

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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The Meeting at the Garden

NEW York learned at first hand how it was that Hitler came into power in Germany when a vast demonstration of solidarity with the heroic Austrian Socialists called by the Socialists and trade unions of the metropolis was turned into a dog-fight by the deliberate and planned action of gangs that call themselves the Communist Party. The meeting might have become a shambles, with scores and even hundreds killed if it were not for the cool-headedness and courage of the Socialists, and, especially, the Yipsels, under almost unbearable Communist provocation.

Madison Square Garden was jammed to the very rafters, mostly by a determined outpouring of workingmen and women who had responded to the call of the Socialist Party and a committee representing large and important trade unions and fraternal organizations, but the gangs of hoodlums, carefully organized and led by trained leaders of such operations had determined that the meeting must be converted into a failure.

"30,000 Riot"

As a result, the papers, instead of carrying stories of an impressive demonstration in which the workers proudly ranged themselves on the side of their Austrian brothers and sisters and set up agencies for material aid displayed big headlines telling of a bloody riot participated in by 30,000 workers—illustrated with pictures.

It was deliberate, planned and highly successful provocation. It succeeded in completely destroying the purpose of the meeting, in converting a determined gathering into a snarling, fighting mob, in making it impossible to take the vitally necessary collection to transmit to the suffering workers in Vienna, and in completely alienating the sympathy of all who had ever had the slightest sympathy with the Communists.

Plettl's Tears

Martin Plettl, respected head of the Clothing Workers' Union of Germany, now an exile from his country, looked over the seething mob fighting and shouting and said sadly, and with tears streaming

How a Tremendous Demonstration of Solidarity With Our Austrian Comrades Was Turned Into A Riot by Deliberate Communist Provocation

down his cheeks, "There is nothing new to me in that spectacle. That is how the Communists operated in my country. That is how Hitler came into power."

Deliberately Planned

There is ample documentary proof that the attack upon the Garden meeting was deliberately prepared, as will be shown later on. That the organized gangs that moved upon the meeting and took large blocs of seats came for the deliberate purpose of making it impossible to carry the proceedings through to a conclusion admits of no dispute, for not a single sched-

uled speaker was permitted to be heard. Even the chairman, Algernon Lee, began to a chorus of boos

Oneal to Answer Dollfuss

James Oneal, American representative on the executive of the Labor and Socialist International, will broadcast an address in answer to Chancellor Dollfuss over the Columbia chain next Monday, February 26, from 12:45 to 1 o'clock. Dollfuss was heard in the United States over the Columbia network last Sunday.

and of hooting. When speaker after speaker managed to make himself heard to the extent of calling for cheers for the workers fighting and dying in the struggle against Dollfuss fascism, the gangs of hoodlums responded with thunderous hoots and boos.

Comfort for Dollfuss

Dollfuss and Fey, Starhemberg and Mussolini can gather great comfort from the actions of those who had sworn not to permit any effective protest against the slaughter in Vienna. It was a triumph for Fascism rivaling in importance the military victory of

the Heimwehr over the women and children of Vienna.

It was plain from the moment word was flashed across the cables that the Austrian workers had taken up arms in defense of their homes and their liberty that the local fascists who call themselves Communists were stunned. An organization whose sole stock in trade is insane denunciation of Socialists and spreading stories that they are "fascists," cowards and yellow, had to think fast to make propaganda out of the battles in Linz, in Steyr and in Vienna.

Stunned

For one day they were silent. The official organ of their party, on the day after the outbreak in Vienna, told a straight story of the heroism of the workers, but one could read every word of it without suspecting that it was the SOCIALIST workers of Vienna, led on the barricades by the leaders of the Austrian Social Democracy, who were engaged in a historic battle. The capitalist papers in every part of the country carried huge headlines telling of the heroism of the Socialist workers; only the official sheet of the Communist Party kept that information suppressed.

But not for long. Within a day began the vilest barrage of lying and slandering in the spotted history of that organization. To be fair and to give credit to the Socialists would have been "bourgeois sentimentality," probably. During the White Guard invasions of Soviet Russia, Socialists suspended all opposition to the Bolsheviks and gallantly fought side by side with the Communists, while during the trial of the Reichstag fire defendants the Socialist press gave full and unstinted praise to the conduct of Taneff, Dimitroff, Popoff and Torgler. For Communists to show a similar sense of proletarian ethics while men and women were shedding their blood upon the barricades of Vienna was impossible for them, Communists being what they are.

