

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 20, 1934

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Workers Taking Over Power in Norway

**Nygaardsvold Elected to
Head Storting, as Socialists
Prepare to Form Ministry.**

THE Socialists of Norway have taken the first step in the establishment of an all-working class government with the election of Johann Nygaardsvold as Chairman of the Storting or national Parliament.

The establishment of a Socialist government was forecast by the results of the elections of October 17, 1933, when the Labor (Socialist) Party elected 69 members out of 150, to 31 for the Conservatives, the second largest party. The Socialists were joined in the election of Nygaardsvold by the Agrarians, 23 members, whose support will give the Socialists a clear majority for their forthcoming chamber of 92 members to 58 for the Conservatives, Liberal Lefts and Independents.

Sweden and Denmark have Socialist ministries that hold office by virtue of large pluralities in the lower house of their parliaments, but who depend upon the support of the Liberals in Denmark and the Agrarians and eight Communists in Sweden. Norway is expected to give the world its first Socialist government pursuing a Socialist program without modification. The Norwegian Agrarians have a radical program that will enable them to support the Socialists without compunction.

The first Socialist measure introduced in the Storting was a bill to provide 140,000,000 kroner (approximately \$70,000,000 at the present rate of exchange) to check unemployment. A ten per cent tax upon unearned incomes was provided in another bill.

City Hall Is Next Stop, Says Camden Socialists

By Frank Jefferies

CAMDEN, N. J.—The year 1928 saw the reorganization of an active branch of the Socialist Party in Camden, N. J. by a handful of the old faithfuls. The branch struggled along, occasionally taking in a new member who recognized that he held nothing in common with the powers that control our present system, or an old member who discovered our renewed activity. In those first years one could, at most meetings, count the attendance on the fingers of two hands.

In the latter part of 1930 things took on a different aspect. The branch fairly boiled with activity. Meetings were well attended and with a municipal campaign coming in the spring of 1931, the branch held weekly meetings in place of only two each month. The membership grew at once and within a few months had more than doubled.

The hall would seat only about 75 people and a serious situation confronted the branch. We were

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The Claims of Socialism From Industrial History

When Industries Passed From Homes Producing for
Use to Factories Manufacturing Commodities
Our Troubles Began to Plague Us

MOST of our ancestors of a 150 years ago would be unable to understand our depression tangle. All the talk of prices and wages, production and consumption, gold and inflation, banks and budgets, would be Greek to them. In tens of thousands of homes the family simply produced things and then used them. Clothing and shoes, hats and harness, soap and candles, preserved fruits and cured meats, dyes and nails, and other necessities were produced and consumed.

Wages and prices, banks and budgets, did not concern them. In order to consume what they produced they did not buy from each other or sell to each other. Why should the son who made shoes sell a pair to his father and the father who made harness sell a set to his son when an article could be passed from one to the other without being priced or require dollars to effect the exchange? It would have been silly.

It was only after we passed from this system of production for the use of the producers to producing for exchange and sale that we had the origin of this terrible mess. The industries passed out of the homes into factories owned by capitalists. Instead of producing use articles we began producing commodities for sale. The capitalist owners were interested in how much value they could sweat out of wage workers and what prices they could get for the commodities. Whether booze or bibles were produced made no difference to them. They were interested in profits for themselves.

Here is what happened. Producer and user in home production were workers. In factory production the workers make and the capitalist owners take. From home production for use to fac-

tory production for the profit of capitalists; that was a revolution. Instead of producing for ourselves we must buy with dollars and if we do not have dollars we are out of luck. If the capitalist cannot buy us in the labor market we cannot buy the things we produce for him. We are out of the industries which he and his class own!

Science has weighed the planets and determined their chemical composition. It has revealed the secrets of the atom and reconstructed prehistoric life out of fossil remains. It has conquered the air and almost annihilated space with the wireless and the radio. It has told the story of man's evolution from his shaggy ancestors and their history back to the first simple forms of life.

Fine. But the statesmen and the politicians of capitalism are unable to get us out of this fearful mess! The problem is a simple one. We produce wealth in vast abundance. The job is to get that wealth back to those who produce it. The statesmen and politicians do not know or do not want to know how to do this. They experiment with wages and prices, plow under cotton, purchase surplus wheat and hogs and put industries under codes but leave the basic factors of capitalist production for the owners' gain untouched.

What is needed is production for use on a higher and more advanced scale than folks knew 150 years ago. There were no private owners of home production then; there should be no private owners of production now. Abolish capitalist ownership of industries; substitute collective ownership for the good of all. That is Socialism. Producers will again be users and users will again be producers. Why not?

Wage Codes as Unenforceable as Prohibition, Says Pres. Green of AFoL.

Workers Must Trust in Their United Might, Not in
Recovery Act, Printers Say

By Observer

Washington, D. C.

THIS department on December 16 said that Washington observers of the workings of the National Recovery Act believed a storm was brewing over the wage differentials set by codes between the North and South.

The storm has begun. It broke an NRA hearing on complaints against the lumber and timber products code. Northern lumber manufacturers vigorously assailed the wages in Southern mills, picturing Southern pay as bringing Northern plants face to face with ruin. One Pennsylvania manufacturer testified that under the code his sales staff had been dismissed, his crews forced on public relief and his firm's capital structure endangered. Naturally, he couldn't see any "recovery" in the code.

But of more importance to labor nationally were the revelations of miserably low wages paid in Southern lumber mills, despite the NRA, and charges that the code is reducing the wages of skilled workers. That this last is becoming an increasingly sore spot with organized labor was pointed out here last week.

Startling evidence on wage conditions in the Southern lumber industry was given by John P. Davis for a group of 21 national organizations known as the Joint Committee on National Recovery, and President William Green of the American Federation of Labor.

Davis said a personal investi-

gation he had made showed skilled Negro workers in Florida being paid the minimum code wage, and that prices charged at mill-owned stores where Negro labor dealt were much higher than at village groceries. He declared that prices for both food and housing had been increased by mill owners to "recapture" wage increases called for by the code. He said that local compliance boards in the South are negligent in the performance of their duties and said strict enforcement of the code would remedy evils complained of.

LOWER WAGES UNDER THE NRA

The witness named two mills in Gaffney, S. C., which he said are paying Negroes only 15 cents an hour.

Green made a slashing attack on wage conditions under the code. He said there are 30,000 known plants with 180,000 employees and that steps must be taken to absorb 250,000 additional wage earners.

(Continued on page Eight)

Socialists Urge Social Welfare Amendment

**Social Legislation Should
Not Depend on Supreme
Court Majority, Louis Waldman Holds.**

By Aleck Miller

DECLARING that it was imperative that President Roosevelt lend the full prestige of his office to the proposed constitutional amendment conferring power on Congress to enact social welfare legislation, Louis Waldman, chairman of the Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party, outlined for The New Leader the urgent need of the proposed amendment.

"Do you realize," said Waldman, "that the 21st Amendment repealing Prohibition was passed in record time solely because the President definitely asked the States for speedy ratification. I am confident this amendment can be confirmed as speedily and the danger to constructive social legislation as embodied in the narrow margin by which the Supreme Court upheld the Minnesota mortgage law will be averted."

"Fears that had been entertained that legislation made necessary by the emergency would be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court have been temporarily allayed by the court's opinion and decision in the Minnesota case. However, the close margin by which the court sustained the law, and the views of constitutional lawyers who have studied the opinion to the effect that it does not necessarily validate the more disputable features of the Federal

(Continued on Page Three)

Socialist Refuses Privileges Denied Negro Prisoner

CHARLESTON, S. C.—Stephen V. Kennison, state chairman of the Socialist Party, was arrested on disorderly conduct charges when he refused to "move on" from talking to C.W.A. workers on the city dump.

When offered the use of a telephone at the city jail, he first accepted, then declined because a Negro prisoner in the same cell block had been refused permission to use the telephone. "No man is better than I am and I am no better than any other man," declared Kennison. "If he can't use the phone, then I should not use it."

For some time Kennison has been at odds with city authorities regarding the handling of the unemployment situation in Charleston, and he refused bail of \$100, stating that he had been arrested merely because he was a Socialist.

On several occasions, Kennison has been refused permission to hold parades or gatherings of unemployed. At one time a crowd of Negroes who had gathered near his confectionery store was dispersed by police. On another occasion, he was ordered to cease "interfering" with unemployed persons who were lined up at the office of the Charleston County Relief Council.

WEVD New Leader Speaker

William M. Feigenbaum, associate editor of The New Leader, will be the speaker of The New Leader period of Station WEVD on Friday, January 26th, from 4:30 to 4:45 P. M. Adolph Warshaw, of The New Leader Board of Management, speaks on Friday, January 19th, at the same time.

NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper 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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The N. E. C. Dinner

THE first big Socialist Party affair to be arranged in New York City this year will be the dinner in honor of the National Executive Committee on Sunday, January 28, in Park Palace. The party members should do their utmost to make this affair a huge success. We are calling attention to it here for the benefit of Socialists in the city and outside in adjoining states. Reservations are \$1.50 per person and may be obtained by applying to Julius Gerber, 7 East 15th Street, New York City, or phone ALgonquin 4-2620.

Quoting Marx

THAT droll monthly organ of the G.O.P., the *National Republic*, carries an article of Dr. Roscoe J. C. Dorsey of the Washington College of Law, on "Socialist Theory and Practice." It is largely the information one may expect to circulate in a nursery. We have no objection to that as the professional G.O.P. mind can hardly absorb anything stronger, but we are interested in the following alleged quotation from Karl Marx:

"Socialists: We are ruthless and want no consideration from you. When our turn comes, revolutionary terrorism will not be sugar-coated. There is but one way of simplifying, shortening, concentrating the hideous death agony of the old society, as well as the bloody labor of the new world's birth—viz., revolutionary terrorism."

One gets the idea of Marx chewing a raw piece of meat dripping with blood, but no source is cited by the eminent professor. We ask the gentleman to give us the source of his quotation. We await his answer.

Two Types of Unions

A RECENT defense of company unions by Walter C. Teagle, president of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, is of unusual interest for one reason. He declares that the company union is formed on a basis parallel with the structural organization of industry; it takes in all workers while the trade unions are organized into separate crafts.

This is true. For the mass industries at least, and for some others, the company union is adapted for modern industry but is used for capitalist purposes while the craft union is intended to serve workers but is not adapted to modern industry. Moreover, the oil magnate is not interested in having any genuine union in the industry whether of the craft or industrial type.

The industrial company union is a fraud and powerful for the exploiters of labor while the craft union in big industry is a union of workers, but weak and generally non-existent in mass industries because it will not fit into the industrial structure. The capitalist class employ a good principle for a fraudulent purpose while the workers cling to a bad principle for a good purpose. To the extent that the organized working class come to understand all this, will they

be able to modernize the structure of their unions and enormously strengthen them in labor struggles.

Class Struggles

THE class antagonism within the NRA cannot be smothered although it officially implies a "partnership" between the owners of industry and wage workers. Whether the trade union be conservative or progressives, its members react to unsatisfactory codes in terms of class interests even though they know little of the philosophy of class struggles.

On the other side, the capitalist owners of industry display an attitude that also accords with their class interests. They maneuver to take over the NRA, or to emasculate Section 7, or by various devices to sabotage wages and hours. In all these maneuvers they use language to conceal their class aims. When they think of their class they speak of "industry" or they mention the "nation." Whatever the words, they are masks used to conceal what is really in their minds.

An interesting study will some day be written to interpret the language used in defense of economic interests and which at the same time is employed to conceal them.

Disease Toll of Capitalism

WHAT the effect of the depression is having on the health of its victims is considered in a syndicated newspaper article by Edgar Sydenstricker, based upon what information is available from a number of special surveys. They show that while the death rate has not increased sickness has. The sickness rate has increased 50 per cent in families whose income dropped most sharply in the last four years. "The illness rate also was found to be relatively great in families without employed workers, less in families with part-time workers only, and still less in families with full-time workers."

From this we may anticipate that the death-rate will increase with increasing illness. About fourteen states already show an increase in the death rate, especially "deaths from intestinal disease among young children." This is another toll we must pay for the collapse of capitalism.

Opposing Fascism

ONE mistake some Socialists may make at times is to think of the non-Socialist population of a nation as one reactionary mass. This is not true even of many groups who feel that they have a stake in preserving capitalism. The barrier against Fascism in Europe today includes the governments of the Scandinavian nations, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain and others. They may oppose the spread of Fascism on other grounds that Socialist but they oppose. Even a bill in Denmark to abolish the army was recently withdrawn because of the desire to have an armed force to use against any thrust against Denmark by Hitler.

Many members of the middle classes in the adjoining nations are also compelled to sober thinking by observing Hitler's double-crossing of the owners of small capital whom he has delivered to the big exploiters. In the class struggle it is the duty of Socialists to profit by divisions that occur in the non-proletarian and non-Socialist population.

The United States

CUBA makes the headlines again. The Cuban Government has taken over and is operating the American-owned Cuban Electric Company, estimated at \$200,000,000, until the company settles a dispute with its workers. A dispatch to the *New York Times* reports that "the United States was interested in the fate of the \$200,000,000 properties" and that two American destroyers have been sent to Cuba.

Rather interesting. We wonder if the tens of millions of our suffering workers and farmers are interested in the properties. We think not. But the United States is said to be interested. In that case, do these millions of workers not interested belong to the United States? Or does the dispatch mean that the handful of American investors who are involved are the United States?

Should it come to a conflict with Cuba, we are inclined to think that the American owners of the Cuban enterprise would be considered the United States and that American workers would be conscripted to serve the "United States."

Top o' The Leader Tower With Readers 'n' Boosters

By the Editor

A BIG BUNDLE ORDER!

THE Socialist Party local at Richmond, Va., ambitious to do effective propaganda work, has given considerable study to the problem of reaching the masses with literature. As a general rule the capital cities of the states have proven just a little harder for Socialist propaganda than other cities because they are centers of capitalist politics with a little army of job-holders, their dependents, relatives and friends but the Richmond comrades are not discouraged. So they decided to take a bundle of a thousand *New Leaders* each week for distribution from house to house! Again and again we have received word from that burg in appreciation of the improved *New Leader*. Thanks, comrades. This inspires us to more effort to further improve *The New Leader*. Is there another party local that will match Local Richmond?

NEXT WEEK

One of the most remarkable parallels in historical writing is a section of Karl Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire" when compared with Hitler's rise to power in Germany. Marx wrote of Louis Bonaparte's overthrow of the French Republic and the "referendum" that "endorsed" the seizure of power. The parallel between the two events is the same almost in every detail, including concentration camps for Napoleon's opponents. We shall run this excerpt from Marx's writings next week, and every Socialist will want to preserve it because of its extraordinary interest.

J. F. Higgins, State Secretary of the party in West Virginia, will also tell an interesting tale of how CWA jobs in his state go to "good Democrats." Watch for it next week.

Some Appreciations

Still they come, by letter and postcard from many states, and we can mention only a few. Charles Pogorelec, Translator-Secretary of the Yugoslav Federation, writes: "I don't want to miss a copy, as I hold *The New Leader* the most valuable paper. Oneal's Review and Comment... is splendid. More power to him!" Martin B. Heisler of upstate New York, in sending six more subs, observes that "The *New Leader* has made some splendid improvements in quality of material, presentation and mechanical make-up." D. C. Gibson down in Andy Jackson's state sends his renewal and says that he "just can't do without *The New Leader*." Harold Flinker of the Bronx would "feel lost" without *The New Leader*. George R. Buickerwood of Oregon sends appreciations with a

pledge to increase circulation, and Roland Whytock of Rhode Island "wouldn't be without it" as he sends greetings for the New Year. The Reading "Labor Advocate" published by Reading Socialist gives a news boost to *The New Leader* Pennsylvania edition, and Reading Socialists are busy getting subs for this edition. A Massachusetts comrade, whose family receiving relief, writes that "The *New Leader* is our only recreation and it is eagerly looked for each week. We like it better every week."

