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## Socialist Trade Union Policy Again Issue in Teachers' Controversy

Former Cases Recalled Which Brought the Party Near to Conflict with the Labor Movement—Some Revealing History That Socialists Should Know.

### Dangers Stressed

Clique Organizations in Unions Inevitably Produce Conflicting Sovereignties, Which Lead to Dissension and Ruin.

By James Oneal

ONCE more in the history of the Socialist movement the trade union has become an issue in it. It emerges out of the crisis in the Teachers' Union. Once more the Socialist movement faces two roads, one leading to fraternal cooperation with the trade unions, the other to sectarian isolation from them. There is no twilight zone between the two. It is one road or the other. Real Socialists will travel the road to cooperation; utopians will march to sectarian isolation.

In the early eighties it was the anarchists, and in the nineties the S. L. P. In 1905-1912 it was the I. W. W. and in 1919 it was the Communists. Now it is the "militant" Socialists. As the other ventures began in single unions and spread, so this one begins in the Teachers' Union and threatens to become a national issue involving the Socialist Party.

Twice since 1929 Socialists came near being brought into conflict with the trade unions. In that year progressive trade unionists and Socialists organized the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. Its program was one of education for social insurance, workers' education, independent labor political action and other progressive policies.

Had its actions been consistent with its declared aims it would have fulfilled a good purpose. The writer helped organize it. He was a member of its executive. So were Linville and Lefkowitz of the Teachers' Union, Frank Cross-waith, James H. Maurer and other progressives. Of 26 members of the executive, 18 were out by 1931. Later A. J. Muste, Louis F. Budenz and a few others fell heir to it. "Militant" socialists joined it in this period, joined after experiencing Socialists had left it.

A "Progressive Union" Muste used it for an adventure in the Illinois miners' factional fight with the view of showing the world how to build a progressive union. Various "militants" were with him. Making a complete mess of the job, Muste turned against the Socialist Party late that year. The writer had left the C. P. L. A. within two months after it was founded as he knew that early what was to happen. Not until Muste turned his batteries against us in December, 1931, did "militants" in Philadelphia, Buffalo, Chicago and other cities publicly announce their resignations from the C. P. L. A. A few months ago Muste united with the Trotskyites and founded another Communist organization. Had Socialists remained with him the party would have been brought into conflict with the trade union movement.

However, the "militants" then decided to get into the Illinois miners' bloody internal fight in the belief that they were going to do what Muste failed to do. In January, 1933, Norman Thomas sent out an appeal for funds to support the "Progressive Miners." He declared that "the fight in Illinois is a fight for a progressive, militant organization of miners and their families, instead of for an entrenched officialdom." That is partly the pretense for the fight in the Teachers' Union now.

John Herling, executive secretary of the relief headed by Thomas, had an article in "The World Tomorrow" (Feb. 15, 1933) on the Illinois miners bearing the caption, "Building a Militant Mine Union."

What were the results? The "Progressive Miners" became the queerest thing in unionism ever organized in this country. Editorials in its official organ included anti-Semitism, expression of sentiment for Huey Long, and in recent

## Negroes Fight Discrimination On TVA Project

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Reveals Jim Crow Conditions in Tennessee.

The Tennessee Valley Authority, popularly known as the TVA, and regarded as the most significant and far-reaching project of the New Deal, has meant little to Negro Americans thus far, according to a report filed with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People by John P. Davis.

Davis, sent into the TVA area by the N. A. A. C. P., reports that not only are the Negroes now at work on the TVA subjected to discrimination and segregation as to type of jobs, wages, housing, and citizenship training courses, but that the future of TVA as an experiment into better living holds little promise for Negro citizens.

The present study of TVA by Mr. Davis is a continuation of his investigations which were reported in an article, "TVA: Lily-White Reconstruction," appearing in the Crisis magazine last year.

The report shows that Negro workers on various sections of the TVA projects—numbering some 2,000—are confined in the most part to the lower brackets of wages and are barred from skilled labor and high wages. Almost three-fourths of the men employed in the Wilson Dam area are laborers at 37½ cents an hour. The next highest number are laborers at 45 cents an hour, and the remaining few are scattered here and there at 60 and 75 cents, with less than ten at \$1 an hour.

All the machinery of employment is set up so that Negroes do not have even an opportunity to apply for skilled work, Mr. Davis found. The requests for skilled labor come from construction bosses and are handed to white personnel directors. These officials weed out the requests and turn over to their colored assistant personnel directors only the requisitions for ordinary labor.

In the villages constructed for the housing of workers on the projects, Negroes have been excluded entirely, or else provided with inferior housing, the report states. There are no Negroes housed at Norris Dam and workers there must go from seven to twelve miles to and from work.

At Wilson Dam there are two villages for white, and one for Negroes. The white houses range from three-room bungalows to six- and seven-room houses, modern in every respect. The Negro houses are all old bungalows which were moved from near the white village to a swampy spot adjacent to a railroad track. The houses have only half screens, with no windows in the kitchens. Because of the swamp, insects are plentiful. The nearest store is two miles away and prices there are exorbitant.

### IS THIS JUST A COINCIDENCE?

The eight bulky packing cases filled with documentary evidence alleging Ethiopia's "barbaric unfitness" to continue as a League of Nations member, which the Italian delegation brought to Geneva, were all labeled "Bologna."

## 10,000 NEW READERS IS GOAL SET BY UNIONS IN NEW LEADER DRIVE

A DRIVE for 10,000 new New Leader readers among the trade unions of New York was launched last Monday when a committee from the Trade Union New Leader Conference appeared before the United Hebrew Trades and made an appeal for more widespread circulation of The New Leader among the organized workers.

Abe Herschowitz of the Amalgamated, on behalf of the conference made an eloquent plea for

## Canadian Labor Congress Votes Hitler Boycott

HALIFAX. — A boycott of German goods and of the 1936 Berlin Olympics was voted by the Canadian Labor Congress in session here this week. The resolutions demanded also that the Canadian Government protest against the barbarities of the Hitler regime.

"A boycott is the best means of fighting Hitler and the Hitler regime, blinded by militarist aspirations," the resolution declared in setting forth the crime of the fascist order now prevailing in Germany.

The boycott resolution was introduced by V. G. Russell, representing the Typographical Union of Toronto.

The Canadian labor movement is thoroughly aroused by the crimes of the Hitler government against the German people, the destruction of the free trade unions, the suppression of all civil liberties and the religious and racial persecutions practiced against Protestants, Catholics and Jews.

## Million A.F. of L. Members Now For Labor Party

Sentiment for Independent Political Action Shows Consistent Growth in the Ranks of Affiliated Organizations.

MORE than one million members of the American Federation of Labor, or approximately one-third of its membership, favor formation of a Labor Party. With the Wisconsin and Oregon state federations officially committed to a Labor Party and labor in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey and other leading organized states moving rapidly in the same direction, the movement for a Labor Party, a bona fide Labor Party backed by the organized workers of the nation, is making greater progress than opponents of the idea appear to perceive.

An important boost for the Labor Party proposal was given by the executive council of the United Textile Workers of America, with a membership of 400,000, at its meeting in New York City this week. Announcing the program to be submitted by this organization to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, the council declared that "the union is on record in favor of industrial organization and the formation of a Labor Party."

"The American Federation of Labor will be petitioned to support these proposals," the announcement stated.

Added to the 400,000 textile workers and a similar number of organized workers in the needle trades, together with many thousands of others affiliated with A. F. of L. organizations, the army of organized toilers pressing for independent political action by labor is growing in numbers.

While it is true that a majority of the membership of the A. F. of L. is still opposed to a Labor Party and continues to favor the so-called non-partisan political policy of the federation, events are pushing the movement toward a realization that independent political action is necessary and unavoidable.

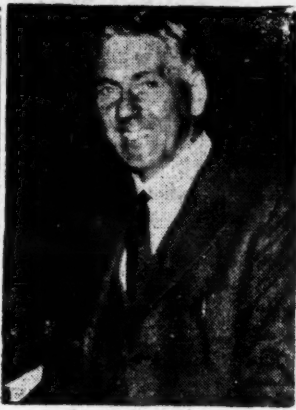
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The New Leader and he was ably seconded by Morris C. Finestone, Secretary of the U. H. T., and Joseph Tuvin of Local 142 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The United Hebrew Trades voted to appeal to all unions in the U. H. T. to elect special committees to visit every union in New York with an appeal for support for The New Leader.

A goal of 10,000 new subscribers was set as the first objective of the drive.

## Citrine Calls World Labor To Spur Boycott on Fascism



Sir Walter Citrine

## Political Party Is Launched by Labor in Newark

Essex County, N. J., Central Labor Body Backs Ticket; Socialists Cooperate, but Communists Are Barred.

By Simon Smith  
Special to The New Leader

NEWARK, N. J.—The Essex Labor Party, sponsored by the Essex Trades Council, the most populous and highly industrialized county in New Jersey, is the answer in the words of a delegate to the recent State Federation of Labor Convention to the "run-around" Labor has received from both the Democratic and Republican parties in the Legislature, in every year, without exception.

Agitation for a Labor Party in New Jersey is strongest in Essex, Hudson and Passaic Counties, largest industrial areas in the State; but despite the growing sentiment the State Federation of Labor convention at Atlantic City last week declined to sanction a state labor party.

The chief reason for the increased interest in the Labor Party question was the failure of the Legislature to pass the anti-injunction bill and the passage of Bill 361, which wiped out the prevailing wage law on any State projects where Federal funds are involved and made possible the payment of a security wage.

The Convention committee reported unfavorably on the resolutions, but supporters demanded a vote. A heated two-hour debate followed and the motion was defeated two to one.

Echoes of the convention were heard in the Essex Trades Council when returning delegates charged the convention was "packed." Essex delegates, who led the fight for a Labor Party, charged unfair methods were used to defeat the project; that certain labor leaders "obeyed orders" from Frank Hague, Democratic boss and "Czar" of Hudson County. It was charged that approximately 200 "ringers" were seated by the credentials committee and their votes swung the result.

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## Terre Haute Terror Bitterly Flayed by Indiana Fed. of Labor

MUNCIE, Indiana.—The Indiana State Federation of Labor in annual session here adopted a strong resolution denouncing martial law in Terre Haute and Vigo county. The martial law resolution, referring particularly to control of Vigo county by the military authorities after a general strike at Terre Haute, July 22, "strongly protest to the Governor of Indiana against his usurpation of power in declaring martial law and making the civil authorities submissive to the military authorities."

Seeking a means of settling the strike at the Columbian Enameling and Stamping Company at Terre Haute, which led to the general walkout and the martial law, the convention accepted a resolution to invite three noted clerics to investigate. The churchmen are Rabbi Sidney Goldstein of the central conference of American Rabbis, the Rev. James Myers of the Federated Council of Churches of Christ in America and Dr. John A. Ryan of the National Catholic Welfare Council.

## Intensification of Economic War on Hitler and Mussolini Demanded to Hasten the Downfall of All Dictatorships.

By Sir Walter Citrine  
General Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress and president of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

(The following article was written for the Chest for Liberation of Workers of Europe and its campaign for the relief of all the victims of fascism. Sir Walter Citrine, one of Great Britain's foremost labor leaders, visited the United States last year and addressed the convention of the American Federation of Labor in San Francisco as well as many labor meetings throughout the country.)

ONE of the difficulties of dealing with a subject like the fascist terror is that the plain facts of the case seem almost incredible to people without first-hand knowledge of what is taking place. To the British or American public, for example, the tale of cruelties and stupidities (some of the worst are, of course, practically untellable) perpetrated under fascist rule, wears a night-mare aspect which to some extent serves to rob it of the appearance of reality. But to the victims of an abominable system nothing is too terrible or fantastic to be apprehended. Their sufferings have already taught them that under their present rulers the worst may always be yet to come.

Most of the examples of fascist terrorism revealed to us in our own press are, though illuminating, merely symptomatic of the deranged mentality by which they are inspired. We read of a British subject thrown into prison because he remarked, in a private conversation, that one of his best friends was a Jew. We hear of the kidnapping of a two-year-old boy in the hope of luring his parents to torture and death—a strategy which the lowest type of American gangsters probably noted with interest. We hear nowadays a little less, perhaps, of the beatings up, shootings, and tortures of individual Germans and Italians and Austrians, largely because (apart from the fascist censorship) such occurrences have become as much of a commonplace under fascist rule as road deaths are elsewhere.

Because of these things there is, perhaps, a tendency to forget that the mass oppression of whole populations is going on steadily day by day, with more and more cruel effects on the minds and bodies of the victims.

Fascist Barbarism

Millions of men, women and children are being treated as if their very existence were an offense to their persecutors. They are allowed less than the status of criminals, and credited with no greater rights and privileges than if they were pests.

Over a large part of Europe today it is, in effect, a crime to be a Jew, a Roman Catholic (or, indeed, a votary of any religion worthy of the name), a Freemason, a Socialist, or a trade unionist; a word, or even a glance, may earn a fate in comparison with which the life of the convicted malefactor in other climes is happy and rational.

The labor movement throughout the world has a special and tragic interest in the fate of all these victims of our modern Neros. In the first place, it has for more than a century done a tremendous amount of work, through bad times

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## British Labor Rejects United Front Proposal Of Soviet Trade Unions

## Swiss Socialists Lead in Defeat Of Reactionaries

BY an overwhelming majority the people of Switzerland have rejected a fascist-sponsored referendum for a revision of the Constitution at an election at which close to three-quarters of a million citizens cast their votes.

The proposal, which was in the nature of a "fishing expedition" by the enemies of democratic institutions was defeated largely through the efforts of the powerful Socialist Party. The heavy majorities against the fascist proposal came almost exclusively from the cantons in which the Socialists are the dominant political force.

The fascists, seconded by reactionary clerical elements, secured the constitutional number of signatures submitting a referendum to the people for a complete revision of the Constitution. The Socialists, scenting a scheme to give the enemies of democracy an opportunity to weaken, cripple or paralyze democratic institutions, the vote was 193,841 in favor, led the fight against the proposal, with 510,014 against.

Zurich, dominated by the Socialists, gave a vote in opposition of 108,316 as against 24,994. Berne, also, showed its Socialist strength by 73,647 to 13,601. The two constituencies that make up Basle and surrounding country gave a vote of 33,065 to 6,755. Aargau's vote was 46,761 to 13,132.

The Socialist movement is the one dependable and unshakable bulwark of democracy.

## Bar Evidence of Innocence at the Mooney Hearing

CONVINCING evidence that Tom Mooney was not within a mile of the scene of the bomb explosion that killed ten people during a "preparedness" parade and for which he and Warren K. Billings are serving life sentences was not admitted when America's most famous political prisoner came before an assistant states attorney in San Francisco on habeas corpus proceedings.

A snapshot, showing Mooney, his wife and Billings watching the parade from the roof of a building over a mile from the scene of the explosion, with a clock clearly indicating time within five minutes of the explosion was not evidence. The prisoner, taken to San Francisco for the hearing, insisted upon pointing to the time shown in the big street clock, but because he had not been asked about it that piece of absolutely convincing proof of his innocence was not admitted!

That picture has been reproduced and is known to tens of millions of people throughout the world, but not the California authorities!

In the course of the hearing Tom Mooney expressed his social philosophy as follows:

"The historic object of the struggle of the working class has always been to free itself from exploitation of all kinds. There can be no industrial peace so long as the bosses exploit the workers."

Indications are that Tom Mooney does not expect justice in the California courts and that the case will have to go back to the United States Supreme Court.

## Profintern's Offer Gets Summary Rebuff at Margate Congress — Cooperation With Communists Characterized as Helping Fascism.

### A.F.L. Stand Upheld

Affiliated Bodies Instructed to Keep Fascists and Communists From Acting as Officers and Delegates of Organizations.

By John Powers

EMPHATIC rejection of a united front proposal from the Communist Trade Union International (Profintern) and approval of action closing the doors to fascists and Communists as officers of trade union bodies and delegates to trade union conventions marked the sessions of the British Trade Union Congress at Margate September 4 and 5.

Detailed reports of the proceedings reaching The New Leader this week confirm the determination of British labor to fight both fascism and Communism to the bitter end as enemies of democracy and the labor movement.

The position taken by the British Trades Union Congress, analogous to the A. F. of L. in this country, parallels the stand of the American Federation of Labor.

The rejection of the Profintern's united front was by an "overwhelming majority of voices," reports the London Daily Herald. This action was in line with that taken by the International Federation of Trade Unions, representing virtually all trade unions in the leading industrial countries of the world. The only large labor organization not affiliated is the American Federation of Labor, which does not differ from the I.F.T.U. on any essential points of immediate trade union policy. Affiliation of the A. F. of L. with the I.F.T.U. is expected at the forthcoming convention of the A. F. of L. in Atlantic City.

