come to a country where there should be no capitalists, but an abundance of water. Howbeit, there were certain true prophets of God also, and these had compassion on the people, and would not prophecy for the capitalists, but rather spake constantly against them.

"Now, when the capitalists saw that the people still murmured and would not be still, neither for the words of the soothsayers nor of the false priests, they came forth themselves unto them, and put the ends of their fingers in the water that overflowed in the tank and wet the tips thereof, and they scattered the drops from the tips of their fingers abroad upon the people who thronged the tank, and the name of the drops of water was charity, and they were exceedingly bitter.

"And when the capitalists saw yet again that neither for the words of the soothsayers, nor of the holy men who were false priests, nor yet for the drops that were called charity, would the people be still, but raged the more, and crowded upon the tank as if they would take it by force, then took they counsel together and sent men privily forth among the people. And these men sought out the mightiest among the people and all who had skill in war, and

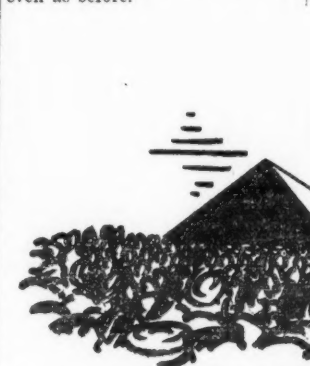
took them apart and spake craftily with them, saying:

"Come, now, why cast ye not your lot in with the capitalists? If ye will be their men and serve them against the people, that they break not in upon the tank, then shall ye have abundance of water, that ye perish not, ye and your children."

"And the mighty men and they who were skilled in war hearkened unto this speech and suffered themselves to be persuaded, for their thirst constrained them, and they went within unto the capitalists and became their men, and staves and swords were put in their hands and they became a defense unto the capitalists, and smote the people when they thronged upon the tank.

"And after many days the water was low in the tank, for the capitalists did make fountains and fish-ponds of the water thereof, and did bathe therein, they and their wives and their children, and did waste the water for their pleasure.

"And when the capitalists saw that the tank was empty, they said, 'The crisis is ended,' and they sent forth and hired the people that they should bring water to fill it again. And for the water that the people brought to the tank they received for every bucket a penny, but for the water which the capitalists drew forth from the tank to give again to the people they received two pennies, that they might have their profit. After a time did the tank again overflow even as before.



"The crisis is ended."

"And now, when many times the people had filled the tank until it overflowed, and had thirsted till the water therein had been wasted by the capitalists, it came to pass that there arose in the land certain men who were called agitators, for that they did stir up the people. And they spake to the people, saying that they should associate, and then would they have no need to be servants of the capitalists and should thirst no more for water. And in the eyes of the capitalists were the agitators pestilent fellows, and they would fain have crucified them, but durst not for fear of the people.

"And the words of the agitators which they spake to the people were on this wise:

"Ye foolish people, how long will ye be deceived by a lie, and believe to your hurt that which is not? For behold all these things that have been said unto you by the capitalists and by the soothsayers are cunningly devised fables. And likewise the holy men, who say that it is the will of God that ye should always be poor and miserable and athirst, behold! they do blaspheme God and are liars, whom He will bitterly judge though He forgive all others. How cometh it that ye may not come by the water in the tank? Is it because ye have no money? And why have ye no money? Is it not because ye receive but one penny for every bucket that ye bring to the tank, which is the Market, but must render two pennies for every bucket ye take out, so that the capitalists may have their profit? See ye not how by this means the tank must overflow, being filled by that ye lack and made to abound

out of your emptiness? See ye not also that the harder ye toil, and the more diligently ye seek and bring the water, the worse and not the better it shall be for you by reason of the profit, and that for ever?"

"After this manner spake the agitators for many days unto the people, and none heeded them, but it was so that after a time the people hearkened. And they answered and said unto the agitators:

"Ye say truth. It is because of the capitalists and of their profits that we want, seeing that by reason of them and their profits we may by no means come by the fruit of our labor, so that our labor is in vain, and the more we toil to fill the tank the sooner doth it overflow, and we may receive nothing because there is too much, according to the words of the soothsayers. But behold, the capitalists are hard men and their tender mercies are cruel. Tell us if ye know any way whereby we may deliver ourselves out of our bondage unto them. But if ye know of no certain way of deliverance, we beseech you to hold your peace and let us alone, that we may forget our misery."

"And the agitators answered and said: 'We know a way.'

"And the people said, 'Deceive us not, for this thing hath been from the beginning, and none hath found a way of deliverance until now, though many have sought it care-

fully. What great things do they wherefore ye render them this tribute? Lo! it is only because they do order you in hands and lead you out and in and set your tasks, and afterwards give you a little of the water yourselves have brought and not they. Now, behold the way out of this bondage! Do ye for yourselves that which is done by the capitalists—namely, the ordering of your labor, and the marshalling of your hands, and the dividing of your tasks. So shall ye have no need at all of the capitalists and no more yield to them any profits, but all the fruit of your labor shall ye share as brethren, every one having the same; and so shall the tank never overflow until every man is full, and would not wag the tongue for more, and afterwards shall ye with the overflow make pleasant fountains and fish-ponds to delight yourselves withal even as did the capitalists; but these shall be for first to order the labor.'

"And the people answered, 'How shall we go about to do this thing, for it seemeth good to us?'

"And the agitators answered: 'Choose ye discreet men to go in and out before you and to marshal your hands and order your labor, and these men shall be as the capitalists were; but, behold, they shall not be your masters as the capitalists are, but your brethren and officers who do your will, and they shall not take any profits, but every man his share like the others, that there may be no more masters and servants among you, but brethren only. And from time to time, as ye see fit, ye shall choose other discreet men in place of the first to order the labor.'

"And the people hearkened, and the thing was very good to them. Likewise seemed it not a hard thing. And with one voice they cried out, 'So let it be as ye have said, for we will do it!'

"And the capitalists heard the noise of the shouting and what the people said, and the soothsayers heard it also, and likewise the false priests and the mighty men of war, who were a defense unto the capitalists; and when they heard they trembled exceedingly, so that their knees smote together, and they said one to another: 'It is the end of us!'

"Howbeit, there were certain true priests of the living God who would not prophecy for the capitalists, but had compassion on the people; and when they heard the shouting of the people and what they said, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy, and gave thanks to God because of the deliverance.



"There was no more any thirst."

"And the people went and did all the things that were told them of the agitators to do. And it came to pass as the agitators had said, even according to all their words. And there was no more any thirst in that land, neither any that was hungered, nor naked, nor cold, nor in any manner of want; and

every man said unto his fellow, 'My brother,' and every woman said unto her companion, 'My sister,' for so were they with one another as brethren and sisters which do dwell together in unity. And the blessing of God rested upon that land for ever."

John Stuart Mill On Socialism

In those days, wrote John Stuart Mill, great British economic philosopher, I had seen little further than the old school of political economists into the possibilities of fundamental improvement in social arrangements. Private property, as now understood, and inheritance, appeared to me, as to them, the dernier mot of legislation; and I looked no further than to mitigating the inequalities consequent on these institutions, by getting rid of primogeniture and entails.

The notion that it was possible to go further than this in removing the injustice—for injustice it is, whether admitting of a complete remedy or not—involved in the fact that some are born to riches and the vast majority to poverty, I then reckoned chimerical, and only hoped that by universal education, leading to voluntary restraint on population, the portion of the poor might be made more tolerable. In short, I was a democrat, but not the least of a Socialist.

We were now much less democratic than I had been, because so long as education continues to

be so wretchedly imperfect, we dreaded the ignorance and especially the selfishness and brutality of the mass; but our ideal and ultimate improvement went far beyond Democracy, and would class us decidedly under the general designation of Socialists.

While we repudiated with the greatest energy that tyranny of society over the individual which most Socialist systems are supposed to involve, we yet looked forward to a time when the idle and the industrious; when the rule that they who do not work shall not eat, will be applied not to paupers only, but impartially to all; when the division of the produce of labor, instead of depending, as in so great a degree it now does, on the accident of birth, will be made by concert on an acknowledged principle of justice; and when it will no longer either be, or be thought to be, impossible for human beings to exert themselves strenuously in procuring benefits which are not to be exclusively their own, but to be shared with the society they belong to.

The social problem of the future we considered to be, how to unite the greatest individual ownership in the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation of all in the benefits of combined labor.

Legal Stealing

By John M. Work

IN so far as wealth is not furnished by nature, it is created by labor of hand and brain.

If labor does not create it, what does? Strain your imagination as you like, and you cannot conceive of any other way in which it may be created.

Yet the capitalists, who, as such, do not work, get most of it. This is evident from the fact that they are rich, while the masses of the people are poor.

A few of the capitalists earn a small portion of their incomes by doing useful work. In so far as they do this, they are not capitalists but are workers.

The bulk of the incomes of the capitalists, however, is unearned by them. It comes from their ownership of stocks and bonds, lands and dwellings, and their manipulations and speculations.

By these means they filch most of the earnings of the useful workers away from them and are enabled to draw billions of dividends, interest, rent and profit, not one penny of which is earned by them. It is surplus value, legally stolen from the useful workers of hand and brain.

Does that expression "legally stolen" sound like a contradiction of terms?

It is not. Stealing consists of taking something that belongs to someone else. Of course, in the sense in which the term is commonly used, it means taking something surreptitiously and in violation of law. But the essence of the crime is taking something that belongs to someone else.

Their multifarious ownership of the means of life enables the capitalists to take most of the earnings that belong to the workers. The law at present makes this legal. But it is essentially stealing just the same, because they thereby get wealth which does not belong to them and which is badly needed by those to whom it does belong.

You cannot blame individuals for doing this, so long as the system and the law encourage it. Most of them do not even have a suspicion that it is legal stealing or that it is morally wrong, for they have been brought up to consider it the natural and proper thing to do.

The way to stop this legal stealing is by changing the law. Do not leave the industries in the hands of the capitalists but make them collective. Then legal stealing will no longer be possible.



"Go to, ye silly people."

"And the people said, 'Only give us to drink and we will be your servants, and we and our children.' And it was so."

"Now, the capitalists were men of understanding, and wise in their generation. They ordered the people who were their servants in bands with captains and officers, and some they put at the springs to dip, and others did they make to carry the water, and others did they cause to seek for new springs. And all the water was brought together in one place, and there did the capitalists make a great tank for to hold it, and the tank was called the Market, for it was there that the people, even the servants of the capitalists, came to get water. And the capitalists said unto the people:

"For every bucket of water that ye bring to us, that we may pour it into the tank, which is the Market, behold! we will give you a penny, but for every bucket that we shall draw forth to give unto you that ye may drink of it, ye and your wives and your children, ye shall give to us two pennies, and the difference shall be our profit, seeing that if it were not for this profit we would not do this thing for you, but ye should all perish."

