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The American
Appeal
Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

Mussolini Starts Slaughter

British Labor Party Demands Sanctions to Stop War on Ethiopia

Congress at Brighton Votes 21 to 1 for League Action Against Fascist Aggression—Left Wingers Are Repudiated.

Backs Union Stand

Unanimity Displayed at Meeting Disperses Stories of Split—Party Expects Big Victory in the General Election.

By John Powers

BY a vote of 21 to 1 the congress of the British Labor Party, meeting at Brighton, voted on Wednesday in favor of sanctions against fascist Italy or any other aggressor nation.

The vote was 2,168,000 in favor of sanctions to 102,000 against.

The action was taken as news arrived of the invasion of Ethiopia by the forces of Benito Mussolini, and expressed unequivocally the determination of British Labor to fight the brutal aggression of Italian fascism and defend the independence and integrity of the little African nation.

The stand of the British Labor Party is the position of International Socialism and the International Labor Movement. The overwhelming majority cast in favor of sanctions at the Brighton congress is a convincing reply to the enemies of labor on the right and on the left who in the past fortnight have assiduously disseminated the falsehood that British Labor faced a split on the vital issue of sanctions and resistance to fascism.

The position of George Lansbury, the respected party leader, whose sincerity in opposing the use of force under any circumstances has never been doubted, and the stand of Sir Stafford Cripps and his significant Socialist League in opposing the policy of the Labor Party and the Trades Union Congress represent the views of an infinitesimal minority. The vote cast by the Socialist League at Brighton did exceed 3,000 out of more than 2,250,000.

Addressing the Brighton meeting, Herbert Morrison, who is often mentioned as the next Labor Prime Minister, declared:

"A political party that advocates things in the abstract and is afraid to act when the moment for action comes, is a political party which the electorate will destroy and be right in destroying."

"Not only were the dissenting labor leaders repudiated," cabled the New York Times correspondent from London in his account of the proceedings, "but there were abundant signs that Mr. Lansbury himself might be told to resign as parliamentary leader despite the deep affection in which he is held."

British Labor is determined to maintain discipline and resents the action of leaders, however important and respected, in rushing into print with statements giving the reactionaries and Communists an opportunity to shout "split." The vote at Brighton is a fitting reply to this demagoguery and a warning to Mussolini and Hitler not to rely upon any splits in the labor movement when labor faces the issue of presenting a solid front against fascism and dictatorship. It is also a warning to defeatists and confusionists in the labor movement who, however well intentioned, seek to interfere with labor's determination to bring about the downfall of fascist tyranny by force, if necessary.

The congress at Brighton will be the last before the general election, expected to take place within a few months. It is con-

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Benito Answers Benito

"The nationalist, conservative and clerical Italy of today wants to make the sword her law and the army the school of the nation." We foresaw this moral degeneration and therefore are not surprised by it. But those who believe that this dominance of militarism is a sign of strength are mistaken. Strong peoples have no need to suffer such rubbish as the Italian press indulges in with foolish delight. Strong peoples have themselves in check. Nationalist and militarist Italy shows that she has herself not in check. A little war of conquest is celebrated as a Roman triumph.

(From an editorial in the Italian Socialist daily *Avanti* on Italy's war in Lybia. Written by Benito Mussolini—January 1, 1912.)

Hoan to Shut Plants Defying Union Labor

Milwaukee Council Adopts Socialist Law Giving Mayor Power to Act—Executive Leads Fight.

Special to The New Leader
MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Labor history was made here Monday when the City Council by a vote of sixteen to ten passed an ordinance giving the Mayor power to close a strike-bound plant when the employer refuses to bargain with the representatives of the striking workers.

The ordinance, introduced by Alderman Frank Boncel, Socialist, had the support of the entire organized labor movement as well as the Socialist Party. The eleven Socialist aldermen, two left-wing Progressives, and three "non-partisan" aldermen who bolted their caucus, voted for the proposal.

The new law is a direct outgrowth of the bitterly fought Lindemann-Hoverson Manufacturing Company strike. Workers at the plant, which makes Alcazar stoves, have been on strike for over seven weeks. Of nine hundred regular employees, 850 are out and there have been no desertions from the strikers' ranks. The head of the firm has flatly refused to meet with the bargaining committee elected by the strikers.

The full support of the entire labor movement has been given the strikers, and mass picket lines, sometimes reaching the number of seven thousand, have been thrown around the plant. The firm and its products have been placed on the Federated Trades Council's "We Do Not Patronize" list.

Severe police attacks (Milwaukee's police are not under the control of the Mayor, the chief being appointed for life by an autonomous fire and police commission) on the picket lines led to the calling of a special council meeting last Thursday.

Factory Ordered Closed
At that meeting the Boncel ordinance was introduced but under the rules of the council could not be acted upon until the next meeting. A special resolution was introduced by Alderman Al Janicki, left-wing Progressive, ordering the chief of police immediately to close the factory.

At this meeting, which was attended by several hundred spectators, including strikers with bandaged heads cracked by police clubs, stirring speeches were made by Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, Leo Krzycki, national chairman of the Socialist Party, and Otto Jirikowicz, business agent for the Machinists.

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AS we go to press the cables bring the news of the invasion of Ethiopia by Italian troops. It is not yet clear to what extent Mussolini intends to carry his adventure. Nor is it clear what deal the Powers have concluded behind the scenes by which the fascist dictator of Italy is to be permitted to proceed with his war plans.

What is clear is that the world is face to face with a grave peril which, unless checked, will plunge it before long into another catastrophe in which civilization itself may be destroyed. For this fascism bears the responsibility.

Whatever may be the trials and sufferings awaiting humanity as a result of the bloody, cynical adventure upon which Mussolini is embarked, it is to be hoped that fascist dictatorship will be destroyed in the flames that it has kindled. That such will be the consequence is indicated by authoritative reports of rising internal discontent and financial and economic disorder already making themselves felt in Italy.

Socialists must face the situation with clear mind and in disciplined manner. Although Mussolini's troops appear to be actually on the march, there is hope that the intervention of the League of Nations, backed by the organized workers of Europe, will yet make themselves felt effectively before the struggle in Africa engulfs the world. There are too many uncertainties and imponderables in the situation to permit a clear view at this distance of what is taking place. We in America must be guided by what our comrades in Europe think and do, for they are closer to the situation and are in a better position than we are to formulate opinion and policy.

And we must be ready to give them such support as may be within our power in order that the decent opinion of mankind may be mobilized to stop the slaughter as soon as possible and help bring down the structure of fascist dictatorship, the most ferocious enemy of civilization and labor at work in the world today.

Socialists Pack Teachers Form Town Hall in Guild as Step Election Drive To New Union

Enthusiastic Start for Local Election Drive—Party Backs Fight for City Power Plant.

BEFORE an enthusiastic audience that packed every corner of New York's Town Hall and that overflowed on to the stage the local campaign of the Socialist Party got off to a fine start last Sunday.

It was a remarkable meeting in every way; in size, in enthusiasm, in its response to the speakers and in the size of the contributions it made to the campaign funds of the party.

Called as the annual meeting to ratify the ticket and to build up sentiment in favor of the proposed referendum for a city power plant, the gathering met faced with a situation that but once comes every four years; that is, that in this "off year" there are no major offices to be filled and the campaign is only for minor local offices, and for the principles of the Socialist Party. In addition, on the very day the meeting was held a Supreme Court decision was

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Levy Tells Conference Socialist Views on Crime and Criminals

Special to The New Leader
ALBANY, N. Y.—Governor Lehman's conference on crime meeting here is evidence of nervous apprehension of public officials and social workers over misfit human beings unable to adjust themselves to society and normal persons who are tempted into crime because of adverse economic conditions. Scores of persons more or less eminent in public life contributed their views on how to cope with crime and criminals.

Environment, inherited traits, penology, "shyster" lawyers, delay in court procedure and the old chestnut against "maudlin sentiment" with reference to the treatment of criminals were again discussed.

Matthew M. Levy of New York City, representing the Socialist Party, is attending the conference

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More Than 600 Former Members of Local 5 Start Movement for Bona Fide Organization.

FOLLOWING their announcement that they would leave the Teachers' Union on Sept. 30, the resigning officers and 15 members of the Executive Board of Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers, together with over 600 other members, severed their connections with the union and on Oct. 1 they organized as the New York Teachers' Guild, leaving the old union in the hands of four organized groups, the Stalinists, the Love-sonites, the Trotskyites, and the "militant" Socialists. The Stalinists have the largest group and they will dominate what remains of the wrecked union. Professor John Dewey, greatest of American educators, announced his intention of applying for membership and seeking to be awarded membership card No. 1.

Three days before organizing the Guild, Henry R. Linville, representing the resigning members, sent a statement to the 11 locals that withdrew from the national convention of the A. F. of L., in which he briefly relates what had happened in Local 5 and declares that the four groups now in control of an empty shell have formed a temporary truce but that it will be long "before the Communists take complete possession and institute their practice of disruption and dictatorship in accordance with their principles."

The retiring teachers also pay their respects to the bourgeois "liberal" New York Post that has served as an organ of the intriguing cliques in the union. The "American Teacher," official publication of the national organization now controlled by the "progressive" conservative, recently printed an editorial from the Post attacking labor leaders. The Post in that editorial also said that if Local 5 had followed the advice of the Dewey report on how to handle the left wing problem, no trouble would have followed. The fact is that the author of the re-

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American Federation of Labor Will Face Vital Issues at Convention Called to Assemble on Monday

Union Strikes At Communists In Convention

Teamsters Take Drastic Action Against Disruption and Report High Tide of Membership.

PORTLAND, Ore.—The recent convention of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen, and Helpers, met in this city with 400 delegates representing unions throughout the United States and Canada. The convention voted drastic action against admission of members of the Communist Party and the expulsion of any members who join that organization.

Daniel J. Tobin was re-elected President and Thomas L. Hughes General Secretary-Treasurer.

Hughes reported that during the past five years 462 new charters were issued to locals in the United States and Canada and 11 to Joint Councils. His report also showed the remarkable financial progress made by the organization during all the years of depression and revealed a paid-up membership of 135,000, the highest on record. It was pointed out that this figure, in reality, means a membership of more than 150,000.

Communists Barred

Prominent among the resolutions adopted was the one barring Communists from the Brotherhood.

"No member of the Communist party," the resolution declared, "shall be allowed to hold membership or be admitted to membership in any local union of the International organization. If by false statements such individual has obtained membership, he shall be expelled."

"It is not necessary that the individual be charged with membership in the Communist party admit his membership in said party. If the local union executive board, by a majority vote, are satisfied with the evidence presented that the individual is a member of the Communist party or any branch of the Communist party, the local executive board shall have the power to expel such individual after he has obtained a proper trial in accordance with our laws from the local executive board."

Board Decision Is Final

According to the resolution the decision of the executive board is final with the understanding that either party has the right to appeal.

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Greene Is Jailed For Union Work In Textile War

Special to The New Leader
SALISBURY, N. C.—Leonard Greene, national organizer for the United Textile Workers of America, is free on a \$1,500 bond after having been arrested and held for a \$50,000 bond in Mooreville for "inciting to riot" in connection with a strike that has tied up the big cotton plant there.

Greene, one of the most effective and dynamic of the organizers of the textile union, was arrested and held for saying in a speech, "The strikers must try to get the mill closed down tight. I would rather be dead than a scab."

The establishment, one of the larger cotton plants, is a typical plant, with company houses and all the rest of the trimmings of attitudinized company unionism. The

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Canadian Labor In Big Drive for Political Power

By Victor Kiesel

ON the eve of the Canadian national elections, to be held October 14, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, the Socialist Party of Canada, is confident that more than fifty members of parliament will be elected of a total of 120 and a million votes cast for them in their fight for a new social order.

Led by the veteran of many Socialist battles, J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., the C.C.F. is campaigning intensively in every province of the Dominion to lead in the five-cornered contest. The Tories, die-hard conservatives, whose Prime Minister Bennett is the richest man in Canada; the Liberals, who represent the corporate interests; a Mr. Stevens, who broke with the Tories, and the persistent Communists, who are pursuing their usual tactics of calling for a "united front" while they attack the Socialists at every meeting, are all set against the Federation.

Social Credit Opposition

Alberta's new Social Credit administration gave a new slant to the campaign. Woodsworth and his comrades are fighting this new panacea by disseminating straight Socialist propaganda in the form of hundreds of thousands of leaflets, radio broadcasts and newspaper bombardment. Rev. A. Eberhart, the new Social Credit Premier of Alberta, has already postponed action and the meeting of the provincial legislature until the early part of next year. This is contrary to all his pre-election promises. A run on the provincial banks, causing him to apply to private bankers for a loan, has further discredited this new economic savior. It was in Alberta that the loosely-knit and unorganized movement of the C.C.F. consolidated itself into an energetic political party with a well worked

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Stauning Calls New Elections For October 22

THE Social Democratic government of Denmark headed by Premier Thorvald Stauning will face the voters for the second time in a general election called for October 22nd.

Stauning leader of the powerful Socialist Party, has been Premier since 1929. Previously he had been Premier from 1924 to 1926. In 1932 the Stauning government faced the people and was returned with a larger vote than in the 1929 election. Since then local and provincial elections have shown heavy Socialist gains.

The current unsettled economic situation, and widespread fascist propaganda among the rural elements, led to Premier Stauning's decision to dissolve the Rigsdag and call for new elections. It is hoped by the Socialists that they will result in a clear majority and a mandate for an all-Socialist government.

In April, 1929, the elections gave the Socialists 61 seats to 16 Radicals, 43 Agrarians, 25 Conservatives and 4 Independents. The Socialists, with Radical support, formed a majority, with 77 out of 149 members. The 1932 elections gave the Socialists a gain of one, the new House consisting of 62 Socialists, 39 Liberals, 27 Conservatives, 14 Independent Liberals, 4 Single Taxers and 2 Communists. In the upper house the party line-up is: Liberals 28, Socialists 27, Conservatives 13, and Independent Lib-

Union Representatives to Meet at Atlantic City in Session Likely to Prove of Great Historical Significance.

Labor Party Issue

Max Hayes Explains Problems Confronting Federation at the Momentous Meeting—Nation's Eyes on Proceedings.

On Monday the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor will meet in Atlantic City in what promises to be the most momentous session in the history of organized labor in America. Problems of the most vital importance to labor and the nation will be considered by delegates from all parts of the country. Industrial unionism, political action, questions of social legislation and ways and means of promoting the organization of the masses of American workers on a greater scale than ever before will be among the problems on the convention's agenda. The entire nation will watch the proceedings with the greatest interest. The article below by one of the country's foremost labor leaders and publicists presents in brief the important issues before the convention.

By Max S. Hayes
Editor of The Cleveland Citizen

JUDGING from all reports the convention of the American Federation of Labor is likely to become the most sensational in the history of the organization so far as dealing with internal affairs is concerned. The differences between the groups in the building trades, which were thrown into the courts and then kicked back in a recent decision, will furnish plenty of excitement unless an adjustment is reached in the meanwhile.

But of far greater importance is the renewal of the struggle between the forces of industrial and craft unionism, which has become aggravated because of the trouble in the brewing industry and dual movements in the automobile and metal trades. John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, has come to be regarded as the leader of the industrial unions, and in an interview he has explained their position in part as follows:

"It is my belief that the American Federation of Labor is in a period of transition, and that its future will be substantially determined by the course its leaders take now. Like all other human institutions, it cannot remain static; it must either progress or deteriorate."

"It has progressed by attempting a closer co-operation with government; it has deteriorated in that its leaders are clinging to a type of organization which is not adapted to changed economic conditions. I refer, of course, to the question of industrial as against craft unions. Whether this political development will be able to offset the lack of adequate organization in the mass production industries is uncertain; I should say, however, that it will not."

"The American Federation of Labor should begin its task by fulfilling the mandate of its San Francisco convention of 1934, which passed a resolution specifically instructing the executive council of the Federation to issue charters to national or international unions in the automotive, cement and aluminum industries. The executive council has consistently refrained from carrying out its responsibilities in an effectual way."

Political Action
The Labor party movement is another big question that is coming up in the A. F. of L. convention

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Socialists Wage Campaign on Many Fronts

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made public outlawing even the submission of the power plant referendum.

Despite the obstacles and the difficulties, a crowd came that packed Town Hall, that listened with enthusiasm to the speakers, that cheered and sang Socialist songs, and that contributed close to \$500 to the party funds, as well

THEY OPENED NEW YORK'S SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN



Speakers at New York's great Town Hall meeting, at which the city's municipal Socialist campaign was launched. Standing, left to right—Harry W. Laidler, William Karlin, Prof. George W. Hartmann, candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania in 1934, and Charles Solomon, chairman of the meeting. Seated, left to right—Mayor Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport, Algernon Lee, Assemblyman Darlington Hoopes of Reading, Pa., and Norman Thomas.

as many new subscriptions to The New Leader.

The keynote of the fine meeting was set in an eloquent talk by George H. Goebel, who told of the difficulties that face propagandists of minority causes and especially of Socialism, and why it was particularly essential to build up The New Leader and pave the way for a Socialist daily. The response was enthusiastic and emphatic, and even in an audience composed largely of New Leader supporters fifty new subscriptions were secured.

Charles Solomon, eloquent as ever, acted as chairman, and in a fiery opening address riddled the President's promise to business of a "breathing spell," called attention to the widespread joblessness, economic insecurity, and especially to the municipal problems that can be solved only by Socialist action. The same message was given,

each in his own way, by Harry W. Laidler, Darlington Hoopes, Mayor Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport, Dr. George W. Hartmann of Pennsylvania, Algernon Lee, and Norman Thomas.

Laidler spoke of the need for municipal ownership of utilities, and pointed out the gains that would come to the city from complete public ownership, not merely a "yardstick" plant, and he ana-

100,000 additional Socialist votes in the last two city elections many things that have occurred during the past two years would have been impossible. Thomas called for a united working class and a united party to battle the grave dangers that menace the world today.

Mayor McLevy was greeted with affectionate enthusiasm, and he repaid his audience by a recital, told with simple, homely, honest

Summer's Work in the Bay State

By Lena Morrow Lewis

IN the more than 30 years I have been speaking and organizing for the Socialist Party, covering every section of the U.S.A. (and five years in Alaska), I have had opportunity to observe the value of open air meetings. The advent of the automobile which limits the places for meetings, the movies and the radio as counter-attractions have somewhat lessened the value of street meetings. Lack of efficient speakers and cooperation on part of the rank and file in some places have all contributed to making much of our open-air work today fall below the standard of former times.

"College of the Street"

However, today there are places where open-air work deserves much commendation.

A couple of months' work in Massachusetts under the direction of the state committee made possible a number of open-air meetings in Boston. City Organizer Boynick had a group of six comrades, of whom four are open-air speakers and the others good "Jimmy Higginses," and my meetings were prefaced by short speeches from two or more of these comrades. Consultation as to topics or just how the preliminary speakers should proceed resulted in well-organized and effective meetings. Irving Phillips and Jacob Levine had very little experience in public speaking before this summer and the same could be said of Dave Boynick, and the improvement these comrades made was quite noticeable.

These boys first became interested in the radical movement by attending a "left-wing" splinter group study class. Before many weeks passed a friend, after some argument, persuaded them to attend a Socialist study class. It was not long until they discovered that some of the things they had been told about the Socialist Party were false, and the more they studied the Socialist position and its program of action the more they were convinced that the Socialist local was where they belonged. They further saw that the Socialist Party can best be built up by constructive continued well-planned activities, and motivated by this idea these comrades developed into good workers with a creditable record.

A new feature in open-air work

was tried out. One of the most desirable street corners was selected for a series of meetings every night for a week. Organizer Boynick was ambitious enough to call this week's meetings "the college of the street." Each night a different chairman opened the meeting and made a short talk in line with the main speaker. A special subject with a different speaker every night, covering various phases and problems facing the working class and the mission of the Socialist Party, was discussed.

Organizing a Class

The week before the course began a cleverly illustrated mimeograph advertisement was placed in a thousand homes and public places announcing the meetings. During the afternoon of the day, an auto was driven through the district announcing the name of the speaker and the subject. As a result the crowds, beginning the second night, began to gather before the meeting started, and toward the end of the series it was evident that a large number had attended every night and some even acquired the habit of standing in the "same pew." At the end of the week, 17 were enrolled in a study class with the object of later organizing them into a branch, while 11 young folks signed up for a Yipsel study group. Meanwhile the street meetings in other parts of the city and suburbs were also going on.

While some well-arranged meetings in Cambridge of the members of the local are devoting all their spare time to the unemployed organizations, Comrade Hamilton sees to it that every Thursday night a speaker addresses a meeting in Central Square in front of the Baptist Church. A comfortable place for those who wish to sit on the steps, with the building serving as a sounding board for the voice, the place is a very desirable location for an open-air meeting and I addressed four different meetings there. The last meeting developed quite a controversy over whether or not the Socialists should vote for Roosevelt in the next election. Needless to say, the crowd was given some good reasons why the Socialist ticket should receive its support.

Meetings in Other Sections of State

Some half dozen meetings during the summer at Lynn gave a chance to observe the activities of our comrades there. John Hall and his co-workers are putting up a very effective city campaign.

Meetings were addressed in Northampton, Easthampton, North Adams, Springfield, Greenfield, Worcester, Holyoke, the Finnish festival at Fitchburg and the summer school at Ashland, and also for the Confederation of Western Massachusetts.

The locals in the western part of

Freese Victory Seen in Norwalk Election

Special to The New Leader

NORWALK, Conn.—Staid and conservative Connecticut is likely to have a second Bridgeport after November 5th. Local Socialists assert that Norwalk, a lively industrial city of about 40,000 population, will elect Arnold E. Freese, Socialist state secretary, as Mayor next month, and with him a Socialist administration.

In four years the Socialist vote here rose 2,500 per cent, from 54 to 1,250, and the impetus of that amazing growth is carrying Socialism forward so that today the worried old parties consider the Socialists a major threat in the coming city elections.

With a strong ticket, consisting mainly of prominent trade unionists, and a good local platform the Socialists have been waging a magnificent campaign that is reaching every citizen in the community.

Big mass meetings are being held in the Community Hall, in various public libraries, and in the Norwalk Armory, where on Friday, Oct. 4th, Mayor McLevy of Bridgeport, Senator Taft and Freese will speak.

In addition Freese and others broadcast regularly over WICC on the local issues.

The platform demands, among other things, pledges the Socialists, in the event of victory, to extend public ownership of utilities throughout the city, a central purchasing office, a five-cent fare, tax foreclosure of idle lands for public parks, elimination of useless officials and civil service protection for all city employees.

Among the candidates on the ticket are:

Steven Benn, a member of the carpenter's union, for City Treasurer; Nicholas Bortolot, a hatter,

the state are noted for their picnics and money-raising success. If one does not wish to part with any money the only way to be sure one will keep it is to leave it at home, for Leslie Richards has an uncanny way of separating from their pockets all the money the comrades may have with them. The Confederation has financed the tuition of scholars at various summer schools and labor colleges.

Special mention should be made of the fine and centrally located headquarters of Local Holyoke, and the revenue possibilities are very promising for this local.

This article would not be com-

for City Sheriff. For the Board of Education are Alice M. Barry and Jean M. Walser; for selectmen, Arthur Anderson of the trolley-men's union, and Henry R. Joyce; for Councilmen, John Saxton, Socialist town chairman and secretary of the lace-makers union; Albert Martens, Edward P. Cahill, Harry Beckett, president of the central labor union and secretary of the Hatters' Union; William F. Holmes, secretary of the local



Arnold E. Freese

Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; Leroy Smith of the Plumber's Union; Stanley Mayhew, president of the Amalgamated Association of Street Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees; Earl Seymour, Earl P. Stevens of Marines Engineers Association; for Constable Franklin Weed, Harry L. Cockayne, Anthony C. Errico and Wilmer D. Eckert, secretary of the Amalgamated Order of Street Railway Employees; for Tree Warden is Earl V. D. Hamm.

Norwalk is only one of the many Connecticut cities and towns that have full Socialist tickets, many of them for the first time in history, and that are waging aggressive fights to dot the Nutmeg state with Socialist municipalities and that in 1936 are expected to send many more Socialist delegations to the Legislature to keep Hartford's five company.

plete without a word of appreciation for the splendid cooperation the state secretary, Alfred Baker Lewis, gave me in my work in the state as well as his own tireless activities.

Kahn Dinner Postponed

The testimonial dinner for Alexander Kahn, candidate for Alderman in the 16th A. D., Kings, has been postponed because Kahn is detained in Europe. The dinner will take place Sunday, Oct. 20, at the Central Plaza, 111 Second Ave., New York. Socialist Party branches and other organizations are requested not to arrange any affairs to conflict with this dinner.