More Old Papers Received

The old Socialist publications we have solicited for the Tenth Anniversary number of *The New Leader* are still coming in. C. Y. Edkins of Greensburg, Indiana, sends a fine collection, including "The Coming Nation" of November 28, 1896, and a rare semi-Socialist weekly, "The Grander Age," Hansboro, Mississippi, November 2, 1895. Two packages came from unknown friends. We have "The National Socialist," Washington, D. C., for 1913; two copies of "The Worker," New York, 1907; "The Indiana Socialist," Indianapolis, 1907; "The Socialist," Toledo, 1906; the "Social Democratic Herald," Chicago, 1901, and others. Many thanks, comrades. Who's next?

Expiration Notice!

All subscribers whose address label reads "10-33" are notified that their names will be dropped from the mailing list next week unless *The New Leader* hears from them. Obey that impulse to renew; don't miss a single issue of *The New Leader*!

Wisconsin and Minnesota

By August Claessens

DURING this past week I went through parts of this country where the Socialist Party is strong, active and influential. This was a pleasant relief after my dismal experience in Michigan. The main element in this great contrast, however, was not so much in the quality or maturity of our comrades as it was in the greater number of them. In Michigan we are as yet too few. In Wisconsin there are ever so many more of us and the contact of many Socialist minds makes for greater clarity in thought and action.



August Claessens

I spent three joyous days in Milwaukee. What a magnificent movement! Hundreds of energetic comrades, scores of active branches, dozens of elected officials, mayors, senators, assemblymen and others, a fine, intimate relationship between the trade unions and the party, and many enterprises in full swing. Here more than in any other city in the U.S.A. the Socialist Party is a living, throbbing and sparkling organization. It satisfies the political, economic, social and cultural needs of its masses. Its good fellowship and fine comradeship radiates health and joy.

Although it has won many political offices and has great local powers, the Socialist Party of Milwaukee does not rest on its laurels. It is in the midst of a campaign to lick the power trust and have its own light and power plant. Milwaukee Socialists are getting ready for the campaign in the fall and to elect a congressman

or two and many more state senators and aldermen. They are also giving much more attention and energy to carrying the message of Socialism throughout Wisconsin. And although there are a great number of intelligent and efficient comrades in the Milwaukee party,

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Bronx Police Attempt to Close Hillquit Auditorium

The success of the Bronx Labor Center in attracting large crowds to the Hillquit Auditorium at 809 Westchester Ave. has resulted in an attempt by local politicians to close it down. Saturday night, Jan. 19, eight detectives raided the Socialist center and, charging that it was a dance hall, served Comrade Stern, the manager, with a summons. This was the third such visit from the police.

The East Bronx party branches that meet in the Center announced that they will rally the workers in the neighborhood to defend their cultural and political home. In the two months since the opening of the institution thousands of workers have visited the Hillquit Auditorium to listen to debates and forums and to enjoy the social affairs arranged by the Bronx Socialists. On occasion literally hundreds have been turned away.

For to express their determination to preserve their headquarters, the Bronx, 4th and 5th A. D. Socialist branches are arranging a protest of force, to be held Saturday evening, Jan. 20, in the Center. Legal will be present to see that there is no further interference from the police.

Chorus Holds First Meeting on Saturday

The first meeting of the Workers' Chorus being organized by Rebel Arts will take place Saturday at 5 p. m. at headquarters, 22 East 22nd St. A vote will be taken to decide a regular meeting time.

A skilled teacher has been engaged and an attempt will be made to build, for the first time in many years, a Labor and Socialist Chorus, singing in four parts and similar to the Workmen's Circle and other language groups.

The first Open Social of all the Rebel Arts groups will take place Saturday, Jan. 27, with entertainment, dancing and eats furnished. Admission is 15 cents.

The Writers' Group meeting Monday at 8:30 will be devoted to an open forum. Jan. 29 will be open workshop night. Albert Maltz, co-author of "Peace on Earth," will speak on "Can There Be a Proletarian Theatre?"

The One-Act Play Group meetings Thursdays at 8:30, under Nadja Abeles, rehearses radio labor sketches as well as other playlets. The Dance Groups, under Frances Leber, have resumed headquarters and have elected an Action Committee for social and educational work.

Umbrella Workers' Local Chartered

A charter has been granted to the United Umbrella Workers' Union by Mr. Murphy of the A. F. of L., Tuesday, at 3 West 16th St. It was installed as Local 19,164 of the American Federation of Labor.

The Labor Committee of the Socialist Party of New York was active in the organization and instrumental in the chartering of the new union which embraces several hundred workers.

Among the newly elected officers of the union are Estelle Yagoda,

Socialists Will Lead the Fight Against LaGuardia Wage Cuts

MAYOR LAGUARDIA told representatives of the teachers that there would be no salary cuts if they could be avoided. At the same time he said that getting eleven months' pay in a year is better than getting no wages at all.

All he wants, he says, is the power to impose the wage cuts if he cannot find other means of making municipal ends meet. His present idea is to give all city employees an annual "furlough," that is, an extra month's vacation without pay; for teachers such a "furlough" will mean a wage cut to the amount of a month's pay without the extra vacation, for school must keep whether teachers are paid or not; and classes are so large that it is impossible to distribute pupils around among other teachers while a portion of them are enjoying their payless vacation.

What LaGuardia sees is a badly unbalanced budget that needs balancing, and the only solution he can conceive of is what is technically known as economy. To cut out graft, to reduce extravagant expenditures—that is all. And if the budget is still unbalanced there is only one thing left—to cut expenses.

That's where the "furloughs" come in, thinly disguised pay cuts. The civil service employees, the policemen and firemen, the teachers and street cleaners, are beginning to be sorry they voted for LaGuardia as the only alternative to Tammany corruption.

They are beginning to protest;

and the protest is going to rise higher and higher every day.

In these days of "recovery" and of a New Deal that involves a gold policy that will increase the cost of living nearly 70 per cent, wage and salary cuts are as welcome as smallpox and a nest of rattlesnakes.

But is there an alternative to wage-cuts and enforced payless vacations? Is a policy of wage-cutting and starving of social services the only alternative to reckless Tammany thievery?

There is another way out, but LaGuardia and his administration is not going to follow it—at least not unless compelled to by the massed force of public opinion mobilized by those who do the world's work and who pay the price of the incompetence and the stupidity of those who have ruled us.

There are two avenues open that can be followed, and that would be followed by a Socialist administration faced with the same difficulties. They are:

1. Steeply graduated taxes, PLACING THE BURDEN OF CITY ADMINISTRATION, PUBLIC WORK AND INCREASED SOCIAL SERVICES UPON THOSE MOST ABLE TO BEAR THOSE BURDENS.

2. Drastic revision of the city's debt and the amount expended annually in debt service.

There can be a steeply graduated system of taxation, as there has long been in Socialist Vienna; indeed, by their taxation system the Socialists rescued that city from collapse and rebuilt it in the interest of the useful workers.

New Vienna is one of the glories of municipal administration and it was made possible solely by the drastic tax system of the Socialist administration.

Can debts be revised? The bankers, who hold the city's bonds, say they cannot. The capitalists and real estate speculators who have coined fortunes out of New York's debts say it is impossible.

The same people who would have to meet the steeply graduated taxation—if and when it is put into effect—want no revision of the city's debt. They are the people whose idea of sound city finance is to cripple the social services and to economize by cutting wages and salaries.

They stand like a granite wall against increased expenditures out of increased city funds.

AND THEY ARE THE PEOPLE WHO ELECTED THE LAGUARDIA ADMINISTRATION.

Hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers are being disillusioned by the LaGuardia administration. Hundreds of thousands are beginning to realize that MERE HONESTY IS NOT ENOUGH, that merely to refrain from grand larceny is not an adequate municipal program.

The Socialists were eternally right in the campaign. The Socialists are right today. The Socialists will take the lead in organizing protest against the LaGuardia wage-cutting policy, and to make the demand for the Socialist Two-Point program felt not only among the people BUT IN THE CITY HALL.

Resign From Party on Taking City Jobs

The office of Local New York, Socialist Party, announces the resignation from the party of Henry J. Rosner, E. Michael White, Will Maslow, and Beatrice Mayer.

Miss Mayer accepted a position as confidential secretary to Paul Blanshard, Commissioner of Accounts, while Rosner, Maslow and White have been appointed examiners in the Department of Accounts. All four requested permission to accept the positions while remaining members of the party, and their request was referred to the State Executive Committee, in accordance with the party's constitution. After a lengthy discussion permission to accept the positions while retaining party membership was refused, and their resignation followed in due course.

The resolution of the State Executive Committee stating the party's position was printed in The New Leader several weeks ago.

Y.P.S.L. NOTES

The New Challenge Is Out! Challenge agents are urged to call immediately for their copies. Lead articles concern the C.C.C. and War, Darlington Hoopes and his anti-Child Labor work, and the Y.P.S.L. program for 1934.

The second session of the city convention will be held Sunday, Jan. 27, at 10 a. m., in the Forward Building, 175 East Broadway.

Ninety-three of the 119 delegates attended the first session of the convention at the Rand School last Sunday, where reports were presented and committees elected.

"Should Capital Punishment Be Abolished?" is the subject of a debate between Circle 11 Jrs., Bronx, and Kroywen Young Circle League on Saturday, Jan. 20, at 1422 Wilkins Ave. The Yipsels take the affirmative.

Yipsel circles with resolutions for the convention are requested to send them to the City Office, 7 East 15th St., at once.

The new set of Yipsel pins are on sale for 25 and 35 cents. Also a new leaflet from the National Office, "An Appeal to Youth."

Goebel to Debate Democratic State Legislator

What is expected to be a rather exciting debate will be held in the City Hall, Long Branch, N. J., Friday night, Jan. 26th. The debaters will be Geo. H. Goebel of Newark, long known in the Socialist movement of the United States for his humor and quickness of wit and skill as a debater; and Theron McCampbell, democratic representative from Monmouth County in the New Jersey State Legislature and candidate for Governor in the coming primaries of that party.

Imminence of War Is Subject of Saturday Luncheon Discussion

"IS War Imminent?" will be the subject at the second of the series of fortnightly discussion luncheons sponsored by the Rand School and the Educational Committee of the Socialist Party to be held this Saturday, January 21, at the Rand School Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street. The luncheon will start promptly at 1:15 with the discussion scheduled to start no later than 2:15.

Three brilliant and well qualified speakers, Kirby Page, Nathan-

iel Peffer, and James O'neal, representing different viewpoints, make up the main program. Louis Waldman, state chairman of the Socialist Party, will act as chairman and toastmaster.

Kirby Page, described as a brilliant orator, is editor of the *World Tomorrow* besides authoring many books on economic and social subjects. He has lived and travelled in almost every portion of the globe. Mr. Page is an ardent pacifist.

Nathaniel Peffer, who will present a somewhat cynical viewpoint, has spent a good portion of his life in the Far East. He served for many years in China as correspondent for the *Nation* and various metropolitan newspapers. Although wishful for worldwide peace he is confessedly skeptical that it will be brought about through International conferences on disarmament.

James O'neal, American member of the executive of the Labor and Socialist International and editor of *The New Leader*, will present the Socialist Party's position.

After the formal speeches the meeting will be thrown open to general discussion.

The first discussion-luncheon two weeks ago proved so completely successful that these luncheons have been instituted as a regular fortnightly feature. At that time over 180 people attended with an additional 60 being unable to gain admittance. Although the seating capacity has been increased by 100 all indications are that many will have to be satisfied with the program portion only. These unable to secure seats at table will be permitted to listen to the discussion for a lower price.

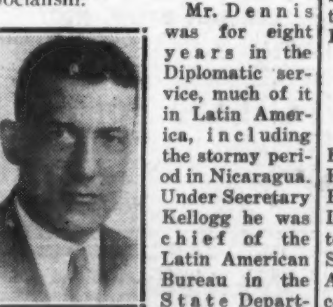
The Fellowship of Reconciliation,

the War Resisters, several unions and other groups will have tables.

The schedule for the two succeeding luncheons follows: February 3rd, Langdon W. Post, Charles Solomon, and Supreme Court Justice Harold Riegelman, former Borough President of Kings, will discuss "Our City Under Fusion." February 17th, Mathew Woll and others will speak on "Labor Under the NRA."

Solomon Debates Fascism With Dennis January 26

ONE of the most exciting debates of the season will take place Friday, January 26, in the Rand School Auditorium, between Charles Solomon and Lawrence Dennis, diplomat, banker, author and Fascist editor. The subject will be "Fascism vs. Socialism."



Mr. Dennis was for eight years in the Diplomatic service, much of it in Latin America, including the stormy period in Nicaragua. Under Secretary Kellogg he was chief of the Latin American Bureau in the State Department. He resigned to join a big Wall Street banking firm. He is editor of "The Awakener," a Fascist sheet.

Charles Solomon, former assem-

blyman and fiery orator and debater, is a worthy spokesman of democratic Socialism.

Both Solomon and Dennis have agreed that this is to be a barefisted debate with each meeting the definite issue. After the program has been concluded the meeting will be thrown open to general discussion. Only 600 tickets will be available, and while they last they may be purchased at the Rand School.

A Night of Love

The Relief Society for Socialist Prisoners and Exiles in Soviet Russia will present the well-known Russian operetta, "The Night of Love," at the City College Auditorium, Lexington Ave. and 23rd St., Saturday evening, January 20. Among the prominent artists of the concert stage and radio who will appear are listed: Vera Belevitch, Anina Quartin, Feodorova Vasili, Dora Boshner, Ivan Velicanoff, Vladimir Radeeff, Alexis Tchermasky, Nicholas Karlash, and Alexander Stoyanovsky.

TO HONOR THE N.E.C.

THE National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party will hold its quarterly meeting in New York during the week-end of Saturday and Sunday, January 27th and 28th.

The local Socialists will tender a dinner in honor of the members of the committee Sunday evening, January 28th, at the Park Palace, 110th Street and Fifth Avenue.

Every party branch in the city is expected to reserve at least one table, which means that there will be a representation of at least ten members from each branch. In addition, many unions and fraternal organizations will send delegations.

It is expected that the dinner will be the largest and most impressive dinner held by local Socialists in many years.

The last N.E.C. dinner held in New York was in 1929, which coincided with the 60th birthday of the late revered Morris Hillquit, and it was in the nature of a vast birthday party to the party's beloved leader.

The guests of honor at the 1934 dinner will be National Chairman Leo M. Kryzcki and N.E.C. Members Daniel W. Hoan, Jasper McLevy, Lilith M. Wilson, Darlington Hoopes, Powers Hapgood, Albert Sprague Coolidge, Norman Thomas, James D. Graham, John C. Packard and John M. Collins, and National Secretary Clarence Senior.

Reservations are to be made at once at the Party Office, 7 East 15th Street.

Union Directory

BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS' UNION, Local 66, I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St. Phone ALgonquin 4-3657. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union. L. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattah, Manager; Joe Goff, Secretary-Treasurer.

BICKLAYERS' UNION, Local 9 Office and headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone STagg 2-4621. Office open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening. Fred Pfau, Pres.; Al. Bayerle, Vice-Pres.; Charles Pfau, Fin. Sec'y; Milton Rowcroft, Rec. Cor. Sec'y; Frank F. Lutz, Treasurer; Andrew Streit, Business Agent.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th St., New York, N. Y. Phone TOMpkins Square 6-5400. L. Hollender, J. Catalonotti, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

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

CLOAK, SUIT & DRESS PRESSERS' UNION, Local 35, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 60 W. 35th St., N. Y. C. — J. Breslaw, Manager; L. Biegel, Chairman.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers Union, Office and headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn; STagg 2-0794. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice Pres., Stephen Tobasko; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Heib.

LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U. Office, 60 W. 35th St.; Phone WI. 7-8011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union. Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmund Perlmutter, Mgr.; Sec'y; Louis Stoberg, Asst. Mgr.; Maurice W. Jacobs, Sec'y to Exec. Board; Nathan Saperstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.

LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, 3 West 16th Street, New York City, Phone CHelsea 5-2148 David Dubinsky, President.

LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1, Offices, Amalgamated Bldg., 205 West 14th St.; Phone WAtkins 9-7764. Regular meetings every second and fourth Tuesday at Arlington Hall, 19 St. Mark's Place. Albert E. Castro, President; Patrick J. Hanlon Vice-President; Frank Sekol, Fin. Secretary; Emil Thenen, Rec. Secretary; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, Downtown office, 640 Broadway, phone Spring 7-4548; uptown office, 39 W. 37th St., phone WISconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 P. M. Manager, N. Spector; Sec'y-Treas., Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodas.

MILK WAGON DRIVERS' UNION, Local 584, I. U. of T. Office: 259 W. 14th St., City. Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth St. Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at Beethoven Hall 210 E. Fifth Street. Thomas O'Leary, Pres.; Chas. Green, Business Agent; Max Liebler, Sec'y-Treas.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone ALgonquin 4-7062. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

NEW YORK TYPEGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6, Office and headquarters, 24 West 16th St., N. Y. Meets every 3rd Sunday of month at Stuyvesant High School, 15th St. East of 2nd Ave. Phone TOMpkins Sq. 6-7470. Leon H. Rouse, President; James P. Redmond, Vice-President; James J. McGrath, Secretary-Treasurer; Samuel J. O'Brien, James P. Redmond and James J. Buckley, Organizers.

WAITERS & WAITRESSES' UNION, Local No. 1, A. F. of L. and U. I. T. 206-7th Ave. M. Gottfried, Pres.; B. Gottesman, Secretary.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 62 of I. L. G. W. U. 3 West 16th St., New York City. Phone CHelsea 3-5755-5757. A. Snyder, Manager. S. SHORE, Executive Supervisor.

A.S.Q. SYMPOSIUM

The American Socialist Quarterly announces a Symposium on "Problems Confronting the American Socialist Party," to be held at 7 East 15th St., Monday, Jan. 29, at 8:30.

The discussion will be led by David P. Berenberg, Haim Kantorovich, Devere Allen, Maynard Krueger and Dr. Harry W. Laidler.

DEMONSTRATION FOR JOBS, FEBRUARY 15

A citywide demonstration for jobs, as well as a conference of trade unions and unemployed, will take place Feb. 15, under the direction of the Workers' Committee and the Workers' Unemployed Leagues. The evening conference following the demonstration will be sponsored by the unemployed groups plus a group of trade unionists.

A special appeal to the 400,000 unemployed of New York City who have registered for CWA jobs and have not as yet received them, as well as to the CWA workers who will face layoff in February, will be made for the demonstration. A special appeal will also be made to union members to have unemployed unionists march in and support the demonstration.

The evening conference will discuss a new form of city unemployment compensation to take the place of home relief; a program for civil works and public works to give additional employment; unemployment insurance, and work out close cooperation and mutual support between the responsible unemployed groups and the trade unions.

The conference call recites the fact that there are still 1,000,000 jobless in the city and that no program of either relief or made work is in evidence.

For further information get in touch with David Lasser, Workers' Committee on Unemployment, 22 East 22nd St., or Jack Altman, Workers' Unemployed Leagues, 7 East 15th St.

Dr. Margaret Daniels on Depression Psychology

The Monday night lectures at the Rand School are a contribution of America's psychologists to thinking about the depression. The lecture next Monday at 8:30 p. m. will be by Dr. Margaret Daniels who will discuss "The Psychological Effect of the Depression on the Home."

Dr. Daniels formerly taught psychology at the Rand School and was a very popular lecturer on a wide range of subjects. Since then, she has spent five years studying and working in Vienna and has become one of the leaders in the field of practicing psychiatry. On the subject of health there has been a vast amount of false propaganda spread about since 1929. Public officials have tried to persuade the workers that hard times are a blessing in disguise. Dr. Daniels will give the trained experts answer to this sort of deception.

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Party Notes

SPECIAL MEETING OF CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE Sunday, Jan. 21, 7 East 15th St., at 10 a. m. To be a whole day session, to act on recommendations of the committee to prepare resolutions and statements for submission to the National Executive Committee for the agenda of the National Convention to be held in Detroit.

New York City
Organizers' Meeting, Monday, Jan. 22, 6 p. m., in Party Office.
DARROW-HOLMES DEBATE, Friday evening, Jan. 19, 8:30 p. m., at Mecca Temple. Tickets on sale at the box office all day.

DATES TO BE REMEMBERED
Socialist Party branches and friendly organizations should keep these dates free and not arrange conflicting affairs:
February 24, Forward Ball, 71st Regiment Armory.
March 17, Bronx County Ball.
March 23-24-25, International Bazaar at the People's House, 7 East 15th St.

MANHATTAN
11th A. D.—Stimulating discussion was led by Lichtenberg at branch meeting. Executive Committee meeting Tuesday, Jan. 23, at home of Comrade Edlin.
—Branch meeting, Monday, Jan. 22.
—Morning Side Heights (600 West 125th St., Room 7).—Current events discussion and social gathering, Tuesday, Jan. 23.
4th A. D. (126 Delancey St.).—Annual dance Saturday night, Jan. 27, at Rand School.

BROOKLYN
Bronx Labor Forum (809 Westchester Ave.).—Open discussion on the spread of Nazism outside Germany, led by prominent Socialists. 8:30 p. m.
Class in Radio Construction and Operation every Sunday at 1 p. m., at Bronx Labor Center.

Bellamy String Orchestra every Sunday at 2:30 at Bronx Labor Center. All those who play mandolins, guitars and banjos urged to join. Instruction to beginners. Music supplied free of charge.
7th A. D. (789 Elmsere Place).—Business meeting Tuesday, Jan. 23, Monday evening, Jan. 22, Italian comrades will meet at Table ordered for N.E. banquet. Unemployed League being formed.
Italian Branch held successful banquet last Sunday evening at Amalgamated Temple. Entire affair catered and served by branch members. Delegation of 35 young Socialists sang revolutionary songs. S. Ronaldi presided as toastmaster. Representatives of the Italian Federation addressed the meeting, also representatives from "La Stampa Libera" and the Kings County party organizer.

Downtown (157 Montague St.).—Beginning Thursday evening, Jan. 25, the branch will hold a weekly forum at the headquarters.
18th A. D. Branch 2 (844 Utica Ave.).—Class in Socialism by Esther Friedman being organized. Next lecture on Tuesday, Jan. 23.

BROOKLYN
Midwood (1401 Kings Highway).—Forum every Tuesday at headquarters. Friday evening, Jan. 26, entertainment and bridge at Flatbush Club, 1576 Ocean Ave.
11th A. D.—Headquarters changed temporarily to home of Dora Bass, 1030 President St. Branch meeting Tuesday, Jan. 23.

8th-17th A. D.—Election of officers at Monday's meeting, 329 Stuyvesant Ave., corner Macon St. Dr. Jaffe to lecture on "Changing Position of Women" following Wilfred Kerr's lecture on "Economic consequences of Power Production." Table ordered for N.E. banquet. Unemployed League being formed.

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LECTURE NOTES

The program of the People's Institute Cooper Union lectures follows: Jan. 19, Everett Dean Martin, "The American Revolution." Jan. 21, Clifton Fadiman, "Propaganda and the Crisis." Jan. 23, "The Experimental Study of Heat and Mixture."

The Williamsburg Anti-War Provisional Committee will meet at 275 Broadway, Brooklyn, Jan. 26, at 8. Organizations are invited to send delegates.

"Liberty and the Totalitarian State" will be discussed at the L.I.D. luncheon in Town Hall Club, 123 West 23rd St., Saturday, Jan. 27, at noon. Jennie Lee of the I.L.P. of Great Britain, B. Charney Vladeck and John Dewey are on the program. Lefty Bowman will preside. The speeches will be broadcast over the National Broadcasting Co. network at 1 p. m.

Harold T. Roland Shapiro will lecture on "If God Could Get a Word In," in Steinway Hall, Sunday at 3:30, under the auspices of the Free-thinkers of America.
"Should All Censorship Be Abolished?" will be debated between Theodore Schroder and I. Faerber Goldenhorn in the Pythian Temple, 135 West 70th St., Sunday at 8.

W. H. Cooley Available for Lectures
Winifred Harper Cooley, Park Central Hotel, announces that she is available for lectures on "Seeing Soviet Russia." The lecture is illustrated with new stereoscopic slides which show particularly the position of women in the social and industrial life of Russia.

A YIPSEL PROTEST

In the "Daily Worker," official organ of the Communist Party (Dec. 23, 1933), there appeared in "What a World," a column conducted by Michael Gold, a "poem," "The Little Esspees." It is a libel against the Socialist Party, and two of its members in particular, and it could have been written only by an enemy of the Socialist movement.

The author is Ellis O. Jones, Western Editor of the American Guardian, a publication authorized by the Socialist Party and edited by Oscar Ameringer, a member of the Socialist Party. Jones having placed himself on record as an opponent of the Socialist movement, it is obviously incompatible with the best interests of that movement to permit him further to retain his connection with a publication authorized by the Socialist Party.

Therefore we, Circle Two Sen-

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LECTURES and FORUMS

New York Chapter League for Indus'l Democracy LUNCHEON

Saturday, January 27th, at 12:00 Noon
The Town Hall Club, 123 West 43rd St.

Subject: Liberty and the Totalitarian State
Speakers: JENNIE LEE, Independent Labor Party, Great Britain—B. CHARNEY VLADECK, Editor and Lecturer—JOHN DEWEY, LeRoy Bowman, Chairman
Make reservations at once by sending this card with your check to the L.I.D., 112 E. 10th St., N.Y. Tickets, 65c Students, 75c
Speeches broadcast over the network of the National Broadcasting Company, 1:00 P. M.

INGERSOLL FORUM

PYTHIAN TEMPLE, 135 W. 70th Street
SUNDAYS, 8 P. M.—Admission 25 cents

January 21st
DEBATE: "SHOULD ALL CENSORSHIP BE ABOLISHED?"
Th. Schroder vs. I. Faerber Goldenhorn
Questions and discussion

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Anti-War Conference

Auspices of Williamsburg Anti-War Prov. Committee at 275 BROADWAY, BK'LYN
on FRIDAY, JANUARY 26th, 8 P. M.
Delegate to be elected to Washington Anti-War Conf.—All organizations invited and urged to join on an equal basis.

Socialist Forum Calendar

(All meetings begin at 8:30 p. m., unless otherwise indicated.)

SUNDAY, JANUARY 21

Dr. Joseph Slavitt: "Social Psychology"—Yorkville Forum, 241 East 84th St.
Haim Kantorovich: "The Third International"—Sunnyside Forum, Foster Ave., 43rd Ave. near 49th St., Sunnyside.
Samuel H. Friedman: "Revolution and Song"—Queens Labor Center, 137189
Herbert M. Merrill: "Inventions and Incentive"—Sheepshead Bay Forum, 2040 Ave. X, near Ocean Ave., Brooklyn.

MONDAY, JANUARY 22

William M. Feigenbaum: "Roots of Socialism and Capitalism"—Upper West Side Branch, 100 West 72nd St.
Herbert M. Merrill: "Syndicalism"—Astoria Forum, 399 Steinyway Ave., Astoria.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 23

William M. Feigenbaum: "History of the Labor Movement"—Midwood Forum, 1401 Kings Highway, Brooklyn.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 24

Henry Lee Messner: "Are National Economies Self-Sufficient?"—West Bronx Forum, Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 25

William Gomborg: "The LaGuardia Administration"—Downtown Branch, 157 Montague St., Brooklyn.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 26

Eleanor Levenson: "Labor in Palestine"—Brighton Beach Forum, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., Brooklyn.
Herbert M. Merrill: "Technocracy and Socialism"—18th A. D. Branch 1 Forum, 1686 President St., Brooklyn.

Dr. Joseph Slavitt: "Socialization of Medicine"—East Flatbush Forum, 530 East 95th St., Brooklyn.

August Tyler: "Essence of Marxism"—Workers'—14th A. D. Forum, 241 So. 4th St., Brooklyn.
Jacob Fanken: Topic to be announced—Bensonhurst Forum, 6618 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn.

Samuel A. DeWitt: "The Influence of Poetry on Revolutionary Movements"—Mid-Bronx Forum, Elmsere Hall, 170th St. and Morris Ave.

lors, Manhattan, of the Young People's Socialist League, request the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party to take such steps as will, within a reasonable period of time, result in severing the relations between Ellis O. Jones and the American Guardian, or upon the failure of that, the withdrawal of the party's authorization from the publication.

We further urge that all other sections of the Socialist movement take action similar to this.

Edith Sanger,
Secretary of Circle Two Seniors,
Manhattan, of the Y.P.S.L.

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"The American Revolution"

Sunday, January 21st—

CLIFTON FADIMAN

"Propaganda and the Crisis"

Tuesday, January 23rd—

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Socialists Urge Social Welfare Amendment

(Continued from Page One)

lation, reveal the potential danger involved in having the act, or perhaps just one member casting his vote to make a majority, determine the fate of legislation enacted in response to the people's will.

The danger is too real, and the consequences of an adverse decision are too serious, to permit a situation to continue whereby legislation made necessary by twentieth century conditions is to be considered in the light of a Constitution framed to meet the needs of the eighteenth century, and by a body composed, in part at least, of members whose prejudices interfere with their judgment on the cases coming before them.

Here in the Minnesota case the constitution placed on the Constitution of the nine judges happened to be favorable to the emergency law enacted in Minnesota. Temporarily, the tendency is to make the Constitution flexible enough to allow for changes between eighteenth and twentieth century conditions. But the escape, even here, was narrow. A change of one vote would have produced a chaotic condition. That change may take place when the court comes to pass on the question whether the Constitution, either in express language or by necessary implication, has granted to the Federal Government the power sought to be exercised in the enactment of Federal emergency legislation.

"Whatever may be the outcome in these cases it is dangerous to permit the power to determine the fate of legislation desired by the chosen representatives of the people to reside where by a vote of five to four the will of the people on either be sustained or nullified. It is not necessary to agree with the program whose fate thus hangs in the balance.

"It is frankly conceded that decisions made by the court do not rest on the consideration of abstract constitutional principles, but are determined by the progressive leanings of some members or the reactionary leanings of other members—leanings that are necessarily inspired by different political and economic theories. If we are to be governed by such prejudices it would better that the government be of the chosen representatives of the people rather than of a few men occupying places on the Supreme Court bench.

"The amendment we have drafted for submission to Congress does not provide for specific legislation. The fate of such legislation, which would include old-age pensions, social insurance, child labor laws, and other social betterment measures, will be determined on their merits when considered by Congress. Our amendment would confer on Congress power to consider and enact such laws, thus removing that type of legislation from the twilight zone in which it has lived while the Supreme Court retained a right to pass on their constitutionality. It will do much to modernize our Constitution."

THE NEW LEADER, a Socialist publication, supports the Socialist Party and the struggles of the organized working class. 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. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
Year, New York City Edition. \$2.00
Year, National Edition. \$1.00
Year to Foreign Countries. \$3.00
Year to Canada. \$2.50
Entered as Second Class Matter, January 19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

Why Join a Labor Union?

Because it is Folly to be Weak and Wise to be Strong,
Better to Act Together than to be Isolated

The following article is being printed as a leaflet by the Labor Committee of the Socialist Party of New York for distribution in industries having little or no labor organization. It is intended to awaken interest in union organization by workers who have never had any experience in such organizations. For that reason it is written in simple and elementary terms and it will be suggestive to comrades in other states.

WORKINGMEN AND WOMEN:

You work for wages—when you are permitted to work. There are tens of millions of wage workers in this republic. United, acting together, they would be an enormous power.

To unite means union, union means organization and organization means POWER to improve living conditions. It means more. Acting separately we are at the mercy of the employer or his agent.

The corporation is a union of the owners of capital. They act as a unit through their union. That unity of the owning employers makes a union of the working employees essential. If we are divided and they are united, they act as a WHOLE while we try to act as INDIVIDUALS. It is easy for them to win and practically certain that we will lose.

