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**The American
Appeal**
Founded by
Eugene F. Debs

World Labor Mobilizes Hosts Against Mussolini

Walkout Widens in New York Garment Industry

30,000 Needle Workers Join Shipping Clerks as Strikers Close Ranks

**I. L. G. W. U. Members
Act in Sympathy—
Won't Work With
Scabs**

100,000 May Quit

**Toilers Aroused By
Employers' Refusal
to Meet Strikers' Just
Demands**

By William Stark

THE strike of more than 12,000 shipping clerks, push boys and allied employees in the New York garment district bids fair to develop into one of the most remarkable demonstrations of labor solidarity seen in many a year.

Battling valiantly for nearly two weeks, against a combination of seven employer associations refusing to give them recognition and meet their just demands for wage increases and improvement of shipping clerks, members of the Ladies' Apparel Shipping Clerks' Union, are standing their ground.

More than 30,000 cloakmakers and dressmakers have quit their posts in sympathy with the strikers, while hundreds of truckmen, members of Truckmen's Union, Local 102, have refused to make deliveries to shops affected by the strike. At the moment of writing the struggle threatens to develop into a general stoppage in the garment industry. More than 100,000 workers may be involved. The garment workers have let it be known that they will not work with scabs and insist that the demands of the shipping clerks be granted. Co-operating in the battle are also many elevator operators, members of the Building Service Employees' Union, who are refusing to carry strikebreakers or haul merchandise destined for scab shops.

The attempt made by David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, to induce the organized employers' groups in the cloak, suit and dress industries to adjust the strike of their shipping clerks, failed of results after the representatives of the seven employers' associations in the women's garment industry, who attended a conference summoned for that purpose by Dubinsky, refused to cooperate with the I.L.G.W.U. in any way.

Neckwear Union Calls 1,000 Workers on Strike

One thousand workers from about 175 shops in New York City were called out on strike Tuesday by the United Neckwear Makers' Union of the Alkalagated Clothing Workers to force manufacturers to maintain NRA wages and hours. An exception was made in the case of members of the Neckwear Manufacturers' Association, who had agreed previous to the strike to maintain NRA wages and hours.

Arrangements have been made to extend the strike to New Jersey and Pennsylvania in case employers in those states cannot come to an amicable settlement with the union.

Settlements have already been reached with several independent manufacturers, and backed up by cash securities which have been given to the union.

Overtures have been made to the union by a number of manufacturers, but the union declared that it is not going to confer with the employers until the strike has progressed for at least a week.

Scab Auto Union Is Launched by Father Coughlin

**Move Started as A. F. of L.
Charters International
Automobile Workers'
Union at Detroit—Radio
Priest Aids Bosses**

THROWING off the sanctimonious cloak under which he has hitherto operated, Father Charles E. Coughlin selected the Labor Day weekend to launch what those back of him hope will be a great company "union" of automobile workers, with which it is proposed to strangle the efforts of the workers to organize the quarter million auto workers in a mighty union of their own.

The announcement was made at a mass meeting in Belle Isle, Detroit's island park resort in the Detroit River, at the very moment officials of the American Federation of Labor were working with a convention of auto workers upon the Organization of the International Automobile Workers, the bona fide international union of Detroit's biggest industry. Coughlin bitterly attacked the A. F. of L. in his speech at Belle Isle, and claimed 15,000 members for his "union."

Father Coughlin, who hitherto in his public propaganda has confined himself to vague generalizations, told his audience that he hoped to organize the bulk of the 200,000 auto workers in and around Detroit in a "union" outside of the organized labor movement represented by the A. F. of L.

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Automobile Profits Soaring; All Companies Show Gains

**Chrysler, Packard, General Motors Among
Firms Coining Millions in Biggest
Year Since 1929**

DETROIT. — Prosperity has been returning by leaps and bounds to the automobile manufacturing corporations, but it has not reached the workers who make the automobiles, according to a report on profits and wages in the industry by F. J. Dillon, general organizer of the American Federation of Labor here.

"Wages in the automobile industry," Dillon said, "have not risen this year as much as the general level of prices. Although the productivity of the individual worker is continuing to rise, he does not receive an increased return."

The profits record of companies included in Dillon's summary covers General Motors, Chrysler, Hudson and Packard.

General Motors, outstanding among auto concerns which oppose bona fide trade union organization, boosted its net income in the first six months of 1935 to \$83,729,838, as compared with \$69,586,613 in the same period of 1934.

The corporation also plans to spend about fifty million dollars for buildings and new equipment and is putting on an expansion program in a number of its units including Olds, Pontiac and Chevrolet.

The Chrysler Corporation has also piled up a few extra millions in profits and passed out large dividends to stockholders while keeping the wages of its employees low.

Communists Wreck the Teachers' Union

**Alliance of Stalinites, Lovestonites,
Left Wingers and Reactionaries
Destroys That Fine Organization,
Lefkowitz Charges**

By ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ
Legislative Representative Teachers' Union

FOR twenty years the Teachers' Union—the outstanding liberal and radical organization of teachers in the country—under the leadership of Dr. Henry R. Linville, played a dominant part in every struggle of the workers and teachers for economic and social betterment. The vision and courage of the union leaders left an indelible imprint not only upon our schools but upon the philosophy and program of the American Federation of Teachers which they helped to establish and build.

Left Wing Applauds

About ten or more years ago left-wing elements began to join the Union. The spirit of tolerance and the ultra-democratic constitution of the union, as well as the policy of the officers of ignoring their unfounded attacks, along with economic adversity, made it possible for the left-wing elements to confuse our younger and uninformed members. This they achieved by a policy of misrepresentation, character assassination and sabotage, tactics that resulted in diverting the major energy of the union and its officers to internal squabbles with those who subordinated the interests of the Union to their political philosophy. Every struggle between the official Communist Party and the Communist Party Opposition (the so-called Lovestonites) found its counterpart in the meetings of the Teachers' Union.

Factionalism resulted in displacing loyalty to the Union by loyalty to special political philosophies and political programs. The result was disorderly union meetings, public sabotage of the Union's best efforts, attempts to discredit the Union and its elected officers by a policy of studied misrepresentation

and character assassination, to public disrepute. Far worse was their attempt to tie the Union (1) to Communist "innocents" affiliates like the A.F. of L. Committee on Unemployment Insurance, the American League against War and Fascism; and (2) to pit the Union against organized labor by having it line up with the Communist Party and the Manufacturers' Association against the Byrne-Killgrew Unemployment Insurance Bill and other labor measures. The effect of all this was to endanger our labor affiliation, despite the fact that the left-wingers continually demanded the fullest co-operation of organized labor which the latter so generously gave and which was largely instrumental in making possible the achievements of the Union and the American Federation of Teachers.

The Dewey Report

In 1933 Professor John Dewey headed a Union committee to investigate the left-wing activities. The Dewey committee pointed out that the evidence showed that the left-wing leaders sought to conceal their political affiliation and objectives by unscrupulous attacks upon the officers as "labor fakers, traitors, and red-baiters." The counter-charge the officers were "undemocratic" was based upon the refusal of the officers to follow the "correct line," that is, the Communist line.

These conditions grew progressively worse since the publication of the Dewey Report. The groups were censured for their anti-union conduct; their leaders were suspended for sabotage of union policies but to no avail. Hence the Executive Board, later sustained by the Delegate Assembly, appealed to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers for an investigation and for a revocation of the charter of Local No. 5, to make possible the elimination of the discordant political and factional elements without exposing them to the danger of expulsion they so vigorously but improperly emphasized.

Investigation Held

The investigation was held and the issue was presented to the Executive Council and the Convention of the American Federation of Teachers which met at Cleveland from August 26th to the 30th. When the Executive Council met we realized that Professor Maynard Krueger of Chicago University, leader of the "militant" Socialists, dominated many of the members of the Council whom he had helped elect by the establishment of "paper" locals and by uniting these locals with the reactionary leaders of the Convention and the "Ohio politicians." This year Professor Krueger cemented his hold upon the Convention by creating more small "paper" locals for whom he took pains to secure left-wing representation. In this "packed" convention, ably assisted by Dr. Chamberlain, the expelled R.P.C. member, Little Rock, Andrew J. Biemiller, Winslow N. Hallett of Allentown, Mrs. Mary Foley Grossman of Philadelphia, David Englestein of Commonwealth, Albert Blumberg of Baltimore and other militants, they helped wreck Local No. 5 of New York.

At Cleveland

At the meetings of the Executive Council Krueger obviously dictated the motions and so dominated the situation. Krueger, advised by the Socialist "militants" of New York led by Charles J. Hendley and Lena Tulchin—behind whom the united front hid—made clear his purpose to destroy the present leadership. This was evidenced by his remark that if the charter of Local No. 5 were revoked, he would never vote

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Socialist and Trade Union Leaders Meet in Geneva to Map Action Against Fascist Italy's Conspiracy

British Labor For Embargo Against Italy

**Margate Congress Hears
Stirring Plea for Militant
Action to Smash Fascism—
Momentous Decisions
Expected**

By John Powers

DETERMINED action including economic and financial sanctions and not excluding the use of military force, if necessary, to stop Mussolini's proposed robber raid on Ethiopia and to smash fascism was demanded at the sixty-seventh annual meeting of the British Trades Union Congress when it convened at Margate on Monday.

The congress is expected to adopt resolutions of profound significance to the peace of Europe and the fate of democracy. It is to be followed next month by the annual meeting of the British Labor Party, which may soon take over direction of the British Government. Significant in this connection is the fact that the policies of the British Labor Party are determined largely by its affiliated trade unions. The final resolutions to be adopted at Margate will therefore be of immense historical significance in shaping the attitude of British and European labor in the struggle against fascism.

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M. Litvinoff's Geneva Stand Condemned

By Harry Rogoff

THE attitude of the Soviet Government on the Ethiopian question is becoming exceedingly embarrassing for our Communists in America. For years the Communists have been telling the Negroes in this country that Soviet Russia was the sole true friend of oppressed races throughout the world. They swore that in the event any imperialist government sought to conspire against any of the Black peoples the Soviet Government would be first to protest and to offer help. And now when the people of Ethiopia face destruction we hear not a word of protest from the Soviet Government.

Up to this moment Soviet Russia has evinced less concern, less sympathy for helpless Ethiopia than some of the big capitalist countries, the United States for example.

McQuane Resigns

Negroes who had permitted themselves to be influenced by Communist propaganda are beginning to ask questions. Some days ago the Communist "Daily Worker" published the letter of resignation of Herman McQuane as national secretary of the Communist Negro Federation. He resigned from the Communist Party because he had become convinced that the Communists were not sincere in their declarations of love for the Negroes, and because of the Soviet Government's attitude on the Ethiopian question. The fact that the

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**Manifesto Calls for
Pressure on Govern-
ments to Halt Pirate
Raid on Ethiopia**

Boycott Is Proposed

**Anti-War Demonstra-
tions Urged in All
Countries—Demand
Suez Canal Be Closed**

WITH Mussolini's war-machine relentlessly dragging the tortured and enslaved people of Italy nearer and nearer to the brink of armed conflict in Africa the whole International Socialist and Labor movement is swinging into action in a mighty endeavor to preserve the peace of the world.

The leaders of the world labor and Socialist movement are preparing to call for a boycott against Italian goods in the drive to halt the bandit raid of the castor-oil bully upon the people of Ethiopia. The piratical expedition, in which hundreds of thousands of Italian youths are being thrown into the blazing sun of the African deserts to feed Mussolini's insane desire to ape the Caesars of old Rome, will be met with the massed force of the organized labor movement, whose call to the tortured people of Italy is to see to it that the brutal fascism that has enslaved that country does not survive the present crisis.

Every Socialist Party and every labor organization affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions is under instructions to stage colossal anti-war demonstrations, to endeavor to stay the bloody hand of the fascist bully at Rome, and in every way to seek to prevent Mussolini from plunging two nations—and possibly the whole world—into a bloody conflict.

The members of the Executives of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions have been summoned to meet Friday, September 6th, in Geneva during the sessions of the League of Nations. The conference of the members of the two powerful Internationals was summoned by the Anti-War Com-

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Frank Morrison Calls for Intensified Anti-Nazi Drive

WASHINGTON. — Urging that the boycott of German goods and services continue "until the German Government recognizes the right of the working people of Germany to organize into bona fide, independent trade unions of their own choosing, and until Germany ceases its repressive policy of persecution of Jewish peoples," Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, and for over 40 years close associate of the late Samuel Gompers declared his support of the boycott before 2,000 Protestants, Jews and Catholics in the Masonic auditorium here.

The 1935 convention of the A. F. of L. also declared, Mr. Morrison said, "that the American Federation of Labor records itself as favoring a full measure of support to all victims of fascism and particularly to refugees from fascist countries, and to those brave heroes of Labor who, in spite of the tremendous risks involved, continue to hold the thread of labor solidarity and labor organizations within the fascist countries."

Closing his speech, Mr. Morrison urged the fullest support of the A. F. of L. for the Chest for Liberation of Workers of Europe.

Connecticut Labor Summoned To Form Political Party

**President Danz Urges State Federation to
Adopt Independent Political Action—
Great Ovation for Jasper McLevy**

By Abraham Knepler
Special to The New Leader

DANBURY, Conn.—The time is ripe for the organization of a Labor party opposed to the two old parties, according to the annual report of J. Nicholas Danz, President of the State Federation of Labor, to the Golden Jubilee convention now in session here.

President Danz also called for a resolution prohibiting officers of the Labor movement from holding office as Republicans or Democrats, as well as for an intensified boycott of Nazi Germany and war to the end against all forms of fascism. The convention, the largest and most enthusiastic in the history of the state, listened with tremendous enthusiasm to a stirring address by Socialist Mayor Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport. The vote on President Danz's proposals was taken too late to be reported in this issue.

The first two days of the four-day Golden Jubilee Convention of the Connecticut Federation of Labor being held here have been marked by the introduction of several far-reaching resolutions, nomination of officers for the coming year, and the delivery of addresses by Mayor McLevy of Bridgeport, Governor Cross, and others.

William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, sent a message of felicitation to

the Connecticut Federation on its jubilee convention, and asked the convention to pass a resolution calling upon Congress to enact the Black-Connery 30-hour week bill. Delegates to the number of 210 representing 151 unions, and a large number of guests are in attendance at the biggest convention in the history of the Federation.

Action scheduled for Thursday [after this paper had gone to press], on resolutions introduced, include among others the building of a State Labor Party, barring of Federation officers from holding political office under two major political parties (this would affect a large number of present officers); expressing opposition to war and to the "Italian war on Ethiopia"; and expressing opposition to the boycott of German goods and the release of workers held in Hitler's concentration camps and in jails.

Mayor McLevy received the most rousing reception of the convention when he appeared to speak on Wednesday, his reception both before and after he spoke overshadowing by far the reception accorded Governor Cross on Tuesday.

In a fiery speech that brought the entire audience to its feet in spontaneous acclaim as he concluded, Bridgeport's Socialist mayor spoke of Labor's march in Connecticut during the past 50 years, (Continued on Page Three)

Indiana Governor Uses Iron Fist on Workers

Auto Workers' Union Gets International Charter

Special to The New Leader

DETROIT.—The International Automobile Workers' Union, organized under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, is an established fact. The first constitutional convention of the new union closed here Friday amid much enthusiasm on the part of the 250 delegates representing 35,000 members already enrolled.

President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, presented an A. F. of L. charter to the convention with the declaration that a major objective of the new union is to secure an annual wage sufficient to "keep the worker in decency the year around."

"In effect, all that we are asking," he added, "represents your share of the wealth you produce. Executive officers through large salaries and bonuses are diverting to themselves larger shares of income than belong to them. We are going to change all that."

President Green urged a recruiting drive to enroll a quarter of a million automobile workers in the union.

A great deal of dissatisfaction noticeable at the opening of the convention was dissipated as the delegates found themselves together for a few days, and actually began to work together.

The new union, with A. F. of L. backing, and starting in the trough or upswing of the economic cycle, has a far greater chance of success than the now defunct United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers' Union which was begun during the false prosperity of the war and petered out in the depression of the early twenties.

The old auto union was an outgrowth of the Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union which had been

affiliated with the A. F. of L. As a result of jurisdictional fights with machinists, blacksmiths, sheet metal workers and other international unions, the new Auto Workers' Union, in 1917, vote almost unanimously to withdraw from the A. F. of L.

Due to the appeal that the industrial organization of the new union had for workingmen, beginning in 1918 it began to grow by leaps and bounds. The union took in body builders, blacksmiths, sheet metal workers, truckers, all branches of the painting crafts, sweepers, inspectors, trimmers, millwrights, and all workers who worked in or around an automobile plant—men and women, black and white.

When the union began its organization work, its membership was almost exclusively experienced union men from the old wagon and carriage union. As a result of a long series of short and very effective strikes, tens of thousands of unskilled laborers, inexperienced in union activity, came into the organization, with the result that when the 1921 crash came and attempts were made to slash wages and lengthen working hours, the union was ruined.

None of the experience of the older union is to be lost, however. The leaders of the present union can look back gratefully to the work done in an earlier decade, and much of their work is based upon that.

The new union has the full strength of the American Federation of Labor back of it. It is organized in a time of depression with the hope of some sort of prosperity to give the members experience. And it will take in parts and production workers only in order to avoid jurisdictional disputes.

Jury Trial Won for Research Workers Bakers' Union in Injunction Case

J. B. Matthews

In the first court test of the recently enacted law providing for jury trials in contempt cases in labor disputes Supreme Court Justice Meier Steinbrink in Brooklyn held the law constitutional and ordered jury trials for several members of Local 505 of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union.

The case in which the decision was rendered was one in which the Standard Baking Company of Brooklyn obtained a permanent injunction against the Bakers' International.

The company moved to punish the union and three individual members who had picketed allegedly in violation of the injunction. The workers demanded a jury trial while the company attacked the constitutionality of the new law. Steinbrink sustained the validity of the statute and ordered a trial by jury.

The Standard Baking Company case was the case in which Justice Leander B. Faber issued a temporary injunction which was so drastic as to arouse the entire labor movement. It was largely this case which influenced the Legislature in passing the group of laws limiting labor injunctions and proceedings to punish for contempt thereon.

Matthew M. Levy, labor attorney, who appeared on behalf of the Bakers' Union, hailed the decision of Justice Steinbrink as a great victory for the entire labor movement.

Levy said, "The evils inherent in punishing the officers and members of a labor union for alleged contempt of court without a trial by jury have long been recognized. The Legislature at its last session was finally moved by the vigorous protest of organized labor to enact this statute, providing for jury trials. The labor movement, as is usual in similar situations, found it necessary to defend this reform in the courts from the energetic attacks of employers. In this, the first case in which the constitutionality of the statute providing for jury trials in contempt cases was raised, labor has been victorious."

In his decision Steinbrink said: "The social and economic forces underlying labor disputes with its resulting wide public interest, the plethora of legal research on the subject, the declaration by various legislatures, including the Congress of the United States and the Legislature of this state, that there are abuses to be met in the existing procedure applicable to labor disputes, all negative any possible inference that legislation limited in its application to labor disputes is arbitrary, oppressive or capricious or based upon no real distinction."