Inside Stuff---Confidential---For New Leader Friends and Boosters

By George

THERE'S been an outburst of kicks from some New Leader friends in various parts of the country the last week or so because The New Leader is about the only paper in the world that does not often give at least a little space to saying a good word about itself, its plans for future articles, etc., so that its friends and readers can better aid in its growth to a twice-a-week paper and then a daily; one writer pointing out that even the New York Times daily has a stick-out-your-chest box telling everybody that they are liable to drop dead if they miss a certain issue, by George!

To these protesters and letter-writers, Vic and Roselle and the gang behind the gun say THANK YOU!—Keep it up and we will be in a position to tell Jimmie O'neal and Willie Feigenbaum where they get off if they keep this out of the paper, by George! . . . After all, what's a general without an army? And what do the ablest of editors and greatest minds amount to without an army of readers?

People have a right to know about their own business, by George!—And as we of the Leader boosters see it, The New Leader, its contents and growth, are the business and deep concern of not only The New Leader Association, its editors, and Editorial Board, etc., but also, and still more, of thousands of Socialists and Trade Union workers all over the country who feel that no other paper so exactly represents them, or aids as much in building up solid, intelligent organization as does The New Leader, by George!

The truth of this contention of the letter writers was well proven by the conference of over two hundred called to the meeting some days ago in the Pennsylvania Hotel. For some months there had been talk that before we dare to

hope for a Daily we must first have at least 25,000 additional readers of the weekly. BUT, as Mark Twain said about the weather, "no one did much about it," until calling this Pennsylvania Hotel Conference was thought of. The result? 1265 new yearly subscribers pledged in less than ten minutes, by George! And every one leaving that Conference with a new interest and feeling of responsibility for getting that 25,000 yearlies required. And, if you were in the office here handling the mail, you would know it was not just the enthusiasm of a passing moment, by George!

1265 new yearly subs!—JUST BECAUSE THE GANG WERE TAKEN IN ON THE INSIDE! And we here at the business end of the stick feel it can be made ten times 1265 or we can have that same intimate contact, and chance to tell the story to New Leader friends and readers all over the country. We can't, of course, gather you all into the Pennsylv-

vania Hotel, but there ARE many towns where we could somehow get a speaker to you, and many scattered, individual comrades and friends in the small towns that we could somehow manage to give the inside dope if we had your names.

How about it? Want to join the Leader boosters? If so, send your name, and something about conditions where you live, etc. And by the way, what about a name for the boosters? Dr. Reiss of Newark suggests "The Light Bearers", Sidney Stark of Pittsburgh, says: "What's the matter with 'The No-Hows'?" (Know-Hows!) What's your suggestion? We want to hear from you, by George!

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MUSIC by the SWING LOW NEGRO CHORUS, directed by Gilbert Allen.

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COURSES BEGIN TUESDAY EVENING, OCT. 8, AS FOLLOWS:

Tuesday, 7 P. M.—

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM

David P. Berenberg

THE FACT BASIS OF ECONOMICS

Algernon Lee

THE FUNDAMENTALS OF MUSIC

Adele T. Katz

Tuesday, 8:30 P. M.—

APPRECIATION OF LITERATURE

David P. Berenberg

AMERICAN HISTORY

William E. Bohn

MUSIC AND SOCIETY

Adele T. Katz

SCIENCE AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Jack Schuyler

LITERARY DISCUSSION GROUP

Rebecca Jarvis

Wednesday, 7 P. M.—

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF EUROPE

Ben Haskel

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Bela Low

TRADE UNION PROBLEMS

Wednesday, 8:30 P. M.—

PSYCHOLOGY

George B. Vetter

LITERARY SPOKESMEN OF EUROPE AND AMERICA

Elias L. Tartak

PROBLEMS OF SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

Thursday, 7 P. M.—

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

August Claessens

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM

Frederick Shulman

GROWTH OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

William E. Bohn

EVOLUTION OF ECONOMIC THEORY

Jack Barbash

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Algernon Lee, Joseph Shaplen

Thursday, 8:30 P. M.—

CURRENT BOOKS AND WRITERS

Peter M. Jack

METHOD IN SOCIALIST EDUCATION

Frederick Shulman

CURRENT CHANGES IN AMERICAN CULTURE

Monday, 7 P. M.—

THE SEARCH FOR NORMALITY

Dr. Margaret Daniels

ECONOMIC DOCTRINES OF KARL MARX

Bela Low

LITERATURE OF PROTEST

Karl M. Chworowsky

LABOR AND SOCIALISM IN AMERICA

William E. Duffy

Monday, 8:30 P. M.—

SOCIAL ORIGINS AND MODERN PROBLEMS

Edward M. Barrows

TRADE UNIONISM

William E. Duffy

Also courses in English and in Russian, afternoon courses for women, and other features.—Tuition fees very low.—Some virtually free scholarships still available.

WOMEN'S COMMITTEE
All members and friends are cordially invited to attend a reception to the women candidates on the Socialist Party ticket on Friday, Oct. 11, 8 p. m., in the Rand School Auditorium, 7 E. 15th St. Refreshments.

Vital Issues Before Convention of the A.F. of L.

Assimilation of New Members Big Problem, Says Max Hayes

(Continued from Page One)

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. Announcing the program to be submitted by this organization to the convention of the A. F. of L., the council declared that "the union is on record in favor of industrial organization and the formation of a Labor party."

The New York New Leader estimates that more than one million members of the A. F. of L., 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 backed by the organized workers of the nation is believed to be making greater progress than opponents of the idea appear to perceive.

Still another interesting subject that will come before the convention is the pending war crisis. While the Federation is already on record against war and warmongers, the threatening Italian-Ethiopian hostilities will receive special attention and particularly in view of the fact that the federated labor forces of Europe are now arranging plans to declare a world-wide boycott against the belligerents and prevent profiteers from furnishing them with munitions and other war materials.

Labor and War

Following action of the A. F. of L. convention, it is probable that the national and international unions that will hold conventions this fall and winter, and there will be quite a large number of such gatherings, will also take a strong stand against war and selling supplies or extending credits to either Italy, Ethiopia or any other nation involved in the international slaughter.

With the labor forces of the world engaged in a boycott whether or not the League of Nations declares sanctions, which means the same thing, there would be great difficulties encountered by the warring nations to continue their campaigns for any length of time.

Among recent labor conventions which have already adopted anti-

war resolutions were those of the Wisconsin, Tennessee and Georgia State Federations and international conventions of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, American Federation of Hosiery Workers and American Federation of Teachers.

During the past few weeks conventions of automobile workers in Detroit and rubber workers in Akron have been held and considerable friction developed on the question of jurisdiction over craftsmen employed in those plants which will have its repercussions in the Atlantic City convention.

Education Needed

It may be mentioned in this connection that on Sunday, Sept. 30, a conference was held in Cleveland by representatives of the Mechanics' Educational Society of America, the Federation of Metal and Allied Unions, Machine Tool and Foundry Workers and Electrical and Radio Workers' Unions for the purpose of linking up into an international industrial federation.

On the following day these delegates invaded Detroit to invite the independent Associated Automobile Workers of America and the Automotive Industrial Workers' Association, the latter sponsored by Father Coughlin, to join the new federation, and it is understood that later on the independent unions in the West and Southwest are to be urged to affiliate, together with such local unions that subscribe to the industrial form of organization.

In view of the tremendous influx of raw recruits into the A. F. of L. in the past few years, there has been a deplorable lack of education manifested, with the result that many undisciplined, ill-advised strikes have occurred and in numerous instances the new organizations were destroyed.

Due to the penny-wise and pound-foolish policy of neglecting the labor press as an important educational factor, the number of these publications has shrunk to less than half what it was ten years ago.

It is probable that the usual resolution will be adopted at Atlantic City congratulating the labor press, and that will be about all. The new recruits, who do not know what it is all about, will continue to remain plenty dense and easy victims of Hearstian propaganda.

Union Strikes At Communists

(Continued from Page One)

deal to the joint council if one exists in the district, or to the International Executive Board if there is no joint council.

If the charge of being a Communist is made against a member of the local executive board he cannot act on the trial board. In such a case a substitute will be appointed by the joint council if there is one in the district; if there is no joint council the general president of the International Brotherhood is empowered to delegate someone to select a member from any local union in the district to act on the local executive board.

16 Amalgamated Shops on Strike in Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA.—Fifteen hundred women finishers employed in 16 men's clothing shops have been called out on strike by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The strike followed futile conferences between the union of which Charles Weinstein is the manager and the employers, for the payment of a minimum wage of \$14.40 and the establishment of a 36-hour week. Six shops employing 600 workers immediately complied with the union demands and signed agreements. Negotiations were pending at the end of the day with five other shops that are expected to sign agreements. The strike has completely shut down the shops affected.

Greene Is Jailed For Union Work

(Continued from Page One)

strike was a spontaneous outbreak in protest against the discharge September 27 of seven workers for union activity.

The sentiment in the town among the people, and even among some of the public officials, was friendly to the workers and their union, but the company officials showed their cloven hoof in the discharges at a time when they thought there would be no effective protest. The discharges were the first in a projected campaign to break the union.

Tools of Mill Interests

Sheriff John W. Moore swore out the warrant for Greene which charged him with "incendiary language to violate the criminal law at a meeting of strikers." At a hearing in court Greene denied that he had used the language attributed to him. On the contrary, he declared, he had advised the strikers to "conduct themselves as law-abiding Americans" and so "reflect credit upon themselves and the union."

C. P. Barringer, attorney retained by the United Textile Workers to defend Greene, declared in court that the law enforcement officials of Iredell County had acted as tools of the mill interests when they arrested Greene. "Anybody had a right to hear Greene and nobody was compelled to stay," said Barringer. "It was a public meeting. He was arrested through prejudice on the part of the minions of the law of Mooresville and officers of the Mooresville cotton mills."

Funds Needed

Some thirty-odd armed deputies are guarding the struck plant and Roy R. Lawrence, president of the State Federation of Labor, denounced the presence of these guards at a mass meeting of the strikers. He declared that Governor Ehringhouse had no business to send these patrolmen.

The workers are holding their ranks, and with the support of workers everywhere they are confident of winning.

The United Textile Workers has issued an appeal for financial support both for the defense of Greene and two others who were arrested with him, and for the strike as a whole.

Contributions should be sent to James Starr, Secretary-Treasurer, U.T.W.A., Bible House, New York City.

Greene has been active in labor struggles for more than 20 years. Many years ago his work of organization in California brought him before the reactionary courts of that state many times. Greene never employed an attorney, but always pleaded his own case. His pleas were so effective, however, that he always won favorable verdicts from the juries before whom he was tried.

Lecture by Judge Panken

On Oct. 9th, at 8:30 p. m., Jacob Panken, Justice of the Domestic Relations Court and Children's Court, will address the Parents' Association of Public School 86 in the school auditorium, Reservoir Ave. and 195th St., Bronx, on "Juvenile Delinquency as a Judge Sees It."

Hoan Is Authorized To Shut Scab Plants

(Continued from Page One)

Union, who is in charge of the strike.

Hoan flayed the company for refusing to obey the Wagner Labor Disputes Act. He told the audience that he had sent a telegram to Secretary Frances Perkins demanding immediate action against the firm.

"Here is a citizen of Milwaukee," exclaimed the Mayor, "who says 'To Hell with the United States! Congress may pass laws, but what do I care?' The people of the south side can't understand why the police should be there to protect a man violating the law."

Mayor Hoan attributed labor trouble in most American cities to police intervention in favor of strikebreakers.

A Pestilence

"The violence rests upon the head of Mr. Lindemann; some of it will now rest upon you," the Mayor told the audience. "If I had the power now, I would close the plant. The time has come to close it as you would a house of pestilence. You give that power to the health department, and you give power to the fire department to dynamite buildings when there is danger," he concluded.

By passing the Boncel ordinance, Milwaukee can be the model in labor disputes for all cities in the United States, Krzycki told the audience. He warned that the Lindemann situation is "full of dynamite" and pleaded that the aldermen "not wait until flowers are laid on the grave of some poor unfortunate worker."

Denunciation of the Lindemann management and police was poured forth by Jirikovic in a blistering address. "This strike has been precipitated by an employer of the old school, who doesn't know what is going on today," Jirikovic said. "He has chiseled and cheated until the employees have struck."

"He has taken time clocks out and worked boys and girls beyond hours, after the NRA was abolished. He has cut wages down to 22 and 26 cents an hour. Do you expect an employer of that category should be given the protection of the police department?"

Following the passage of the resolution by a unanimous vote, the police chief refused to close the plant, saying the resolution was irregular and he would await the fate of the Boncel ordinance before action.

While the debate was taking place on the council floor three thousand workers stood in the rain outside the Lindemann plant to hear speeches by prominent labor leaders, among them J. J. Handley, secretary of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor; John Banachowicz, international vice-president of the Hosiery Workers' Union; Al Benson, state secretary of the Socialist Party, and Krzycki.

At a hearing on the Boncel ordinance before the council's judiciary committee last Friday, it was bitterly attacked by the Association of Commerce and the Citizens' Law and Order League, local super-patriotic and red-baiting organizations. They predicted every factory in Milwaukee would leave the city if it were passed. (So far none have moved.)

At the council meeting Monday, when the ordinance passed, Carl P. Dietz, veteran Socialist alderman, roundly scored the manufacturers and super-patriots for their attitude. He put the blame for any violence in the strike squarely on their shoulders.

"It is groups like these who protect the vested interests in the wealth they have wrung from the exploited. They refuse to concede even the right of collective bargaining to the workers. Such an attitude naturally leads to serious clashes," Dietz said.

One Day Warning

"For many years men who were bold enough and unconscionable enough to take advantage of others not gifted by nature. These men in all ages have taken advantage of the underdog. Little by little, step by step, through efforts of the underdog, the masses of the people have been able to advance themselves principally through their own demands," he continued.

"A certain degree of liberty has been brought about by the workman. He has the ballot. However, in the economic sphere the workman is up against the proposition of accepting what the employer will give him. He is not a free man. But the day will come when not only in the political but

Teachers Form Guild Looking to New Union

(Continued from Page One)

port John Dewey, is one of the 600 members who resigned."

Referring to other experiences with the Post, the statement to the 11 other unions that bolted the national Teachers' convention says: "For many months we have found our point of view and even our official actions misrepresented in the school news section of the Post and also found our attitudes misstated in the editorials."

Approves New Leader

The retiring teachers also express their gratitude to The New Leader and pays it a warm compliment for the way in which it has fought for decency and principle in the teachers' struggle and against intrigues of organized party cliques in the union. The statement adds that The New Leader represents the "better part of the Socialist movement that is working hard to maintain the principle of honest cooperation with organized labor in opposition to the wrecking policy which the 'militant' Socialists and the Communists are pursuing."

This statement of the retiring teachers also carries a keen analysis of the votes cast in the national convention on the proposal to revoke the charter of Local 5. With patience at the breaking point after some ten years of struggle with the organized cliques in the Local, Local 5 had asked for the revocation of the charter. The cliques and their allies opposed this proposal. The vote in favor was 79; against, 100.

The analysis of the membership represented by this delegate vote shows that the 79 votes represented 5,915 members, or 69 per cent, while the 100 votes represented 3,768 members, or 39 per cent. There were 28 locals recently organized before the convention met and of these only 3 voted with New York and 25 against New York. "Clearly, the most recently organized locals were of one mind against New York," the statement says. The 6 votes represented 156 members and the 43 votes represented 970 members. The undemocratic representation and inequitable weight given to the new locals which carried the decision against New York is evident in the following comment: "Compare a membership of 970 with 43 votes and New York with 2,131 membership and 17 votes."

The Guild's Program

"Five new locals were chartered after April, 1935," the statement continues. "Their membership is unknown. But they all voted against revocation. Furthermore, Locals 424 and 425 were chartered in July, 1935, after the close of school. They paid their dues after August 21. The convention met August 25. They were allowed to vote. They voted against New York."

"In the face of these statistics, will the left wingers still insist that the Cleveland vote was democratic?"

The new organization formed by the retiring members, the New York Teachers' Guild, adopted a statement on "Aims and Objectives" at the meeting on Oct. 1 and have opened offices at 104 Fifth Ave., New York City. They are also taking up the work of organizing the teachers of the city. The Guild declares that it will "work for a progressive labor philosophy" and that it "conceives of education as a social agency for developing the capacities of the young, for enlightening adults, and for establishing a social order in which use and human welfare replace the present-day motives of profit and exploitation."

MANHATTAN

4th A.D.—Monday. Pitt and Livingston Sts. Nussbaum, Ulanoff, Corn. 6th A.D.—Every evening on various corners. Speakers report at 95 Ave. C. Keating, Nussbaum, Glasman, Weinberg, Weinart, Zitter, Grossman, Kawaloff. 10th A.D.—Tuesday. 125th St. and 5th Ave. J. J. Coroneo, Pat Donohue, Victor Rantzen. Saturday. 103rd St. and Madison Ave.

in the economic world the worker will be free.

"This is in the future, but it will come. Mark my words. No matter what you may think of theories, they are based on study and the only solution is more liberty for men who do the work of the world."

After the passage of the ordinance labor leaders announced they to hold a conference. Failing that they will ask Mayor Hoan to close the plant.

The ordinance provides a \$50 to \$100 fine for each day the plant stays open after a closing order is issued, or a 90-day jail sentence.

Under terms of the ordinance the Mayor appoints a committee of nine to confer with him on the advisability of closing the plant, but the final authority rests in the hand of the Mayor or the chief of police, either of whom can order a plant to close if the management will not confer with the strikers' representatives.

Education for Workers

By William E. Bohn

NEXT week the Rand School of Social Science will open its thirtieth season. For thirty years it has had classes of trade unionists, Socialists and other people primarily interested in the progress of the Labor movement. Despite the influences that have hindered labor education and, occasionally, set it back, the work at the Rand School has gone on steadily. The number of students has increased and the interest has constantly grown deeper. As the new year opens the school staff is encouraged by the fact the coming year will see more men and women in trade union classes than ever before.

Possibly the increased interest in education by trade unionists is partly due to improved teaching, to a better point of view on the part of teachers. But the major part of the increase is probably due to recent developments in the field of labor organization. In the first place, the vast army of young men and women who have come into the labor movement in the last two years have brought added power but, also, a great danger. Many have joined under the impulse of the NRA period. Nearly all of them came in just to get something out of the union. To them a labor organization is just a slot-machine. You put in your dues and you pull out a wage increase. Even trade union leaders who have been suspicious of education in the past are waking up to the fact that these young people need to be taught something of what the old-timers know.

And the labor movement as a whole is facing bigger problems than it was conscious of even a few years ago. It is up against general economic conditions against national combinations of employers. It must oppose or support the federal government and the state governments. It must make decisions on a national scale and be prepared to defend itself on the political field as well as on the picket line. If the members are to be carried along, if the strength of great, scattered bodies are to be mobilized, the members must know what the issues are, what the discussions are all about. When the United States Supreme Court declares a labor law unconstitutional, the most insignificant member of the smallest local is a bet-

ter man for knowing something about American history.

Primary Purposes

So it is no wonder that an increasing number of labor organizations are starting educational work and that more and more members are entering classes. The officials and the experienced members are coming to realize the usefulness of intelligence and of the added loyalty and enthusiasm that comes with intelligence. It is safe to say that a much larger proportion of classes in the training of workers are today giving sound union training than ever before.

Trade union education serves two primary purposes. The first of these is to make the student union-conscious, to get them to the point where they realize what their union is and what it is driving at. A year's education can take the new slot-machine adherent and turn him into a real member. He may have joined for revenue only or, perhaps, because he had to. Suppose he learns the history of trade unionism in this country. He gets a picture of how workers fared in the old days. He learns how the organization was built up with great sacrifice in the teeth of bitter opposition. He gets respect for the old-timers; he understands why things are thus and so. Or if he has ideas about improving the organization, he knows enough facts so that his ideas are based on realities. He has some real notion as to what changes can be made and how.

Intelligent Loyalty

Or suppose a young man or woman learns economics and the history of industry. He gets an outline of the present set-up, of the hard-cash relations between employer and employee. Very quickly he will perceive that he can expect little from the kindness of the employers or the interest of the government. Out of the realities of the situation he will learn the great lesson that Labor must depend on itself, and that the only organization that gives Labor a chance to use its collective strength is the trade union. His loyalty will be permanent, and because it is intelligent loyalty, it will lead him, not merely to support the union, but to do his utmost to improve it, to increase its membership and better its policies.

The second great purpose of workers' education is to train young men and women for more effective personal activity in their unions. The unions are democratic organizations. If they are to prosper, the members must participate in meetings, organize shops, argue their case with non-unionists. They must know how to think, speak, write, organize. Every big, successful organization in the world has places where its workers are trained. Every army has its West Point. American labor needs its schools.

No one will maintain that the public schools give the training required. The anti-union twist given in the public schools is one of our difficulties. And many of our young workers have had to leave school before they received any training in public speaking, in parliamentary law, or even in the writing of a simple report or letter. And these are things which trade union members need for effectiveness. Labor cannot depend on others to do its job. It must see that its people are taught in its own way for its own purposes.

American Labor today faces a political and economic situation unprecedented in its demands and possibilities. Its most intelligent leaders are weighing new elements, considering new paths. More than ever there is need of sound knowledge in the membership. There is need of every educational agent which Labor can enlist.

Brooklyn Cooperative Society Conference

The Independent Consumers' Cooperative Society held a big conference Thursday evening, October 3rd, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn, which was attended by a large number of delegates from Socialist Party and Workmen's Circle branches and trade unions and other progressive organizations. Speaker from the trade union and Cooperative fields were present.

The delegations were told of the great strides being made by the laundry division of the Cooperative. It has been necessary to rent much larger quarters at 966 Rutland Road, Brooklyn, to accommodate the increased volume of business.

People's Bazaar

The People's Bazaar, under the auspices of Local New York, will be held in the People's House beginning Nov. 27th and extending to Dec. 1st. Elaborate preparations are being made. Various branches have already reserved special booths. Branches are being circulated with a view of securing the names and addresses of merchants, manufacturers and dealers who might be approached for donations. All party members enjoying contacts with such dealers are requested to communicate such information to the party office. All interested in placing themselves on special committees are also urged to get in touch with us.

AFTER NINETEEN YEARS



Tom Mooney, right, meets his fellow class-war prisoner Warren K. Billings for the first time in 19 years. It was an affecting meeting when the two frame-up victims met in San Francisco, where Mooney is waging a gallant habeas corpus fight to establish the fact that he was convicted on perjured testimony. For years there had been a rift

between Mooney and Billings. But when the two prisoners at last met tears coursed down their cheeks, and they embraced like the comrades in the cause of Labor they have always been. Here they are, unbroken by their cruel punishment, heads up and defiant, declaring their innocence and their intention to take up the battle for the liberation of the workers the moment they are released.



Scene during the recent textile strike, when the militia was sent to "keep order" by terrorizing the workers. The militia was sent by a Governor elected by the workers.

Comrades and Workers . . .

USE THE NEW LEADER IN YOUR CAMPAIGN WORK AND ALSO TO BUILD UP THE UNIONS!

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1 Year to Canada, \$2.50

Old Party Platforms on Depressions Since 1872

The following quotations from Republican and Democratic platforms regarding industrial depressions may be affectively used by Socialist propagandists throughout the country.

BREAKDOWNS of the capitalist system of production and exchange have occurred in this country on an average of once in every thirteen years since the first one in the decade that followed. The Republicans carried nothing in their platform of 1920 regarding this depression because the platform was adopted before the crisis began.

However, the Republican platform of 1924 indicted the Democrats for the depression of 1920-1922. It declared that when Harding (Rep.) took over the government in 1921 "there were 1,500,000 unemployed; industry and commerce were stagnant; agriculture was prostrate; business was depressed; government bonds were in 1919. The party platforms ignored the crises of 1837 and 1857 because the issues of slavery overshadowed the depressions. The Republican platform of 1872 is the first one of interest.

The Republican platform that year declared: "Great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land." President Grant, Republican, was re-elected that year. The fearful crisis of 1873 followed, continued nearly five years, and brought thousands of bankruptcies and widespread unemployment.

The Republicans ignored this crisis in their platform of 1876 while the Democrats in that year demanded "public economy" and "wise finance" which would bring "healing on its wings."

The crisis of 1882-86 was about equally divided between the administrations of President Arthur (Rep.) and President Cleveland (Dem.), but the Republican platform of 1884 made no reference to it. However, the Democrats that year declared that the tariff "had impoverished many to subsidize a few," but their platform contained no recognition of depressions as a deep-rooted ailment that required attention.

A Republican "Remedy"
The widespread crash of 1892 received the attention of both parties in the platforms adopted in 1896. It began during the administration of President Harrison (Rep.) and continued in the administration of President Cleveland (Dem.). The Republicans declared the Democratic administration to be "a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster."

It had "precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages," and so on through the whole range of calamities. The Republican remedy for all these ills was the party's "policy of protection."