"And it was good in the people's eyes, for they were dull of understanding, and they diligently brought water unto the tank for many days, and for every bucket which they did bring the capitalists gave them every man a penny; but for every bucket that the capitalists drew forth from the tank to give again unto the people, behold! the people rendered to the capitalists two pennies.

"And after many days the water tank, which was the Market, overflowed at the top, seeing that for every bucket the people poured in they received only so much as would buy again half of a bucket. And because of the excess that was left of every bucket, did the tank overflow, for the people were many, but the capitalists were few, and could drink no more than others. Therefore did the tank overflow.

"And when the capitalists saw that the water overflowed, they said to the people:

"See ye not the tank, which is the Market, doth overflow? Sit ye down, therefore, and be patient, for ye shall bring us no more water till the tank be empty."

"But when the people no more received the pennies of the capitalists for the water they brought, they could buy no more water from the capitalists, having naught wherewith to buy. And when the capitalists saw that they had no more profit because no man bought water of them, they were troubled. And they sent forth men in the highways, crying, 'If any thirst let him come to the tank and buy water of us, for it doth overflow.' For they said among themselves, 'Behold, the times are dull; we must advertise.'

"But the people answered, saying: 'How can we buy unless ye



"The thirst of the people was great."

"And the thirst of the people was great, for it was not now as it had been in the days of their fathers, when the land was open before them, for every one to seek water for himself, seeing that the capitalists had taken all the springs, and the wells, and the waterwheels and the vessels and the buckets, so that no man might come by water save from the tank, which was the Market. And the people murmured against the capitalists and said: 'Behold, the tank runneth over, and we die of thirst. Give us, therefore, of the water, that we perish not.'

"But the capitalists answered: 'Not so. The water is ours. Ye shall not drink thereof unless ye buy it of us with pennies.' And they confirmed it with an oath, saying after their manner, 'Business is business.'

"But the capitalists were disquieted that the people bought no more water, thereby they had no more profits, and they spake one to another, saying: 'It seemeth that our profits have stopped our profits, and by reason of the profits we have made, we can make no more profits. How is it that our profits are become unprofitable to us, and our gains do make us poor? Let us therefore send for the soothsayers, that they may interpret this thing unto us; and they sent for them.'

"Now, the soothsayers were men

Fifty Years of American Labor *By James Oneal*

NEXT year the American Federation of Labor will celebrate its fiftieth anniversary. During this half-century it has had an interesting history but the period since the end of the World War is in many ways the most important. It reveals the impact of changed economic conditions upon the philosophy of trade unionism, a shift in views that is revolutionary in the sense that when one compares 1923 with 1935 the philosophy of the first year cannot be identified with the philosophy of the present period.

Following the end of the war and the resumption of "business as usual" by the government, a short depression in 1921-22 was accompanied by an intense drive for the open shop by big corporations. The membership of the A. F. of L. reached its peak in 1920 with 4,078,740 members. In 1924 it had declined to 2,865,799, a loss of 1,212,941. This was a severe blow. It registered in a new philosophy. The Portland convention of 1923 adopted an elaborate new statement of aims and philosophy. It condemned operation of industry primarily for profit, but it did not condemn private and corporation ownership. Instead, it emphatically declared against all forms of government interference in industrial relations as bungling intervention that inevitably establishes a state bureaucracy. As an alternative it proposed that the "organized functional elements in industry," the trade unions and the owners, abandon reliance upon legislation and both cooperate in solving "those problems to which politicians now turn their attention in utility."

Rise of Company Unions

This was a trade union bid for peace based upon a conservative syndicalist philosophy that rejected politics and legislative aids in the struggles of the organized workers. With it evolved in the ensuing years the self-help philosophy of American individualism. Owners and workers were to cooperate in the industries, the government should enact no social legislation, and the workers in general should rely upon individual thrift and incentives in activities outside of the unions. "In America sovereignty remains with the individual," read an

editorial in the A. F. of L. news service in 1929. "There is no greater illusion than that social reforms come through legislation," declared another editorial.

Meantime, company unions were being organized in the mass production industries. There were 145 of these "unions" with a membership of 400,000 in 1919. The number increased to 430 with a membership of 1,400,000 in 1926, an average increase of 125,000 members per year, while the membership of the unions in this period declined an average of 123,000 members per year. The new philosophy of the A. F. of L. made no converts among the owners of corporations.

As a bid against the company unions the trade unions were presented as better organizations to promote plant efficiency, to reduce waste and improve the quality of the output of industry. This philosophy was the outcome of the reverses suffered by the trade unions, the illusions of the "prosperity" period, and the indifference of the masses to trade union organization and to the labor movement in general.

Depression Brings Change

The beginning of the big depression in October, 1929, marks a definite turn in trade union philosophy. Even before the industrial collapse the trade unions were disturbed for several years because of the increasing general policy of corporations to discharge workers at the age of 45 or 50. Indifference and opposition to legislation for old age pensions broke down and the A. F. of L. convention in the year of the great collapse approved this item of social legislation.

However, there was a hangover of the old Portland philosophy in opposition to unemployment insurance on the ground that it was a degrading "dole." The convention of 1930 defeated a resolution in favor of jobless insurance and referred it to the Executive Council for a year of study. The report of the resolutions committee to that convention against the proposal now makes painful reading. It declared that the registration of workers for such benefits "would seriously interfere with freedom" and asked, "Shall we discard a system under which we move freely from one end of our great country to another, crossing state lines, stopping where we please, leaving

when we choose, living where we will? Shall we be content to carry industrial passports because they have a government label?"

Opposition continued on these grounds through 1931, although many local unions were adopting resolutions in favor of unemployment insurance. The Weekly News Letter of the A. F. of L. on July 2, 1932, stated that "labor abhors unemployment insurance" and yet a few days later the Executive Council instructed President Green to draw up and present an unemployment insurance bill to Congress. The battle was won!

New Philosophy Emerges

The terrible hardships of the depression, the widespread unemployment and exhaustion of union treasuries made this action necessary. The Council recommended action by states to the convention of 1932 but this was inadequate and later full approval of Federal legislation cooperating with the states was given.

Hitherto the trade unions had relied upon their own financial resources to provide sick, old age and unemployment benefits and this could only aid a fraction of the total working class population. In the shift of the trade unions to support of social legislation for the victims of capitalist industry they became representatives of the whole working class, fighting the battles of all workers. This wider representative function of the trade unions is important in considering the change in the philosophy of American trade unionism.

By the end of 1932 there was little or no trace of the individualist philosophy to be found in trade union periodical literature. The Federation had stored it away and henceforth the emphasis was more and more on a social philosophy which declared the obligation of society to intervene through legislation and social control to avoid the human havoc which the breakdown of capitalism imposed upon the workers of the nation.

The Democrats and Republicans, especially President Hoover, were still paying homage to the individualism which the trade unions had discarded in 1932. Hoover had been rationing it out in every speech as a balm to heal the frightful depression disease. As the hour approached for the inauguration of President Roosevelt the financial structure of capitalism toppled into the ditch. Beneath it was buried the individualist creed which had issued out of frontier life a century before and the new President was faced with stark ruin.

The outcome was the NIRA, a sweeping measure of intervention into all industrial relations which also presented new problems to the trade unions. With it went a theory of the "partnership" of workers and owners but Section 7A, with its prospect of government approval of organization of the workers, electrified members of the unions and awakened workers who had never joined a trade union. Despite "chiseling," the minimum

wages fixed substantially increased, in some extreme cases doubled the wages of low-paid workers.

Drive for Company Unions

While the NIRA gave a big impetus to labor organization, conflict developed between the "partners." By the end of June, 1933, employer magnates were hastily organizing company unions of workers. This drive was on in thirty leading industries, including steel, coal, automobiles and oil. Coercion was being employed to obtain "agreements" between the magnates and their company unions. In some sections of the Kentucky coal fields miners were being evicted from company houses for refusal to sign company union membership rolls.

The rest is history. The conflict has continued to the present hour and yet, despite big odds, vast pressure exerted by company union magnates, "chiseling" by employing chiefs, obscure interpretations of Section 7A by NRA officials, delays and red tape in reaching decisions, the trade unions have made much headway in organization, in reviving the morale of the members, and improving labor standards.

That the trade unions made these advances by taking advantage of the NRA is evident from what happened when the U. S. Supreme Court unanimously nullified the National Industrial Recovery Act. Within a week the A. F. of L. reported wage reductions in many industries and tens of thousands of workers were discharged as a result of exploiters increasing the length of the labor day. "Stretch-out, doubling up and all other forms of speed-up so laboriously displaced during the two years of code administration, reappeared and became firmly entrenched in many plants in less than a week," the A. F. of L. reported.

Evolution of Ideas

This trend has continued with the organized workers resisting in strike after strike. The wage policy of President Roosevelt on WPA projects also supplements the drive of the employing class to lower wages and labor standards. His wage rate, ranging from \$16 for unskilled labor in the South to \$96 for skilled workers in New York City came as a shock to the organized workers. We are now confronted with the old "business as

usual" policy, but the trade unions have shifted to a social philosophy more effective than the views officially held to the end of the old era of "rugged individualism." The Portland ideas are as dead as the Federalist party of Fisher Ames and Alexander Hamilton.

The effects of economic collapse and world change are thus seen in the emergence of a new philosophy of trade unionism. Moreover, a shift more favorable to industrial organization may be observed in the chartering of a union in the automobile industry. The interest taken in the struggle against fascism in Europe and the substantial financial aid being given in support of this struggle also shows a drift away from the old isolationist view that American workers have little responsibility for what happens across the Atlantic.

Vast economic changes in society have always had an important effect upon the ideas, habits, customs and thought of human beings. Probably not one member of a union in a hundred has any idea of the profound changes in philosophy and policy that are occurring in the movement of which he is a part. He goes along because experience teaches that the new view and policy are adapted to the new conditions of the struggle. Here and there a member may doubt and hesitate, but he is carried along in the general current because to resist it would leave him isolated from his comrades.

Continuance of the present trends means eventually emancipation from old nonpartisan political concepts and the emergence of the organized working class as an independent power in political action. With that event realized the revolution in thought and action will be completed. Meantime, Socialists will heartily cooperate with the organized masses in all of their struggles, never assuming an arrogant attitude of "leadership" and relying upon the working class to formulate its self-directed policies with such counsel and cooperation as we can give and that they may willingly accept.

Socialists can learn from the trade unions and the trade unions can learn from us. Each cooperating with the other in economic and political struggles is the ideal and that ideal is the ultimate outcome of the evolution of labor philosophy since the end of the World War.

AMERICAN LABOR STILL FACES THIS



Mrs. Alice Driscoll, one of pickets at Pequot Textile Mills in Salem (Mass.) is being carried off the scene after somebody smashed her over the head with a club. Several more were wounded in clashes.

War on Hitlerism Is the First Duty of the American Workers

By J. Baskin

General Secretary of the Workmen's Circle

LABOR DAY, 1935, the Jewish labor masses are faced with grave new tasks and serious responsibilities. The chief of these is the necessity for immediate and bold action against Nazi Germany for her renewed orgy of persecution—directed this time mainly against the Jew and other religious minorities.