SEVENTY workers comprising the staff of Consumers' Research, Inc., Washington, N. J., have gone on strike in protest against the arbitrary decision of its officers composed of F. J. Schlink, president, Mary C. Phillips (Mrs. Schlink) and J. B. Matthews, vice-president, who have refused recognition of the workers' union, Federal Local No. 20055, recently chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

The building trades workers engaged in the construction of a new building on the premises have struck in sympathy with the regular staff.

Schlink and Matthews who recently let it be known that they had traveled so fast on the road to radicalism that only the Communist party is capable of meeting their wishes are now arbitrarily denying their own employees the fundamental and constitutional right to organize a labor union and to bargain collectively with them.

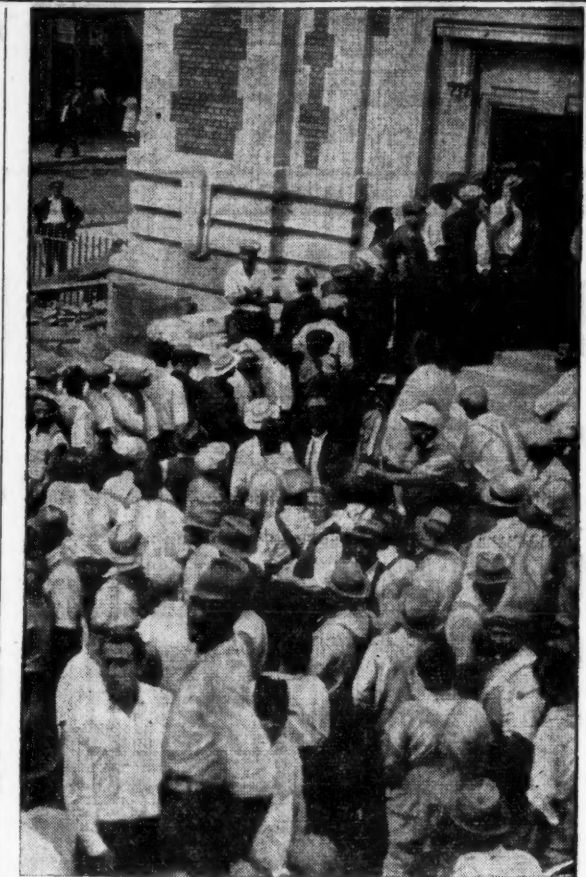
The strikers have appealed to the Cooperative Movement for support and Cooperative Distributors, a national consumers' cooperative association organized by trade unionists and composed of a chain of local Consumers' Clubs, has appealed to the entire cooperative movement and to the American Federation of Labor to support the strikers as it involves the fundamental right of workers to organize. They propose that both movements refrain from supporting Consumers' Research until that organization revokes its anti-labor policy and recognizes the union.

E. J. Lever, president of Cooperative Distributors and formerly vice-president of Consumers' Research, along with others, has on a number of occasions called the attention of the officers of Consumers' Research to their many abuses of the workers' rights and arbitrary handling of personnel problems. Working conditions in Consumers' Research have been so bad that it has faced a turnover of nearly 100% per annum in its personnel.

Arthur Kallet, co-author with Mr. Schlink of "100,000,000 Guinea Pigs" and secretary of the Board of Consumers' Research, has had charges filed against him for his removal from the Board by Messrs. Schlink and Matthews because of his present sympathies with the strikers.

Stuart Chase, George Soule, Rev. L. Bradford Young and Benson Y. Landis are no longer connected with Consumers' Research and are not responsible for its present labor policies.

Matthews, who has been expelled from the Socialist Party for persistent violation of the party's instructions against cooperating with the Communists, is now seeking a Democratic nomination for the New Jersey legislature.



Relief workers in Hamilton Fish Park, New York, in line waiting for their checks.

Communists Wreck the Teachers' Union

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to give it to the present administration and the majority; that is, he would give it to those for whom he was fighting—the left-wingers temporarily led by the "militants"; but in reality by the Rank-and-Filers (the Stalinite Communists) under the leadership of Isidore Begun and others. To make it easy to carry out his purpose, he sought to bind the convention to a secret vote on the issue of revoking the charter of No. 5. Despite his best efforts, the vote in the Council on revocation was 6 to 6, President Raymond Lowry voting to revoke.

Lowry Follows Krueger

Krueger then was nominated for President of the A.F.O.T. in opposition to Lowry. This frightened Lowry into following Krueger, and in return for this reversal, Krueger withdrew and left the field to the present incumbent. The "militant" Socialist steam-roller, aided by President William Green's well-motivated but unfortunately worded telegram did the rest. The leaders of the Council called a rump meeting to which the writer and all members loyal to the A. F. of L. had not been invited; voted to read the telegram of President Green in open rather than in executive session; and made unnecessary comments about force and dictatorship to prejudice the delegates. One member of the newly elected council, in school-boy fashion, referred to President William Green as a "Hitler."

In this way these militants helped wreck Local No. 5 by handing it over to the left-wingers and then advocated resolutions to tie the American Federation of Teachers to such Communist affiliates as the American League against War and Fascism and to political action with the Communist Party.

The Real Issue

The representatives of the Union brought out facts to show that the officers of the Union had the support of the majority of its members; that the Union's Constitution was too democratic to make the efficient functioning of the Union possible with dual union groups continually frustrating its efforts, that the issue could not be "red-baiting" since the Union had defended the outstanding leader of the left-wingers of Rank and File group whom it had suspended for sabotaging tactics; nor was it a question of jobs since the left-wingers were pleading with the officers not to resign but to carry on. Even at this writing they are pleading with the officers to remain.

The real issue is: Can the Teachers' Union continue to advance the best interests of labor and public education if its best efforts are continually interfered with or frustrated by these factional disciplined groups (a) who use left-wing tactics, policies and ideology; (b) who pursue a policy of calculated and organized misrepresentation and sabotage; (c) who follow disruptive tactics; and (d) who are guilty of such disgraceful conduct as to bring the Union into disrepute by destroying the good-will won through nineteen years of militant fighting for education, teachers and labor.

The Union leaders made it clear to the delegates of the Convention that the help of the national organization was imperative to solve

its internal difficulties because expulsion was impossible under our Constitution—and because of the over-indulgent attitude of our members—even for the worst form of sabotage and anti-union conduct; that tolerance, coupled with the left-wing disregard for bourgeois morality, and the reluctance of our members to expel for fear such expelled persons might be dismissed from the school system, rendered the Union impotent to solve its internal civil war. The Union could not even punish members for sabotaging its membership campaigns. Hence to save our left-wingers from the official reprisal the alleged expulsion would bring, reorganization was necessary. The cry of "expulsion from the school system" raised by our left-wingers to win the support of sentimentalists was false. They had exposed themselves far more fully by marching in a Communist parade carrying a sign "Rank and File of the Teachers' Union," by their own party literature exposing each other and by their public demonstrations, even in the hall of the Board of Education.

A False Cry

The delegates of Local 5 stressed the fact that when the officers of the Union seek to meet the attacks of the left-wingers by exposing their political inspiration and motivation, the left-wingers promptly raise the false cry of "red baiting," as if the majority and the officers had not even the right of defending themselves against obviously wholly unwarranted attacks.

The Convention had been told that if the request for a revocation of the charter of Local No. 5 were denied, the officers would resign and hand the local to the left-wingers. A left-wing local would be expelled from the Central Trades and Labor Council and the N. Y. State Federation of Labor and thus set back the work of organizing teachers for decades. The preservation of our labor affiliation and the principles of democracy demanded immediate compliance with the request of Local No. 5 if the A. F. of L. were to be in a position to unionize the teachers of America. The cry of Local No. 5 went unheeded when the militants joined hands with the reactionaries and the "Ohio Gang." Thus the Socialist "militants" made possible the wrecking of Local No. 5 and weakened the A. F. of L.—the only teacher bulwark against reaction.

In protest against the refusal to revoke the charter of Local No. 5, the delegates representing the oldest locals, the largest locals and most of the old experienced leaders, withdrew from the Convention and issued the following statement:

Authorized Statement of A.F.O.T. Locals Representing the Majority of the Members

The undersigned and their sympathizers who have already left the convention, representing not only 60% of the membership, but also most of the oldest and largest locals, have withdrawn from this convention as a protest against the following irregular practices:

CHICAGO UNIONS BACK TERRE HAUTE WORKERS

By Morris Seskind
Special to The New Leader

CHICAGO.—At a regular meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor on Labor Sunday, September 1, the representatives of the organized workers of Chicago unanimously decided to give battle to Governor McNutt of Indiana, who has established military dictatorship in Vigo county in order to break the strike of the workers of the Columbian Enameling and Stamping Company.

This decision was taken after Comrade Joseph M. Jacobs, attorney for the strikers, reported the terrible situation that exists in Terre Haute as a result of military rule there.

Together with Comrade Jacobs was Mrs. L. Conden, a member of the strike committee, who gave a vivid picture of the suffering and deprivation the 1,500 strikers are undergoing. Since the military rule was established, free speech, free assembly and peaceful picketing are prohibited. The militia is protecting the scabs not only when they go to work but in the factory also when they move from one department to another.

The Terre Haute trade unions are doing all they can to assist the strikers financially and to provide food for their families, but the strike committee can only give a dollar's worth of food to each family of four.

Comrade Jacobs explained that Governor McNutt has violated the Constitution of the state by declaring martial law, and has set aside the civil government and courts in order to break the strike and help the employers of Terre Haute, who have decided to destroy the labor movement of Indiana. The lawyers for the strikers will go into the Federal courts and demand an injunction to lift the martial law edict. The lawyers are giving their services free, but the necessary court expense to prepare the legal briefs must be raised immediately. An appeal was made to the delegates and President Fitzpatrick appointed the over-sighted and Lillian Herstein, Dave McVay and S. Lowe to make the collection, which brought in \$134.

Delegate McVay introduced a resolution to condemn the military dictatorship and to pledge financial and moral assistance to the strikers; this was unanimously adopted. The Federation also decided to call upon all local unions to assist the strike to the limit of their resources. The situation in Terre Haute will be given wide publicity through the W.C.F.L. radio station and the Federation News, the official organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

20 had not been legally entitled to vote because they had failed to pay their dues. Most of these locals died soon after the convention.

2. Proxies from locals hundreds of miles apart were corralled and utilized in violation of the constitution.

3. Delegates not eligible to membership in our organization were seated for a time and participated in the proceedings of the convention.

By these unethical, unprofessional, and unconstitutional methods, the salaried officers of the American Federation of Teachers and their supporters captured the convention, initiated the process of eliminating the founders of the movement, a process which has since been completed.

4. This year under Vice-President Maynard Krueger's leadership and guidance, small locals were again established and left-wing representation secured from many of them. Delegates were seated in this convention in direct violation of constitutional provisions. The convention did even the unprecedented thing of changing election rules during the balloting to permit the granting of additional votes, by attack upon President Green, the temper of the debates, and the acts of the convention leave us no alternative but to dissociate ourselves temporarily from these farcical, anti-labor proceedings.

We, the undersigned, represent most of the old and experienced locals as well as the majority of the membership. We speak for the majority of the members who helped to build and who truly represent the American Federation of Teachers.

Dr. Henry R. Linville, Selma Borchardt, Florence Root, Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz, Committee.

The above was approved by duly elected delegates representing the following locals: Local No. 3, Chicago Women; 5, New York; 8, Washington, D.C.; 27, Washington, D.C.; 28, St. Paul Women; 43, St. Paul Men; 52, Memphis, Tenn.; 263, New Bedford, Mass.; 246, Chattanooga; 111, Portland, Ore.; 295, Pulaski Co., Ark.

A Wrecked Union

The Teachers' Union has been wrecked by "militants" led by Maynard Krueger who used left-wing tactics to capture the convention and who joined hands with reaction to achieve his ends. The militants aided by reactionaries and unscrupulous politicians, are destroying the most radical and liberal local of the American Federation of Teachers. The militants also led the fight for a union with the American League against War and Fascism and independent politi-

Socialists in Battle to End Martial Law in Terre Haute

CHICAGO.—Suit for an injunction against military rule in Vigo county, Ind., will be brought in Federal Court Tuesday, according to an announcement by Aron S. Gilmartin, secretary-treasurer of the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee. Those named as defendants are Governor McNutt, Mayor Sam Beecher, Chief of Police Wheeler and Military dictator Major Weimer of the Indiana National Guard.

The suit will charge that use of the militia there is in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, in that it deprives citizens of liberty without due process of law. The constitution and statutes of Indiana, Socialist attorneys state, do not give the governor authority to use the militia as Governor McNutt has done.

Military Dictatorship

The danger of a continuing military dictatorship in Vigo county is evident from the fact that in Sullivan county, about twelve miles south of Terre Haute, martial law has continued since early in October, 1933, and this military rule of two adjoining counties shows the danger that faces the organized workers. Sullivan county came under military rule nearly two years ago as the result of a miners' strike. To this must be added the fact that a governor a few years ago arbitrarily suspended local elections in the state. With one county under the heels of military popinjays for two years and Vigo county facing indefinite continuance of such rule weeks after the end of the general strike, this despotic regime must be challenged or other areas of western Indiana will be ruled by Junker upstarts.

Socialists are defying Indiana martial law. Not only are they fighting in the courts, but despite orders from the military rulers of this community not to talk to more than two people at any time, Socialists and trade unionists here last week called meetings attended by thousands.

Norman Thomas, chairman of the party's labor defense committee, made a flying trip from New York to speak at two huge rallies protesting military dictatorship, after the militia had twice arrested Socialist organizers earlier in the week. Thomas' rallies were held in full cooperation with the local labor organizations, with union officers as chairmen.

Over 2,000 people gathered to hear Thomas speak at noon, when he used the courthouse steps as a platform. Max Schafer, vice-president of the Vigo county Central Labor Union, presided. Other speakers were Leo Vernon and Powers Hapgood, both of whom had been released from military arrest earlier in the week, with instructions not to be seen talking to more than two people at any time.

Hapgood Arrested

Powers Hapgood, member of the N.E.C. of the Socialist Party, ar-

rested for attempting to interview Leo Vernon, Socialist organizer of Madison, Wis., was freed last week. Vernon was also released with the three military prisoners Virgil Stewart, William Boardman and Viola Newby, whose petitions for writs of habeas corpus had been denied.

One development in the Terre Haute class struggle is the return of Dr. R. Clyde White, Federal "conciliator," to Indiana University to teach "sociology." After his bootlicking of the reactionaries in Terre Haute it might be well for the unions to demand that he be removed from the teaching staff of this state college. White undoubtedly teaches a "sociology" that should win a medal from Adolf Hitler.

In reply to the letter of protest sent to Secretary of Labor Perkins by the editor of The New Leader a subordinate of the department wrote that White had returned to the university, implying that no action would be taken regarding White's activities as a strike-breaker.

To ignore White's conduct without even a reprimand by the Labor Department is to make the department an accomplice in all of his actions in Terre Haute.

The letter of the department to the editor of The New Leader also implies that White appeared in support of the release of three prisoners held by the military authorities. The Terre Haute Star account of the hearing on the writs of habeas corpus on August 19th does not bear out this version of the role played in the case by White. Sheriff Baker, assistant chief of police Mitchell, Dr. White, and Major E. E. Weimar, commanding Indiana National Guard troops in the "military district of Vigo county," are all grouped together in the Star account of those opposing the writs.

Meantime Dr. R. Clyde White, the "conciliator" sent by the U. S. Department of Labor who gave his time serving as footman of local capitalist interests, has again turned up with another program which he presented at a luncheon of the Terre Haute Rotary Club. Here he assumed another role. The "learned" Doctor seemed to understand that he had made a mess of things by his insolent attitude towards the workers of the city and desired to remove the cause.

A Rotarian Speaks

In the Rotary speech he walked warily in the zone between workers and exploiters and assured the diners that the interests of the owners and capital are "identical." As White is a professor of sociology it is evident from this statement that his views go back to the infant days of the science. The address as a whole revealed an academic moron retailing the platitudes that are customary at such Rotarian affairs. However, the arrogant attitude which he had previously displayed was absent. Instead of the Junker strutting on parade, Dr. White became the discreet pollyanna before his business allies.

ical action with all left-wing groups.

Just where do the militants stand and whither are they drifting? Is Charles J. Hendly, our local "militant" Socialist, right when he asked this question: What is the difference between a militant Socialist and a right-wing Communist? In the light of these facts, does the Socialist Party stand by its policy of working with organized labor and by its democratic principles and traditions or does it, like the "militant" Socialists, stand by dictatorship and a united front with Communist groups? It must make its choice. It cannot, like Maynard Krueger, play both ends toward the middle and be all things to all radicals.

Brownsville Labor Organizing to Back Socialist Campaign

Delegates from Trade Unions, Workmen's Circle branches, and other fraternal organizations will organize a joint campaign committee this Tuesday night, September 10, to aid the Brownsville Socialist campaign. The meeting will be held at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn.

Plans to carry on an energetic campaign will be presented and a series of large mass meetings throughout the entire 23rd Assembly District will be mapped out.

Organizations are asked to make sure that their representatives will be present.

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World Labor Plans Fight on Mussolini's Pirate Raid

British Unions in Congress Denounce Fascist Plans

(Continued from Page One)

It is becoming more and more clear that however much the Socialists and trade unionists of Europe are opposed to war and are anxious to avert it, if possible, they are equally determined to destroy fascism by force of arms if that be necessary.

In his opening address to the Margate congress, William Kean, the president, advocated not only economic sanctions as the first step toward curbing the ambitions of Italian fascism but also the closing of the Suez Canal to Italian ships carrying troops and munitions of war against Ethiopia.

If this means war, he declared, "that is an issue we must face."

Cabling from Margate under date of September 1 to the New York Times, Mr. Charles A. Selden reported that Mr. Kean's speech was "received gravely but with definite approval by the 575 delegates representing 3,389,000 trade unionists in Great Britain who in turn constitute the dominant half of the Labor Party."

Resolutions pending before the congress condemn both Japan and Italy, the first for her policy in China and the second for her conspiracy against Ethiopia.

A Challenge to the League

Pointing out that the congress was meeting "under the shadow of war," Kean exhorted Mussolini in words of fire and challenged the League of Nations to do its duty and put a curb upon the Italian dictator. He warned that failure to do so would result in a death blow to the league, intensification of the tension in Europe and in the Far East and encouragement to the forces of fascism.

Assailing Premier Mussolini Kean declared:

"At the will of one man who admits of no moral or political restraints upon his action peace is again imperiled. The dictator of Italy has defied the world's condemnation of his unjust and rapacious assault on Ethiopia. He has broken treaties. Solemn pledges his country gave, along with other signatories of the League covenant and the Pact of Paris to renounce war as an instrument of policy he has contemptuously violated."

Mussolini's 'Cynical Reminder'

"He has justified his flagrant aggression by a cynical reminder that other imperialist powers build their empires in just the same way. He ignores completely the fact that his country's signature of these instruments of public law conveyed a promise not to follow their example. We were invited to admire Mussolini as a political realist. We have another name for those who break the law."

"The law had no meaning for Japan and seems to have none for Italy. Has it no meaning either for the rest of the covenanted powers or are the covenants, pacts and treaties just cowards' whimperings and greedy, ambitious and ruthless power can brush aside? An answer to this question has yet to be given."