PYGMIES AND GIANTS

Under the NRA the owners of industry are organized 100 per cent into vast unions of their respective industries which they call "trade associations." This gives them enormous organized power. For the individual worker to face this power is like a PYGMY struggling with a GIANT. Workingmen and women still have a tremendous job of organizing themselves to cope with this extensive power of the employees. Section 7 of the NRA guarantees your right to organize into unions organized and controlled by you.

So it is necessary to organize the wage-men and wage-women in every place of employment into a union. For what! To prevent the tragic decline of wages; to shorten our hours of labor; to improve conditions under which we work; to protect each other from discrimination and injustice; to raise the standard of living for our families.

OUR COMMON INTERESTS

That is the fundamental purpose of organizing a labor union. It brings the working people together to think and act together for the welfare of themselves and their families. We have common interests and we should think and act in common. That means a self-governing democracy asserting its organized power in behalf of our claims to more life and leisure and comfort.

We may have different opinions regarding religion and art and ethics and politics and so on, but there can be only one answer to the question, Do we want concerted action for better living standards? The answer is a thunderous YES! Here is the basic principle of UNITY and only organization will make the principle effective.

How to organize! First, circulate this leaflet. The WILL to organize must first be awakened. What we WILL to do we CAN do. Get every worker to express that will. Proceed to find out if there is already a union organized in that field. If there is one, get immediately in contact with that union; they will help you to organize your shop or your factory. If there is no organized union in your field you must yourself take the initiative to organize a UNION. Get a hall, select the time and place for a meeting. Don't inject outside issues that may divide you. The only idea that must dominate the meeting hall is the principle of union in thought and action for the welfare of all.

What next? Connect yourself with the bona fide Labor Movement in this country. An experienced organizer will help you organize the union. You will elect your own officials. They will be subject to your instructions. You will assess yourselves monthly dues, define the duties and powers of your officials, provide for regular meetings, elect such committees as you need and—you will be ready for the important work before you.

READY FOR THE STRUGGLE

You know what are the wages and hours and the general conditions under which you labor. You will now proceed to improve them through your UNITED will instead of relying upon the will of the corporation or its agent. Where once the corporation dealt with hundreds of thousands of INDIVIDUALS it must now deal with the WHOLE as an organized group. You are now strong instead of weak.

You carefully formulate your demands. You choose trusted spokesmen to present them. You instruct them. They must not go beyond your instructions. They do not act for themselves; they act for you and YOU—all the members—must have the final say in any agreement that is made.

When you wrest concessions from the corporation you will get a thrill, a consciousness of power, a sense of that human solidarity and brotherhood that gives life and joy to those who feel it. You will feel the monstrous weight of the corporation lifted from your backs and you can then stand erect.

DEMOCRACY vs. AUTOCRACY

That is what it means to be a member of a union. It means industrial democracy opposed to industrial tyranny. It means that we cease to be a helpless commodity, purchased and used by a corporation buyer as he pleases. We emerge from the role of a cowed slave to the status of a human being with a powerful voice in improving our living standards.

This is an age of organization. The individual is helpless acting by himself in matters that concern ALL who belong to his group. He is strong in proportion as he combines his efforts with OTHERS who have the same interests to advance. It is folly to be WEAK; it is wise to be STRONG.

The Labor Committee of the Socialist Party,
7 East 15th Street, New York City.

Pres. Green Plays Slave Wages in Laundry Code

WASHINGTON.—Officials of the National Recovery Administration are still "in session" on the fair practice code for the laundry industry, with its monstrous proposal of \$6.30 for a 45-hour week, trenchantly described as a "starvation wage" by President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, in the hearing on the code.

It is said that this \$6.30 is the lowest wage rate yet submitted by any group of employers, and in labor circles it is not believed that either the NRA or President Roosevelt will approve such a low living standard for the thousands of women laundry workers.

In place of the starvation standard urged by the laundry owners, Mr. Green urged the NRA to fix a minimum of 40 cents per hour and \$14 per week of 35 hours, without wage differentials for various geographical regions, and vigorously attacked the low wage rates for the South as an open determination by employers to victimize Negro workers because of their color.

Declaring that under the principles of the National Recovery Act high wages are necessary to build up purchasing power, and thus provide employment for the jobless, Mr. Green said that the 14 cents per hour minimum written into the proposed code by those who own and control the laundry industry was a denial of the major purpose of the Act. "Is this the New Deal?" he asked. "Is it possible to supply the purchasing power which is essential for the success of the National Recovery program by such a wage? I believe it would be difficult if not impossible to convince the thousands of workers in the laundry trade that they were sharing in the New Deal if such a wage were established.

Starvation Wages

"Let us look for just a moment at what this wage would mean in the purchasing power. At best, with even the over-long work week of 45 hours proposed in the code, a woman employed in flat work in a laundry in the South could earn only \$6.30 for a full week's work. In a year of 52 weeks, if she were employed every possible day and hour of that year, she could earn \$327.60. No amount of imagination, no amount of hope, can make that anything but what it is—a starvation wage.

"A large majority of the employees in this industry are supporting, either wholly or in part, other persons. To what kind of life are these people condemned by such a wage? Even the highest wage proposed in the code would yield the low yearly sum of \$683.24—again a starvation wage. The average annual wages in the laundry have been considerably above this.

Victimizes Women Workers

"I am convinced that if the workers in this industry were not very largely women, and in the South Negro women, the wage rates in this code would never have been proposed. The necessity of these women is great. They must accept what is offered. They have in the past and are at present working for wages which bear no relation to a fair value of the service they render."

As a complete substitute for the disgracefully low wages demanded by the laundry owners, Mr. Green recommended that no plant employee shall be paid less than the rate of 14 per week of 35 hours, or 40 cents per hour whether compensated on a time rate, piece-work or other basis.

Rand School Correspondence Courses

In connection with the announcement of its correspondence courses, the Rand School, 7 East 15th St., New York City, has sent a reminder to branch secretaries and Socialist educators that those who plan to start classes during the current season should do so at once. A class started at the end of January or the beginning of February has barely time to finish a course before summer. The courses offered consist of fifteen lessons and can hardly be finished in less than three months, and most classes take sixteen weeks or more.

The school has classes from Massachusetts to California, from Texas to Manitoba; it has one stu-

Workers From Maine to California Are Studying Socialism

dent in China and one in jail. About one-fourth of the students are taking the new course in "The Elements of Economics" by Haim Kantorovitch. The other three-fourths are studying the lessons in Socialism prepared by Algernon Lee.

The most striking new development in the correspondence field this year is a great increase of classes in Western Canada and in upper New York State. Rand School students in Manitoba and Saskatchewan are all active members of the Commonwealth Co-

operative Federation, and the fact that new classes are being organized there and that Canadian farmers and workers are studying Socialism is tremendously significant. In New York State the work going on there is partly the result of the good work done by State Secretary Herbert M. Merrill and State Organizer William E. Duffy. Outside of New York City, but in New York State, the Rand School has nine classes with 112 students; many of them in new territory. In some cases both the leaders and the students are new party members. The enthusiasm and intelligence which they are putting into their work speaks well for the future of the party. Pennsylvania continues as one of the leading states in Socialist education.

Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

The British Labor Movement

IN my article on post-war Socialist tactics this week I have said nothing of the British Labor Party. It requires separate treatment. In fact, a special article would hardly exhaust the subject. From the days of Marx and Engels Socialists have generally recognized the difference between the British working class movement and the movements on the Continent.

The British Labor Party is a federation of Socialist, trade union, cooperative and other organizations. Despite a long period of Socialist agitation many trade unionists are not informed Socialists although they formally accept the Labor Party's program of ultimate socialization of industry. Many of these workers are primarily interested in labor representation, not in revolutionary theory. The cooperative societies, although having large masses of workers as members, bring a business psychology into politics representing an expectant capitalist view with a curious mixture of labor idealism that sees the future society based upon the principles of cooperation in general. The infiltration of Liberal and even Conservative politicians in the post-war period has also had an influence upon the party and too often it has given them nominations without testing their loyalty.

J. Ramsay MacDonald, in his personality and thinking, admirably represented this compound of organizations and ideas. He never accepted the class struggle as a basic concept of interpretation and of action and his opposition to the war was that of a pacifist, not of a Socialist. We Socialists oppose imperialist wars; we also oppose violence in general but we do not make this a rigid dogma applicable to all conditions. As one Communist said in the last days of the Paris Commune, "We oppose war yet we will fight." Fight for our class, yes, if necessary. Unless we make this reservation in our anti-war attitude we may fail to rise to our duty.

When in August, 1931, MacDonald deserted the Labor Party and formed his National Government of Liberals, Conservatives and a few Laborites, his action was due not to any problem of coalition, toleration or isolation. There was no series of ministerial crises, no rising Fascist menace, no powerful Communist movement dividing the workers and making them helpless before reaction. The only thing abnormal facing the party was the acute economic crisis that has faced the parties in all countries. MacDonald and Snowden acted as they did because they blended in their views the heterogeneous views in the party itself.

The I. L. P.'s Opportunity

THE Labor Party was brought up with a jerk when it received this blow which was followed by another one in the October election and the National Government was sustained. While the episode was humiliating, in the perspective of time it has done much good. Probably many of the members would not have understood the uncertain and precarious composition of the party and its policies in any other way. That a new and more hopeful orientation is taking place is evident from the contributions to The New Leader by our British correspondent, Fred Henderson.

The critical attitude of the Independent Labor Party for a number of years gave the I. L. P. a splendid opportunity, despite certain difficulties it faced as an affiliate of the Labor Party. Unfortunately, the policy of the I. L. P. became more and more sectarian as it strove for an entente with the Communist International. This brought about two splits in the I. L. P. itself, seriously weakening it at a time when it should have concentrated all efforts on an extensive Socialist campaign of education among the Laborites. Of 287 Labor members elected to Parliament in 1929 over 200 were members of the I. L. P. This gave it a representation in Parliament out of all proportion to its membership, an achievement of which the I. L. P. might well be proud. Its later venture into a sectarian attitude threw away an opportunity which it had won by real service to the working class. Quite a large number of I. L. P.ers passed over into the Labor Party and to what extent they will serve as a leavening influence only the future can tell.

Sectarianism

SPEAKING of sectarianism, Gus Tyler presents the theory that the huge basic error of the Communist movement is its sectarianism in all of its actions and views. An excellent case can be made out for this point of view. Sectarianism is based on the assumption that purists have found the straight road to the New Jerusalem. Any deviation from it is heresy. To question it is impious. If workers do not accept it they must be forced to accept it or their organizations should be broken up. Any criticism of the "party line" is "betrayal."

The workers are not putty to be shaped in the hands of sectarians. Their thinking is largely influenced by the impact of a mass of ideas gestated in our material environment, some of them inherited from previous social stages. When we succeed in making a Socialist out of a worker thus shaped by the evolution of society we have succeeded in thwarting powerful historical forces. But when we have made a Socialist he does not become a wooden automaton. He becomes a thinker, the reverse of a sectarian. He recognizes that many of his class are still prisoners of old ideas that serve the ruling classes. His job is to educate, not denounce, to cooperate with his class to the extent that he can without sacrificing his own views in order to win the workers for a Socialist movement.

THERE ARE NO TACTICS

By James Oneal

LAST week we considered the basic differences between the parliamentary and electoral systems abroad and those at home and stressed the fact that objective conditions impose limitations upon Socialist action and determine what policies and tactics are feasible. We cannot freely select them like a housewife purchasing vegetables at a store.

This week we will consider the tactics of the Socialist parties abroad in the abnormal post-war period. Methods and tactics have considerably varied from the pre-war normal period. The objective conditions differ in the two periods, but this is not to say that the tactics adopted in all instances have always proven correct. Some have been justified and some have not but in every instance decisions have not been a free-will choice.

Frederick Engels, in considering the peasants revolt under Thomas Munzer, presents the situation that often faces a revolutionary movement functioning in the complex forces of the material world. He wrote:

"It is the worst thing that can befall the leader of an extreme

In Italy, in Germany and in Hungary Tactics and Fascism Came to All Four Different Lines

Italy

In Italy the party, the trade unions and the cooperatives constituted a proletarian alliance in thought and action. The party rejected coalition and toleration when the Fascist menace was rising. It declared for a proletarian dictatorship, workers' councils were formed in Genoa, Florence and a few other cities, and the workers took over many factories in 1920. The party also favored arming the workers against reaction. The Communist International intervened, split the Italian party, and the Fascists marched through the division thus created and crushed all workers' organizations.

Germany

In Germany the party was divided into Majoritarians, Independents and Spartacists or Communists and within each group there were divisions. Rosa Luxemburg had opposition in her Communist organization and Hugo Haase in the Independents. Of the Independents Kautsky wrote that they "presented the tragicomic spectacle of a party whose right wing sat in the Government which its left wing strove to overturn." The Majoritarians also had two wings. The proletariat was hopelessly divided. In March, 1920, came the monarchist putsch under von Kapp who seized Berlin. The workers' parties formed a united front in support of the general strike of the trade unions and drove Kapp out in four days. The parties again divided and the Communist Inter-

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AT THE BERLIN LUSTGARTEN AND AT THE SPORTPALAST

Two Meetings in Berlin on the Same Day, One to Hail a New "Labor" Law—and What a Law It Is!

By William M. Feigenbaum

THEY had a big labor mass meeting at the Lustgarten in Berlin the other day. It was an important meeting and the stage-managers of the Third Reich took a good deal of care when they made arrangements for it.

The purpose of the meeting was to enlist the support of the working masses for the new labor laws of the Nazi regime—or, at least, to make it appear they had won that support—and every effort was bent to make it the most impressive of all the shows the Nazi showmen have thus far produced. Every factory "cell" was instructed to get out full strength. There were to be penalties for failure to attend. Orders were given to hang out the flags in the workingclass districts. There were to be 300,000 men at the meeting.

The principal speaker was to be the greatest haranguer in the Third Reich—and to be the prime haranguer in Hitleria is no mean distinction. Dr. Joseph Paul Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda and Popular (God forbid!) Enlightenment, was assigned to set the fireworks off, and to get the workers all heated up over the new law.

Berlin is an old Socialist stronghold. The working masses of the great city have always voted Red and they have not changed! The Nazi rulers know it; hence their eagerness to put on an impressive show at the Lustgarten, scene of so many great Socialist demonstrations in the past.

That the city was not flag-decked, that only 200,000 attended, are indications of how things are behind the facade of arms waving in Fascist salutes.

But the most impressive facts are two: the nature of Goebbels' speech—and the fact that the working masses were ordered out to hail a law the very terms of which they knew nothing about!

A couple of days after the meeting the text of the

laws was made public, and then the dirty trick was revealed in all its shameless Nazi nakedness. The poor, shabby rights still left on paper—to the workers by Hitler are wiped out. What is left of the unions are annihilated, the right to strike and to bargain collectively are abrogated, and wages and working conditions are to be fixed solely by the employers.

Goebbels knew when he spoke what the terms were of that labor law, but the masses before him, instructed to shout Heil for that law, did not—although knowing Hitler they might have had an inkling. And knowing these facts what followed is the more significant:

Goebbels made a speech that might almost have been mistaken for a Socialist by one not knowing the madness that has closed upon Germany. The Labor Law the masses were called upon to hail (without knowing its contents!) Goebbels described as "revolutionary" and "ice-breaking."

"Ours was a revolution," he shouted, "by the people and for the people and the people shall now come into the enjoyment of the fruits of that revolution, which was directed towards restoring not only the national honor but also social freedom for the people." "People misunderstand us completely," he declared, "if they imagine we look upon ourselves as being safe-deposit box watchmen for any group of capitalists. We have come to give back his bread to the worker and its honor to the nation."

So do the Nazi spokesmen speak to workers who have not forgotten their Socialism. So much for the workers. They were compelled to attend the Lustgarten meeting, and they were told to cheer the new "charter of freedom."

At the same time there was another meeting in Berlin; like all

(Continued on Page Six)



national fostered intrigue and civil war in working class organizations in the ensuing years.