We have never analyzed the ethical concept of the world conscience. We speak of it just as of civilization, as of the great progress of the twentieth century. But if there is such a thing as a world-conscience, today especially, it should rage and storm with anger and hate against the rulers of Germany, who are persecuting people as the most savage barbarians have never done.

We do not speak of the brutalities, about the inquisition punishments the Hitler tribe is employing against its political enemies, against the "Marxists"—Socialists, Communists, and others. Here at least they have an "excuse"—that they are suppressing their "enemies" and that they want to "rescue the world from Communism."

But the bitter passion Nazi Germany is venting on the Jew; this is more cruel than anything the

barbaric government of Czarist Russia ever dared to do. As horrible as the Russian pogroms were, they were mostly sporadic gestures. They were blind uprisings of masses, instigated by the government in order to turn away the rebellious hate of the people against their suffering. But after the pogroms, when all became quiet, the Jews lived, traded, rode from city to city, breathing freely like human beings; they were not driven around like wild cattle.

In Germany the situation today is tragic. Human life is worthless; there is no law and no justice. And the "civilized" world keeps silent. Here and there we hear a sigh, a moan, an outburst of sympathy, but no more.

Our American liberal government is in this respect no better than the others. Of course, there was a time when the Secretary of State protested the Kisheneff pogroms "in the name of outraged humanity"; and in 1912, after a series of attacks in Congress upon Russia's mistreatment of the Jews a commercial treaty that had expired was not renewed. But today times have changed. Diplomacy demands a different approach. Therefore the government is silent. They cannot help themselves in Washington—this was actually what the Assistant Secretary of State answered the Jewish delegation, among whom was Nathan Chavin, Chairman of the Workmen's Circle. And the effrontery of the Nazis is so bold that their consul dares to protest against the Massachusetts legislature which adopted a protest resolution against the butchers of Berlin!

What should be our answer as

Jews, as Socialists? The beasts of Berlin do not fear protests. Their gangsterism will stop at nothing; and if we can figuratively beat them over the head we should do so. By employing the weapon of the economic boycott we can obtain the support of many non-Jewish elements.

The A. F. of L. has given its word and is helping the boycott movement. Let us use these forces.

We must also try with all our strength to prevent the Olympic Games from being held in Berlin. The Olympic Games, should they be held in Germany, will be evidence to Hitler that the civilized world is but little disturbed by his savagery which he and his henchmen are perpetrating. We must seek the aid of sympathetic Americans, who will adhere to our demands and help us in withdrawing the games from Berlin, thus gaining a partial victory over Hitlerism. We recognize the difficulty of the struggle. The Hitler government will spend millions of dollars in an effort to keep the Olympic Games in Berlin. But we believe and trust that there still exists a trace of conscience and self-respect in the civilized world. And it is upon this trace of conscience that we depend—hoping that it will help us in our fight for the economic boycott and the withdrawal of the Olympic Games from Berlin.

Comrades! The battle against Hitlerism is for us a vital problem. We must not for one moment forget the importance of this battle, and we must do all in our strength and might to win it.

MAY OUR COMBINED
EFFORTS REALIZE FOR
THE WORKING CLASS
THAT ECONOMIC SECURITY FOR WHICH
WE ARE ALL STRIVING.

INTERNATIONAL
LADIES' GARMENT
WORKERS' UNION

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD
D. Dubinsky, President

FRATERNAL GREETINGS
from the
**Chicago
Workmen's Circle
District Organization
Committee**
3200 Ogden Ave., Chicago, Ill.
I. Kravets, Chairman
D. Schier, Secretary

GREETINGS
from
**Federation of
Jewish Trade
Unions
of Chicago**

We are with you in the struggle
for democracy, freedom
and peace.

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to The New Leader

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GREETINGS FROM
**VICTOR I. LEVINSON
MRS. V. I. LEVINSON**
COMPLIMENTS FROM
**MAX GOLDBERG,
Branch 459, W. C.
ISADORE GOLDMAN,
Branch 32, W. C.**

**THE CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
JEWISH SOCIALIST VERBAND BRANCHES
IN CHICAGO, ILL.**

greet The New Leader on this occasion of a special Labor Day Edition. We heartily agree with your policies on organized labor in this country. Your incessant fight for a Social-Democratic program and tactics in the American Socialist Party deserve the admiration of all true Socialists in our Verband Branches. Let your future efforts help to build a strong Socialist Party based on organized labor in this country.

CITY CENTRAL COMM. VERBAND
Nathan Fagan, Chairman Morris Blumen, Sec'y
N. WEST VERBAND (Men's Branch)
N. WEST VERBAND (Women's Branch)

**DOUGLAS PARK BRANCH JEWISH
SOCIALIST VERBAND**
Nathan Fagan, Recording Sec'y
Oscar Leviton, Financial Sec'y
Harry E. Cohen, Executive Sec'y and Organizer

A Jubilee of the American Labor Movement

By Joseph Schlossberg

Secretary-Treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers
From an address delivered at the Convention of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor

THE efforts of the American workers to organize go back practically to the beginning of the Republic. Though we did not have in this country the anti-combination laws against workers that England had, the same purpose was achieved by the courts treating strikes as conspiracies and sending strikers to jail as conspirators. It is only in the past half century that the American workers have been able to maintain a permanent and continuous labor movement.

In your state, labor organizations were formed more than a century ago. Strikes of sailors and shipbuilders in Medford were reported as early as 1817.

In 1820 the workers in this state were granted the suffrage, which aroused their interest in political activities.

In 1832 a committee of the New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics and Other Workmen reported that two-fifths of all persons employed in New England factories were children from 7 to 16 years, working from sunrise to 8 o'clock in the evening.

In 1835 the Boston carpenters, masons and stone-cutters inaugurated a movement for the ten-hour day. Though their strikes were lost, they gave impetus to more successful ten-hour movements in other cities.

In 1836 Massachusetts passed the first Child Labor law in America. Children of 12 to 15 years working in factories were required to attend school three months a year.

In 1842 the Massachusetts legislature enacted a ten-hour day for children under 12 years of age working in factories.

In the same year the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts ruled, in connection with a shoe-workers' strike, that trade unions are legal. That put an end to the doctrine of conspiracy. About forty years later came the injunction evil.

In 1852 the first compulsory school attendance law was passed, providing that children of the ages of 8 to 14 be required to attend public school at least 12 weeks in a year, six of them to be consecutive.

In 1864 the Daily Evening Voice was launched in Boston as the first labor daily in New England. It continued until 1867.

In 1866 a law was enacted making ten years the age limit for factory employment.

Eight-Hour Amendment
It was a Boston machinist, Ira Steward, that became the philosopher of the eight-hour movement. He said: "Whether you work by the piece or work by the day, decreasing the hours increases the pay." The amount of wages, said he, is determined by the standard of living. Increase the workers' leisure and you will increase his wages; increase his wants and you will immediately increase his wages. In 1866 Seward organized the Eight-Hour League of Massachusetts.

In 1874 a ten-hour law was enacted in Massachusetts for minors under 18 and for women.

In 1900 the hours of labor for children of 14 years were limited to 10 a day and 58 a week.

In 1910 the law required that children under 16 should be physically examined before going to work.

In 1913 child labor under 16 was reduced to 8 hours a day and 48 a week.

In 1919 the hours of labor for minors under 18 were reduced to 9 a day and 48 a week.

In 1926 no child-labor under 14 was allowed.

Most of the NRA codes prohibited child-labor under 16 throughout the United States.

I am devoting time to the question of child labor because there is a life-and-death struggle going on between capital and labor for the body and soul of the worker's child.

Child-labor is the worst blot on American civilization. There is no justification for child-labor. Not a single child should be permitted to work, so long as there is an adult worker out of a job. He who gets Young America will rule this country tomorrow. The employing class understand it. A child worker is not only a cheap worker, but an enslaved worker, physically and spiritually.

Child Slavery
Child labor means an enslaved labor generation. Either we bring up our children as free citizens and enable them to build a free world, or the employing class will, through them, perpetuate slavery. It is because of this struggle that every attempt by Congress that promised some relief from the child labor evil was blocked by the employing class through the Supreme Court. Twice Congress enacted laws dealing with child labor, and each time the Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional. In 1924, Congress passed by a two-third majority a child-labor amendment to the United States Constitution. The "best people" in the country

Struggles of the American Workers for Justice and Freedom Go Back More Than a Century,- Some Notable Battles of the Past

have opposed it in the State legislatures and kept them from ratifying it. The upholders of child-labor have succeeded in keeping my State, New York, and your State, from ratifying the child-labor amendment. They are determined to perpetuate child-labor. It is our duty to ourselves to keep children from competing with adult workers; it is our duty to the children to make it possible for them to grow up to free and independent manhood and womanhood. They are unable to fight for themselves; we must fight for them; they are our children.

This year the Supreme Court inflicted upon the American labor the unkindest cut of all by invalidating the National Industrial Recovery Act, under which child-labor had been reduced considerably. The N.I.R.A. may not have been what its advocates had claimed for it. There was very much to be criticized in the Act, and much more in the administration of it. The Supreme Court, which was set up in order to cooperate in the nation's efforts to deal with its problems, has thrown the entire nation into chaos, and has forbidden Congress to deal with such vital matters as wages, hours and child-

labor. It thus gave the exploiters of labor an entirely free hand. It extended to them an invitation to intensify their exploitation. The Constitution does not give the



JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG

judges the power to nullify acts of Congress. They have usurped that power and used it to the injury of the American people.

In the early history of this re-

public, Presidents and States resisted vigorously and successfully the arbitrary power of the Supreme Court. In our time the tyranny of this court has been accepted as a finality. We denounce Fascism and Nazism, but bow our heads before nine men who are responsible to no one, and who make and remake the Constitution as they wish. The Constitution is not what it is, but what the judges say it is. The fate of nearly 130 million people lies in their hands. The dangerous power to declare laws unconstitutional can be taken away from the Supreme Court only by a constitutional amendment. But the fate of the child labor amendment warns us that that is next to impossible.

Anti-Labor Court
The U. S. Supreme Court has been traditionally anti-labor. It killed a ten-hour law for bakers in New York; a minimum wage law; child labor acts; it upheld the yellow dog contract; it convicted the Danbury haters and the United Mine Workers under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The court killed the Railroad Retirement Act. Sixty million dollars a year which was to go to old workers, who had given their lives to the railroad industry,

was made a gift by the Supreme Court to the railroad magnates. The latest victims of the Supreme Court were the Frazier-Lemke Act for the farmers and the National Industry Recovery Act for the industrial workers.

How, then, can we protect ourselves despite the Supreme Court? The answer is that we must build up strong unions. We have been doing that for decades but still have a very long road to travel.