The Democratic platform of 1896 presented another explanation of the crisis. It charged that it was due to the demonetization of silver in 1873. This had enriched the money-lending class, and had brought "prostration of industry and impoverishment of the people." Recovery would return only by "the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation." Add to this "simplicity and economy" in government and a tariff for revenue only and recovery was assured.

The system recovered without taking the Democratic medicine, while the Republican "policy of protection" did not prevent later depressions.

An Old Tariff Bluff

The next economic crisis was the short "rich man's panic" in 1903-04, a mild convulsion that provided no political capital for the parties of capitalism. However, the Republican platform of 1904 contained a tariff bluff that is interesting in the light of events since the crash of 1929. The platform declared: "A Democratic tariff has always been followed by business adversity; a Republican tariff by business prosperity." Notice, it is "business" health and illness that concerned the G.O.P.

Ten years later, beginning in 1914, industrial stagnation set in and unemployment was increasing at a rapid rate. The Democrats had won in 1912 and Woodrow Wilson was President. Wilson denied that there was any economic distress and ascribed complaints of the masses to some mysterious

During Sixty Years, in Which Sixteen Presidential Elections and Thirty-two Congressional Elections Have Been Held, Over 500,000,000 Votes Were Cast for the Depression "Remedies" Mentioned in These Platforms.

"psychological" cause! Only the World War and European demand for American materials saved us from a chronic depression during the war period.

However, that depression is registered in the Republican platform of 1916. The Republicans charged that if conditions had remained normal, the Underwood tariff would have brought a depression; it "would long since have paralyzed all forms of American industry and deprived labor of its just reward."

A Democratic Boast

The Democratic platform of 1916 made an extraordinary boast by declaring that the Federal Reserve Act had stabilized the financial and industrial structure, and then added that it had "already proved a financial bulwark in a world crisis, mobilizing our resources, placing abundant credit at the disposal of legitimate industry, AND MAKING A CURRENCY PANIC IMPOSSIBLE." (Do you remember the currency panic in March, 1933?)

The Democratic platform of 1920 with the Democrats still in power contained a boast that the party had actually solved the depression problem! Reviewing the record of the Wilson Administration, the platform made the following boast:

"For fifty years before the advent of this administration, periodical convulsions had impeded the industrial progress of the American people and caused inestimable loss and distress. BY THE ENACTMENT OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE ACT, THE OLD SYSTEM, WHICH BRED PANICS, WAS REPLACED BY A NEW SYSTEM WHICH INSURED CONFIDENCE."

How does that impress the reader in the light of the past five years of fearful misery?

By the end of the year in which this platform was adopted a deep depression set in and continued into the year 1922. Agriculture continued to sink lower and lower

selling below their value." Then the Republicans boasted that they had brought recovery, although the time had been too short "for the correction of all ills." That correction would come in good time.

G.O.P. Abolishes Panics!

The Democrats could not ignore this attack, so in their platform of 1924 they declared that the depression of 1920-22 was due to the "cruel and unjust contraction of legitimate credit and currency," which had "bankrupted hundreds of thousands of farmers and stock growers in America and resulted in widespread industrial depression and unemployment." "But what about that wizard Federal Reserve Act, which the Democrats in 1920 said had made depressions impossible? The platform of 1924 declared that the act had not been administered properly!"

But it remained for the Republicans in 1928 to become as astute as the Democrats were in 1920, when they declared that they had banished depressions. The Republican platform that year declared that "under President Coolidge (Rep.) 'the country has been lifted from the depths of a great depression to a level of prosperity.' This was preceded by a solemn claim that appears ghastly in the years that followed. The Republican platform declared:

"By unwavering adherence to sound principles, through the wisdom of Republican policies and the capacity of Republican administrations, the FOUNDATIONS HAVE BEEN LAID AND THE GREATNESS AND PROSPERITY OF THE COUNTRY FIRMLY ESTABLISHED."

Not content with this reckless boast, the G.O.P. document warned us of the dire consequences that would follow if any other party succeeded the Republicans. This piffle was marketed by the G.O.P. on the eve of the greatest industrial convulsion in all history!

Tracing the Collapse

The Democratic platform of 1928 had little criticism to offer of these Republican boasts but "Al" Smith, Democratic candidate for President, promised "a greater prosperity." Had he been elected, he would have been buried by the economic earthquake in the following year, as Hoover was.

In 1932 both ruling parties faced a nation-wide and world-wide crisis with nearly 15,000,000 workers unemployed. The Democrats now accused the Republicans as Republicans had accused Democrats in 1896, but the Democratic platform added nothing to our knowledge of depressions. The platform declared that the "chief causes" of the crisis were the "disastrous policies pursued by our

government since the World War." So the universal calamity was due to the unfortunate fact that the Democrats were not in power in 1929! How simple!!

The Republicans were humble in 1932, a marked contrast with their arrogant assumptions four years before. They admitted the hideous disaster that had swept the nation but insisted that recovery was in sight early in 1931 because of the "wise, courageous, patient, understanding, resourceful and tireless" Hoover. This great man was about to conquer the depression when the crisis in Europe changed everything. Then the platform offered the following remarkable cure:

Puzzled Politicians

"We will support any plan which will help to balance production against demand, and thereby raise agricultural prices, provided it is economically sound and administratively workable without burdensome bureaucracy."

A Daniel came to judgment! Aaron Burr blew the brains out of the Federalist Party when he killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel but in the above cure for the depression the Republican leaders revealed that they had no brains to lose. The Republicans would support "any plan" but had none of their own. They would support it if it was "sound" and "workable" and did not involve "bureaucracy." That was another way of saying that they would not support an unsound or unworkable program. Who would promise to support something unsound?

The Democrats in 1932 were equally obscure with nothing basic to suggest. They declared that

"the only hope for improving present conditions" was to vote the ins out and the outs in.

We now have had five years of the depression with Republican ruling in 1929-32 and Democrats in 1933-35 and the crisis continues!

Figure the problem out in terms of popular votes cast since 1872 with the major and minor depressions occurring since that year.

Results of a Half-Billion Votes
From 1872 to and including 1932, the votes cast for Republican candidates for President in round numbers were 145,970,900; for Democratic candidates, 115,845,400. The total cast for both, in round numbers, was 261,816,400!

These figures exclude votes cast for the two parties in Congressional elections. If we included them the total vote would be not less than 500,000,000 since 1872!

There have been sixteen presidential elections in this period and thirty-two congressional elections. All these hundreds of millions of votes have been cast within sixty years, and what have the masses received for their votes?

Go over the quotations from the platforms of the two capitalist parties, remember the depressions with their bankruptcies, the vast destitution, the blasted hopes, the breadlines and the suicides and that is the sum total which a half-billion votes have brought to the toiling masses!

Think it over. Is a Socialist Party vote worth while? Is a vote to oust these ruling parties and to take over the industries of the nation to be operated for the welfare of all worth casting? It is for you to decide!

The Theatre Speaks Taking Prop From Under Propaganda

For many years Oliver M. Saylor has been a close, as he is a keen student of the drama, both here and abroad. Even before the Russian Revolution his attention turned to the sound work of the Moscow Art Theatre and to the new experiments in the dramatic art; and in several authoritative volumes he has helped to make America aware of the renaissance and valid growth in the theatre. More recently his concern has become more professional, and he has had an active part in bringing to our shores the best work in the various allied fields of the public art, that Russia and the rest of Europe have had to offer. "Squaring the Circle," presented on Broadway this week, has had his guiding eye. Few are as well equipped to discuss the social value of the drama, with an international range and background and point of view, as Oliver M. Saylor. Joseph T. Shipley.

By Oliver M. Saylor
Author of "The Russian Theatre," "Our American Theatre," "Revolution in the Arts," etc.

THE American Theatre, I'm afraid, is in for a bad siege of that recurrent malady of the arts—Propaganda. Like a tropical hurricane or one of the epidemic diseases to which human flesh is heir, there seems to be no way to avoid it when it chooses to strike. All we can do is to square ourselves against it and see it through, using our best intelligence to understand it, minimize its ravages, and hasten its course.

Fortunately, with the arrival this week of the first Soviet Russian comedy on Broadway, Valentine Katayev's "Squaring the Circle," we have an excellent object lesson in the gentle art of taking the prop from under propaganda. For it was this play, with its robustness and its frankly amusing but sympathetic treatment of the love and marriage problems of contemporary Russian youth, that served more efficaciously than anything else in proving to the bureaucrats in the Soviet government that their policy of so-called "compulsory propaganda" was unsound.

No discussion of a subject so contentious as this ever gets anywhere without a definition. Plenty of futile but unavoidable dynamite, too, is wrapped up in the process of arriving at a definition, but just the same I'm going to give mine and ask for its temporary acceptance as a premise. Propaganda—in the theatre as anywhere else—is, in my understanding, the warped or one-sided presentation

of facts in the guise of one of the media of human expression. To me, the honest, fair and complete presentation of facts isn't or shouldn't be called propaganda. It may not be art, either, but that's another matter.

Thus viewed, propaganda in the theatre never has its source from anything inside the theatre. The theatre, as one of the arts, has no cause to warp facts. Warped facts make bad stories—and bad theatre. Whenever you find propaganda in the theatre, you can be sure it got there from some outside origin determined on putting the theatre to its own ulterior uses. It's just that "outsideness" that's bad—bad for the theatre and bad, I'm convinced, for the one who thus perverts the theatre; for the kind of propaganda I'm talking about defeats its own ends in the end. "We, the People" and "Waiting for Lefty," despite all the shouts of acclaim by the "comrades," pushed more liberals over to the capitalist side of the fence than to the radical side.

All trends in the theatre, like this one of propaganda, have their cycles, as I have said—cycles that have their birth and reach their climax at different times in different countries. For instance, we're just embarking on our cycle of propaganda in the theatre at a time when Soviet Russia is clearing away the last vestiges of the havoc wrought by the same disease between the years 1925 and 1932. On the other hand, the Soviet stages are contending with an epidemic of slap-stick comedy, of which we're cured—for the moment, at least.

I suppose it all leads back to the fact that propaganda in the theatre is a social symptom. Wherever a social order is in process of violent change, or apparently in need of such a change, someone will be zealous enough to say: "Why can't we use the theatre to put over our message? It's a swell soap box!" On that theory, propaganda has passed out of the Russian theatre and the theatre has been handed back to its artists to do with what they will, just because the Soviet social scale has reached a state of reasonable balance. Propaganda is coming into our theatre because our social structure is under the most intense scrutiny it has had to endure since the foundation of the republic.

Antidotes, or "anti-bodies," it is well known, appear early in any epidemic. So with propaganda in the theatre, Katayev wrote, and the Moscow Art Theatre produced "Squaring the Circle" early in the period of so-called "compulsory propaganda" in Soviet Russia. A first it was looked at askance by Communist doctrinaires. "What?

Laugh at Komsomols in their struggles to find the right husbands and wives? Wasn't this deviation—and 'right deviation,' at that?" But "Squaring the Circle" caught on. The public loved it. People liked laughing at themselves in a true, broad-minded mirror and at the line "It won't hurt the Revolution!" It didn't hurt the Revolution, and, in the course of 800 performances at the Moscow Art Theatre and upwards of 15,000 in the U.S.S.R., it laughed out of countenance the era and policy of "compulsory propaganda."

Somewhere in these United States, with our era of propaganda in the theatre hardly more than started, someone is writing a true and comprehensive picture of American life in the form of a play—preferably a comedy—which, like "Squaring the Circle" in Russia, will put to rout the use of the theatre as a soap box. Who? When? What? Where?

[Next week one of the most celebrated of film stars tells about stool pigeons and terror in Hollywood.]

Levy Tells Conference Socialist Views on Crime and Criminals

(Continued from Page One)

and he will present the Socialist view of the problem. Levy contends that in all periods of society there are the defectives who commit anti-social acts but even many of these can be reclaimed by providing an outlet for their restricted abilities. To these unfortunates must be added the victims of economic injustice who are denied opportunities to make a living. This type exists in modern society and will continue as long as capitalism survives.

In this period of depression the number of those driven to anti-social acts is increased. They are normal human beings living in an abnormal society that withholds from them those opportunities for making a living which should be guaranteed to all.

Levy also holds that the treatment of defectives and of those normal persons who are driven to crime by economic conditions is of vital importance. Too often prison regime is based upon inflicting revenge upon the offender rather than endeavoring to reclaim him and returning him to society as a useful citizen. The jail or prison may enhance criminal trends and confirm offenders in following a criminal career or prison regime may be such that it will reclaim such offenders. Thus the environment of society is not alone responsible for crime. Prison treatment of unfortunates may also be a hatchery for criminals who are easily sick persons to be treated or treated as other human beings are treated.

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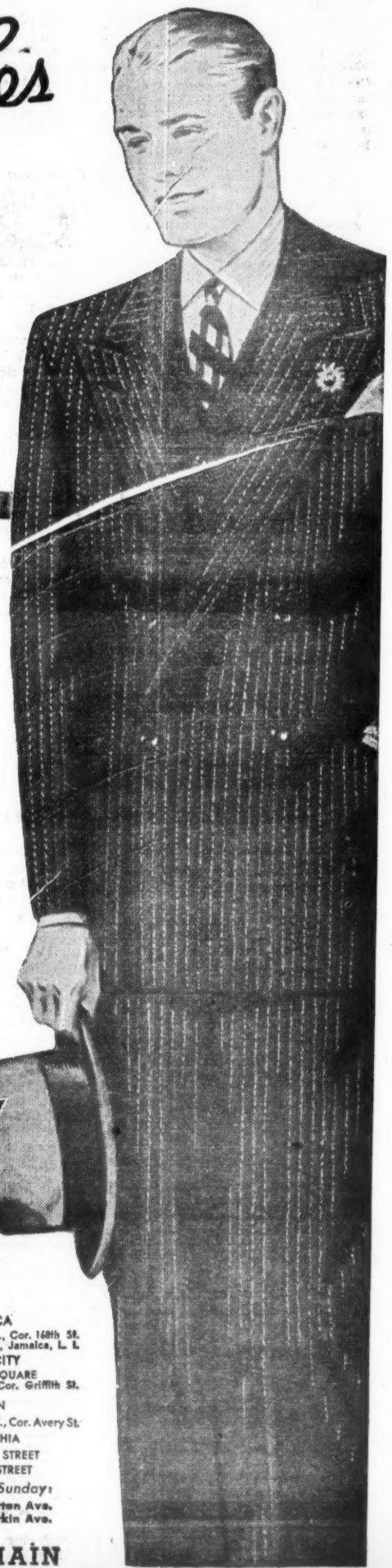
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The Workers Abroad

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

By John Powers

The United Front Swindle Exposed

With a rapidity even greater than was to have been expected is the latest united front appeal of the Communist International being exposed as a brazen swindle. To be more precise: the Communist maneuver is exposing itself. In the latest bulletin of the International Federation of Trade Unions we find some illuminating comment on one of the most important resolutions adopted at the recent seventh congress of the Comintern—the resolution dealing with the question of trade unions.

The Bulletin of the IFTU comments as follows:

Although this document is very long and cleverly leads the reader through a thicket of variegated slogans, it clearly demonstrates the contradictions which were evident in Dimitroff's long speech and the published extracts from the resolution. It deals with the ruthless fight against fascism and the bourgeoisie and, most important, against Social Democracy and in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As far as Social Democracy is concerned, close examination of this document shows it to be the main enemy no less now than formerly. The resolution also deals with "entry into all fascist mass organizations," "the fight for the defence of bourgeois democratic liberties," the "unification of the fight of the agricultural proletariat," the "petty bourgeoisie" and "small man of town and country," the formation of a "broad, popular anti-fascist front" and finally the formation of "proletarian" united front governments or popular anti-fascist fronts by governments."

"In those countries where there are already Socialist or coalition governments, they must be combatted; everywhere where there are bourgeois Socialist projects—de Man's Labor Plan, etc.—their demagogic character must be laid bare."

This instructive document contains a special section about work in the trade unions, in addition to numerous other references to this subject. This section states that "in those countries where there are insignificant red trade unions, it is necessary for these organizations to get inside the reformist trade unions." In complete contradiction to this, on the other hand, Communist parties are urged "to support to the utmost the red trade unions." In the international sphere one "single International" is demanded, the Communist parties being similarly urged at the same time "to support the Red International of Labor Unions." The trade unions are at one and the same time urged to defend the workers' day to day interests and to run "political mass strikes."

As regards the Social Democratic parties, nothing at all is said of the return of "insignificant parties," but the "existence of one single political mass party" is described as necessary, on one side, while, on the other hand, it is "particularly emphasized that only a steady strengthening of the Communist parties themselves" can save the situation. In the international sphere, willingness is certainly expressed to negotiate with the Second International, but this latter is described as being in a process of disintegration, the Communist International being appointed its successor.

This is the united front, political and trade union, according to the latest recipe of the Communist International, providing the newest proof of the "complete independence of trade union organizations from all parties and governments" which was recently guaranteed by the Communists!

The Comintern and the Socialist Parties

So much for the "new" Communist policy on the trade unions. Equally illuminating is the resolution adopted by the Comintern with respect to the Socialist parties. We quote from the resolution:

"In exposing the demagogic arguments of the right wing Social Democrats against the united front and in accentuating the struggle against the reactionary portion of the Social Democracy, WE MUST WORK IN CLOSEST COOPERATION WITH THE LEFT WING OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, we must work in closest cooperation with the Social Democratic workers, officials and organizations who fight reformist policies and support a united front with the Communist Party."

"The more energetically we wage the struggle against the reactionary part of the Social Democracy, which works in cooperation with the bourgeoisie, the more effective will be our assistance to the part of the Social Democracy which is in process of being revolutionized. Moreover, the more determined the Communists are in their fight for a united front with the Social Democratic parties, the speedier will be the process of clarification among the elements of the left wing."

The importance of the Comintern's task of fighting the opponent of the Communists within the Socialist parties was emphasized also in Dimitroff's keynote speech before the Comintern congress. Stalin's new appointee as leader of the Comintern spoke as follows (quote from the account of the address appearing in the *Deutsche Zentral-Zeitung*, Moscow, August 22):

"There can be no place in our ranks for factions and factional tendencies. Those who seek to injure the iron unity of our ranks by any kind of factionalist effort will be made to feel on their own bodies what the bolshevist discipline which Lenin and Stalin always taught us means (applause). Let this be a warning to the individual element in individual parties who believe that the difficulties of their party the wounds of a defeat and the blows of a furious enemy can be utilized for the purposes of their factional plans and the realization of their group interests. THE PARTY ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE! THE BOLSHEVIST UNITY OF THE PARTY MUST BE GUARDED AS WE WOULD THE APPLE OF THE EYE—THAT IS THE FIRST AND SUPREME LAW OF BOLSHEVISM."

Commenting on the aforesaid resolution and Dimitroff's utterances the Prague *Socialdemokrat*, official organ of the German Social Democracy of Czechoslovakia, writes in its issue of September 15:

"All of which means: the anti-Social Democrats in the Communist parties are called upon to perform a higher task. Feigning interest for the cause of Socialist unity, the breeding of factions within the Social Democratic parties is to be stimulated by all possible means. But any Communist who is not in agreement with this remarkable interpretation of the slogan of the united front and wishes to form a faction within his party to combat the anti-Social Democrats will be made to feel on his own body what bolshevist discipline means. The repeated applause that greeted these words of Dimitroff reveals that this interpretation had the unanimous approval of the Comintern congress."

"Social Democratic workers will do well to grasp the full meaning of Dimitroff's slogans. As long as the Bolsheviks say 'the party above everything!', we Social Democrats must also guard the unity of our movement as we would the apple of the eye. For the new unity of the working class will come only when not the party but Socialist unity will come to be regarded as more important than anything else."

The Unbridgeable Gulf

With each day it is becoming more and more evident that fundamentally the question of the united front resolves itself into a consideration of the basic ideological and political conceptions that separate Social Democracy from Communism—an unbridgeable gulf. This is how the overwhelming majority of Socialists view the question. It is again emphasized by Hampl, chairman of the Socialist Party of Czechoslovakia, the sister party of the Czech Social Democracy. Commenting in *Pravo Lidu*, official organ of his party, on the latest efforts of the Communists to lure the Socialists into a united front, in accordance with the "new" recipe prescribed by the Comintern, Hampl says:

"The question is not one of usefulness of the united front, but whether the prerequisites exist making probable any kind of enduring united action. Moreover, the point we must consider in this discussion is whether the fundamental policies of the Social Democracy and of constructive Socialism, as pursued within the framework of the Czechoslovak Republic and the principles of democracy, and, in the given instance, of active participation in the government, are correct, or whether it would be better to follow the thesis of the Communist leadership, i. e., to wait, and to seek establishment of a union of Soviet republics and the realization of a Communist dictatorship. This is the ground upon which the discussion should be conducted if the great masses are not to be merely aroused only to be disillusioned by the slogan of the united front."

Meanwhile, a real united front is developing in Czechoslovakia through closer cooperation of the three existing Socialist parties, each of them a powerful political force. These are the two parties already

British Labor Demands Sanctions

(Continued from Page One)

sidered certain that the Labor Party will return to Parliament in a far stronger position than it now occupies. Although it is unlikely that the party will win a clear majority at the next election, heavy gains are conceded by all observers, and the possibility is not excluded that the Labor Party may be called upon to form a government with the support of liberal elements, should the Conservatives lose heavily.

Because of this prospect and the tremendous responsibility devolving upon the party in the present grave international situation fraught with danger of a new war, the Brighton congress assumes extraordinary significance for Europe and the entire international Socialist and labor movement.

The Labor Party will enter the coming electoral struggle in a stronger position than ever before.



George Lansbury

Particularly gratifying is the unity between the party and the trade unions, closer and more solid now than at any other time in the history of the Socialist movement in England.

It may be stated without fear of successful contradiction that the reports of a serious split in the Labor Party, emanating from enemies on the right and on the left, will be proven to be based upon thin air. The party faces the grave problems before it, foreign and domestic, with greater unity and ideological preparedness than at any time in its career.

From the report of the national executive to the Brighton congress we learn that the Labor Party now has approximately 2,300,000 members in good standing. Of this number about 1,900,000 are affiliated through labor unions and 81,000 hold individual membership cards and are affiliated with local branches. About 150,000 individual members are women. The number of those holding individual cards marks a record.

In the last general election the party won 46 seats in Parliament. By-elections since then resulted in addition of 13 seats, making a total of 59. The party expects to capture at least 250 seats in the coming elections and expectations in some quarters are that the number may reach 300.

As we go to press news is received of a big gain in the by-election at Dumfries, a traditional Conservative stronghold, details of which are printed elsewhere in this issue. The London Daily Herald, official organ of the party, cites his result as evidence of the continued swing of sentiment toward the Labor Party and of public approval of its stand in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict.

The national executive reports that the party has already placed in nomination 520 candidates for the coming general election, and it is expected that it will have a candidate in every one of the 615 constituencies when the election arrives.

The opening part of the executive's report is devoted to an examination of the present international situation, and again stresses the bold and challenging proposals for the reconstruction of the League of Nations put forward in the party's famous "For Socialism and Peace" program.

"The government," the report states, "must be warned that the only way to keep the nation united

mentioned and the Populists-Socialists, the party of Foreign Minister Benes. The close contact and cooperation of these three parties and of all democratic elements in Czechoslovakia in the defense and preservation of political liberties is the strongest bulwark and guarantee against fascism. The "united front" of the Communists is making little progress.

Situation in Other Countries

This is true not only of Czechoslovakia but of the entire international Socialist movement, with few exceptions. With the exception of the French Socialist Party, in which disillusionment with its united front with the Communists is assuming larger proportions, the Socialist parties of all democratic countries will have nothing to do with the new Communist maneuver. This is certainly true of England, the Scandinavian countries and Holland. The sentiment for the united front in Belgium and Switzerland is confined to small minorities. The

Italian Socialists Back British Labor's Stand

THE British Labor Party at its annual conference at Brighton received a telegram of greeting from Paris from the Italian Socialist Party in exile, backing its stand in support of sanctions against Mussolini's pirate raid and enthusiastically endorsing its position against fascism.

The telegram concluded with the words: "Present events show fascism is the greatest danger to peace and a public enemy."

The Italian Socialists declared they stand with their British comrades in their program for establishment of a collective peace system.

on peace and war is to keep the League alive, and to develop and strengthen it as an instrument of useful change."

"Labor cannot now flinch," W. A. Robinson, president of the National Council of Distributive Workers and chairman of the party executive, declared in opening the congress at Brighton. "Labor calls now upon the League to vindicate the expressed will of mankind by use of its resources to restrain a law-breaker. The League has a long way to travel before there need be a resort to arms. In the event of hostilities, the withholding of supplies, if rigorously applied, would, I believe, bring the war to a speedy end. In any event, the almost unanimous view of mankind must prevail. No state can continue to flout world opinion, freely expressed."