As was pointed out at Margate by Sir Walter Citrine, secretary of the British Trades Union Congress and president of the I.F.T.U., the bulk of the membership of the Communist Trade Union International is in Russia, the only substantial outside group affiliated being the minority portion of the French trade unions.

The action of the British Trades Union Congress rejecting the united front proposal of the Communist Trade Union International was well summarized in the following editorial in the Daily Herald of September 5:

Daily Herald View

"A resolution which advocated the 'United Front' was summarily rejected by the Trades Union Congress yesterday.

"Apart from a few wandering Communists, the tiny dissident minority seems to approach the problem in a sensational spirit which does credit to its heart but not to its head.

"Disunion distresses them. They regard Communists as men on the side of justice whom it is unkind to exclude from the 'family.'

"No association of men and women can be effective and genuine unless it shares principles in common.

"Now that a decade's vicious onslaught on the Labor Movement has got the Communists nowhere, they begin to think they may get somewhere if they can clamber on to Labor's back.

"And they ought, they say, to be accepted because they, too, oppose war and fascism.

"If opposition to war and fascism provided a ground for association, then the Labor Movement ought to be throwing its doors open not only to Mr. Pollitt and his Communists, but also to millions of Conservatives and Liberals.

"Parties cannot rest on such negative oppositions, however important, if they seriously aim at moulding the future.

"For that, a common agreement upon objective and method is essential. If there are real differences of principle, then not all the sentiment in the world can submerge them.

"Because that common agreement between Labor and Communism (Continued on Page Three)

## McLEVY AND HOOPES AT OPENING RALLY AT TOWN HALL, SEPT. 29

MAYOR JASPER McLEVY of Bridgeport and Representative Darlington Hoopes of Reading, Pa., will head the list of speakers at the great opening rally of the Socialist Party at Town Hall, 43rd street and 6th avenue, New York City.

Sunday afternoon, September 29. Other speakers will be Norman Thomas, Charles Solomon, Harry W. Laidler and Algernon Lee.

The rally, which will open the local Socialist Party campaign, is expected to attract an audience that will pack the historic building to the doors, and to fill the surrounding streets. In past years speakers have addressed vast overflow crowds from the marquee over the entrance to the building, and it is expected the crowd will warrant the same thing this year.

Doors open at 1 and the speaking will begin promptly at 2.30.

MAKE NO CONFLICTING ARRANGEMENTS!



## Connecticut Socialists Reject Relief Sales Tax

By Abraham Knepler  
Special to The New Leader

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—With its position on the sales tax and the Labor Party referendum the main issues that faced the delegates, the Connecticut Socialist Party completed a two-day convention late Sunday evening, September 15. Debate on an anti-sales tax resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 75 to 49, lasted about six hours.

The opponents to the resolution finally adopted, entitled a "Resolution for Taxation on Relief," were led by Mayor Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport, with Devere Allen as chief proponent of the resolution, which termed the sales tax a "tax that can supply relief only by making the poor pay to aid the poor."

When the resolution was presented on the floor of the convention, Allen moved for its adoption, agreeing in the beginning that the motives of everyone were sound and loyal towards the Socialist movement. He cited Socialist leaders, organizations and publications in the country that were opposed to the sales tax, and stated that 101 economic experts in the nation claimed the sales tax was only a tax against the poor and could not provide proper relief.

"We know that our Socialist representatives' attitude towards the sales tax is not the same as the capitalist attitude, that their view towards it is such only in view of their desperate desire to do something for the unemployed," said Allen in referring to the stand of McLevy and his supporters on the resolution. Allen added that he believed the Socialist senators had been maneuvered unwittingly into the position they had taken on the sales tax at the last legislative session. He declared that the delegates must abide by the platform pledges of the party, however, or else "we will become not the political party of the masses but just one more political machine."

**McLevy's Position**  
McLevy claimed that the entire attitude of the Socialist delegation at Hartford had been misrepresented. "No group fought more against the sales tax at the hearing at Hartford, but those Social-

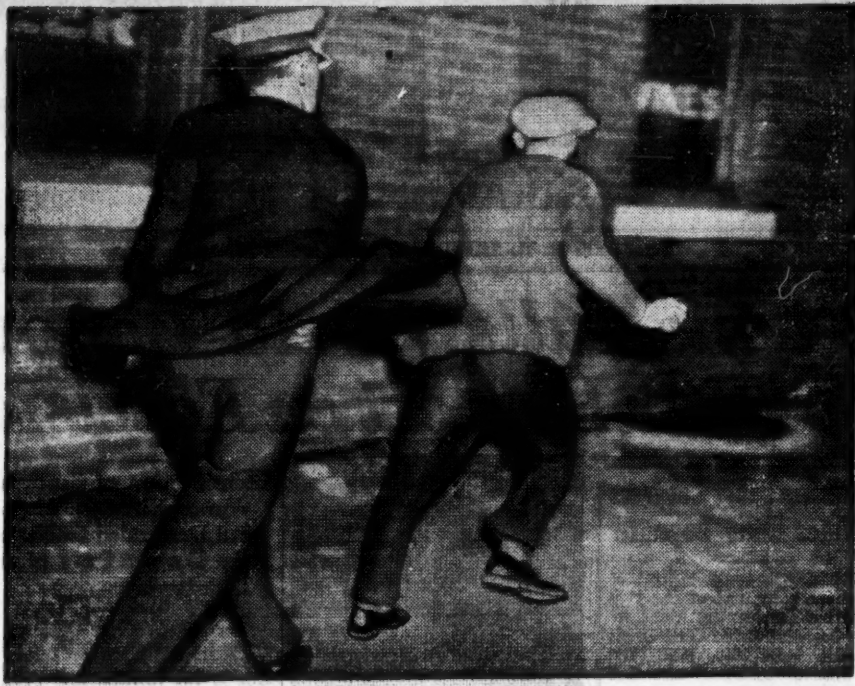
ists most vociferous against it except Comrade Allen, were conspicuous by their absence at the hearings," McLevy said, adding that the Socialist senators and representatives worked to get the best kind of program, and worked for the interest and dividend taxes to force the opposition to yield. McLevy cited 26 towns in the state which this past summer had no relief at all to administer, and 86 towns which paid less than 3% of their budget for relief. He explained that as the legislature is composed of a small proportion of the small towns can stop relief from going to the larger cities. He said that the special session which the Socialists have demanded of Governor Cross for the passage of relief legislation might not be called if the convention took such a stand, claiming the resolution was "putting us in a straitjacket."

"You forget that for months we fought for the income tax," McLevy said. "I don't want to climb into political office over the backs of starving constituents. I don't want it said that I neglected one person who needed relief. I don't want further to 'beggarize' the people of Connecticut."

Philip Brainerd of Waterbury, vice-chairman of the convention, argued that "the capitalist class in Connecticut will not dare allow the poor to starve. No government existed that allowed the people to starve for any length of time."

After considerable debate an amendment was offered to refer the matter to the state executive committee with instructions to present the best legislative bill it could on the relief question. A motion to table was carried by a vote of 65 to 47. Then a motion was made to refer the original motion back to the committee. After the defeat of this motion by two votes, a recess was declared by Chairman Martin F. Plunkett after Allen had explained that he thought a compromise might be affected. When the final resolution was presented, McLevy contended that he saw no essential difference between the original and the final resolutions, and urged its defeat. On a rollcall vote the resolution was carried by a vote of 75 to 49.

## A SCENE OF VIOLENCE IN MINNEAPOLIS



A rumor that appeared in the press after the convention concerning an anticipated split in the party in Connecticut because of the sales tax resolution is without any foundation, and Socialists are reminded not to take such rumors too seriously.

The Socialist attitude towards a Labor party also caused considerable debate. The resolution adopted states that "we view with gratification and hope the trend in the great Labor movement towards Independent Political Action and trust that prudent and courageous leadership will continue to serve the Labor movement in all its endeavors. We invite the trade union members to make the Socialist Party their party and that in our future relations to the Labor party movement we will seek the advice and guidance of our trade union members, and suggest that a statewide conference of Socialist union members be called to discuss this question." All the members of the Labor committee which drafted the resolution are members of organized Labor.

Fraternal delegates to the con-

vention from a number of A. F. of L. unions sat with the Labor committee and offered suggestions before the resolution was drawn, and agreed unanimously with the committee on the report before it was presented.

An amendment to the resolution which would "instruct Socialist members of trade unions to work for the success of the referendum" which is to be taken by A. F. of L. locals in Connecticut was tabled by an overwhelming vote. State Chairman Plunkett, who was a delegate from the Jewelry Workers' Union to the recent State Federation of Labor convention in Danbury, warned that if a Labor Party is to be organized "it must be organized without interference from outside sources. We should not take a position of baring from within. The steps to be taken by Labor should be determined by Labor men themselves. Let this convention not go on record as urging its members to bore from within the Labor movement."

### Other Resolutions

Plunkett declared that from his observation at the Danbury convention the greatest objection he found to the present Labor Party movement was the desire of some of the sponsors to use the party to mold the internal policies of the Labor movement. "They sought to control or gain a measure of control of the officials of the A. F. of L., although many who worked for the Labor party did so with the best of motives."

Other important resolutions adopted included the endorsement of the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment, encouragement of the formation of consumers' cooperatives and of Socialist participation

in the cooperatives, the provision for a secret ballot in voting in state party referenda.

Arnold E. Freese, State Secretary, stated in his annual report that the party had made considerable progress in the past year, and had placed tickets in the field this year in 11 communities where there had never been Socialist tickets before. A total of 30 tickets will contest elections in Connecticut. "In some communities," the report said, "the election of at least a portion of our tickets is likely." In commenting on his report, Freese declared that the Connecticut party is "still head and shoulders above any state Socialist organization in the country."

In spite of the heated debate on the sales tax, a spirit of optimism prevailed throughout the convention and carried over as the delegates prepared to leave for homes.

The same spirit was manifest at the convention banquet Saturday night, with over 500 guests present. Speakers were Mayor McLevy, Devere Allen, Mrs. Celia D. Rostow, town chairman of New Haven, Karl Ahlin, George H. Goebel of New Jersey, Harold B. Hunting, candidate for mayor of New Haven, and Charles O'Connell, toastmaster.

During the convention the delegates were addressed by Lena Morrow Lewis, E. J. Lever, president of the Cooperative Distribu-

## Killings in Minneapolis Stir the Labor Movement

By Saunders D. Genis

MINNEAPOLIS.—This city has a group of employers who are still living in the past. They do not recognize that workers are entitled to any rights or consideration. So Minneapolis has become a battleground between the labor unions and the well-known anti-social Citizens' Alliance Group dominating and directing the exploiters in the fight against labor.

About the first week in August a strike was declared against five or six iron workshops; several have since settled with the union but one firm, the Flour City Ornamental Iron Works, doing work for the government on contract, decided that it is entitled to all the benefits derived from government contracts while labor is not even entitled to collective bargaining. The result was the fight against that firm. Picketing became the pass-word among the union and sympathizers, and the firm, in violation of a city ordinance, arranged for sleeping quarters in the plant to accommodate 25 scabs. Before the strike they employed about 100 people, but they hoped if they started with 25 scabs and obtained sufficient police protection they would probably break the strike and induce more of its workers to return to work without union recognition.

After they succeeded in operating the plant with these 25 and fearing the picket line, they applied for an injunction restraining the city from attempting to enforce the city ordinance which prohibited housing workers in a manufacturing plant. Following the injunction obtained by the firm, workers on strike, members of other unions, and sympathizers started picketing the plant evenings. The picket line grew until it reached hundreds, then thousands. One night approximately 5000 people were on the picket line. About 10:30 p. m. about two or three hundred police on duty started shooting with shotguns and revolvers and tossed tear gas bombs. The result was two dead, thirty injured.

**Mayor Criticized**  
Unfortunately, it was the lack of foresight on the part of the Farmer-Labor Mayor, who could have prevented all this by taking the position that as this firm re-

fused to submit its dispute to arbitration, he could have closed the plant until the firm either agreed to deal with their employees collectively, as provided under the Wagner Labor Dispute Act, or their plant would be closed. That would have avoided rioting and bloodshed and it would have been a credit to the Farmer-Labor Party.

The Union Advocate of St. Paul, official organ of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, runs a leading editorial against Mayor Latimer under the heading, "Repudiate Latimer!" It charges him with having acted "according to the approved fashion of the Citizens' Alliance."

## MILK DRIVERS HONOR LEONARD BRIGHT FOR YEAR'S SERVICES

In appreciation of services rendered by Leonard Bright as Adviser and Business Manager for about a year, the Milk Wagon Drivers' and Dairy Employees' Union, Local 338, of Westchester County, N. Y., has presented him with a testimonial engrossed on parchment as a permanent tribute.

Socialists of Westchester County are pleased with the recognition accorded to the party's Executive Secretary by this union composed overwhelmingly of conservative trade unionists and regard it as one more indication that able, loyal and devoted work performed by a Socialist is accepted gratefully by non-Socialist trade unionists.

Last year, when the Milk Drivers' Union was struggling to maintain itself, the Executive Board persuaded Bright to take a position with them as Business Manager. Bright has recently become organizer of the Bookkeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union No. 12646, of which he was president for 8 years.

Rebel Arts is opening the new fall season with a house-warming, and get-together Sunday, Sept. 22, at 3 p. m. There will be entertainment and refreshments. Admission 15 cents. Announcement of classes and schedule will be ready. Also announcement is made of the annual fall dance, to be held on October 11, at which the Rebel Arts groups will perform.

**SPECIAL TO NEW LEADER READERS**  
\$1000 MUTUAL AID PROTECTION  
Covers your entire family—husband, wife, children, parents, all for \$1.00 a month, ages 1 to 75. A cumulative plan, making possible the maximum benefit for each member of family regardless of age. Join the movement and save the profits for yourself. Also agents wanted. Workers and Farmers Co-op Assn., Graham Bldg., Jacksonville, Fla.

## Citrine Calls for War on Fascism

(Continued from Page One)

and good, in maintaining the ideals of democracy and freedom. In the second place, it has seen its champions in fascist states singled out for specially virulent forms of persecution. In Italy, in Germany, and in Austria, the robber bands of the fascist dictators have directed the full force of their attack on the workers' organizations. Hundreds of trade union leaders have been murdered offhand. Thousands more, in prisons and concentration camps, have expiated, in their endurance of unmentionable tortures, the crime of having devoted their lives to the service of their fellow workers.

And with what calamitous results to the masses of the people now languishing under the lash of the fascist bosses.

Let us glance at an abstract of the facts and figures which have a bearing on the subject.

Let us consider the state of affairs in Germany, since the Hitler regime perhaps deserves some slight precedence in the hierarchy of fascist persecutors. Here, under the sly and savage dictatorship of a clique among whom Göring, the drug addict, and Goebbels, the moral perverser, are shining lights, the masses of the German people have felt the full force of an oppression designed to reduce them to complete economic slavery.

### Murder a Pastime

Successive waves of terrorism have swept more than 100,000 people into the concentration camps, where the shooting of prisoners is one of the cherished pastimes of the guards. Hundreds of thousands of dependents, women and little children, have had to mourn (in secret, for fear of reprisals) the plight of husbands, fathers, brothers and sons, whose ultimate fate has only been revealed by the discovery of their mutilated corpses in the mortuaries.

Is it surprising that such methods of "government" should lead to economic ruin? The finances of the German state today are in a desperate condition. Budget deficits have to be reckoned, not in millions, but in billions of marks. There is a progressive breakdown of internal and external trade. Some 5,000,000 workers are unemployed, while the wages of those still in employment have been cut to starvation level.

It is a fact that the wages of the fully employed workmen in Germany today are little higher than the scanty benefit paid in Great Britain to the unemployed worker. And yet the cost of living is rising.

Figures given in the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* (the official paper of the German Labor Front, which is, of course, now under Nazi domination) show that one-third of the German workers earn less than \$2 a week; another third less than \$6 a week; only one per cent earn more than \$10 a week.

It is not surprising that, despite the savage repressive measures of the Government, there should be uprisings among the workers. In a number of industries there have been strikes against the ruthless cutting of wages in the interests of the Nazi exploiters. Not a single German newspaper dared to say a word about these strikes, but knowledge of them is spreading among the workers of Germany, whose spirit of resistance is mounting daily.

An effective weapon against Hitlerism is the boycott of German goods and services, in which our trade union and labor movement, and the International Federation of Trade Unions, of which I am president, have taken a leading part. Some months ago a "World Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi Council to Champion Human Rights" was formed in order to concentrate international action against fascism. This body, of which I have the honor to be chairman, has already done effective work in operating and intensifying the boycott.

### Fascist Debts

It is interesting to note, in this connection, that Germany's adverse trade balance is giving serious concern to the Nazi dictators, under whose rule the indebtedness of the country has increased by at least \$5,000,000,000.