American labor has made progress, won victories and sustained defeats. Some of the latter were tragedies, particularly in such industries as steel, coal and textile. This country experienced one major industrial depression, in the 90's, and is now in the sixth year of the worst depression in the world's history. In the past two decades a world war was fought, a social revolution was carried out in Russia, and political revolutions in other countries. And what is the picture of the world today? More than half of the European continent is under dictatorships. Only one large nation in continental Europe is still enjoying human rights. Europe is poisoned and demoralized by racial, national and religious hatred. One nation hates the other, and within the nation one group is taught to hate the other. The young generation in most of the European countries is being brought up in blind obedience to dictators, and with a consuming hatred for some group, nation or race. And the spirit of militarism is much stronger today than it was on the eve of the World War. The world spent 75 per cent more on armaments in 1934 than in 1913. Europe has become brutalized by fascism, Nazism and the new militarism. In Italy, the militarization of the young generation begins with the age of four. The barbarism of present-day Europe is much worse than the ancient one, because it is equipped with all modern means of oppression and destruction, which the barbarism of old did not have.

A Brutal Regime
There is no hope from the existing regime. It is the same employing class regime against which you organized yourselves for battle a half century ago. It is the regime against which you have conducted strikes throughout that period and which has thrown workers in jail. It is the regime that has produced an army of eleven million unemployed workers, and placed about twenty million of the American people on government relief rolls. It is the regime that has, even during the NRA period, sent troops to kill workers for asking what the NRA had promised them. We can

expect nothing but the perpetuation of misery from this regime. And it makes no difference by whom it is headed.

A few days ago the New York papers brought the glad news that the General Motors Corporation has doubled its dividend. Early this year the Henderson Committee submitted a report on the automobile industry. Here are a few facts from that report: one large company produced a car a day for each 24 men employed in 1930; today it produces a car a day for each 16 men. With the "spot and flash" welding machine two men can do now what it took six men to do in 1929. Body framing cost \$3.00 in 1929; it costs 30 cents today. It cost 60 cents to hang a door in 1929; four doors can be hung for 9 cents today. Speedup has been spurred "beyond human capability to produce day by day." In one company only 30 per cent of the men worked as many as 40 weeks in one year, and only 23 per cent earned as much as \$1,200. Those reductions in costs were not in raw material. The purpose of the New Deal, we are told, is to raise costs. The reduction in the cost of production has been entirely at the expense of labor.

When Francis Biddle, chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, testified before a Senate Committee on the Wagner Bill he said: "In 1849 the wage earners' share in each dollar created by manufacture was 50 per cent; and in 1919, 42 per cent, and in 1933, 36 per cent. Over the period the share of the workers has shrunk 15 per cent, although between 1919 and 1933 the average worker's producing capacity almost doubled, and production per worker per hour increased 71 per cent."

This explains the great increase in the dividends of automobile and other corporations.

For a Labor Party
Hope for the exploited workers who are employed, for the millions that are unemployed, and for peace and security for mankind lies only in a strong labor movement. This movement cannot live without human rights: it must fight dictatorship, and all that that implies. Its members cannot live in decency unless conditions of labor are so changed as to make that possible. They must, for selfish interests, if you will, fight for shorter hours, higher wages, against child labor, etc. There is no other social class that has the same interests, as a class.

It is my conviction that we cannot look forward to wage a successful war against economic, so-

(Continued on Page Twelve)

May the toilers of the world become so organized and so enlightened to their interests that another Labor Day will find them much nearer to their goal of a warless and classless society.

LABOR DAY GREETINGS

from the

MISCELLANEOUS LOCALS

of the

INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION

consisting of:

Miscellaneous Branch Cutters' Union, Local No. 10
Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local No. 20
Blouse and Waistmakers' Union, Local No. 25
Designers Guild of Ladies' Apparel, Local No. 30
Corset and Brassiere Workers' Union, Local No. 32
Ladies' Tailors Workers' Union, Local No. 38
Whitegoods Workers' Union, Local No. 62
Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local No. 66
Children's Dressmakers' and Housedress Union, Local 91
Cloak and Suit Truck Drivers' Union, Local No. 102
Button and Novelty Workers' Union, Local No. 132
Ladies' Neckwear Workers' Union, Local No. 142
Joint Council Knitgoods Workers' Union, Local No. 155
Ladies' Tailors Alteration Workers' Union, Local No. 177
and Out-of-Town Department

The workers can only advance through organization. On Labor Day and all other days let us show what solidarity can accomplish.

UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
THOMAS F. MacMAHON
International President
JAMES STARR
International Secretary-Treasurer

Let the workers of America rededicate themselves to Labor's inspiring ideal, international brotherhood and peace in a world where the toilers will receive the full fruit of their labor.

Bonnaz, Singer and Hand Embroiderers, Tuckers, Stitchers and Pleaters' Union
LOCAL 66—I. L. G. W. U.
135 WEST 33rd STREET NEW YORK CITY
Leon Hattab, Manager Z. L. Freedman, President

On this Labor Day let us rededicate ourselves to the cause of unionism and the international solidarity of all workers.

Cloak, Dress Drivers' & Helpers' Union
LOCAL 102—I. L. G. W. U.
SAUL METZ, Manager
SAM BERGER, Asst. Manager
DAVID KARPFF, Asst. Mgr. Dress Dept.

MURRY SAVITT, Pres.
MAC SHATUNOFF, Vice-Pres.
NAT WALLACE, Sec'y

Let us be loyal to the Ideas of Unionism!
Ladies' Tailors, Custom Dressmakers, Theatrical Costume and Alteration Workers' Union
Local 38—I. L. G. W. U.
Isadore Jacobs, Manager-Sec'y

We greet the workers who have been loyal to the ideals of unionism. Their devotion lessens exploitation and blazes the way to industrial freedom.

SHIRT MAKERS' UNION

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GREETINGS

from

THE JOINT BOARD OF Cloak, Suit, Skirt and Reefer Makers Union

I. L. G. W. U.

May our combined efforts realize for all the workers that economic security for which we are all striving.

R. ZUCKERMAN, President LOUIS E. LANGER, Secretary
I. NAGLER, General Manager M. J. ASHBES, Treasurer

CLOAK AND SUIT OPERATORS' UNION, Local 1
R. Zuckerman, Chairman Louis Levy, Manager

SAMPLEMAKERS' UNION, LOCAL 3
S. Pitchersky, Chairman David Rubin, Manager

CLOAK AND SUIT TAILORS' UNION, LOCAL 9
Ph. Herman, Chairman Isidore Sorokin, Manager

AMALGAMATED CLOAK AND SUIT CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10
Joel Abramowitz, Chairman Samuel Perlmutter, Manager

REEFER MAKERS' UNION, LOCAL 17
Meyer Orshowitz, Chairman Jacob J. Heller, Manager

SKIRT MAKERS' UNION, LOCAL 23
Sol. Kaplan, Chairman Louis Reiss, Manager

CLOAK AND DRESS PRESSERS' UNION, Local 35
Louis Biegal, Chairman Joseph Breslaw, Manager

ITALIAN CLOAKMAKERS' UNION, LOCAL 48
Eduardo Molisani, Chairman Basilio Desti, Manager

BUTTONHOLE MAKERS' UNION, LOCAL 64
A. Friedman, Chairman J. Schiffman, Manager

EXAMINERS' UNION, LOCAL 82
M. Greiffer, Chairman Leon Rosenblatt, Manager

LABOR DAY 1935

WE GREET the organized labor movement and the unorganized masses who need the frame of its protection. We reaffirm our abiding faith in the power of solidarity. LET US FACE FORWARD... toward new gains in the economic struggle... toward peace and the destruction of fascism... toward a classless world washed clean of hunger and exploitation.

JOINT BOARD OF THE DRESS AND WAIST MAKERS UNION

JULIUS HOCHMAN, General Manager
BENJAMIN EVRY, President
PHILIP KAPP, Secretary-Treasurer

Textile Workers on Labor Day

By Francis J. Gorman
First Vice-President, United Textile Workers

CONGRESS has set aside the first Monday in September as a day belonging to the workers, and Labor Day, 1935, comes at the most auspicious, the most momentous time in the history of the American labor movement. Today, labor stands at the crossroads. Where they go from here depends not on Congress, not on the bankers, the manufacturers, the business interests of this country, but upon labor itself. If today labor can consolidate its forces, chart its course and launch out on an intelligently planned, well-organized path, the forces of the organized working class of this country can show the forces of organized capital that labor not only understands its rights, but stands prepared to gain its just dues.

That labor is today far more class-conscious than it was two years ago, or even one year ago, nobody can deny. The past two years have seen a wave of strikes equal only in scope and significance to those of the early nineteen hundreds, when the American labor movement was just beginning to take form. This fall will herald another avalanche of protest from the workers when, with the adjournment of Congress, industrial tycoons attempt to degrade working standards to the level at which they were prior to the NRA.

One year ago today the United States witnessed the most important demonstration of the power of organized labor in a general industry strike in the history of this country when over 500,000 textile workers walked out of the mills in protest against employer sabotage of the few small gains labor had achieved under the textile codes.

From the Gulf of Mexico to the rock-bound coast of Maine hordes of militant workers swarmed the streets of textile villages, picketing the striking plants, preventing the importation of scabs. Flying squad-

rons—a new element in strike technique—swept from town to town, from mill to mill, urging their more timid brothers to solidarity in the struggle against the bosses. Three weeks later, at the behest of the President of the United States, the strike was called off and the machinery by the Winant Board recommendations was set in motion.

Awakening Workers

For the first time in the history of one of our basic industries the attention of the people of the

United States was called to the cruel exploitation, the niggardly, slavish conditions under which one million wage earners merely existed. More than that, the demonstration of the strength of organized labor, of the solidarity of a whole group of American workers, untutored in the technique of strike, unconscious at first of their own power, struck fear into the hearts of the bosses and gave them a forewarning of what can be done when the workers of an industry unite against a common foe. It

was this fear that redoubled the efforts of the Southern manufacturers, long accustomed to docile, contented and cheap labor, to prevent their workers from joining the United Textile Workers of America.

For a whole year since that strike we have patiently strung along with the New Deal Administration. The codes did not give us what we were led to believe they would. The advantages derived from the codes came from the strength of organization. Discrimi-

nation continued at a new and more devastating pace; weekly earnings declined drastically, although wage rates were increased by the code; curtailment came along again in the rotten industry, although it was the curtailment period of 1934 which led up to the general textile strike. It had, however, begun to look like, in certain branches of our industry, we were ready to realize on some of the promises implicit in the Winant Board report. Then came the Supreme Court decision, and with it the death of the codes, and the passing of an effective NRA. Manufacturers began to cut wages, increase the stretchout and lengthen hours.

Labor is no longer willing to be long-suffering and silent. Something must be done, and done quickly. And we think we have the answer.