Lying Begins

The second day of the tragic events in Vienna the barrage began. It appeared that the Viennese workers had been "sold out" (Continued on Page Ten)

Aid Our Austrian Comrades

Special Cable to The New Leader

Paris, February 23.

Mass arrests and persecutions of Socialists have begun in Vienna. The families of the heroes killed in the battles of last week, and of those arrested by the Dollfuss hangmen are suffering intense misery. European workers are organizing relief action. I urge our American comrades to assist in this work by contributing funds as liberally as possible.

Raphael Abramowitsch.

The Action Committee of Local New York, Socialist Party, meeting Monday, February 19, decided on the issuance of the following appeal to party members, sympathizers, and to all who care for liberty, justice, and humanity:

WE have all been thrilled by the heroism of the working men and women, fighting with their backs to the wall in defence of labor interests and democratic rights. We grieve over their defeat and the bitter toll of death and suffering which they have paid and are still paying.

But we must do more than praise and mourn. We must help.

Money is needed for the wounded, the prisoners, the exiles, the widows and orphans. To be effective, this aid must come quickly.

To avoid delay, Local New York of the Socialist Party takes the initiative in calling for a fund for immediate relief. We know that the Trade Unions, the Workmen's Circle, and other organizations will approve of our doing so. Full accounting will be made. None of the money received will be used for ex-

penses incurred in raising it. Every cent will be transmitted to the office of the Labor and Socialist International in Zurich, which is the recognized custodian and administrator of such funds for all Europe. Remittances will be made weekly or oftener, as money comes in.

Checks should be made payable to Socialist Party, New York City, and sent or brought to the party office at 7 East 15th Street.

Comrades and friends, send in your contributions at once. Get your shopmates, neighbors, and acquaintances to do the same. See to it that organizations to which you belong make donations as liberal as they can afford. Do this at once. Each dollar now is worth many dollars later on.

Action Committee, Local New York,
Algernon Lee, Chairman;
Julius Gerber, Executive Secretary.

Honor the Heroes and Heroines of Austria!

MEMORIAL MEETING

Come to this Memorial Meeting to show your solidarity with and admiration for the men and women who battled the Dollfuss barbarism.

CARNEGIE HALL

57th Street and 7th Ave., N.Y.C.

Principal Speaker will be a Comrade direct from Vienna

Admission 25 and 15 Cents

For the benefit of our Austrian Comrades

Sunday, March 4th, 8.30 p.m.

Tickets on sale at The New Leader Socialist Party, 7 E. 15th St.; Rand Book Store; Jewish Daily Forward, 175 E. Broadway, and All Socialist and Labor Headquarters.

Desecrating Memory of Our Martyred Dead

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

By the Editor

OUR RED VIENNA SPECIAL

WHEN we wrote in these columns last week of the conduct of the Communists in relation to the struggle of the Austrian workers, we did not think that it would be necessary to return to it. It is a repulsive task again to take up this theme when our space is so needed for other matters, but duty to our dead in Austria, to the living fighters in prison, and the exiles in other countries requires that we consider the conduct of the Communists at the Madison Square Garden meeting.

On other pages of this issue, the story is told of how they broke up the meeting and prevented us from collecting several thousand dollars for the victims of Austrian Fascism. Not only that; they prevented a single speaker from being heard on behalf of these victims.

Consider this event. The most heroic battle in all the annals of labor was fought in Austria. As our meeting assembled we knew that proletarian Vienna was perishing. Leaders and rank and file fought side by side. Women and children fought by the side of husbands, fathers and brothers. The last straggling fighters had even crawled through sewers and lifted lids with rifles in hand in a last desperate attack on the black hordes turned loose by Dollfuss.

The Garden meeting was a memorial as well as a protest meeting. It was as though dead men, women and children who had perished in the struggle were lying in our presence. Grief filled the hearts of all but the Communists. Joy also possessed all but the Communists, joy that proletarians attacked by Fascist brigands in one sector of the world's depression hell had displayed such sublime courage against such tremendous odds.