Affairs are in no better state in fascist Italy, where state credit has been shaken to its foundations. Thousands of workers are receiving only \$3 or \$3.25 a week. Complaint is stifled by a vigorous terroristic regime, under which the mere expression of opinion may earn a prison sentence of 21 years.

Mussolini is realist enough to know the strength of the resentment accumulating against his regime. His campaign of aggression against Abyssinia is a last desperate gamble to avert consequences which are now looming only too clearly for the peace of mind of Italian fascists.

And what of Austria, the latest imitation of the Italian model? It is perhaps enough to say that here again fascism is running true to form. Starvation wages, overflowing prisons, incessant persecutions

by the gangsters of the fascist government are the order of the day.

A ray of light is the striking development of the "illegal" trade unions which, in spite of every effort of intimidation and repression, are now credited, by the fascists themselves, with a membership of 300,000—nearly half the membership of the trade union movement before it was forcibly dissolved more than a year ago.

There can be no doubt of the danger of fascism as an inveterate enemy of the free progress and development of mankind. Fascism is a "back to the jungle" movement; it is the negation of everything which has taught civilized man to lead a decent, ordered and courageous life in the interests of the community of which he is a part.

### Aid Fighters for Freedom

Prevention is better than cure. It is our task to check the destructive inroads which this savage cult has already made into modern civilization, and to aid the millions of hapless people now languishing under fascist rule to recover their liberty.

To this means a coordination and intensification of the efforts now being made through the various organizations which have taken up the struggle against fascism. The Chest for Liberation of Workers of Europe, American labor's valuable contribution to the cause of labor solidarity and organized labor everywhere, is in the forefront of this great humanitarian struggle.

In the first place we have to do everything possible to relieve the sufferings of the victims of the fascist dictators. Secondly we have to use every endeavor to render support to the thousands of brave men and women who, in fascist countries, are taking their lives in their hands in order to speed up the day of deliverance. And throughout it should be our object to render double service to our own democratic institutions, the bulwarks of defense against the new barbarism.

I know that the struggle will not be in vain. Fascism, as all reliable observers agree, carries within itself the germs of its own decay. But the human suffering for which it is responsible cannot be too speedily relieved. I hope that everybody who reads this article will resolve to do their utmost—and to do it now—to save their fellow men and women from the misery which, through no fault of their own, is inflicted on them by the agents of the cruelest anti-social cult of the century.

[The Chest for Liberation of Workers in Europe maintains an office at 3 West 16th St., N. Y. C., where contributions should be addressed.—Editor.]

## Million A.F. of L. Members Now For Labor Party

(Continued from Page One)

With the number of organized workers favoring a Labor Party assuming impressive proportions it is expected that the issue will occupy a prominent place at the convention of the A. F. of L. and that any vote taken on the question will reveal a growing and powerful sentiment for a Labor Party.

### Issue at Convention

The executive council of the United Textile Workers was in session for three days. The council members, coming from all parts of the country and every division of the industry, reported an increasing breakdown of code standards throughout the textile industry. The council reaffirmed its former action in authorizing all local unions to strike immediately if an attempt is made to increase hours, reduce wages or lower the standard of working conditions.

President Thomas F. McMahon announced that the organization is demanding increases in wages in view of the increased cost of living. He said that a number of strikes in various parts of the country are the result of the employers attempting to "chisel" on the workers and he expected further strikes from now on.

Vice-Presidents William F. Kelly, John A. Peel, Horace A. Riviere and Joseph R. White, representing the Pennsylvania and Southern District, New York and New England, were authorized to initiate a campaign in support of the Textile Bill presented to Congress in the last session.

Francis J. Gorman, representative of the organization in Washington, reported the progress of the bill and the confidence being displayed in its passage.

Delegations from the dyers' department appeared and arrangements for organization campaigns in those industries were made.

President McMahon was authorized by the council to call to conference leaders of the various unions throughout the country in preparation for the Congressional public hearing on the Textile Bill.

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## 12,000 Garment Workers Ready For Big Walkout

**Underwear Local 62 of the I.L.G.W.U. in Impressive Demonstration Preparatory to Struggle with the Bosses.**

MORE than 10,000 underwear workers, the overwhelming majority of them young girls, struggled Tuesday afternoon to gain admission to Manhattan Opera House to the "mobilization" meeting called by Underwear Workers' Union, Local 62 of the I.L.G.W.U. About 4,000 got inside while the remainder flooded West 34th and adjacent streets for nearly two hours.

Those who spoke at the meeting were Samuel Shore, manager of Local 62; Rose Schneiderman, president of the Women's Trade Union League and leader of the strike of Local 62 in 1913; Frank Cross-waith, Negro labor orator, and David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U.

Shore, who delivered the principal address, informed the undergarment workers of the crisis reached between the union and the three associations in the industry in the current negotiations for a renewal of the collective agreements. "We have broken off our negotiations with two of the manufacturers' associations," Shore declared, "and there is barely hope that a clash involving 15,000 work-

ers can be averted. Our demands are certainly not extravagant. We ask for a 35-hour work-week, the same as exists in the other major industries in women's apparel, instead of the 37½ hours we are working now. We are asking for an increase in wages amounting to 15%, which may amount to about 20¢ per dozen of garments. We also want a guaranteed control of work conditions in the contract shops and we expect to gain these points despite the resistance of the employers. The argument advanced by the employers' associations, who are seeking a 40-hour week, that out-of-town competition is making it hard for them to exist in the New York market, is untenable in view of the well-known fact that New York produces 75% of all undergarments and controls production and prices in the industry."

The agreement expires Sept. 26. Dubinsky declared he was confident that the big meeting of the undergarment workers is indicative both of the union's strength and of its readiness to get out and fight for its program. He warmly supported the demands of the white goods workers and pledged to them the support of the International "to the fullest financial and moral extent."

### Crude Opportunism

THE crude opportunism and racial chauvinism of the Communists in seeking support anywhere wherever people are gullible enough to follow them was emphasized in New Rochelle, N. Y., where the party that claims it is the only "revolutionary" organization in America endorsed a Democratic candidate for Assembly solely because he is a Negro.

## 1,000 Workers in Linoleum Plants Strike Against Brutal Conditions

A THOUSAND WORKERS on strike since June 25 against the Kay Manufacturing Co. on Warren St., Brooklyn, and the Spring Products Co., 138th St., Bronx, have organized after years of fearful exploitation and abuse by the bosses of these firms. The U. S. Department of Labor and the New York State Department of Labor have tried to reach a settlement but without success. The strikers have been organized by the Upholsterers, Carpet and Linoleum Mechanics, James H. Hatch, president.

The workers had been working 40 hours per week to the period when the U. S. Supreme Court nullified the NIRA. The bosses then increased the hours of labor 12½ per week and reduced wages from \$2 to \$3 per week. The average wage even under the NRA had been only \$14 a week.

For ten years attempts have been made to organize but the men active in such work have been spied upon and discharged. Seventeen of these active workers were fired for attempting to organize and the strike followed.

Since the strike started on June 25, the strikers have met with strong-arm men who have torn picket signs from pickets and detectives have arrested strikers at a long distance from the plants. The strikers assert that thugs have harassed them even in the subways and that complaints to the police have brought them no redress. Samuel S. Marcus of the Bronx plant is the most adamant against the new union.

An effort by a committee of the

strikers and a committee of the union headed by President Hatch to obtain recognition of the union, the reinstatement of the 17 men who were fired, to abolish the increased hours and cut in wages was rebuffed. The strikers are asking the support of all trade unions and financial aid to win the strike.

### SOCIALISTS WIN IN HOLLAND

SOCIALISTS registered a series of important victories in the municipal elections in Holland September 3. The contests were for the election of high administrative officials.

In Rotterdam the Socialists elected all four candidates. In the Hague, where there was a coalition of Socialists and liberals, the Socialists elected two men and their allies a similar number, thus controlling the administrative machinery of the city.

In Amsterdam the Socialists elected three of the five posts contested for.

The victory of the Socialists is especially gratifying because of the spread of fascist propaganda in Holland, where the Nazis, with assistance from Berlin, have been spending huge sums of money in an effort to establish themselves as a serious political force. The elections are hailed, therefore, as an additional manifestation of the ability of the Socialists not only to hold their ground but to extend their power.

## Hillquit Amendment Is Backed by Seven State Labor Bodies

CHICAGO.—Seven State federations of labor have now endorsed the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment to the Federal Constitution, according to reports received by the Labor Committee sponsoring the amendment.

Ohio, Connecticut and Idaho have now added their approval to the previous resolutions of support from Minnesota, Montana, Rhode Island and Wisconsin.

This amendment, drafted by the late Morris Hillquit and introduced in the last session of Congress by Representative Vito Marcantonio of New York, gives Congress power to pass labor and social legislation without danger of veto by the Supreme Court.

Four more central labor unions have joined the fight for this amendment. They are the city or county federations in Toledo, O.; Racine, Wisc.; Decatur, Ill., and Kern county, Cal. This brings the total number of such endorsements to more than thirty.

Other recent resolutions of approval have been received from the Pennsylvania District Council of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers; Local 473 of the Ornamental Iron Workers, Chicago; Carpenters' local 79, Machinists' local 420, Jewelry Workers' Union 46, F.E.R.A. Workers' Union, Workmen's Circle branches 232, 17 and 493 and the Jewish National Workers' Alliance—all of New Haven, Conn.; Boiler Makers' local 302, Milwaukee, Wisc.; Sign Writers' 1045, Denver; the Federal Guild, Hagerstown, Md.

More than two pages of the September issue of "The Railroad Trainman" are given over to a discussion of the Hillquit amendment written by President A. F. Whitney.

The National Council of Methodist Youth, meeting in Chicago last week, offered the support of its constituent organizations and of its magazine, "The Epworth Herald," in circulating petitions for the amendment.

### Milwaukee Launches Drive For City Meat Plant

Special to The New Leader

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Socialists here have inaugurated an aggressive campaign for socialization of the meat industry.

Last Sunday more than 100,000 copies of the Wisconsin Leader, official state party organ, were distributed in the city carrying an official party statement on the meat situation. Included in the special issue were articles attacking the meat combine and exposing their profits, analyzing the folly of the restriction program of the AAA, and explaining the proposal introduced in the Common Council by the veteran Socialist Alderman Carl P. Dietz to establish a municipal marketing department as part of the fight against the packers. The paper also carried a call for a mass meeting to protest high meat prices.

## Unions in Newark, N.J., Launch Their Own Labor Party

(Continued from Page One)

paid for the coming election.

The Labor Party ticket is composed entirely of trade union and Socialist Party members. There are no Communists on the ticket.

The candidates are: State Senator, Harry Wendrich, Allied Printing Trades Council; Sheriff, Herman J. Dumper, Metal Polishers; County Registrar, Emanuel Pfeiffer, Labor Attorney; County Clerk, Hilding Nelson, Machinists.

Freeholders, Henry Hebel, Engineers; James B. Geddes, Carpenters; Dr. Mary P. Crilly, George Powers, Jewelry Workers (short term); Assembly, J. Lee Eila, B. S. & A. U.; 2. Michael Celler, Musicians; 3. Fred C. Reiner, Socialist Party; 4. John J. Crowley, Socialist Party; 5. John A. Fuller, Typographers; 6. Peter Yablonsky, Carpenters; 7. Bones Nitis, Waiters and Cooks; 8. Edward E. Miller, Carpenters and S. P.; 9. Philip Goodman, I.L.G.W.U. and S.P.; 10. Albert S. Walton, Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians.

### The Platform

The Essex Labor Party's platform is a good working class program for immediate demands.

1. The six-hour day and the five-day week without any wage reductions.
2. Public ownership and democratic control of all public utilities, to be administered by a board consisting of wage workers, consumers and technicians qualified and experienced in the particular industry.
3. Union wages to be recognized as the prevailing wage and paid to all workers on public works.
4. Restoration of all salary reductions to public employees.
5. The establishment of a state insurance fund for the injured workers under the Workmen's Compensation Act.
6. Every worker to be protected in his right to join a union of his own choosing with no interference by his employer; outlawing of the company union, the yellow dog contract and the use of injunction in industrial disputes; no employment of police or national guard to break labor strikes.
7. Unemployment insurance as provided in the Lundeen Bill.
8. Higher income tax in the higher

tributed in the city carrying an official party statement on the meat situation. Included in the special issue were articles attacking the meat combine and exposing their profits, analyzing the folly of the restriction program of the AAA, and explaining the proposal introduced in the Common Council by the veteran Socialist Alderman Carl P. Dietz to establish a municipal marketing department as part of the fight against the packers. The paper also carried a call for a mass meeting to protest high meat prices.

brackets, placing the burden of taxation upon those better able to pay.

10. Popular election of all judges.

11. Old-age pensions for all men and women over the age of sixty.

It is expected that the 12th plank will call for support of the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment.

The organization is at present on a basis of individual membership.

The endorsement of the Socialist Party was openly sought by the Federation, the Essex Labor Party is determined to carry on a campaign Essex Labor Party. George H. Goebel, nationally known New Jersey Socialist, was invited by the promoters of the Labor Party to sit in with them from the outset and has a place on the Advisory Board.

### Labor Party Organization

This party is an alliance for strong immediate demands only, without at this time deciding for or against capitalism, Socialism, reformism, etc. Persons joining the Labor Party do not drop membership from other parties, the only qualification being that they subscribe to the principles as expressed in the platform.

The candidates, however, will not be permitted to hold membership in other parties, but it was intimated that in case the Socialist Party supports the Labor Party this rule would not be enforced for the Socialists on the ticket.

The Executive Committee consists of fifteen, ten of whom must be A.F.O.F.L. union members in good standing.

Local Essex County has spent two full local meetings in debate as to how best this matter should be handled. At the special membership meeting Sept. 10 a resolution was overwhelmingly adopted which declared that the Party shall file its complete ticket of candidates for the coming election, with the understanding that it will withdraw this ticket, with the exception of two assembly candidates, the withdrawal to depend on the actions of the State Federation convention on the development and progress of the Essex Labor Party, and on the approval of higher Socialist Party authorities. In case these contingencies are so met as to satisfy the party members the party actively to support the Labor Party in the coming election. A special meeting of the Local on Sept. 24 will finally decide this question.

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## British Labor Rejects Union With Communists

(Continued from Page One)

ism is absent, association is honestly impossible.

"That is the beginning and end of the matter."

"The Communist Party, in its current program, continues to declare its faith in a 'workers' revolution' and 'civil war'."

"That not only makes agreement impossible. It means that Communism is a positive enemy of democracy and of all democratic parties."

### Citrine Opposes Front

The rejection of the Profintern's united front proposal at Margate, which came in the form of a telegram addressed to the congress from Moscow, followed a debate in which spokesmen for what the Daily Herald terms the "tiny minority" sought to defend the proposal on the ground that unity would promote resistance to fascism and war. Summarizing the debate, Citrine emphatically challenged this contention, saying that the opposite was true: that unity with Communists has been demonstrated to promote fascism and its militarist program. He cited the Saar as an example. A summary of Citrine's remarks is given by the Daily Herald:

"Replying to the debate, Sir Walter Citrine said, no proof had been offered that the proposed unity would prevent war."

"The only proven instances of collaboration tended, in fact, to advance fascism."

"The most obvious illustration was the Saar."

"They had unity in this country in the Trades Union Congress. There was no other trade union body there with which they could amalgamate."

"Was the assumption that by allying themselves with groups and sections associated with the Communist party they would prevent the advance of fascism in this country?"

"His opinion was in the other direction."

"As to international unity, the only country where the Red International had any recorded membership outside Russia was France."

"The Red International was nothing more nor less than a puppet of the Communist party of Russia, as indeed the trade unions of Russia were also."

"In any discussion with the Red International they would be speaking to an ostensible body of trade unions, who, in turn, were taking their instruction from the Communist party of Russia."

"Proceeding, Sir Walter Citrine said they in that Congress stood for the principle of democracy in

their trade unions.

"It was rather amusing to see the acrobatics of some of those who a few years ago were denouncing democracy."

Mr. Harry Pollitt [British Communist leader, Ed.] in his recent visit to Moscow, probably under vigorous training, performed some remarkable verbal acrobatics. He announced he was ready to collaborate with any organization ready to resist fascism and war, and even the much-derided Labor Party was now once again to receive the doubtful support of the Communist party.

"The whole purpose of the united front proposal was to get the Trade Union Movement, to use it as a vehicle for the propaganda of Communist principles."

"When a man has deceived you day in and day out, adopting the policy to get inside the unions to vilify them, and has decried the possibility for emancipation through the Trade Union Movement, and suddenly comes and wants to put his arms around your neck, you have some reason to be suspicious."

While the Daily Herald reports that rejection of the united front proposal was by an "overwhelming majority of voices," the Manchester Guardian emphasizes the significance of the action by adding that the proponents of the united front were so overwhelmed that they did not even venture to demand a roll call.