Textile Act

On August 8, 1935, Congressman Ellenbogen introduced into the House of Representatives a bill called the "National Textile Act," the expressed purpose of which is:

"To rehabilitate and stabilize labor conditions in the textile in-

dustry of the United States; to prevent unemployment, to regulate child labor, and to provide minimum wages, maximum hours and other conditions of employment in said industry; to safeguard and promote the general welfare; and for other purposes."

This act is a labor bill. It was designed and written to protect the textile workers. It was primarily written to protect the organized workers of our industry against the low-wage competition of their unorganized brothers, and to pave the way for one hundred per cent organization, by elimination of the heretofore insurmountable obstacles which the workers found in the way of achievement of bona fide collective bargaining.

The bill establishes a flat 35-hour work week; a flat minimum wage of \$15 for unskilled or common labor; machinery for the setting of rates above the minimum; a much more explicit guarantee of collective bargaining rights than was found in Section 7A of NIRA; outlawing of compulsory living in company houses, trading at company stores or the using of any of the facilities extended by the boss.

The National Textile Act eliminates child labor; restricts the working hours of women, and of children between the ages of 16 and 18. It provides for a separation wage, which not only guarantees a dismissal wage in case of permanent discharge, but likewise provides a fund for layoffs which amount to more than an aggregate of three months in any calendar year.

There are many other constructive features contained in the bill. Textile labor throughout the country will open the campaign for passage of this legislation on Labor Day.

It will serve as a beacon to guide us in our organization work. Labor Day, 1935, will mean nothing unless the hosts of organized labor rededicate themselves to the principle of organized action against the unscrupulous employers.

Our labor movement must be changed to meet the new conditions. Industrial unionism is the type of organization needed for the protection of the workers.

I believe the next year will bring forth a decided advancement in organization technique.

The Textile Union's Bill

WASHINGTON.—A bill to regulate and license the entire textile industry and thus to rehabilitate the industry and to preserve industrial accord, was introduced in the House by Congressman Henry Ellenbogen of Pennsylvania, on behalf of the United Textile Workers of America.

"We have sought to find a constructive method of rehabilitating the industry, for unless there is such a program as we have proposed in this bill the industry faces not only further turmoil, but a future of such financial uncertainty as no industry can contemplate in comfort," said Francis J. Gorman, vice-president of the United Textile Workers, in describing the bill, which will be fought for in future sessions of Congress.

"We do not expect that a bill can be introduced and enacted at once, but we believe that by the time the next session of Congress convenes there will have been ample opportunity for study on the part of everyone, so that all—workers and management alike—will know fully what is in the bill and what great strides it will take toward at last giving America a sound, profitable and healthy textile industry, paying a decent wage to its workers and employing them under fair conditions. The bill

aims at actual reconstruction of the industry.

Provisions of Bill

"The bill is lengthy and covers the entire textile industry in all of its branches. The provisions of the bill include creating of a national Textile Commission of five, have broad executive powers, including power to define and classify occupations and set occupational rates and powers to conduct investigations, and issue licenses to firms manufacturing textile products.

"Where products intended for interstate commerce are manufactured in plants which manufacture also for intrastate commerce, conditions imposed by the license shall apply to the entire output, when it is shown that inferior conditions on intrastate products interfere with or impede maintenance of standards on interstate production.

"All licensed production would bear a label so stating. Licenses would stipulate: Minimum wages of \$15 per week of 35 hours for unskilled workers, this minimum to be subject to increase as living costs rise, a minimum of \$15 for a 40-hour week for clerical workers, 80 per cent of the minimum for each occupation for learners for six weeks.

"Equal pay to women for work equal to work of men. One week vacation with pay per year of employment.

"Freedom to organize and recognition of collective bargaining are, of course, required.

"Children under 16 may not be employed at all and in hazardous work the limit is set at 18 years; minors from 16 to 18 years of age shall not be permitted to work at night.

"The rights of labor as to organization and collective bargaining are set forth in accord with the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act. There is also a provision for accident insurance apart from that required by state laws.

"The Commission would be required to study production continuously and would have power to

"THIS IS FASCISM"

THE Labor Advocate of Tacoma, Washington, now published as a daily, prints an editorial on the fascist tendencies observable in the northwest states with the coming of the lumber strike. The Labor Advocate is edited by John McGivney, and is one of the best of the labor papers in the country.

The editorial follows:

"Up to and including last Thursday, Tacoma was orderly and peaceful. There were no riots. There was no tumult or disorders. Everyone went about the duties of every day life in regular routine fashion.

"In the twinkling of an eye all that has changed. Without requests from any city official, without any demand from the county sheriff, Governor Martin orders in the state police who begin gassing and abusing anyone approaching within speaking distance of the saw mills on the tide flats. And when this policy does not succeed in getting strikers to resume work, he orders in the national guard.

"Constitutional rights are suspended. The right of assembly denied. The right of peaceful picketing absolutely refused. Violence is used to add to the demonstration of armed might in strike breaking. Roads are closed. Men are gassed on their way to work.

"That's not government by law. That's not government under the Constitution of this state or of this nation. This is fascism."

LABOR'S JUBILEE

(Continued from Page Eleven)
cial and political fascism and Nazism with economic power alone. The enemies of labor have economic and political power, and we, too, must have economic and political power. We must have a strong political party of labor. Through a labor party we can place ourselves in possession of political power, which we shall use to protect the interests of the working masses. So long as labor permits itself to be used as a tail to the kite of employing class parties and politicians, it cannot hope to perform its task successfully.

Power is the only thing that our enemies recognize and respect. We must have it. When the American workers build up a great power on the industrial field, and an equally great power on the political field, they will be able to guard this nation against all kinds of dictatorship and oppression. And then we shall be able to give encouragement to the suffering peoples of Europe and help them help themselves.



In a land of abundance this child must seek his food in garbage cans while plenty exists all around him.

We are confident that the power to enlighten the workers will increase until the industrial and political emancipation of all the toilers is accomplished.

UNITED NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION—LOCAL 11016—A. F. of L.

PEOPLE'S HOUSE—7 EAST 15th STREET

LOUIS FUCHS, Manager
MAX HOERNIG, Bus. Agent
HARRY STERN, Bus. Agent
MOLLY GREENWALD, Sec'y

EDMOND GOTTESMAN, Secretary-Treasurer
HARRY HEISLER, President
IRVING FEIG, Vice-President

INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF THEATRICAL STAGE EMPLOYEES AND MOVING PICTURE MACHINE OPERATORS OF THE UNITED STATES & CANADA
MOVING PICTURE MACHINE OPERATORS' UNION

LOCAL 306

Only Projectionist Organization in Greater New York Having A. F. of L. Affiliations. — Affiliations: American Federation of Labor; N. Y. State Federation of Labor; Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity; Theatrical Federation of Greater New York; Central Union Label Council of Greater New York; United Hebrew Trades; Women's Trade Union League

Local 306 solicits the patronage of NEW LEADER readers for those theatres in Greater New York which employ its members, the only such group of workers affiliated with the A. F. of L. When you attend the theatre you are entitled to enjoy the very best projection work—with a maximum of safety. The average experience of Local 306 members is 20 years, during which period they have provided your family with fine work and absolute safety. These craftsmen merit your support. — Be certain that the theatres you and your family attend employ members of Local 306—for your own enjoyment and safety and as an aid to the growth of organized labor in Greater New York.

Silently, Safely—We Serve You!

We greet the workers who have been loyal to the ideals of unionism.

CLOTHING CUTTERS' UNION
A. C. W. of A.

MURRAY WEINSTEIN, Manager

WE

EXTEND OUR HEART-
IEST GREETINGS TO
THE NEW LEADER
FOR THE PART IT IS
PLAYING IN THE
STRUGGLE OF THE
OPPRESSED.

**AMALGAMATED
CLOTHING
WORKERS
OF AMERICA**

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

SIDNEY HILLMAN
General President

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG
General Sec'y-Treasurer

ON LABOR DAY 1935

*We Extend Fraternal Greetings to All Who Are
Enlisted in the World-wide Struggle to Emanci-
pate the Human Race from Industrial Tyranny
and the Menace of War.*

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD Amalgamated Clothing Workers OF AMERICA

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LOCAL 24, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

LOCAL 198, PASSAIC, NEW JERSEY

LOCAL 208, VYNELAND, NEW JERSEY

As the World Trembles At the Brink of War

By Judge Jacob Panken

AS I write this message for Labor Day of 1935, I am filled with apprehension.

Necessarily this is written several days before the day for labor's celebration has actually arrived. Who knows what the situation will be, nationally or internationally, on September 2nd? By that day a match may have been touched off which will set the world on fire.

The fate of mankind now is in the ruthless hands of adventurers who know no human sentiment, have no moral scruples, have no concern but feeding their insatiate, ungovernable and brutal personal ambitions.

In less than one generation a change has been wrought in world affairs that forebodes ill to man, that spells destruction to civilization—the wiping out of culture and the substitution for all that is decent, for all that has actuated man in his aspirations and movement towards light, of force and brutality, the glorification of all that is mean, dictatorial and destructive.

On the chess-board of international relations pawns are moved by hands that will throw the human race into a welter of carnage, rapacity and death.

Imperialism is again on the march. In Eastern Africa a bomb is set to explode, and when it occurs its repercussions will be felt throughout the world.

Strange as it may seem, England may become the ally of Italy, and France, because of its more "liberal" colonial policy, may avert revolt in its colonial possessions and become the ally of the revolting tribesmen against Great Britain, Belgium and other imperialistic nations. Yes, Germany will find this an opportune time to fish in the muddied waters. Germany has accounts to settle. Hitler wants Germany's colonies back. The maniacs in power in that land never have shrunk from any method to achieve their purposes.

Another European war—may another World War—is in the making. And if another World War occurs the consequences will be appalling. Italy fighting in Africa, the European nations involved in war among themselves—Japan will utilize that moment to realize its avowed ambition to extend its power in the Far East. Thus, war will not only involve Europe and Africa, but the nations on the Pacific Ocean.

Can we escape? I doubt it. Neutrality resolutions are helpful to maintain sanity in America. But if war breaks out on the Pacific, whether it is in the Far East or in the Pacific Ocean, I fear for peace in this country.

A terrible thing to contemplate, this Labor Day?

It is significant that wars are generally started and forced upon nations by rulers. Wars between rulers are fought by the ruled. The more power is concentrated in a ruler, the more apt that ruler is to bring war upon his people. When the war-making power is in the hands of one or a few individuals, look for war. If the war-making power were in the hands of an entire people and if a declaration of war were voted by the masses after discussion and deliberation the war clouds would pass over and the likelihood of war would thus be removed.

Democracies do not enter upon wars as easily as dictatorships. There is always public opinion to reckon with. Fathers and mothers do not want to see their children slaughtered as a sacrifice to ambition, vengeance or profit of one or a few individuals.