Unlike Italy, Germany was saddled with enormous reparations, burdening the capitalist economy with an enormous load and pushing the working population to lower levels of living. Coalition governments gave way to a toleration policy by the Social Democrats which was continued with the rise of the Nazi menace. Workers and republicans formed armed organizations against Nazi attacks and class antagonism became more acute. Communists frequently cooperated with the Nazis in a number of Diets even on the eve of the ascension to power of Hitler. The Social Democrats strove to arrange a united front against the common danger as in 1920 but the Communists refused. The dictatorship followed a divided working class as

ists fought in the civil war workers were arrested, some were in prison, some were in the labor movement, some were in the government, the Social trade unions. The reconquered its legal status and through a coalition the citizenry in the

In Belgium coalition in the labor movement was organized, banks and also organized the laboring ye proved by Socialist campaignary serv

ABLE FOR ALL OCCASIONS

Socialists Pursued Three Different Kinds of Policy,---In Spain the Socialists Pursued Conditions Changed

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flict with the Minister of Defense. A government crisis followed and the new government consisted of Liberals and Catholics with the Socialists in opposition. The party now feels strong enough to adopt a program of complete socializa- tion.

Sweden
A third Socialist Minority Government in 1925 fell in 1926 because it opposed inclusion of strike- breakers in unemployment benefits and had selected a commission to study plans of socializing mines and railways. In 1928 the party increased its vote by 147,000 but lost 15 seats because of a union of bourgeois parties and the Commu- nist maneuver of fighting under the name of a Labor Party. The Con- servative Government fell in 1930, the party won sweeping gains in both chambers, it fought for dis- armament, and carried the proposal in both chambers with the support of some other groups. The People's Party organized the new govern- ment.

Denmark
The Socialists, as the strongest party, formed a government in 1924-26 and with the Radicals had a majority of one in the lower house but the upper chamber was conservative. The Socialists forced through a disarmament bill, but the Radicals turned against them when they tried to relieve the job- less and the poorer classes in gen- eral of taxation. The Ministry fell and was succeeded by a Liberal- Democratic Government which slashed social legislation, reduced

ary, 1930, and the party helped to organize a rebellion in December with the aid of the unions. The December rising was defeated and the government hastened to strengthen its position by calling a general election for March, 1931. The party and the unions decided to boycott it which led to the resig- nation of the government.

The new government called for elections to a Constituent Cortes. The party and the unions boycotted the constituent elections but at the same time formed an election al- liance with the Republicans for the city elections in April and over- whelmingly defeated the Monarch- ist and Clerical reaction. This was followed by King Alfonso's flight and the founding of a Republican Government under Zamora with three Socialists in a ministry of 9. From boycott and rebellion the party moved to coalition, each tac- tic being determined by specific ob-

jective conditions.

There was some difference of opinion in the party and unions regarding coalition but a special congress of the party decided that the Socialist Ministers should re- main in the ministry. The coalition won at the polls in June, 1931. Zamora was elected President by the Assembly. The majority of the party favored coalition in the for- mative stage of the revolution but also favored withdrawal when little more could be accomplished. The coalition fell in September, 1933, after the passage of the Agrarian Reform Bill, much radical labor legislation and a law regulating the religious orders, all of which hit the land owners, clericals, and the employing class. Later the Social- ists were offered seats in the Barrio Ministry but they refused. They decided that in the new alignment of class forces they could accom- plish nothing more in a coalition. So the party moved from boycott to rebellion to coalition and to iso- lation. With some new situation it may again change its tactics. In fact, Comrade Caballero in Parlia- ment recently threatened rebellion in answer to monarchist intrigues.

With this tabloid history, of So- cialist tactics we will reserve fur- ther consideration of the problem till next week.

HOW SOCIALISTS ARE ABLE TO CRASH THE FRONT PAGE

Where Socialism Has Become the Big News Because the Comrades Know How to Make the Best of Opportunities.

NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.
with a population of 54,000, is one of the four cities in West- chester which boasts of being "the richest suburban county in the country." It has practically no industries, and probably half its working population is com- posed of commuters, among whom are many bankers, brokers, lawyers as well as white collar workers. Hardly flourishing soil for the growth of Socialism!

Yet New Rochelle has a growing party organization which meets in its own attractive hall in the heart of the city, with windows opposite the one skyscraper displaying in huge letters, "Debs Hall," "Social- ist Party" and "Young People's Socialist League," standing as a challenge to the Chamber of Com- merce only three doors away.

With an enrollment in 1932 of only 200 the party has an influence in the community far beyond its numbers and voting strength and its activities are constant and in- creasing—party work, lectures, de- bates and symposiums, Ypsal work—nothing is overlooked.

Inquire of Carl O. Parsons, mem- ber of the New York State Execu- tive Committee and on the party's leading spirits in Westchester, how come? He will answer in one word, "Publicity," and then display a copy of New Rochelle's daily news- paper with four different news ar- ticles of Socialist activities, two of them top of column and of sub- stantial length. "This is not the record," says Parsons. "Why, in one issue we had five stories, two of them on the front page!" The paper is just an ordinary daily, printing news that is of interest to its readers. And why so much So- cialist news?

The party's publicity agent is Leonard Bright, formerly on the staff of the New York Call. By studying the local paper Bright has learned how to get Socialist news across. Noticing an editorial com- plaining of high electric rates,



Leonard Bright

Bright announces that Parsons, as co-chairman of the Public Affairs Committee, will speak on public utilities before the branch meeting the following evening. The day after the meeting there appears a half-column story on Parson's speech attacking the Power Trust and demanding public ownership of electric production and distribution.

Every Forum meeting receives a good advance notice and an ade- quate report. Moreover, no im- portant public hearing takes place in New Rochelle without one or more party representatives being heard from. Statements are issued from time to time, and public of- ficials are bombarded with letters, copies, of course, being sent to the paper.

The effectiveness of such public- ity was shown when Bright wrote to the head of the Department of Public Welfare denouncing him for threatening to take a jobless So- cialist off the relief rolls for "agita- tion." While a denial followed, the man involved has been treated with kid gloves ever since.

Another stunt was Bright's in- vitation to the unemployed to meet him near the city's relief station to walk over to the office of a City Councilman who had asked for

(Continued on Page Six)

The Workers Abroad

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

By Mark Khinoy

Stool Pigeons Among Socialists

A REPORT of singular importance came this week from Riga, capital of Latvia. It is of "educational" value to our movement in the West and to some of our units in the Middle West and East.

The Communist Party of this Baltic republic is at present in the grip of a severe internal crisis. A wave of dissatis- faction with the party leadership brought the stock argument of all Communist organizations—mass expulsions of dissenters. Thus December saw 21 active workers expelled from the Riga cells and a considerably great number from the Mitau and Libau locals. In the city of Mitau sixty percent of the mem- bership were read out of the party, and in Libau—even more: the members of the Young Communist League were ejected almost in toto.

Expulsions and splits since the German catastrophe are an everyday occurrence in the Communist parties of every Euro- pean country, and I would hardly mention the Latvian affair if in the course of it a peculiar fact of international importance had not come to light.

In reporting these expulsions, the official organ of the Young Communist League of Latvia enumerates the charges against the ostracized members. One of the charges deserves a place of honor in the history of the labor movement. "Re- fusal to work in enemy organizations"—reads this astounding charge. In other words, people were expelled from the Com- munist Party for refusal to act as agents provocateurs, or stool pigeons, in Socialist branches as shown further on in the statement of those ejected.

The "Neue Zeit," Riga publication of the Jewish Social Democratic Union ("Bund") in Latvia, had just printed a statement of one of the expelled C.P. leaders.

Confirming the extensive character of the opposition, espe- cially among the Young Communists, winds up as follows: "Our program is similar to the one the 'Workers Oppo- sition' in the C.P. of Poland just published. However, we had no contact with them and came independently to the same conclusions." Like our Polish comrades, "we are opposed to the criminal theory of 'Social-Fascism' and do not believe that the 'Socialists are the principal enemies of the working class.' We are convinced that a real, a genuine United Front is an indispensable preliminary condition without which no victory is possible. The 'United Front' is, however, for our present leadership nothing but a trick, a demagogical game that serves only to weaken and disrupt the Socialist move- ment. And to this we object. We also oppose another pol- icy of our leadership—the insidious, treacherous role the party assigns to our members in the Labor and Socialist organiza- tions.

"Our Communist youth last summer was given an order to join the S.-D. (Socialist) youth organizations. And this was not a local decision. It was a general campaign con- ducted according to special instructions from the highest au- thority, the Young Communist International" (in Moscow).

"We, of the Opposition, were against this order," continues the statement. "The Opposition members refused to be stool pigeons, and wreckers in working class organizations—and the new order for mass-expulsions was the result."

Our party members in California, in Illinois and even in New York would do well to ponder on this new "line" of the Moscow International. It may explain many strange happen- ings in our youth movement.

Another Pilsudski Agent

THIS column recorded a few weeks ago the unmasking and arrest in Moscow of the omnipotent leader of the Com- munist Party in Latvia, Yershow, and of two C.P. leaders in Poland—Sachocki and Wojewodski—who proved to be paid agents of their respective governments. The Moscow Pravda (issue of Dec. 2nd) reports now the discovery of a new Pilsudski agent among the leaders of the Polish Communists. This name is Skarabek. He was, according to the Pravda, arrested in Soviet Union, where he also played an important role as head of the Propaganda Dept. in a large Ukrainian district. He confessed, after his arrest, that when he joined the Left Wing and Communist Party in 1919, he did this as a police agent and was since then a "faithful" worker in both movements—in the Communist and in the Polish nationalists.

SOCIALISTS and Communists in one district of the Saar Region organized an United Front Committee for their common struggle against Hitlerism. In reporting this news, the Pat Tel. Agency adds that there is reason to believe that this unity movement may spread to other districts of the man- dated German territory. Vain hope. Moscow is opposed to any real unity among workers and official Communist organi- zations must follow Moscow directions.

As a result of this Stalinist line, "More than 800 members have left the Communist Party (of the Saar) in the last few months."

The last statement was taken from a letter, sent to Picat- nitzky, executive secretary of the Communist International in Moscow, by a well known German Communist leader, Karl Friedberg. It was part of a long letter of resignation from the C.P. of Germany and the Communist International

(Continued on Page Twelve)



in the civil war, 15,000 were... ed, and 15,000... one time. The... was declared il-... the movement finally... early this year a Fas-... ment was destroyed by... ment, the Socialists and... unions. The party had... its legal status in 1926... gh a coalition restored... many work-

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The Workers Abroad

(Continued from Page Five)
made necessary, as the author puts it, by the failure of the Communist policies in Germany before and after the catastrophe. A very illuminating letter. It was reprinted in the N. T. Communist Militant of Dec. 16.

Two More Leaders Revolt

CZECHOSLOVAK newspapers brought this week a new sensation. The two principal leaders of the local Communist Party are in revolt. One of them is Joseph Gutman, editor-in-chief of *Rude Pravo*, official daily of the Communist Party and leader of C.P. deputies in Parliament. The other is Paul Reiman, chief editor of the *Vorwärts*, principal Communist daily in the German language.

Both of them came out simultaneously with a statement that they resign their high offices in the Communist Party and turn in their membership cards.

The Prague papers of the Christmas week are full of interesting details concerning this development. One of them is a joint statement by the pair. In it they declare their opposition to the political "line" of the Comintern and their support of the movement for a real united front with the Social-Democratic parties. Before they took their sensational step, they tried in vain to convince the Comintern leadership in Moscow that the German catastrophe and the disintegration of the German Communist Party demonstrated the falseness of the party policies. This policy sought to deepen the abyss between Communists and Socialists and therefore only helped Hitler in his fascist and dictatorial ambitions.

The two rebel leaders also demanded the permission for real joint action with the Czech (and German) Social-Democrats, and—in addition—the self-liquidation of the separate Communist unions and their merging with the existing Free (Socialist) Trade Union movement.

Pravo Lidu, official organ of the Social-Democrats, reported lately that 16,000 members of the Communist Party had transferred during the last three years their allegiance to the S.-D. Party. No wonder the official membership of the Communist Party declined from 138,000 in 1927 to 35,500 in 1931.

At the Lustgarten

(Continued from Page Four)
meetings these "nationally-awakened" days it was run by the Nazi rulers. But the "coordinated," unified, "Totalitarian" state did not have the same story to tell at the Sportpalast that was told to the workers forced to listen to Goebbels in the Lustgarten.

While Goebbels was putting on his act, at the other vast gathering were old soldiers, such as Field Marshal August von Mackensen; aristocratic diplomats, such as Baron Konstantin von Neurath, German Foreign Minister; leaders in big business, such as Dr. Kurt Schmitt, Minister of Economics; bureaucrats, professional soldiers in active service, Dr. Franz Seldte, chief of the Steel Helmet veterans, and several Nazi leaders.

Assembled to commemorate the founding of the Second Reich at Versailles on January 18, 1871, General von Horn was cheered loudly when in his address he gloried in the downfall of the democratic Weimar republic and the renaissance, under the Third Reich, of the spirit of Potsdam.

There is a picture for you; make of it what there is to be made of it. Nazi leaders still frantically trying to catch the support of the workers

Where Are the Children of Our Socialist Parents?

Maybe the Sons and Daughters of Socialist Fathers Are Deterred by Their Mothers

By Gertrude Weil Klein

TODAY I leap into the troubled waters of personal controversy—that is, if you can call it personal when I'm not naming names, and if you can call it leaping when I've been sneaking up to the diving-board for months and even years.

The question I'm posing is: Where are the children of our prominent Socialists? Why is it



G. W. Klein

who have inspired hundreds to become active workers in the Socialist ranks, have not inspired their own children to do likewise? To me, such men have failed not only as Socialists but as fathers. I can think of only a scant half-dozen in this city, and I suppose, the same is true throughout the country, whose children have any contact with the Socialist movement. Of these scant six one is active only in the L.I.D.

Now, I'm not advocating the "I'm a Democrat because my father is a Democrat" kind of Socialism-making. There is a vast difference between that unthinking following of the line of least resistance and an intelligent participation in a

movement which has absorbed the best energies and talent of an esteemed and loyal father.

If our teachings are right for the young people in our neighbors' families, if our Red Falcons, our Sunday Schools, our Y.P.S.L. are right for other children, they're equally right for the children in our own families. There's nothing wrong from an educational point of view, or from the point of view of the "modern" parent who doesn't want to "force" any doctrine on his children with including his own children among those at whom he directs his Socialist appeal.

I can't go into the question of modern education, but I want to say in passing that the old school of modern educators which advocated leaving children entirely to their own devices has been discredited by more advanced and more experienced educators.

There is only one alibi I am willing to grant has any validity, the contention that fathers have very little influence over their children. It is the mothers who set the tone and who give the twigs the slant toward which the trees later incline.

This is true, and I regret it because the horizon of the average mother is bound to be limited. She is anxious for the welfare of her children, and so she is likely to be something of a social-climber. She wants her daughter to make a "good" marriage. She wants her son to make good "connections" so he can get on in the world. It is important, then, that they mingle with the "right kind" of people and not waste their time

with the hopelessly ineligible prospects in which the Socialist movement abounds. I suspect that in instances where the young people might of themselves, through radical contacts in high school and college, be drawn into the Socialist movement they are gently squeaked by their loving mothers.

That is one of the reasons for my great concern with the work that Esther Friedman is doing among women. It is important for many reasons that we take this question of acquainting women with Socialism, and training them for active Socialist work, out of the "show-case of the party platform," as Clara Zetkin used to say, and put it into the machinery of our working program. But one of the most important reasons is that we must reach the mother if we want to do effective work among the young.

The other reasons, of course, are self-evident. To the extent that women broaden the scope of their interests and activities they become better companions to their husbands and to their children. Today there are more and better opportunities than ever before for women to come out of the kitchen, to study, to develop their talents and to use their talents. I earnestly recommend to all women who have daytime leisure to spend some of it in this stimulating and informative way. I feel quite hopeful that when we succeed in getting the women working for Socialism, we will have a better chance for effective work among the children.

system, and provide a gradual change to a new and better order—Socialism."