"We shall know the answer, I suppose, before this congress is three days old. The League Council meets Wednesday. Not only the existence of the League but the peace of the world depends on its decision on one question: Will Italy observe the law or be treated by sister nations as a criminal lawbreaker?"

"In my opinion, the League Council has one plan duty to perform and the League cannot survive if that duty is shirked. Italy can be coerced if she cannot be persuaded to keep the peace. There are formidable powers of coercion that can be applied in the economic sanctions of the League. They are clearly stated in Article XVI of the covenant. They constitute a compound group of economic, financial and military measures. In their entirety they are so drastic the League has never attempted to use them, though there was every justification for their use against Japan in 1932."

"The application of economic and financial sanctions would, I believe, suffice to restrain Italy's

aggression. They would involve an embargo upon the supply of essential raw materials, particularly minerals required for munitions industries, and the refusal of financial help in any shape or form. This embargo would end the Italian campaign. The removal of the embargo upon the export of arms will not stop war but facilitate it.

"Our aim and policy as a trade union movement is not only to prevent war but to enforce the principle of collective responsibility in the maintenance of the law of nations. The application of these economic and financial measures will do both. If they are not immediately effective in restraining Italy, the further step of closing the Suez Canal to Italian ships would bring her campaign in East Africa to a standstill."

"But such action on the part of League powers might bring them into a war with Italy. That is an issue we must face. We must be at least as realistic as Mussolini. It is a grave responsibility to counsel measures which may cause war. But what is the alternative from the trade union standpoint to this policy? War is a certainty anyway, unless Italy is restrained. If its consequences could be localized, if only Italy and Ethiopia were concerned, some people, I suppose, would say, 'Let them fight it out.'"

Fears 'Graver Consequences'

"Italy's aggression, if it goes unchecked, will have graver consequences. It will destroy the foundations of the League system and intensify dangerous tensions existing in Europe and in the Far East and will give fascism a fresh lease on life."

"Fascism is at the point of collapse and is losing its grip upon the loyalties of people who surrendered to its rule. It has revealed its true character not only in the destruction of free citizenship, the persecution of Jews and Christians and the brutal torture of trade unionists and Social Democrats, but in conditions of industrial servitude it has enforced when the resistance of trade unions was overcome. If Mussolini is permitted to realize his dream of a Fascist empire by the conquest of Ethiopia, this cruel and bloodstained tyranny will achieve the permanent enslavement of mankind. That is its aim."

"We meet within two days of the meeting of the League Council whose decisions will determine, I believe, the fate of the laborious post-war effort to organize the world for peace. This assembly is capable of influencing these decisions in accordance with the world-wide aspiration toward freedom, justice and a new economic order in which poverty, worklessness and overwork will find no place. A strong and emphatic declaration by this congress in the name of the organized millions we represent will have a decisive effect."

"We have quoted Mr. Kean's address in extenso not only because it reflects the view of the British Trades Union Congress, as pointed out by Mr. Selden, but because, as those familiar with the development of sentiment among the organized European workers know, it represents a point of view to which Socialists in all European countries are turning."

More and more European Socialists and trade unionists are becoming convinced that as between the perils to civilization involved in another war and unrestricted assaults of fascism upon the independence and integrity of nations and the institutions of freedom of democracy there is little to choose. As Mr. Kean said, if this means war, "that is an issue we must face."

The day may not be far removed when the free peoples of Europe will be called upon to smash Hitler and Mussolini by force of arms. Whether this may come to pass will depend upon the fascist states themselves. They have chosen the road of despotism and destruction and on that road they will perish.

TIN-POT NAPOLEON



Far-Reaching Garment Walkout Looms in N. Y.

(Continued from Page One)

claims that would lead to the adjustment of that controversy.

After several hours of conferring at the Hotel New Yorker on Wednesday, the spokesmen for the garment employers assumed the stand that no serious strike of shipping help has been in progress, and that their deliveries were not materially affected. They further alleged that the wellbeing of the shipping clerks was taken care of adequately by the individual employers in the industry.

To offset these allegations, president Dubinsky produced authentic lists of factories showing that nearly 2,000 dress and cloak firms were involved in this strike of the shipping clerks and that no less than 12,000 clerks have already been registered by the strike headquarters. He also produced records of pay envelopes affecting wages of 5,654 shipping clerks registered at strike headquarters which showed that of that number 738 received less than \$12 a week, 2,568 received less than \$15 a week, 1,658 received less than \$20 a week, 244 received less than \$25 a week, and only 54 were receiving between \$25 and \$30 a week—for a work-week that lasted anywhere from 50 to 60 and more hours.

These, Dubinsky declared, were lower than pauper wages and a disgrace to the women's garment industry. To make the position of the International Ladies' Garment Workers clear, Dubinsky, after the mediation conference called by him was broken off by the unyielding attitude of the employers, said:

"In calling this meeting, I was chiefly actuated by the interests of our own members, first, the interests of the industry as a whole, and by the plight in which these thousands of underpaid and overworked shipping clerks and others employed in the packing and dispatching departments of the garment factories."

"I regret very much that the employers have assumed such a stubborn and unreasoning attitude in this strike of their clerks. It is an unsound attitude to take in an industrial sense and is likely to lead to still greater complications. I wish to underscore here that we have agreements in the cloak, dress and other branches of the garment industry with our employers and we intend to live up to them. We didn't of course and we do not encourage sympathy strikes of our members in violation of our agreement, but we wish our employers and the public to know that our members do not work with strikebreakers no matter in what department and we cannot urge them to do so. Moreover, some employers have installed 'protectors' in several buildings and by that I mean hired guards and these constitute a provocation to many of our members who cannot tolerate their presence in the factory building. The result of this is that several hundred dress factories have become already involved in this dispute and have stopped from work. We are informed that close to 15,000 are affected by this disturbance."

"We maintain that an effective and widespread strike of shipping clerks is in existence and that it is the duty of every constructively-minded group in the industry to help settle this strike on a fair basis. Closing our eyes to it ostrich-like would not help matters. That's why I called this conference of all the organized factors in the hope of adjusting it. Since the manufacturers retain such an attitude of callous indifference, we are compelled to dis-

claim any responsibility for whatever developments there may occur as a result of their stand in the thousands of cloak and dress shops. As I said before, our Union cannot and will not force its members to work with strikebreakers in the same plant."

N. Y. Dressmakers In Mighty Garden Mass Meeting

THE opening gun in a militant program of activity pointing toward the expiration of the agreements in the industry will be fired by the Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union at a vast membership celebration and mobilization at Madison Square Garden, next Wednesday afternoon. Although formal announcement of the event was made by Julius Hochman, General Manager, only a few days ago, a rush for tickets has developed that makes it certain the Garden will be jammed to its topmost row.

Gains won in the general strike two years ago and their effective enforcement will be celebrated by a program of internationally known opera stars and a full symphony orchestra. Leaders of the union will convert the meeting into a mobilization by outlining the issues on which the battle lines will be drawn when the agreements expire, January 31 next.

While it is understood that union leaders are discussing a complete program of demands covering the questions of wages, hours, protection for minority crafts and a host of other issues, Hochman has made no secret of the fact that the union will brook no compromise on the issues of contractor limitation, settlement on the jobbers' premises and the unit system of labor price settlement.

Work will cease in the industry next Wednesday afternoon and plans are already being made by many shops to march in a body to the Garden. Intense interest is being displayed by the dressmakers and the Madison Square Garden meeting has become the major subject for discussion in the shops. It shares interest only with the recent \$4.75 supplementary agreement.

The musical program will consist of Anna Leskaya, soprano, Bruna Castagna, contralto; Pasquale Ferrara, tenor, and Gino Montanari, baritone, all of the Chicago Opera Company. There will also be a full symphony orchestra under the baton of Alberto Baccolino. The musical program will be directed by Alfredo Salomaggi. The complete massed chorus of the L.L.G.W.U., directed by Lazar Weiner, will feature the choral singing.

In commenting on the event, Hochman said: "This great meeting gives the signal to an extensive plan of union activity that will reach a climax when our agreements expire. The dressmakers will be ready for any eventuality. The musical part of the program is dedicated to the gains we won in the general strike two years ago and enforced through the splendid discipline of our membership. The spirit of that magnificent general strike lives today. It will be a stirring occasion worthy of the past history of the dressmakers and of the history they will write in the immediate future."

M. Litvinoff's Geneva Stand Condemned

(Continued from Page One)

"Daily Worker" published the resignation and found it necessary to reply to McQuane's charges shows that the resignation is not an isolated instance, that his disillusionment is spreading among the rank and file of the Negro followers of the Communist Party, and that something must be done to cope with the situation.

The reasons given by the Communists for the attitude of the Soviet Government on the Ethiopian question are false and ridiculous.

To the question I put recently in The New Leader as to why Litvinoff, as chairman of the Council of the League of Nations, had failed to utter a single word of protest on Mussolini's conspiracy against Ethiopia, and as to why the Soviet diplomat had voted for the Council's imperialist resolutions, opposed bitterly by the representatives of Ethiopia, the "Daily Worker" made reply, the substance of which was as follows:

If Soviet Russia had voted against the resolutions, Mussolini would have obtained the excuse he has long been seeking for withdrawing from the League of Nations, thus facilitating the outbreak of war. Litvinoff voted for the resolutions not because he favored imperialist treaties, but because the resolutions obligated Mussolini not to start any war as long as the entire matter remained unsettled. Thus, the resolutions were in the nature of a preventative of war, although, to be sure, not a very secure one.

This, in substance, was the "Daily Worker's" explanation. The question we ask is:

A Question for Litvinoff

If this was the sole reason for Litvinoff's support of the resolutions, why did he not say so publicly? Why did he not stand up and say—

"These are imperialist resolutions. I consider that Ethiopia is quite justified in her protest, but I vote for the resolutions in order not to give Mussolini an opportunity to say that he has been pushed out of the League and in order to delay the outbreak of war, if it cannot be prevented altogether."

Instead of taking this position, which should have been the position of any honest diplomat claiming to be serving the cause of the weak and the oppressed, Litvinoff actually sought to prevail upon the Ethiopian representatives to accept the resolutions, to move the victim to voting for his own slaughter. It was precisely this conduct on the part of Litvinoff that prompted the Ethiopians to say: "You are asking us to commit suicide. We prefer assassination."

Moreover, the excuse offered by the Communists is entirely false. The resolutions in question were not offered before the League Council in the interest of peace. Mussolini's delay in unleashing war against Ethiopia is due not to the fact that he has any concern for the League of Nations, but to the fact that he is waiting for the end of the rainy season in Africa. Anyone familiar with the situation knows this simple fact. The resolutions of the League Council were purely imperialist in character and had for their purpose the dismemberment of Ethiopia between France, England and Italy. The realization of this purpose would be no less tragic for Ethiopia than war, for instead of being confronted with Italy alone in her fight for independence, Ethiopia would be confronted by the combined forces of the three nations.

Litvinoff knew this very well when he voted for the imperialist resolutions. He knew that what he voted for was not the preservation of peace but the destruction of Ethiopia's freedom and integrity, the execution of an imperialist conspiracy against a small, helpless nation.

Ridiculous are the excuses of the "Daily Worker" in reply to the resignation of the Negro national secretary. The question he asked was why Soviet Russia was doing nothing to help Ethiopia. The "Daily Worker" replied that to charge that Soviet Russia was supporting Ethiopia's enemies is tantamount to saying that Soviet Russia is cutting her own throat, and that Russia's very life is dependent upon revolutions and wars of independence of the colonial peoples.

The gentleman who devised this reply had in mind the defunct theory of Leon Trotsky that Soviet Russia could not survive without world revolution and revolutions and uprisings in colonial lands. This theory has been abandoned by the Stalinists for their new doctrine of "Socialism in one country." Trotsky's theory is now denounced as counter-revolutionary in Soviet Russia.

But let us admit for the sake of argument that the theory still holds good. Is that a reason why Soviet Russia is justified in supporting imperialist resolutions against Ethiopia? Does that jus-

Trade Unions to Employ Boycott Against Italy

(Continued from Page One)

tee appointed by the L.S.I. and the I.F.T.U., at a joint meeting in Paris August 26th. Meanwhile British Labor, speaking for the millions of that nation, is warning the world what such a war means.

The Labor and Socialist International has summoned the workers of the world to mighty protest in a stirring manifesto in which it calls upon the Italian people to remember that their true enemies are not in Addis Ababa but in Rome.

To the Workers of the World

The manifesto reads as follows:

"At the moment when Mussolini is massing his troops with a view to an imminent attack upon Abyssinia;

"When war, though not yet declared, has already filled the hospitals with sick and plunged many families in mourning;

"The Labor and Socialist International urges upon its affiliated parties the necessity of emphasizing unceasingly, in the light of present events, that by its very nature, by the inevitable consequences of its policy of force, fascism is war."

"The three despotic powers—Germany, Japan and Italy—are menacing the peace of the world. German rearmament is disturbing the peace of Europe; Japan continues her impudent predatory campaign in China; and fascist Italy, having reduced her own people to a state of slavery, is taking the field on the pretext of abolishing slavery in Abyssinia and, trampling half a dozen solemnly concluded treaties underfoot, threatens to begin a cynical war of conquest."

War Upon War!

"Even at this tragic hour the Labor and Socialist International declares that we should not despair of peace. On the contrary the efforts with a view to saving peace should be redoubled. The Labor and Socialist International cannot resign itself to war, even as a means of deliverance for the Italian people."

"I. The Labor and Socialist International calls upon all its affiliated parties to use all political means at their disposal to persuade the governments to fulfill their duties as members of the League of Nations, and to put an end to the deplorable failure of the league, thus obliging it."

"(a) To draw the requisite consequences from Mussolini's aggression and to make the measures necessary to safeguard peace, a duty prescribed by Article 11 of the Covenant, if necessary by closing the Suez Canal to Italian war transports;

"(b) To make arrangements for arbitration which would not be derisory, as is the case with the present arbitration proceedings which do not even permit any investigation as to the territory upon which the Wal-Wal frontier incident occurred."

"(c) To guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of Abyssinia in any event, as all the members of the League of Nations are pledged to do by Article 10 of the Covenant, and accordingly, to reject unconditionally any partition of Abyssinia, a full member of the League of Nations, into spheres of influence for the Great Powers and any protectorate by a Great Power over Abyssinia, even when they are given the appearance of economic and administrative concessions."

The Arms Traffic

"II. Every party affiliated to the Labor and Socialist International should endeavor to use all

the political means at its disposal to terminate the scandal constituted by the unhindered supply of the aggressor with arms and munitions of every kind, whereas the State attacked is denied the most elementary means of defence.

"In particular, they should secure that no financial assistance is given to their fascist crime. Democratic and Socialist Italy, the Italy of tomorrow, has moreover, solemnly proclaimed that it will not recognize any debt contracted by Mussolini for the pursuit of an abominable war."

"III. The parties affiliated to the Labor and Socialist International are called upon to organize in the form best suited to local conditions, great demonstrations of public opinion against Mussolini's war."

"IV. The Labor and Socialist International has already entered into contact with the International Federation of Trade Unions with a view to seeking in common other means by which the workers of the world may offer effective opposition to war."

But If War Comes—

"But if war comes nevertheless break out the Labor and Socialist International expresses the hope on behalf of the workers of all countries that the workers of Italy will succeed in taking advantage of the convulsions caused by the war in order to defeat the real enemy of the Italian people, who is not at Addis Ababa but in Rome."

"The Labor and Socialist International extends fraternal greetings from the workers of the world to the Italian workers and peasants who have been called by Mussolini to the colors in order that they may be sent to Africa, and urges them to use against the fascist tyrants the weapons which fascism places in their hands."

"The Labor and Socialist International extends its greetings to the people of Abyssinia, and to all colored peoples who sympathize with them, and hopes that they will succeed in breaking their feudal fetters in combinations with the workers throughout the world, without exchanging their own feudal exploiters for capitalist exploiters from beyond the seas."

"Finally, the Labor and Socialist International solemnly draws the attention of the workers of the world, and of all friends of peace, to the severe convulsions which might be caused in Europe by any Italian war upon Abyssinia, any concessions made under the pressure of military mobilization which would give Mussolini a satisfaction incompatible with the independence of Abyssinia, and any failure of the League of Nations, *inter alia* because of the encouragement which this would give to Hitlerite Germany."

"In appealing to the world to oppose the sanguinary adventure into which Mussolini is preparing to precipitate Italy the Labor and Socialist International is not merely defending the rights of Abyssinia and the real interests of the Italian people, but also the cause of peace throughout the world."

"The responsibility for a war would fall with all its weight upon the capitalist classes and governments, and primarily upon the Great Western Powers without which the League of Nations will never be able to fulfill its mission."

"In the presence of this failure the Labor and Socialist International calls upon the working class to do everything in its power to save peace."

CONNECTICUT LABOR CONVENTION

(Continued from Page One)

and urged Labor to "scientific social and industrial planning, through stronger organization on the industrial and political field, so that it can attain the goal where it will be forever impossible again to have misery and poverty in the civilized world."

J. Nicholas Danz, President of the Federation, in recommending the formation of a Labor Party in his annual message, stated that "the time is ripe and the workers' salvation is only in the formation of a Labor Party."

There is much opposition in Federation circles to the proposal, especially from those who hold office under or are affiliated with one or another of the two old political parties. The Labor Party proposal is expected to be the greatest bone

of contention on the floor of the convention. In his report Danz recommended also organization of unorganized workers into industrial unions as one of main tasks confronting the Connecticut Labor movement.

Socialists and Unions Quit Communist - Controlled Passaic 'Labor Party'

Special to The New Leader

PASSAIC, N. J.—Charging Communist activity in the recently launched so-called "Labor Party," the Central Labor Union and the Socialist Party in this city withdrew their support from that enterprise.

At a general membership meet-

ing the Socialist Party, Local Passaic, voted last Saturday to place a regular ticket in the field as usual.

ing the Socialist Party, Local Passaic, voted last Saturday to place a regular ticket in the field as usual.

tify Soviet Russia's indifference to the robber conspiracy against Ethiopia?

A Feeble Excuse

The excuse of the "Daily Worker" reminds one of a witticism in a certain play: "Why do I need brains when I have a Constitution?" Why should Soviet Russia help Ethiopia when Communist theory provides for revolutions in imperialist countries? Such is the stupidity and hypocrisy of Communist reasoning and policy.

And what will the Communists say to the news from Rome of the direct assistance Soviet Russia is giving Mussolini to wage war on Ethiopia?

From the Rome correspondent of the United Press we learn the following:

Foreseeing the possibility of England's refusal to sell him coal, iron and rubber, Italy has imported three million tons from Germany. "Mussolini will also receive as much petroleum as he may require from Rumania and Soviet Russia," adds the correspondent.

he war that Mussolini is to wage on Ethiopia, petroleum will be an article of first rate importance. Italy will need oil for the movement of military transports and for the tanks and airplanes that are to unleash a down-pour of destruction upon the Ethiopian people. Italy herself has no oil resources and the world oil market is controlled by the United States, England and Soviet Russia. Whether England and the United States will decline to sell oil to

Mussolini remains to be seen, but why does not Soviet Russia stop supplying him with oil? Why does not Soviet Russia declare an embargo on military supplies to Italy? Such an embargo would be an important factor in thwarting Mussolini's war plans. Rome is quite certain, however, that Soviet Russia will supply Italy with as much oil as it may require.