Unfortunately, there are many dictatorships in the world today. There are Germany, Italy, Austria,



Yugoslavia, Russia and others. The power of great peoples has been usurped by a few persons. These few are shaping the destinies of the peoples they rule and are affecting the present and the future of the entire human race.

What are we to do? The gateway to the theatre of war in Ethiopia is the Suez Canal. That canal is under British control. Labor in England should prevent the use of the Suez Canal for the transportation of armed forces from Italy into Ethiopia, or munitions for war-making purposes. American labor should on this Labor Day back up and support British labor in such a demand.

Labor throughout the world should immediately mobilize its forces. An international conference of labor representatives should be called to meet at the earliest possible opportunity, not later than the end of this month. At such convention labor's representatives should be instructed and empowered to give notice that no munitions will be produced, no munitions will be supplied for war needs.

Mobilize for peace! That is the slogan.

Labor Day, 1935! Despite the picture which I have drawn, labor has no cause to be discouraged on this, its own day. True, the "sick chicken" decision by the United States Supreme Court might be construed as a setback to the

We extend our
Labor Day Greetings
to
The New Leader
Cemetery Dep't
of the
Workmen's Circle
LEWIS GINSBURG
Chairman

We greet our brothers who have been loyal
to the ideals of unionism.
**HOTEL & RESTAURANT WORKERS'
UNION, Local 16**

752 Eighth Avenue Phone, BRyant 9-4496
C. B. BAUM, President
P. N. COULCHER, Secretary

Let this Labor Day be the forerunner of a year
of triumph and victory for the toilers.
**The Retail Dairy, Grocery, Fruit
and Vegetable Clerks' Union
Local 238**

Affiliated with United Hebrew Trades and Amer. Federation of Labor
JULIUS SUM, President
S. WOLCHAK, Manager-Secretary

Our Greetings to Organized Workers of America!
Patronize Union Restaurants!
**COOKS AND KITCHEN WORKERS'
UNION OF NEW YORK, Local 89**
Affiliated with the A. F. of L.
235 SEVENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
JULES CHASTONAY, Pres. ADOLPH SCHWARTZ, Bus. Agent
CHARLES MAYER, Sec'y RAMON SUAREZ, Bus. Agent
MIGUEL GARRIGA, International Representative

organized labor movement of America. That decision, however, carries with it a tremendous lesson. It taught American labor that it must rely upon itself for its own betterment; it taught a more salient lesson—it directed the attention of American labor to the fact that a Constitution conceived for an agricultural people does not meet the requirements and needs of an industrial period.

Labor Day, 1935, finds American labor militant. It finds it ready to fight for what it has earned for itself by struggle and sacrifice. Moreover, American labor is on the aggressive. In this aggressive attitude American labor might well formulate the following program:

1. A Farmer-Labor Party;
2. A Constitutional Convention;
3. Nationalization of Basic Industries;
4. The elimination of all profit in production and the substitution thereof of the use motive—the production for use rather than for profit;
5. Defense of democracy;
6. War upon fascism;
7. THE IMMEDIATE MOBILIZATION OF ALL FORCES FOR PEACE.

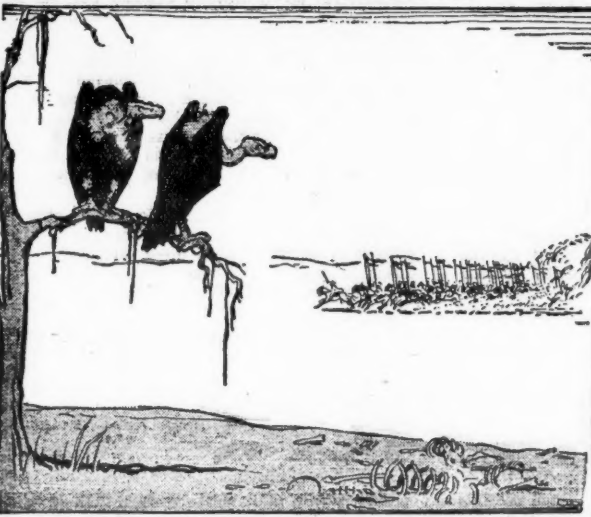
MUSSOLINI WANTS A MONOPOLY OF WAR

LIKE Hitler, Mussolini regards the continuance of peace as unworthy of humanity and to be scorned in the highest degree. "Only war," says Mussolini, "can rouse human energies to their highest pitch and shows that those peoples who have the courage to enter on a war are nations of aristocrats."

In this aspect too the Italian-fascist article is not meant for export, for war, according to these "aristocrats" should be the sole prerogative of Italy. It was for this reason that a short time ago the Italian government made diplomatic representations to the governments in Madrid, Stockholm, Berlin and Brussels, drawing their attention in a friendly manner to the secret deliveries of weapons being made, to Mussolini's sorrow, by firms in those countries to Abyssinia. Mussolini naturally had no objections to consignments sent to Italy.

The fascists want to play the hero—but preferably when the other fellow is unarmed! Fascism is war, and war is only profitable for the armaments industry which fascism promotes.

WAITING IN ETHIOPIA



NATHAN MEDOW
Modern Purrier and Designer
KEDZIE FUR SHOP
4752 NORTH KEDZIE AVE.
CHICAGO, ILL.
Phone: Keystone 1910

It is the labor movement that stands as a bulwark against reaction in all its forms. We greet our comrades and fellow workers in the fight for freedom and solidarity.
**BUTCHER WORKERS'
UNION
LOCAL 174**
243 East 84th Street

LABOR DAY
GREETINGS
from
**POALE ZION
United Jewish Socialist Labor Party**
1225 Broadway
New York City

LET US STRIVE UNCEASINGLY TO
MAKE THE NEW LEADER A
GREATER POWER FOR EVERY
BRANCH OF THE LABOR
MOVEMENT.
**HEBREW BUTCHER
WORKERS' UNION**
American Federation of Labor
Nathan Teitelbaum, Pres.
Joseph Beisky, Secretary
I. Left, Business Agent
B. Levine, Business Agent

Workmen's Circle

The "RED CROSS" of the Labor Movement

75,000 MEMBERS

Insurance from \$100.00 to \$3000.00

Sick Benefit, 15 weeks per year at \$8, \$18, \$23, \$28 per week.

Many branches pay additional benefit from \$3 to \$5 per week.

Consumption benefit, \$600 or twelve months in our Sanatorium, located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.

YOUNG CIRCLE CLUBS

The Workmen's Circle has organized Young Circle Clubs consisting of the sons and daughters of the members. It is the aim of these clubs to provide youth an opportunity for physical, intellectual, social and ethical development in an atmosphere sympathetic to the ideals of the labor movement.

SCHOOLS

The Workmen's Circle has over 100 Yiddish Schools for children in various parts of the United States and Canada. The children of the members are trained in the finest traditions of their fathers.

LADIES' AUXILIARIES AND CLUBS

The Wives of the members are organized into ladies' clubs and auxiliaries who have their own distinct and interesting social life.

CAMPS

The Workmen's Circle has 6 children's camps in the United States and Canada for children and adults.

For Information Apply to

The WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
175 EAST BROADWAY NEW YORK CITY
Telephone ORchard 4-6000

The following branches conduct their meetings in English and solicit their membership from the English Speaking Radical Element. Below you will find the time, place and date and also the secretaries' address when applying for membership.

BRANCH 460 meets the first Tuesday of the month at 809 Westchester Ave., Bronx, N. Y. Address of Secretary, William Bobb, 3957 Gouverneur Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.

BRANCH 455 meets the first and third Fridays of the month at 809 Westchester Ave., Bronx, N. Y. Address of Secretary, Adolph Sonnen, 1472 Montgomery Ave., Bronx, N. Y.

BRANCH 655 meets the second and fourth Fridays of the month at 140 Second Ave., New York. Address of Secretary, Morris Extract, 1495 Montgomery Ave., Bronx, N. Y.

BRANCH 650 meets the first and third Friday of the month at 937 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y. Address of Secretary, Frank Rosenfarb, 1516 Union St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

BRANCH 1001 meets on Fridays at 7 East 15th Street, New York. Address of Secretary, R. G. Plavin, 2064 Creston Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.

BRANCH 267 meets the second and fourth Saturdays of the month at 44 East 12th St., New York. Address of Secretary, Isaac Levy, 74 Van Cortlandt Park South, Bronx, N. Y.

Half a Century of Work Of the Krankenkasse

By J. Beisswenger

TWO attacks on the life of the German Kaiser in 1878 by mentally deranged fools enabled Bismarck, the "Iron Chancellor," to push his anti-Socialist law through the German Reichstag. Strange as it may seem, the passage of this law in Germany was the original cause for the founding of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund in America.

The political situation in Germany at that time was very much the same as that of the present day, only that Bismarck, unlike Hitler, sent political opponents into exile instead of into a concentration camp. Thousands of active Socialists were driven from the country to find new homes in England, France, Switzerland and other countries. Large numbers came to the United States to settle here for life.

Naturally, those coming here soon found themselves together to continue spreading Socialist ideas among the workers. However, little or nothing was known in this country regarding social protection for the workers when sick, disabled or at death. Those exiled from Germany were of the type of the most intelligent workers of that day, knowing the value of organization and what may be accomplished when joined together for a common cause. It was these men, exiled by Bismarck, who gave birth to the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund on October 5, 1884, with the help of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, the German Socialist daily.

At first some notable opposition manifested itself against the new society within Socialist ranks, but in spite of this its existence was assured in a comparatively short time and it proved itself of great

financial and moral help to the Socialist movement in the years to come. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been contributed to the Socialist cause and to a large extent this has continued to the present day.

Growth and Expansion

Growth was necessarily slow at first. The Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund had, however, found solid foundation within the first three years in Manhattan, Brooklyn and Jersey City. To organize branches was in the beginning a task restricted to within 100 miles of New York City. This was done away with in 1889 and Branch 11 was organized in Boston. Expansion became more rapid and soon branches were organized all over the North eastern states. Today the society has branches in most of the states and as far distant as California and Washington, 341 branches in all. Steady, healthy growth continued during all the years until 1929, when the economic depression brought a temporary setback.

Of course, the society, the same as all others, was severely affected by these conditions, lost many members, although its administration inaugurated relief measures on a large scale. A relief fund was created and a general campaign organized to help members retain

their membership. Nearly \$100,000 has been paid to members from this fund, in the last three to four years for dues alone and the help given by branches directly to its members amounts to twice this sum. These relief measures were finally successful. They put a stop to further loss of members and lately a notable increase is again to be recorded.

Close to 20 million dollars have been paid in benefits during the existence of the society in 51 years to members and their families and it is practically the only one of its kind and size to survive the present depression financially stronger.

Any worker in good health and not above 45 years of age is welcome to join. The last convention of the society has extended the age limit to 55 for death benefit only, but this will not be in force before January next.

The society now has a campaign in full swing for new members. Workers can join under special favorable terms up to the close of this year. Any information desired may be secured directly from the main office, 714 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

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

**Labor's Holiday is a Tribute
to Labor's
Heroic Struggle for Justice.**

Let Us
Devote Ourselves to the Ideal of a
New and Better World.