The Communists came to that meeting with stink bombs, bottles, tailors' shears, literature, boos, hisses, yells. They came organized into squads. They were placed in groups in various parts of the Garden, each under the command of a commissar. Before the meeting had opened, these ghouls, like swine trampling a flower garden, began their hideous performance. The opening remarks of Chairman Algernon Lee brought them all into action. Neither he nor any other speaker was heard. After four attempts by speakers the meeting was abandoned.

The voice of protest and mourning in the largest city in the world was silenced by the Communists! No aid for the survivors of the dead and the refugees was

collected at the meeting. Stories cabled to the European press reported that New York City staged a riot instead of a meeting in support of the Austrian workers.

The vandals made no distinction. They attacked young girls wearing Yipsel bands. Men and women wept with grief over this monstrous conduct. Anger swept the Garden. Workers became inflamed. There were physical conflicts. Chairs were thrown and fists went into action. The storm might have become a horrible disaster with ambulances carrying the injured to hospitals and the dead to the morgue. The meeting was adjourned in time to avert such a terrible calamity.

Like a bolt of lightning that clears a murky atmosphere this ghastly debauch brought retribution. Everywhere outside their own ranks the Communists were branded as moral lepers. And what do civilized communities do when leprosy is detected? It is isolated, it is quarantined. That's what is being done in New York; that is what will be done in other parts of the country by the labor movement, political, economic and educational. The conduct of the Communists has solidified opinion against them as nothing else could. Stalin may spend more millions upon them in this country but they are henceforth Ishmaels, branded as moral lepers unfit to associate with civilized human beings.

Martin Plettl, refugee from a Hitler concentration camp, declared with tears in his eyes that his comrades could now understand what workers faced in Germany before the Fascist vulture began to feast upon the corpse of the labor movement. Transfer the Garden meeting to Germany, enlarge it to include the whole working population, and one can understand something of what happened there. Nor is it difficult to understand why Fascist and Communist found it easy to pass from one movement to the other. The psychology and conduct of both are the same.

What is this thing that merged at the Garden meeting? It is a pathological spawn of the depression. Time after time in the past several years Communists have attacked other meetings and broken them up. They hunt in packs. They strike down other meetings and yelp against interference with their own. Lenin taught them that lying, intrigue and cunning are Communist methods. They follow these methods. They declare decency, honesty and fair dealing to be "bourgeois prejudices."

We meet that challenge. We assert that the working masses are not barbarians. We declare that those who make deceit, cunning, lying, intrigue and dishonesty their ruling code of conduct belong to the misfits and the pathological creatures cast up by an unsocial civilization. We can sympathize with the human misfits who vegetate in the slums, the silent creatures who have lost hope, those who Marx and Engels declared are more likely to serve as "bribed tools of reactionary intrigue" than to serve the labor movement.

But the Communists who consciously adopt the slum code of conduct, who in every issue of their daily organ pour a stream of filth upon all who do not accept their slummary, forfeit the company of normal human beings. In their brief tenure of power in Bavaria and Hungary they needlessly shot thousands of human beings. The working class victims of the Cheka and GPU reveal the sadist soul of this hateful thing.

Who is the intelligent man or woman who would want to see the ghasts of the United States, transforming it into a prison, crushing every organization of the workers, and be compelled to get their information of what is happening in the world through their daily organ?

But enough. One service their shocking conduct has rendered. They have brought a solidarity of opinion within the Socialist Party and strengthened its morale. They have solidified members of the trade unions as never before. Communism is quarantined as a result of its own malice and stupidity. A gulf yawns between

ANTICIPATING that The New Leader would give special attention to the working class struggle with Fascism in Austria, last week we received orders for bundles by letter and telegraph from many states. The four-page Red Vienna Special, combined with the New York and National editions, made a total of 40,000 copies we printed last week. These have been sold out and we were unable to fill a number of other orders we received. On every hand comrades complimented us on this great edition, the leading section of four pages being on the press two days after it was decided to issue it.

The issue this week is just as important and we are printing 10,000 extra copies. It is important to get it, especially the answer to the broadcast by Chancellor Dollfuss, into the hands of the masses. Extra orders will be filled in the order of their receipt. Order immediately!