What have the Communists got to say to that?

Fitzpatrick Backs Labor Party Move in Chicago

Special to The New Leader

CHICAGO—Recognizing the necessity for independent political action by labor, 134 delegates representing 63 unions in the Chicago Federation of Labor have organized a Chicago Labor Party. The federation has severed all connections with the two old parties.

John F. Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation, commenting on his resignation from the Labor Advisory Council, said that he would "refuse to be used as a cat's paw to make believe that the workers can get any kind of a square deal as long as the politicians of the old parties are in power." Fitzpatrick was candidate for mayor on the ticket of an earlier labor party in 1919.

Socialists in Cook county are encouraging all Socialists who are members of trade unions to help in the work of building the party.

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CHICAGO—Recognizing the necessity for independent political action by labor, 134 delegates representing 63 unions in the Chicago Federation of Labor have organized a Chicago Labor Party. The federation has severed all connections with the two old parties.

John F. Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation, commenting on his resignation from the Labor Advisory Council, said that he would "refuse to be used as a cat's paw to make believe that the workers can get any kind of a square deal as long as the politicians of the old parties are in power." Fitzpatrick was candidate for mayor on the ticket of an earlier labor party in 1919.

Socialists in Cook county are encouraging all Socialists who are members of trade unions to help in the work of building the party.

Elisabeth Bergner's Charm Sheds Delight Over "Ariane"

NEW LEADER SERIES

The Drama's Future Lies in the Whole Land--Glenn Hughes

THE THEATRE SPEAKS

Pointing the Way

Glenn Hughes, Director of the Division of Drama of the University of Washington, having outlined the field he sees for the legitimate drama in the years ahead, here tells, in the story of his own experience, what can be done to ward bringing the theatre once more into the lives of the people, as a significant aspect of their artistic expression and social hopes.

Joseph T. Shipley.

The Public Is Waiting

By Glenn Hughes

Our own experience here in Seattle, at the University of Washington, illustrates my point. Until three years ago, we, like most universities, presented a play for a couple of performances in a large auditorium. We presented four or five plays during the year. We attracted between five hundred and a thousand persons to each play (in spite of the fact that our auditorium accommodates more than two thousand, that our student body averages more than eight thousand, and that we are in the midst of a center of population of not less than half a million). No matter what kind of play we did, the public was not interested. The fact that they were college plays evidently kept people away. And why not? What experience had the general public that would give them confidence in college plays as standard entertainment?

Thinking this matter over, I determined to win a public. I decided, first of all, that intimacy was necessary to compete with the movies. Bring the audience right into the play. Next, move the play off the campus, to avoid the academic stigma. The result was that we began producing interesting drawing-room plays in a hotel near the campus. A very smart, modern

hotel. We started doing in a ball-room what theatre critics have been talking about for years—eliminating the fourth wall entirely. We arranged our audience on four sides of the acting space. No scenery—just furniture. Good plays and good acting. Emphasis on characterization and dialogue. Lots of speed. No effect of nineteenth century theatre at all. No imitation of the movies. Something different. On the program, of course, the university's name. But not featured as a college production. Because our first performances were given on the roof of the hotel (in a penthouse) were referred to as Penthouse Players. This name caught the imagination of the public. Today it is worth hundreds of dollars to us. Anywhere within a radius of two hundred miles the name Penthouse Players will draw a capacity audience. But, if we had started these productions under the name of Division of Drama, University of Washington, how far do you think we would have got?

In fact, there are always members of our audience who seem disappointed when they discover by reading the program that the actors are students and the staff university faculty members. They enjoyed the play so much, and it seemed so entirely professional to them, that they feel they have been fooled when they discover it was actually a college (amateur) production. Gradually, of course, this prejudice will disappear. A few years of enjoyable college plays (camouflaged), and trick names will be less necessary.

The climax of our success story is that during the past year we have established in the business district near the university campus two intimate theatres: one for scenic productions, which we call the Studio Theatre; the other for Penthouse Plays (stageless and scene-less), which we call the Penthouse Theatre. Both of these houses we created with our own hands out of shabby business buildings. They are charming, beautifully equipped, and cost, together, about four thousand dollars. From present indications they will pay for themselves in twelve months.

In the Studio Theatre we present

plays five nights a week. Tuesday and Wednesday are devoted to classics, the following three nights to modern stage successes. In the Penthouse Theatre we present plays only on Friday and Saturday nights. Thus we average seven performances a week throughout eleven months of the year. We can manage this because the theatres are small, and a play can be kept on for several weeks. The Studio seats 60 persons and the Penthouse 120. But at last we have a laboratory for our actors and technicians and artists, and at last we are building an audience. Sidney Howard's "Alien Corn" ran for fifteen weeks at the Studio. Undoubtedly a record for college productions.

My feeling is that the universities and the community theatres, provided they are sharp enough in a business way, and competent enough in an artistic way, can build themselves permanently into the fabric of American life. They can supplement the movies. They can present for the minority (a fairly large minority) the best written plays of past and present. They cannot make money, but they can achieve artistic success. And if they are connected with some kind of endowment, either private or public (such as an educational grant) they can be paid as teachers and have a good time as directors.

This is the kind of theatre that the long-awaited American National Theatre will actually turn out to be. Not a white elephant tangled in the chains of politics, but a healthy, unpretentious, competent, intelligent, idealistic theatre, existing in hundreds of towns and cities, each unit with its special character and point of view, connected more or less, for mutual benefit, with other units by some such agency as the National Theatre Conference.

Pasadena and Cleveland and Dallas and a few other cities have set the example for community theatres. Yale, Carnegie Tech, Northwestern, Iowa, and Washington (these chiefly) are setting the example for university theatres. And soon, outside of a few large producing centers, these types of amateur theatre (amateur in spirit rather than in quality) will be accepted as the theatre.

At Cinema de Paris

The Cinema de Paris is currently showing the American premiere of "Swedenhielms" (the Noble Prize winner), Swedish film based upon the world-famous comedy play by Hjalmar Bergman.

3rd BIG WEEK

"DIAMOND JIM" Universal Film with EDWARD ARNOLD JEAN ARTHUR - BINNIE BARNES

★ Plus BIG STAGE SHOW ★ Gala Variety Revue with HERMAN HYDE & CO. 12 ARISTOCRATS DOROTHY JOHNSON GAE FOSTER GIRLS ROXY ANY DAY! 12c to 2 P. M. 25c to 7 P. M. SHOW VALUE OF THE NATION

The Bergner's First

"ARIANE" at the 55th St. Playhouse.

Those who have enjoyed the spectacle of the Hoyden charmer, Elisabeth Bergner, each have vowed that she will "escape me never." The result is that her first appearance in this country, in the delightful film "Ariane," is having a happy revival at the 55th Street Playhouse, and showing the actress's delightful ways to delighted throngs.

"Ariane" is a pleasant romantic comedy, of a sort that gives the actress every chance to display her many-sided talents, her natural artistry. The lass Ariane is a sweet, innocent maiden; she falls in love with a sophisticated and intelligent gentleman, who—she is afraid—will scorn an inexperienced lassie. In order to hold his respect and thus have a chance to win his favor, Ariane poses as a woman of the world, a woman of varied and colorful affairs. But alas, the man does become interested—not in Ariane as a casual and passing fancy, but in Ariane as a possible and permanent wife; and from that point of view innocence is more desirable than multiplied experience. Ariane's trick ensnares the lass herself. How she disentangles the complications and fetchingly holds her catch is something Elisabeth Bergner makes more vivid on the screen than words here could make it. Altogether, "Ariane" is excellent entertainment, good photography and a charming tale borne by an enchanting actress. The 55th Street Playhouse, which has brought us many of the best foreign films, sustains its reputation.

Jos. T. Shipley.

On Screen at B'klyn Strand



Joan Blondell as she appears in "We're in the Money," part of the double feature program at the Strand this week.

"Page Miss Glory" Stays on at the Strand

"Page Miss Glory," Marion Davies' first Cosmopolitan picture for Warner Bros. release is now in its second week of its engagement at the Strand Theatre. "Page Miss Glory" is based on the stage play by Joseph Schrank and Philip Dunning, which was one of last season's Broadway stage successes. Supporting Miss Davies are Dick Powell, Pat O'Brien, Mary Astor, Frank McHugh, Patsy Kelly, Lyle Talbot, Allen Jenkins and Joseph Crehan.

MUSIC HALL SHOW PLACE OF THE NATION
FRED ASTAIRE and GINGER ROGERS in the Irving Berlin musical romance "TOP HAT"
ON THE STAGE: "CURTAIN CALL," a Music Hall revue in 7 colorful scenes, produced by Leonidoff. — Symphony Orch. dir. Erno Rapce.

2 FIRST FEATURES AT SAME LOW PRICES
KATHARINE HEPBURN in "ALICE ADAMS" Lew AYRES - May CLARKE
"SILK HAT KID" ALBEE ALBEE SQ. B'KLYN

In the Group Theatre's Reopening at the Belasco



Luther Adler and Phoebe Brand in "Awake and Sing" which, together with "Waiting for Lefty," forms the Group Theatre's double bill at the Belasco.

"Squaring the Circle," First Soviet Comedy, Opens in Philadelphia

Valentine Katayev's "Squaring the Circle," first and most popular of all the comedies produced on the Russian stage since the beginning of the Soviet regime, which was recently announced for its first professional American production, will play a week in Philadelphia at the Broad Street Theatre in advance of its Broadway premiere, according to an announcement last night by Edward Mendelsohn, of Tri-Art Enterprises, Inc. The Philadelphia engagement will be for the week of September 16, and the company will probably depart several days in advance of the opening to conduct final dress rehearsals there.

The company will probably be completed by the first of next week so that rehearsals can start under the direction of Dimitri Ostrov, who has prepared a special acting version based on the official authorized translation and adaptation by Charles Nalamuth and Eugene Lyons, published in Mr. Lyons' volume, "Six Soviet Plays." The theatre for the Broadway engagement is still in process of negotiation.

Albee Offers Hepburn in "Alice Adams"—Second Film Is "Silk Hat Kid"

In addition to Katharine Hepburn in the pictureization of "Alice Adams," Booth Tarkington's Pulitzer prize novel, the RKO-Albee has added "Silk Hat Kid," with Lew Ayres and Mae Clarke, on this week's program.

Miss Hepburn, it is said, brings one of the most vivid characterizations of recent years to the screen in the title role of "Alice Adams," the story revolving about a young girl and her family in a small town in the Middle West.

Fred MacMurray, Fred Stone (making his screen debut), Evelyn Venable, Charles Grapwin, Frank Albertson and Hedda Hopper are in Miss Hepburn's supporting cast.

Roxy Holds "Diamond Jim"

Continuing its successful run, "Diamond Jim," the new Universal film starring Edward Arnold, is now in its third week at the Roxy Theatre. The gala variety revue on the stage at the Roxy is also being held over for a third consecutive week. Such well known variety acts as Herman Hyde and Company, the Twelve Aristocrats, as well as the Gae Foster Girls, appear in this stage show.

At Broadway Trans-Lux

Walt Disney's Silly Symphony in color, "Water Babies"; a new Radio Ramblers' screen appearance, "Guess Stars," and an "Excursion in Science" with Dr. Irving Langmuir repeating his Nobel Prize experiments, and other interesting scientific data.

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.

Garbo in "Anna Karenina" Stays on at the Capitol

Garbo's "Anna Karenina"—now in its second week at the Capitol Theatre—marks her 20th picture and her 10th anniversary for MGM.

Directed by Clarence Brown, who, incidentally, was responsible for five of her previous pictures, "Anna Karenina" is said to be the most colorful and successful production of Garbo's career.

Co-starred with her, for the first time, is Fredric March, as Count Vronsky, her lover. Others in the cast include Freddie Bartholomew, Maureen O'Sullivan, Basil Rathbone, May Robson, Reginald Owen, Cora Sue Collins and Phoebe Foster.

The exciting "Pitcairn Island" and color cartoon, "Poor Little Me," as well as the Capitol's complete newsreel, supplement the feature.



3 Reunion Affairs to Open Fall Season

The summer activity in the League has been a marked success, and with summer at end the New York League branches through the Manhattan and Brooklyn Organization Councils are planning a number of reunion affairs to start the Fall Season.

Saturday evening, September 14, the Brooklyn Organization Council will sponsor a Reunion Dance in the Hebrew Ladies Day Nursery, Sutter and Hopkins Aves.

The Intermediate Section will start its fall season with a bang. Many Inter and their friends are expected at the Inter Reunion Entertainment and Dance Saturday, September 14, at the YCLA Center, 22 East 15th St. A program consisting of a satirical one-act play called "The Unconstitutional Convention" and several skits and musical numbers are being prepared.

The Manhattan Organization Council is speeding plans for its Reunion Dance Saturday evening, September 21, at the YCLA Auditorium, 22 East 15th St., 4th floor.

Workers' Sports

As a prelude to a giant Workers' Sports Olympics to be held in the United States in 1936, the Workers' Sports League has arranged an excellent track and field meet at Victory Field, Forest Park, Long Island, Sunday, October 6.

The Young Circle League has endorsed this meet and is preparing for these field events.

For the men's class there will be races, relays, hurdles, high jump, broad jump, shotput, slingshot and many other features. For the women there will be an assortment of races and various feature events. There will be a feature soccer team game.

Entry blanks must be filed in the office not later than September 9.

Chicago Establishing Regional Organizers' School; Other Institute Students Active

The Chicago section of the YCLA is arranging for a Regional Organizers' Institute to open its sessions at the beginning of September and modeled after the National Institute held in New York July 1-14. Max Weinrib who was a member of the New York School is assembling the plans and the speakers. Ruth Olsensky has been elected State Secretary of the Connecticut Youth Committee and the state is planning to send her on a lecture tour through Connecticut.

In Boston, Sadie Fineman is invigorating the activities of the Boston section as well as being secretary of the Boston Youth Committee. In Philadelphia, Harold Baron is helping in large measure to carry on the work left off by Harry Ferleger who until a short time ago was the Philadelphia Organizer. By Weintraub of Cleveland is organizing activity groups and applying the organizational methods learned at the Institute.

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HELD OVER! SECOND BIG WEEK!

Garbo is back in her own particular province of glamor and heartbreak. Fredric March makes a handsome Vronsky. You will remember "Anna Karenina". —CREELMAN, Sun

"Women packed the Capitol to applaud their favorite heroine. Garbo and 'Anna Karenina' make an unbeatable combination. Garbo looks ravishing. Garbo gives her greatest performance. . . . Bland Johanson, Mirror

"Miss Garbo has never looked lovelier or played more beautifully. I can think of no more enthusiastic praise than that Fredric March plays the unfeeling hero with spirit and skill." —RICHARD WATTS JR., Herald Tribune

"Dignified and effective drama, significant because of that tragic, lonely and glamorous blend which is the Garbo personality." —ANDRE SENNWALD, Times

The SECOND of the Capitol's new season pictures, even surpasses the record attendance of "China Seas". COME EARLY

CAPITOL 8'WAY & 8th Major Edward Bowen, Mgr. Du. DOORS OPEN 10:45 A.M. 25c to 1 P. M.

Garbo returned to stir anew the pulse of her admirers by her exquisite beauty and sensitively fine portrayal of Anna. Freddie Bartholomew who won hearts for himself right and left as 'David Copperfield', has several touching scenes. —KATE CAMERON, News

GRETA GARBO-FREDRIC MARCH
FREDDIE BARTHOLOMEW
"ANNA KARENINA"
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture based on Tolstoi's distinguished novel.

"The star is brilliant, the setting scintillates, and the superb supporting cast further bespeaks the excellence of effort with which this tragic love fable is unfolded. Fredric March does well as the Lothario. —REGINA CREWE, American

RADIO CITY
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ON THE STAGE: "CURTAIN CALL," a Music Hall revue in 7 colorful scenes, produced by Leonidoff. — Symphony Orch. dir. Erno Rapce.

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2nd SMASH WEEK OF THE NEW SEASON'S GREATEST HIT—A WARNER BROS. PICTURE!

MARION DAVIES "PAGE MISS GLORY" STRAND

WITH A GREAT CAST—PAT O'BRIEN—DICK POWELL—MARY ASTOR—FRANK McHUGH—ALLEN JENKINS—8'WAY & 47th ST.—25c to 1 P. M.

JOAN BLONDELL & FARRELL
in "We're in the Money"—Also on screen "This Woman Is Mine"
BKLN STRAND 25c—40c—25c—15c
Mats. Evns. Midnite Children Show Sat. All Times
ALWAYS 2 HITS—Fulton & Rockwell

Fifty Years of British Socialism by David Shub

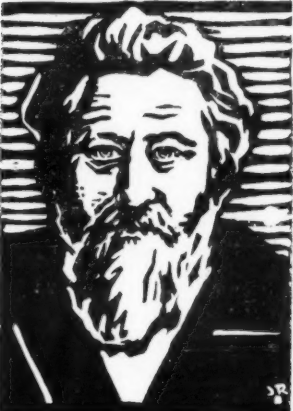
Stirring Record of Progress Made in Half Century by British Workers Under Constructive Leadership of Keir Hardie and His Successors — Lessons for Labor Movement in America.

The meeting of the British Trades Congress now in progress at Margate lends particular interest and importance to Comrade Shub's article. The congress, which represents nearly 3,500,000 organized workers, the backbone of the Labor Party, reflects the onward march of British Socialism and is an assurance of its ultimate victory.

LAST month marked the fiftieth anniversary of the first attempt by British Socialists to put forward their own candidates for Parliament. The Socialist movement in England was then still in its swaddling clothes. There was already then a comparatively strong British labor movement but it had no relation to Socialism. British trade unionism is more than a century old. Already in the seventies of the last century the trade unions called a congress called to combat the passage of new anti-union legislation by Parliament. But the trade unions of that period were essentially conservative and there was no trace of a Socialist movement in England.

The first Socialist organization in England was the Social-Democratic Federation, founded in September, 1883, the offspring of the Democratic Federation founded in 1881 by Henry Mayers Hyndman. Hyndman was the son of a wealthy lawyer who spent more than \$500,000 on building churches in the London East End. Henry, born in 1842, was educated at Cambridge and upon his graduation he entered journalism. He traveled widely and enjoyed an extensive acquaintance. Starting out as a radical he came under the influence of Karl Marx, becoming a Socialist and a rigid Marxist. Later this aristocratic Socialist played a big role in the history of British Socialism. Under his leadership the Democratic Federation adopted a Socialist program two years after its establishment, and changed its name to the Social-Democratic Federation.

The Social-Democratic Federation occupied itself more with theory, however, than with work and propaganda among the working masses. Most of its leaders were



William Morris
Socialist Poet.

hostile to the existing labor movement. They spoke much of "surplus value," "the concentration of capital," and the "coming social revolution." Their speeches had little effect, however, upon the British workers, who could not understand their Marxian theories.

In December, 1884, there was a split in the Social-Democratic Federation. A number of its most influential members, including William Morris, Marx's youngest daughter, Eleanor, her husband, Dr. Edward Aveling, Ernest Belfort Bax and others quit the Social-Democratic Federation and formed the Socialist League.