### Communists Excluded

By 1,944,000 votes to 539,000 on a card vote the Margate congress rejected a motion disapproving the issue by the General Council (analogous to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.) of circulars proscribing members of Communist, fascist and other disruptive bodies. These circulars asked trades councils (analogous to Central Trades and Labor Councils in this country) not to accept members of such bodies as delegates and asked trade unionists to bar such members from holding office.

Supporters of the resolution contended that the circulars were an interference with the democratic rights of the unions and that the individual unions themselves were equipped to deal with the question.

Charles Dukes, members of the General Council, maintained that "the Council was defending democracy against those who would break it down merely to substitute their own nostrums."

The debate on the question was opened by Citrine, who reviewed the history of Communist disruptive activities in the trade unions and the defense measures taken by the labor movement against them.

He recalled that the Swansea congress of 1928 had instructed the General Council to institute an inquiry into disruptive elements in the trade union movement and that a report was submitted at Belfast. A supplementary report was submitted last year at Weymouth, and this year the congress had before it a final report presenting a picture of continued destructive, "rule or ruin" activities by the Communists. The labor movement, Citrine declared, was duty bound to protect its organizations against these activities.

### General Council's Action

Supporting Citrine's George Hicks, M. P. followed with an explanation of the circumstances which led the General Council to issue the circular to Trades Councils. This circular, he said, had been approved by 283 trade councils; 13 were against; 80 made no reply, and seven reserved their decision.

He claimed that, in its action, the General Council was seeking to preserve the right of union members to control their own affairs without interference from outside forces taking their orders from Moscow.

"Organized factions on every issue are seeking to tear our movement asunder," George Hicks said. "Neither Stalin, Hitler, nor Mussolini would be satisfied with a circular if any attempt was made to impose on their unions an alien policy. I do not think that they would trouble to issue a circular on the matter."

"Rightly or wrongly," in the General Council's considered opinion, the policy of the Communist party in this country is a mistaken one. If the trade union movement wants to change its present policy, then it must be changed by discussion and understanding and agreement inside the constitution of their organization. This cannot be imposed from the outside. Democracy necessitates that the majority should rule. At the same time we retain the right of minorities to the maximum expression. Dictatorship is bound to go."

The issue, Hicks emphasized, was not the right of Communists to be members of trade unions. No one challenges that right, he said. What is being challenged and will be fought uncompromisingly is the right of a minority group, speaking for an outside party, to impose its will upon the majority by methods and tactics inimical to the organization of the trade union movement and its accepted constitution and procedure.

This is precisely the attitude taken by the American Federation of Labor.



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OCTOBER 18 . . . . . Boutique Fantaisie, Scheherazade, Aurora's Wedding.  
OCTOBER 19 . . . . . A Hundred Kisses, Les Presages, Aurora's Wedding.  
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George Burns and Gracie Allen, well-known of stage, screen and radio in "Here Comes Cookie," share honors with Norman Foster and Charlotte Henry in "The Hoosier Schoolmaster," now being shown at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre.

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"A SLIGHT CASE OF MURDER"  
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Wholesale slaughter, before the play starts, turns into wholesale laughter after the curtain rises, in this wide comedy of the folks that visit Saratoga that one month of the year which is consecrated to swift horses. Bootleggers, reformed into brewers, society men turned state's police, beauty and several varieties of beast (from orphanage boy to a guy that consoles a sick man by singing to him, long distance, from Saratoga to Los Angeles), not to mention the unseen carcasses sprinkled on neighbors' porches and gathered again, spice the journey of the big fellow who needs only a paltry \$460,000 to keep his head above the approaching tidal wave.

It's a poor robbery that makes no thief rich, and Marco gains a son-in-law in the same stroke that retrieves his fortune. Situation and dialogue are rich in recurring laughter, and one who had spent summers at Saratoga will vouch for the accuracy of the setting, and the reckless mood. Altogether, as a season's opener, "A Slight Case of Murder" should do away with a big case of the blues. J.T.S.

The Theatre Guild Plans Its Most Ambitious Season—"If This Be Treason" Opens Monday at the Music Box—Lunt and Fontanne in "The Taming of the Shrew," and "Porgy and Bess" Definitely Set

The Theatre Guild is leaving no stone unturned to make this season one of its greatest since its inception in 1919. As a matter of fact, a mere pebble wouldn't stand a chance of remaining unmolested anywhere near a Guild director these days. Activities have reached such a pitch in West Fifty-second Street, the high soprano in "Porgy and Bess" have all they can do to keep up with production advancements.

Although the new season is hardly under way, the Guild has announced its first four productions. Realizing the importance of having a first-rate director for each of its plays, the Guild spent many weeks rounding up suitable men for these assignments. It was a long and arduous task, but proved very successful. When the smoke had cleared away the Guild had obtained the services of three of the theatre's greatest directors. For "If This Be Treason" and "The Taming of the Shrew" the Guild

obtained Harry Wagstaff Bribble. For "Porgy and Bess" came Rouben Mamoulian from the Coast and for "Love Is Not so Simple" the Guild selected one of its own members, Philip Moeller.

The initial production of the Guild's eighteenth subscription season in New York will be "If This Be Treason" by Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes and Reginald Lawrence. "If This Be Treason" deals with a peace theme and was tried out this summer at Lawrence Langner's Country Playhouse, Westport, Conn., with great success. The play will arrive Monday at the Music Box Theatre. McKay Morris will play the role of the President of the United States. Supporting him will be a cast of sixty including Armina Marshall, Hunter Gardner, Leo Curley and Charles Bryant.

"The Taming of the Shrew" is to be the second play of the Guild's season. It will be notable in more ways than one. First it will have the Lunts in the leading roles. Their first venture with Shakespeare. And also the Guild's initial Shakespearean production. It will also have a scheme of production especially devised by the Lunts who wish it to be made known that they have not deviated in any way from the original text. Mr. Lunt, of course, will play Petruchio and Miss Fontanne, Katherine.

Probably the most difficult task thus far has been the organizing of the cast, director, technicians and scenic designer for "Porgy and Bess," the folk opera with score by George Gershwin, libretto by DuBose Heyward and lyrics by Ira Gershwin and Mr. Heyward. George Gershwin has been working on this play for two years. He spent most of this time living in the south and studying the native spirituals. Early this spring he walked into the Guild offices and deposited the completed score.

For its fourth production the Guild will present "Love It Not so Simple," a play from the Hungarian of Ladislav Fodor, translated by Julian Leigh. Ina Claire who scored a tremendous success two years ago in another Guild comedy "Biography" will have the leading role in "Love It Not so Simple" while Philip Moeller will direct it.

For its remaining two plays the Guild has a large list to select from: "Daughters of Atrius" by Robert Turney; "The Trojan Women" and "Agamemnon" translated by Edith Hamilton, author of "The

Greek Way"; "The King of the Mountains" by Martin Flud; "The Postman Always Rings Twice," an adaptation from the novel of the same name by James Cain; "Letters in Lights" by Denis Johnston and "Something to Live for" by George O'Neill. The Guild also holds options on new plays by Eugene O'Neill, John Wexley and Maxwell Anderson. J. H.

A Scene of Beauty From Impresario Hurok's Monte Carlo Ballet Russe



When the Ballet Russe opens at the Metropolitan Opera House on Wednesday evening, October 9th, a number of new ballets made famous by the late Diaghilev will be revived. Above is a scene from one of the ballets.

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# America's Road to Peace *by Harry W. Laidler*

The Roosevelt Big Army and Navy Program, and the Administration's Foreign Policy Are Roads to War; A Program for Peace; Only a Socialist America Can Insure Lasting Peace

TODAY the nations of the world are passing through the most serious international crisis since the World War. Should the Committee of the League of Nations fail to prevent war between Italy and Ethiopia, a world conflagration is almost sure to follow. With a half dozen of the European countries who control most of Africa fearful that any change in the status quo might jeopardize their interests; with the great mass of the colored population in Africa and Asia viewing the conflict as one between white exploiters and the colored race; with Nazi Germany ever watchful of its chance to extend its rule over southeastern Europe, and with Japan taking advantage of every move to push forward its imperialistic program in the Far East, the explosion in far-off Africa is likely to spread rapidly to every part of the globe.

Under these conditions, the people of the United States must take every possible precaution to remain out of the conflict. They must likewise pursue an international policy which will strike at the roots of war, for, if this war is averted, given the continuance of present economic and political conditions, other international crises are bound to occur within the not distant future.

An analysis of the international relations of the Roosevelt administration indicates policies making for and against international conflict. On the credit side, the Administration undoubtedly took a wise step in urging the Standard Vacuum Oil Company to cancel its contract for the exploitation of the oil resources of Ethiopia. The fight for oil has long been a source of international conflict. If this American company had begun operations in Ethiopia, it would, sooner or later, have come into conflict with Italy, particularly since that country declared that it would regard the contract as invalid. The American company would have thereupon brought pressure to bear on the American government to protect its rights and its employees. Was the company willing to risk a war involving 120,000,000 people for a few extra dollars in the pockets of its stockholders?

## The Neutral Policy

A second step in the right direction was the neutrality bill passed by Congress at the insistence of Senator Nye, Congressman Maverick and other progressives and, it must be said, without the encouragement of the administration. This act directs the President upon the outbreak of war between foreign countries to issue a proclamation making it illegal to sell arms, ammunition or implements of war to belligerents, creates a National Munitions Control Board, provides for the registration of companies engaged in the manufacture of munitions, prohibits during war time the stopping of submarines in American ports, except under specified conditions, and directs the President, whenever he finds it necessary to the maintenance of peace and the protection of lives, to proclaim that "no citizen of the United States shall travel on any vessel of any belligerent nation except at his own risk."

Unfortunately, the bill was a compromise measure. It said nothing about making loans to belligerent countries, and it gave the President discretionary power as to when Americans traveled at their own risk. The Maverick bill on neutrality, which failed of passage, went further, prohibiting loans to belligerents and denying passports to any American visiting warring nations.

On the debit side, the Administration struck a blow at peaceful international relations by its big army and big navy policy. Prior to the World War we were spending about a quarter of a billion dollars annually on our military establishment. Since then we have signed the Kellogg Pact, renouncing war as an instrument of national policy. We are as a nation in no danger of invasion. Nevertheless, we have been piling up ever greater armaments as the years have advanced.

During the last session of Congress our army and navy appropriations increased to the colossal sum of \$830,000,000, over three times the pre-war appropriation, the highest sum in any peace year and far beyond that in any foreign government not actually engaged in war, while expenditures on the army and naval establishments during the fiscal year 1936, including allotments to be made from the work relief fund, will probably approach a billion dollars.

## Military Appropriations

The War Department Appropriation Bill, signed by the President April 9, carried an appropriation of about \$402,000,000, nearly \$23,000,000 in excess of budget esti-

mates and nearly \$86,000,000 more than was appropriated last year. The bill authorized an increase of nearly 40 per cent in the enlisted strength of the army—from 118,750 to 165,000. It increased the appropriation for enlarging the personnel of the national guard, for expanding the citizens' military training camps, etc. A motion by Congressman Marcantonio to strike out the \$3,453,000 for military training courses in college was voted down. During the hearings before the House Military Affairs Committee high officers testified that the appropriation bill would permit the construction of camouflaged air bases near the Canadian border at an estimated expense of \$120,000,000. The President reproved the committee for giving publicity to these statements, but said nothing whatever about the disastrous policy of fortifying the Canadian border after so many years of friendly relations. The Congress also appropriated nearly \$127,000,000 for new warships. The Naval Appropriation Bill signed June 25 carried total appropriations of \$458,000,000, a large increase over last year.

Much of the money spent on military equipment last year, even from the standpoint of the militarists, was wastefully spent. During the session witness after witness testified before the Senate Munitions Committee of the collusion between the "Big Three" shipbuilding companies in the making of bids, collusion that cost the country millions of dollars. Laurence R. Wilder, Chairman of the Board of the Gulf Industries of Pensacola, declared he had been the lowest bidder for destroyers in 1933, but had failed to get the contract because of a previous agreement among the "Big Three." He declared that cruiser prices had gone from \$8,300,000 in 1932 to as high as \$16,500,000 in 1934. He estimated that \$10,000,000 was a fair price for a cruiser.

The big army and navy policy of President Roosevelt's administration is giving an additional impetus to the mad armament race in which the great powers of the earth are now engaged. The Pacific naval maneuvers further stimulated this race, a maneuver which, as Admiral Reeves declared, brought together "the greatest armada under one command in the history of the world."

During the year our government likewise refused to join with Japan in seeking a 50 per cent cut in navies with the total abolition of battleships and aircraft carriers. "Never," declared the National Council for the Prevention of War (March 11, 1935) "did the war profiteers show their power to greater effect than by this program during the Nye investigations, at the very time when their vast profits by fomenting war fears are being exposed."

## Recognition of Russia

While giving encouragement to the forces of militarism, the President muddled the waters in our relations with Russia. President Roosevelt's recognition of Soviet Russia was a good omen in international relations. Such recognition but followed the traditional practice of the American govern-

ment. It was Thomas Jefferson who, as Secretary of State, declared on March 12, 1793, in connection with the recognition of the revolutionary French government: "We cannot deny any nation that right whereon our own government was founded that every one may govern itself according to what these forms at its own will; and that it may transact its business with foreign nations through whatever organ it thinks proper, whether king, convention, assembly, committee, president, or anything else it may choose."

In recognizing Russia, however, the United States secured a promise regarding propaganda which it has interpreted to mean that Russia would not permit delegates from this country to the Third International to express on Russian soil their Communist be-



Harry W. Laidler

liefs. The Third International, after seven years, met this year in Moscow. In general, this organization

took a position on world revolution of a much milder nature than in former years. American delegates, however, boasted loudly of their influence on the American labor movement. That influence is small, indeed. The boasts were largely idle. They should not have been taken seriously. The State Department got the jitters. It sent a curt letter to Russia and our relations with this nation are now tenuous. In view of the world situation, this exhibition of nerves is indeed unfortunate.

## Dollar Diplomacy

The last Congress failed to pass any bill taking the profit out of war. The War Department backed the McSwain House bill that would treat war profiteers with kid gloves but give great authority to the President to conscript manpower. That bill was vigorously fought in the House and torn into

The Administration during the year maintained that America no longer believed in dollar diplomacy. We are no longer imperialistic. We have adopted the "good neighbor" policy.

Fortunately, we have withdrawn the marines from Haiti. We have negotiated a trade treaty with Cuba. We have set about cleaning up the mess in the Virgin Islands. We have announced that we are opposed to our old practice of military intervention in Latin America. However, such authorities as Dr. Leland H. Jenks of Wellesley point out that the "good neighbor" policy has been much less beneficial than the Administration maintains. "The good neighbor policy of this Administration," he declared at the Virginia University Institute this summer, "surrounded Cuba with warships during the months that followed the revolution against Machado in August, 1933, and maintained armed forces in Havana harbor until after the conclusion of the trade agreement last summer."

"It carefully avoided all semblance of intervention. Nevertheless, it employed recognition and non-recognition as weapons to change the political situation."

"And now Washington has assumed the role of interpreter of public opinion in Cuba by announcing its own satisfaction with the existing regime in Cuba and declaring that it has the overwhelming support of the Cuban people."

Dr. Jenks maintained that American policy was standing in the way of Cuban reconstruction. "The entire history of our activities in the Caribbean," he declared, "is an object lesson of the futility of involving ourselves in more responsibility for situations over which we do not have adequate control."

Carleton Beals, in the New Republic of July 3, maintained that if the American Ambassador in Cuba had not thrown his weight on the side of the reactionaries Cuba might today be enjoying under the Grau San Martin administration, a popular, orderly and legal system. But this administration was frozen out. Partly as a result of the intervention of President Roosevelt's two latest Ambassadors in Cuba, that island is now in the control of a dictator, civil liberty is a thing of the past, opposition political parties have been crushed, the labor movement

has been wiped out and many of Cuba's best sons have been jailed or driven into exile. Suspects have been ruthlessly killed by military order. There is not a suggestion of economic or social reform.

Imperialist Coercion

The long report of the Foreign Policy Association on "Problems of the New Cuba" is of the same general effect. The report calls upon the Roosevelt administration to observe the spirit as well as the letter of the non-intervention declaration made by that country at the Pan-American Conference in Montevideo.

"The Commission hopes," it reported, "that the ambiguous activities of American diplomats in in-

fluencing the internal composition of governments will come to an end." The refusal of the Cuban authorities to permit an American group of radicals to investigate conditions in the islands is further indication of the situation there.

Dictatorship prevails in the Dominican Republic, "as the logical consequence," as The Nation has it (April 17) "of our military intervention."