The Big Bundle Orders

Detroit led with the largest bundle order for the special edition last week. The special orders listed below all came by telegraph. They show a fine spirit of immediate action in a period of great crisis that is inspiring. Here are the telegraphed orders:

Detroit, 1,000; Pittsburgh, 500; Milwaukee, 500; Toledo, 500; Philadelphia, 500; Indianapolis, 300; Chicago, 200; Montreal, 200; St. Louis, 200; West Virginia, 200.

Another Order

Branch 1, Detroit, of the Socialist Party gets on the list for a bundle each week of 500. That is going some, and we recommend this example to other active branches.

Some Letters

Milen Dempster writes for Local San Francisco that it sends "Congratulations on the very much improved New Leader, especially referring to The Workers' Corner, by Mark Khinoy, and The Editor's Corner. These have given us much more information about other radical movements as well as our own. We greatly appreciate it."

Leo Welsh, state secretary of the Socialist Party of Washington,

writes us this encouraging message: "It is my opinion that we must increase the subscription list of The New Leader for the purpose of clarifying issues within the party. Our salvation lies in clarity of opinions and merciless criticism of all our errors and failures."

W. Scott Lewis of the State Executive Committee of California writes: "Thanks for your articles in The New Leader recently. They have been good." Will other comrades who have written us about The New Leader be patient? We have been overwhelmed with letters of approval regarding recent issues. We will try to run more next week.

Questions and Answers

M. R., the Bronx, N. Y.—Your father is mistaken. The Hungarian revolution occurred in October, 1918, and in March, 1919, it passed under the control of Social Democrats and Communists who fused their two parties into the Socialist Party of Hungary. Consult the newspapers in the public library of that period for the details. That period is vivid in the memory of the editor, as these events broke as he was boarding the Carmania for Europe to consult Socialists abroad.

In the Central States

By August Claessens

I AM afraid of becoming monotonous in describing the splendid comeback of the Socialist Party in many sections. New members can not appreciate the thrill an old agitator like myself gets. Of course, we are still far from our strength up to 1917.

I spent four days in Chicago. I wish I could have stayed longer. Here is a remarkable revival. Chicago has been a hoo-doo to party organization for so long that some of us often gave up. There are again more than 35 party branches and a fine lot of Y.P.S.L. Circles. One could wish for a little better quality of Socialist thinking and efficiency in some branches, but then again, we need that everywhere else and the many comrades who stick will develop in time.

I covered seven meetings. My first was with our Yugoslav, Bohemian and Lawnsdale Branches.

us and it cannot be bridged. The martyrs of the Austrian labor movement might well cry out in protest if we were to accept the treacherous hands of those who are guilty of that vandalism at the Garden meeting last week.

A final word. The Communist daily is filled with the usual falsehoods regarding the meeting and the Austrian workers and their leaders. It rubs salt into bleeding wounds and traduces the dead. Pay no attention to it.



August Claessens

It was a knockout. Beautifully arranged, advertised and handled, a large hall was filled with people, music and life. Another with the 6th C. D. branch was just the opposite. Thanks to Comrade Laderman, formerly of the Bronx, I had a great meeting with the Pocket-book Workers' Union. Later I met with some members of the Women's Branch of the Jewish Socialist Verband, and with the City Executive Committee, and I finished the day with a fine meeting with the Albany Park branch on the extreme northwest end and had our fine young comrade, Meyer Haluska, as chairman. On Sunday morning our Douglas Park Jewish comrades and the Workmen's Circle arranged an impressive memorial meeting for our dearly beloved Comrade Shiplacoff, and I

(Continued on Page Nine)

THE NEW LEADER, a Socialist publication, supports the Socialist Party and the struggle 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 not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

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JAMES ONEAL, Editor
Wm. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

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How War on Austrian Masses Was Planned by Dollfuss, the Infamous, on Heimwehr Orders

CHANCELLOR DOLLFUSS, the Little Assassin, broadcasted from Vienna over the Columbia network last Sunday, giving his version of what he called the "revolutionary attempt against the peace and security of our State." He declared that it was a struggle which "we did not seek" and that "it was the attack of a small group of fanatics against the State and society."