"Should Italy persist, however, in ignoring the view of mankind, in its repudiating her solemn obligation and defy the League, then, however reluctant we may be, there could be no alternative but for the League to restrain Italy by the threat of force, which only utter madness on the part of Mussolini would bring into play."

"Lawlessness will stalk across the world. Under its cover imperialism and militarism will hold sway. Dictatorship will flourish and every aspiration Socialists have nursed in their bosoms will be crushed. Because this and other countries have in the past been marauders is no reason why international robbery with violence should be permitted today."

How completely devoid of any importance is the position taken by Sir Stafford Cripps and his insignificant "Socialist League" in opposing the declared policy of the British Labor Movement in the Italo-Ethiopian crisis may be gleaned from the facts already stated and from an incident which occurred in London soon after Cripps made his position known.

The London Trades Council, representing more than 250,000 organized workers in the British capital, withdrew from association with the Socialist League in a conference on war arranged by Cripps. The London Trades Council let it be known that it supported wholeheartedly the stand of the Trades Union Congress.

In an editorial, the Daily Herald declared that were the labor movement to accept the position of the Socialist League "few would be gratified but foremost among those few would be the fascist dictator of Italy."

"Is it not permissible to suggest that there must be something seriously wrong with principles, no matter how passionately and sincerely held, which would lead to no finger being raised to check a decision?" asked the Daily Herald. "testable fascist war of aggression?" asked the Daily Herald. "Must there not be something wrong with principles which would lead, in practice, to a Labor message to Mussolini that, so far as Labor is concerned, no resistance will be offered if he cares to devour the Abyssinians in his own way?"

"Is it seriously maintained that Article Ten—the heart of the Covenant—is a piece of suspect imperialism?"

"The members of the League undertake to respond and . . . preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League."

"That is not imperialism, nor for that matter is it Socialism or any other 'ism'. It is the elementary foundation of world safety and security and peace."

The Brighton Congress will mark a most important milestone in the

development of the great British Socialist Movement, upon which the peace of Europe and the very fate of civilization so much depends. With mind clear, heart strong and the backing of the overwhelming majority of the organized workers of England and of the world behind it, the British Labor Movement, under the banner of International Socialism, stands ready to do its duty. The reward will be the ultimate victory of civilization, Socialism and peace.

The Labor Party will enter the Parliamentary campaign with a clear-cut program on foreign policy and a comprehensive program of social reconstruction the ultimate objective of which is establishment of a Socialist Commonwealth. The party has behind it, in addition to the trade unions and the Cooperatives, a growing youth movement.

A gratifying feature of the report of the national executive is the portion dealing with the growth of the Socialist youth movement. The number of League of Youth branches has been increased by 110 in the past year. Since the formation of the league two years ago it has gained 373 branches.

There are now 1,600 women's organizations in the party. In various communal elections since last November the party gained 308 seats in municipal and borough councils. It is now in complete control of 39 cities and towns, including the city of London, a gain of 9 in the past twelve months.

The income of the party's national office in the past year totaled £38,000 (approximately \$190,000). Of this sum more than £30,000 came from the trade unions, about £7,000 from local party branches, and only £74 from various minor affiliates such as Sir Stafford Cripps' "Socialist League," representing the party's so-called "left wing," an infinitesimal portion of the party's membership.

While no official information was available at the time of writing on the action of the Brighton Congress with respect to the question of a united front with the Communists, it was considered certain that the united front proposal would be rejected by a majority so great as to be almost unanimous. An indication of the party's attitude on this question was given by the Daily Herald in the following editorial shortly before the Brighton meeting:

Another approach is to be made by the Communist Party to the Labor Party for common political action, and, if agreement were reached, the Communist party would renew its application for affiliation.

The authority for this statement is the speech of Mr. Harry Pollitt at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

An application for affiliation from the Communist party came before the National Conference of the Labor Party in 1924. It was rejected by 3,185,000 votes to 193,000.

The grounds for that decision have not changed. "The Labor Party seeks to achieve the Socialist Commonwealth by means of Parliamentary democracy," declared the National Executive. "The Communist party seeks to achieve the 'dictatorship of the Proletariat' by armed revolution. That is accurate still. Mr. Pollitt repeats, in this same speech that 'the Communist party does not believe that Socialism can be achieved through Parliament.'"

How then do Communists believe it must be achieved? "The answer is"—we quote from the program of the British Communist party adopted last February—"that a workers' revolution can do it . . . There is no other way . . . Civil war is forced upon the working class."

To the Labor Party these views are not only abhorrent but also grotesquely false. In method and doctrine and practice Labor and the Communist party are poles apart.

Labor and Communism cannot cooperate with each other unless one of the two betrays all the principles which lie at its base. No honest Socialist or Communist can fail to see that.

We know of no better statement expressing the Socialist position.

New York City MANHATTAN

Washington Heights Branch.—On Oct. 12 we will hold a "social" and reception for the local candidates, 8:30 p. m., at the Washington Heights Labor Centre, 425 W. 156th St., corner Amsterdam Ave. Dancing, entertainment and refreshments. Miro and his Aromatic Accents will appear. Admission 10 cents.

same is true of the Polish Socialist Party. The German Social Democracy is likewise determined against a united front with those who more than anyone else are responsible for Hitlerism and who have lost all standing among the German working masses. Only insignificant left wing elements, most of them in fascist countries, favor the united front.

In America our "militant" and left wing elements, whose influence on the labor movement is zero, are permitting dissemination of united front sentiment in what passes for their official organ, although they do not have the courage to come out unequivocally for the united front. They prefer to entrust the united front propaganda in their organ to a Communist, to whom they graciously allow generous space for the dissemination of the ideas and facilitation of the policy outlined in the resolutions of the Comintern—the policy aiming at the destruction of the international Socialist and labor movement.

Canadian Labor in Drive For Political Power

(Continued from Page One)

out and realistic program for social and economic change.

Communist Strategy
In the constituency of Winnipeg North, where the Communists have no possibility of election, they nominated Tim Buck, their colorful leader. This was done to block the almost certain re-election of A. A.



J. S. Woodsworth

Heaps, incumbent Socialist member of Parliament. These tactics may result in electing a Tory by splitting the labor vote.

Canadian campaigners, whether Communist, Liberal or Tory, are astute politicians. C.C.F. candidates this year step briskly to prevent a hoax like that of the last election, when the Liberals printed a bogus edition of the Socialist paper, the Commonwealth, and used it in their electioneering.

At present the C.C.F. is a small minority group in Parliament, where it adopted an emergency program, urging upon the Dominion Government direct responsibility for the present critical unemployment situation. The C.C.F. has advocated the adoption of a measure creating public work to be financed by the issue of credit based on the national wealth.

Its platform, being spread throughout Canada, is the establishment of a planned economic order, including a socialization of all financial machinery, all means of transportation, a plan of taxation to lessen the inequalities of income and to provide funds for the social services, and a National Labor Code to secure for the workers maximum income and leisure and every form of social insurance.



BRITISH LABOR PARTY SCORES HEAVY GAIN

ANOTHER big by-election gain was scored by the British Labor Party in the polling for member of Parliament in the Dumfries constituency recently. John Downie, Socialist candidate, more than doubled the percentage of the total vote over the highest previous vote ever cast in that district. In 1929 and 1931 the Labor Party received 20 per cent of the total. In 1935 labor received 40 per cent of the total.

In a straight fight Downie polled 10,697 to 16,271 for the Simon-Liberal, his only opponent, a government majority of 5,574. In 1931 the Socialist vote was 7,693 to 26,853 for the Government. The results at the by-election are particularly encouraging when compared to the vote at the 1929 General Election, up to now the high-water mark of the political strength of labor. Downie's vote today is 4,010 greater than was the party's vote then.

The Dumfries result is not only a startling gain promising early victory in a district hitherto considered hopeless for labor, but also is a smashing reply to those who have been asserting that the progress of labor has slowed up, that the Labor Party is "split" or that it has lost its hold upon the people. The result foreshadows great things at the forthcoming General Election.

Karlin Is Named For Supreme Court

WILLIAM KARLIN, former Socialist Assemblyman and one of the most noted labor lawyers in New York has been named as Socialist candidate for Supreme Court Justice in the First Department. The constituency includes all of New York County (Manhattan) and the Bronx.

Karlin's only opponent will be Ferdinand Pecora, who has the support of Tammany Hall and the Republican Party. Pecora was for years First Assistant District Attorney, right-hand man to a succession of Tammany Hall prosecutors in the days when the prestige of that office was at its lowest ebb.

In the Second Department, consisting of the four counties of Long Island, Kings (Brooklyn), Queens, Nassau and Suffolk, as well as Richmond (Staten Island), the Socialist Party has named a strong judicial ticket, Louis P. Goldberg, Jacob Axelrad and Mrs. Bella Waldman.

William Karlin

Ohio Notes
Toledo.—Nelson Meigs, Secretary of Lucas County Local, is Campaign Office Manager in the Toledo United Labor Action Campaign, in which John Taylor has been nominated for School Board and Tim McCormick for City Council.

Massillon.—The local is putting on a vigorous campaign for Joe Long as Mayor and Comrade Slusser for School Board.

Cleveland.—The 25th Ward Branch is planning a Labor Institute Forum of six lectures for the fall. Jago Slav branches held a big anniversary celebration for the Socialist paper, *Proletaire*, last Sunday at which Robert Dulles, candidate for Mayor, Frank Barbie, and Louis Zorke, councilman candidates, were the main speakers.

Akron.—The Secretaries' Conference scheduled for Akron on Oct. 13 is postponed until November.

Comrades and Workers . . . USE THE NEW LEADER IN YOUR CAMPAIGN WORK AND ALSO TO BUILD UP THE UNIONS!

Power and Beauty (and Sacco-Vanzetti) in "Winterset"

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

BITTER BEAUTY

"WINTERSET" by Maxwell Anderson. A Guthrie McClintick presentation at the Martin Beck.

It is a winter world of beauty wrung to irony, of truth twisted out of hate into early death, that holds us, and lengthily scares us, in Maxwell Anderson's gripping "Winterset." By just a few references, the story is linked to the Sacco-Vanzetti case; it comes fourteen years later, a grisly story, quite self-sustained, developed with poetic beauty and a truth that sears.

Beneath the magnificent background of one of the great piers of the Brooklyn Bridge (a masterpiece of Jo Mielziner) is the sordid tenement basement home of the Esdras, to which the researchers of an interested professor bring our characters. When Romano was killed for that payroll hold-up, why wasn't Garth Esdras called to the stand? Mio (short for Bartolomeo, after his father) wants to know. So does the presiding justice, whom worry, and perhaps a hidden remorse, have driven just a bit mad; he walks about, stopping passersby, protesting claims of innocence are radical propaganda; mad but with lucid moments of urging paths of the surpassing performance of Richard Bennett renders truly poignant. And equally interested is the gangster really guilty of that olden crime, who wants to hush all the new investigation, and whose gangster tactics triumph once again.

The finger of fate crooks a bit, to make these folk all meet; but the play achieves a psychological truth, a preternatural reality, that makes its poetry often a tear of heat lightning through oppressing gloom. The futile wisdom of old Esdras, whose suffering has made him desert his Talmudic piety for a more practical creed; the futile suffering of Judge Thayer (pardon, Judge Gaunt); the bitterness of Mio, to whom love and truth too late bring the knowledge that his father would forgive; the helpless love of Miriamne, torn between her brother, partner in the crime, and the son of the innocent victim; all these are searching, tortured, touching moods, but hopeless all; and the one potent stir in the play, out of the gangster's fear, is a destructive force, against which the sensitive, the honest can scarce hope to stand. Man's only virtue, the play concludes in its anguish, is to face the brute forces unflinchingly, to meet violence with calm, to stand, as we used to hear, bloody but unbowed. This is, too, the ancient Greek conception of true manhood, worth the reassertion. Especially in terms of power and beauty and vivid actuality. The excellent work of all the cast, with Burgess Meredith as the pariah son and Eduardo Ciannelli as the gangster, increases the forcefulness of the drama. In these days when many "social" plays tip the scales for their pet credo, it is invigorating to have further proof that searching truth is more dramatic, and more effective, than partial propaganda. Such searching truth, in clear-seeing poetic drama, abides in "Winterset."

DEATH FOR MORALE

"PATHS OF GLORY." By Sidney Howard from the novel by Humphrey Cobb. At the Plymouth.

1915. The French front. Two attacks on a German post have failed. A crack regiment, with a splendid record, withdrawing for a ten days' rest, is thrown into the attack. The worn troops are swept back—the half of them that are left alive—by the furious German fire.

Now the French are worried. After the 181st, any regiment sent to take that post will go out feeling that it's sure to fail. How maintain the army morale? The

181st must be convicted of cowardice. After violent bickering, it is ordered that each company of the regiment send one man to the court-martial, to be tried for cowardice under fire.

It is here that the drama begins. The play gives us ten scenes preliminary, the usual war zone scenes, clothed in shabby dialogue, as though the dramatizer knew they were merely preparatory. Five minutes built into the later part of the play would have been stronger. For here the tension grows truly strong. The first captain says flatly, none of his men is a coward; he will not pick. As his father is a senator on the Military Council, that saves one victim. The second captain was killed in the action; his top-sergeant calls together the 107 men left of the 250, and bids them draw lots. The third captain, after a brief argument with his conscience, selects his enemy in the company.

The fourth captain was a scientist in civilian days, now called to play God over humans. He hesitates between two; they are among his best soldiers, but he is weighing their value to society. One is a Jew; he inclines to select him, because his race would make trouble; but the other is syphilitic, that settles it.

The reactions of the three chosen victims, the force of the trial, the rejected aid of the soldier-priest, make a poignant study, and tear deep into the vitals of the audience. The men who must die to maintain army morale—killed for cowardice when they should be decorated for bravery—in their quiet, violent, and ironic acceptance of their fate, press strongly upon us the indifferent cruelty of war, crushing all that stands in the way of its juggernaut purpose. The acting, and the dialogue, grow tight with power through these closing scenes, and help make "Paths of Glory" a truly gripping work.

BOOMERANG

"RED SALUTE." United Artists film. Now about town.

Every person with the slightest social conscience should see "Red Salute." For any person with even the slightest social conscience will be struck by the way in which, almost with folly premeditated, the methods of capitalist society are exposed and set before us.

We do get a bit of genuine information: there is wide and active unrest in the colleges. (It is from the colleges, by the way, that much of the stir came before our Revolution; the Princeton graduates of 1771 pledged themselves to buy no British-made goods.) But beyond this, we watch, in full display, the capitalist tactics. It is taken for granted—not as a radical's accusation, notice, but as a normal and accepted procedure—that there shall be agents provocateurs to goad on the "reds" and thus incite and invite police violence.

METROPOLITAN
OPERA HOUSE
Oct. 9 to 20—12 Days Only
S. HURON presents
COL. W. de BASIL'S
MONTE CARLO

BALLET RUSSE
BOX OFFICE
NOW OPEN

GALA OPENING 7:30 to 10:00 plus tax
Evenings (inc. tax) 7:30 to 10:00 plus tax
Mats. Sat. & Sun. 7:30 to 10:00 plus tax
MAIL ORDERS FILLED
Exclusive Management
HURON PRODUCTIONS, Inc.
R.C.A. Building, 30 Rockefeller Plaza

DANCE RECITALS

Eight Dance Recitals, Saturday Evenings Oct. 12, Nov. 2, Dec. 7, Jan. 11, Feb. 1, Feb. 15, Mar. 14, Apr. 4, Charles Weidman and His Group—Shawn and His Men Dancers—Miriam Winslow—Tamara—Carole Goy—Martha Graham—Jacques Cartier—Agnes DeMille.

For the series of eight recitals, Mail orders to Students Dance Recitals, 32 Union Sq. Also on sale at Womanaker's. For information and tickets call this number only: (STU. 9-1391).

MUSIC

PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY

KLEMPERER, Conductor
This Afternoon at 3:00
BACH—BETHOVEN—BRAHMS
Also SHOSTAKOVICH Symphony
Thurs. Eve. at 8:00; Fri. Aft. at 2:30
Cherubini—Sibelius—Wagner—Elgar
Sat. Eve. at 8:00; Sun. Aft. at 3:00
Cherubini—Wagner—Elgar—Franck
Arthur Judson, Mgr. (Sticks)

In the Ballet Russe



One beautiful scene in the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe, which S. Huron will reopen at the Metropolitan Opera House, beginning October 9th.

The March of Time and Latest Ethiopian News Feature the New Program at the Newsreel Theatre

The first Broadway run of the latest issue of March of Time gives the facts behind Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia. Exclusive pictures of Lake Tana show why England is interested because Lake Tana controls the water flow of the fertile Nile river valley.

Along with this interesting subject the Embassy Newsreel Theatre shows a compilation of all the newsreels' material from Ethiopia. In all, about twenty minutes are devoted to this, the most timely subject of discussion today.

The March of Time also goes into a minute study of President Roosevelt's C.C.C. Showing the

good things accomplished as well as pointing out a few of the salient maladjustments of the newly organized national institution.

Perhaps the most interesting subject of the two-real feature is from Pennsylvania. "Bootleg Coal" gives the inside story of an amazing 50 million dollar business that has sprung up as the result of inactivity in the coal mines.

The Newsreel Theatres announce a new small, modern theatre to be opened shortly at 800 Broad St., Newark, N. J., which will run a one-hour news program similar to that at the Embassy Newsreel Theatre.

And the sweet heroine is so obviously a shallow creature, won back from "dangerous ideas" by a strong-arm hero; and that hero is so clearly a superficial cad—a hero doesn't even have to be a gentleman these days, apparently, if he's ready to beat the "reds"; is all so simply presented that

anyone with the slightest idea of what's going on in the world will read the film correctly. "Red Salute" reduces capitalist technique to words of one syllable, as easy to see through as cellophane. The title makes one think of a Fourth-of-July firecracker; the producers have lighted this one—and found it tied to their own tail.

SQUARING THE CIRCLE

First Comedy of Soviet Russia on American Stage

LYCEUM, W. 45th St. BR. 9-0546

MATINEE SATURDAY

The THEATRE GUILD presents

(in association with John C. Wilson)

The TAMING OF THE SHREW

with ALFRED LUNT and LYNN FONTANNE

GUILD THEATRE 52nd St., West of Broadway

Mats. Thurs. and Sat. at 2:30

The THEATRE GUILD presents

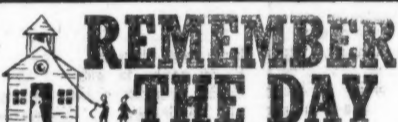
"IF THIS BE TREASON"

by Dr. John Haynes Holmes & Reginald Lawrence

MUSIC BOX THEATRE 45th STREET

Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

Evenings 8:30



"Full to the brim of tender emotion."—N.Y. Times

"Visit the National Theatre. Recapture a glimpse of the kid that was you and come away feeling pretty swell."—Coleman, Mirror

"Among the contenders of this season's Pulitzer Prize."—King-Sun

Thurs. 8:10, 5:00 to 8:30—Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40, 5:00 to 8:20

Admission: 50c, 75c, 1.00, 1.50, 2.00, 2.50, 3.00, 3.50, 4.00, 4.50, 5.00, 5.50, 6.00, 6.50, 7.00, 7.50, 8.00, 8.50, 9.00, 9.50, 10.00

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Adler Family Adds Player

Lola Adler, a grandchild of the late Jacob P. Adler, is the newest member of this talented family to join the professional ranks in the theatre. Last Sunday night she appeared with the Zu-Lach-Ess Group, in their informal revue, at the Civic Repertory Theatre. Miss Adler played the wife opposite Zvee Scooler in a Yiddish dramatization of Alfred Kreyenberg's poem "America! America!"

Another performance of their unique entertainment will be given at the Civic Repertory Theatre Monday evening, October 7th.

Brooklyn Strand Offers New Double Feature Program

"Two Fisted," a romantic comedy depicting the adventures of a fight manager and his dull witted boxer who crash Park Ave. society via the butler route, with Lee Tracy and Roscoe Karns in the featured roles, heads the double feature program this week at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre. Others in the cast are Gail Patrick, Grace Bradley, Billy Page, Gordon Westcott and Kent Taylor.

"Born to Gamble," the second feature, is a drama in the personal history of three generations and has for its stars H. B. Warner, Onslow Stevens, Lois Wilson, Maxine Doyle and Lucien Prival.

From Bali to Broadway by Way of "Legong"

The people of Bali believe that once they leave their island they die. Since it is depicted as an Earthly Paradise, no native ever wishes to leave it. So those who are desirous of seeing the authentic ancient dances of these Balinese must either go to Bali—and that is not possible for many of us—or else see them in motion pictures, as no impresario can present them in person to us here.

Such a motion picture is said to be "Legong," or Dance of the Virgins," taken in Bali by the Marquis de la Falaise, and chosen by Irvin Shapiro and Archie Mayers to initiate their transformation of the Westminster Cinema in Forty-ninth Street into the World Theatre, where they will present out-of-the-ordinary motion pictures for their first run in New York. "Legong" is out-of-the-ordinary because it shows exotic exciting dances, dancing of ancient legends with fabulous beasts, weird witch-like, extraordinarily beautiful magnificent costumes, with backgrounds of authentic temples—beautiful, imposing. Here are hundreds of natives—some costumed in priceless bejeweled ceremonial robes, an extravaganza of reality, not of paper mache and bunting; you cannot say "strike

Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

More Pathological Studies

LAST week we enjoyed an excursion through the tents of the mighty Bolshevik sects to find out how the revolution is getting along. We did not exhaust consideration of terminology in that report and no one can understand the revolution without a more complete knowledge of it.

If you are a member of a sect it is essential for you to charge the others with "bureaucracy" but you must be careful how you spell the word. To spell it "bureaucracy" is to write yourself down a petty bourgeois. The Marxist-Leninist way to spell it is "bureaucracy." As we are exploring for "clarity" it is essential for us to understand this important distinction. The Communist Party stands for the Marxist-Leninist spelling of the word but there are some sects that believe the C.P. is "ultra-left" on this.

Then there is the word "mechanical." It had its origin in early "theses" of the Comintern but the holy word has been corrupted through its misuse by other sects. It was a dirty trick for others to swipe it because "right" and "left," "Dangerous center" and "ultra-left," and all "deviators" from the "correct line" have made it more difficult to achieve "clarity" by using it. However, if you want to deliver a solar-plexus at one who lacks "clarity" hurl "mechanical" at him and watch him glide into a coma. There's nothing like it in the Bolshevik lexicon. Even the Revolutionary Policy Publishing Association has become skilled in using it.

"Democratic-centralism" is a little more profound and it perplexes the greatest minds. It means democracy under control of a dictatorship orders you to support. Other sects outside of the C.P. support this great "principle" in their own groups but some hold that they don't want a "mechanical" transference of it from Stalin to their groups. Observe how beautifully that word "mechanical" comes into the picture! We are sure that our readers have now reached the first stage of "clarity."

Then there is "comradely criticism" and "merciless criticism." This formula is elastic, not "mechanical." We will proceed to "clarity" this. The C.P. and its orphans are all fishing in the Socialist Party for recruits just as they are fishing in each other's camps for converts. If you are reading the various Bolshevik journals you are struck with the fact that each of them takes a different attitude toward the Old Guard and to the "militants." The first receives "merciless criticism" and the second "comradely criticism."

Down With the Old Fossils!

The reason for this is that the Old Guard consists of a collection of old fossils who never can reach "clarity" while there is hope of the "militants" reaching this stage of Nirvana. The first is hopelessly "right" and the second exhibits a promising "leftward" trend. To gain recruits from the "leftward" trend you must use "comradely criticism."

But there is another way to put it. Those who may eventually reach "clarity" are also called the "healthy element." All of the sects regard the "militants" as the "healthy" group while each sect sees in each of the other sects "healthy elements" that must be encouraged by "comradely criticism." You have to be a great thinker, however, to understand all this and there are only a few of us besides Josef Stalin, Lovestone, Cannon, Weisbord and Henson who have reached "clarity" on this matter. However, there is hope for everybody except the old fossils who never will understand "revolutionary" tactics.

Here we may abandon the sects for the moment and turn to our "militant" friends who recently held a conference and we note that a great Marxist contributed some important thoughts. He was original. He said that we must take a "realistic" attitude toward the Soviet Union, a "realistic" attitude toward war, and formulate a "realistic" labor policy. The simplicity and "clarity" of these proposals are their outstanding characteristics. When you say "realistic" nothing more is necessary. Be "realistic" on fascism, war, labor and the Soviet Union and everything else is easy. The conference was even "realistic" when, after much debate and reaching no conclusions, it passed the buck to a sub-committee to report at some later time.