"The marine corps-trained army, which Santo Domingo does not need, shoots down all who protest against the corruption and ruthlessness of the government. The tyranny and terror are unprecedented in that little nation. This situation, to be sure, was inherited by the Roosevelt Administration. But was it necessary to sanction a financial settlement which gave implicit approval to the acts of the dictator?"

Dictatorship, continues The Nation, is likewise in the making in Haiti. "Our own responsibility during the 18 years in which Washington cynically destroyed every attempt at self-government and imposed its will by force is undeniable. But the New Deal should have brought a change. . . . What is desperately demanded in the State Department is a comprehension of the need of adapting our Caribbean policy to the new order, and a personnel that will now how to carry out this delicate and important assignment."

After torpedoing the London Economic Conference, the present Administration has done little, if anything, during the last year toward grappling with the important problem of international currency stabilization or of war debts.

And, in the nature of the case, the Administration has done nothing fundamentally toward eliminating the profit system, which contains within itself the seeds of modern warfare.

The Administration, in its action in the Standard-Vacuum Oil contract, in its signing of the neutrality bill, in its reciprocal trade treaties and its adherence to the international Labor Office and its proposal to affiliate with the World Court, has pursued a forward-looking international policy.

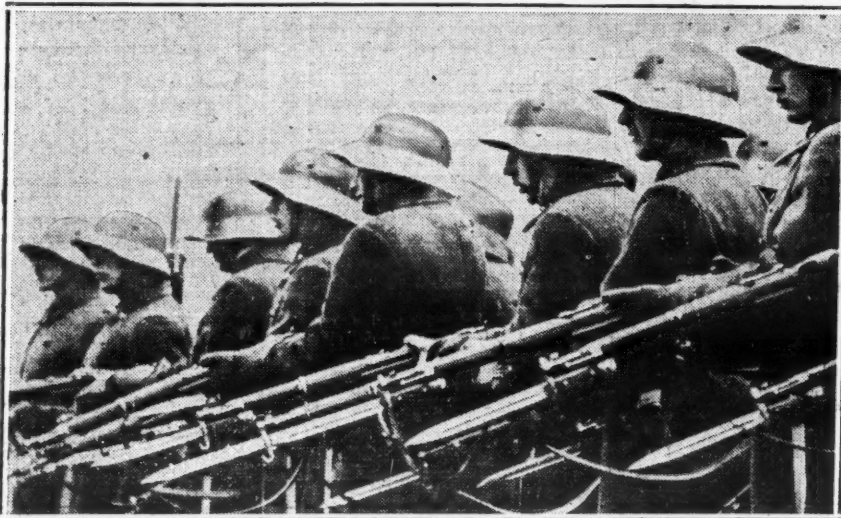
On the other hand, in its big army and navy program, in its Pacific naval maneuvers, in its recent dealings with Russia, and its support of reactionary governments in the Caribbean, it has weakened the cause of peace.

Masses Must Act

If we are to avoid war, if we as a nation are to make the world safe for peace and democracy, we must do many things.

1. We must set about building a great political movement of the masses dedicated to a warless and a cooperative world.
2. We must demand immediately of our Representatives that America take the lead not in arming to the teeth, but in disarmament, starting with the total abolition of battleships, aircraft carriers, submarines and bombing planes.
3. We must strike a blow at militarism wherever it exists and insist that all military institutions be excluded from our schools and colleges.
4. We must extend and strengthen the recent resolution on neutrality so as to include loans to belligerent countries, and we must insist without qualification that our citizens embark on vessels of belligerents or in belligerent countries solely on their own risk. We must also as a people boycott nations engaged in aggressive warfare.
5. We must put meaning in the Kellogg Pact, which pledges this country to renounce war as an instrument of national policy, and we must, as individuals, refuse to have a part of the war machine.
6. We must take the profit out of the munitions industry and other industries connected with war.
7. We must reduce our tariff walls and tear down the economic barriers to world peace.
8. We must do everything possible to build up and democratize international organizations dedicated to arbitration and conciliation of differences between the nations.
9. We must abandon all imperialist practices in the Orient and Latin America, and we must organize democratic international economic organizations dealing with investments, raw materials, the flow of currency and credit from a world, rather than a national point of view and, finally,
10. We must endeavor within the nation to substitute a cooperative, a Socialist order of society, for the present planless and chaotic capitalist system. For only when the nations of the whole world develop an economic system based on economic justice, democracy and brotherhood, in the place of injustice, industrial autocracy and human exploitation, will we have a world free from the curse of modern war.

## HALT THIS BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE!



## Must the American People Be Pauperized?

By George Q. Lynch  
Editor, Pattern Makers' Journal  
and President  
Pattern Makers of North America,  
affiliated with the A. F. of L.

GENERAL JOHNSON says: "With a brief for organized labor in my heart, I have now to fight organized labor as hard as I can."

The occasion for the fight was the calling of a strike against the \$19 to \$94 wages to be paid on public works.

There is nothing unique in the General's approach to the fight. It is the age-old kindly gesture that always precedes a subtle attack by one posing as a friend.

Our interest, however, is not in the General's strategy. Nor are we interested in his personal viewpoint. We are concerned mainly with the fact that the General is an administration spokesman and expresses a view characteristic of a wrong approach to important national problems. So far as carrying a brief for labor is concerned, his past record precludes the acceptance of anything quite so nonsensical.

No one will deny that as a breezy and clever spokesman for special privilege the General is hard to equal. His admixture of fact and fiction form an almost perfect camouflage against the identity of his real purpose. Patting labor on the back he attempts to steal its conditions by a process of strategy long known as "Greeks bearing gifts." His method in argument is to posit some highly questionable points as a premise and then proceed logically to his desired conclusion.

In defense of his \$19 to \$94 wages he follows this course. He contends the following to be irrevocable and unchangeable: 1. There is only so much money to be spent on public works. 2. It can't be increased. 3. To pay higher wages therefore, would not allow the re-employment of the desired number. 4. That \$19 to \$94 a month is more than private industry would pay for like work on a yearly average.

## Arbitrary Views

If we are willing to accept these arbitrary statements as facts then the General "goes to town" with flying colors. However, we can see no good reason to accept all or any one of them.

In the matter of doing useful Federal work in exchange for a livelihood, we are not concerned with the existing amount appropriated for the work. That can al-



George Q. Lynch

ways be changed. We are not concerned with the General's argument in favor of dividing poverty by spreading work. And finally we cannot justify substantial wages in America by pointing to the existence of other substantial wages.

In this controversy the basic questions to be answered are: "Can an American citizen support a family on an income of from \$19 to \$94 a month? And can our National wealth be administered to warrant better wages?"

It must be remembered that this is a public works project. It is not relief or charity. These workers are building permanent National assets. They will span rivers, improve highways, erect buildings, control floods and remove grade crossings.

Now, it is unadulterated bunk to say that a Nation with a potential annual wealth production in excess of 90 billions yearly, cannot afford more than paupers' wages to effect this commendable program. In face of the arithmetic all the General can mean is that the present allotment cannot be increased without subtracting from the amount now going to special privilege. We point to the fact that even under the "New Deal" the amount going to special privilege is increasing each year. What is to prohibit a reversal of this trend? This can be accomplished by taxation and legislation. When the General says: "that's all there is, there ain't no more," he is talking through his epaulets.

## Financial Pirates

The amount provided for this work is roughly five billion of dollars. Industrial and financial buccaneering brought on this depres-

sion which has cost us about 35 billion yearly.

If we can suffer that loss for no better reason than to perpetuate private exploitation and profit, then we can easily afford more than the five billion now appropriated for public works. The amount can be increased to a point where all able and willing workers can be absorbed into Federal employment, at living standards, doing socially necessary work. This can be accomplished by the simple expedient of a more equitable distribution of the National wealth. And after all, the Roosevelt administration did promise to do just that thing.

Failure on the part of this administration to do it will only lend impetus to the less constructive proposals of the Coughlins, Longs, Townsends et al.

Real Americans, proud of their national traditions toward progress, do not want advice from administration spokesmen on how to share poverty. We have had too much of that already. Facts amply support the belief that we not only can, but must, have higher living standards to maintain an economic balance.

## A Bad Compromise

It might have been helpful also if the American Federation of Labor had taken this position when the matter of public works was under discussion in the Senate. They should not have agreed, actually or tacitly, to any amendment that did not establish a recognized normal work week at sound prevailing rates. Their compromise gained us nothing. To agree that they were willing to shorten the work week to a point where the earning would not exceed the amount per month set by the President was an unwarranted compromise. A man working two days at \$10 can enjoy no better standards than the man who works four days at \$5. To be willing to accept a prevailing rate under such a compromise may have appeased private contractors, but our interest should not be with the contractors. The General made much of this in his argument favoring poverty. Compromising on that basis was a compromise against American home life.

Advancement by compromise of principle seldom bears fruit. The theory of "half a loaf" has become out-moded in fact of our National abundance. We are entering a new era, not trying to preserve an old one.

Let us state clearly that a worker is entitled, at all times, to a decent living, under American standards, and let the chips fall where they will.

## "CONFIDENTIAL" ONEAL REPORT "DISCOVERED" BY TROTSKY SLEUTHS

For many months the various Communist sects have taken a special interest in the Socialist Party and hardly an issue of a Bolshevik gazette appears without some reference to the party, often several columns being devoted to it.

The September 14 issue of the "New Militant," organ of the Trotskyites, carries a story under a five-column head on a "Confidential Report by Oneal to the 2nd International" on the Socialist Party of the United States, claiming that it had obtained "the report in a German translation" from which the document was retranslated into English.

The Trotsky organ turns Hawkshaw by printing this report as a "confidential" one. It is so "confidential" that the original will be reported by Oneal to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party at its next meeting. The report was made at the request of the Secretariat of the Labor and Socialist International.

It is obvious that in a controversy within a section affiliated with the L.S.I., if the Secretariat seeks information regarding it a request for information will go to all sides involved in the controversy. That is what happened in this instance and that is all there is to this "confidential" report by Oneal. Incidentally, the alleged "translation" is by no means a good one, the meaning of many sentences often being obscure.



## The Workers Abroad

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

By John Powers

#### The Struggle in Spain

RAMOS OLIVEIRA, a Spanish writer, tells a dreadful tale of the plight of 30,000 political prisoners in Spain, Socialists, radicals and republicans, upon whom Spanish reaction is exercising its vengeance for the revolution of last October. It is a story of inhumanity and barbarism, the two chief characteristics of contemporary fascism and dictatorship. [His article will appear in next week's issue of The New Leader.]

Whether in Spain, Italy, Germany or Russia—it is the same story. Man's inhumanity to man is being practiced on a scale and in a manner that recalls the darkest period of the Dark Ages. The complete devaluation of human values, coupled with a vicious cynicism and disregard of fundamental moral principles, are the chief contributions made by the dictators and would-be dictators to the political science of our time.

But the most shocking thing of all is the fact that there are Socialists who find in all this, as practiced in Soviet Russia, a defensible manifestation of "revolutionary" action. The Socialist who does this commits moral suicide and deals an irreparable blow to the Socialist ideal. What is happening in Spain, Italy and Germany is only a repetition of what has been taking place in Russia from the very first day of the Communist regime. "Our masters are in Moscow," said Mussolini. As William H. Chamberlain pointed out recently, there are more prisoners in one concentration camp in Russia than in the whole of Germany.

The Spanish tragedy adds another chapter to the sad history of our time. It is encouraging to learn, however, that under the leadership of the Socialists the workers of Spain are not quiescent in the face of the crimes being perpetrated by the reactionary government in power. They are not permitting these crimes to pass unchallenged. Great mass meetings and demonstrations for the restoration of civil liberties and release of all political prisoners have recently been held in Spain to call attention to the fact that the toiling masses do not intend to rest until these demands are granted.

More than 12,000 persons attended one such meeting. When the chairman declared that he was forbidden by the police to speak of Caballero and Pena, two leading Socialists now in jail, the crowd roared back in reply "Long live Caballero and Pena!"

Another great demonstration was held in Valencia, under the joint auspices of Socialists and republicans. The principal speaker was Aznara, prime minister of the former Socialist-republican government. Spanish newspapers described it as the most impressive meeting ever held in Spain.

Socialists, liberals and republicans have formed a united front in Spain against the conservative-reactionary government, dominated by the clerical leader Gil Robles. The demand is being pressed for an amnesty for all political prisoners and new elections to Parliament. The left bloc is confident that it will emerge victorious from such an election. While President Zamora and Premier Lerroux are inclined to grant the demands, the reactionaries are bitterly opposed to any concessions. Such is always the attitude of reaction—until it is overwhelmed by the inevitable tempest. The Socialists, having recovered from the blow of last October, are reorganizing their ranks and look forward with confidence to victory.

#### Norwegian Socialists Again Victorious

Recent municipal elections in Norway brought another victory for the Socialists and a promise of further progress in the parliamentary elections to be held next year. The number of seats in municipal councils held by Socialists was increased from 1923 to 5,101. The Socialists now hold a majority in 182 municipalities as against 88 preceding the recent municipal contests.

The victory is attributed in large part to the demonstration given by the Socialist government of Premier Johann Nygaardsvold of its ability to pursue a constructive policy of national reform and rehabilitation. The three-year plan of social reconstruction promulgated by the Socialist government has won wide sympathy and support. It is believed certain that the parliamentary elections of 1936 will strengthen the hold of the Socialists and radical peasants, their allies in the government, and will pave the way for a more fundamental program of Socialist legislation.

The progress of the Socialist idea in Norway, as registered by the municipal elections, adds materially to the advance of Socialism in Scandinavia.

#### Socialists and Socialization

The approach of Scandinavian Socialists to the tasks before them may be gleaned from an illuminating interview in the Prague *Socialdemokrat* of August 7 with Premier Hansson of Sweden, who heads the Socialist-liberal coalition in that country.

"What methods does your government regard as most conducive for the achievement of Socialism?" the Socialist premier was asked. His reply was: "I have often had the opportunity to discuss this question, particularly with American Socialists. You see, in Sweden we have had to cope not with one but with two crises—one political, the other economic. As the depression continued, there developed also among the middle classes a strong anti-democratic and, in part, fascist tendency. What we have demonstrated is that a democratic government is capable of action and that Parliament and democracy are capable of action. This meant the salvation of our democracy and with it of the political basis without which the Socialists and labor movement cannot exist."

"As regards the question of socialization, I am too much of a Marxist not to know that Socialism cannot be 'made,' but that Socialism must be the product of development. I have little respect for theoretical socialization products, produced at a writing desk, but place my hope upon the organic development of economic life. The question of the possibility of socialization is linked closely with the extent to which the masses have advanced to the realization of the necessity of social intervention into economic life. It is thus a question of the experience of the people in practical economics."

"Today that experience expresses itself in the realization on the part of our people of the capacity of private enterprise for development and expansion, coupled with an understanding of the tremendous risks which private industry entails. This has been clearly demonstrated in the collapse of the Krueger enterprises, which showed how a private promoter can expand a single enterprise on a gigantic scale, but carrying with this expansion the tremendous risk of collapse and damage to the interest of everybody. From this experience and others arises the realization of the necessity for social economic control."

"I share the view of Sir Arthur Salter, the British economist, that the next phase of economic development will be marked by a synthesis of private and social economic control. The road to Socialism is a process of economic development. Marx taught that the development of capitalist society proceeded along two lines: technical expansion and accumulation of capital in the hands of the few. The dangers and risks of economic depression, necessitating ever wider social intervention, are implanting in the consciousness of the people a growing realization of the necessity of social control of economic life. We have many examples of such control in Sweden. Socialists have a definite economic objective, but they must utilize only such methods which are in harmony with economic development."

A careful study of the problems of socialization in Sweden is now being made by a commission appointed by the government under the chairmanship of Rickard J. Sandler, the Socialist foreign minister. The commission's report is being awaited with great interest and is expected to prove a most valuable contribution to Socialist thought as well as a practical guide to Socialists everywhere.

#### Business Is Business

Upon publication in the press of the news that Soviet Russia was playing fascist Italy with huge quantities of wheat, coal, tar, oil and other materials for the use of Mussolini's army in Ethiopia, the Communists in this country, as elsewhere, proceeded forthwith to jounce the stories as falsehoods. The Daily Worker called it "a plot of the capitalist press to discredit the Soviet Union." When it became no longer possible to deny the truth, the Communists changed their tune. Thus, Edwin Seaver, editor of Soviet Russia Today, a Communist propaganda journal devoted to dissemination of false and misleading information about Soviet Russia, declared in a letter to the New York Post that Soviet Russia was quite justified in

## Is There Socialism in Russia?

Soviet Regime Revealed as State Capitalism Dominated by Ruthless Dictatorship—The New Communist Aristocracy—Nation Moving Away From Socialism.