If the cold lips of the dead men, women and children murdered by the Chancellor's armed mercenaries could break into speech they would rebuke this slanderer of these martyred dead.

From the time that Dollfuss became Chancellor, government policy began to change in the direction of favoring the Heimwehr led by Prince Starhemberg. Who is this prince? He belongs to the parasite nobility of the old Dual Monarchy. He is one of the richest men in Austria, the owner of castles, and his wealth is founded on the exploitation of Austrian peasants.

Against the advice of his own party leaders of the Christian Social party, Dollfuss went over to the support of Starhemberg on the eve of the outbreak. Dollfuss for many months favored the dissolution of all parties and the establishment of a Fascist state with himself at the head. This program meant that the will of the majority in Vienna and three other large cities was to give way to the will of the Little Assassin.

On February 9 the leaders of the Christian Social party joined with the Socialists in the Vienna Diet against the demands of Starhemberg for a dictatorship. Deputy Kunschak of the Christian Social party declared on that occasion: "Only such an emergency could ever have brought me to stand side by side with those (the Socialists), from whom a world of political differences otherwise separates me."

Members of both parties cheered this declaration, and Mayor Seitz of Vienna called for cheers for a free and autonomous Vienna. Governor Reither of Lower Austria (Christian Social) that same night refused to receive a deputation of local Heimwehr leaders in Vienna who came to demand the dissolution of parties.

Dollfuss was in Budapest on that day consulting Hungarian reactionaries; he returned to Vienna that night and held a cabinet meeting. A conference with the governors of the provinces was postponed till Monday, but Dollfuss received Starhemberg immediately after the cabinet session. The Prince was

accompanied by other Fascist leaders. What happened at that conference Dollfuss has not disclosed.

These fascists had the day before raided the Vienna Socialist headquarters twice, once in the morning and again in the evening. Alarmist reports had been circulated of arms and explosives being concealed in the building. None was found. The Socialists protested, the police remained in the building and the Socialists decided that this meant permanent occupation of their headquarters.

On February 11 Dollfuss made a definite alliance with the Heimwehr. A wireless to the New York "Times" from Vienna declared that "Chancellor Dollfuss has reached an agreement with the leaders of his Patriotic Front, with whom he has been negotiating since his return from Budapest. Tomorrow (February 12) he is to see the Provincial Governors, and it is believed he will tell them he has decided to dissolve all the provincial governments in Austria and all the provincial Diets."

The decision was made after a conference with the Hungarian dictators and in opposition to the leaders of his own party after the latter had agreed to cooperate with the Socialists in support of the republic!

The "Times" correspondent went on to say that in the provinces of Vienna, Carinthia and Burgenland, "where the prefects are not upholders of the Dollfuss government, commissars are to be appointed with advisors representing the Chancellor attached to them."

"In every town or city where there is not a majority for the Chancellor the local council is to be dissolved and similarly replaced by government commissioners."

And the Little Assassin declares that the bloody week in Austria was due to the "attack of a small group of fanatics against the State and society!" Dollfuss himself had already launched an attack intended to substitute the military boots of Fascism for the elected officials who were not in agreement with him. Then this significant paragraph by the "Times" correspondent:

"Chancellor Dollfuss declared in a press interview this morning that he welcomed the action of the Heimwehr in demanding the rapid execution of his program for getting rid of the parties and Parliament. For the first time the Chancellor adopted Heimwehr phraseology by calling the Socialists 'Marxist-Bolsheviks.'"

The same correspondent reported an interview Star-

hemberg gave to the Budapest newspaper, *Ujsag*, on the same day. He declared that the program of Dollfuss for the dissolution of parties was going to be realized and that it would "put an end to democracy once and for all." Starhemberg added that "to clear the Socialists out of the City Hall was first of all the Chancellor's job. If the Chancellor failed to do it, the Heimwehr would."

One other item. On another page our readers will find a story from the information service of the Trade Union International.

It reveals the fact that early this month Dollfuss issued an emergency decree stripping the Socialist workers of their overwhelming majority in the Chambers of Labor. Out of a total vote of 546,769 cast for Socialist officials, all conservative groups polled only 115,959. This large Socialist majority was made a minority by replacing the majority with reactionary officials. Another decree abolished democratic control of Works Councils and also gave the government power to appoint the delegates to those councils!