God and the Devil

We cannot neglect the dear old Socialist Labor Party. It has always claimed that it has stood "like a rock" for forty years. It has. It hasn't moved an inch in four decades, but it gets a convert now and then. Last week was an epoch in the party's history. It ran a letter by Frank Jeffries of Camden, N. J., announcing his resignation from the Socialist Party and that he was joining the S.L.P. This event was so extraordinary that the organ of the S.L.P. ran an editorial of nearly two full-length columns interpreting the remarkable phenomenon.

Frank declares that he had been a member of the S.P. 25 years but not until he recently read an S.L.P. pamphlet did he learn that he had "wasted" these 25 years and for this he is "fearfully sorry." Why he remained 25 years in sin is a mystery, for the accidental reading of that pamphlet does not explain it. He had access to S.L.P. pamphlets in those years of membership in the rotten S.P. Why the doors of the new home have been opened to one who required 25 years to see the light is to us still baffling. Frank lived in the days when the S.L.P. advertised us as the "multi-cocoa party" and the party of "Bermuda onions," the party that contracted an illegitimate union with the "kangaroos," and yet light came into his dark life only after 25 years!

But the S.L.P. editorial gives one a thrill. It declares that Frank's statement "is indeed a sad and torturing confession." We think so too. We were almost moved to tears when we read it. The editorial affirms that the confession is all the more sad considering the "necessity of rapid action and great clarification" today. You said it. It is "clarity" that is needed even if it takes a quarter-century to get it. Moreover, as the editorial declares, "there is no reason for despair on the part of Comrade Jeffries" for he and others like him can save others from "falling into the errors" that thousands have fallen into by joining the corrupt S.P. We are sure that Frank will get some consolation from these editorial reflections.

But, as old Robert Burton in the seventeenth century said, "Where God hath a temple, the Devil will have a chapel." The S.L.P. organ on the same editorial page where Frank is welcomed refers to a member who has "been cast out." As Lucifer fell from the battlements of heaven into the pit of hell, so Adolph Silver has fallen. Whether it required 25 years or 25 days for him to see another light we do not know but he has "been cast out." Result, Frank joins the party, an increase of 1; Silver is "cast out," a decrease of 1; net gain, 0!

However, the revolution is sweeping the masses. If the castaways on an island made a living by taking in each other's washing, the sects, are making rapid progress by mutual swapping of members. More clarity! Hail the revolution!!

New Jersey

Abraham Epstein at Friday Forum
Passaic—The second of a series of Friday Night Forums, sponsored by Socialist Party branches in Passaic in cooperation with local trade unions, will take place October 14th at 8:30 Main Ave.

Abraham Epstein, Executive Secretary of the American Association for Social Security, will be the guest speaker. The next business meeting of Branch One will take place Friday, Oct. 14th, at the Workmen's Circle, 50 Howe Ave. Plans for a vigorous county campaign for the November elections in Passaic and Paterson are being completed.

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Pennsylvania Front

Good Ticket in Media

MEDIA.—The Socialist Party of Delaware County will be represented in the November election with the following ticket: County Commissioners, John Smith, Chester, vice-president, Delaware County Central Labor Union; H. Walter Davis, Moylan, member of the Typographical Union. Other candidates are Richard A. Montgomery, Media; Robert G. Hastings, Upper Darby; Jeanette A. Poole, Brookline; Milton F. Wells, Springfield; Charles Sherlock, Yeadon, Lithographers' Union, and Alfred McKinney, Chester.

New Branch in Millvale

MILLVALE.—The newly organized branch of Millvale will be represented in the November elections with a full municipal ticket. The branch was launched after the time for filing nomination papers for the primary had expired, and only due to a systematic campaign among the registered Socialists the branch succeeded in having their ticket written in.

Strong Ticket in Rimersburg

RIMERSBURG.—With the Socialist ticket ratified in the primary, local Socialists are preparing to launch an active campaign. The following were nominated: Commissioners, A. D. Alexander and Harry W. Flick; Treasurer, C. I. Best; Prothonotary, Henry J. Jaster; Register and Recorder, Firman Redding; Boro Ticket: No. 1 Precinct: Judge of Election, John Denton; Inspector, John D. McGuire; Council, Clarence Williams; No. 2 Precinct: Judge of Election, George Alexander; Inspector, Jess Flick; School Director, C. C. Alexander and S. J. Adams; East Madison Township: Judge of Election, Thomas Lough; Inspector, Albert Priestley; Supervisor, John Barger; Constable, Dale H. Hawk; West Madison Township: Judge of Election, Albert Tuttle; Inspector, I. B. Watness.

Branch Work in Pittsburgh

In connection with the political campaign, the possibilities of organizing new branches will not be overlooked. A series of house meetings of Socialist sympathizers will be held in the various districts. The first in the 31st ward is scheduled at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Hueston.

Branches are rapidly organizing for winter activities. The 5th Ward Branch meets every Friday night at the Socialist Center, 1822 Center Ave., Pittsburgh. Emil Limbach will lead the educational program.

The East Liberty Branch meets at the Kingsley House, Larimer Ave., every Wednesday night. Sarah Limbach will lead the educational program. An organization meeting of an English speaking branch of the Workmen's Circle by the Pittsburgh District Committee of the Workmen's Circle has been announced for Wednesday, Oct. 2, 8 p.m., at the Labor Center, 122 9th Street.

More Professional Men Wearing Crawford Clothes

Doctors, lawyers, bankers, brokers, accountants—men engaged in professional pursuits which demand a high standard of personal



appearance, are in ever-increasing numbers turning to Crawford for their clothes.

This is because no man is satisfied to spend money needlessly and more and more men are discovering that Crawford Clothes, at \$18.75, are equal to the \$50 and \$60 kind—not in style and smartness alone but in every respect.

Crawford tailors every garment from the fabrics which are the pride of America's leading woolen mills. Fabrics that wear like iron. Fabrics for every purpose—sport, country, business. Fabrics in all the latest shades and patterns.

Now this is interesting. The demand for Crawford Clothes is now so great, that the fabric house have set aside certain looms for Crawford exclusively. This has become necessary in order to make enough wools for Crawford to satisfy the men of leading eastern cities. (Adv.)

DEATH NOTICE

Comrade Lavenia Oppenheim, 164 7th Ave., Brooklyn, announces the death of her beloved son

John J. Cunningham

October 1st. Funeral from Wm. B. Cooke Funeral Parlor, 607 7th Ave., Brooklyn, Friday at 2 p.m.

New York City Voters Register and Enroll For Election Oct. 8, 9, 10, 11, 14 and 15

REGISTRATION for the November, 1938, election and enrollment for the 1936 primaries will begin Tuesday, October 8th. It will continue every day until Friday, October 11th; and again Monday and Tuesday, October 14th and 15th. Dates for update registration are given elsewhere in this issue.

Polling places for registration and enrollment will be open every registration day from 3 p. m. to 10:30 p. m., except on Tuesday, October 15th, when they will be open from 3:30 p. m. to 11:30 p. m.

To be eligible to vote you must be a citizen of the United States, and on election day you must have been a resident of the State one year, of the county (borough) four months and of the election district thirty days, that is, if you have lived in the State since November 5th, 1934; in the county (borough) since July 5th and in the election district October 6th, 1935.

All new voters must submit to a literacy test before being permitted to register; a school diploma will be accepted as adequate proof of literacy.

ALL SOCIALISTS MUST ENROLL FOR NEXT YEAR'S PRIMARIES. After registering voters will be handed a ballot with the names and emblems of all official parties. The Socialist emblem, the Arm and Torch, is in the third column. MARK A CROSS (X) IN THE CIRCLE UNDER THE EMBLEM, and you will be eligible to vote in next year's primaries.

REGISTER EARLY! DON'T WAIT FOR THE LAST DAY! Voters who have any trouble at the registration places should telephone AT ONCE to the Socialist Party office, ALgonquin 4-2620.

Anti-War Conference of Labor and Socialists Held in Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA.—A meeting sponsored by the Trade Union Conference Against War and the Socialist Party was held at the Friends Meeting House Friday, Sept. 27. Many delegates from trade unions and the Socialist Party attended, including a number of A. F. of L. members, employed in the manufacture of war materials.

"Trade unionists recognize that national policy in this crisis must come before personal gain and if neutrality means restriction of the production of war goods by the government we will support that move," declared Alfred Hoffman of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, chairman of the Conference, in a call issued for the meeting. Virtually every A. F. of L. official in the city signed the call.

The speakers were Jeanette Rankin, America's first Congresswoman and who for years has been foremost in the peace movement, Stephen Raushenbush, chief investigator for the Nye Munitions Committee, and Charles W. Ervin, member of the Socialist Party and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. John Phillips, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, presided. Ervin stated that "Oratory is not wanted, intelligent action is needed. Go to Atlantic City, to the A. F. of L. convention and make yourself felt."

John W. Edelman, Acting Secretary of the Conference, stated that "the Conference has been formed to carry on an intensive campaign in the ranks of labor, among the masses generally, to build up solid and effective resistance against war hysteria."

"We seek to mobilize American Trade Unionists as crusaders for international peace. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor made an earnest and powerful plea for peace at its last meeting. It seems to us fitting that trade unionists in Philadelphia should lead the country in organizing a determined and dramatic protest against war and all that war involves."

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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, OCTOBER 5, 1935

WAR!

A MEGALOMANIAC, who came into power through armed gangsters, who put trade union and cooperative buildings of the workers to flames, who referred cynically to "the corpse of liberty" after accomplishing this destruction, has begun war against a little nation in East Africa. On Wednesday Mussolini broadcast his intentions in a radio address in which he said that at the end of the World War "only the crumbs of the rich colonial booty were left for us to pick up." He added, "Italy! Italy! Entirely and universally fascist!"

So it is "booty" that Mussolini is after, loot to be obtained by a robber raid in which the lives of conscripts will be sacrificed. Here is one man whose brutal will may hurl all Europe into a bloody shambles. There can be no peace in the world so long as the Mussolinis and the Hitlers can, like drunks in a barroom, act the bully and the assassin. Ere this adventure is over, let us hope that the iron sandals of revolution will be heard in Italy and stamp out Mussolini and his black shirt gangsters.

THE A. F. of L. CONVENTION

A CONGRESS of the working class to consider the problems that affect the life of the nation's working population is in many ways more important than an assembly of politicians in a legislative body. Too many legislators have no knowledge of the life of the working masses. They make of politics a profession, a source of living, and are more intent on acquiring the skill of winning votes than to represent the voters.

A congress of workmen and women is different. Its delegates come from mill, shop, mine, store, factory and railroad. They are sent by masses of workers who work in the sources of production and distribution. They know life, the economic life of men and women weaving cloth, digging coal, sewing garments, erecting buildings, tending machines, packing, carting and transporting things that make life possible.

Here are tens of millions of the working population, some working full time, others part time, and millions of others having no employment at all. Here are the masses on whose backs rest the whole structure of modern civilization. They have the skill and knowledge of productive processes, the muscle, the brains and genius to operate the mechanism we call "industry."

Out of their experience with life they have organized unions in order that they may lift themselves out of the degradation that was the lot of their ancestors in the ages before the dawn of the present civilization. In the early days they organized, lost a struggle, and the union disappeared. They tried again and yet again with varying results. Victories were won and struggles lost, yet slowly over the decades the organized army increased. Today this army represents several millions of men and women workers.

Their deputies meet in their own congress to consider the problems of a civilization that is in part wrecked and which has wrecked the lives of many of their constituents. Many of them are caged in an economic prison and yearn for release. Five years of hideous calamity have been their lot and the lot of millions not members of their organizations. What's to be done? How much prepared are the members to march to more advanced positions?

Frankly, we do not know, but we hope that these deputies will make decisions that will heal any conflicts that arise, that will expand the scope of organization, that will forecast the emancipation of labor from dependence upon party organizations which they do not control, extend the social philosophy of unionism into still wider fields, and promote a class solidarity that will bind the affiliated organizations more firmly in the struggle for common aims.

DEMOCRACY THE ULTIMATE GOAL

ORGANIZATION of the working class in industry became a necessity when workers lost control of home and shop production and lost control of materials and the product of their labor. Shop and home forms of production were forms of industrial democracy. When workers entered factories, there was no democracy. They had to organize and win it for themselves. The struggle for it is more than a century old and it still continues.

Why? Because it is only partially realized. The working masses will never be satisfied until the democratic ideal is fulfilled. It will never be fulfilled until we recover control of the work-places, the tools, machines, materials and the product of labor. The struggle of the organized masses in industry leads to this eventual control. When this struggle is finally won, there will be no exploitation of human beings. This is the ultimate goal of organized workers. It is also the ultimate goal of the Socialist movement.

Labor's Forward March!



Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman
Our Washington Correspondent

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S campaign for re-election is well under way. Doubtless Chairman James A. Farley of the Democratic National Committee, if he talked off the record, would admit that the campaign has been going on for a long time. But the campaign is launched more formally these days. The President's promise of a "breathing spell" to business, his speech to the farmers at Fremont, Neb., on Saturday, and his message to the American people on the Government budget, pledging no increase in Federal taxes, all work into the picture.

Before the President returns to Washington from his Western trip it may be expected that he will have driven home further pleas for the continuance of the Roosevelt administration and the New Deal. It was predicted some time ago that he would make use of this trip to reply to the avalanche of criticism that has been heaped upon the New Deal in recent months.

The Speech to the Farmers

DEMOCRATIC leaders now in Washington—and there are still too many of them here—agree that from a Democratic political standpoint the speech to the farmers, the first one delivered at Fremont, is the most important. While the address was delivered to country audience and was necessarily phrased to interest it, there were significant passages which were addressed not so much to the arm belt where Mr. Roosevelt remains strong, but to the urban population, to the business interests, to the conservative Republicans.

Three basic appeals were made in that address, which from a political aspect was one of the most skillfully constructed speeches Mr. Roosevelt has made recently. One was to the farmer's pocketbook. That was the essence of his farm appeal. The other two arguments, were addressed to the urban voters. One of these concerned the Constitution issue, with Mr. Roosevelt representing AAA as a great grass-roots self-governing movement built on 5,000 county production control associations, 100,000 committeemen and 3,000,000 adjustment contract signers. Washington's role, as he described it, was a unifying role. This, Mr. Roosevelt insisted, was an expression of democracy, in the best traditions of the embattled farmers of Lexington and Concord, of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution itself.

Now there is some question whether the farmers themselves took upon AAA as a sort of glorified town meeting proposition. Opinions gathered from many leaders in the Western country indicate that the farmer is more inclined to view AAA as something at Washington which showers down manna in the form of benefit checks.

However, the fact remains that Mr. Roosevelt is attempting to meet the Republican cry that AAA is a bureaucratic dictatorship, infringing on the individual liberty of the farmers, with the argument that it is the result of spontaneous

combustion in the grass roots and belongs to the farmers themselves. Here is the President's defense of real democracy—with a small "d."

The other appeal, in answer to the protests of the East, is to the pocketbook of the industrialist and the urban worker. Mr. Roosevelt figures that farm income since 1932 has increased by \$5,300,000,000 over what it would have been had the 1932 farm price levels continued. That, Mr. Roosevelt says, is what has helped start the smoke pouring from factory chimneys in Pittsburgh, Detroit and other manufacturing centers.

PROBABLY the most significant part about Boulder Dam is not what the President said, but what he omitted. Not a word was said about government development of power plants.

This speech of last Monday was a great disappointment to those who expected this to be the answer to the public utility critics.

In line with his recent tendency of appeasing business hostility, Mr. Roosevelt seemed to be taking care to avoid reopening wounds left by the bitter fight over utility regulation. Neither did he permit himself to expand on dreams of great public power empires which marked his addresses a year ago when he visited the Columbia River projects and later when he inspected the Tennessee Valley development.

Washington Settles Coal Strike

EDWARD F. McGRADY, Assistant Secretary of Labor, says that in strikes between employers and employees "the Government of course is impartial." If this is the case now it's the first time in our history. This, probably, explains why a great industrial war, involving four hundred thousand workers and a five billion dollars industry, was settled so soon and so satisfactorily, without the usual casualties of a coal strike.

The lesson: All the government has to do is to be impartial. A strong union will do the rest.

Industrial war clouds lowering over America's vast soft coal fields for eight months at last burst into a strike of 400,000 miners—then, in four days, clear away as an 18-month agreement is finally negotiated between workers and bituminous mine owners.

What the miners receive: An increase of 50 cents for a basic 7-hour day, calculated by the union to bring average earnings to \$934.50 a year; 9 cents a ton increase for piece-work; 10 per cent increase in pay for "dead work." Original demands had been about double the benefits obtained.

The Reason

IN the Typographical Bulletin, an official publication of the Wisconsin Typographical Conference, it is stated that all of the bills fathered in the legislature by the Typographical Union have been killed.

This is true of nearly all other good bills also.

It is easy to discover the cause. It lies in the fact that too many working men shop around among old-party candidates for the legislature instead of voting for the Socialist candidates.—Milwaukee Leader.

What the operators receive: Reduction in wage differentials between competing areas.

Net result: An estimated increase in wage payments of about 90 million dollars a year—approximately 15 cents a ton.

Such is the present result of a collective bargaining process conducted on an industry-wide scale on one side, operators fearing the loss of markets to competing fuels; on the other, a strong union battling for a living wage.

Two Warnings to the Nation

TWO lurid warnings addressed to the nation by public leaders: From General Hugh S. Johnson, retiring Works Progress Director at New York City: "The unemployment situation is a neat little powder mine with the fuse lit. To shut off relief at this time would mean riot, rebellion or revolution within two weeks."

From Lewis Douglas, former Director of the Budget: "Government spending is paving the way for a credit inflation that will blow the top off the world when it collapses."

And Roosevelt revived the old campaign motto: "Happy days are here again." To business he promises a "breathing spell"; to the farmers he promises continued processing manna; but to the workers merely a hint of indirect gain through the increased purchasing power of the farmer. The worker is always the last—and the least!

Atlantic City Convention May Prove Historic One

By Algernon Lee

THE problem uppermost in the minds of the delegates from unions of all trades and industries, and from all parts of the country, as they come together in Atlantic City next week, will, no doubt be that of



strengthening their organizations all along the line. This is vitally necessary at the present moment. The favorable conditions which were provided by NRA during the two years of its life have been swept away by the Supreme Court decision. Organized Labor must depend upon its own energy and wisdom to hold the gains that were rather easily made during those two years and to add to them in the year ahead of us. Merely to hold what has been won is not enough. The next year is pretty surely going to be marked by a capitalist drive against Trade Unionism on the economic field, as well as by a drive on the political field against labor and social legislation. The army of Organized Labor must win hundreds of thousands of new recruits. And it must also inspire and drill and consolidate those who have joined its ranks since the summer of 1933, a large part of whom are still too young in the movement to realize fully what it means.

There are several of the basic industries—notably steel, automobiles, and rubber—in which as yet there is hardly more than the skeleton of organization. To make it a great living body is going to be a hard task, but it is certainly not an impossible one.

On the other hand, many of the light industries, each of them employing only a small fraction of the whole working class, but in the aggregate employing enormous numbers, have as yet no organization at all or none worth speaking of. The task of unionizing these wretchedly underpaid, overworked, ignorant and hopeless masses will be perhaps as difficult as that of unionizing the heavy industries, but in a different way. It must not be neglected, for workers of this type, so long as they remain unorganized, are not only neutral in the labor struggle—as a rule they are positively hostile to the trade union movement, and their dull hostility counts for more than is commonly realized.

And there is another line of work which can be made very fruitful, but on which all too little has yet been done. It is easy to sneer at public sympathy as being a matter of "sweet words that butter no parsnips." But this is a mistaken view. When wage workers go on strike or are locked out, it makes a big practical difference if the grocer, the butcher, the clothing or shoe dealer, the doctor and dentist too, believe in unionism and wish the union success. When the bosses ask for the police to be used as scab-herders and ask magistrates to jail union pickets, the conduct of public officials is greatly influenced by the opinion of the small business men and professionals. In somewhat different ways the attitude of the farmers toward trade unionism is also a

powerful factor. Their friendly or hostile feeling has great weight in the state capitals and in the court rooms, and may determine whether an injunction shall be granted or not, whether or not the militia shall be sent to break a strike.

The direct drives for organization in the various trades and industries need to be supplemented by a well directed, intensive, continuous, and nation-wide campaign to educate the public at large with regard to the aims of trade unionism, its methods, and its effects. The other side loses no opportunity to describe trade unionism as a huge "racket" and to picture union officials as pot-bellied self-seekers, living at the expense of their rank and file. A propaganda of truth is sorely needed to offset this propaganda of malicious falsehood, and it should be planned and carried out on a vast scale.

American Organized Labor, responding to its own experience more than to any outside influence, is slowly but steadily moving in the direction of independent political action. Its progress on that line of development cannot be very much hastened by preaching and argument. No one who understands the problem can wish that a decision should be precipitated before a very large proportion of the rank and file, as well as of the union officials, have made up their minds that independent labor politics is really desirable. The birth of a genuine Labor Party on a national scale in 1936 seems very improbable. But if we use the word "political" in its right sense, there is such a thing as political action even before a distinct party has been formed. A very important political issue, in this sense of the word, can and must be dealt with in the coming year.

In May of 1933 both houses of Congress would have passed the Thirty-Hour Week Bill, if President Roosevelt had recommended it. He hesitated for some time, and then refused to say the word. Instead, he proposed NIRA, and got it enacted. The explanation offered is that he feared a bill limiting the work-week in private employment would be held unconstitutional. That explanation looks pretty poor, seeing what happened to NIRA. But the President has not changed his mind. He has promised Big Business a "breathing spell" and declared that his basic program of social legislation is practically completed. In other words, the President is not going to take the initiative in bringing the Thirty-Hour Week.

This is a thing that cannot wait. There will be no full solution, probably not even a halfway solution, of the unemployment problem until employment is spread and the workers' purchasing power increased by limiting the hours of labor to thirty a week at the most. To mobilize public opinion for this great forward step, to do it so effectively as to ensure the passage of the act in 1936, and simultaneously to push through a constitutional amendment which will assure its being upheld by the courts—that is a major task confronting Organized Labor today.

The convention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlantic City promises to be an epoch-making one. May it start a year of unprecedented progress for the working people of the United States!

What Has the Future To Offer Today's Youth?

By Gertrude Weil Klein

HARDLY a week passes by but some young man, sometimes a young woman, who obviously does not belong to the needle trades, comes into the union office looking for a job. You can tell at a glance that they have never operated a sewing machine or handled a pressing iron or held a needle in their lives. They are white collar people, some of them professionals even.



G. W. Klein

That is, they were trained to be and thought they were going to be white collar people or professionals. But so far the only place they have had a chance to appear in their true roles is in the unemployment statistics. So, having relatives or friends, in the industry, in the shops, or in the union, they come in and ask for a chance to learn the trade.

This opens several interesting avenues of speculation. I am not concerned at present with the heartbreak this must cause to thousands of fond parents who made severe sacrifices to give their children the education that would ensure their escape from the drudgery of the shop. Nor can I dwell on the disappointment and frustration of these young people themselves, when they finally face

the fact that there is no place for them in that part of the world they thought they belonged; that there may be no place for them in a humbler position, either. Their individual and collective problems are psychological; but pathetic and tragic, nevertheless.

What is the industrial proletariat of the future going to look like and what will be the new problems to come along with its changing complexion? The needle trades are not an isolated instance. What is happening here is happening in other industries. The department stores, for instance, are staffed almost entirely by college graduates who must take intelligence tests before they can get their jobs. At least the department stores offer a semigeant haven for young people who might otherwise become perennial post-graduates. The shops and mills and factories are the last strata, the refuge of bleak despair.

What kind of union members will these young people become? What kind of material for unionization will they be in the unorganized industries? They are individualists, indoctrinated with the American theory and philosophy of rugged individualism. Will they therefore be subconsciously on the employers' side in their sympathies, or will their embitterment swing them over to a hatred of all authority, all officialdom and particularly the officialdom of the unions? Will they be contemptuous of their fellow workers, a

group apart, superior and aloof? Superior and aloof also to the men whom they must look to for leadership, their union officers?

I do not know the answers to these questions. I do not know that the labor movement is thinking about them particularly. But I do believe they are pertinent and important questions for leaders of labor to consider.

If these new and declassé elements do not amalgamate with the general labor movement, the labor movement will be fretted and impeded at every turn. Because they are young, and because youth is worshipped for its own sake in our country, they will be doubly dangerous if neglected and permitted to form an isolated, alien section of labor.

I know I should not appear to speak slightly of the young. It's not being done. Most of us are bulldozed into accepting the propaganda about the superiority of the young and so rather than let ourselves be set down as a lot of old fogies, we often acquiesce in hair-brained, half-baked exploits. Frankly, I think this "youth" propaganda is a lot of hooey. It's a form of chauvinism that must not be allowed to stomp us in the necessary job of re-education that will have to be done.

It's a big job, a delicate job, and it's up to the pioneers to see that it is intelligently done. Now is the time to think about it. Now, while it is only a potential problem, is the time to plan a campaign of re-education that will make the intellectuals and white collar workers who must take their place in our midst an inspiring and valuable aid to organized labor.