Norman Thomas, in his typical style, makes a topical review of the new deal, dealing with "Farm Relief," "NRA," "Banking," "The Unemployed," "Securities Act," "Railroads," "Home Owners' Loan Act," "The Powers of the President," "Redistribution of Wealth," "Future Possibilities," "Defects in Present Organization."

The pamphlets are made up in a brief attractive style and can be obtained for five cents. (Ten cents by mail from 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.)

Two Important Pamphlets Just Published by Party

By Gus Tyler

If there is any Socialist who does not already possess Norman Thomas' "The New Deal" and Daniel Hoan's "Taxes and Tax Dodgers" (Pamphlets 2 and 3 in the Issues of the Day Series) he should hasten to obtain them.

Neither of these pamphlets purports to be a thorough study of the New Deal or of Taxation. They are however a keen and clear survey of these questions presented in vigorous style.

Dan Hoan's pamphlet on Taxation is written for the man of the street who wants to know "Why Taxes? For Whom? and How?" Nor does the Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee permit himself to fall into the pit of discussing taxation in the abstract as divorced from the other problems of our civilization. He ties up the problem of taxes with the fundamental problem of our civilization. "Socialists view taxation in a double light,

by pretending a revolutionary anticapitalist radicalism they feel they need if they are to win the workers away from Socialism; and other leaders speaking in the name of the same Führer making an appeal to the spiked helmets and the field marshals. And all the time the big industrialists who put up the money and who are collecting dividends in increased enslavement of the workers are having the last laugh . . . at least for the time being.

first as the means of paying the necessary costs of government, and secondly as a means of redistributing wealth. . . . The city should provide health, education and recreational facilities for those who are at present deprived of them."

The author points out moreover that "we do not feel that the above program will solve the problems of capitalism but it will ease the pains attendant on our present economic

Camden City Hall, Next Stop

(Continued from Page One)

outgrowing our headquarters! After extensive search, we were fortunate in securing a hall on the third floor of a building at 312 Market St., with a seating capacity of nearly 200. It was soon discovered that even these enlarged quarters were inadequate to the demands of the growing party organization, the unemployed unions and industrial unions that grew out of unrest and discontent of the workers in the various industries.

At the expiration of our lease the owners of the hall took it for granted that with all the activity and increase in membership, we must be financially well fixed, and promptly raised the rent. And now?

Well, we held our first forum, with Samuel Seidman, on Jan. 14, in our new HOME at 814 Broadway, where we have taken over the entire building on THE main ar-

tery in Camden. While the seating capacity ranges around 300, the opportunities for building even greater Socialist sentiment, through publicity, are immense. Within the next two months a co-operative store will be opened on the first floor and there is good reason to believe that it will be a success. We have been asked if there are any plans laid as yet for our next move, which is inevitable, with the membership growing each day. Our only answer is that in 1935 we will move into the new City Hall when we elect our Socialist candidates to office as Commissioners. Plenty of room there!

All this indicates what can be done, not only in Camden but in every town or city in the nation. True, it means a lot of hard work and sacrifice, but it is our duty, as members of the working class and of the Socialist Party. Get busy, do your part. Start now!

Making the Front Page

(Continued from Page Five)

complaints against the relief bureaus. Led by Bright 200 jobless workers marched (it was not a parade; they stayed on the sidewalk) to the Councilman's place of business, crowding his large office beyond capacity. Of course, this was a front page story for two days.

Publicity has also been obtained on a county-wide basis. Last October the seven Macy chain dailies in Westchester published the party's county platform in full, with an editorial praising the party for its program and foresight! Old-timers rubbed their eyes in astonishment. No such editorial had ever appeared before in a Westchester paper. And it might be well to mention that the county organization had not pulled its punches in the platform either.

The respect of the newspapermen has been won because the party's spokesmen have shown that they know what they are talking about. Ever since Parsons and Bright were candidates for Congressman and State Senator in 1932, they began making a study of Westchester affairs. They have accumulated a mass of research material which is invaluable to them in carrying on party activity.

A recent publicity exploit was as a result of a letter sent by Bright, as county executive secretary, to the Westchester Board of Supervisors in White Plains asking them to call on the county's representatives in the state legislature to vote for legislation permitting municipalities to establish their own power plants and to vote against the Power Trust. The letter was published in ten daily newspapers of the county, reaching communities where the party has no organization and helping to pave the way for establishment of new branches. Even New York City newspapers carried the Westchester organization's demand on the Supervisors, one paper giving it half a column.

Party branches elsewhere in the county are getting the knack of obtaining publicity. The chairman of Public Affairs Committees in Mount Vernon and Yonkers wrote similar letters to their City Councils and got good publicity.

Quite naturally all this publicity stimulates the party organizations. State Secretary Herbert M. Merrill reports that the dues paying membership in Westchester has doubled since last year, while the vote shows appreciable gains. The active spirits in the county are not depending upon publicity alone to carry on their work for Socialism, but they declare with conviction that it is a great help, and believe that if party publicity agents elsewhere will use some ingenuity in creating news and study their local papers carefully they, too, will get much worth-while publicity for the party.

First Strike of Eskimos Won Against Big Odds

From Canada comes the story of Eskimos in the northern regions who live in tribal communism and divide their accumulations among each other on the basis of needs. Many of them supplement their communal work with occasional hiring out to the Hudson Bay Company for wages and recently Eskimo workers struck against this corporation for an increase from \$10 to \$25 a ton for unloading supplies. This first strike of Eskimos was won despite the use of the Canadian Northwest Mounted Police against the strikers!

Ann Harding Plays "Gallant Lady" in Rivoli's New Offering

Cline Brook, Otto Kruger, and Others in Big Cast

Apparently playwrights are like horses to the extent that both can be judged by their past performances—by their records. A horse that has won races against certain competitors under certain conditions, can be expected normally to repeat his victories against the same competitors and under the same conditions.

The same expectation, it seems, may reasonably be entertained regarding a playwright. At least Darryl F. Zanuck of the Twentieth Century Pictures Company entertains such expectations—with respect to the well-known playwright Gilbert Emery.

Whether he entertains them reasonably will be indicated today when "Gallant Lady," starring Ann Harding, begins an indefinite engagement at the Rivoli Theatre. For Miss Harding is normally an R.K.O. star, and when she was lent to Twentieth Century for one production, Mr. Zanuck wished to provide the best possible vehicle for her, for Twentieth Century is a new company, with its reputation just a-building, and a star of Miss Harding's magnitude was a challenge.

Thereupon Mr. Zanuck provided Miss Harding with a story by Gilbert Emery, for it was he, in a play called "Tarnish," who gave Miss Harding her first chance to show her talents on the New York stage. Mr. Zanuck is expecting, therefore, that "Gallant Lady" will be as successful as was the celebrated "Tarnish," which brought Miss Harding first to the fore. Clive Brook is her leading man in the new film.

"I Was a Spy" Moves to Fox B'klyn—New Oumansky Show

"I Was a Spy" opens at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre today.

The film recapitulates the daring deeds of Martha McKenna, who was a Belgian nurse in a German hospital during the war. The film was adapted from the woman spy's own reminiscences and has been acclaimed for its realism.

The cast is led by Herbert Marshall, Madeleine Carroll, Conrad Veidt and Gerald Du Maurier.

The new stage show entitled "Gay Paree" is a musical comedy, devised and staged by Alexander Oumansky, and features Freddie Borrens and his Columbia Broadcasting Orchestra.

The artists featured are Harriette Caperton and Vernon Biddle, dancers; The Three Scamps, Al Goodhart, author of "Auf Wiedersehen," and the Fox Rhythm Girls.

60th Year to Be Celebrated by Outstanding Orthodox Congregation

Congregation Ohav Zedek, the stronghold of Orthodoxy in America, will celebrate the completion of sixty years of unmitigated striving on behalf of traditional

On Albee Screen



Ginger Rogers is one of a big cast in "Flying Down to Rio," which opens today at the Albee.

"Easy to Love" Opens at the Brooklyn Strand

"Easy to Love," the feature film at the Brooklyn Warner Strand Theatre, boasts a cast headed by Genevieve Tobin, Adolphe Menjou, Mary Astor, Edward Everett Horton, Guy Kibbee, Patricia Ellis and Paul Kaye.

As an added attraction to the feature picture the Strand presents Molly Picon, famous Yiddish comedienne, in a three-reel Vitaphone musical comedy called "A Little Girl With Big Ideas." Other Vitaphone short subjects are "Samoan Memories," a E. M. Newman World Adventure; Harry Warren, composer, in a song fest, and "Pettin' in the Park," an animated cartoon.

Judaism with special services, beginning Saturday, Jan. 27, in the Synagogue at 118 West 95th St., and ending with an elaborate banquet in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Astor on Sunday evening, Jan. 28.

Rabbi William Margolis will preach the anniversary sermon on Saturday (Jan. 27) morning. At this service a message from Dr. Bernard Revel, the president of Yeshiva College, will be read. The late Cantor Josef Rosenblatt, who represented his people in divine service at Congregation Ohav Zedek during most of his career in America, will be memorialized at this anniversary service through the music service.

FRANK MERLIN presents FALSE DREAMS' FAREWELL

A new play by HUGH STANGE with a distinguished cast of 30 incl.

Glenn Anders . Lora Baxter Frieda Inescort . Clarence Derwent . Clyde Fillmore . Claudia Morgan . Helen Raymond . Blaine Cordner . John Daly Murphy

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JUDITH ANDERSON

COME OF AGE

By CLEMENCE DANE and RICHARD ADDINSELL

MAXINE ELLIOTTS THEATRE, 39th St. E. of B'way
Eves. 8:50, \$3.50 to 55c. Mats. Wed. \$2.25 to 55c. Sat. \$2.75 to 55c.

"Cross Country Cruise" at the Roxy—New Stage Bill

Lew Ayres in "Cross Country Cruise," the Universal picture of a transcontinental bus tour, opens today at the Roxy Theatre as the feature screen attraction of the new program. In the cast with Mr. Ayres are June Knight, Alice White, Eugene Pallette, Minna Gombell and Alan Dinehart.

Trixie Friganza, the well-known comedienne, has been engaged as one of the headliners of the new stage show.

Rube Wolf, the Roxy's new Master of Ceremonies, will also be seen in this new stage show.

Peace Play Now in Eighth Week at Civic Repertory

A policy of giving seats to the unemployed has been pursued by the Theatre Union during its run of "Peace on Earth," anti-war play now in its eighth week at the Civic Repertory Theatre. Tickets have been distributed weekly through settlement houses, unions, relief committees, and organizations of the unemployed. About five thousand unemployed have seen "Peace on Earth" so far.

The scheme is part of the Theatre Union's effort to widen its audience among the working people.

"Flying Down to Rio" on Albee Screen—New Stage Bill

"Flying Down to Rio," the latest screen musicale, is at the Albee Theatre this week. The cast includes Fred Astaire, Dolores Del Rio, Ginger Rogers, Gene Raymond and Raul Roulien.

On the stage the Albee is presenting a vaudeville program that includes Clara Barry and Orval Whitledge, funmakers; the Radio Rubes, Artie Hall, John and Neal Labey, and the Kitchen Pirates, a dance presentation with Peggy Taylor and the Buccaneers.

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Friday Eve., SYLPHIDES—PE-
TROUCHKA—PRINCE IGOR.

Saturday Mat., SYLPHIDES—PE-
TROUCHKA—PRINCE IGOR.

Sat. Eve., SYLPHIDES—PRE-
SAGES—PRINCE IGOR.

Sun. Eve., SYLPHIDES—PE-
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Eves. including Sat. at 8:30—\$1 to \$3
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TOSCANINI, Conductor
AT CARNEGIE HALL

This Afternoon at 3:00
Cherubini, Schumann, Strauss, Rossini

Thurs. Eve. at 8:45; Fri. Aft. at 3:30
3rd PROGRAM of BEETHOVEN CYCLE

Sat. Eve. at 8:45; Next Sun. Aft. at 3:00
Bruckner, Wagner, Tannhauser, Ravel
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Stationary Piano)

George Abbott—Playwright, Director, Producer—Comes Back to Stage in the Much Discussed "John Brown"

George Abbott returns to the stage next Monday night after an absence of four years—an interval in which he successively engaged in producing, playwrighting and directing—to play the role of the fanatic martyr of Harper's Ferry in "John Brown." This play by the Englishman, Ronald Gow, covers the last year of the vivid life of Ossawatimie Brown, the North Elba, New York, farmer who thought he had been named by God to free the enslaved Negroes of the South. In the play we first see Brown operating the underground railroad by which fugitive slaves

were aided in their escape to Canada, then plotting the insurrection by which he hoped to inflame public opinion to such an extent that the South would be shamed out of slavery, and at the end the stricken and captured man, two of his sons shot down at his side, going resignedly to the gallows to pay the penalty for his self-sacrifice.

With Mr. Abbott in the cast of "John Brown"—he is the producer of the play which comes to the Ethel Barrymore—are Alma Kruger, Whitney Bourne, George M. Cook, John Emery, Buford Armitage, Herbert Yost, Harold Gould, Betty Kendall, Iris Whitney, Oliver Barbour, William Corbett, Tom Morgan, James Lane, Charles McClelland, Walter Price, J. Ascher Smith, Edward Acuff, Edna Hagan and Ernest R. Whitman.

"Miss Fane's Baby Is Stolen" at Brooklyn Paramount

Rupert Hughes' magazine story of the kidnapped child of a great Hollywood movie actress, comes to the screen of the Brooklyn Paramount Theatre this week under the title of "Miss Fane's Baby Is Stolen." The real star is Baby LeRoy, that infant that first got into the game through his supposed resemblance of Maurice Chevalier. Since then Paramount has put him under contract, and in this release he speaks his first words "Dorotha Wieck, who is his mother—the Mrs. Fane who chooses to be known to her public as "Miss Fane." Alice Brady has the part of the woman who rescues the stolen baby. Jack LaRue is the "snatcher," and William Frawley the police officer who directs the search.

The "Bundling" Hit

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"Spicy, impudent and genuinely amusing."
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AVON Theatre 45 St. W. of Broadway
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A JED HARRIS PRODUCTION KATHARINE HEPBURN IN "THE LAKE"

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JOS. T. SHIPLEY says: "True beyond any pleading of propaganda. . . . As stirring a drama as one is likely to see for a long time."

CIVIC REPERTORY THEA. 14th & 6th Ave. W.A. 9-7450
Prices, 30, 45c, 60c, 75c, \$1, \$1.50, no tax.—Mats. Wed. & Sat. EVERY EVENING AT 8:45

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"FLYING DOWN TO RIO"

Dolores Del Rio
Fred Astaire

and
RKO VAUDEVILLE

ALBEE Albee Square
BROOKLYN

On Screen DOROTHEA WIECK

"MISS FANE'S BABY IS STOLEN"

with ALICE BRADY
Baby LE ROY - Jack LA RUE

—On Stage—
JOHNNY MARVIN

LESTER COLE - JOHNNY BURKE

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"Days Without End" Poses Our Time's Problem

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

REMEMBERED GRACE
"DAYS WITHOUT END." A modern Miracle Play by Eugene O'Neill. The Theatre Guild, at Henry Miller's.

Eugene O'Neill has startled a number of commentators on his latest play, by showing a man restored to his Catholic faith, after a long and tortured aberration. They fail to note that in one sense this picture is a logical development both of the playwright's own work and of our time. O'Neill, in his last play that fronted our age ("Mourning Becomes Electra" and "Ah, Wilderness!" are both throwbacks to earlier times), pictures the intelligent young man, who cannot accept the faith of his father, seeking vainly for the "god" to which he must attach his ideals. Trying to find his standard-giver in the mechanistic world, in the "Dynamo," the youth is destroyed by his own creation. Now, in "Days Without End," O'Neill takes the next logical step: he shows a man who has turned from faith in God, who has run and wrung his way through all the social and personal "isms," who finds nothing sufficient—not even that love nearest God's, the love of a pure woman—finally restored to the faith that had once been his. In similar yearning, ever so many of our time, after the war-shattered faith and the ideal-annihilating treaties, have sought some faith to which they might pin their ideals, their hopes for humankind. Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler, Roosevelt, are all different aspects of this hitching of the wagon of one's dreams. Often men hitch to a shooting star! Ludwig Lewisohn has just declared that any belief, however mistaken or absurd, is

better than no belief. T. S. Eliot has tried to move on reason's path; arguing that, since we have no sure knowledge of the future, the only ideals and standards we can have must be founded upon faith, upon a supernatural Providence; he has returned to the church. John Loving, in "Days Without End," has done no more.