By Raphael Abramowitch  
Member of the Executive, Labor and Socialist International  
(Concluded from last week)

I DO not mean to suggest that those who have brought about the state of affairs in existence in Russia are guided by any spirit of enmity toward the working class. On the contrary, they appear to be quite convinced that their way is the road to Socialism. But, as I have already pointed out, what concerns us are not the good intentions of political leaders. The question that interests us is not the destination for which the ship is set but where it is actually going. And the stark fact is that the direction in which the Bolshevik ship is moving is the worst and most cruel form of state capitalism, a condition of society in which the despotic government machine plays the role of a ruthless capitalist exploiter.

But, you will ask, perhaps despite this fact, and through some miracle (is not Soviet Russia the land of miracles?), there are being born in the souls of the Russian workers the sentiments, habits and mode of conduct considered necessary by Socialists for the development of that sense of solidarity, equality, fraternity and voluntary discipline without which a Socialist society is impossible?

All reliable information available on this point, the facts to be extracted from the Soviet press itself, reports brought back from Soviet Russia by persons best qualified by knowledge and experience to pronounce judgment (which excludes, of course, the professional propagandists and glibble tourists) confirm the undeniable truth that there are among the younger generation in Russia a certain number of enthusiastic idealists who are making sacrifices, who are aflame with Socialist zeal, who believe that they are building a new world. But these constitute a very small minority. The overwhelming majority of the Russian working class, composed largely of young peasants but recently come from the village, know nothing of Socialism or Socialist enthusiasm.

Nor do they give any evidence of developing that high idealism of thought, emotion and action of which we spoke in our article last week as an essential prerequisite for Socialism.

They are being worked to exhaustion. They are discontented, embittered by toil and unbearable living conditions, divided into many groups, according to their position in the Soviet scheme of things. Such is the state of mind of the Russian workers—from the privileged "shock troops," toiling under cruel and inhuman burdens but who receive better pay and enjoy various privileges, to the great mass of unskilled who work and live like slaves. The Russian workers under the Soviet regime are receiving a practical schooling in inequality and total absence of fraternity. They live under a system in which social differences, ruthless competition, and mutual envy and enmity among the various categories of workers constitute the chief characteristics. And all of them must obey their superiors.

Is it possible for human being living and working under such conditions to develop the moral and intellectual qualities required for the building of Socialism?

**The Condition of the Peasants**  
And what about the peasants? Driven forcibly into the collectives, ruined and disinherited by the fa-

supplying Mussolini with food and materials to help him strangle helpless Ethiopia. His explanation was that Soviet Russia had a commercial treaty with Italy, and that for the U.S.S.R. "to break its treaty" with Rome "would not stop other nations from trading with that country." Seaver also added the excuse that to break the commercial treaty would "definitely intensify the war danger." Supplying Mussolini with materials for his army, we are to understand, does not intensify the war danger, but depriving him of such materials would "definitely" intensify it. Such is the new Communist logic.

The excuses of the professional Soviet apologist confirm what has been maintained in articles on the question in The New Leader. Soviet Russia, like capitalist states, is actuated primarily by business interests. To refrain from helping Mussolini, we are now told, would deprive Soviet Russia of profits which would go elsewhere. Business is business. The government which has been parading as a revolutionary government seeking the overthrow of capitalism, now hesitates to break a commercial treaty because, forsooth, this would mean the loss of some blood profits and would arouse Mussolini's displeasure.

Meanwhile, the Communists are continuing their anti-fascist demonstrations outside of Russia and calling for united front to save Ethiopia.

mine years of 1929-1932, they have refused to become reconciled to the collectives. They refuse to become reconciled to expropriation by the government of the product of their toil. The state robs them of the bulk of what they produce, and as a consequence the peasants very properly refuse to perceive any advantage in the new agricultural economy forced upon them by the all-powerful state. They yearn for the return of the New Economic Policy introduced by Lenin in 1921, which at least made possible the development of a free peasantry, master of its own land, and prepared the ground for a large measure of independent creative activity of the masses.

With all his mind and soul the Russian peasant seeks not to build Socialism but to withhold and to conceal as much grain as possible from the government officials sent to rule over him; to retain as much as possible of the product of his toil for himself and his family; to eject the state from the collectives.

Under these circumstances it is a delusion to suppose that the peasants driven by force into the collectives, and kept there by measures of blood and iron, are animated by Socialist sentiments. These are not measures likely to cultivate Socialist ideas and sentiments.

The discontent and bitterness of the peasants are on the increase. This is a fact much more important than the Socialist intentions of the Bolsheviks. It is possible that in unleashing their bloody war against the peasants, a war which has cost millions of human lives, the Bolsheviks had Socialist aims in mind. But the consequence has been the opposite of what Socialists seek to accomplish. There is no more bitter enemy of Socialism today than the Russian peasantry. And this is the consequence of Bolshevik policy.

**How Other Classes Live**  
But what of the intellectuals, officials and other classes of the population? How are they being prepared for Socialism under the Soviet regime?

An outstanding development of recent years in Russia has been the birth of new classes and new social differentiations. This is true of both cities and villages and is attested by the testimony of all serious observers and witnesses. It is confirmed by information supplied us regularly by our own comrades in Russia. A new aristocracy is developing, possessing its own homes (the highest form of privilege in Soviet Russia), with its own schools and kindergartens for its children, plenty of food, adequate medical attention, country retreats, automobiles, good restaurants, fine clothes, etc. Downward from this aristocracy rank the other classes lower and ever lower, until we reach the small official who is not a member of the Communist Party, or merely a "rank and file" or a "nonpartisan." His food ration consists of bread and herring and he lives with his entire family in one small room, or part of a room. He must work fourteen hours a day (on two jobs of seven hours each) to keep his family alive.

These new class differentiations permeate the whole of Russian

life, from housing and schooling, to the smallest details.

To be sure, these classes are not classes in the conventional sense of the world. They are classes of consumers, not of capitalists permitted to operate production on a private basis. But neither are they members of a free and equal Socialist collectivity. They are not citizens of a Socialist state.

**Moving Away From Socialism**  
What should, therefore, be our conclusion? In last week's article we indicated what Russia is not. It is not a capitalist state in the sense of a state ruled by private capitalism. But neither is it a Socialist state. Soviet Russia is very far removed from Socialism. The development of recent years particularly has been increasingly in the opposite direction—not toward Socialism but away from Socialism.

And so we ask again: what is Soviet Russia?

The answer is clear:  
Soviet Russia is a state-capitalist country, in which small groups of *fürheres*, directors, commanders, dictators, and higher officials, dominated by one *fürher* who rules the state and party machines, play the role of a "COLLECTIVE CAPITALIST." They rule over the state. They rule over production. They rule over the entire population in absolutist manner, and they enjoy at the same time all the privileges of plenty luxury which in capitalist countries are the privileges of private capitalists.

Soviet Russia is a land of despotic state capitalism, developing not the seeds of Socialism but the sentiments, psychology, habits and modes of conduct characteristic of social systems based upon inequality, oppression and enslavement.

The Five-Year Plan of industrialization advanced Russian industry. This no one can deny. But this has been purchased at the price of tremendous sacrifice and by unprecedented decline in the standard of living of the masses.

And this vicious contradiction is only strengthened by the fact that coupled with the misery and poverty of the people there has arisen a Soviet aristocracy enjoying a standard of living based upon privileges which can only be characterized as the privileges of a new ruling class.

We submit that all this is not making for Socialism.

#### REBEL ARTS

A housewarming and welcome-back tea will be given Sunday afternoon by Rebel Arts, cultural auxiliary of the party, at its headquarters, 44 East 21st Street. Announcement will be made at Sunday's affair, which will start at 3:30, of the plans of Rebel Arts for the coming season, starting the first week in October. Refreshments will be served and entertainment and dancing will be the order of the afternoon.

Meanwhile, the dramatic groups are meeting Tuesday and Thursday nights and the chorus on Wednesday at seven p. m. New applicants are welcomed.

On Friday night, Oct. 11, the annual Rebel Arts' Night and Fall Dance will be held at the Y.C.L.A. ballroom, 22 East 15th St., N. Y. C.

#### DELUDING THE RUSSIAN MASSES



THE picture above is reproduced from page 141 of a book entitled "New York," published in Moscow in 1933 under the imprint of the "Cooperative Publishing Association, of foreign workers in the U.S.S.R." and printed by the Comintern Press. The book is designed to give English-reading inhabitants of the Soviet Union an idea of what is going on in the metropolis of the Western world. The clipping, reproduced from the New York Times of Jan. 26, 1930, reads in part: "The Socialist dinner, attended by 700, was given in honor of Rafael Abramowitch, exiled leader of the Russian Social Democrats and a noted opponent of Bolshevism."

The picture of Raphael Abramowitch adjoining the clipping is a fake and a clumsy fabrication. Comrade Abramowitch does not smoke, and thousands of workers will testify that neither at the banquet referred to nor in any other of his numerous appearances in America did he ever wear a dress suit. A picture of the head of Comrade Abramowitch was pasted on the figure of another man, and the

## The Theatre Speaks

Margaret Larkin Tells New Leader Readers of the Work of the Theatre Union, Another in a Notable Series of Articles

Coming, after Eva LeGallienne's repertory group, to the historic Fourteenth Street Theatre, the Theatre Union swung at once into full stride as one of our foremost groups of socially conscious folk of the theatre. With such plays as "Stevedore," "Peace on Earth," "Sailors of Cato," and "Black Pit" to its credit, the union has established a record of vivid performance of stirring dramatic works. One may not always agree with every aspect of the picture each playwright presents; but one cannot deny the power and searching intensity of this company's work. The place of the Theatre Union in the field of workers' theatre is excellently presented by Margaret Larkin, who has been a live worker with the group from its inception.

Joseph T. Shipley.

#### THE THEATRE UNION

By Margaret Larkin

One of the first questions that arises when a new theatre is about to be born is how to produce. The internal organization of the theatre, and especially the relation of actors to the project, is fundamental, and has a profound influence on the plays as they finally appear on the stage. Although the movement for working class plays is so new in America, several differing types of theatres are developing. No prophet can predict which method of organization will be proven the soundest. It is more than likely that each fits a different set of problems and therefore justifies itself.

Most workers' theatres were begun by sympathetic amateurs who learned their craft as they went along. Often the actors were drawn from the unions, or the groups were outgrowths of the cultural work of some workers' organizations, such as the dramatic groups of the Young Circle League. Such groups have a particular value to the organizations that sponsor them, and to the actors who develop their talents through the work.

The very fact, however, that the group is organized in this way limits what it can produce. One-act plays, skits, and other short forms are all the amateur group can undertake in most cases, and these must have simple productions if they are to be transported to workers' halls. Otherwise their life is limited to two or three performances. The Artef Theatre, an organization of needle trades workers, is exceptional in being able to establish a stationary theatre and give plays nightly.

The professional workers' theatre which have grown up in the past two seasons undoubtedly have raised the artistic level of the movement, and have extended its influence and importance, but they cannot supplant such groups as the Rebel Arts Players, for instance, which will continue to fill a special need.

#### Amateur and Professional

The amateur groups have contributed to the growth of the new professional theatres in many ways, especially by stimulating a desire on the part of workers for theatre that would reflect their own lives and problems, and so helping to create a wide audience. But the Theatre Union, the Group Theatre, and the Theatre Alliance did not grow directly out of the amateur workers' movement; they have their roots in the professional theatre. Their plays, their actors, their organization, and their production and business methods derive from Broadway, and have been adapted to the special needs of the audience of workers, liberals, students, which they attract.

Each of these theatres has its own policy of production. Elmer Rice believes in repertory with a permanent company. This season may see the fruition of his plans, which we may expect will include some "social" plays.

The Group Theatre has produced for several years with a permanent company which it organized some years before it presented its first play. This company studies constantly to perfect its technique as a group, as well as to develop the individual talents of its members. There can be no doubt of the effectiveness of this plan. Group Theatre plays are notable for fine directing and acting, and for ensemble playing which marvellously enriches the production.

#### Theatre of Action

The Theatre of Action, which recently presented a fine production of its first full-length play, developed from the old Workers' Laboratory Theatre which was an amateur group. It has been strengthened by the addition of experienced professionals, and in fact its whole group has joined Equity and is now of professional standing. The group proposes to produce full length plays like "The Young God" as a means of expanding its influence, and as a means of financially maintaining its permanent company. At the same time it will continue as a mobile group,

presenting short skits and plays on the streets and in workers' halls.

The Theatre Union's method of production differs from all of these. It did not begin with its own group of actors, although the cast for its first play, "Peace on Earth," included a number of actors who had been close to the project and were in sympathy with it. In the main, however, our first plays were cast from Broadway. The necessity of making a beginning dictated this policy. We believed that it would be incorrect to take time to form and educate a permanent company in advance of production.

While we felt justified in starting the theatre with professionals of varying degrees of sympathy for what our plays said, we recognized the need and the advantages of a permanent group of actors—politically aware as well as technically competent. Our method was a slow one of getting acquainted with actors by seeing them in several plays, and watching their development in our Experienced Studio. In each play we made an effort to cast actors who had appeared in previous plays. In "Sailors of Cato," 17 of the 23 actors who had appeared in previous plays, or were members of the studio. In "Black Pit," 12 out of the 17 had this same close connection.

The coming season will see a further step in this direction. We have selected seven actors whom we expect to use in every play next year—they are the nucleus on which we hope to build our permanent company.

What final form our company will take depends upon many factors—the financial question, of course, is one of them. It will differ in some important respects from other groups. We expect to adapt the permanent company ideal to our needs, just as we have adapted methods of producing and promoting plays to the needs of our particular type of theatre.

For instance, we do not plan to form a large permanent group of actors, from which all parts, or even a majority of parts, are cast for every play. Such a large closed acting company might easily result in the dangerous tendency to choose plays to fit the acting company, rather than for their intrinsic merit as working class drama. Since the Theatre Union was founded on the principle that what the play has to say to its audience is the most important factor, this would be a dangerous tendency indeed.

Consequently, we plan to augment our small permanent group of actors from our studio, from previous casts, from Broadway and other sources, as the needs of each play demand. It is ever easier to attract both fine acting talent and sympathetic actors to us, for there are daily recruits to the group of socially conscious actors, of real competence, from which we can draw our casts. This has come about through several causes, one of which is the success of and the steadily growing interest in theatres of our type.

#### First Production

Our first production this season will be "Mother," a play with music which Paul Peters has adapted from the German script by Bert Brecht and Hans Eisler. In this play we will utilize the members of our permanent company, and, on the other hand, we will look about for the best available outside talent for several roles as well. If these can be properly filled by members of our studio, they will of course receive first consideration. If not, we will look further, in order to assure ourselves that we will give our audience a competent and worthwhile production.

One of the things we hope to do this year is to produce three plays during the season instead of two, as we have done in former years. This will require further adaptation of our audience promotion work, in order to insure all groups that wish to buy theatre parties an opportunity to see each play. Another important change in policy will be a lowered price scale. Hitherto our top price has been \$1.50. Beginning with "Mother," it will be \$1.00. Several considerations have governed this change, not the least among them our feeling that our audience will benefit greatly by being able in far greater by being able in far from the best seats in the house.

This illustrates the final important point of this article. All the questions of production methods, of scenery, backstage crew, price scale, promotion, and so on must be a matter of adaptation for our workers' theatres. Within the rigid framework that the commercial theatre has set up, we have to find our own methods. Talent and ingenuity will make up for what we lack in financial resources. We must be flexible enough to make business compromises with the capitalist world when they are necessary, and wise enough to refuse to compromise our ideas on what our plays should say to our audiences of working people.



## PARTY NOTES

### Texas

State Secretary William Plampan has just returned to San Antonio after a trip to Dallas over Labor Day, where he received a royal welcome from a large and active party membership. He found lively activity everywhere, especially a fine Y.P.S.L. crowd. Plampan says that "under the efficient hand of Octavia Edwards they are going to be heard from."

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### California

San Francisco. The Communists are at it again. Victor Lumar, Socialist party chairman in San Francisco, announces that he has a letter sent out by a so-called "United Labor Campaign Committee," in which reference is made to a gathering of trade unionists and members of the Communist, Socialist and Democratic parties for a "United Front." Comrade Lumar emphatically repudiates this proposal, stating that the Socialist party would cooperate only with the Democrats or the Communists.

### Virginia

By C. P. Speach. Norfolk.—Resolutions denouncing Hitler and Hitlerism, denouncing the holding of the Olympic Games in Berlin, and calling for the organization of a labor party were enthusiastically adopted at a great Labor Day mass meeting here.

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### New York State

County Committees.—The time given county committees elected at the primary to meet and organize is increased to 30 days after the primary in the amended Election Law. The last day is Monday, Oct. 7th. A certificate setting forth the officers of the committee must be filed with the Secretary of State and County Election Board within three days after this meeting.

Primary Expenses.—Candidates are expected to file their expense statements within 30 days after the primary on or before October 7th. The Election Law makes it mandatory for boards of election and city and town clerks to furnish forms to candidates for such statements.