The Socialist League

The immediate cause of the split was hostility to Hyndman, who was accused by the secessionists of dictatorial conduct and disregard of the opinion of the membership. But in addition to this purely personal difference there was the conflict over the question of participation in elections to Parliament. Hyndman insisted that the Social-Democratic Federation immediately put forward its own candidates, but Morris, Aveling, Bax and others argued against it, believing the organization not strong enough to achieve any degree of success at the polls.

The Parliamentary election took place in 1885. The Social-Democratic Federation nominated candidates in three districts and waged an energetic campaign.

As Karl Kautsky, who lived at that time in England, narrates in his memoirs, Hyndman and his colleagues were so eager to pursue the campaign that they accepted financial assistance from Conservative friends. The agitation of the Social-Democratic Federation in the three districts in question was directed principally against the Liberals. The result was failure:



J. Keir Hardie
Founder of the Labor Party.

in one district, where some 10,400 votes were cast, the S.D.F. candidate received 600 votes. In the other two districts its candidates received 32 and 27 votes, respectively.

Such was the state of British Socialism fifty years ago!

The members of the Socialist League naturally used to good advantage the failure of the S.D.F. in the Parliamentary election. The conflict between the two Socialist organizations became increasingly more bitter. The Socialist League, as already stated, was opposed to the participation of Socialists in elections as long as they were too weak to make any impression, but there were also in the organization some members, like William Morris, who did not believe in the Parliamentary struggle, inclining more toward anarchism. In time the Socialist League became a purely anarchist organization, and its Socialist members left it in 1888, some, including Morris, returning to the Social-Democratic Federation.

The Fabian Society

Another important organization of that period was the Fabian Society, founded in 1883 by a group who believed in changing the existing social order but considered that this was possible only by a gradual process. Their method was based upon the strategy of Fabius Cunctator, the Roman general, who always sought to tire out the enemy by avoiding open battle. Thus he succeeded in defeating the great leader Hannibal.

The members of the Fabian Society believed in the tactics of "exhausting" capitalism. The Society assumed a clearly Socialist character only after it was joined by George Bernard Shaw (1884) and Sidney Webb (1885). The Society was a purely propaganda organization, occupying itself with the study of social problems. Its membership embraced Socialists of every tendency, from extreme anarchists to the most moderate social reformers. The majority were close to the Social-Democracy of Hyndman's school but, as Kautsky explained, did not join the S.D.F. first, because they sharply disapproved of the action of the S.D.F. leaders in accepting contributions from the Conservatives, and, second, because they resented the rigid discipline that governed the S.D.F. But the most important reason for the refusal of the Fabians to join the S.D.F. was the fact that, like the Socialist League, it based all its hopes upon the despairing, unorganized workers.

The organized workers were very conservative and their leaders supported the Liberal Party. For this reason it appeared to the Socialists of the S.D.F. and the Socialist League that on one bright day the despairing, unorganized workers, who suffered much from the economic crisis of that period, would rise and put an end to the existing capitalist order.

The majority of the Fabians, on the other hand, rejected entirely the idea that Socialism would be brought about by the working class. They maintained that experience had taught them that the intellectuals were the most fertile ground for the dissemination of Socialist ideas. For this reason they directed energies to spreading Socialism among the educated classes, with the expectation that these classes would introduce Socialism.

Opposes Marxism

The Fabians did not believe in the class struggle, declaring in their program that their appeal was to all classes of the population—not only to those who suffered under existing conditions but also those who profited by them. The Fabians were convinced that capitalists and other privileged elements could be moved to the realization that Socialism was a good thing for them, too.

Not only did the Fabians oppose the economic teaching of Karl Marx but they were opposed also to the organization of the workers into a political party of their own.

They placed before themselves the task of spreading their ideas in the ranks of the Liberal party, of "permeating liberalism with Socialist ideas," as they liked to put it.

The economic crisis of the eighties threw the British workers into a desperate situation. The number of unemployed was very great and there was widespread need and acute suffering. There were many demonstrations in the streets of the large cities, some of which assumed revolutionary character. Socialists of all tendencies were very active among the unemployed, who failed, however, to justify the hopes of those Socialists who looked to the unemployed workers to take the lead in the building of the new society. Here and there the unorganized workers had the courage to face and fight the police, but they showed themselves incapable of waging a systematic organized struggle. The organized workers, on the other hand, continued to cling to the Liberal party, avoiding anything that might injure that party's interests.

"At any rate," writes Kautsky, "we [i. e. he, Friedrich Engels and other foreign Socialists then residing in England] believed that the economic crisis of that time would lead not only to a strengthening of the Socialist movement in England but to the collapse of capitalism throughout the world. This expectation was not fulfilled. Capitalism survived the crisis despite its unprecedented severity and duration. The crisis was followed by a new period of capitalist prosperity. But it was another kind of capitalism; the old capitalism was dead."

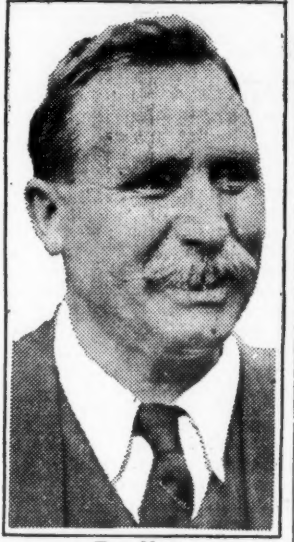
The widespread unemployment and its accompaniments of terrible need and suffering moved the working masses to thought. But it was precisely this situation and fear of tomorrow that greatly weakened their fighting enthu-

iasm and capacity.

With the appearance of the first indications of economic revival, however, came a series of strikes in various parts of the country. The workers began to flock into the trade unions. In 1889 came the great dock workers' strike in London, which marked the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the British labor movement.

Very soon a number of new trade unions were formed permeated by a more progressive spirit. Gradually most of the Fabians abandoned the hope of bringing about Socialism through the Liberals and turned their attention to the need of organizing an independent party of labor.

The Liberal party had for years been used to nominate trade union leaders as candidates for Parlia-



Tom Mann
For many years one of the greatest of the labor leaders.

ment in districts in which workers constituted a majority. This was reflected in the appearance in Parliament in the eighties of a number of men affiliated with the Miners' Union. Known as Lib-Labs, they were members of the Liberal party but defended the interests of the workers so far as they were able.

The Advent of Keir Hardie

The first Socialist to be elected to Parliament as an independent labor candidate was James Keir Hardie (1852). Hardie had worked for many years as a miner, becoming a leader of the Miners' Union, and a labor journalist. In 1888 he was nominated by his union as candidate for Parliament in Scotland, receiving 617 votes. Four years later he was elected from a London constituency. The next year there was held the celebrated conference of Socialist and labor organizations in Bradford, at which the Independent Labor Party was formed. Keir Hardie presided, and among the delegates were J. Bernard Shaw, R. B. Cunningham-Graham, M.P., Eleanor Marx and many noted labor leaders. Hardie became editor of "The Labor Leader," the new party's weekly organ which soon made its appearance.

The new party's program in general differed little from the program of the Social-Democratic Federation, but on one point it differed radically from the S.D.F., as well as from the Socialist League. The S.D.F. had always waged bitter war against the trade unions. It claimed to be fighting the reactionary leaders of the trade unions, but in reality it distrusted the trade unions themselves, regarding them with the greatest hostility. The S.D.F. continued to cling to the belief that salvation would come from the unemployed and unorganized workers.

The I.L.P., on the other hand, began immediately to seek the friendship and support of the organized workers and based all its



"Uncle Arthur"
Arthur Henderson, for many years Secretary of the Labor Party.

hopes upon the trade unions. The great growth of trade unionism in the middle nineties was directly under the leadership of I.L.P.'ers. Most of the leaders of the I.L.P. were not Marxists. They were concerned little with Socialist theory and refrained in their propaganda from citing chapter and verse from Karl Marx and other Socialist theoreticians whose language was foreign to the British masses.

Instead of speaking of "surplus value" they spoke of "profits." Instead of speaking of the "proletariat" they spoke of "labor." They addressed the British workers in their own language and appealed to their sense of justice and common sense. The pamphlets of Keir Hardie and Robert Blatchford circulated by the I.L.P. had an enormous success. As Sir Walter Citrine, secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, pointed out recently, Robert Blatchford's pamphlet "Merrie England" did more to spread the Socialist idea in England than all the books and pamphlets distributed by the Social-Democratic Federation.

Views of Engels

Friedrich Engels, who likewise did not think highly of the British trade union leaders of that period, approved, nevertheless, of the tactics of the I.L.P. as led by Keir Hardie. Engels never wearied of emphasizing that a Socialist movement hostile to the trade unions was doomed to impotence.

A year previous to the formation of the I.L.P. Engels wrote to Kautsky:

"The Social-Democratic Federation remains, as before, a mere sect. It has transformed Marxism into a dogma, and because it fights every labor movement that is not orthodox Marxist it makes it impossible for itself to ever become anything but a sect."

Immediately after the formation of the I.L.P. Engels again wrote to Kautsky:

"Things are going very well here with the labor movement. The danger of sectarianism emanating both from the Social-Democratic Federation of the Fabians is over. The Independent Labor Party will either swallow both of them or it will compel them to rid themselves of their bad leaders. The masses, particularly in the north of England and in the industrial centres, have undoubtedly begun to move. Many more stupidities and dirty tricks will be committed, but these will be overcome. Aveling was in Manchester yesterday, where the executive of the I.L.P. held its first meeting. The decisions taken are quite satisfactory."

At about this time there broke out in London the historic dock workers strike, which deeply stirred the entire British working class. Prominent in that strike were Ben Tillett, Tom Mann and John Burns. The strike marked the beginning of another brilliant chapter in the history of British labor.

Keir Hardie was defeated in the Parliamentary election of 1895, and during the next five years he devoted all his time and energy to building the I.L.P. and extending its influence over the labor movement. At their Plymouth congress in 1899 the trade unions voted to form a committee "To increase Labor Representation in Parliament." That was its avowed purpose—nothing more. This committee, consisting of delegates from the trade unions, the I.L.P., the S.D.F., and the Fabian Society, was called the Labor Representation Committee; it was not long before it came to be known as the British Labor Party. Keir Hardie was a leading member of the committee, as were Shaw and Hyndman. J. Ramsay MacDonald was its first secretary. In the election of 1900 the Labor Representation Committee put forward its own candidates in a number of districts. Keir Hardie was returned to Parliament in that election, remaining, however, the only representative of the I.L.P. All other labor men

elected were members of trade unions affiliated with the L.R.C. Six years later twenty-nine labor members entered Parliament. Keir Hardie became their leader. This event really marked the beginning of the British Labor Party.

Keir Hardie is regarded with justification as the father of the British Labor Party.

"A Labor Party had to be born in England," wrote a leading Liberal Journal upon Keir Hardie's death, "but a Keir Hardie had to be born first to make possible a Labor Party."

Labor in Politics

Space forbids any extensive historical review of the Labor Party, but the following facts should be emphasized to help the reader understand the character and structure of the Socialist movement in England.

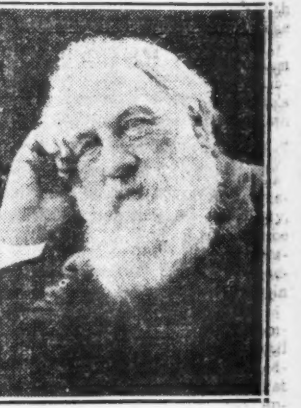
The Labor Representation Committee was formed in 1900. Until 1918 the Labor Party was a federation of trade unions, Socialist organizations and local labor representation committees, with the trade unions always the backbone of the party.

In February, 1918, a special conference of the Labor Party met in London, at which a new constitution was adopted and which has remained in force ever since. Since then the membership of the Labor Party has consisted of two categories: those affiliated through member organizations—unions, co-operatives and Socialist parties—and those holding cards through local branches of the Labor Party itself. The new constitution contains a clause defining labor as including workers of both brain and brawn—all who work for a living.

In recent years the Labor Party has made special efforts to win the support of the middle classes exploited by big industrial and finance capital.

The membership of the Labor Party today exceeds 3,000,000, affiliated through member organizations and 400,000 individual dues-paying members directly affiliated through local party branches. Three-quarters of the party's income comes from the trade unions.

The Labor Party did not begin as a Socialist party. Only considerably after its formation did it adopt a Socialist program. This became possible only after many years of Socialist propaganda



H. M. HYNDMAN,
Socialist Theoretician.

whereby the trade unions became permeated with Socialist ideas.

Today virtually all trade union officials in England are Socialists. Socialist influence has permeated not only the trade unions but large sections of the population outside. There is not a town or village in England where the Socialist idea has not penetrated.

Within the past eleven years the Labor Party has been twice in control of the government. It is important to remember, however, that it was not in power.

The first Labor Government, formed in 1924, was a minority government. The Labor Party's representation in the House of Commons was below that of the Conservatives, who likewise lacked a majority. The Liberals, however, supported a Labor motion of lack of confidence in the government, threw out the Baldwin ministry, and thus left the King no alternative to calling upon the Labor Party to form a government, as the largest element in the then Parliamentary majority.

The Period of MacDonald and Snowden

The first Labor Government was an experiment dependent upon the support of the Liberals. Most of its members were workers who had never had any experience in office; yet, they were called upon to give orders and instructions to the various departments administered by the extremely efficient and highly cultured British civil service. The task was difficult, but the Socialist ministers acquitted themselves brilliantly.

The Labor Government of 1924 put through many important reforms in the interest of the workers and the broad masses. It could not accomplish more because of its dependence upon the caprice of the Liberals. (Continued on Page Seven)

A HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED KEIR HARDIE LETTER

March 21st 1910
Dear Comrade,
I have just received a copy of your paper 3rd March & have read with much interest your article headed "Where are the impossibilists now?" Like yourself I have been rejoicing in the victory of my friends Burke, Berger, Hillquit, Carey & others. They seem to me to represent exactly in the Socialist movement of the United States.

of the next two years may be of a kind to make the Socialist movement of the U.S.A. a political force in some degree at least commensurate with its actual strength, and in my opinion this can only be done by securing some sort of alliance between the Socialist & the Radical Union movement.

I am very pleased

the trouble with the extremists is that they leave the human element out of account & seek to deal with Socialism and the Socialist movement as though they were an abstraction not related in any way to life or the actualities of life. Sooner or later they run up against the human element which brings them to a standstill. I sincerely trust that this will not be the case.

to Butte City, Montana, some 15 years ago. Socialism in those days was in its very earliest stages of development but I remember that even here there were a few stalwarts doing good service in what was then a wild out-post of civilization with fraternal greetings, believe me yours faithfully

Keir Hardie

Herewith is reproduced a highly interesting letter dated March 31, 1910, by J. Keir Hardie, founder of the British Labor party, to Ida Crouch-Hazlett, then editor of a Socialist weekly in Butte, Mont., and published with her kind permission. The letter refers to a hotly-contested election for members of the National Executive Committee waged largely on the issue of what was called impossibilism, and it reads: "I have just received a copy of your paper 3rd March & have read with much interest your article headed 'Where are the impossibilists now?' Like yourself I have been rejoicing in the victory of my friends [Robert] Hunter, Berger, Hillquit, [James F.] Carey & others. They seem to me to represent exactly in the Socialist movement in the United States."

"The trouble with the extremists is that they leave the human element out of account & seek to deal with Socialism and the Socialist movement as though they were an abstraction not related in any way to life or the actualities of life. Sooner or later they run up against the human element which brings them to a standstill. I sincerely trust that the work of the next two years may be of a kind

to make the Socialist movement of the U.S.A. a political force in some degree at least commensurate with its actual strength, and in my opinion this can only be done by securing some bond of alliance between the Socialists & the Trades Union movement. "I have very pleasant recollections of my visit to Butte [Butte] City, Montana, some 15 years ago. Socialism in those days was in its very earliest stages of development, but I remember that even then there were a few stalwarts doing good service in what was then a wild out-post of civilization. "With kind fraternal greetings, believe me

"Yours faithfully," "J. Keir Hardie, M.P."

Hardie was too modest to refer in his letter to details of his visit to Butte in 1895. The Free Silver movement was sweeping the west, and in San Francisco—according to his biographer, William Stewart—he had been offered any sum up to \$100,000 cash for making a favorable reference to the Bryan doctrine in a speech either there or when he returned to England. He contemptuously declined the offer, and forty-eight hours later he arrived at Butte with \$1.10 in his pocket.

The Workers Abroad

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

By JOHN POWERS

The Communist "Trojan Horse"

MICHAEL GOLD, who belongs to the category of Communists who lie not for money but for "conscience's sake," represents the Socialist "slander" that the united front proposal emanating from the recent congress of the Comintern "is only a Jesuitic Communist plot to trap Socialists." How could any one possibly make such a charge against Communists? According to the columnist of the daily Communist rag in this city, the Communists are doing the Socialists a favor in showing a willingness to forget Socialist "sins" and make a common front with them.

But not all Communists are as brazen as Michael Gold in deceiving their readers. There are a few—a very few—more frank than he—Dimitroff, for example. Speaking at the congress of the Comintern, he frankly admitted that the purpose of the united front was to destroy the Socialist and labor movement. No such admission was necessary, for the Communist record speaks for itself. How far the Communists are likely to succeed with their latest united front maneuver may be gleaned from the following editorial in the London Daily Herald, official organ of the British Labor Party:

"Dimitroff is a brave man, and also a very honest one: so honest that he made no bones about revealing to the recent Congress of the Communist International a good Communist's reason for advocating an alliance with the Labor Party.

"Troy was captured, he reminded his audience, by guile. The Trojans accepted into their city a wooden horse. Inside the horse were Greeks. When night came, they emerged, they slew the sleeping Trojans, and they took Troy.

"In the British Communists' advocacy of alliance with the Labor Party, similar candor is not displayed.

"We find instead the sickening spectacle of Communists pretending they are really good little democrats after all. They ask for united action to protect democracy, which their faith commits them to overthrow at the first opportunity.

"They care nothing for democracy. But they have discovered it has one advantage over any dictatorship but their own. It protects their political skins.

"Utterly discredited with the British people, as their following shows, they seek an alliance which will permit them to live on the credit of the Labor Party.

"In France they have gained from the united front and the Socialists have lost.

"The experiment of united action in the Rhodda Valley has been terminated by the local Labor Party because the Communists dishonestly used it to further their own ends."

The Communist Record

As to the Communist record in general, we quote the following from the Manchester Guardian, written on the occasion of the Comintern meeting:

"What Karl Marx said of the democrats in his day is true of the Communists in our own day—that they emerge from the most shameful defeat with looks of triumph on their faces.

"The Communists who make up the Third International tried to capture the trade unions in various European countries, but they failed miserably. Then they tried to set up rival trade unions, but they failed again. They talked much about direct action and armed rebellion, but in all the big historic battles on behalf of the working class—the general strike that repelled the German counter-revolution in 1920, the Austrian and Spanish insurrections last year—the Communists were hardly to be seen.