John complicates his life by a terrible hatred of God, whose existence he has denied ever since—despite his prayers and his bargain—his father and then his mother died in the epidemic. When, after the "isms" prove fruitless, love of a dear woman comes to him, he must twist and torture even that; he is faithless and almost murderous; saving Elsa only by his miraculous return to the fold, as he defeats the voice of hate beneath the Cross. And the device by which Elsa learns of John's infidelity is deft: the woman tells the tale without mentioning names; and John tells, as part of the plot of his novel, exactly the same story. Q.E.D.

Everywhere that Johnny goes he is stalked by the malignant masked figure, that seems a composite of hate and reason—O'Neill somehow seems to confuse them; for reason argues against faith, in John's fight for belief; and hate fights against love, in his struggle for redemption. Thus hatred and reason are together downed, as at the Cross this shadow-figure falls. Despite the glory of the final Cross, the whole play is overcast with straining gloom, even in the settings; John walks from a gray office to a brown study. And somehow, through all the tension, and despite the effective performance of Selena Royle and of Earle Lari-

Ray Porter Miller



Who will be heard in a song recital at Roerich Museum Sunday evening, January 28th.

more, the play moves but little.

Well-knit and smoothly coursing, "Days Without End" has naturally been hailed by the Catholics; yet I imagine O'Neill intended its meaning to be wider than of a single man's return to faith. And there perhaps lies the key to its failure: not only do many of our time deem religion a poor prop;

The Howards Return to the Winter Garden After an Absence of Ten Years

After an absence of more than ten years, Willie and Eugene Howard have returned to the scenes of their early triumphs at the famous Winter Garden as the stellar comedy luminaries in the new edition of the Ziegfeld Follies. It was here they first rose to fame in the early days of their stage careers and it is here they are currently registering their latest triumph to date.

Although they have been seen across the stages of the nation for more than a quarter of a century, Eugene was the first to make his stage debut in the chorus of "The

but the denial of that religion, in the first place, because God wouldn't save one's family from the flu, seems rather petty reason for loss of ideals, and drops the drama from any universal plane to a personal problem John Loving—not we—must solve.

Later they joined to form a vaudeville act and together made their bow to Broadway audiences in "The Whirl of Society." They have been on Broadway ever since. Belle of New York." Willie followed soon after as a song plugger at Proctor's 125th Street Theatre.

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BALCONY SEATS \$1 to \$2.50
Orch. Seats \$3 to \$4 (ex. Sat.)
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"ROBERTA"

A New Musical Comedy by JEROME KERN & OTTO HARBACH
Adapted from Alice Duer Miller's novel "Gowns by Roberta"

"A charming score, richly melodic, not only a softer but a more sophisticated idiom than Broadway is usually allowed to hear."—Brown, Post.

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Eves. \$1 to \$3. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 50c to \$2.50 plus tax.

★ ★ ★ ★ —Daily News
... The Group Theatre, and Sidney Harmon and James R. Ullman, present Sidney Kingsley's successful play

MEN IN WHITE

"Vigorous and exciting drama. Should be seen."—Lockridge, SUN
"Adorned with the most beguiling acting the town affords."—Atkinson, TIMES

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44th St., W. of BROADWAY
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Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40 - 50c to \$2.00

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CROSS COUNTRY CRUISE

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Eugene Palette - Alan Dinehart
PLUS A GALA STAGE SHOW!

The Singing Star of WABC
TRIXIE FRIGANZA
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THE ESPRITS ★ GRAY & GOULD
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with ADOLPHE MENJOU
GENEVIEVE TOBIN

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STARTING SAT., JAN. 20th

ANN HARDING

"Gallant Lady"

A Darryl F. Zanuck Prod.

CLIVE BROOK
Otto Kruger - Dickie Moore
Tullio Carminati - Janet Beecher

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Maj. Edward Bowes, Man's Dir.

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"I AM SUZANNE"

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A BRILLIANT STAGE SHOW

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THEATRE PARTIES

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

THE THEATRE GUILD

presents

EUGENE O'NEILL'S Comedy

AH, WILDERNESS!

with GEORGE M. COHAN

GUILD THEATRE, 52nd Street, West of B'way
Eves., 8:20. Mats., Thurs. and Sat., 2:20

MAXWELL ANDERSON'S new play

MARY OF SCOTLAND

with Helen Hayes - Philip MERIVALE - Helen MENKEN

ALVIN THEATRE, 52nd Street, West of B'way
Eves., 8:20. Mats., Thurs. and Sat., 2:20

EUGENE O'NEILL'S new play

DAYS WITHOUT END

HENRY MILLER THEA., 43rd St., West of B'way
Eves., 8:40. Mats., Thurs. and Sat., 2:40

"The aura of Mr. Hull's characterization of Jester Lester is as perfect a feat of acting as I have seen in forty years of playgoing."—Percy Hammond, Herald Trib.

HENRY HULL

"TOBACCO ROAD"

by JACK KIRKLAND. Based on Erskine Caldwell's Novel

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"I WAS A SPY" ★★★★★
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W. DAYS

How WEVD Can Better Serve the Socialist Movement

By George Field

THERE are close to forty radio stations in and around New York, but only five or six are well publicized, influential mediums. The others have no particular distinction or function save to serve a few local merchants and to earn insignificant profits.

Into this picture enters WEVD, the station owned by the Debs Memorial Radio Fund.

The recent achievements of WEVD are well known to most readers of The New Leader, i. e.—The New Leader weekly review of labor news, an dthe Socialist Party period on Fridays at 8 P. M.; the WEVD University of the Air with world-famous educators and authors; the WEVD Radio Forum, presenting debates and discussions on current topics by leaders of thought; the Nation Radiatorial Board with leading progressives and Socialists; the Chicago Opera Company broadcasts; the Group Theatre Acting Company, and other interesting musical, dramatic, and educational features.

We are limited by our power and coverage, and the need for producing revenue to maintain the station. Here YOU can help. Advertisers want the assurance of an audience, which is evidenced by the receipt of mail. If it is requested that listeners write in, no matter what your feelings are about fan mail, you will contribute a good deal by making your presence as a listener known to our advertisers and speakers. If your set does not get WEVD very well, you should advise us and also communicate with the Federal Radio Commission in Washington, urging more power.

Party Notes

New Socialist Organizations

Arkansas: Tyrone (Sunnyvale Branch); Connecticut: New Haven (Y.P.S.L.); Indiana: Mishawaka, Montezuma; Michigan: Highland Park (Italian Branch); New Jersey: Elizabeth (Y.P.S.L.), Paterson (Third Ward Branch); New York: Brooklyn (Italian Branch), Buffalo (Y.P.S.L., Circle 2); Pennsylvania: Allentown (Y.P.S.L., Jr.), Harrisburg (Y.P.S.L.).

"Terror in Brunswick"

Some of the oppression of the Hitler government is graphically described in a new pamphlet published by the Socialist International, entitled "Terror in Brunswick." The first three months of Hitler's tyranny have been investigated carefully by the International's commission of inquiry into the conditions of political prisoners. An appendix gives a preliminary description of the second three months of Nazi rule. The pamphlet is 32 pages, bound in cards, printed in three colors. Order from Socialist Party, 549 Randolph St., Chicago, or from Rand School book store, 7 East 15th St., New York City.

Y.P.S.L. Study Outline

"An outline on Socialism," by Gus Tyler, educational director of the Young People's Socialist League, is available in mimeographed form from the national headquarters, 549 Randolph St., Chicago. The outline gives a summary of the Socialist philosophy and tells how the party is organized to carry out its objectives. The annotated bibliography of Socialist literature is excellent.

Arkansas

The party is now large enough to ask for a state charter. A state executive committee has been formed. H. L. Mitchell, Tyrone, is acting secretary.

Louisiana

A full ticket for city elections in New Orleans will be entered for the first time in years. Walter Smith, an accountant, has been nominated for mayor. For city commissioners: S. H. Britten, Clifford LeBlanc, Val Cotton and Louise Stevens.

A complete new general registration started in January. If the Socialist Party gets on the ballot in coming elections, we must register as unaffiliated. Otherwise Socialists will not be able to sign nomination papers for Socialist candidates. They should not register as Socialists but should register as without party affiliation. Readers of Socialist papers in Louisiana are asked to get in touch with W. P. Dietz, 1100 Common St., Lake Charles, La., state representative of the party, in case of any misunderstanding or conflict with registration officials.

West Virginia

Fred G. Strickland has just concluded a speaking tour. He filled the Court House in Charleston, Jan. 9, and 26 applications for membership were turned into the local. He had good audiences in Huntington and South

If your newspaper does not list WEVD (this difficulty is rapidly disappearing), you should make your wishes known to the editor. Thus you can help increase the usefulness and influence of WEVD.

The important features on WEVD for the forthcoming week follow:

Sunday, Jan. 21—11 a. m., Forward Hour; 8 p. m., Modern American Composers—under the direction of Adolph Weiss; 8:30, Psychology Clinic of the Air—Dr. Jacob List; 10, Symposium.

Monday, Jan. 22—4:30 p. m., Actors' Dinner Club; 4:45, Musicals—featuring Edith Clemens (mezzo soprano), Charlotte Tomhazy (violinist), Carlo Landiotti (bass).

Tuesday, Jan. 23—4 p. m., Nicholas Salsavsky, baritone; 5, Afternoon Musical—Helen Lanvin (contralto), Estelle Hoffman (soprano), Metropolitan Ensemble; 8:45, Michael Strange on "American Poets and Poetry"; 10:15, WEVD University of the Air—Philosophy Course; 10:30, "Around the Samovar."

Wednesday, Jan. 24—4:15 p. m., "America and Germany"—Siegfried Jungnitsch, editor of "Neue Volkszeitung"; 5:45, Elizabeth Andres, contralto, and string ensemble; 8:15, Oswald Garrison Villard, publisher of The Nation; 8:30, Hunter College Musical; 10, Conrad and Tremont, piano duo; 10:30, Half-Hours with Shakespeare—"Richard III," Edward D'Olive and Associate Players.

Thursday, Jan. 25—8:45 p. m., Foreign Affairs Forum—talk; 10, Mildred Anderson, contralto, of Chicago Opera Co.; 10:15, WEVD University of the Air—"Psychoanalysis"; 10:30, Grand Opera Excerpts.

Friday, Jan. 26—4:30 p. m., William M. Feigenbaum, The New Leader period; 5:30, Harriett Britton, soprano, and string ensemble; 8, Charles Solomon—talk; 10, "Roadside Singers"; 10:15, WEVD University of the Air—"Current Literature."

Saturday, Jan. 27—5 p. m., "Author Reviews His Book"; 5:15, "Labor Marches On"—dramatic sketch; 6:45, Eva Miller, contralto; 8, International Exchange Concerts—under direction of Dr. Karl Lorenz; 8:30, Half-Hour Program—Helen Steele (contralto), Conrad and Tremont (piano duo), Del Casino (baritone), "The Three Cheers."

Charleston, L. P. Malone, chairman of the State Executive Committee, has called a meeting for Sunday, March 4, in the State Convention Hall, Clarksburg. The membership drive which has been on for two weeks is very successful, over 250 new members have been added. Renewed activities are reported by all locals.

Oregon

Don N. Swetland, 305 Labor Temple, Portland, has been named temporary state secretary to take the place of the late Charles Kolb.

Michigan

The State Convention will be held Jan. 20-21 at Bay City in the I.O.O.F. Temple, Center and Adams.

Meetings have been arranged for Nathan and Emily Fine: Pontiac, Jan. 25; Detroit, Jan. 26; Saginaw, Jan. 27; Detroit, Jan. 28; South Haven, Jan. 29; Holland, Jan. 30, and Lansing, Jan. 31. Roy Hurt of Chicago is scheduled as follows: Kalamazoo, Jan. 30; South Haven, Jan. 22; Holland, Jan. 23; Cadillac, Jan. 24; Grand Rapids, Jan. 25; Detroit, Jan. 26; Port Huron, Jan. 27, and Lansing, Jan. 28.

Wayne County.—The annual Forward Ball is to be held at the Masonic Temple, Saturday, Jan. 27. Nathan Fine will speak at Northern High School on Friday, Jan. 26. Branch 1 is sponsoring a dinner in honor of the Fines at 225 E. Forest, Sunday, Jan. 28, at 6 p. m.

Lazaro Bartolome, Spanish Consul in Detroit, will speak at Branch 1 Saturday, Jan. 20, on "Has the Spanish Republic Failed?"

Wisconsin

Milwaukee.—Herman O. Kent was re-elected county secretary last week. Kent is a former assemblyman and alderman and had been elected last July when Leo Krzycki resigned to resume his position as organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Rudolph Beyer, former state senator, was elected treasurer. The new executive board consists of Max Raskin, city attorney; Otto Hauser, secretary to Mayor Hoane; Al Benson, state secretary; George Hampel, S. Polio, Mrs. Aug. Neitzel, Walter Palm, deputy commissioner of public works; Paul Gauer, president of the Common Council, and Robert Schuffenhauer, election commissioner. Andrew J. Biemiller will continue as educational director during the coming year.

Pennsylvania

The State Executive Committee at its meeting Fri., Jan. 12, arranged to hold a State Nominating Convention for the 1934 elections, to be held at Harrisburg Sat. evening and Sun., Feb. 17 and 18. Further particulars from State Secretary Sarah Limbach, 122-9th St., Pittsburgh.

Pittsburgh.—The North Side Branch has arranged a meeting with Frank Crosswaith Sun., Jan. 21, at 2:30 at Malta Hall, 100 W. No. Ave., N.S. Pittsburgh.

Rhode Island

Providence.—Local Providence will hold a social Wednesday, Jan. 24, in the Swedish Workmen's Hall, when the following officers will be installed: Earl P. Ormsbee, organizer; Samuel Pavlov, secretary; Charles Emers, financial secretary; Louis J. Rotenberg, treasurer;

Lloyd Suttell, literature agent. Entertainment and refreshments being arranged by Gusle Nelson and Grace Howarth.

Virginia

The official canvass of the vote revealed 1,117 for White for Governor, 2,971 for Kibler for Lieut.-Governor, and 4,526 for Ansell for Attorney-General. Norman Thomas polled 2,382 for President in 1932.

New Jersey

Dover.—The Dover Branch meets regularly every second and fourth Wednesday at 73 S. Sussex St. Wm. K. Fallman will address a special meeting Wednesday, Jan. 31, at that address on "Is Inflation the Way Out?"

West New York will hold semi-monthly meeting at Labor Lyceum, Tyler Place and 17th St.

Passaic.—Friday evening, Jan. 19, Branch 1 presents John F. Martin, candidate for U. S. Senator, who will lecture on "Is Inflation the Way Out?"

Workers' Education Class meets each Monday at 8:15 p. m. under the leadership of Brookwood Labor College. Business meeting and discussion on "The Shortest Road to Socialism" Friday, Jan. 26.

All events at Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Hall, 585 Main Ave.

New York State

Buffalo.—Local Buffalo has elected the following officers for 1934: Robert A. Hoffman, executive secretary; Elizabeth C. Roth, recording secretary; Charles H. Roth, treasurer; John W. Ellison, auditor; Lucene Fullington, literature agent; Delegates at Large to Executive Committee: James Battistoni, Herman J. Hahn and Julian H. Weiss.