Unionism in the Third Industrial Revolution

Changes in Union Organization, Philosophy, Program and Methods Effected in Two Industrial Revolutions--Problems Confronting A. F. of L. in the Third Revolution :: :: By James Oneal

OUTSTANDING questions that face the workers of the United States and especially the organized workers are the 30-hour week, social legislation, industrial organization and more effective political action. These issues have become more and more important because the United States is now well into the third industrial revolution.

The first industrial revolution shifted industrial occupations out of the home and the shop into factories. This change was being effected by the 1830's in New England and was fairly completed in the Eastern States by the time of the Civil War.

The second revolution occurred in the period of 1865-1910 when capitalistic industry passed from the individualist phase into the corporate phase of ownership and expanded across the continent.

The third revolution roughly coincides with the period since 1910 during which industry passed into the merger phase with great banking houses directing the higher consolidation of corporations while the great industries thus consolidated passed into the mass-production era and expanded to other nations of the world.

The development of the labor movement also has phases corresponding with these three industrial revolutions. The first revolution stripped the workers in the home and the shop of their control of the means of production, transformed them into wage workers, and they became dependent upon private owners of factories for a living. In this transition the workers organized benefit societies which later became trade unions.

The trade unions proper belong to the second revolution. They were protective and combative organizations. Before the end of the second revolution the isolated trade unions were organizing nationally and federation of the nations into a cooperative alliance was the next step, so the National Labor Union, the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor represent the federation idea as it evolved through various stages in the second industrial revolution.

The third revolution brought further issues of organization which have been partly met by amalgamation of unions, alliances or understandings between two or more unions, establishment of special departments in the A. F. of L., and organization of unions on an industrial basis. The tremendous power of the owners of the mass-production industries, the wiping out of old trades and skills in the greater industries, the difficulty of fitting a trade union into an industry that is becoming or has become a mass-production enterprise, and the jurisdiction conflicts arising between unions in changing industries have brought the problem of more effective organization before the organized workers.

Thus it is obvious that the structure of labor organizations, their policies and general philosophy, have been affected by three industrial revolutions. Readjustments to the changing industrial environment have been made. As a rule, they have been made slowly, sometimes too slowly. However, in this respect the trade unions do not differ from other organizations. Human society is often materially altered while old ideas adapted to a previous era survive into the new age, causing friction and a continuance of institutional forms ill-adapted to the needs of a changed society.

Not until the world crisis became evident in October, 1929, and the months of depression dragged into years, did it dawn upon many workers that a new phase of the third industrial revolution had arrived. In fact, it has become a new epoch more grave in its implications and bringing more problems to the organized working class than any other period of industrial transition. What is striking about trade union history since 1929 is the fact that it has brought profound changes in outlook and policy that amount almost to an intellectual revolution. This intellectual revolution is still in a transition stage, but the change has gone farther than many members of the trade unions even now comprehend while other changes are certainly ahead.

American Traditions

Consider what has happened. The American trade unions were affected by the impact of American traditions as they evolved in American history. Thus the democracy of American individualism became an integral part of trade union philosophy down to the period of the world industrial depression. It had profoundly affected the thinking and action of organized workers and traces of it lingered into the depression period for a short time. Its survival into this period was based upon the expectation that the crisis, like other depressions before it, was a temporary calamity.

When it dawned upon the masses that the collapse was not an ordinary depression, the old individualist philosophy died in the trade unions. The unions still favor democracy, but not the old type of anarchy individualism. The democracy now supported is of a social character which requires that the anarchy individualist shall be restrained and that the governing powers of the nation shall be directed to social ends that are beneficial to the whole working population of the nation.

That is a revolution in trade union philosophy. This philosophy is not completed and even its implications are not apparent to all members of the trade unions. However, the change is a revolution in the basic conceptions that had prevailed throughout the second and most of the third periods of the industrial revolution.

In the former period the trade unions were suspicious of most legislation that interfered with industrial relations. They held that the unions could provide for health, old age and jobless insurance, and the unions did. If workers wanted this security, they could get it by joining the unions. This was the reasoning, and it had a certain measure of justification.

But the depression changed all this. The unions could no longer provide social security for their members. Therefore, they reasoned, it must be obtained through legislation, but to get this legislation was impossible by stressing an individualist philosophy before a legislative body. The old philosophy was not recast; it was abandoned. Social legislation meant a social philosophy. So be it!

But something more happened than the adoption of a social philosophy. In the old era, social security was meant for the members of the unions. In the new era, we have entered the fight for security not only for the members of the unions alone but for the whole working class. Thus the trade unions, by shifting to a social philosophy to be realized by legislative action, are fighting for millions of workers outside of the unions as well as those who are members.

Shorter Hours

Now, the same is true of the 30-hour week. The fight for reduction of the hours of labor, waged mainly through negotiations and strikes by the trade unions for their members, now becomes a struggle for the reduction of hours to 30 a week for the whole laboring population. This broadening of the objective of the trade unions to include millions of workers who are not yet members is a significant result of the shift to a social philosophy.

Moreover, this measure cuts to the heart of the unemployment problem. It is futile to talk of a restoration of economic life to normal without this drastic reduction in the hours of labor. The remorseless displacement of human labor even during the depression is convincingly shown in the pamphlet by John P. Frey of the Metal Trades Department, which he aptly calls: "The Calamity of Recovery." His study has ample confirmation in the fact that the present industrial revival which set in several months ago has not materially reduced the number of the jobless. When production can steadily rise for months without decreasing the number who are unemployed, it is obvious that the jobless can never be employed unless the hours of labor are reduced to 30 or less.

The structural type of union organization is also becoming an important problem. Early in this century the industrial type had appeared among the brewers, the miners, and a few other organizations. They were a forecast of a type better adapted to organization of the mass-production industries

than the unions organized along the lines of trade and skill. When trade and skill are largely swallowed up in mass-production, it is evident that the union adapted to the second industrial revolution is not adapted to the third revolution.

Because this problem still remains to be solved, the unions come into conflict with each other over jurisdiction issues. There have even been union strikes against unions over such issues. When unions are brought into conflict with each other instead of their resources being used against the employing class for better conditions for the members, the problem is of extraordinary importance. Continuance of the conflicts tends to foster divisions within unions and between unions and to render unity of action impossible.

A policy of federation, agreements, and eventually amalgamation of organizations along industrial lines will help to wipe out these conflicts. On the other hand, it is absurd to say, as some do, that industrial organization is in every case the ideal type or that it will wipe out all jurisdiction conflicts. All that can be said is that mergers of some unions and a gradual shift of union structure to the industrial type will be beneficial and foster more union solidarity.

That even industrial unionism will leave some important conflicts of jurisdiction is obvious. Take the automobile industry. The Ford corporation owns railroads and mines as well as automobile plants. Assume an industrial union thoroughly organized in the automobile industry. Will it also claim jurisdiction of miners working for Ford? If so, it will come into con-

flict with the United Mine Workers, also an industrial organization. The steel industry with its possession of lake freighters, ore beds and coal mines is another illustration of the fact that industrial unionism does not solve all problems of union organization.

However, there are jurisdiction conflicts that can be avoided by changes suggested above, and members and officials have to yield something of outmoded claims if these dangerous conflicts are to be avoided.

More effective political action is another problem. It is said that our form of government with its 48 state jurisdictions makes it much more difficult for the organized workers here to maintain their own class party than in other countries. But the 48 jurisdictions, if they offer an obstacle, are as much an obstacle in making the non-partisan policy effective. The difference between the non-partisan policy and independent political action, so far as organization is concerned, is that the unions will have to establish 48 state party organizations instead of 48 legislative committees.

However, the idea of independent political action is growing, and this change of view is also the result of the present phase of the third industrial revolution.

There have been previous attempts at political organization by the trade unions in this country beginning in the late twenties of the nineteenth century. Some of them realized local successes, but they all disappeared. The depression of the early nineties brought a demand by the unions for a new political program. The A. F. of L. convention in 1893 adopted a so-

cialistic program, including "the collective ownership by the people of all the means of production and distribution." When referred to the affiliated unions for consideration, it was approved by all except two or three. Nothing came of this and with the industrial revival in the next few years it was forgotten.

Now a number of national unions state federations of labor, and quite a number of central bodies in the cities have taken action in favor of organizing a labor party. Will this demand subside? I do not think so. Other depressions have induced organized workers to turn to political action independent of the two ruling parties, and then the agitation was abandoned with the revival of industry.

A New Situation

We now face a new situation. There can be no recovery of the old kind that will re-employ the millions of the jobless. We even now face the striking paradox of continuous industrial revival for months with practically no decrease in the number of the unemployed. This new situation is worrying the economists and the politicians at Washington. Charitable organizations and relief agencies are resigning themselves to the prospect of a permanent army of the unemployed in this country. Even if the 30-hour week were adopted tomorrow, it is likely that several millions of jobless would still have to be cared for.

If we keep in mind that this is not an ordinary depression but the organic breakdown of an industrial system; that it is intimately bound up with other nations similarly situated because of the international ties of commerce, investments and finance; that man power is continually being displaced in industry; that the jobless pressure on the wage structure will henceforth be continuous, we will understand that the widespread sense of injustice and unmet needs of the workers reaches a higher stage of recovery than it now exhibits.

All of this forms a psychic background that will encourage the trend towards political organization by the organized working class. With a continuing sense of economic grievance, this will be a factor required for a labor party. Then the major parties have about reached the limit of yielding to non-partisan pressure politics. They will never go as far as the organized masses want them to go, and without going that far they cannot satisfy the increasing claims of the workers to end the anxiety that broods over every working class home.

Moreover, the old individualist philosophy was not adapted to independent political action by the trade unions. Their social philosophy is adapted to such organization. The continuance of the depression will also urge us on. The contradictions and disappointments resulting from pressure politics, the support of Democrats here, of Republicans there, of Progressives or Independents elsewhere, which breaks up the unity of action that is required, will also have its influence in inducing the organized workers to declare themselves independent of the parties of capitalism and their professional agents.

Out of the changes going on in trade union thought will also emerge its philosophy of a new social order that will end the economic servitude, social degradation and political dependence of the working masses. That philosophy will differ little from the Socialist philosophy, for it must forecast social ownership and control of the powers of production and distribution now paralyzed in the hands of corporate owners. Speed the day!

THIS IS THE ONLY WAY

How Labor in Great Britain Fights for Better Social and Economic Conditions and a Saner, Nobler Social Order--Some Lessons for Organized Labor in the United States

By Francis Williams

[The following article, written by a British Socialist, presents clearly the immediate program and ultimate objective of the great British Labor Party, a program that will be enacted in law when the Labor Party wins office and power. The backbone of the Labor Party are the trade unions, who at the beginning of this century decided that "non-partisan" political action was an inadequate weapon for the defense of labor's interests and formed a party of their own which is rapidly becoming the most potent political force in England. This party has been twice at the helm of the British Government and is expected to return to power after the impending general election. With such modifications as may be required to suit American conditions, Mr. Williams' article offers a program which American Labor may well adopt as its own. In general, it is the program of the Socialist Party and, we hope, will before long become the program of organized labor in America.]

THERE is in this country a profound dissatisfaction with the existing state of things. No man of feeling and intelligence indeed can look at the economic structure of today, at the contrast of extreme poverty and flamboyant wealth, or consider the tragic paradox of want alongside potential plenty and avoid a profound anger that we

should, out of the wealth put in our hands by the scientific and mechanical ingenuity of our race, be building so poor a civilization. How, then, does the Labor Party propose to set about the job of making something worth while—something stable and secure and permanent—out of the shifting chaos of today?

Economic Freedom Essential
Socialism is more than simply an economic creed. It is a framework—indeed, I believe the only framework—for civilization. There can be no true civilization so long as there is inequality and privilege, and there can be no true equality without economic equality, no true freedom without economic freedom.

On that reckoning we are far from perfection today. We shall not begin even to approach it until we have removed want and poverty and unemployment from our midst, until all our people are housed decently, and that fear of insecurity which hangs over so many millions of families today is removed.

We have no right to call ourselves civilized as long as men and women are living in slums, and children are going hungry and ill-shod. We have no right to regard ourselves as a great nation while we betray so little interest in education, so small a regard for beauty and dignity in the development of our towns, so little consideration for social justice and so much for profits.

We have before us the opportunity to embark upon the high adventure of making a civilization.

We can only achieve it if all those who really believe in civilization—there are many who do not, though they pay it the insult of their lip service—are prepared to fight for it. What have we to do? This is what the Labor Party believes necessary as a beginning.

Attack on Unemployment

First we must make a great frontal attack upon unemployment, which is the primary evil of our time, mocking as it does all our achievements in the physical sciences and confronting us with the tragedy of poverty in the most acute form of all.

Labor proposes therefore a great national development program that will reduce unemployment and at the same time increase the real wealth of the community.

This program will include the re-equipment of industries of national importance, a large program of electrification, including the electrification of the socialized railway service, the building of publicly owned plants for the extraction of oil and other by-products from coal.

It will also include a great program of building which will clear away the slums and provide houses at reasonable rents and the erection of new schools and houses; land drainage, rationalization of our water supply on regional lines, agricultural development, road, bridge and harbor construction and municipal developments of many kinds.

There can be no doubt that a development program of such a nature would enormously increase employment, both directly and indirectly, and would leave the nation richer.

Although a national program to increase employment is urgently necessary, it does not represent the whole responsibility of progressive government.

We have not only to cure the unemployment which to our shame exists today when there is so much worth doing waiting to be done, but also we have to solve once and for all the recurring tragedy of unemployment—of booms followed by slumps which are so characteristic a feature of modern capitalist economy in all parts of the world.

Our present economic system is caught betwixt the two horns of a dilemma fundamental to it. It seeks to evade one, only to be impaled on the other. It cannot escape both so long as the main driving force of economic enterprise remains the profit motive.

Dilemma of Capitalism

Modern methods of mass production demand mass consumption. Mass consumption necessitates a vastly increased spending power among the mass of the people, and that increased spending power can only come from a greater distribu-

tion of wealth. That means that the system must constantly distribute in the form of wages sufficient purchasing power to balance the ever-rising capacity to produce.

But if it does so capitalism immediately finds itself impaled on the second horn of the dilemma inherent in it. Wages represent not only purchasing power but increased costs.

If the distribution of wealth in the form of wages increases, as it is necessary that it should increase to allow goods to be consumed, industrial costs rise, the accumulation of savings for investment becomes less profitable and consequently less attractive, and production itself may, in the judgment of the investor, cease to be worth while.

This is particularly true in an advanced stage of economy such as our own when by far the largest amount of investment is not in industries producing directly for consumption but in those producing what we term capital goods such as industrial plant and machinery, and so on.

Profit System Must Go

As long as there was a chance of a rapidly expanding overseas market, capitalism could look for rising profits and at the same time make some shift to avoid being impaled upon the horn of under-consumption, though only at the constant risk of war engendered by the struggle of rival capitalist groups for markets. Now it can no longer escape the dilemma as the extent and duration of this present depression shows.

We can only solve it by replacing the system of production solely for profit by a system of production for use under a far-reaching plan which will allow of the orderly development of our financial and industrial resources for the benefit of the whole community.

The Labor Party proposes therefore the drastic reorganization, largely under public ownership and control, of the primary industries such as transport, water, coal, electricity, gas, agriculture iron and steel, shipping, shipbuilding engineering, textile, chemicals.

Doctrinism Barred

No doctrinaire form of constitution for industries which have often individual and widely differing problems is suggested, but reorganization will have six primary objectives: the organized purchase of raw materials, the establishment of effective selling agencies, the elimination of unnecessary charges, the provision of reasonable wages and conditions for producers and reasonable prices for consumers.

Owners of socialized industries will be fairly compensated. In finance the task, if we are to

achieve a permanent recovery, is twofold. We have first to revise the monetary machine so as to make possible the great expansion in consuming power made necessary by the great increase in potential producing power, and second to ensure the most efficient use of national credit and national savings in order that our productive power may be still further increased.

The Labor Party proposes the adoption of a managed currency system which, by relating the amount of money issued to the general price level, and so to production will ensure that as production increases purchasing power shall increase. Such a managed currency has already proved highly successful in Sweden, where a Labor Government has largely through its adoption been able to increase economic stability and reduce unemployment.

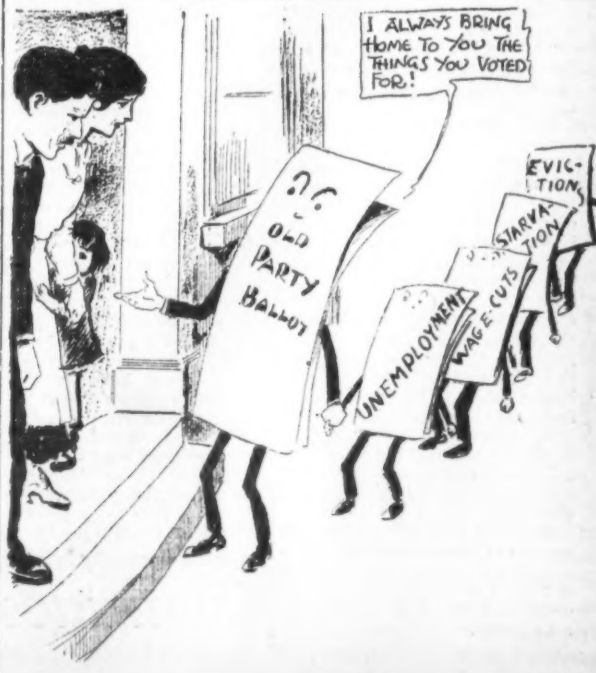
At the same time it proposes the national control of the Bank of England and the Joint Stock Banks in order that the credit resources of the country shall be used to the national advantage according to a national plan, and the setting up of an Investment Board which by the control of all new long-term capital issues will ensure the orderly financing of industrial development and prevent the wild speculative booms which have been such a feature of post-war finance.

Alongside this policy of economic reconstruction must go, the Labor Party believes, measures of social (Continued on Page Ten)

LABOR WAR AT ITS FIERCEST



Scene from the recent labor battle on the San Francisco docks.



Socialism, Communism and Trade Unionism

The Principles and Methods Which Divide Socialism and Trade Unionism From the Doctrines of Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky—The Vast and Unbridgeable Gulf

By David Shub

DEMOCRATIC Socialism or Communism? This is the big issue now before the workers of all countries. Between democratic Socialism and Communism, as preached and practiced under Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin, there is a gulf that can never be bridged.

Socialism implies an order of society in which all the socially necessary means of production and natural resources are owned by society as a whole, managed and controlled by democratically elected representatives of all the people, in the interests of all the people.

The objective of Socialism is to abolish exploitation of man by man, to put an end to poverty and to create equal opportunity for everyone to work and enjoy the fruits of his labor under the best possible conditions. Socialism, first and foremost, means freedom for all.

"The Socialist parties," writes Karl Kautsky, the outstanding Socialist thinker of our day, in his book 'Socialism and Communism,' "are fighting not only for shorter hours, higher wages and democratic management of industry, but also for the liberty and fraternity of all human beings, without regard to differences of sex, race, religion or social origin."

Socialists fight for industrial democracy. They believe that Socialism will become possible only when the overwhelming majority of the people give it their support. They seek, therefore, to win the votes of a majority for the idea of the desirability and practicability of Socialism.

Socialist Against Force

Socialists believe that it is impossible to force upon the people a social order to which the people are opposed.

"Only when exploiting minorities resort to force against an exploited majority," writes Kautsky, "do we Socialists believe it justified to use force against such minorities, but never do we try to use force against the majority of the people, however backward and reactionary we may consider them to be in their thinking."

The same view was expressed more than thirty years ago by the great Socialist leader and thinker Jean Jaures.

"Great social transformations, which we call revolutions, cannot be brought about, or, to put it more precisely, can no longer be brought about by a minority. A revolutionary minority, however intelligent and determined, cannot serve as an adequate instrument for revolution in modern society. What is required is the cooperation and assent of the overwhelming majority."

Jaures declared that "the most determined efforts of a Socialist minority cannot suffice for the realization of our aim" and that "we must, therefore, strive to win, as far as possible, the sympathy of society."

"We must determine once and for all whether we require a majority for the realization of our aims and whether such a majority can be attained," wrote Jaures. "If the answer is 'yes,' then it would be counter-revolutionary on our part, as Wilhelm Liebknecht said, to appeal to force."

Must Win Majority

And Jaures was in full agreement with Liebknecht on this point. "The great majority of the population," wrote Jaures, "can be won over to our support through education and can be led to complete Socialism by peaceful and legal means."

It would be ridiculous to expect a revolutionary minority, he emphasized again and again, to bring about Socialism by force. "No clever tricks and maneuvers, no surprise attacks can relieve us of the necessity of winning the majority of the population by education and through legal means," he declared.

Again, he wrote: "True humanity is possible only where there is independence of spirit, where the individual can actively express his will and where every human being subordinates himself voluntarily and willingly to society. Where the individual is dependent upon the good will of others, where individuals do not cooperate freely in the work of society, where the individual is subjected to the will of society by sheer force and not by conviction, human nature in its better aspects is degraded and ruined."

For this reason Socialists strive to elevate the working masses intellectually and spiritually so as to make it possible for them to emancipate themselves.

Socialists believe that it is impossible to impose a new social order upon the people by conspiracy and force or to maintain a social order of happy human beings by such means.

Communism, in the sense in which it has been preached, first by Lenin, and now by Stalin and Trotsky and their followers, IS NOT A SOCIAL ORDER BUT A METHOD OF SIGNING POLITICAL POWER AND ESTABLISHING A DICTATORSHIP OF LEADERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Communist Doctrine

In Communist language this is called the "dictatorship of the proletariat." But all well informed persons know that the dictatorship in Russia is no more a dictatorship of the proletariat than the dictatorship of Hitler is the dictatorship of the German people. There is no reason to expect that a Communist dictatorship in any other country would be different from the dictatorship in Russia. Trotsky, now in exile, does not demand freedom and democracy for others. All he wants is democracy only for members of the Communist Party, and he is absolutely opposed to the liberation of Socialists, radicals and liberals from Soviet jails and concentration camps. He is absolutely opposed to permitting any Socialist parties to exist and function in Russia.

On this point there is no disagreement whatever between Stalin and Trotsky or among any Communist groups.

Communists of all groups and shades demand freedom only for themselves, for their own followers.

The Communists, too, maintain that their objective is Socialism. But their "Socialism" differs as do day and night from the Socialism preached and practiced by Socialists throughout the world in the past fifty years.

Communists believe that a new economic order can be established only by revolution and dictatorship, by mass terror and abolition of civil liberties, such as freedom of speech, press, assembly and organization, freedom of elections and the right of other parties to participate in such elections.

The Communists believe that the workers themselves have neither the mind nor the ability to emancipate themselves. According to Leninist "Marxism" the working masses are fit only to be used as cannon fodder for the Communist Party, or, to be precise, for the Communist leaders in their struggle for power. The masses are expected merely to obey blindly the orders of the dictator or a small clique of dictatorial leaders.

Communists demand liberty, equality and fraternity for capitalist countries only, but in countries where they attain power they proceed forthwith to abolish all freedom and democracy.

This is precisely what they did in Russia, as well as in Hungary and Bavaria, where the Communists were in power for a short time after the war.

End Justifies the Means

Communists of all groups and shades preach that the end justifies the means, and they do not stop short of disseminating the basest falsehoods against their opponents or halt at any swindles and crimes, however ugly and repulsive, to achieve their aim—the dictatorship of a small clique of Communist bureaucrats over all the people.

The "dictatorship of the proletariat" is to be maintained, as it is in Russia, by jailing and executing those who are opposed to the Communists and by compelling the majority of the people to do the bidding of the dictator.

The Communists say that they seek to bring about true freedom, equality and fraternity. Terror and dictatorship, they say, are only temporary measures, unavoidably necessary for the time being. But Stalin, as well as Trotsky, have more than once declared that the dictatorship in Russia will be abolished only when Communism is victorious throughout the world. This is tantamount to saying that the tyranny and oppression which the Communists have imposed upon the Russian people will never be abolished if the liberation of the Russian people is to depend upon the Communists. Only the naive and the ignorant believe that Communism has any chance of establishing itself successfully for any length of time in any country outside of Russia.

The Communists have never yet been able to explain how freedom and democracy can ever be established through dictatorship and despotism and how a new order of society, an order of equality and fraternity, can ever be created by methods of terrorism, violence, despotism and oppression. They have never yet explained how human beings living under such conditions can ever be prepared politically and psychologically for a

better, higher social order.

A Socialist who wishes to remain true to the principles of Socialism and the interests of labor can never be a member of a Communist Party.