Dollfuss, smeared with the blood of men, women and children of the working class, lied about his victims in his radio broadcast last Sunday. It was Dollfuss and the Heimwehr mercenaries who attacked "the State and society." The workers in arms as a final resort turned to what Lincoln called the "revolutionary right of revolution" when the fascist horde was turned upon them.

The visits of Dollfuss to Budapest and Rome in recent months were undoubtedly in preparation for a blood-bath for the Austrian proletariat. Having been assured of support in these two Fascist capitals, Dollfuss returned to Vienna. His own party had reached an agreement with the Socialists to maintain the republic and democracy.

The return of Dollfuss was the death-knell of the republic. The events sketched above show that for months he was undermining the workers' organizations through arbitrary decrees. His return from Budapest was followed by Heimwehr action. The die was cast. The bloody conflict followed.

For the moment proletarian Vienna has perished at the hands of Dollfuss and his mercenaries, but out of the ruin will come another proletarian Vienna. Dollfuss the Infamous will pass into that oblivion that swallows up the coward and the gangster, fit tools to serve a social order that has inflicted intolerable misery in all lands.

Workers Rally To Aid Vienna Workers

DETROIT.—A successful meeting of sympathy for the Austrian workers in their hour of militant struggle was held by the Socialist Party of Detroit at the Cass Technical High School auditorium last Saturday. The speakers were Harry Riseman of the Socialist Party, Matthew Smith and Harry Harrison of the Mechanics' Educational Society, J. B. Matthews, and Jennie Lee of the British Independent Labor Party.

The meeting was not interrupted, but it was felt that the attendance was kept at a minimum because of the news of the Communist riot at Madison Square Garden the previous day. The number present was in excess of 2,000, and \$157 was collected to be forwarded for the relief of the victims of the Austrian terror.

Other meetings called to demonstrate solidarity with the Austrian comrades were held in every part of the country. Called at a moment's notice, in most cases they were jammed with determined men and women, and in every case substantial sums were raised to transmit to the heroic workers in Vienna.

The great Socialist Bazaar in Milwaukee, the most successful affair of its kind the party holds in that city, resolved itself into a demonstration of solidarity with the Austrian comrades, and a large barrel, labeled "Help Red Vienna," was placed in a prominent place, and a large sum was raised.

J. P. O'Neal, editor of The New Leader, spoke at great mass meet-

ings in Newark and in New Rochelle Saturday and Sunday.

Jacob Panken spoke at a great mass meeting in Baltimore last Sunday.

William M. Feigenbaum was the principal speaker at a great mass meeting at the Labor Institute in Philadelphia on Friday.

A huge meeting was called to meet in Montreal February 22nd under the auspices of the C.C.F.

BOSTON.—A magnificent meeting was held at Old South Meeting House to protest the Dollfuss massacre of the Austrian women and children and to express solidarity with the workers of that country.

Speakers were George E. Roewer, who presided, and Dan Lester, Chaim Salzman, Michael Flaherty of the Painters' Union, and Alfred Baker Lewis.

Communists tried the same trick they performed at Madison Square Garden, "picketing" the meeting with signs scurrilously attacking the Austrian Socialists as their contribution to "unity," but the solidarity of the workers at the meeting "liquidated" the attempt.

PHILADELPHIA.—The Academy of Music was jammed with a vast throng of workers at an Austrian protest meeting Wednesday afternoon. The unions had

Green Flays the Butchery in Austria

President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, sent the following message to be read at a Socialist and labor mass meeting in Philadelphia Wednesday:

THE inhuman persecution of the Socialists and working people of Austria has excited the righteous indignation of all the working people in our country.

declared a two-hour stoppage to give the workers an opportunity to attend.

Similar meetings are reported from Baltimore, Chicago and other cities.

Other meetings were held in every part of the country, reports of which are coming in one by one. There is no doubt that the Austrian tragedy and the heroic resistance of the Socialists to Fascism has stirred the entire working class.

Work in raising funds for the aid of the distressed Socialists of Vienna is being undertaken at once in all parts of the country.