Westchester County.—County convention and general membership meeting will be held at Debs Hall, 284 North Ave., New Rochelle, next Sunday, Jan. 21, and will open at 1 p. m. Sunday evening at the same place, under auspices of the Westchester Open Forum. Leonard Bright will meet Charles P. Murphy, Assistant United States District Attorney, in a debate at which Mr. Murphy will take the affirmative of "Resolved That the New Deal is an Effective Means of Promoting National Recovery."

Monday evening, Jan. 22, William E. Duffy will speak on the NRA under the auspices of the Yonkers Forum at 1 Wells Ave., corner North Broadway, Yonkers. Carl O. Parsons of New Rochelle will preside.

White Plains.—The following have been elected officers for 1934: Ruth Palmer, organizer; Ann Zelinsky, financial secretary and treasurer; Rosalie Fixel, recording secretary; John H. Ford, education and literature; Ruth Marston, publicity.

Party Membership.—The State Secretary reports that the average up-to-date good standing membership for the year 1933, as computed on the basis of dues and exempt stamps taken by locals and members at large, was approximately 25 per cent larger than for the presidential year of 1932. The percentage of increase was practically the same in Greater New York and upstate.

Elmhurst.—William Karlin will speak Sunday, Jan. 21, at 2 o'clock on "The New Epoch."

Schenectady.—While the economic situation in Schenectady continues to be so bad that 16,000 are alleged to have

Wisconsin and Minnesota

(Continued from Page Two)

every effort is being made to gain new and younger recruits and train them for service in our great cause. Milwaukee has been and still is the Mecca of our party in America.

Thanks to our educational director, Andrew Biemiller, my services were well used. I was kept busy and feted hospitably. Spoke at an excellent meeting in West Allis and was honored in having as my chairman that sterling and beloved comrade, M. V. Baxter, mayor of this suburban city. My meeting in Milwaukee proper was also good and I had a session in public speaking and another in trade union relations with selected groups. I also visited Mayor Hoan in his office, a meeting of the Executive Committee and the Central Committee and was regaled at a couple of beer "hoisting" midnight gatherings.

Comrades Rudolph and Edna Koller of Elizabeth, New Jersey, are now located in Milwaukee, and our Harlem youngster and former Camp Eden "room" clerk, Eli Cohen, is a reporter on the Milwaukee Leader. He covered my meetings and wrote a fine story of my lecture on unemployment.

Spent a day in Racine, an industrial city south of here. Met with this splendid crowd of comrades at an informal banquet and then spoke to my largest audience so far on this trip in a huge auditorium in Racine. We also have here a remarkably large and active party organization, three aldermen and great possibilities for more victories this fall. Arthur Rohan, one of our Rand School products, is an active member there. It would take a much longer article than this adequately to describe

the many successful activities of the local and its branches.

Next to Madison, the capital and university city of Wisconsin, located in the center of the state and nestled in among many lovely lakes. Here the local and three branches are of recent growth, and our many young and active comrades are new to our party. Although very much less mature in Socialist theory and experience, our Madison local, nevertheless, is on the threshold of political victory.

My two meetings there were well attended and I had a fine gathering of students under the auspices of the L.I.D. Chapter in the university and another with the active spirits of the local.

Next Minneapolis. What a great improvement in our party out here! A growing state organization, a very efficient state secretary, Niels Nielsen, and scores of splendid locals in many parts of the state. I addressed a large crowd at the Saturday Luncheon Club, sat in at a discussion of local problems confronting our comrades in this Farmer-Labor Party territory, and addressed a fine meeting in St. Paul at night.

On Sunday, Comrade Nielsen drove me out and back, some 280 miles, to the western part of Minnesota into the heart of the Farmers' "Holiday" territory. In the morning I addressed a fine crowd of farmers in Willmar and in the afternoon a still larger audience of rebel farmers in Montevideo (Minnesota, not Uruguay). We got a grand reception, sold a big bundle of booklets and plastered them thoroughly with sample copies of The New Leader and subscription blanks.

I am happy to report this most fruitful week's work so far on my

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It made me so happy to speak and work among so splendid an army of Socialists. I hope I did some good, and the large batch of subs that I was able to obtain along with the many more that are coming will give us a large new collection of New Leader readers in many cities, towns and villages in these two northwestern states.

Claessens' Tour

Meetings for Comrade Claessens continue as follows:

Omaha, January 21-22-23; Lincoln, 24-25; Kansas City, 26-27-28; Jefferson City, 29-30; St. Louis, 31, February 1-2-3-4-5.
Springfield, February 6-7; Chicago, 8-9-10-11-12; South Bend, 13-14; Indianapolis, 16-17-18; Cincinnati, 18-19-20; Dayton, 21-22-23; Columbus, 24-25; Ohio, to March 5.

Why the Labor Code Cannot be Enforced

(Continued from Page One)

He insisted there must be further reduction in working hours, with greater weekly compensation for employees.

The labor head pointed out that despite the fact that the average hourly rate in July was 33.7 cents, which had been increased to 42.8 cents in November, the reduction in hours worked each week had brought about actual reduction in the weekly pay from \$14.59 in July to \$14.37 in November. In many localities in the South, he said, workers are employed only 25 hours a week with resultant wages of \$4.20! The present situation, he declared is "absolutely untenable," and he added: "When an industry cannot pay decent wages, it has no right to exist."

Green said the A. F. of L. has voluminous evidence that drastic reduction has taken place in the wages of skilled workers since the adoption of the code and that the minimum wages tended to become the maximum wage paid. This is exactly what Socialists and many trade unionists feared from the very first of the NRA.

LUMBER CODE IS CHISELED

Urging that a separate code be given to the woodworking division of the industry, Green said it was never intended that the recovery act "should drag down the standards built up by labor over many years—yet that is exactly what has happened." He warned that labor "cannot remain patient forever" and that the code must definitely recognize the distinction between stock producers and special producers. He added that at least 90 per cent of the woodworking employees are machinists and bench hands and that "the tragedy of this whole industrial development is the destruction of individual skill, with the worker becoming just another cog in the machine."

Wages were not the only object of attack at the hearing. Charges were made that the lumber retailers' code is a price-fixing mechanism, dominated and controlled by the producing interests, and that the whole country is being victimized as a result. A representative of the Associated General Contractors said that price fixing under the code had raised prices to a point where markets are being destroyed. He asserted there has been a complete collapse in lumber production, with consumption at the lowest point in a decade.

Incidentally, it was charged that the code is impossible of enforcement, and a parallel was drawn between enforcing it and enforcing prohibition. It is easy to see how enforcement is an almost impossible task in a great industry such as lumber if there are any considerable number of "chiselers." Of course, the remedy would be public ownership of the lumber

Brookwood's 13 Years

Brookwood Labor College has issued an interesting pamphlet on its thirteen years of educational work to which Tucker B. Smith, director, Fannia M. Cohen of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, John W. Edelman of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, David J. Saposs, instructor in Labor History, Jacob S. Potofsky of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, John C. Kennedy, instructor in economics, and Mark Starr, extension director; Susan M. Shepherd, instructor in English and dramatics, and Harry Nilsson contribute.

In the 22 pages of this pamphlet the reader obtains important information regarding the work of the college and the education carried on by a number of trade unions.

and other industries, under which there would be no incentive for "chiseling." But this is too simple a solution for the great minds now wrestling with the problem of "recovery."

UNION HEADS WILL CONSIDER PROBLEMS

Reduction in wages of skilled workers under the operation of the NRA is likely to be a big subject at the conference of trade union officials here January 24. The conference will be held in conjunction with the mid-winter A. F. of L. Executive Council meeting. National and state legislative programs will be to the fore, with restoration of Federal workers' pay emphasized.

The A. F. of L. has heretofore said little on reduction of skilled workers' pay. It has recognized that this has suffered and that the NRA is in some respects a "share-the-work" program. But it has hoped that increases in total buying power due to the raising of wages of lower paid workers under the codes, together with increases in employment, would bring recovery sufficient to boost skilled workers' income equal to or exceeding previous levels. That hope is still held, but labor is showing dissatisfaction over present conditions. In view of the fact that the A. F. of L. is largely an organization of skilled workmen, this feeling is easy to understand.

The growing dissatisfaction cropped out in the testimony of President Green at the lumber code hearing and in the Federation's monthly survey of business, quoted from here last week. Now comes the powerful International Typographical Union, oldest organization in the A. F. of L., to voice the feeling in no uncertain language. As a matter of fact, the I.T.U. virtually hurls defiance at the government. Coming from an organization as conservative as the I.T.U., the criticism is regarded in labor circles as highly significant.

Under the heading, "NRA Codes Apparently to Be of No Value to Skilled Workers," the printers, in The Typographical Journal, say in part:

"The four months of contact with government officials in Washington, D. C., and the observation of the government with regard to the many codes already approved in other industries compel the positive conclusion that the force of organization of skilled tradesmen is to be in the future, as it has been in the past, their only protection."

TYPOS DISSATISFIED WITH THE NRA

"It is plain that the theory of the National Industrial Recovery Act, which was to reduce the hours of labor and increase the rate of wages so as to maintain purchasing power and spread employment, is not to be applied to the printing industry. With regard to the allegedly 'hard-boiled' attitude of General Johnson, one is forced to the painful recollection that all hard-boiled eggs are yellow inside."

"It is disappointing, of course, to the workers in the printing industry that the NRA is not to apply to them in accordance with the plain intent of the law. The administrators hearing the printing trades code have before them definite information as to the scales in all International Typographical Union jurisdictions for several years past. They could therefore see that certain wages and hours have been successfully maintained in the printing industry and they had a better base from which to work than perhaps any industry represented at any of the hearings."

"However, the lack of a desire to agree on the part of the commercial employers themselves and the determined opposition of the

By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

The Devaluation of Gold

REMEMBERING that world trade is still in the grip of a crazy capitalist system with an appropriately crazy monetary system, the President's proposals for devaluing the dollar in terms of gold, appropriating the excess gold for the Federal treasury and for setting up a fund to stabilize American currency by operations in buying and selling other currencies are probably about the best that can be made. Whether the amount of devaluation is too high or not, is something that experts ought to determine. But they differ among themselves.

The terms of the President's proposals lessen rather than increase the danger of war between currencies and for advantage in foreign trade. They do not end it. One certain thing is that if the dollar is to be devaluated, the government is entitled to all the profits to be made out of the transaction. To devalue the dollar leaving gold in the possession of banks with the value of the gold almost doubled would be preposterous, a free gift to the bankers, and would moreover psychologically and practically encourage a dangerous credit inflation by the banks based on this additional value of gold, which would be almost impossible for the government to control.

As it is, the measure of inflation proposed by the President may bring about along certain lines what looks like a boom. It will have to be carefully watched.

It cannot be too strongly insisted that no monetary measure will save us from the ills of a disintegrating capitalism. No monetary measure of itself can alter the class ratio by which the national income is divided—riches to owners; maintenance to workers with hand and brain. Simply as immediate measures nothing that the President has proposed will take care of the debt problem. The case for the capital levy is as strong as ever. It is as necessary as ever to try to work out a plan for building valuable public works without adding to the bonded indebtedness of the nation. With proper restraint that could be done by an issue of treasury notes secured by the value of the new things to be created.

Popular Palliatives

I HAVE come back from my Middle Western trip surer than ever that what is saving the administration's popularity and prestige is no fundamental measure, but simply certain palliatives; the corn loan, for instance, which has taken almost 30 million dollars recently into the pockets of Iowa corn farmers who sooner or later will be supposed to pay it back. C.W.A. has been another source of strength to the administration. Not that C.W.A. is very satisfactory. In some cases it is arbitrarily and bureaucratically administered. There are not enough jobs. Some of the jobs are ridiculous. It would be better to grant men a cash allowance because they are unemployed rather than have them put on jobs where they loaf.

NRA is doing badly from the workers' point of view everywhere. The more it is applauded by the employers the more suspicious workers are of it with reason. As things now stand, it is far more likely to be used to stop strikes and to encourage government or the employers, or both, to meddle with the organization of labor than anything else.

Five to Four

THE fact that for once a 5 to 4 decision of the Supreme Court went right instead of wrong ought not to make any of us too optimistic. When the learned court held that a state legislature had power to give temporary relief from the enforcement of socially hurtful contracts whether the troubles were produced by physical or by economic causes, it did take a position which makes the prospect of fundamental economic change by orderly and peaceful means a little brighter. It is not yet certain that the same five will stick together and say that the Federal government has power analogous to the rights of state government under what

representatives of the newspapers not to agree to anything constructive combined to create a force that pushed the General all over the lot.

"With the knowledge that the minimums which will be set by the codes so far as wages are concerned will be of no value to the printing trades, and with the definite knowledge that the maximum



Norman Thomas

lawyers call their police power. At any rate, it is highly absurd and exceedingly dangerous that our future should depend upon the accident that five old men out of nine will take a fairly liberal stand. Imagine a country where a government's power to act depends upon what one old man—in this case the chief justice—thinks it is the limit to which a document almost a hundred and fifty years old will permit it to go.

MORE significant for evil, I fear, than the Minnesota decision for good was an article by Harry H. Woodring, Assistant Secretary of War, formerly Democratic Governor of Kansas, in Liberty January 6, 1934. My attention was first called to it in Columbus, Ohio, by men who saw its significance. The title of the article is "The American Army Stands Ready," and the editor introduces it as "a reassuring picture of preparedness for any crisis." The army, it appears, is ready and able to maintain the government in the event of social breakdown. The Civilian Conservation Corps isn't the army of peace which the President has talked about. The C.C.C. mobilization is to us more than a great military achievement, it is dress rehearsal of the army's ability to intervene, under constitutional authority in combating the depression." Mr. Woodring has the courage of his convictions. According to him, the army is ready to run the whole New Deal. After referring to the number of new Federal departments or agencies at Washington, our candid author says: "It would not be too much to say that with proper constitutional authority the army could take over and run them in the interest of the New Deal."

"It is my opinion that the army should take over immediately some of the activities which are now being handled by some of the new executive agencies."

Now, Assistant Secretary Woodring would probably tell us that he is a good American, that he doesn't like Fascism, and that he believes in our constitutional liberties—whatever they are. What he proposes is a kind of military dictatorship genuinely Fascist in nature. His article is a complete justification for everything Socialists have said by way of criticism of tendencies inherent in the New Deal.

Lynch Law

AN increase in the number of recorded lynchings from 10 in 1932 to 28 in 1933 is excessively alarming. Moreover, the lynchings were peculiarly outrageous. At Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and in California they implied a vicious collusion between authorities and the mob. No mere change of law can deal with a situation deep rooted in national passions and prejudices of the social structure. Nevertheless, a Federal anti-lynching law would be of help. The Federal government through the income tax law has been able to reach racketeers who have gone untouched by local authorities. It has also made a better record in regard to kidnapping. In dealing with lynching, the government would have a support from a widely spread public opinion whereas local authorities are dependent upon the very regions in which the mobs have operated. Even in the South it is encouraging to observe a growth of feeling that the Federal government ought to have some power in this connection. Such power certainly could be set up under the 14th amendment.

At Ohio State University

AT Ohio State University in Columbus the issue of compulsory military training through the R.O.T.C. has again come to the front. Ohio State University is probably no worse than most of the great state universities. The university authorities have introduced a peculiarly indefensible principle in dealing with the students, at first 16 in number who refused to take part in military drill. They examined each of them by a committee, on which sat the Colonel in command, to determine their sincerity. Seven as fine young fellows as I ever met are adjudged insincere and granted no kind of exemption. They have been suspended and doubtless will be expelled.

There is absolutely no way in which a board can pass on individual sincerity. There are no tests. The attempt to make them is to exalt a board into the place of God. Student opinion everywhere ought to unite on this issue. An immediate drive in Ohio should be directed to securing a law similar to that which was passed in Wisconsin forbidding the state university to make R.O.T.C. compulsory.

"One thing is absolutely certain, and that is that the law adopted anticipates complete organization of industry and that the law encourages and expects all labor to organize and bargain collectively. We have been doing this for over one hundred years without leaning on the government for assistance and will continue to do so."