"Only when direct action was altogether senseless did the Communists take it, as in the futile German insurrections of 1921 and 1923 and the mad Estonian revolt of 1924. Even when in Germany they had a large following, thanks to the mistakes of the Social Democrats, they were unable to do anything that was not harmful to the working class.

"They helped reaction into power both directly and indirectly. They taught the Nazis lessons in demagoguery, violence, and political cynicism. They were the allies of the Nazis in the assault on democratic institutions.

"One might have thought that this week's congress of the Third International in Moscow would take some stock of the ruin it has brought about, but not at all; the congress explains amid much cheering that despite minor errors—there must, of course, be some 'Leninist self-criticism'—the Communists were always fundamentally right and everybody else always fundamentally wrong."

The international organized working class, organized in its vast majority in the Socialist and Labor International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, has not forgotten this record. Nor will it remain blind to the Comintern's "Trojan Horse." The organized workers of the world have nothing but contempt for the Communists. Their role is finished in the international labor movement, except as allies of fascism and reaction. In this capacity they may be expected to add to their record of stupidity and destruction. The Socialist do not intend to help them in their work. Our task is to expose them for what they are—for the sake of truth, Socialism and the life interests of the international labor movement.

Collapse of United Front Negotiations in Czechoslovakia

In the Prague *Sozialdemokrat* of August 7, organ of the German Social Democracy of Czechoslovakia, we find a report of the recent negotiations for a united front broken off after the Communists had declined to accept the conditions laid down by the Socialists. The negotiations took place last month between the Communists and the three Socialist parties of Czechoslovakia—the Czech Social Democracy, the German Social Democracy of Czechoslovakia, and the Populists-Socialists, the party of Foreign Minister Benes.

All three Socialist parties, replying to the united front proposal of the Communists, laid down conditions which may be summarized as follows: Recognition by the Communists of the independence and integrity of Czechoslovakia, and abandonment of support of all ultra-separatist tendencies; an expression of loyalty by the Communists to the democratic state set up by the people of Czechoslovakia, and support of the budget in parliament as approved by all the Socialist parties; abandonment by the Communists of their irresponsible attacks on parliament, the Socialist parties, trade unions and other organizations of social character.

Commenting on the conditions prescribed by the Socialists as the price of any united front, *Pravo Lidu*, official organ of the Czech Social Democracy, declared that it was not enough to shout against fascism, that a party pretending to be opposed to fascism must also make unequivocally clear its support of freedom and democracy.

"The time for phrases has passed," wrote *Pravo Lidu*. "The moment has arrived when every genuine opponent of fascism must also declare himself to be a consistent and militant defender of democracy, if his opposition to fascism is to be taken seriously."

Adding to this declaration, the Prague *Sozialdemokrat* wrote: "A united front will become possible only when it emerges as the expression of an honest desire to remove dissension and make possible the entry of workers still not with us into the movement of democratic Socialism, the only form of Socialism historically possible in our country. In the continuance of our work we see the only effective means of protecting the interests of the workers and guiding the nation to Social Democracy. Those who wish to help us in this task are welcome, but they must prove their honest intentions by deeds. Anything else will be consigned where it belongs—to the waste basket."

The *Sozialdemokrat* pointed out in this connection that while the Communists are talking of "united front" they are continuing their efforts to prevail upon the workers to desert the Socialist parties and join the Communists. The Socialist organ condemns this as evidence of the dishonesty and unreliability of the Communists.

It is not necessary to dwell on why the Communists rejected the conditions laid down by the Socialists. To have accepted these conditions would have been tantamount to surrendering the real purpose of the Communists in all their united front proposals: furthering of their designs for destruction of the Socialist movement.

The Socialists of Czechoslovakia will not open the gates to the Communist Trojan Horse.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers In Big Southern Organization Drive



When the boss at the shop at Norfolk, Va., saw to it that the garment strikers couldn't meet in any hall, and couldn't eat in any restaurant, the Amalgamated set up these three tents, one as an office, one for meetings and one as a commissary.

By E. Robkin

WHEN the Supreme Court killed the NIRA, which meant telling manufacturers that they can lengthen hours of labor and cut wages at will, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America realized the necessity of being prepared to face possible attack on code conditions. The General Executive Board met in special session and at the initiative of the New York membership decided to raise a \$1,000,000 fund for the defense of hours, wages and conditions of labor.

While the NRA was a disappointment in certain respects, especially for those who put too much hope in the national administration, it would be idle to deny that under it labor in the well-organized trades, such as the men's clothing industry, has made considerable gains. The Amalgamated succeeded in writing into the code a 36-hour week and minimum wage scales which resulted in substantial increases for great numbers of its members. The abolition of NRA brought the union face to face with the danger that open shop manufacturers would begin lengthening hours and cutting wages.

It is to protect itself against such a situation that the Amalgamated created its defense fund. But it could not limit itself to purely defensive methods, and a more elaborate program was decided upon, namely—to take up the fight against all manufacturers who attempt to bring down conditions, and at the same time immediately to undertake an aggressive campaign to organize the non-union section of the industry.

The Amalgamated was the first union to inaugurate an organization campaign on a wider scale than ever before. The extent of the campaign is explained by the fact that in recent years the clothing industry has spread to new territories, into the South and West. Clothing factories are now found

in Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, as well as in Iowa, Colorado and Nebraska, where previously clothing factories were unknown. Manufacturers came there to escape union conditions in the well-organized centers, to establish open shops with sweatshop conditions.

Organizing Work and Struggles in Virginia

Three large runaway manufacturers from New York have established themselves in Virginia, the Sam Finkelstein Company is in Norfolk; Friedman Bros. & Marx in Richmond, and S. & K. Pants Company in Lynchburg. Assistant General President J. S. Potofsky has undertaken to organize these shops, and with the help of a staff of organizers he has already made an excellent job of it. The union is conducting a strike against the Sam Finkelstein Company, called August 14th. The response of the workers has exceeded expectations. At present all the skilled workers are out and production is at a standstill.

The factory is located a few miles from Norfolk with no halls for meetings in the neighborhood. There is one restaurant and the firm intimidated the proprietor into not selling food to strikers. So the union helped itself; it put up three tents—one for meetings—a second one for a restaurant and a third for a union office.

The police department naturally came to the assistance of the employer. It issued permits to scabs to carry revolvers, after one of them was arrested for carrying one without a permit. This moved E. L. Pickler, president of the Norfolk Central Labor Union, to make sharp protest. He also accused the police stationed around the factory of showing extreme partiality toward the company. The firm sought the aid of the courts and applied for an injunction. A temporary injunction was granted August 22nd. This had no effect on the strike. The Amalgamated is re-

ceiving full cooperation from the Virginia Federation of Labor.

The Amalgamated here instills the spirit of solidarity among the white and Negro workers, who are now fighting side by side, realizing that as workers their interests are identical.

This strike is of special importance to the clothing workers of New York, whose union carried on a very bitter and costly fight against Sam Finkelstein in New York during the summer of 1926, and the firm is in direct competition with unionized firms in New York.

In Lynchburg, where the S. & K. firm established itself after it ran away from New York a few years ago (having broken the agreement with the N. Y. Joint Board), the union also succeeded in organizing the workers.

Since the NRA was abolished the firm went back to a 45-hour week and cut wages as much as 50%. Abe Miller, secretary-treasurer of the New York Joint Board, who took charge of the situation, demanded the restoration of the wage cuts and of the hours which were provided by the code. This the firm refused to grant.

August 30th, a strike was declared against the S. & K. and the walkout was 100%, to the great surprise of the firm and to the great satisfaction of the organized workers. The prospects of a speedy settlement here are excellent. This strike, too, is of great interest to the clothing workers of New York, especially the pants makers.

Other Localities

The intensive and successful organization campaign has already resulted in strikes and settlements in various localities. In the last two weeks the union registered the following gains: In Green Bay, Wisconsin, a strike of short duration took place against the Green Bay Mfg. Company. The firm had introduced a fifty-hour week with a substantial reduction in wages; the union registered a complete victory. The firm signed an agree-

The New Leader Book Corner

NOTE—All books reviewed in The New Leader can be ordered through the Rand School Book store, 7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C.

The Culture of Capitalism

CAPITALISM AND ITS CULTURE. By Jerome Davis. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. \$3.

Under four leading sections which are subdivided into 24 chapters, this book presents the reader with an indictment of capitalism in production, distribution, imperialism, crime, education, control of religion, its treatment of farmers and workers, its low culture and moral pretense. Much that appears in the book has appeared in other studies and in government and other publications, but it has the merit of assembling this material in one volume together with a discussion and analysis of it to show that capitalism has about run its course and that much that is said in its behalf consists of half-truths and the remainder ballyhoo.

A final chapter considers whether capitalism will survive and the author answers that it will not. He makes no forecast as to when it will die, whether it will be a peaceful or violent death, and under what circumstances the funeral will occur. However, he thinks that "Communism in the Soviet Union, with all its shortcomings, appears to be the most daring alternative to capitalism which mankind has yet established." The word "mankind" leaves much to be explained for one immediately wonders whether it includes the overwhelming majority outside of the Communist Party and most of the members inside who certainly are not included in the "mankind" that "dare" to question the ideas and purposes of Josef Stalin. To identify "mankind" with Stalin's will when to disagree with that will means exile or imprisonment, is a rather "daring" way to present Bolshevism Russia to his readers. J. O.

SOCIALISM VS. BOLSHEVISM

A new pamphlet of vital importance to the Socialist and labor movement, "Socialism vs. Bolshevism," by James O'Neal, has just been published by the Rand School.

O'Neal declares that any organization or economic class that rules society at any period between an agricultural economy and a highly developed industrialism is a "exploiting class." He adds that the Communists seized power in an

ment for the retention of the 35-hour week, and instead of a reduction the 150 workers received a ten per cent increase in wages.

A still more important victory was won in Cincinnati. This was a traditionally open shop market as far as the clothing industry is concerned. The Amalgamated has here a well established organization, which at various times carried on strenuous organization campaigns and big strikes against non-union houses. While some of these were brought to bankruptcy they could not be induced to sign union agreements. This time, when the union called a strike August 14th against the Leonard Custom Tailors, employing about 300 people, the fight was so effective that three days later the firm submitted to the demands of the union and signed up. Since then two other large concerns signed agreements with the union. One is the Steller Tailoring Co., the largest special order house in Cincinnati, and the Cincinnati Tailoring Co., each employing 150 workers. In both cases substantial increases in wages were obtained. Now the union is prosecuting the organization campaign with still greater vigor, concentrating mainly on the largest shop in the city, the Sinsheimer Company.

Many Victorious Strikes

It will require more space than is here available for a detailed report of all the strikes called in the last couple of weeks, the reasons for calling them and the problems involved; so we will just mention the strikes and their disposition. Stamford, Conn., Metropolitan Sportswear Company—settled after a brief strike and deposited with the union \$1,500 security. Fall River, Mass., Ideal Novelty Company—settled after one week strike; will retain code conditions. The other two firms, Reliable Wash Suit Company and the Greenville Novelty Company, settled without a strike. Brockton, Mass., three-day strike in the shop of Stoll & Dean Leather Company; settled on union conditions.

Strikes in progress: Buffalo—against the Faultless Pants Company, against lengthening of hours and reductions in wages; against the Montgomery Clothing Company, for the same reasons. In Lawrence, Mass., a strike is on in the shop of Franks Brothers for union conditions. The foregoing is evidence that the fighting spirit which made the Amalgamated Clothing Workers one of the outstanding unions in this country has not diminished. With the abolition of the NIRA more so than before, the economic power of the men's clothing workers remains their only protection and they are using that power to full advantage.

agricultural country and there was no highly developed industrial order to socialize. They were like a child seeking apples from a tree that had risen only a few feet from the soil.

Instead of finding large scale industry to socialize, O'Neal declares Lenin and his associates leaped into an economic vacuum. They then turned to a grandiose plan of building what Russia lacked but in order to do this they placed the whole laboring population under a dictatorship and rigorously exploited capital out of the laboring masses. This capital represents the unpaid labor of the workers and peasants who are deprived of incomes sufficient to enable them to enjoy anything like a decent human existence.

Lacking the machine culture and industrial technique which, the author contends, is a slow growth of decades that cannot be imposed on human society, he declares that industrial planning cannot be otherwise than a hodge-podge of results that mock the forecasts of the planners. A backward society cannot catapult itself into a modern age if it lacks modern machinery, modern machine culture, technical and administrative science, says O'Neal.

Beginning with these basic historical and economic considerations, the author carries his criticism through various aspects of Communist reasoning. In summary, he contends that Communism is a utopian offshoot of the modern Socialist movement and that it repeats many of the illusions of the early radical sects of the mid-nineteenth century.

COUGHLIN'S SCAB UNION

(Continued from Page One)

Whether Coughlin launched the move on his own responsibility, or whether the big automobile manufacturers, headed by the union-busting Henry Ford, are back of the move in which the Radio Priest is to capitalize for the benefit of the exploiters the popularity won by his several years of broadcasting in a last desperate attempt to keep the workers from organizing in their own union is not known; observers, however, can draw their own conclusions.

Whether Coughlin's plan succeeds, or suffers the ignominious failure it deserves from the contempt of the workers for the "yellow-dog" maneuver, the fact remains that it was left to the Radio Priest of the Shrine of the Little Flower to capitalize his cloth and utilize the immunity his calling is supposed to confer on him to strike a blow in the large and important section of the working class.

Hitherto, like all fascist demagogues, Coughlin has generally confined himself to vague notions, being all things to all men, denouncing sin and extolling virtue without taking a definite stand on anything for which he could be held accountable. Indeed, his far-flung National Union for Social Justice, for which he claims 9,000,000 members, is an "organization" or radio listeners who send fan letters to the Shrine of the Little Flower and to whom the Radio Priest replies that they needn't worry about what his National Union stands for, that when the time came the "principles" will be supplied by Coughlin himself.

There have been two notable exceptions—when Coughlin took the floor in favor of what Al Smith called the "baloney dollar," and when his radio voice was linked with the Hearst press in the defeat of American adherence to the World Court.

Outside of those two issues, Coughlin has been eloquently vague, ecclesiastically non-committal and piously positive on nothing that you could lay your hands on.

Just the set-up for a fascist pretender!

The auto bosses have won a powerful recruit in Coughlin, for he is eloquent and he has a tremendous following; no one knows exactly what he stands for except that generally he is supposed to be "for the people" (like all fascist demagogues); and he is a Catholic priest; for the cloth of a clergyman—especially a Catholic priest—is even a better shield for exploiters to operate behind than the flag. The bosses may hope that workers will be deterred from opposing Coughlin's scab "union" by the fear that in so doing they will be attacking "religion" and the Church.

But the labor movement knows that its enemy is the employing class, whose most effective weapon has been the company "union"; and that a company "union" is the same whether organized openly by the employers, or by their tools operating behind the folds of the flag, or clad in the sheep's clothing of a clerical garb.

The auto workers will give their reply by building a mighty union of their own, associated with the labor movement as a whole and free of all entanglements with the auto bosses, who are today enjoying the greatest prosperity in their history—and who do not want their prosperity, earned for them by the toil of the workers, disturbed by the solidarity of the workers serving their own interests.

PROPERTY By Kirby Page

A Consideration of the Tactics of Violence
and Dictatorship Raised by Communists
Throughout the World.



IT is highly imperative that we

recognize the impossibility of combining effectively the strategies of violent revolution and non-war-like revolution. If the former is adopted and announced, there is little chance of success in countries like the United States and Great Britain. While the British Labor Party has achieved enormous power with its program of non-violent revolution, the British Communist Party has enrolled only 5,000 members, is without a single member of Parliament, and has only one or two members of municipal authorities. I am convinced that in the United States the Communist Party has only the remotest chance of overthrowing capitalism and establishing a communist society. Its strategy of seizing power by violence and of preserving the revolution by proletarian dictatorship backed with instruments of terror will never be accepted by vast sections of the American people. The skilled workers, the semi-skilled workers, the middle class, small proprietors, professional men, and above all rural people are in overwhelming proportions opposed to civil war as a means of seeking a new social order. More than half of the members of the Communist Party are drawn from the ranks of the unemployed, while only a tiny fraction of them are employed in basic industries.

Cannot Follow Two Courses

If American revolutionists desire to make certain their own defeat and annihilation, let them announce that, while they prefer pacific means, they are prepared if neces-

sary to take up the weapons of armed battle. The very enunciation of such a procedure will make it impossible to fulfill the conditions of successful revolution through non-violence. A radical political party which announces that it has no expectation of coming into power through votes but that it will be compelled to seize power by violence, will never receive a mandate from the electorate of the United States. Con-

servative groups can advocate violent suppression of radicals without alienating their support, but revolutionary parties cannot hope to secure enough votes to win control of government if they threaten to use warlike means of capturing power. In order to secure control of government through the ballot, a radical party must rely upon pacific processes of social change. The statement cannot be emphasized too strongly that we must choose between these opposing strategies; we cannot follow both. To flirt with violent revolution is to throw away the chance of successful revolution through pacific means.

Therefore it is imperative that non-warlike revolutionists refrain from entering into a united front with communist or communistic groups, or with other organizations that sanction or advocate the use of armed violence in seeking to abolish capitalism. If an individual is convinced that revolution cannot be carried through without the armed seizure of power, then it is logical for him to seek a united front with communists, although even in this case he may hesitate because of other aspects of the communist program. But it

appears to me crystal clear that the cause of non-warlike revolution is weakened rather than strengthened by a united front with communists.

This position is strengthened by an understanding of the purpose of Communists in seeking a united front. Consider, for example, their advocacy of the League Against War and Fascism. Do they really believe that it is possible to prevent international war unless capitalism is abolished? Certainly not. Their spokesmen are emphatic on this point. They are dogmatic in their assertion that so long as capitalism exists international war is inevitable and unavoidable. They are equally unequivocal in their statements about the duty of communists in the event of international war. Such a war, they say, must be transformed into civil war for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. A hundred official statements to this effect may easily be assembled. Likewise, do communists really believe that fascism can be prevented unless the workers seize power by violence? Here also communist leaders are frank. They maintain that the only defense against war and fascism is furnished by armed seizure of power. Why then do they invite pacifist groups and other religious agencies to enter into a united front? Their avowed purpose is to strengthen the movement for the armed overthrow of capitalism. Communists have nothing but contempt for religion and for pacifism. They use the united front as a means of boring from within.

(Continued next week)

Editor's Corner

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

By James O'Neal

Socialist Sinners and Communist Saints

THERE is a rather comic phase of the decisions of the Communist International which has been overlooked. The members of the Communist Party have a painful ordeal in adjusting themselves to the "new line," and we imagine many of them have to take stimulants to survive it.

In their periodical publications they have been making their adjustment to the policy of supporting "bourgeois democracy," but what can they do with the books and pamphlets published before the decisions of the recent Moscow congress? They will have to destroy them or stow them away until the "old line" becomes the "new line" by reversing the recent decisions. Bolshevism is capable of this reversal as the recent congress shows.

Before us lie eleven pamphlets which make up a series of texts in what is called "Marxist Study Courses." They bear the imprint of International Publishers, a Communist publishing house in New York City. These lessons are printed for use by student hopefuls in Communist Party study classes. Here is the official doctrine of the C.P. on political economy, industrial crises, the Social Democratic parties, the free trade unions, imperialism, "social fascists," virtuous Communists and the criminal Socialists, and all in terms of the "Marxist-Leninist" philosophy. Dimitroff was careful enough at the recent Comintern congress to include the word "Stalinist" when he mentioned the philosophy a number of times. Perhaps he feared that Stalin had a slingshot hidden for use if Stalin was overlooked.