It seems inconceivable that those in charge of, and responsible for government, would countenance an onslaught with artillery firing upon apartment houses in which men, women and children resided.

The rules of war which apply to wars between nations prohibit such a cruel onslaught upon defenseless women and children as the press reports show was practiced by the troops who were acting under the instructions of Premier Dollfuss.

Labor in America would be untrue to itself if it did not vigorously protest against such murderous attacks as were recently made upon the working people of Austria.

I am in hearty accord with the purposes and plans of working people to voice a protest against the action of the Austrian government.

I hope the working people of the nation will, in a proper and effective way, voice their own protests generally through governmental and publicity channels so that those responsible for the murder of innocent men, women and children in Austria, may know of the feeling, as well as the protests of the masses of the people throughout the United States, against the atrocities inflicted upon the masses of the people of Austria.

Another United Front Is Dissolved

THE united front of nine civil works and unemployed groups which had carried through the demonstration of February 15, in which 10,000 workers participated, was dissolved at a conference meeting of the committee representing the nine groups Monday. It was decided, however, to have a representative of each group return to the office of Frederick Daniels, civil works administrator, for a report on the 16 demands presented to him by the demonstration.

That the continuance of the united front was impossible was evident from the instructions given the delegates of five of the nine groups.

Edward Walsh, David Lasser and Jack Herling, speaking for the withdrawing groups, pointed out first, that the Communist groups had broken the united front by raiding a mass meeting of the Workers' Committee on Unemployment a few days before the demonstration, by carrying unauthorized banners and by stories in the "Daily Worker" that did not tell the true background of the demonstration.

It was pointed out, also, that the events at Madison Square Garden on February 16th had definitely put out of the picture any attempt at a broad united front of trade unions and fraternal bodies in which the Communist groups would be present.

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

An Important Announcement!

The New Leader and the American Socialist Quarterly (official theoretical publication of the Socialist Party) have arranged a club offer to every new subscriber:

Yearly National Edition New Leader...\$1.00 a year } Both publications can be subscribed for... **1.50** a year
American Socialist Quarterly.....\$1.00 a year }

ADDRESS: NEW LEADER, 7 EAST 15th STREET, NEW YORK CITY

The Debate That Will Thrill New York

Norman Thomas to Battle Huey P. Long

Great Debate at Mecca Temple, Friday, March 2

HENRY NEUMANN, Chairman



Tickets Now On Sale!

Last Darrow-Holmes Debate
Turned Thousands Away—

Get Your Tickets Now!

It will be a most amazing debate when Huey Long, the Louisiana "Kingfish", and Norman Thomas meet on the platform of Mecca Temple, New York City, Friday, March 2nd.

Two colorful personalities and a subject that goes to the heart of the problems that are bedeviling the whole world.

Is our present system doomed? Can it survive? Can an injection of oxygen or adrenelin or a limited redistribution of wealth give it a new lease of life?

If it is doomed WHAT WILL TAKE ITS PLACE?

Norman Thomas, national spokesman of the Socialist party, propagandist and writer, teacher and adviser of thousands, has one opinion.

Huey Long, the most amazing figure in the national political arena since the days of Ben Tillman, James K. Vardaman and "Sockless Jerry" Simpson, has another.



NORMAN THOMAS is a Socialist. He threw in his lot with the Socialist party when it took courage to do so. In 1917, when the tide of hysteria was setting in, Morris Hillquit was running for Mayor of New York on a platform that expressed the internationalism of Socialism. He was attacked by "patrioteers," assailed, slandered. He did not flinch. Norman Thomas was a minister then, in a nice, comfortable berth. He might have played ball and secured an even better berth, more comfort, more perquisites, honor, praise, rewards for stringing along with the crowd.

But that isn't the kind of man Norman Thomas is. He doesn't string along. He said to himself, "I like that man Hillquit. I like the fight he is putting up. I like the things he stands for. I like the crowd he trains with. I'm for him. I'm for his crowd and his creed."

And being Norman Thomas he did not stop at thinking these things, but he acted accordingly. He quit his job, he turned his back on long, pleasant years of comfort and the certainty of rapid advance, and threw in his lot with those who were being savagely persecuted.