CAP & MILLINERY DEPARTMENT

**UNITED HATTERS, CAP
AND MILLINERY WORKERS'
INTERNATIONAL UNION**

MICHAEL GREENE
President

M. ZARITSKY
Sec'y-Treasurer

Labor Day Greetings to The New Leader
and to all who are working for the
emancipation of the working class.

CAP MAKERS' UNION, Local 1
A. HERSHKOWITZ, Manager

On this Labor Day we greet the workers in our common
struggle to make the interests of one
the concern of all.

MILLINERY BLOCKERS, Local 42
Cloth, Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers' International Union
19 WEST 38th STREET NEW YORK CITY
Max Goldman, Manager I. Hammer, Fred Carrano, Organizers

Let Us Resolutely Strive
to Spread
the Power of Labor Unionism
and Socialist Ideas.

**MILLINERY WORKERS'
UNION, LOCAL 24**

ALEX ROSE,
Secretary

NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

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

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 31, 1935

THE ABYSS IN ABYSSINIA

THE Italo-Ethiopian crisis is coming to a head with the cocky Mussolini a trifle puzzled as to what Great Britain intends by her movements of ships, troops and airplanes, and what she will do at the coming meeting of the Council of the League. Antagonism between Italy and Britain is certainly growing and the British position in Africa adds to Mussolini's anxiety.

British East Africa to the south and Abyssinia and the British Sudan to the west are now to be reckoned with in any war. Their native population has little love for Italy and in a conflict quite a large number of the natives of British territories may join the Abyssinians.

The natives in the whole area of the expected conflict remember Italian arrogance. The British have been more clever in conciliating the populations in their possession, but the occupation of Eritrea in the north and part of Somaliland on the south-east by Italy in 1884 was followed in 1889 with a treaty between Italy and Abyssinia that left a sore spot that has never been healed. The Amharic version of the treaty signed by Emperor Menelik made it optional with him as to whether Abyssinia should deal with the European powers only through Italy. The Italian version bound Abyssinia to this course. In other words, Italy changed the text to give her a protectorate over Abyssinia.

This Italian trickery aroused the European powers, but Italy persisted and in 1896 made war upon Abyssinia. Italy met a disastrous defeat, was compelled to pay an indemnity of \$2,000,000 for the release of a large number of Italian prisoners, and was forced to recognize the independence of Abyssinia. All this is remembered by the Ethiopians and the natives of the Sudan and British East Africa, and even many in Italian Somaliland, where it is now reported that natives are crossing the frontier to fight with the Ethiopians.

If Mussolini sends his conscripts against the Ethiopians, it is possible that they will fall into the abyss of Abyssinia and that Mussolini himself will face a bankrupt Italy and revolution.

"WORK OR GET OFF RELIEF"

THERE is no election of a Mayor in New York City this year, but when it does occur we suggest that Mayor LaGuardia take as his slogan in that campaign his recent order, "Work or Get Off Relief." For the moment President Roosevelt's policy of subsistence wages on WPA projects is going through, thanks to General Johnson, who interpreted resistance to it as a Communist plot. Now the fusion Mayor does his bit in deflating the wage scale in New York City.

We recognize that with over 250,000 persons on home relief it is not an easy problem that faces the city administration, but it is brutal cynicism for the Mayor to say: "We are after the shirkers. They are the only ones against whom this order is directed." The implication is that those who are on home relief who refuse to accept WPA subsistence wages will go to jail.

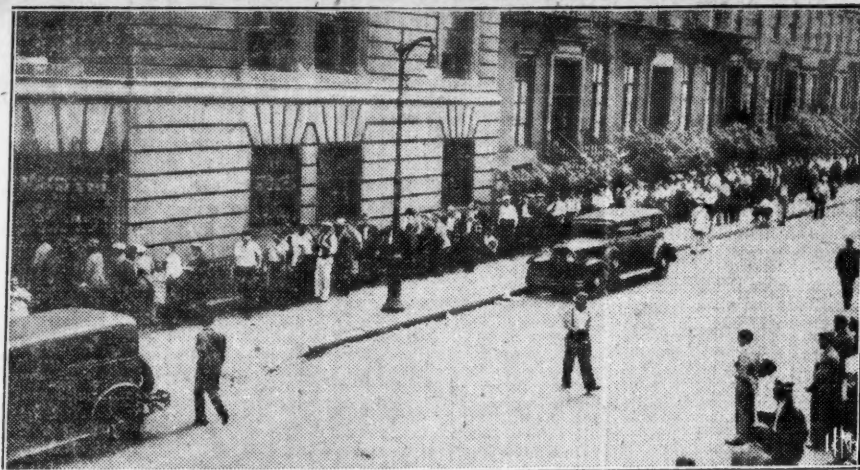
What is also happening is the employment of enormous government pressure to break down the wage scales built up by the unions through many years of bitter struggle. All the sanctimonious pretense of getting men back to work cannot obscure this fact. We want the jobless back to work, but if it is at the expense of a heavy reduction of wages it means fixing a terribly low standard of living for these workers in the future. Fat politicians enjoying a good dinner may not be disturbed by this policy; but the working class is.

THE NOTE TO RUSSIA

THE Socialist Party has always urged recognition of and trade relations with Soviet Russia; but depend upon the Bolsheviks to make a mess of this recognition after it is obtained. The American Government has sent a note of protest to the Soviet Union, holding that the agreement with Stalin not to subsidize or support Communist propaganda in the United States has been broken. The occasion for the complaint is the bombast of several American Stalins at the Congress of the Communist International who boasted of wide influence in American strikes and plans for more.

This is hokey which American Communists have peddled in Moscow for years, and they really have no influence in strikes whatever. However, neither Stalin nor his obedient American lieutenants have any comprehension of what effect the bombast would have on Russian-American relations. If recognition and trade relations are withdrawn, it will be because of the stupidity of the big and little Stalins. Everything that Bolshevism touches turns to dead sea fruit, and this is its latest output.

AFTER THE 'WORK OR STARVE' ORDER



FED up with living in enforced idleness and subsisting on the miserable pittance of home relief, more than 20,000 unemployed of New York City swamped the Works Progress Administration in that city this week with applications for jobs after General Hugh S. Johnson had issued a call to the jobless to apply for work.

The quota of 20,000 set by Johnson for the week was filled in two days. When the applications were in, it developed that General Johnson's machine was inadequate to handle the crowds. The workers stood in thousands before the two receiving stations set up by the WPA, waiting for hours, many of them through the night, to be enrolled in the work relief army. They waited without food or drink, herded in long lines by the police, fearful lest they lose the opportunity to obtain work.

This was their answer to the contemptible insinuation of General Johnson, supported by Mayor LaGuardia's "work or starve" order, that the unemployed on home relief did not want work, that they preferred instead to live in idleness, on the dole supplied by the city. The 20,000 who applied were called for unskilled jobs, paying \$53.50 a month. In most cases this was less than families receive on home relief, yet they preferred to take a loss rather than remain idle. The morality they displayed was vastly superior to that of General Johnson and Mayor LaGuardia, who saw fit to brand them as shirkers. It was an effective answer to the traducers of labor.

Effective also was the answer given by the 4,000 investigators for the Home Relief Bureau to the insinuation, likewise emanating from General Johnson's office, that the investigators were reluctant to facilitate applications for work by home relief clients because they feared that this would necessitate a reduction in the staff of investigators in proportion as unemployed were transferred from home to work relief. The investigators worked with remarkable energy and earnestness and exhibited an efficiency superior to that of the machine set up by General Johnson in the WPA and directed by a group of army officers who since their coming into the city to take over the work relief administration have demonstrated an incompetence only too apparent.

The facts are that 20,000 workers responded immediately to the invitation to apply for work, that Home Relief Bureau and its investigators, administered by competent civilians, performed their part speedily and effectively, and that the machine set up by General Johnson and his fellow army men broke down and proved unable to uphold their end of the task.

General Johnson will do well to refrain in the future from insulting the unemployed of New York City and to exhibit a little modesty in his approach to his own job. He will also do well not to seek to shift the responsibility for his own failure to others, as he tried to do when he held the Home Relief Bureau responsible for the breakdown of his own machine.

And Mayor LaGuardia will do well to stop his undignified inclination to play ball with army officers from Washington when they find it necessary to traduce the unemployed of the city to cover up their own incompetence.

Behind the Scenes in Washington



By Benjamin Meiman
Our Washington Correspondent

AT last, Monday night, Congress adjourned sine die.

This first session of the Seventy-fourth Congress was scheduled to die last Saturday, but an eleven-hour alliance of Senators from the cotton and wheat states sprang into being to prevent the government from reducing the loans on cotton from 12 to 9 cents and to force an allowance of approximately 90 cents a bushel on wheat. This kept Congress in session until Monday night, when the Kingfish of Louisiana tried a one-man filibuster to keep Congress alive and was banded off the floor by the Vice-President's gavel.

A little after 6 p. m. on Monday Senator Long took the floor and kept it for five and a half hours, despite frequent reminders that his filibustering tactics would defeat the third deficiency bill, which would mean a shortage of funds for the President's vast social security program.

The third deficiency bill carried about \$100,000,000 in appropriations for old-age pensions and other grants under the social security program, for the new Guffey coal set-up, for the Wagner Relations Board, for the new railroad retirement plan. In an informal ruling, the Comptroller General said there is no other means of financing such agencies.

Ultimatum to Soviet Russia

FROM the Executive branch of the government came the news that what is tantamount to an ultimatum was sent to the Soviet Government bluntly accusing it of "flagrant violation" of its recognition pledge of non-interference in American internal affairs.

This action of the United States government is due chiefly to the braggadoccio of American Communists claiming to have a finger in every trouble-pie and making exaggerated promises of organizing mass-movements, of "labor-fronts," of inciting farmers to riots, of creating "cells" here, "nuclei" there, "United Fronts" everywhere. As long as that bragging was done in dark corners no official cognizance was taken of it. "Let them rave!" But when delegates of the American Communist Party came to Moscow to do their bragging in the open—that was a horse of a different color. Even a friendly paper like the Washington Daily News, which did a great deal of preaching for recognition of Russia, writes editorially as follows:

"When certain large-lunged American Communists took the limelight at the recent Communist International meeting in Moscow they injured the Russia they professed to like. For it was their activity which prompted the State Department note protesting that Russia allowed the incident and thus technically vio-

lated the Litvinov pledge, which was a condition of American diplomatic recognition.

"These American Communists did more damage in Russia than they ever succeeded in doing over here."

Trojanovsky Cites Anti-Russian Propaganda Here

IN a statement that forecast the tone of the Soviet reply, Russian Ambassador Alexander Trojanovsky last Monday stated that propaganda in Moscow is "insignificant" compared with anti-Russian propaganda in the United States. He said:

"I have no intention of saying anything about the note of protest lodged by Ambassador Bullitt with our foreign office.