State Executive Committee.—The State Executive Committee is expected to hold its regular monthly meeting on Sunday, Sept. 29, at 10 a.m. sharp. The meeting will adjourn in time to permit the members to attend the Town Hall meeting at 2:30 p.m.

Judicial District Conventions.—The Judicial District conventions will be held on Friday and Saturday of next week. In addition to conventions previously announced, the 7th Judicial District at Rochester, a vacancy having been recently created.

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New Rochelle.—Ruth Chapman made an excellent run for Member of City

Council in last Tuesday's primary, polling 365 votes against 280 received by Leonard Bright two years ago.

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### United Socialist Drive

We must again emphasize the importance of this drive and the urgency involved in raising funds by branches throughout the City. It is the only drive for funds which embraces the National, State and City organizations. We cannot believe that Socialist members can remain indifferent to the tremendous need for organization, education and propaganda.

How are the central offices to exist and to discharge their functions if no financial support is given their activities? Let us arouse ourselves to the urgent need and make our donation as quickly as possible.

### MANHATTAN

8th A.D.—Auto parade Friday eve., Sept. 20, starting from the Rand School, 15th St., at 7:30 p.m., to cover the entire city.

Knickerbocker Branch.—Campaign dinner-dance at the Oriental Restaurant, 4 Pell St., Chinatown, Chinese food, private dancing pavilion, Sunday, Sept. 29, at 8:30 p.m. Dine with us after the Town Hall meeting!

### KINGS

15th A.D. Br. 1 and 2.—Opening campaign affair, dance and entertainment Saturday, Sept. 21, 844 Ulica Ave. Original play by the Campaign Players. Refund 50c.

District Council No. 1, Kings.—A basketball team is being organized by our Council. The first major sport activity will be devoted primarily to basketball, but other sports will receive attention. Those interested send names, addresses and age to A. Chapman, 408 Georgia Ave., Brooklyn, District Organizer.

10th-11th A.D. Kings, 235 Gates Ave., bet Franklin and Bedford.—Opening meeting of the campaign Monday, Sept. 23, at 8:45 p.m. James Olson, principal speaker.

12th A.D.—Buffet supper and game party Sunday, Sept. 29, 8:30 p.m., 348 Third Ave., near 28th St.

### BRONX

Lower 8th A.D.—Regular branch meeting Tuesday, Sept. 24, Burnside Manor. After business meeting, Dr. William John will speak on "Socialism in Germany." This is the first of a series of lectures by prominent speakers. Street corner meetings being held Monday at Burnside and Walton Ave. and Thursdays at Fordham Rd. and Walton Ave.

Upper 8th A.D.—At a meeting of the campaign committee of all the branches of the district, Irving M. Knecht, elected campaign manager, William Lipson, treasurer, and Samuel Bobrowsky, secretary, three large indoor meetings are being planned, with many outdoor meetings and considerable distribution

# Mayor Hoan Gave the Patriots A Constitution Day Proclamation

MILWAUKEE.—Hearst-inspired red-baiters of Milwaukee called on Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist, to issue a Constitution Day Proclamation. This is what they got:

WHEREAS, the American Constitution was ratified and became effective in 1787; and

WHEREAS, this vital document was purposely so drawn that it might be amended from time to time, to conform to changing political, economic and social conditions; and

WHEREAS, during the 148 years of its existence the Constitution has been amended directly no less than twenty-one times and amended indirectly on numerous occasions by court decisions and administrative action, as the need for such amendments became evident; and

WHEREAS, the breakdown of the financial and industrial system has brought about a national emergency which calls for the enactment of a new Constitutional amendment, designated by its sponsors as the Workers' Rights Amendment, which

would enable the Federal government to do what the Supreme Court has held it is powerless to do under the limitations of the Constitution as now interpreted, in securing to all of our people the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and in promoting the general welfare; and

WHEREAS, such amendment would give renewed vitality and meaning to the Constitution as the expression of the collective will of the American people of today.

THEREFORE, as Mayor of Milwaukee, in proclaiming Tuesday, September 17, Constitution Day, I call upon our people to give heed in their observances to the vital necessity for adapting our Constitution to modern conditions and thereby to afford the millions of underprivileged citizens, as well as future generations, a practical demonstration that democratic institutions can be made to function successfully in promoting the public interest and general welfare through the peaceful and orderly processes of the law.

DANIEL W. HOAN, Mayor.

## A New Labor Center New Falcon Call Issue Ready for Readers

The 6th A.D. Socialist Party in cooperation with a W. C. Branch have rented a Workmen's Circle and Socialist Center at 767 Allen Ave., Bronx Borough.

The Center will be used as headquarters for the Socialist Party in the district and will hold a Workmen's Circle school.

Among the cultural activities planned is a series of five Sunday evening lectures by August Claessens—beginning November 3.

The Socialist Party (6th A.D.) inspired by its first headquarters in a number of years has launched a campaign to pile up a big vote for the local candidates; Abe Hershkowitz, active member of the Amalgamated, for Assembly; Estelle Abramson for Alderman, 26th A.D., and Al Breslaw for the Dress Pressers' Union, for Alderman—27th A.D. With a new spirit, and with a will to win, the Socialist Party Branch has set out on a course of building the Center into a real active Center of all labor activities in the district, and thereby build a more powerful cohesive branch.

The Red Falcons of America, the children's section of the Socialist Party, is getting ready to publish the next issue of the Falcon Call, its official organ. The magazine will be ready next week. There are many stories and articles written for workers' children by young workers. One article of particular interest deals with the anti-Nazi Olympic Games, to be held at Cleveland in July of next year. It stresses the importance of removing the Olympics from Nazi Germany.

The address of the Falcon Call is 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

### QUEENS

Special meeting of Queens County Committee Friday, Sept. 20, at 8:30 p.m., headquarters Sunnyside Branch, 473 43rd St., Sunnyside.

Queens County Committee has printed stickers with the slogans "Abolish War—Vote Socialist" and "Abolish Poverty—Vote Socialist," with red lettering on white gummed paper. Available through Queens County Organizer Anna Herro-Witz, 21 E. 17th St., care of American Socialist Quarterly.

## Dewey, Laidler, Thomas In L.I.D. Symposium Over Station WJZ

John Dewey, Norman Thomas and Harry W. Laidler will conduct a round table discussion of "Thirty Years of the League for Industrial Democracy" Thursday, Sept. 26th, from 9:30 to 10 Eastern Daylight Time, over WJZ and the Blue Network of the N.B.C.

The Intercollegiate Socialist Society was organized in Sept. 1905 by Jack London and Upton Sinclair and was changed to the L.I.D. in 1921.

# Socialist Union Policy Is Issue Again

(Continued from Page One)

months the "Progressive Miners" introduced a bill in the Illinois Legislature the most reactionary in labor history. That bill would have placed all unions in the state under the direct control of Illinois courts. The Chicago Federation of Labor bitterly denounced the "progressives" and waged a systematic campaign to kill the bill.

A second adventure into "militant unionism" had gone up in smoke. Is it possible to learn from experience? Obviously, some cannot.

**A Former Warning**

In the Winter number of the American Socialist Quarterly (1933) the writer classified the "Progressive Miners" with all others formed through outside interference. A quotation from that article regarding all such futile schemes is now timely. I wrote the following:

"The interventionists of all types do not understand that the union group that needs outside leadership is incapable of inside responsibility. If it is informed and capable it will have no need for outside guidance. Moreover, if it is so lacking in ability that it consents to be led by an outside 'strategist,' it may be easily misled by that 'strategist' or by some other one. The outsider looks upon the human material of the union as clay to be shaped by him; the Socialist looks to that same material to shape its own destiny and regards himself as an educational agent to help it realize this aim."

The whole article has been completely verified by the dead sea fruit reaped by the "militant" conception of the relations of the Socialist Party to the trade union movement.

Let us not forget that a situation like that in the Teachers' Union came to an acute crisis in two needle trade unions in New York City late in 1926 and it brought a mass rising of the whole trade union movement against those who had organized factional groups inside. Seventeen trades responded to a special call and 400 delegates representing 300,000 workers adopted a blistering indictment against the disrupters. Delegates also came from Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston. This was the beginning of the rapid decline of special organization by Communists in the needle trades unions.

The indictment drawn in the manifesto of that conference reads like a section of the Dewey report on the troubles in the Teachers' Union in 1933. The manifesto declared: "For years we had supposed that members of this group could be reasoned with. We have presented reasons and facts, argument and persuasion, but to no purpose. All these methods by which civilized people adjust their differences of opinion have been spurned. We have been assailed by malicious slander, atrocious falsehoods, unjustified attacks and false plotting."

**The "Militant" View**

What is the "militant" conception of the trade unions? In part it is defined in my reference to

outside leadership in the Socialist Quarterly. To it we may add some "militant" quotations. Louis Stanley had been the spokesman for this group into 1932 in which year he left the party and completely disappeared from the movement. In the bourgeois "liberal" Nation (Oct. 8, 1930) the caption of an article by him reads: "The Collapse of the A. F. of L." For some reason the A. F. of L. refused to collapse and it was Stanley who collapsed two years later.

In December of that year the local Y.P.S.L. in annual convention in a resolution on the trade unions declared for "a militant struggle" and added: "Reactionary elements in control of the American Federation of Labor... work against the best interests of the working class."

In the resolution on Labor offered by the "militants" in New York City before the Detroit convention they declared: "The American trade union movement is as definitely at the end of an era as is capitalism itself."

In the "Call" last week part of an editorial reads: "The practice of militant Socialists in demanding that the union develop a greater consciousness of the function of the labor movement as a whole is endorsed by the Call."

**The "Leadership" Obsession**

All this correlates with the ideology that led to the two abortive ventures in the Illinois miners' dispute, which brought the crisis in the needle trades unions in 1926 and in the Teachers' Union today. It is the old story of the outside "strategists" directing their insiders and assuming that the membership of the union is to be tricked into approval of Socialism or that they will respond to a "demand" that the "union develop a greater consciousness." Coupled with it is the sentiment of the Y.P.S.L. which is occasionally heard which in plain words regards the members of the unions as a lot of saps whose leaders "work against the best interests of the working class."

Incidentally, this whole ideology stems from the central idea of Lenin regarding "leadership" which Rosa Luxemburg subjected to devastating criticism in the pamphlet quoted in the New Leader last week. Since the seventies it has appeared again and again in one form or another and wherever it became influential it has condemned the Socialist movement to isolation from the organized working class. That is precisely what the party will again reap if this policy is not checked. It is not progressive; it is thoroughly reactionary.

Last November when the Teachers' Union was battling with organized groups that organization sent a letter to the Socialist Party asking what was the attitude of the party toward the trade unions. The fact that it sent the letter shows that it was necessary for the party again to state its position because of the activities of some Socialists in the union. We quote some of the leading sections of the answer sent to the Teachers' Union.

"The document declared that 'Communists seek control of unions through intrigue, attacks upon members and officials, attempts to destroy their character, seeking to place their own followers in official positions because they are Communists.' Socialists are content to serve as an educational force 'and ultimately to secure willing and fraternal cooperation between the unions and the Socialist Party in all political and economic struggles of concern to the whole working class.' Of organized groups the statement declared:

**The Party's Position**

"We do not regard any outside committee or group, whether it be Socialist, Communist, Democratic or Republican, as capable of directing the affairs of a union, any more than we believe that a group of trade unionists should sit outside of the Socialist Party and attempt to direct its affairs. Either attempt at outside direction and control must in the end produce friction, misunderstanding, resentment and, finally, bitter conflict between the two organizations that should more and more cooperate for mutual ends."

The statement also admitted that while "it may be advisable to call party members of a union together in the best interests of the union and to promote progressive policies, there is a danger of our group being charged with constituting a political clique interested solely in obtaining administrative power in the interest of our group's partisans." For that reason, the document concluded, "unless the utmost tact and judgment are employed by our comrades in avoiding mistakes and the temptation to use the leagues as pressure groups to obtain official jobs or to obtain decisions by dubious alliances and questionable deals, the leagues may come into conflict with the union members whom our primary purpose is to educate on Socialist lines."

**A United Front**

Experienced Socialists in the Teachers' Union have followed the policy outlined in this document but the "militant" group has not observed it. Moreover, that group has given an example of the danger cited in the last quotation above and thereby has disregarded the policy laid down by the party, which is the historic policy of the Socialist movement of the world.

Last week the "militant" Socialist group in the Teachers' Union held a joint meeting with the Rank and File (Stalinists) and the Progressive Group (Lovestonites) in what is called the "United Committee to Save the Union." Here the "dubious alliances and questionable deals" the party warned against became a fact.

The Dewey report piled evidence mountain high to show that the Stalinists and Lovestonites, by their actions were tearing down the union. Moreover, "Save the Union" committees is an old demagogic maneuver of Communists in unions after they have brought them near to ruin. Now the "militant" Socialists join with these two Communist groups in violation of

the spirit of the party's statement to the Teachers' Union last November. A united front of Socialists with Communists is a united front against the organized workers and will be so interpreted by the trade unions.

In the Call last week Norman Thomas criticizes The New Leader for running an article by Abraham Lefkowitz the previous week and refers to the statement I drafted for the N.E.C. in September, 1934, on "Socialist opposition to witch-hunting in the union or the exclusion of Communists as Communists." I considered that point of view last week and showed that the very document Comrade Thomas referred to mentioned anti-union activities as a reason for excluding members from a union whether they are Communists, Socialists or of other political views. That is the issue in the Teachers' Union.

Will Comrade Thomas read the Dewey report and deny the following: (1) that it expressly affirms that the Dewey committee and the union both concede the right of members to hold any political views they desire; (2) that the Dewey report is devoted almost exclusively to the activities of Communist groups that were making the normal work of the union impossible? That report was based upon four months of investigation and testimony under the direction of the leading educational authority in this country. If his report is to be impeached it should be by showing where it erred.

**A Parallel Situation**

I have mentioned a parallel situation in the needle trades unions in 1926. It is important to recall it again. It grew out of organized Communist groups which had brought ruin into the unions. The big union delegate conference was held on December 21 and the trade unions adopted a burning manifesto against the disrupters. The New Leader appeared on December 25 with a big story of the uprising. Norman Thomas had something to say about it in that issue. Here is what he said about the activities of the organized Communist groups in the unions:

"In general the I.L.G.W.U. seems to be making good progress in cleaning up the mess created by the LEFT WING LEADERSHIP. This left wing leadership proved its fatal defect not only in the incompetence of individuals but in the fundamental tactics of the Communists. First the strike issue was decided in the light of PARTY rather than UNION tactics; and second, the strike was conducted by men who had to run around to a party committee for orders. NO ORGANIZATION, UNION OR OTHERWISE CAN STAND THIS CONTROL FROM OUTSIDE ITS OWN RANKS." (The capitals are mine.—J. O.)

In 1926 the Socialist Party was united on the trade union question. It did its duty by serving the unions in that struggle without hesitation or compromise. The statement by Norman Thomas in that struggle was good Socialist policy; but since then "militant" Socialists have appeared. The

"militants" have not followed the policy again explained by the party to the Teachers' Union last November. They have separated themselves from the other Socialists in the union and now constitute a special group cooperating in a united front with the two Communist groups in the union. Norman Thomas defends their activities.

The position of Comrade Thomas in 1926 cannot be reconciled with his position now. He was right then or wrong now, or wrong then and right now. Which is it?

**Clique Organization**

Paul Porter in his statement to the press last week expressed the hope that the union would retain "every present member." By the end of the week over a hundred members had resigned their membership in disgust and in the succeeding days other resignations were being received by the union. It is fatuous to express the hope of retaining all members. The members had endured years of disruptive activities and their endurance had reached the breaking point. Desiring "every present member" to retain his membership is to urge disrupters to remain and the disrupted to return, both to continue the civil war. The fact is, the Teachers' Union is ruined and any Socialist tolerance of organized factional groups is for the Socialist Party to become an ally of those whose activities destroy organizations of the working class.

Moreover, it is a contradiction for Socialists to oppose clique organization in the Socialist Party and approve it in the trade unions. We would not tolerate the policy of a union favoring non-partisan political action and instructing those of its members who are members of the Socialist Party to organize as a clique in the party and carry on agitation for the support of Democratic and Republican candidates for public office. Such clique organization of union members in the party under outside direction and control would be parallel to clique organization in unions under outside Socialist direction and control.

**There Must Be a Halt**

There must be a halt to the suicidal course the "militants" are pursuing or the whole Socialist Party will be placed in the same sack with the Communists and be branded by the trade unions as their enemy. The "militants," Stalinists and Lovestonites are already in the same sack by the united front they have formed.

It is a tragedy that, following a peace agreement within the party that promised harmony, this new issue should arise to disturb the party members. It is important that the party as a whole should remain adamant against a dangerous policy of clique organization in the unions if the good relations between them and the party in many cities and states are not destroyed within the next few months.