Here are about 700 printed pages in eleven pamphlets which the boys will have to store in the garret until the "old line" is restored by order of Stalin. They present June Communism which does not correlate with July Communism. Here the Social Democrats are still "agents of the bourgeoisie" and dangerous "social fascists." Here Socialists supply "theoretical arguments for the robbery of the working class by finance capital." Here we are told that it is no accident that Social Democracy "feeds on fascist ideas" which is now called "social fascism." Here we are all unmasked for the dirty scoundrels we are, and individual Socialists in this and other countries are singled out by name so that the "betrayed" proletariat will be able to recognize them. Here the Communists are always trying to save the working class while the infamous Socialists are always selling the workers to the exploiters. Here Socialist vice persists in triumphing over Communist virtue.

A God in the Communist Temple

BUT we are not so sure whether it is to be the "old line" or the new one. The Romans worshipped a god with two faces, one looking forward and the other looking backward. They prayed to Janus in a temple which was kept open during war and closed in times of peace. He was the god of Beginnings and Ends; and one who reads Dimitroff's speech at the Comintern congress is unable to say which of the two faces in the Communist temple is speaking, whether the speech is the beginning or the end, and whether war is on and the temple is open or peace has arrived and the temple is closed.

The speech appears in eight pages of a supplement to the Daily Worker, tabloid size, and spills over into six columns of the regular issue. Reading it, there is no doubt that both faces are speaking. Here we Socialists are paraded as the old sinful scoundrels. All of our alleged crimes are enumerated, while the Communists emerge from the survey as frost-bitten angels who now and then have "deviated" from their heavenly course but who remain God's chillun, soaring zig-zag towards heaven, each eventually sure of his harp.

Here we are and there they are. Look at 'em, saints and sinners, purists and dirty scoundrels. But never mind. The boys want the purists and scoundrels to get together in a "united front." When this alliance of the blacklegs and puritans is formed, Dimitroff assures us that the puritans will "loyally" carry it out. Then follows this solemn injunction: "We shall mercilessly expose all sabotage of joint action on the part of persons and organizations participating in the united front."

Does that sound familiar? It does. The two faces of the Communist Janus manage to say different things at the same time in the same sentence, and one immediately thinks of the old Romans opening the temple for the faithful to pray when war is on.

In short, the Dimitroff speech does not differ from the other approaches of the Comintern since 1922, except that it is more dull than the stuff that Zinoviev used to hawk in the days when he was cock-of-the-walk.

Dimitroff speaks like a modern Gratiano, of whom Shakespeare said: "Gratiano speaks an infinite deal of nothing, more than any man in all Venice. His reasons are as two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff: you shall seek all day to find them; and when you have them, they are not worth the search."

Fifty Years of British Socialism

(Continued from Page Five)

Liberals, themselves divided between the followers of Asquith and Lloyd George. In the domain of foreign affairs it left behind a distinguished record.

The second Labor Government, formed in 1929, found itself in a more favorable Parliamentary situation. In the elections of 1929 it had emerged the strongest single party but still short of a majority. Once more it was dependent in Parliament upon the Liberals, but managed, nevertheless, to put through another program of important social legislation.

Unfortunately, the world depression set in soon after the Labor Government went into office. England was particularly hard hit. Exporting nearly forty per cent of her industrial output, England depends for the most part upon imports for her food supply. The economic crisis placed the Labor Government in an extremely difficult position. Engrossed in a vast mass of governmental work, ministers lost contact with the trade unions. The masses, unable to divine what was occurring behind the scenes and not adequately informed of the tremendous difficulties with which the Government had to contend, began to grumble about the Government's failure to carry out certain promises of the Labor platform hastily made by the party in the election. Disagreements made themselves manifest among the ministers themselves, ending with the resignation of the cabinet in 1931 and the secession from the Labor Party of three of its most prominent members, MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas, who joined the succeeding "National Government" dominated by the Conservatives.

Labor Party Defeated
The new Government immediately dissolved Parliament and called new elections. The campaign was a very bitter one. MacDonald and Snowden, who for more than 30

years had been the leaders, first, of the Independent Labor Party, and then of the Labor Party, joined in vitriolic attacks against the Labor Party and appealed to the voters to defeat its candidates, warning that should the Labor Party come out victorious it would confiscate the banks and bring about a catastrophic panic.

The election ended in a severe defeat for the Labor Party. Although it received 7,000,000 votes, its representation in Parliament was reduced from approximately 290 to less than 90.

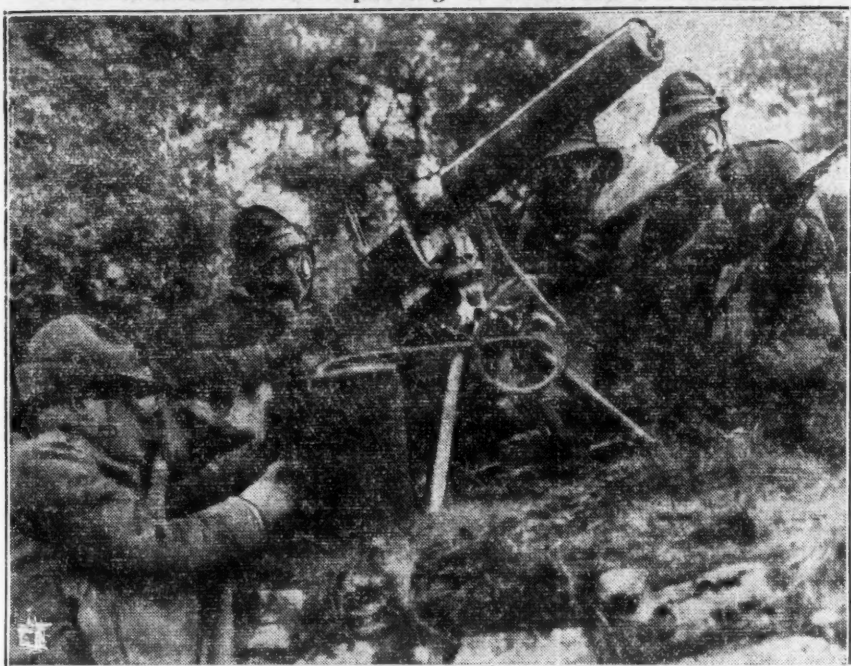
The defection of MacDonald and Snowden was unquestionably a blow to the Labor Party. Many believed it was doomed to destruction. In less than two years, however, it began to recoup its strength both in organization and ideologically. Today it is stronger than ever and looks forward to the coming election with supreme confidence.

During the past half century the British trade unions have grown tremendously in power and influence. They are highly organized, scientifically administered organizations. Many of them maintain extensive statistical and research departments. Only 35 years ago the slogan of the British trade unions was "No politics in the trade unions." Today the overwhelming majority of the union members vote Labor.

The same may be said of the great British Cooperative Movement. It has grown tremendously in membership and activities in the past 25 years. The cooperatives embrace not only millions of workers but also large numbers of the middle class. Under the influence of the Socialists the cooperatives have also begun to participate in politics. Although they are not directly affiliated with the Labor Party, they march together with it and support all its undertakings.

In 1906 there were only 29 Labor members in Parliament. In 1935 there were 100,000 persons occupy these

Italian Recruits Preparing to Promote Civilization



PHILA. JUDGE RULES SWEATSHOP IS AN EVIL TO BE FOUGHT

Upholds Restaurant Workers Who Picket Important Restaurant—Decision of Vital Importance to All Labor.

Special to The New Leader
PHILADELPHIA.—Pennsylvania law now officially recognizes the sweatshop as an evil to industry and labor. This old and established economic truth was the core of an opinion handed down by Judge Horace Stern, establishing a precedent for the state.

Judge Stern ruled that not only do working conditions in any single shop affect the entire trade but that organized workmen have a stake in conditions in unorganized shops and can protest against them. Lack of this precedent heretofore has proved a stumbling block to labor here.

The opinion upheld the contention of four unions fighting against the non-union Jester Gardens, an inn in Frankford, industrial center of the city.

The four unions—Musicians, Waiters, Cooks and Bartenders—in protest against the peonage wages and hours at the Jester Gardens had attempted for weeks to confer amicably with the owner. He had refused.

The unions then picketed the inn, and the owner went to court for an injunction to restrain the unions, alleging that his employees were not members of any union and therefore should not be molested.

The unions' attorney, M. Herbert Syme, countered with the argument that the sweat-shop conditions at the Jester Gardens threatened the wage and hours structure of the entire restaurant industry, and that the union workers had to fight the sweat-shop in self-protection. The Judge backed the unions.

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1929 there were approximately 290. In 1931 the Labor Party suffered a severe setback in Parliamentary representation. But no one doubts now that in the coming election the party will regain the lost ground; over ten additional members have been elected in by-elections since 1931.

The Present Situation
The Labor Party is now the Official Opposition in Parliament, i. e. the second largest party, and the possibility is not excluded that it will emerge the biggest single party in the next election. In membership it is the strongest party today. It controls a majority in many city administrations. London, Glasgow, Leeds, Sheffield and many smaller cities and towns are now in the hands of the Socialists. They are also strongly represented in the administrations of many more cities and towns, where their influence is constantly growing. This was clearly demonstrated in municipal elections in various parts of England within the past two years. Under the guidance and influence of the Labor Party municipal Socialism is rapidly becoming an important factor in British social and political life as part of the general process of the growth and development of the social forces of the nation.

The Labor Party may point with pride to its great accomplishments in behalf of the workers and the masses in general. Years ago Socialists were met with ridicule when they demanded that the cities provide the people with housing on the same principle on which they supplied them with water. Today, no less than 200,000 houses, built and controlled by cities in Scotland alone, are in use. Nearly 100,000 persons occupy these

N.E.C. IN CHICAGO OCTOBER 11-13

CHICAGO.—Cook County Socialist Office announces that the National Executive Committee of the party will meet here October 11, 12 and 13, according to arrangements concluded with the National Office this week.

Large regional mass meetings will be held on Friday, October 11. Plans so far calling for Norman Thomas to speak in the Jefferson Park area and Mayor Hoan in the Roseland district, both of which districts formerly sent Socialist Councilmen into office in Chicago.

Other meetings are under consideration. A banquet attended by all members of the N.E.C. will be given in their honor Sunday evening, October 13. Further details of plans will be announced. A special committee to handle the affair is being organized.

A Cook County general membership meeting will be held Monday, September 30, to discuss the implications for the Socialist Party of recent Comintern Congress.

A new Cook County branch was organized to be known as the Lower South. Alberto Cook is secretary and Monroe Parker, active leader of the Illinois Workers' Alliance, is branch organizer. The branch started with twenty charter members.

Reception and Social at Upper West Side Sept. 16

Henry Fruchter, Jacob Hillquit and Dr. Siegfried Lipschitz will speak at the reception and social to be tendered by the Upper West Side Branch in the ballroom at 100 West 72nd St., Manhattan, Sept. 16th. Five-minute talks will be delivered in addition by Frank Crosswath, Algernon Lee, Murray Baron and the local candidates. Invitations have been extended to Norman Thomas, who has tentatively accepted, and Harry W. Laidler.

With McAlister Coleman as master of ceremonies, entertainment will be provided by a Negro dance-band and the German New Theatre Group will make their first appearance at an English-speaking branch in skits, novelties and group singing. There will be a spread of home-prepared refreshments.

homes, which are better, more comfortable and cheaper than houses built by private enterprise. The same is true of other parts of England. The great success of municipal housing has moved even the capitalist parties to support of the public housing program. The Glasgow Forward estimated recently that within 25 years half the population of Scotland will be housed in modern homes built by the municipalities and equipped with the latest improvements. The municipalities of Scotland have already spent \$320,000,000 on housing, of which more than \$100,000,000 has been spent in Glasgow alone for the construction of 38,000,000 apartments, serving 132,000 persons.

The Socialist administration of London is now engaged in the gigantic task of rebuilding the city. The old slums are being torn up and a vast housing program is being undertaken which when completed will represent a veritable revolution in the living conditions of the masses.

Future Prospects
Due largely to Socialist efforts England enjoys a model system of social insurance. Only 25 years ago the Socialists were ridiculed as fanatics for demanding that the Government supply the jobless with work or give them direct relief. The capitalist parties bitterly opposed any Government aid for the unemployed. The Socialists finally compelled the Conservatives and Liberals to recognize that it was the Government's duty to take care of the unemployed. Today the conflict is no longer over the principle of unemployment insurance, which has found expression in an unemployment insurance system built upon a solid and permanent

WAITERS PUT ON ACT AT SWANKY CABARET AND WIN UNION SHOP

By Flo Pryor

Special to The New Leader.
PHILADELPHIA.—An unprecedented act stopped the high-society at the International Restaurant here over the week-end. The act was put on at the high point of the cabaret show, interrupting a throbbing tenor and throwing the audience of svelte-gowned women and tuxedoed men into consternation.

It was the offering of Waiters' Union Local 59, but it was not intended for the amusement of the guests, and it starred John Cassidy, business agent of the local, who had the temerity to appear in a business suit.

For stage-props Cassidy had a whistle. He blew it hard. Instantly every waiter put down his tray and his napkin, picked up the nifty-makers' checks, and quietly walked out.

The smiling host of the International lost his smile and begged the guests to wait on themselves and, besides, to confess how much their bills amounted to already. It was not very successful. Orders were confused and soup was spilled, and memories became tricky when it came to checks.

The host slipped out, signed a union contract, the waiters came back and everyone was relieved. Especially the society audience, which cheerfully continued its interrupted high-jinks.

The contract provides for full union recognition, unionization of all waiters, employment of new waiters through the union, and is in force for a year. It was the culmination of a drama started by the International employer when he hedged on signing a contract and tried to stall the union off.

Dock Workers in Capetown in Internat'l Gesture

The dockworkers of Capetown, the leading port of South Africa, refused to load ammunition on boats destined for the Italian army being mobilized for Mussolini's attack upon Ethiopia. This is the first incident of the kind reported in the present war crisis, but it will not be the last.

foundation, but over the amount of help the jobless receive.

The Socialists have also brought about the development on a large scale of municipal ownership of public utilities (electric light, telephones, transit, etc.) in many cities. Many cities operate also their own banks, milk farms and other enterprises, and supply a variety of services at low cost.

The school age has been raised to fifteen and poor children receive food and clothing free of charge. The entire educational system has been greatly improved. The Socialists have also brought about a more efficient and extensive health service and other vital reforms.

There is hardly an aspect of public life in England today that has not been profoundly influenced by the Socialists. The whole fabric of British society has undergone fundamental changes under the growing influence of Socialism and the impact of the labor movement.

The Labor Party is now preparing for the Parliamentary election which may take place in the fall. It will put forward a greater number of candidates than ever before. In 1929 there were 569 Labor candidates. A mighty effort is now under way to double the party membership. Millions of pieces of literature will be distributed between now and election day.

The great task before the British Labor Party is now to win the support of a majority of the middle class, for only with such support can the party hope to obtain an absolute majority in Parliament, without which it cannot enter upon the realization of the more fundamental aspects of the Socialist program. Thus far no Socialist Party in any country has ever commanded such a majority.

New York Socialists to Open Campaign At Town Hall Rally September 29th

THE New York election campaign will be formally opened Sunday, September 29th, at Town Hall, 43rd Street and Sixth Avenue, with a big ratification rally and mass meeting. For years the opening gun of the fall campaign has been fired at the Town Hall meeting on the Sunday following Primary Day, when the ticket has formally been nominated. These meetings have always been noted for packed halls and vast enthusiasm. The 1935 meeting will be no exception.

Details and the names of the speakers will be announced later.

INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS MUST KEEP THE DATE OPEN AND ARRANGE NO CONFLICTING AFFAIRS!

READING CONFIDENT OF VICTORY IN THE NOVEMBER POLL

Special to The New Leader

READING, Pa.—Socialist victory in the municipal elections two months hence appears assured by the large enrollment scored in the first three days of registration. The figures thus far chalked up, 17,235, are the largest enrollment in any similar period in the city's political history.

All parties scored heavy gains in registration, the Socialists gaining 90 per cent over their best previous figure. The Democrats, who now control the state for the first time since the Civil War, gained 95 per cent and the Republicans 64 per cent. Inasmuch as it often means as much as a worker's job is worth openly to enroll as a Socialist, the Socialist gain is of vastly greater importance than appears at the first glance.

In the past two elections the Socialists have been defeated only by a local fusion of the two old parties, something no longer possible under a new state law. With a clear line-up of parties the Socialists feel confident of reelecting J. Henry Stump as Mayor and with him the whole city ticket.

Regular weekly broadcasts over WEEU begin Sunday, September 15, at 12:15, the first speaker being Raymond S. Hofses, and the radio talks will continue until election.

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

Sunday—11 a.m.—Forward Hour; 12 noon—Metropolitan String Ensemble; 8:15 p.m.—Don Carlos; 10—Gilbert and Sullivan Operettas.
Monday—8 a.m.—Starting the Day Right, Jacob S. List; 8:25—City Consumers' Guide.
Tuesday—3 p.m.—Dolores Hanford, soprano; 8:15— Irving B. Altman, Editor, "People's Money"; 8:30—"The Message of 91," Harry Greenberg, Manager, Local 91, I.L.W.U.; 8:45—University of the Air; 10:15—Beatrice Winkler, soprano; 10:45—Show Tunes.
Wednesday—8 p.m.—King Noreen, songs; 8:15—City Affairs Committee, Ben Howe, Chairman of City Fusion Party; 8:30—Organ Recital; 10:15—University of the Air.
Thursday—8 p.m.—Marilyn Mayer, songs; 8:15—University of the Air; 10—Edith Friedman, piano; 10:15—Newspaper Guild on the Air; 10:30—Paris Opera House; 10:45—Sky-High Ranchers, songs.
Friday—8 p.m.—City Art Quartet; 8:15—University of the Air; 10:30—Medical Hour.
Saturday—6 p.m.—"Jewish Events of the Week"; 6:30—"Annie and Benny," sketch; 8:15—Nicholas Salsavsky, baritone; 10—Opera.

PARTY NOTES

New York City

4th A.D. Meeting Tuesday, Sept. 10, at 201 East Broadway. Plans for extensive campaign will be discussed. Campaign committees will be elected. Open-air meetings with Henry Jager are a huge success in spite of Communist disruptions.

BRONX
Bronx County. General membership meeting Friday, Sept. 6, at Bronx Labor Center, 809 Westchester Ave., to discuss the campaign and local problems.
7th A.D. Special meeting of branch Tuesday, Sept. 10, at 789 Elmore Place, Lower 8th A.D. Branch meeting Tuesday, Sept. 10, Picnic to Dr. Silverberg's home Sunday, Sept. 8, at 9 a.m. sharp; meet at 8 W. Kingsbridge Road.

AMAL. COOP. The Socialist Party in the Amalgamated Houses suffered a severe loss in the death of our devoted member, Louis Rabinoff. The members of the branch extend sincerest condolences to the bereaved wife, Rose Rabinoff and the children.