"A satisfactory reply will be made in Moscow by my government. I wish to refer only to a campaign which has been conducted by some persons in this country against our government and against our form of government."

"I recall the biblical injunction: 'And why beholdest thou the mote which is in thy brother's eye but perceivest not the beam that is in thine own eye?'"

"Anything said in Moscow by American citizens about the United States is very insignificant compared to continuous propaganda in the United States against the Soviet Union."

"I have even seen suggestions that our government should somehow stop the activity of American organizations and American citizens in the United States."

"It is obvious that my government will not interfere in the internal affairs of the United States in this or any other way."

Congress On Its Last Leg

SPEEDING down the home stretch, Congress had a hectic week.

Important bills went through both Houses within a few hours. Conference reports were gavelled to adoption with a bang. Lashing and spurting by majority leaders, with Saturday night as the adjournment goal, put practically all the President's "must program" into law.

Among important measures whisked through in record speed during the last few days were the banking bill, the Guffey coal bill, the railroad pension bill and the Frazier-Lemke farm loan bill.

Hurried through the conference wringer, the tax bill fails to meet all Presidential specifications. Eliminated in conference were the inheritance taxes Mr. Roosevelt demanded. Offsetting this omission are increased estate taxes.

Another major deviation from executive demands is the series of new increases in individual income surtax rates beginning at \$50,000 instead of at \$1,000,000.

On one side, threat of an adverse Supreme Court decision; on the other, threat of a soft coal strike in September. Facing these two horns of dilemma, Congress chose the former.

In jamming through the Guffey-Snyder coal bill lawmakers fell in with Presidential demand to pass

this measure regardless of doubts, "however reasonable," concerning its constitutionality.

Even if the Supreme Court eventually knocks out the "Little NRA" set up by the act, New Deal Congressmen argued in debate that chaos in a "sick industry" will have been temporarily forestalled by this attempt to fulfill Administration promises to the miners.

The Neutrality Bill

CONGRESS has exclusive power to declare or refuse to declare war. But conduct of foreign policy is chiefly an executive function. A Congress session ending in the shadow of European war clouds sees a passing whiff of legislative and executive disagreement over neutrality policy.

To minimize chance of America drifting into war, a determined neutrality group, threatening a filibuster, forced Senate adoption of resolutions to bar American arms shipments to all belligerents, also giving the President discretionary power to keep Americans from traveling in war zones on foreign ships save at their own risk.

Too rigid and sweeping were these resolutions, in the opinion of House leaders. The President also hoped to avoid a mandatory embargo affecting all belligerents.

But yielding to pressure for some Congress action on neutrality policy, compromise resolutions are accepted. They provide for a temporary arms embargo, until Feb. 29, 1936, against all belligerents. It would come into immediate operation in case of an Italo-Ethiopian war.

Snatched in the nick of time from seeming certain death, the much-disputed utility holding company bill at last was approved by Congress.

Only thinly camouflaged by compromise is the "death sentence," which the House had voted down and steadfastly instructed its conference to keep out of the measure. The bill now gives the SEC power after Jan. 1, 1938, to eliminate holding companies more than two degrees removed from their operating subsidiaries. Remaining holding companies are to be forced to operate in geographically and economically integrated areas.

Mutual service companies are banned save where such service is provided at cost under contracts with operating companies. The SEC gets complete discretion to decide whether holding companies may issue bonds against outstanding stock or physical assets only.

"No other legislation has ever gone as far toward regulation and elimination of holding companies as this does," exults Senator Wheeler, most persistent "death sentence" advocate.

"This compromise proposal is like imposing a death sentence on a man and then granting him a reprieve on condition that he will eat a keg of nails each morning for breakfast," complains Representative Huddleston (Dem.), of Alabama, most persistent "death sentence" foe.

Utopias: 'They Come and They Go, and Nothing Ever Happens'

By Algernon Lee

WHOEVER has seen Grand Hotel, and has entered into the spirit of the piece, must remember the single line repeatedly spoken by one of the least of the minor characters. Again and again he comes to the desk to ask if there are any letters for him. The answer is always negative, and always as he turns away he looks about at the ever changing crowds that mill through the lobby, and says in a toneless voice—"They come, and they go, and nothing ever happens." It is a haunting expression of hope deferred that maketh the heart sick.



Algernon Lee

That line comes to mind when in brief memory we review the torchlight procession of world-saving schemes and not-too-modest messiahs that have made futile tumult through the last five years. There were the Technocrats, with their twentieth century version of Plato's dream—"If kings were engineers, or engineers were kings, how well the world would be governed!" Do you remember the Technocrats? Rather dimly, no doubt. And yet perhaps you were rooting for them about 1933 or '34.

The Utopians

And there were the Utopians, who drew big houses on the Pacific Coast about the same time, and for a moment almost got the spotlight in New York. They at least had the wit to call themselves by an appropriate name. "Utopia" means *Nowhere*, and they soon arrived there. And there were those folk who saw the country's salvation in locally organized barter of individual services and hand-made goods, and those others who were going to work wonders by the issuance of a new wind of money every day you kept it in your pocket—it was so long ago (fully twenty or thirty months) that we can't just recall the names of these two sure cures for depression.

And there was the Townsend Plan—it seems we may by this time safely speak of it in the past tense . . . and Upton Sinclair's Epic, which will soon be as fresh in the public mind as the epics of Homer and Vergil . . . and Share-the-Wealth Huey Long, who may yet last a while as boss of Louisiana, but hardly as a national figure . . . and the eloquent Father Coughlin, a sort of up-to-date Peter the Hermit, who already appears to be getting back into his hermitage.

Each of these for a little while filled countless pages in the daily papers and the magazines, and had big radio audiences, and were momentarily epoch-making phenomena. But now—as 'Gene Wood's Irishman said while mournfully surveying the ashes of his burnt-down home, and calling to mind the pictured saints that had adorned its walls: "Where are they now? All gone to Hell!" Pat meant no irreverence toward the saints, and we don't wish to blaspheme the popular idols of day before yesterday—but honestly, where are they now?

The Social Credit

The latest in the parade is William Aberhart, with his "Social Credit League, which swept the province of Alberta in last week's legislative elections. Those Canadian farmers are anyhow not greedy. Twenty-five dollars a month or every adult looks big to them, while this side of the border one must bid five thousand a year "and up" to get a following. But being in office and expected to come

across, Mr. Aberhart may find it a good deal harder to pay the twenty-five than our economic revolutionists find it to promise the five thousand. We should not advise anyone to bet too heavily on a year's lease of life for the Social Credit League. Never mind, as it fades from the screen something just as pretty will take its place.

What a kaleidoscopic spectacle of futility—lots of noise, lots of bustle, lots of hope, but no fruition. They come, and they go, and nothing ever happens.

It is symptomatic of the American state of mind today—or at any rate the state of mind of numerous elements, such as the petty and meddling business men, the farmers, and the so-called intellectuals—discontented, emotionally rebellious, but self-distrustful; disillusioned, but always craving a new illusion; ever boasting their practical common sense, but too impatient to find out what is inside a gold brick before buying it; resentful of economic and social inequalities, but unwilling to array themselves under the banners of a class.

Not one of the nine "movements" listed (and the list is not complete) which have flared up within the short space of five years—not one of them possessed either of the two factors that go to make a social movement real and viable. To be able to live and grow and develop, a movement must be guided by sound economic theory, or else it must clearly represent the immediate interests of some self-conscious class—and that not an economically dying class.

Mushroom Utopias

In these mushroom utopias there is no hope. But the situation in America is far from being hopeless. Less spectacular than the utopias, but vastly more real and vital, is the movement of Organized Labor. It is sometimes exasperatingly slow, but in the long run it is sure. It is not given to looking very far ahead, but within the distance that it sees at any given moment it knows its way. It blunders, but its mistakes are never fatal. It suffers defeats, but it rallies and fights again. By the very nature of capitalist society, the class which the trade unions represent cannot die, cannot but grow.

Organized Labor in America has been relatively weak in the matter of theory, and of that long-range social vision which theoretical knowledge provides. The Socialist movement has (at least potentially) this other factor of viability. It has a body of scientific theory which has stood the merciless criticism of events for many a decade. By this it has been enabled to dance on the graves of any number of more showy movements that have come and gone. It has not in this country attained great numerical strength. That is not its chief concern. Small as it is, it can render immense service by linking its theoretical clearness to the almost instinctive sureness of Organized Labor. Let the right relations be established, and we shall have mass and velocity combined to constitute an invincible force.

The first condition to success on this line is that American Socialists shall give up the habit of running after will-o'-the-wisps. If we do this we shall be listened to, not by millions for a moment, but by steadily increasing masses.

If we don't, it will be "just too bad" so far as our party is concerned. As for Organized Labor, it will go on forward, as it is already going forward. It will develop its theory out of its daily experience, as it is already doing. It will not advance quite as rapidly without us as with us. But it will anyhow advance.

And things will happen.

The New Leader Book Corner

By Charles Solomon

DELIVER US FROM DICTATORS. By Robert C. Brooks. University of Pennsylvania Press. 242 pp. \$2.50.

ALL dictatorships look alike to our author and he has no use whatever for any of them. In dedicating his book "To the omniscient, omnipotent and omniscient John Doe, first dictator of the United States," Dr. Brooks expresses the fervent hope that upon the accession of the aforesaid Mr. Doe "the author may have passed to a future state of rewards or punishment since it is his sincere conviction that even in the latter case he will be better off."

To those who contend that while dictatorship generally speaking may be bad some are better than others, Dr. Brooks replies that whether fascist or Communist, they "are as like as peas in a pod so far as the essentials of political form and method are concerned."

Dr. Brooks finds that the immediate prospect of dictatorship in the United States is hopeless, although he concedes that under certain detailed circumstances the idea might come to the fore as a subject for more or less serious discussion.

In listing and considering ten points characteristic of dictator-

ship, our author points out that "by all odds the most outstanding developments of contemporary dictatorships is the one-party system" with all that implies for domestic institutions and civil liberties.

In a delightful biographical chapter on the "Characteristics of Dictators" we have three highly illuminating, although necessarily cursory, pictures of the Duce, the Führer and Tovarish Stalin.

"The fundamental difference between the first two," Dr. Brooks writes, is "that Mussolini is a fraud and knows it, whereas Hitler is sincere, at least he has never found out how great a fraud is—nor is he likely ever to find out." Mussolini is "a throw-back to the age of the condottieri." Hitler "the Sister Aimee Semple McPherson of German politics" is a contemporary Don Quixote whom the alienists have not yet succeeded in overtaking.

To those who profess to see in dictatorship the promise of relief from vexing and baffling current problems, Dr. Brooks warns "that before taking a leap from the frying pan it is worth while to ascertain the hotness of the fire." And this he does with a vengeance, offering a combination of fact, logic, eloquence and wit that makes fine reading.