We face two roads; which one we travel will determine whether we will become a repudiated sect or march in fraternal cooperation with the organized working class.

## THE NEW LEADER OFFERS SCHOLARSHIP

THE NEW LEADER is offering a scholarship to the New England Labor College to a Massachusetts worker who secures the largest number of new subscribers to The New Leader within the next few weeks.

The New England Labor College, located in the Chelsea Labor Lyceum, is one of the leading schools of its kind in the country, with a high grade faculty devoting themselves to serious educational work among young workers.

The faculty, in addition to notable trade unionists and Socialist teachers includes members of the Harvard faculty and of other great institutions. There is a fine library and excellent facilities for all students.

The contest opens with this announcement, and will continue until October 15. The school opens for the year October 28. For details inquire of The New Leader, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

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## Westinghouse Employees Vote for 36-Hour Week

SPRINGFIELD, MASS. — The union employees of the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company here rejected the proposed 40-hour week and voted overwhelmingly in favor of retaining the present 36-hour week. The union members believe that lengthening the work week to 44 hours would deprive a number of employees of their jobs.

## Thomas Louisiana Tour Called Off, But War on Fascism Goes On

THE proposed Louisiana tour by Norman Thomas, "to combat the type of American fascism which Huey Long represented," has been called off, according to Clarence Senior, national executive secretary of the Socialist Party.

At the same time, Senior warned "American workers that the passing of Long does not remove the danger of a fascist movement in this country—a danger against which workers everywhere must be continually on guard in this period of capitalism's decline."

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# NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

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

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1935

## FETISHISM AND SCIENCE

A STATEMENT by the Teachers' Union last week referred to the obsession of Communists regarding the "class struggle dogma." We refer to it here because of its general implications in the labor and Socialist movement.

The union hit upon a weakness of half-baked "radicals" that is a half-century old. They seize upon an idea and make of it a fetish. For example, the class struggle becomes a dogma to be repeated over and over again like a religious devotee reciting a catechism which he has memorized. It is a phrase for the dogmatist, not a scientific idea to be used in interpreting the forces of complex change in the past and present. One may interpret certain social, economic and political situations in accord with the idea of class struggle and never use the phrase, while the dogmatist may use the phrase again and again and throw no light whatever on the problem which he discusses.

In other words, the dogmatist makes a fetish of an idea and becomes a bore. The social scientist uses it as a means for research and interpretation. It is an important difference between Communism and Socialism.

## MORE FETISHISM

ANOTHER form of fetishism appears this week in the general worship of the Constitution. To many who have big stakes in American capitalism that document is the Bible of the Bourgeois State. To criticize it, to suggest its alteration, is regarded as a sin against the holy of holies. Its authors are regarded with that veneration that religious fanatics pay to the saints.

Following the end of the World War, hundreds of anti-war Socialists were in prison. Socialist papers had been thrown out of the mails. War maniacs were still running amuck and free discussion was regarded as a crime. To wear a muzzle was considered the highest state virtue.

Constitution Day came. Many organizations were protesting against the actions of the ruling classes and their agents. They declared that the Constitution—especially the Bill of Rights—had been destroyed. A fetish celebration was staged in Washington that was revealing. High hat statesmen gathered at the holy box in which the Constitution is preserved. It was opened. Speeches were made. There it was! Who would deny that the Constitution still lived?

That was the high mark in post-war fetishism. Hundreds were in jail and millions were muzzled, but there was the Constitution. What more could one ask?

## GRAVEDIGGERS

BUSINESS is on the upgrade throughout the country, only five states being an exception to this when August of this year is compared with August of last year. The New York Times index of industrial activity is up from 80 to 88 per cent in seven weeks. Farm machinery, automobile production and machine tools all show an upward trend, the highest level of industrial operations and earnings in any period since 1930.

Looks good, doesn't it? Let us see. What of employment? The increased production does not reveal any marked inroads upon the jobless army. On the contrary, if we add the 4,000,000 workers temporarily employed by the government there are still 11,000,000 workers who have no jobs. The figures show that there can be a business revival with that many workers having no assurance of work. Last week President Roosevelt himself admitted that with the best that can be expected, 20 per cent of the jobless will never return to work.

In the August number of Harpers, Stuart Chase wrote an article on the "Parade of the Gravediggers," in which seven experts, each considering the problem of recovery, approached it from seven different points of view. Each gave up. The organized workers demand the 30-hour week. That is essential if any large number of the jobless are to be employed. The exploiters object. The struggle is on. On with the struggle!

Voters are to approve or reject the proposal for a municipal power plant in New York City when submitted to a referendum in November. Consolidated Gas has started two court actions listing twenty-three reasons to block submission of the referendum. Gas is very much concerned regarding the constitutional and legal aspects of municipal ownership and the financing of a city-owned plant. The utility robber barons, curiously enough, are not concerned about the loot they annually take from their subjects.

## Brother Capital and Brother Labor



Oh, yes, indeed! The brothers love each other deeply.

## Behind the Scenes in Washington



By Benjamin Meiman  
Our Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON at last decided to join other nations in the "united front" or the international "collective bargaining" for peace. While eschewing intervention Uncle Sam is anxious to add his word for prevention of war in Africa, in Europe, or anywhere else. On September 12 Secretary of State Cordell Hull formally called attention to the solemn obligations the quarreling nations had incurred on signing the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

That the watch on the Potomac has not been entirely uninterested in what has been going on between Italy and Ethiopia is evident from Mr. Hull's statement. He first reviewed the steps the United States had taken up to that time.

Now, concluded the Secretary of State, this Government feels that the time has come for further expression of its attitude:

"The Government and people of the United States desire peace. We believe that international controversies can and should be settled by peaceful means. We have signed, along with 62 other nations, including Italy and Ethiopia, a treaty in which the signatories have condemned war as an instrument of national policy and have undertaken, each to all, to settle their disputes by none but pacific means."

"Under the conditions which prevail in the world today a threat of hostilities anywhere cannot but be a threat to the interests—political, economic, legal and social—of all nations."

At his summer home in Hyde Park President Roosevelt appeared eager to tell reporters that he fully approved the action of his Secretary of State.

It was after this casting of the United States influence in the balance for peace that a real united front began to form in Geneva. The tardy France and reluctant Russia joined in the parade. The rest was easy.

### Our Own Little War: Work-Relief

A TEMPEST which has been gathering for several months broke around the work-relief program last week, but cleared away before the mediative efforts of the President.

Out of an all-day conference at Hyde Park between Mr. Roosevelt and the officials in charge of the program came the decision that the Works Progress Administration, under Harry L. Hopkins, will have charge of the work-relief drive for four months beginning in December.

After the initial drive, the Public Works Administration, under Harold L. Ickes, is to play a more important part in the employment effort, reaching its full momentum next June. Its role, however, is contingent on the ability of Mr. Ickes to fulfill requirements outlined at the conference.

Although the dispute did not flare into the open until last week it has been smoldering ever since the Administration decided that projects must be planned on the basis of an average annual outlay per worker of \$1,140, including cost of both materials and wages.

Mr. Ickes, as head of the PWA, sponsored the more costly projects, holding that the expenditures for materials indirectly reduce unemployment, while at the same time resulting in more worthwhile projects.

Mr. Hopkins, as head of WPA, advocated projects involving less cost for materials, and has main-

tained such projects are necessary if work is to be obtained speedily for all the employables on relief rolls.

To be eligible for allotment, PWA projects must meet these four conditions: 1. Average annual cost per man given employment must not exceed \$850. 2. Projects must be let by contract before December 15. 3. They must be located in areas where there are sufficient people on the relief rolls to furnish the necessary labor. 4. They must be completed within one year of December 15.

### No Peace Yet in Soft Coal Field

A FORMULA for peace is still apparently lacking in the soft coal industry. For the fifth time President Roosevelt has been compelled to step into the breach, asking an extension of pending wage and hour agreements. Contracts expired Sunday night after representatives of owners and operators had spent a large part of the week trying to reach some solution.

The President indicates that this week he will appoint the new bituminous coal commission called for by the Guffey Coal Act. A committee of producers is urging the appointment as chairman of General Johnson, who is retiring from his job as Works Progress Administrator for New York City.

Local steps are taken by 16 coal companies to prevent enforcement of the Guffey Act, which the operators claim to be unconstitutional.

Late Saturday night it looked as though a strike of a half million mine workers was inevitable. It stopped Edward F. McGrady, assistant secretary of labor, and single-handed stood off that national strike for at least another week.

The joint conference of operators and union representatives was deadlocked. Finding no other way out they telephoned the summer White House at Hyde Park. Presidential Secretary Marvin H. McIntyre told them the Government's interest was solely in the hands of McGrady. The conferees returned to their discussions and the new truce was announced.

The legal battle has already begun. James Walter Carter, a stockholder in a Washington coal company bearing his name, filed suit in the District of Columbia

Supreme Court attacking the law's constitutionality. The Government's first move to defend the law was made Monday, when Assistant Attorney General John Dickinson filed a brief contending the suit was premature. The court refused an injunction against the Government.

### Housing Program Speeds Up

FULL speed ahead has been ordered by the President on the Administration's low-cost housing program.

Good, clean homes at reasonable rentals are to be made available to families unable to own their own homes—families now living in tenements and slums in the larger cities.

Before the program is completed—next year or the next—the Government will have spent more than \$300,000,000 in this, its most ambitious building enterprise.

Criticism has been widespread at the failure to get these projects going. Why the delay? Officials say it has been due to difficulties in getting sites at reasonable figures. Property owners have shown a tendency to "shoot up" the price when they learned that the Government wanted their land. So Uncle Sam has had to move secretly in acquiring the land needed. He now owns or has under option 72 of the 96 sites needed, including those for sixteen projects approved by the President last week. Not even the names of the cities are to be disclosed until the sites are acquired.

### A Tariff Battle With Germany

A HIGHER rate of duty is to be charged against all goods "made in Germany." Failure to secure equality of treatment for American products in Germany forces the United States Government to retaliate. Hereafter only those nations which give our goods this equality will get the benefit of our minimum tariffs.

Germany, in answer to American protests of discrimination, argues that it is forced to favor imports from countries which buy an equivalent amount of German goods. America has been selling more goods to Germany than it has been buying, due, at least partly, to the boycott on German made goods carried on in this country.

## Organizing Department Store Girls

By Gertrude Weil Klein

FORTY years ago the department stores used to employ little boys to help deliver packages. They worked all hours; during the Christmas rush, far into the night and on "the night before Christmas" into the dawn. Once, a ten-year-old boy, shivering in his thin clothes and too exhausted after a day and night's work to go home, crawled into the delivery cart to sleep. The next day they found him frozen to death.

This shocking incident galvanized into action a group of liberal and radical women, among them the well-known Socialist Florence Kelley, and they launched the National Consumers' League. They tackled from the women's angle, the consumer's angle, the many evils which the trade unions were tackling in their field. From time to time ever since ef-

forts have been made to better the conditions of department store employees through organization, with but indifferent success. The old story of the non-organization of the white collar worker blocked the efforts to organize department store salespeople.

When Local 1250 of the American Federation of Labor started its present drive, and the local organizer Benjamin B. Goodman talked about calling a mass meeting in some large hall, many skeptical eyebrows went skyward. But with the assistance of the Consumers' League and the League of Women Shoppers, the meeting was called. A packed hall—Manhattan Opera House—was the response. The largest turnout of retail clerks the country has ever seen came to listen to a long list of labor people and consumers' representatives urging them to join the union.

Since the meeting less than a week ago, nearly two hundred inquiries have poured into union headquarters. Last Saturday pickets were placed on duty around the stores which have increased working hours since the collapse of NRA. It is obvious that all that



G. W. Klein

## Baton Rouge, Private Murder; Minneapolis, Police Murder

By Algernon Lee

IT has been rather depressing, within the last week or ten days, to note how many persons condone the murder of Huey Long or applaud it as a heroic and idealistic act. Some of these



Algernon Lee

are just blather-skites, who like to hear themselves talk, and who, if the whim had seized them might just as well have been clamoring to have some of Long's foes burned at the stake in reprisal for the murder. Blather-skites we have always with us, unfortunately, and their follies need not give us much concern. The disturbing thing is that the shooting of Long has been excused or praised by persons who call themselves radicals and imagine that they have some kind of "social philosophy."

These persons are of course not Socialists. Nor are they Communists. The Communists have pretty consistently condemned the tactics of political assassination, though it must be said that their glorification of mass killing as a revolutionary policy has done more harm to the working class movement than ever did the old-fashioned Bakuninist "propaganda of the deed." However, the so-called radicals who approve the Louisiana murder are neither Socialists nor Communists nor Anarchists. They are just rattlebrains, who hang on the skirts of one movement or another, who have no patience for straight thinking, who are never sure what they positively stand for, but who are always passionately against something or someone and are always clamoring for "action."

They fancy that the killing of Long was an effective blow against fascism. There are only two serious errors in this notion.

In the first place, Huey Long was not a fascist, and the sort of thing he stood for in the South is not fascism nor anything like it. Long was a pretty typical American product. Some of his ugly features were specifically Southwestern, but essentially similar figures have been known in all parts of this country farther back than anyone now alive can remember. He was neither more nor less than a corrupt and ruthless "practical politician," equally ready to appeal to mob violence or to employ professional gangsters if either would serve his personal ends. Of social theory he had no more than Hinky Dink or Bath House John, but he did have the gift of gab and knew how to use

it. To call him a fascist is to miss entirely the true nature of that much more terrible thing which we see at work in Italy and in Germany.

In the second place, fascism cannot be stopped by killing gang leaders or leading fascists. The assassination of Mussolini or of Hitler tomorrow would not weaken the hideous movements that they represent. More likely it would give them a new lease of life.

The way to get rid of lynch law and of gangsterdom—two very different evils which have long cursed this country—and the way to safeguard America from the possible rise of fascism, which as yet does not exist here, is not to fall into panic fear or hysterical fury, certainly not to try to oppose lawless violence by lawless violence, individual or collective, but to strengthen the positive forces of progress on both the political and the economic field. Those who uphold democracy without any ifs or buts and who at the same time stand wholeheartedly with the movement of Organized Labor are doing what lies in their power to get rid of the sort of thing that Huey Long personified and also to forestall the danger of the yet worse thing that is rightly called fascism.

And while we are on the subject of lawless violence, we might for a moment turn our attention from Baton Rouge to Minneapolis.

Full and definite information is not yet at hand, and we should beware of snap judgments. It is alleged, and it seems very probable, that the two Communist splinter parties, who agree with the Stalinists in their drive to wreck any movement of the workers which they cannot control, went deliberately about it to embarrass Thomas E. Latimer, the Farmer-Labor mayor of Minneapolis, by provoking a conflict with the police. But even if that be true, it is not enough to justify or excuse what took place.

No matter who the mayor or the police chief is, shooting upon a crowd—certainly in the main unarmed—with such effect as to kill two and wound several others is a thing that cannot be defended on the ground that the crowd was disorderly. No properly disciplined police force, under reasonably intelligent command, needs to act in this way.

Of course the Hennepin County grand jury has exonerated the mayor and the chief. It will take more evidence than we have seen to exculpate them. Maybe it was a blunder. But there is truth in the sayings that some blunders are worse than crimes and that the road to hell is paved with good intention.

## 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 UNIONS AND THE SOCIALISTS. A new pamphlet by Leo Krzycki. Socialist Party, Chicago, 16 pages.

In the struggle for the emancipation of Labor, what are the roles to be played by the political and the economic arms of the labor movement? Leo Krzycki, who has spent most of his life working within both movements, answers in the newest Socialist Party pamphlet, "The Unions and the Socialists."

Krzycki, who is field organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and is national chairman of the Socialist Party, bases his arguments on the common goal of both movements. "Both want to gain for the working people the largest possible amount of the wealth which labor creates." Different methods give rise to differ-

ences in organization and tactics. On the job of the unions, Krzycki writes: "Our guiding principle must be the one so clearly set forth fifty-four years ago in the preamble to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor: 'A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefits.'"

"As this struggle sharpens, there can be no quarter given. For labor to yield would mean one step backward after another until labor is crushed as it has been in Germany. Yes! Our defense must be an offense. We must demand more and more. It will be a fight to the finish. Either labor or the bosses must win complete control."

Out of this struggle, the author sees that "The final victory will rest with the side that controls the government." This is the job of the Socialist Party, or of a farmer-labor party of which the Socialists would be a part.

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### A Socialist Agitator in Coal Baron's State Tells His Story Next Week

An interesting story by George M. Hartmann of his experiences on a Socialist propaganda tour of Pennsylvania is crowded out of this issue because of many stories of the labor struggle that could not be postponed to next week.

The New Leader will run this interesting story of an agitator's experience and the varying economic problems that confront the working class in next week's issue.