Socialists and the Trade Unions

Socialists have always been active in the trade unions. The Socialist Party helped build the trade unions in their efforts to obtain better working and living conditions for the workers. The Socialist Party has never sought to interfere in the inner affairs of the

trade unions.

The Socialist Party has never sought to dictate to the members of any trade union as to how they should conduct their affairs, or as to the demands they should make upon employers and what means they should use in obtaining these demands.

The Socialist Party has never tried to tell the members of a trade union who should be their officials. Socialists have always maintained that the affairs of the trade unions must be determined by the unions themselves and not

by any outside political parties and cliques.

To be sure, the Socialist Party has differed in opinion from the exponents of "pure and simple" trade unionism as it used to be preached and practiced and still is preached to a large extent in the American labor movement, i. e. the theory that the unions must confine themselves to the economic struggle and must refrain from engaging in independent political action, contrary, for example, to the policy of the British unions in setting up a party of labor to defend labor's interests in parliament.

But no member of the Socialist Party has ever been so foolish as to demand that the unions take orders from the Socialist Party as to how to run their business or wage their struggle for the improvement of industrial conditions.

Socialists have always urged that the trade unions take part in politics but they never believed that it was the business of the Socialist Party to interfere in the affairs of the trade unions.

Socialists have always maintained that the members of the trade unions can take care of their own affairs. Socialists have always preached that the unions should not support capitalist party candidates in elections but should establish an independent party of labor or support the candidates of the Socialist Party, which for the time being remains the only party of labor, but the Socialists have always been opposed to the idea of a political party dictating what trade unions demands should be presented to employers; the ways and means of waging the struggle on the economic field or on any other matters which are solely the concern of the trade unions.

All such questions must be determined by the members of the trade unions themselves and not by leaders of an outside political party not elected by the trade unions and in no way responsible to their members.

The Communists and the Trade Unions

Contrary to the position of the Socialists, the Communist Party compels its members to place the interests of their party above those of organized labor and the trade unions.

The Communist Party maintains that the interests of the Communist "revolution" require, first and foremost, the capture of the trade unions and the removal of every trade union leader who is not a Communist. This is formulated clearly and precisely in the constitution of the Communist International. The aim of the Communists in the trade unions is to "depose," as they like to put, all non-Communist leaders and to destroy their standing by means of the basest slander and character assassination.

The Communist policy is to capture the trade unions, to subject them to the control of the Communist Party and to utilize the trade unions not for the purpose for which they are intended—the improvement of wage and working conditions in industry—but for the promotion of Communist "revolution."

The program and constitution of the Communist Party frankly declare that the members of the Communist Party who are also members of trade unions must place the interests of the Communist Party above those of the trade unions. This requires Communists to attack any union that fails to call a strike whenever such a strike is demanded by the Communist Party and regardless of whether or not the union membership considers such a strike wise or desirable at any given moment. This policy holds true on all other questions. The decisions of the Communist Party must be obeyed and those of the unions must be flouted if they are in contradiction with Communist demands. Such is the policy of the Communists.

Members of the Communist Party who may decline to follow this policy cannot remain members of the party.

The Communist Racket

The question, therefore, becomes not one of conviction but of action which a member of the Communist Party is obligated to follow under the party's "directives." A Communist member of a trade union is not free to act as his conscience directs him or as the economic history.

The Convention of the American Federation of Labor will open in Atlantic City next week. It is well understood in the trade union movement that the question of industrial versus craft unionism, and many vital questions regarding the present rules of the A. F. of L. will come up for discussion at this meeting. It is a great pity that these issues have not been brought out into the open sooner and talked over without acrimony or heat.

But it is not too late yet. Under the head of good and welfare the questions of how to modernize the trade union movement of America should be taken up on the floor of every labor organization in the country and if possible some judgments arrived at as to the practical and necessary things to be done at Atlantic City.

Interests and discipline of a trade union require. He must take orders from the Communist Party and act in accordance with such orders on questions affecting his trade union. These orders are issued by the central committee of the Communist Party, which has no relation whatever to the labor movement and is interested solely in creating as much confusion as possible and transforming every union it can lay hands on into a racket of the Communist Party.

Experience in all countries has shown that either the Communists wreck the unions they manage to capture or the unions, acting in self-defense, are compelled to drive the Communists from leadership of the unions.

This explains why not only the American Federation of Labor but the more radical trade unions of England and other countries have been forced to adopt strong measures to protect themselves against Communist conspiracies. Only the other day, the British Trades Union Congress, meeting at Margate, voted to keep Communists from acting as officials of trade unions and representing them as delegates at conventions.

A worker who wishes to be a loyal member of a trade union cannot at the same time be a member of the Communist Party. A Communist who refuses to follow the "directives" of his party in trade union affairs is expelled from the party. COMMUNISM AND TRADE UNIONISM CAN NEVER BE MERGED. THE GULF BETWEEN THEM IS AS WIDE AS THE GULF BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM.

For the same reason a Communist loyal to his principles cannot be a member of the Socialist Party, unless his aim is to destroy the Socialist Party by boring from within.

There is no place for Communists in the Socialist Party. Socialists who wish to remain loyal to their principles cannot escape this fact.

This Is the Only Way

(Continued from Page Nine)

improvement in the form of housing developments, the provision of more adequate national health services, and the extension of maternity and child welfare service; educational advance through a raising of the school age to fifteen as a start and to sixteen later, accompanied by adequate maintenance grants, and by a reduction in the size of classes, and free education in all State-aided secondary schools; a revision and improvement of the Old Age Pension scheme, and the immediate removal of the Means Test, whose cruelty and harshness is a disgrace to the whole nation.

Labor's Foreign Policy

We turn from internal considerations to Peace abroad.

The Labor Party believes that the only final guarantee of peace lies in the development of a co-operative world commonwealth of nations.

It recognizes that the achievement of permanent peace is not easy, but it believes that it can be accomplished if Britain will show her leadership in international disarmament and in expressing her faith in the collective system embodied in the League and her readiness to carry out loyally and effectively obligations entered into as part of the collective system.

Moreover, the root of many, if not all, wars is in economic conflict, in the struggle for sources of raw material, for markets, for spheres of influence. Only Socialism can in the ultimate resolve that struggle and pave the way for world co-operation in the full development of the wealth of the world.

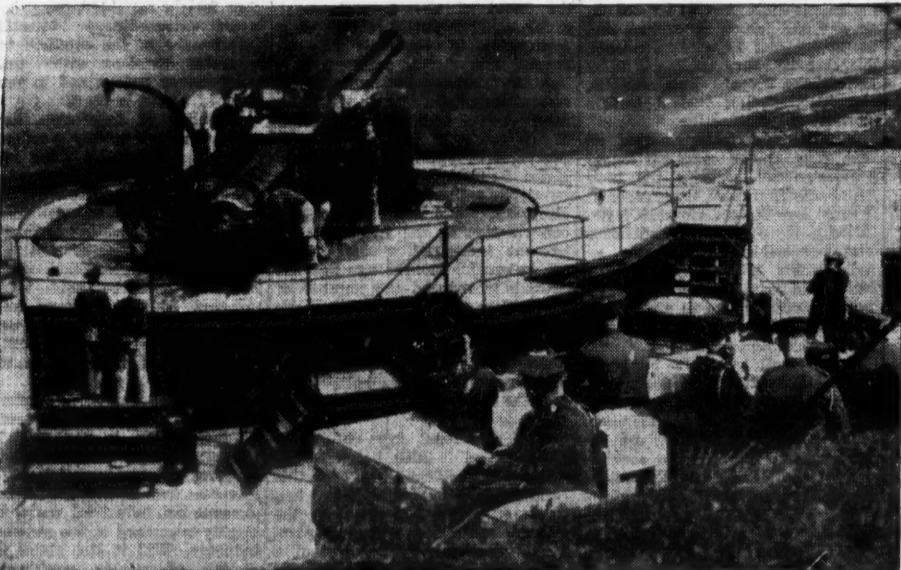
Socialism Only Solution

Here, then, in rough, inadequate outline, is the Labor Party's policy which I believe to be the only policy offering a firm foundation for a stable and equitable civilization.

We are bound, during the next few years, whether we like it or no, upon a great adventure in the business of living—the high venture of building a new world. I do not believe the call to build it securely will go unanswered either by those of my own generation, most of whose adult life has been spent in the atmosphere of crisis, or by those of the generation which preceded us or of that which has followed.

There is no real path to a secure and permanent civilization except that of Socialism. The task of achieving it is the responsibility and the opportunity of us all.

GETTING READY FOR THE NEXT "LAST" WAR



Imperialist capitalism rules, war looms everywhere, and all nations, even the "peaceful" ones, are getting ready for the next blood bath.

Problems of Industrial Unionism

Fine in Theory But Obstacles Bar the Way

By George O. Lynch
General President, Pattern Makers' League of North America, of the A. F. of L.

AT every Convention of the American Federation of Labor there have been advocates of industrial unionism as opposed to craft unionism. Because of recently organized federal unions in rubber and automobiles the controversy this year will be closer and more acrimonious.

During these years industrial union advocates have proposed many titles and suggested many tactics and ultimate objectives. Railroads, mines, farms, forests and industries have all served as proving grounds for the theories advanced. To date craft organization has survived the attacks. Even where craft jurisdiction was, excepting miners, have exercised no important influence in labor history. A few semi-industrial unions, such as brewers and textiles, have lived and performed a useful service. The Simon pure industrialists have proved chimerical so far as influencing lasting conditions of employment are concerned.

The reasons for this are manifold. Space prescribes the limit of their consideration.

It is conceded that the theory of industrial unionism carries an appeal denied the advocates of craft organization. "All for one and one for all" is a euphonious and effective slogan. The appeal to close an entire industry to get results carries a logical and convincing sound. Moreover, the advocates of industrial unionism point to cheaper operating costs. They attack what they are pleased to call the "high priced officialdom" or the "expensive bureaucracy." This completely ignores the fact that the only successful industrial union to date is nothing if not bureaucratic, and that it supports more and higher paid officers than almost any craft union in America.

Attacking Officials

Proselyting in the early stages of each effort to form industrial unions has been based upon extravagant promises and unreasonable criticism of craft organizations. This policy sows the seed of their own future disintegration. No union can be operated without officers. Any officer can be called a bureaucrat. More than one can be labeled "officialdom." Therefore such attacks simply act as boomerangs. Moreover, a promise to run any union without adequate

revenue can never be fulfilled. Napoleon said an army travels on its stomach. Strikes are seldom won by hungry men and families.

Broken promises, inexperienced leadership and disillusionment explain the rapid rise and fall of past efforts toward industrial unionism. As each fails, there must come an interval that might be termed "the forgetting period." Every new effort must operate in virgin territory. They cannot appeal to the already disillusioned, nor can they attract many members of craft organizations that have built conditions and established benefits that are factual rather than theoretical. So much for the past. Now as to the future.

Future Prospects

If initial failure were always prophetic of ultimate results there would be no unions. Present unions grew out of a definite need, and established themselves by the process of trial and error.

If economic development has reached the point that requires industrial unions as effective weapons of progress and defense we can be sure they will evolve. But for immediate performance we can be equally sure they will not fulfill the promises made for them.

Investigation convinces one that no advocate of such a form of organization has more than a very hazy idea of its formation and operation. Sincere questions leave such advocates confounded. When interrogated regarding jurisdiction for example they smile and complacently reply: "all the workers in one industry will belong to one union. There will be no jurisdiction to consider." This leaves many important factors out of consideration. Let us look at just a few.

The miners claim jurisdiction of all workers "employed in and around the mines." That sounds simple. But "around the mines" means anyone employed by mine owners. This includes permanent and transient workers engaged at any distance. Transient electricians, carpenters, plumbers, etc., may be miners today and something else tomorrow. But this by no means ends the problem. Railroads are often mine owners. Their business is interlocked and dependent. Are the workers under such conditions all miners or all railroaders? If a strike is contemplated, where does the jurisdiction start and stop?

Some Difficulties

Moreover, industrial unions are no less ambitious for membership and jurisdiction than craft organizations. The miners' interpretation of "around the mines" already includes about everyone who sees or handles coal or its by-products as well as building trades employed outside of direct mine

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Craft Unions Must Not Bar Road Forward

By John W. Edelman
Research Director, American Federation of Hosiery Workers

A PLANT manufacturing imitation twine and rope for decorative purposes, automobile upholstery fabrics and cane or wicker chair seats out of paper and cellophane use textile machinery.

There is today an industrial establishment in a large city which produces a synthetic product on machinery which had originally been designed for considerably different purposes. Into which American Federation of Labor union should the employees in this establishment be organized? Should these workers be regarded as part of the paper industry, or of the furniture industry, or of the automobile industry or of the textile industry?

To enable students of the labor movement to avoid headaches in solving this problem we hasten to add that the United Textile Workers organized this particular group and there is where it will stay for some time to come.

The fact we wish to raise here is that curious instances such as the above are rapidly multiplying in American industry and the trade union movement as a whole has been slow to adapt itself to these newer technological developments. If the strict principles of craft unionism and a narrow view of the rights of particular organizations were applied to the jurisdictional problem involved in organizing a new manufacturing enterprise of this kind it is quite likely that the workers would be without an effective organization for the next ten years. We grant that the case cited here is extreme; but there are innumerable complications of this description to be found in modern industry if the problem of organization is to be regarded from a traditional craft union viewpoint.

The American Labor movement need not, and must not, abandon its present structure until it is prepared to move towards a new type of organization set up. We insist that there must be a realization in the ranks of labor a realization of the necessity for making changes to meet new conditions. There must be a determination to grapple with the problem realistically, intelligently and honestly. The inertia or selfishness of old-line craft organizations must not be permitted to delay the advance of the entire labor movement in this important period of our eco-

Comrades and Workers . . . USE THE NEW LEADER IN YOUR CAMPAIGN WORK AND ALSO TO BUILD UP THE UNIONS!

Injunction Judge

DECATUR, Ill.—Judge C. Y. Miller issued an order making permanent the temporary injunction he had handed down last April restraining the officers and members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union here from strike activities against the manufacturers of "Bonnie," "Home Made," "Trixie," "Darlene" and "Decatur Maid" cotton dresses.

The strike was called seven months ago after the manufacturers had refused to meet shop committees for the purpose of collective bargaining and had refused to recognize the union.

In granting the injunction, Judge Miller condemned the officers of the I.L.G.W.U., who came here after the local membership had demanded a strike, and approved the action of the anti-union manufacturers in importing strikebreakers employed by the Berghoff strikebreaking agency.

"If it had not been for outside influence," he said, "there would have been no strike here, and had it not been for outside influence the strike would not have continued," adding: "I am not impressed by the fact that the manufacturers brought in Berghoff. They had the right to."

Evidently referring to picketing, Judge Miller said: "Groups of fifteen or twenty persons disturb the peace, and I am interested in maintaining peace."

Although he mildly condemned several individual deputy sheriffs for their proven violence and brutality, Judge Miller evened things up by saying "the authorities had to act quickly and could not avoid mistakes in choices." Decatur's injunction judge is elected by the voters here.

Lynch on Unionism

(Continued from Page Ten)

property. This means some public utilities employees engaged in the manufacture of gas and electricity as well as those employed in seemingly independent by-product corporations located in New York or San Francisco, not to mention the transportation of coal by rail and truck.

The oil industry offers another nut to crack. These corporations refine and distribute their products by divers methods. They own tank cars and steam ship lines. Are the captains and crews of such lines eligible for membership in the oil or the marine industrial union?

Then too, we must consider the status of the workers who move from one industry to another all ways following the same occupation in each. For example: when is a machinist, tool maker or pattern maker an auto worker? It is not only possible but actual that such a mechanic may be employed by General Motors in January and by General Electric in February. The matter of shifting workers and their affiliation leads to consideration of the very serious problem of financing.

It is often argued that unions should not be benefit organizations. That the one and only purpose of such organizations is to improve conditions. However, the spirit of assistance goes deep into the hearts and minds of men. To date the most successful labor organizations are those which are best financed. Benefits are as old as unionism itself. Funeral benefits and sick benefits grew concurrently with all efforts to organize. But apart from such benefits there is the matter of operation.

Some unions will build defense funds, others may operate on the "pan handle" method of financing strikes. For this reason dues will vary and equity alter. Then too, what is to become of the members' existing equity in present trade unions? Let no man deceive himself, these benefits are important to millions of already organized men and women.

In the final analysis organization is only a means to an end. The psychology behind the movement is far more important than the form it assumes. What are we organizing for, is a more important question than how shall we organize.

The belief that form alters or improves the outlook and ambitions of its membership is fallacious. If one wishes to improve present unionism his efforts should be directed toward creating a desire for better conditions by the millions who are now exploited.

When the working people of this country are convinced that they are entitled to a greater share of the product of their toil, how they may organize to secure it is a minor detail.

There are few short cuts to education. The problem is still one of education more than the form of organization.

Unemployment and the President's "Breathing Spell" :: By Charles Solomon

An address over Station WEVD.

IN a recent and widely publicized exchange of letters, President Roosevelt told an eminent publisher that his basic program had "reached substantial completion" and that "a breathing spell" was being granted to industry. If these statements are to be taken at their face value then, as far as the most important problem before the nation is concerned, the surface has not been more than skimmed. I refer, of course, to the problem of unemployment. It is the one outstanding obstacle to the return of what has come to be called prosperity.

There can be no so-called recovery for the great masses of the people, regardless of the rise in certain business quarters to which I shall refer presently, unless two things happen: Jobs must be provided, and at wages that will supply the purchasing power to absorb the products of mass production.

By conservative estimates there are now approximately 11,000,000 unemployed in the United States. At the same time, there are about 22,000,000 persons on relief of one kind or another throughout the nation. There are well over 2,000,000 of this number in our own state of New York. What are the prospects for these millions of jobless as far as obtaining employment is concerned? The stark fact is that under the present set-up millions of wage earners now out of work will never get jobs.

The other day the President made a statement at Hyde Park to the effect that even if industrial production were to be immediately resumed at the 1929 rate, industrial efficiency has increased to a point where only 80 per cent of the 1929 man power would be employed. And there were several million unemployed in 1929—at a time of so-called prosperity.

Just what this increased industrial efficiency means in concrete figures will be made clearer to you in just a few minutes by the citation of some striking and eloquent

figures. In the meantime, let me direct your attention to the following statement by General Hugh S. Johnson in a recent syndicated newspaper article:

"Our unemployment problem hasn't even been looked at—much less attacked."

I have referred to the rise in certain business quarters. However, there has been no concomitant rise in employment. In a recent statement by the American Federation of Labor, the following significant words appear:

"Employment this spring has been below last year's level, although production was higher."

This is a striking illustration of the vital truth contained in the report of Mayor LaGuardia's Committee on Unemployment Relief, in which it was said:

"... it is now clear that private industry will increase its production substantially without re-employing a large number of the men and women who are unemployed because of the increased productivity achieved as a result of administrative and technological developments in industry."

And there has been no let-up in this administrative and technological development in the six years of the depression. On the contrary, it has proceeded at an accelerated speed.

I have said that the surface of this problem has not been more than skimmed. Let's see. The aforementioned statement of the American Federation of Labor says on this point:

"The only important increase in employment since recovery started came in 1933 and was due largely to the shortening of work hours under NRA. In the summer of 1933, 1,800,000 men and women were put to work by dropping five hours from the work week. Since September, 1933, there have been no further significant gains in employment in spite of increasing production. ... In the first half of 1935, when production was more than half-way to normal, only one-third of those laid off in the depression had gone back to work. To the six millions still without jobs we must add the 3,000,000 already out of work in April, 1930,

and more than 2,000,000 young persons who have come to working age during the depression and are seeking their first jobs. This makes a total of 11,000,000 still without work in industry."

If some think the conclusions of the survey conducted by the American Federation of Labor are without adequate foundation, consider the recent remarks of General Johnson. Here they are:

"Business is creeping surely upward, but employment is not. ... There is a bright prospect for business, but there is not the shadow of a prospect that recovery will sop up this vast pool of the jobless. ... It's a powder mine with the fuse burning."

And yet the President reassuringly tells Business that his "basic program has now reached substantial completion." What has the President to say to the 11,000,000 unemployed, millions of whom, according to his own statement, could not be re-employed even if the so-called prosperity, of which he speaks, were to return to the levels of 1929? What consideration have these involuntarily idle, of whom 2,000,000 are young people on the threshold of life, in this basic program of the President which is now nearing completion?

I have said I would cite figures to you which strikingly and eloquently illustrate just what is meant by those abstract words "increased industrial efficiency." I shall try not to burden you with these figures, confining myself to just a few.

It has been authoritatively estimated that there has been a per capita production increase of 71 per cent from 1919 to 1933. According to reports of the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, during the two years from January, 1933, to January, 1935, the average workmen's output increased 8 per cent in anthracite coal; 14 per cent in bituminous coal; 13 per cent in petroleum refining; 29 per cent in crude petroleum production; 23 per cent in rubber tires and inner tubes; 40 per cent in blast furnaces, rolling mills and steel works; 29 per cent in woolen and worsted goods; 28 per cent in cigars and cigarettes, and so

forth. All this in the very short space of two years. You see the implication of this situation!

At the same time, there has been an astonishing increase in productive efficiency in the field of the production of labor saving machinery.

While millions of workers have been jobless, while vast numbers of wage earners have been losing their savings and their homes, how has Business been faring?

I don't mean the little neighborhood business. I mean Business, with a capital B. According to a recent speech by Senator Wagner in the United States Senate, the profits of all manufacturing and trading corporations, which were \$640,000,000 in 1933, rose to \$1,051,000,000 in 1934, a gain of 64 per cent. Not so bad—this New Deal—for Business with a capital B. Can we say the same thing for the income of the nation's wage earners?

The share of the wage earners in four basic industries—mining, manufacturing, transportation and building—in the total national income, fell from 21.9 per cent in 1929 to 18.1 per cent in 1934, with a low of 14.6 per cent in 1932.

I don't want to pile more figures on you or I would show you how the cost of living rises against this background of unemployment and lagging wages.

Just what these conditions mean to our most valued national resource—the health and vitality of our people—is something I must leave largely to your inference.

Josephine Roche, assistant secretary of the Treasury in charge of Public Health Service, discussing a survey based on a study of 12,000 families in seven large American cities, writes:

"The different effect of unemployment is indicated by the fact that the sickness rate of families having no employed workers was 48 per cent higher than the sickness rate of families with full-time workers and 14 per cent higher than that of families with part-time workers only. These higher rates appeared among the children as well as among the adults."

Speaking at Boulder Dam, the President appealed to private in-

dustry to provide jobs. In view of the facts I have presented, you can see this plea is foredoomed to futility. Moreover, there is a serious inconsistency between the position of the President at Boulder Dam and at Hyde Park.

A breathing spell, indeed! These millions of victims sorely need a breathing spell from the strangulating effects of the conditions I have been discussing.

Immediately, there is only one answer to the problem. There is only one way to put these millions of displaced workers, these millions of arriving young people, into productive employment and that is by drastically cutting down the work week and the work day in keeping with this increasing industrial efficiency of which the President spoke in his Hyde Park statement.

The program of the American Federation of Labor for the thirty hour week must be pushed with all the resources at our command if disaster is to be averted.

There can be no "basic program nearing completion" without this. It is not enough to cut down the hours of work, to put men and women back to work. This would mean just a spreading, a thin spreading, of unemployment. We must have this and the wage levels without which the purchasing power indispensable for the conquest of the depression is impossible.

But above and beyond all this we must organize for the transformation of the capitalist social system, dominated by the profit motive. It is the existence of this system which is the root cause of the problem we have been considering tonight. It stands like a barrier between the people—ready, able and willing to produce the basic necessities upon which life, liberty and happiness depend—and the opportunities to do so.

The greatest problem, the most urgent need of our time, is so to reorganize society as to make possible the full utilization of our natural, scientific, technological and human resources to provide security, abundance and happiness for the whole American people. That is the program and purpose of the Socialist movement.

The Cherry Tree

By Chester M. Wright

OBSERVE the Liberty League lawyers.

A powerful committee of "big name" attorneys, sitting in judgment on laws which have not yet been passed upon by the courts. What a holy show!

Not because the laws are necessarily good, or because they are necessarily constitutional. They may not be good and they may not be constitutional.

It's a holy show because it is Big Business rallying to the defense of its gold and its claims on more gold.

It turns out that the guiding lights in the Liberty League committee of big shot lawyers are the lawyer for Weirton Steel and the lawyer for United States Steel.

Of course, these gentlemen are in quest of the pure truth and, of course, they cannot possibly have any other interest! Being retained as they are, how could they?

Why, we might as well assume that J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller themselves have no interest in these except the purely academic interest of wondering if the courts will uphold them.

Old Joe Cannon, in the days when he held the tightest reign on the House, never was more detached in his interest in what happened than are these gentlemen of the bar.

Black Jack Pershing was no more interested in seeing that the war was won in the interest of even-handed justice than is this law outfit.