KINGS

Open-Air meetings in Bensonhurst
Henry Jager will speak at 67th Street and Bay Parkway and others will speak Wednesday, Sept. 11, at 67th St. and Bay Parkway. Henry Jager will speak Friday, Sept. 13, at Murdock Ave. and 22nd St., Coney Island.

Membership meeting Tuesday, Sept. 10, at 66th Bay Parkway.
Saturday, Sept. 14, 67th St. and Bay Parkway. Speakers, August Claessens, Louis P. Goldberg, Fred Schulman, Louis Epstein and Julia Primoff.

Monday, Sept. 9, 30th St. and 21st Ave. Henry Jager.
Midwood Branch. Next business meeting Monday, Sept. 9, at 1719 Avenue P. Branch held successful street meeting last Thursday night. Jager will speak there every Thursday night. Branch is planning a bridge party for the United Socialist Day Fund.

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- BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS, TUCKERS, STITCHERS and PLEATERS' UNION, Local 66, I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St., Phone ALgonquin 4-3657.**
658. Executive Board meets every Tuesday night in the office of the Union. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattah, Manager; L. A. Barkinsky, Sec'y-Treas.
- CAP MAKERS UNION, Local No. 1, Tel. ORchard 4-9991.**—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 102, 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, 1 West 16th Street, New York City.** Abraham Snyder, Manager.
- CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th St., New York, N. Y. Phone TOMpkins Square 6-3400.** L. Hollender, J. Catalano, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.
- FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union, 299 W. 109th Ave., Brooklyn; STAG 2-0783.** Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice-President, Stephen Tobiasco; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Heib.
- JOINT BOARD DRESS and WAISTMAKERS' UNION.**—Offices: 212 West 40th St., N.Y.C. Tel. LONGmead 5-1098. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening; Joint Board meets every Wednesday evening.
- neaday evening in the Council Room at 218 W. 40th St., Julius Hochman, Gen. Mgr.; Phillip Kapp, Sec'y-Treas.**
- LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, 3 West 16th Street, New York City, Phone CHickering 3-1464.** David Dubinsky, President.
- THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, I.L.G.W.U., Office, 80 West 55th St.; Phone, WI, 7-6011.** Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmund Perlmutter, Mgr.; Sec'y, Louis Stollberg; Asst. Mgr., Morris W. Jacobs, Sec'y to Exec. Board; Nathan Saperstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.
- MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 31, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, Downtown office, 640 Broadway; phone, SPRing 7-4543; uptown office, 35 W. 37th St.; phone, WI, 7-1274.** Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 o'clock. Manager, M. Spector; Secretary, Trous, Alex Rose; Organizers, L. E. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodos.
- UNITED NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11816, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St., Phone, ALgonquin 4-7082.** Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:00. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottmann, Secretary-Treasurer.
- WAITERS' and WAITRESSES' UNION, Local No. 1, A. F. of L. and U. I. T., 290-7th Ave. W. Lehnman, Sec'y; Tel.: LACKawanna 6-5483**
- WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 52 of I.L.G.W.U., 973 Broadway, New York City, 1 telephone, ALgonquin 4-1581.** S. Shara, Manager

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, SEPTEMBER 7, 1935

HEIL COUGHLIN!

WE are disappointed in Father Charles E. Coughlin but not surprised. That the "radical" priest was a potential fascist if not actually a fascist was something we had long suspected, but we made the mistake of crediting him with a little more shrewdness than he now displays.

For a long time he managed to fool many people into the belief that he was a new social prophet come to preach a message of equality of opportunity and social justice. His glib tongue had succeeded in confusing many minds. But the good padre, his head dizzy with success and publicity, has overreached himself. Throwing aside the mask he has been wearing with a large measure of profit to himself he has now announced himself as the leader and organizer of a scab union of automobile workers in Detroit.

It is significant that as long as the American Federation of Labor had tarried in the task of granting an international charter to the automobile workers that would eliminate, in large part, the obstacle of craft divisions, Father Coughlin thought it wise to stand aloof, but the very moment the charter was granted and the road cleared for the development of a powerful, effective organization of the automobile workers he stepped forward with his rival scab "union."

Apparently he and those whose work he is doing felt there was no time to lose if the automobile workers were to be double-crossed and diverted from their purposes. Father Coughlin is confident that he is the man best fitted to do the double-crossing. We agree with him, but we hope and believe he will not be successful.

To complete his open entry into the fascist camp the padre has joined the forces of William Randolph Hearst and has given his approval to Hearst's proposal for establishment of a "Constitutional Democratic Party," whose purpose it will be to fight all advanced social legislation, curb the organization and demands of labor and unite all the forces of reaction under one banner. Its slogans are to be a mixture of that spurious democracy which Hitler used with no mean success in deceiving millions of German workers.

Heil Coughlin!

We thank you, father, for the frank manner in which you have now presented yourself to the organized workers of this nation. From now on they will know how to treat you. By which we mean that from now on you stand forth clearly and unmistakably as a strike breaker, scab and enemy of social progress.

DOLLAR DIPLOMACY

IT is all very well for the President and other officials to become outraged at the "dollar diplomacy" of the alleged Standard Oil deal with the Conquering Lion of Judah, for if there really was such a deal it is just a little too raw even for experienced American statesmen to stomach. But before they perish of apoplexy over the perfidy of business interests callously endangering the peace of the world they might recall America's own adventures in Central America, with marines shedding good American and Nicaraguan blood in the interest of coffee and sugar; they might recall adventures in Haiti and the seizure of the Canal Zone, our spotted career in Cuba... they might recall many things!

CAPITALISM! There is the enemy. The world will not be a decent place to live in until that system is forever dead.

BERNARR MACFADDEN

IT appears that Bernarr Macfadden is eager to nose out his fellow-publisher, William Randolph Hearst, as chief reactionary in the United States. As publisher of the magazine curiously named "Liberty" he has been carrying on a campaign that excels only in stupidity the Hearst war upon those Americans who dare to do their own thinking on social and economic questions.

His latest performance was the publication of a clumsy and idiotic attack upon what has come to be known as "college radicalism," in which the writer deliberately set out by confusing Socialism and Communism to arouse hysteria against all independent thinking.

That this sort of thing comes from Macfadden is hardly surprising, considering the progressive degeneration of a man who once was an honest, though somewhat crude idealist. In his robust youth he promoted in his magazines ideals of physical culture, clean living, sane sex education and intellectual integrity. Indeed, he once published a magazine first called "Fair Play" and later "The Cry for Justice" that was so radical that the Macfadden (and the Hearst) of 1935 would have called for its suppression and the jailing of its editors.

But that was the end of his intellectual honesty. Slowly he slipped into pornography, until he published the unspeakable New York Graphic of foul and unsavory memory; and then the "Dream Confession" type of magazine pandering to the cheapest and lowest instincts of the ignorant whom he once sought to elevate.

Now he is rich. Now he publishes "Liberty." Now he out-Hearsts Hearst. Now he has reached the bottom. How the Macfadden of an earlier day would have despised the Macfadden of 1935!

All in the Same Boat



The inner difficulties and contradictions at work within the Hitler regime have prompted Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, president of the Reichsbank and chief representative of the big industrialists in the Nazi government, to utter some words of warning to the Hitlerites.

Schacht, who bears a large share of responsibility for what has happened in Germany, is beginning to wake up to the idea that the "Third Reich" is facing collapse. Hence his recent cries of "danger ahead" and warnings that the hoodlumism of Nazi mobs must be brought under control. "We

are in the same boat," is the substance of his warnings to his fellow fascists. "We must don the mantle of respectability."

We venture to believe that the warnings have come too late. Dr. Schacht should have thought of the consequences of Hitlerism before he had made himself one of its leading proponents. The day of reckoning is coming, and Dr. Schacht, like the rest of the assassins of German liberty, cannot escape the penalty awaiting them. Yes, you are all in the same boat, and all of you, blood-stained fascists, will go down together when the inevitable storm overwhelms you!

Behind the Scenes in Washington



By Benjamin Meiman
Our Washington Correspondent

The tumult and the shouting dies,
The captains and the kings depart.

WAS that written about Washington? It could have been. With President Roosevelt leaving last Saturday night the Capital became a village. It so happened that as soon as the overworked and overheated congressmen left our city got a touch of the chill autumn weather. The hot air is now gone from Washington.

In the absence of Congress and the President we naturally turn our attention to the State Department, where our international relations are being "related." Our attention is focussed on two outstanding world affairs: The official and unofficial notes to the Soviet Government, and America's pretended aloofness in the Italian-Ethiopian situation.

Russia Warned Again—
This Time Indirectly

LAST Saturday Secretary of State Hull warned Soviet Russia that any further interference with the affairs of this country within the borders of the Soviet Union will "seriously impair" friendly and official relations between the two nations. No communication with the Soviet Government is contemplated.

Secretary Hull stood fast in his stand, expressed in the note delivered to the Soviet Government last Sunday, that there had been interference in the affairs of the United States and that the Soviet's non-interference pledge had been broken.

The statement of policy puts the United States in the position of being sole judge of future acts of interference. It was interpreted to mean that the United States intends to withdraw formal recognition without preliminary negotiations if at any time in the future it finds that the non-interference pledge is being broken.

The first American note to Russia, threatening "the most serious consequences" if Communist propaganda against the United States is continued by the Comintern, was harsh and very undiplomatic, but the Soviet's flat refusal to accept the protest was no diplomatic gem either. It created a delicate situation. The American Government is not yet ready or willing to break off diplomatic relations. But it's hard to back down from a strong threat of grave consequences. The

back door—a statement to the American people—was the only exit left.

Nevertheless, the responsibility rests on Russia. Secretary Hull pointed out a clear violation of the Soviet's pledge "to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which has as an aim the overthrow or the preparation for the overthrow of, or the bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its Territories or possessions." Obviously that accusation cannot be disposed of by the Soviet's naive disavowal of its pledge. The State Department has given notice to the Moscow government that future disregard of its obligations can not but "seriously impair" the relations between the two countries.

It is well that the State Department did not hastily carry out the implied threat in its note of protest. Nothing could be gained by impetuously breaking off relations with the Soviet. But to Russia it is a warning that there is danger in playing a double game: Playing "diplomacy" in one corner and playing "World Revolution" to the Communist gallery in another corner of the same Kremlin.

The Heavy Weight of War
Clouds

DESPITE every effort toward maintaining aloofness, the United States finds itself in a position of importance in the seething European situation. Although there is no thought of this country's being directly involved, the United States is finding itself a part of the world drama.

Most important of all will probably be the question of the extent to which we will go in event of war in enforcing the recently enacted neutrality legislation. Much will depend on the definition which must be adopted of "arms, ammunition and implements of war," the export of which to belligerents is expressly forbidden by the new law. The law includes no specific definition.

If Emperor Haile Selassie thought that through the leasing of mineral concessions to American interests he would obtain sympathy or any measure of co-operation from the United States Government he is doomed to disappointment. The old theory that the marines follow American capital has been abandoned by the present Administration and there is no indication that any change of attitude is being considered. Besides,

the neutrality act would make difficult any material assistance in event of actual warfare, that might otherwise have been possible.

Secretary Hull's statement in reply to a question of whether financial interests consulted the State Department before making such a deal was the keynote of the attitude of the department. Hull said that they do not consult the State Department under this Administration. [This was written before Hull forced Standard Oil to drop the deal.—Ed.]

The State Department had no advance information whatever that the deal was pending. It has, however, taken a definite interest in the announcement of the deal and is endeavoring to find out what it is all about. It was indicated that little more of the details than has appeared in the newspapers has been learned.

Of more immediate concern to the United States is enforcement of the recent neutrality legislation. The measure bars shipments of arms and carries other provisions that would be invoked only in case of actual warfare. There is nothing to prevent arms shipments during a long period of preliminaries such as are taking place in connection with the Ethiopian situation. The law also may place upon the American Government the responsibility of determining exactly when war begins. It is conceivable that Mussolini will move against Ethiopia without a formal declaration of war. Statements of the Italian dictator and his vast military and naval operations might conceivably even now be considered acts of war.

The neutrality act directs the President "definitely to enumerate the arms, ammunition, or implements of war, the export of which is prohibited by this act." No such enumeration has been made, but it is understood that the act will not be interpreted to cover raw materials and other commodities that might be used indirectly in warfare.

During the first seven months of this year there has been an increase in the export of raw materials that could go into warfare, but a decline in the shipment of arms and ammunition. These latter amounted to only \$3,316,000, a decline of nearly \$500,000 under the same period of last year. At the same time exports of cotton, scrap iron, steel, copper ingots, truck and tractor increased. These products, under the present interpretation, would not be affected by embargo provisions. Neither is there any prohibition against extension of credit.

The Workers Will Not Waste Leisure They Strive to Win

By Algernon Lee

Editor's Note—"Labor and Leisure" was the subject of a symposium participated in by Dr. Lynn A. Emerson, president of the Vocational Guidance Association, Algernon Lee, president of the Rand School, and President Palmer of the Utopian Society, broadcast on Labor Day afternoon from the studios of Station WEAF over a national hook-up of the N. B. C. Algernon Lee spoke as follows:

I HOPE I shall not be misunderstood when I say at the very outset that I have never been able to take the same sort of interest that many others do in the question of what the workers are to do with their leisure. I am not finding fault with the social workers, educators, and other public-spirited men and women who regard this as an important social problem and are seeking to solve it. I only say that my way of looking at the subject is different from theirs. To me it seems that, if it is a problem at all, it is primarily the working people's own problem and will have to be solved in the main by the working people themselves. After all, it is their leisure we are talking about.



Algernon Lee

An Old Problem

The question is not a new one. It was being discussed as long ago as I can remember, and a good deal farther back still. About the middle of the nineteenth century, when the most progressive workers were striving for the ten-hour day; some fifty years ago, when the eight-hour movement was getting under way; during and right after the World War, when the 5-day week was being demanded and in some measure won—at each of these periods, just as now, when Organized Labor is launching a campaign for the thirty-hour week, the same questions were being asked: "What will the workmen do with the hours cut off from the workday? Do they know how to use their leisure? Will they not waste it in aimless loafing, or worse than waste it in ways injurious to their health and morals?"

There has been the same kind of anxious questioning at times when the workers were successfully demanding higher wages. In good faith or bad faith men asked: "What will they do with their added income? Do they know how to use money wisely? Are they not likely to squander it on things that will do them no real good and may even do them harm?"

I think such questions have always been raised first by persons who intended them as arguments against increase of wages or reduction of hours. Afterward they have been taken up by quite other elements and in a quite different spirit—by humane and forward-looking persons not directly involved on either side in the struggle between capital and labor, who, tacitly assuming that the workers don't know how to make good use of their spare time, earnestly try to teach them the art.

A Tacit Assumption

I freely admit that such persons can be and often are very helpful. What I object to is the tacit assumption of the workers' incapacity to solve the problem for themselves, and the patronizing attitude to which it sometimes leads. The working class seldom fails to welcome those who come to it in the spirit of true comradeship, but it does not need tutors and guardians.

Maybe I am biased from having been born in the working class and never wished to get out of it. Biased or not, it is my sober opinion, after forty years of rather close and active association with the labor movement, that in this as in many other matters the workers know pretty well what they want. They have always keenly felt the lack of real leisure available for the enjoyment of life. They have never yet, as a general

rule, been at a loss for things to do in such time as they could spare from the very uninteresting tasks by which they get their livelihood. There are exceptions, of course. But I think every candid person must admit that there is proportionately more wasting of time and positive misuse of time among what are called the better classes than among the mechanics and laborers and factory operatives.

There are certain handicaps under which the working people suffer in this matter of making the best use of leisure.

Real Leisure

One of them is that of real leisure they still have by far not enough. Not all the waking time in excess of working hours is real leisure. There are many kinds of work so hard or so dull, so wearing to the nerves if not to the muscles, that even eight hours of it leaves the worker too tired to do anything with zest and enjoyment before or after supper or at the week-end. In such cases, if he simply loafs, he is perhaps making the best possible use—let me rather say, the least harmful use—of those few hours. But time which, because of sheer fatigue, can be put to no better use than this is hardly to be called leisure.

Moreover, the word "leisure" implies some peace of mind, some sense of freedom and security. There are just now, even under the New Deal, millions of men and women who cannot get employment. But it cannot be said that they are at leisure. Time hangs heavy on their hands, not because they are too ignorant or thoughtless to put it to good use, but because they are so depressed by want, so haunted by fear, so humiliated by dependence, that effective recreation and cultural activities are not to be thought of.

When we get a thirty-hour week for all, and fairly steady employment for all, instead of the alternation of fatiguing overwork with unwilling idleness, then we shall be able to say that the workers have real leisure, and it will then be time enough to blame them or pity them if they don't know how to use it.

That is one handicap. But there is another.

In a Complicated Society

In our complicated society, a certain physical equipment is required to make leisure usable. The tenements and the crowded streets of our great cities, the shacks and barracks of our mining and textile centers, with their bleak surroundings, do not provide the space, the quiet, the comfort, the brightness and beauty which would conduce to happy family life, neighborliness, community feeling, joyous recreation, and cultural development. It is an everlasting wonder, not how dull and sordid men's minds become under these conditions—no, the everlasting wonder is that they are not altogether sordid and dull.

Those who have money can provide themselves with the surroundings and equipment that are necessary to good use of their spare time. The masses of the working people, even when they are steadily employed, and when their hours of labor are reasonably short, still lack suitable physical opportunities to benefit by the spare time they have.

Here, then, is my conclusion: If anyone is concerned that the working people should make the best possible use of their leisure, let him first of all do whatever he can to help them in their efforts to shorten the workday and the workweek and to put an end to unemployment; let him help them to win such wages as will leave them a margin over the basic cost of living, which they may safely use for recreational and cultural life; this done, it is my belief that they will not need very much help in finding out how to use their leisure.

Correction: The word "meddling" in last week's article was either a slip of the pen or a printer's error. The phrase should have read "petty and meddling business men," designating their economic status as distinguished from that of the master of big business.—A. L.

The Hillquit Amendment

DESPITE the adjournment of Congress the drive for the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment goes on among the workers, in labor organizations and fraternal bodies and wherever working people come together.

With the ending of the Congressional sessions all bills not passed automatically die, and technically H. J. Resolution 327, Congressman Marcantonio's bill for the enactment of the Hillquit Amendment, no longer exists. Nevertheless labor organizations are continuing the drive for support for the amendment, and resolutions and endorsements will be filed with the Judiciary Committee after Congress reassembles in January and Congressman Marcantonio.

NEW HAVEN.—The Labor Committee of Local New Haven of the

Socialist Party reports that petitions for the enactment of the amendment are being circulated and many signatures are being secured, and that important labor organizations have endorsed the amendment.

Among them are Carpenters' Union Local 79; Machinists' Union Local 420; Jewelry Workers' Union Local 46; FERA Workers' Union Local and Workmen's Circle Branches 232, 17 and 493 and the Jewish National Workers' Alliance.

ERIE, Pa.—The Erie Central Labor Union has endorsed the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment, and as a token of its deep interest it gave the local Socialist Party a stand at the annual Labor Day picnic, at which party members handled a large number of petitions, securing signatures from those who attended.