Bless them, all they want is to see that the scales of justice don't tip—anyhow, that they don't tip the wrong way for them.

Of course, there is more to the whole show than shows on the surface. There generally is.

Here is a point that the League lawyers don't tell about. Every lawyer is an officer of every court in which he is entitled to practice law. Every lawyer is bound, by the code and by the law, to uphold the law. To seek to tear down the law is to violate both.

Any lawyer may take the case of a party who alleges injury and he may seek redress for that client, under the law, not against the law.

Every Liberty League law committee member engaged in tearing down these laws by declaring them invalid in advance of court action, may well enough be violating the Bar Association code of ethics—and that shows what can happen to a code of ethics when great interests are at stake.

Of course, no one will suspect that the most powerful corporations in the country have banded together to fight the Wagner-Connery Act, under the guise of a lawyers' committee devoted to the almost spiritual job of finding out how the law squares with the constitution.

As a matter of fact, the current performance is about the nastiest of which the great American bar has ever allowed its members to become guilty. But when privilege is driven into a corner it loses all veneer of civilization and fights back with whatever teeth and claws it can get into action.

Here we have privilege fighting back—through the dignity and detachment of the bar.

Well, this will not close the story. Perhaps the next chapter may be even more interesting than the present one. It will be worth waiting to see. The fate of the millions cannot be finally decided by a group that has mighty near come to make so-called corporation law practice a billion dollar racket.

Dressmakers Eliminate Contractor Competition

Direct settlement of labor prices with the jobber, a union objective that has been the subject of prolonged and stormy negotiation, was finally won in the \$4.76 line in a new agreement negotiated by Julius Hochman, General Manager of the Dress Joint Board, with the jobber and contractor associations. This new agreement is regarded throughout the industry as an important victory for the union.

Instead of piece rates being fixed with the individual contractor, usually on a minimum flat rate, committees of workers from all the contractors working for a certain jobber will be joined by a representative of the union and meet with representatives of the jobber and contractors at some designated place to look over the jobber's line. Prices will be fixed for the dresses and once fixed the dresses will be identified. Thereafter workers for all contractors will work at the same rate thus eliminating competition among the contractors. Pending the introduction of the new system the old minimum flat rate of 65 cents for operating dresses, 70 cents for operating suits, 17 cents for pressing dresses and 22 cents for suits will prevail. All new dresses must be settled in this way. At the expiration of two weeks no work will be permitted except under the new system.

Have Confidence in the Movement!

By Charles F. Hohmann
Editor, The Bakers' Journal

WE are living in a turbulent period. The capitalist economic system with its wild chase for money and profit which undermines industry and commerce, state and society, has become untenable. That this system must be supplanted by something fundamentally new seems to have become the opinion of the majority of people. As to means of bringing this about, and as to the objective, there is less unanimity.

It is generally understood that economic disruption reacts unfavorably upon the spiritual condition of man. Conceptions and ideas, dogmas and convictions which appeared to be founded upon solid rock, are becoming shaky and doubtful; the spiritual life of man has become a reflex of confused economic conditions.

Such economic shocks also have their effect upon the labor movement. Discussions on the burning problems of the present and of the near future are the order of the day. So long as these controversies are conducted within the spiritual lines of comradeship for the purpose of advancing the cause of the labor movement they are perfectly in order and welcome. The working people are obliged to take up the vital problems of the hour and inform themselves on them. It is but natural that in view of the fact that not all people consider questions from the same point of view there must be differences of opinion.

These discussions can only be useful when conducted in the spirit of mutual confidence and sincerity of purpose, of the honesty of conviction of those who happen to differ with us. Whoever seeks to advance his ideas by discrediting his fellowmen, by insinuating that his opponent in discussion is a "traitor," is simply poisoning the atmosphere and harms not his opponent but injures the movement.

Unfortunately it cannot be said that the American labor movement is free of such elements. We have here not in mind the human talking machines and windjammers holding forth at the beer bar—that class of people has at all times been with us. We mean those who consider it one of their missions in life to sow the seed of distrust and confusion in the labor movement. We have in mind

those people who erroneously believe that their own light of "super-wisdom" would shine the more brilliantly by soiling the clean shield of their fellow workers.

It has become a sort of mania among some people to misrepresent and denounce the officers of labor organizations. We should think the capitalist and communist press would take care of that kind of ungentlemanly activity. But there are in our organizations certain people who find it a pleasure to join in the chorus of these mischievous songs of calumny.

Foreign influences along these lines are obvious. Repeatedly it has been charged, especially by the Communists, that the collapse of the labor movement in Germany and Austria was caused exclusively by the leadership, and the reaction of such assertions could not fail to affect the movement in our own country. Many people who fail to look more deeply into this problem, just conclude "if the leaders of the foreign labor movement happened to be traitors and cow-

ards, there is no reason why the leaders of our American movement do not belong to the same category."

Such conclusions are often drawn from the fate of the German and Austrian labor movement. We have never participated in this sort of scapegoat method, because we are convinced that the causes of the growth of the fascist movement in Germany and Austria are to be found in deeper ground than in mere personal differences and questions. To ascertain these causes is, of course, not everybody's business. It is much easier, to hunt for scapegoats and crucify them, at the same time priding oneself on one's own infallibility. No other conclusion can be drawn.

As a rule these omniscient critics never ask themselves in what direction their foolish efforts would really drive them. They fail to see that by their misrepresentations and calumnies against labor leaders they are really preparing the ground upon which fascism will best grow and spread.

Today most intelligent people will have learned that the conduct of the Communist party in Germany created just the conditions the Nazis needed. These Communist tactics, the continued denunciation of trade union leaders finally undermined the confidence of the workers in their own organizations and created such demoralization that in the hours of danger when united action was imperative, the working class was no longer able to act with any prospect of success.

Would it not be in order to learn from the sad experience of other countries? Are we here in America not to heed the lesson learned from the catastrophe which befell the splendid labor movement in Germany? Do some supervise people in our ranks really believe that by their foolish and irresponsible barking against the responsible officers of their labor organizations they are simply hitting individual persons and not the movement as well? Don't they realize that by their disreputable conduct they are preparing the way to fascism; that they please the capitalist class

that is profiting from such insinuating and disruptive work within the ranks of bona fide trade unionism?

As we have already indicated we have nothing to say against common sense, honest and sincere criticism. We may have different opinions on various subjects, and discussions will bring us closer together and give us clearer ideas. But for the good of the movement and for your own dignity and self-respect, please quit your campaigns of calumny and personal attacks! Inevitably they injure the entire organization and those who serve the movement.

He who sows distrust in the hope of advancing his own ideas will finally harvest distrust and become a victim of his own misconduct. There is hardly any better example than the condition and situation of the Communist party of America. How many a leader since the formation of this party appeared like a shining star on the horizon to disappear in an insignificant little comet! They disappeared from view because others came and pretended to be much more "revolutionary" whereby for the time being they gained the confidence of their followers—but only for a while and then they also disappeared and were lost and forgotten.

No wonder the Communist party has grown backward until at present nothing but a pitiable little sect remains, a sect which no man takes very seriously, and which serves one main purpose only, to wit: to give to the capitalist reaction welcome catchwords in its fight against the labor movement. Is this example not worth being accepted as a wholesome lesson?

The American labor movement is healthy and sound. It will also find the way that will lead us to the success of the labor movement in these tempestuous times which have been upon us for a number of years. It will lead the way most advantageous to serve the best interests of the American working class.

Be on your guard against those who by their reckless, untrue and calumniating agitation are undermining the mutual CONFIDENCE and the confidence in the movement. The working class needs this CONFIDENCE—not merely for its own people, but for the benefit and welfare of those who are yet to be drawn into the movement.

Each and every one of us should recognize this and act accordingly.

Wait a minute,
Uncle!
Before you
worry about
what war does
to other
people,
how about
remembering
what it
did to us?



Comrades and Workers . . . USE THE NEW LEADER IN YOUR CAMPAIGN WORK AND ALSO TO BUILD UP THE UNIONS!

American Labor Battles Against World Fascism

By Dr. S. Lipschitz

AMERICAN Labor's parliament will open within a few days at Atlantic City. Delegates representing millions of trade unionists will debate many important problems and decide policies which will strengthen organized labor in its upward struggle. Guest speakers will testify to the interest with which labor in foreign lands follows the deliberations of American labor's organized forces.

Labor in the coming year faces

tremendous tasks. So many questions loom overwhelmingly in the mind of the American working man that one might almost despair of summing them up in one common formula. Not the least of these are the dangers of war and fascism and the havoc the latter doctrines have wrought upon a dislocated world.

Much has been said and written about the splendid help given to suffering labor in the fascist-ruled countries by the powerful trade unions of Europe. Unflinchingly organized labor in Europe has helped to keep the spark of labor alive. It now faces the supreme test of beating back the dogs of war that again howl at Europe's doorsteps.

But while the great tragedy of Europe again unfolds itself, American labor has not been behind in its determination to fight the common enemy. It, too, has lived up to the duties of international labor solidarity and it has done so in

Labor Chest Is a Mighty Weapon in the Fight for Labor's Freedom

characteristic American fashion. The Chest for Liberation of Workers of Europe, organized at the last annual convention of the A. F. of L., has been American labor's answer to the fascist challenge.

Born during the stormy convention days at San Francisco, the Chest immediately launched its great mission of enlisting help for the labor victims of fascism, strengthening the boycott, and arousing the working masses to full consciousness of fascist dangers. Led by President William Green of the A. F. of L., as chairman; Matthew Woll, Vice-President of the A. F. of L., as vice-chairman; Joseph N. Weber, President of the American Federation of Musicians, as secretary; David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, as treasurer; and a committee composed of John Coe, President, Plumbers' and Steamfitters' International Union; President Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Charles P. Howard, President, International Typographical Union; John L. Lewis, President, United Mine Workers of America; Raymond F. Lowry, President, American Federation of Teachers; Joseph P. Ryan, President, International Longshoremen's Association; Arthur O. Wharton, Pres-

ident, Int'l Association of Machinists, and Max Zaritsky, President, International Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' Union, it soon became the rallying point of labor's battle against the menace of war and fascism.

Its anti-fascist campaign is carried on in vigorous manner by means of an information service, a series of pamphlets, posters, leaflets and other material. The Chest's literature has been instrumental in explaining to the workers of the United States, Canada and Latin America the unspeakable crimes committed by fascism against organized labor and other progressive forces. Numerous Chest committees have been helpful in acquainting local labor with the aims and purposes of the Chest, and enlisting its support. American public opinion realizes full well today that the Chest is one of the mighty weapons in humanity's great fight to free itself from the poison of fascism.

American labor's response to the appeals for financial support of oppressed labor in Europe has also been heartening. Substantial contributions have been made by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (which alone has raised an anti-fascist fund of \$50,000), the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the United Mine Workers, the United Garment Workers,

the Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' Union, the American Federation of Musicians, the Photo-Engravers' Union, the International Longshoremen's Association and the Federation of Post Office Clerks, as well as a number of local organizations.

To state, however, that the Chest's collections are behind the actual relief requirements is to repeat an obvious truth. More cooperation is necessary if "suppressed labor is to revive and regain its strength," says a recent circular of the Labor Chest. The circular also launches a new battle cry by proclaiming: "any amount, small or large, is welcome. Every dollar and cent counts in the war for the liberation of suppressed labor."

The Chest is cooperating closely with the International Federation of Trade Unions at Paris and other powerful international labor organizations such as the International Transport Workers' Federation with a membership of well over 1,600,000 in 33 countries. Sir Walter Citrine, general secretary of the British Trades Union Congress and president of the International Federation of Trade Unions, in a recent fervent appeal for help for the victims of fascism, pointed to the Chest for Liberation of Workers of Europe as "American labor's valuable contribution to the cause



of labor solidarity everywhere and in the forefront of this great humanitarian struggle."

No review of the Chest's activities during one short year can be complete without paying full tribute to the splendid cooperation given by the members of its executive committee and other labor leaders. These men, overburdened with work, have not hesitated to give their time and energies to

further the cause of the Chest. The response has been generously forthcoming.

The great work undertaken by the A. F. of L. in behalf of its fellow workers in Europe testifies eloquently to labor's solidarity everywhere. It merits full support by all those sympathizing with labor's cause and its heroic struggle against suppression and tyranny. It will be remembered long after

the bloody stains of fascism are wiped from the face of the earth and labor in the fascist countries has regained its voice and strength.

It was President William Green who declared at the last A. F. of L. convention: "We shall continue to protest, we shall appeal to the hearts and the conscience of mankind. We shall endeavor to make as effective as possible the boycott which we have espoused until tyrannical governments . . . are wiped out." In the work of the Chest, the splendid words of President William Green are becoming true.

Unions Respond to Appeal for Labor Chest

Organized labor is responding generously to the appeal of the American Federation of Labor for funds for the relief of victims of fascist dictatorships, the Chest for Liberation of Workers of Europe, 3 West 16th St., New York City, reports. New substantial contributions have been received from the United Garment Workers, the Cap and Millinery International Union, and the International Photo Engravers' Union.

Accompanying letters of President T. A. Rickert of the U.G.W., Max Zaritsky, president of the Cap and Millinery Workers, and of Matthew Woll, vice-president of the Photo Engravers, stress the necessity of supporting suppressed labor in the fascist-ruled countries in its fight for freedom.

"We are in hopes that this small contribution of \$2,000 may help in carrying on the good work you and your associates are doing in this cause," Rickert writes to David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union and treasurer of the Labor Chest.

"R-revolutionary Tactics" Give Birth to Baby Nursed By J.B. Matthews for Years

The strike against Consumers' Research at Washington, N. J., has induced C. R. to issue a circular giving its side of the dispute. It will be remembered that J. B. Matthews, former r-r-revolutionary member of the Socialist Party and recently a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the New Jersey Assembly, is associated with the opposition to the strike.

According to the C. R. statement a group of C. R. employees organized as a section of the Office Workers' Union, a Communist affiliate. Later this "union" was liquidated and reorganized with an A. F. of L. charter, the original leadership remaining. This organization is now conducting the strike.

The C. R. statement lists a number of alleged provocative acts of the strikers, including an attempt to rifle the office files and cutting the telephone wires "of one of the loyal members of the staff."

All information makes it plausible that J. B. Matthews, who for years had been a parlor Bolshevik and cooperating with various "left" adventures in New York City unions, is now confronted with one of his own babies in this strike. The unfortunate thing is that C. R., which has done some useful work in its special line, is made the football of pseudo-revolutionary policies which have been cultivated for years.

Union Workers Win Brookwood Scholarships

The Education Committee of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has awarded five scholarships for Brookwood Labor College for the school year 1935-36.

The members who received the scholarship are: Sylvia Barbanell, Local 22, New York; Olive Pearson, Local 91, New York; Marie E. Meeker, Baltimore Joint Board, Baltimore, Md.; Alice May Burster, Local 76, Chicago; Tom Scott, Local 150, So. River, N. J.

These students have been active in strikes and they have attended regularly local classes and took part in institutes for training-for-trade-union service run by the Union during the summer.

The scholarship include board and tuition for eight months.

Young Socialists Win Right To Hold Boycott Meeting

An attempt of the police to prevent meetings urging a boycott of Hearst Metrotone News near a theatre in the East New York section of Brooklyn was frustrated by members of the Young People's Socialist League who submitted to arrest to test the legality of the police restriction upon free speech.

The YPSL was represented in court by Ben Wyle, President of the Socialist Lawyers' Association. Comrade Wyle proved to the satisfaction of the Court the right of Socialists and others to hold street meetings and the charges against the young Socialists were dismissed.

Office Workers' Union Striking Against the Metropolitan News Co.

Office workers of the Metropolitan News Co. in New York were called out on strike by the Bookkeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union No. 1266, A. F. of L., following the refusal of the company to recognize the union and to negotiate an agreement covering wages, hours and working conditions. Picketing commenced at once.

According to Leonard Bright, organizer of the A. F. of L. Office Workers' Union, clerks employed by the company for six years and over, receive as little as \$15 per week. Intense speed-up prevails in this office, he said. The union has requested a 35-hour work-week, overtime to be paid for at the rate of time and one-half and double time for holidays and Sundays. The union also submitted demands for increases in wages, claiming that a 10 per cent cut went into effect last year. There are forty office employees, union officials said, the majority of whom had joined the union.

Bright informed officials of the company that the prime question was recognition of the union for purposes of collective bargaining and that working hours, salary increases and improvement in working conditions should be left for negotiation. He said, however, that the company refused to discuss the demands and informed union officials that the newspaper publishers had advised them not to permit the unionization of their office and had assured the company that they would help them fight the union. Among the papers distributed by the Metropolitan News Company are the New York Times, Herald-Tribune, Brooklyn Eagle, Brooklyn Times-Union, Jewish Day, Jewish Daily Freiheit, Jewish Morning Journal, Daily Worker, Christian Science Monitor, Freie Arbeiter-Stimme, Neue Volkszeitung, Jewish Frontier, Staatszeitung, Il Progresso and La Stampa Libera.

The union has appealed to the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union and the Newspaper Guild for cooperation, charging the employers are intimidating their employees and have threatened their workers that if they go on strike they will never be re-employed.

The Rand Playhouse

On Saturday evening, October 5, the Rand Playhouse will be dedicated as the cultural division of the Rand School of Social Science. An inaugural program will be presented at which the following speakers will appear: Hendrik Willem van Loon, Dr. Ned H. Dearborn, Dean of New York University, Anita Block of the Theatre Guild, John T. Flynn and Algernon Lee. Station WEVD will broadcast part of the proceedings.

This program on October 5, 8:45 p. m., coincides with the opening of the 30th Rand School year. Obtain your free admission ticket at the Rand School office—7 East 15th Street, New York City.

By William M. Feigenbaum

IN the late evening of a July day in 1932, delegates of the Socialist Party of New York, gathered in state convention at Utica, were at the regular convention banquet. Morris Hillquit, beloved and revered National chairman of the party, was introduced.

Beginning in his usual gently humorous way, he recalled that with that convention a period of forty years of Socialist activity was being rounded out, and he told the story of

the nomination in 1892 by a "convention" of eight delegates from five states of Simon Wing, first Socialist candidate for President.

In his soft voice, a gentle smile on his face and often with a note of sadness, Morris Hillquit told of forty years of struggle, triumph and defeat, hopes and disappointments; exultation and despair. For forty years the man who stood before us had battled for a great and a noble ideal.

"And so we begin again!" The comrades were breathless as Hillquit spoke, and there were sighs as he asked, "Has it been worth while?" He was asking for himself and for all of us. And his answer was given in the confession of faith and the credo that were the concluding words of that great speech. Yes, it had been worth while, and if he had it to do over again he would not alter his course. His statement of his faith makes one of the most moving, most beautiful documents in the history of Socialism.

A Great Socialist

I begged Morris Hillquit to write out that address to print in The New Leader, but he smiled and said that what might sound well when spoken would not appear to advantage in print. But he was wrong; written out and printed as a last chapter in his touching memoirs, they are a testament and a confession of faith that are unforgettable.

Hillquit was a great man. It is true to say that if he had lived in any country with a powerful Socialist movement he would have been a great world statesman. Socialists of his native Latvia often said that if he remained in Riga he would have become Premier of that country and would have exerted a decisive influence in world affairs.

To indulge in might-have-beens is a tantalizing and a futile pastime. He came to America as a boy, soon becoming one of the most active and useful members of



The Hillquit Memorial at Camp Tamiment

By Don Carlos

THERE is no clamor here, all silent peace
Where comrade poplars their stern vigil keep,
And where your eyes, as wistful still and deep,
Through sculptured bronze their rebel fire release.

Peace you have earned who were for battle born
And built of sinew that defied the rage
Of demagogue and tyrant, glad to wage
The holy warfare for the world's forlorn.

Now towards the dimming sun you've set
your face;
The New Day weaves its laurel wreath
for you,
Who saw the light the darkness driving
through
And with immortal heroes ran his race.

Peace, Comrade, Peace! — Around your
martyr urn
Prophetic storms their lightning tapers burn.

the Socialist and labor movement. His giant intellect and magnificent personal qualities early became manifest—and from the start he devoted them to our party and our cause.

It is a curious fact that a large part of Hillquit's achievements in serving the working class is scarcely known to the public. His war upon the injunction evil has borne fruit in important legislation now embodied in the statute books of many states; but few people know that. His victory in winning the acquittal of eight needle trade union leaders of a framed-up charge of murder (told effectively in his memoirs) did much in establishing the unions in those trades in the powerful place they now hold. His work as counsel for one of the great needle unions before a Board of Arbitration established conditions of decency in industry that revolutionized conditions in a formerly shockingly sweated trade.

Serving the Unions

He was too modest to talk about his great services, and they were done so quietly that few know of them. They were not the work of a paid counsel, but rather

of a devoted comrade who knew the conditions he was battling against and who was fighting not for a court legal victory but for the advancement of human beings.

His last effort on behalf of the workers was characteristic. He was desperately ill; as is proved, he was dying. Codes were being imposed upon industry after industry. He thought it might not be a bad idea for an industry to have a code drawn up by the workers, and he drew up such a code for the cloakmakers. A railroad journey to Washington was out of the question, so he flew to the Capital in the terrible heat of the summer and there, drenched in perspiration and almost literally with his last breath, he argued for—and won—the right of the cloakmakers to work under a code they themselves drew up. His last work, as his first, was for the needleworkers he knew so well and loved so much.

My mind goes back to 1917. Hillquit was by no means a well man. Small and always frail, he had suffered a breakdown in 1912 and had conquered tuberculosis only by rigorous self-discipline, and a year in Bermuda and Switzer-

land. In the war year, after his personal heroism in drafting (with Charles E. Ruthenberg and Algeron Lee) the historic St. Louis Declaration, he was nominated for Mayor of New York.

It was a glorious campaign, and a terrible one. Day after day comrades were being arrested and mobbed. Socialist papers were being raided. Socialists were being lynched. Two men stood out above the rest: Hillquit and Debs.

Debs made his speech and he suffered his martyrdom for all of us.

A Notable Campaign

Hillquit spoke day after day two and three times to cheering tens of thousands, never modifying his stand, hourly defying reaction and the ugly spirit of lynch law. Newspapers referred to him as the "unindicted Mr. Hillquit." Federal Grand Jurors sat and debated whether or not they dared indict him. (He knew that, but the public did not.) Five Sundays in succession he spoke to vast and cheering multitudes in the old Madison Square Garden, flinging his naked voice (without benefit of amplifiers) into the vast arena, shouting

defiantly what was in the hearts of all of us. It was at the imminent risk of arrest, or worse; and of complete collapse, a collapse that came a few months after the campaign was over.

But he did not let us down! To have quit during the battle because of health would have been interpreted as desertion, and it would have been a blow to us, his comrades, who followed him and worshipped him. And so he went on.

In 1917 the true Morris Hillquit was revealed, a man of giant intellect, great oratorical gifts, matchless devotion—and the courage of a lion. And it is the memory of the Morris Hillquit of 1917 that I will ever revere as long as I live.

There came the breakdown of 1918, when tuberculosis struck him down again in the midst of preparations for the defense of Eugene V. Debs, Victor L. Berger and other Socialists indicted during our shameful war-time hysteria. Quietly he went away to recover, only to leave his mountain retreat in the midst of his cure to defend the Socialist Assemblymen in the Albany tragedy. And there, too, he showed the stuff he was made of, especially in his great seven-hour speech, later compiled into the book "Socialism on Trial."

Other Services

He was a man of courage. In 1917, after he had been nominated for Mayor, Alexander Berkman was in New York and was wanted by the Governor of California. Hillquit volunteered to go to Albany to argue with Governor Whitman against the extradition proceedings. Emma Goldman tells in her memoirs how she urged him not to go, for it would injure his campaign to be publicly identified with the Anarchists.

But when principle called, Morris Hillquit answered "present." And he went and argued, and Berkman was not delivered to the tender mercies of California "justice."

He was a man of rare wit and cleverness. In his debates with Professor Seligman, Dr. Schurman, Samuel Untermyer, Edward Keating and Samuel Gompers he upheld the Socialist cause with scintillating brilliance and convincing persuasiveness.

He was a man of unshakable principle. Many a time he might easily have slipped away from the movement because of ill health. He devoted the remainder of his life to ease and comfort. But he was a Socialist, and he carried on.

He was a man of granite. He never shrank from a party controversy, facing those with whom he differed courageously and with manly frankness. He contributed his best thought always.

He was a man! What more is there to be said for this Socialist hero who gave his energies, his talents, his career, his health, and finally his life for the cause to which he was so devoted?

Many men have served our cause to pass on to their rest. America has had many men and women who have illumined the pages of Socialist history. But towering over all, not so much for their positive gifts but rather for their great human qualities, stand the two great makers of American Socialism—Eugene V. Debs and Morris Hillquit.

May we be worthy of the sacrifice they made when they gave themselves to our cause!