That is Norman Thomas—the kind of man who finds out what he stands for, and then STANDS FOR IT! He has stood for it for nearly two decades. He has been editor and author, propagandist and party leader. He has made amazing runs for Mayor of New York and President of the United States. His voice has been heard by millions in every part of the country. He is a truly national figure.

Huey Long thinks that capitalism can be saved—if only his plan is adopted.

Norman Thomas, the Socialist, believes Capitalism cannot be saved, and that Socialism is coming to save civilization and humanity.

It will be a real debate—a real scrap, with no holds barred.

Everybody will have a great time. The debate will be the thrill of a lifetime.

The chairman will be Dr. Henry Neumann, leader of the Brooklyn Ethical Society, lecturer, orator, lover of humanity, and wit.

Friday, March 2nd, 1934

Doors Open at 7 p. m.

Mecca Temple, 55th St., bet. 6th & 7th Aves.

ALL SEATS RESERVED

Tickets 25 Cents, 50 Cents, 75 Cents, \$1.00, \$1.50, \$2.00
Tax Free

Tickets can be obtained in following places:

Brooklyn Forum, Room 409, 7 E. 15th Street, New York City;
Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th Street; Columbia University Book
Store; N. Y. U. Book Store, Washington Square, New York.

Women Honor Vienna Martyrs March 4

Women's Day to Unite Women For Cause

THE annual International Women's Day Celebration of the Women's Committee of the Socialist Party, to be held in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th St., on Sunday afternoon, March 4th, will be observed this year as a memorial service for the brave women Socialists who lost their lives during the recent bitter struggle in Austria.

James O Neal, American member of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International, is the only man scheduled to address the gathering. O Neal, an authority on foreign affairs, will discuss the international complications inherent in the Austrian situation, and the role of Socialism in forthcoming events.

Ester Friedman, chairman of the Women's Committee of New York, will preside. Among the other speakers listed are Estelle Abramson, Lina Linhardt, Bertha H. Maily, Jessie W. Hughan, Gertrude W. Klein, and Tamar Schultz, representing the Pioneer Women of America.

An excellent and diverse program has been arranged. The German Chorus, a group of splendid, well-trained voices, will render several choral selections. Rebel Arts will contribute two features to the entertainment. Their players will present a one-act drama, directed by Nadia Abeles. The dance group, directed by Frances Leber, will appear in several of their distinctive arrangements.

Marie Rutes, a brilliant dramatic soprano, will sing. Lucille Sheinman will accompany her on the piano. Genevieve Kaufman will interpret several Russian songs, accompanied by Zelma Kaufman.

The decision to convert the celebration into a memorial came as a spontaneous recognition of the important and courageous part the Austrian women played in helping their brethren in their battle against the organized butchery of Dollfuss. The women remained behind the hastily erected barricades helping the ragged Socialists withstand the ravages of the murderous cannon trained against them, to the bitter end.

Y.P.S.L. NOTES

New York City Yipsels plan great membership drive. Increase of 1,000 in the next three months.

Instructions of the general membership meeting are here repeated: Circles to hold "Protest Austrian Fascism" meetings during the next two weeks. All arrangements for such meetings to be made through the City Office, Comrade Ben Fischer will be in charge of work. He will be in the City Office every day for the next two weeks.

All members are to observe the following instructions:

1. Refrain from being provoked by Communist fanatics, but permit no disturbance at any time during any meeting.
2. Under no conditions is abusive language to be used in our relations with the Communists, nor are Yipsels to apply the soubriquet of fascist to them.
3. Maintain order, discipline and continue as an organized body, regardless of circumstances.
4. Take orders from responsible officers and obey those instructions.

Socialist Party challenge to the lunatics who broke the unity of the working class, is the calling of an anti-Fascist demonstration at Carnegie Hall, Sunday, March 4th. Yipsels must report at 7 p. m. Attendance will be taken, as will disciplinary action against those who do not appear. We repeat—stick to the job assigned to you by the committee, and do not leave your post no matter what the provocation.

Circle 4 St., Manhattan, will hear Ben Koolin on "Economic Causes for Psychological Problems and Abnormalities."

Circle 4 Jr., Kings, is presenting the second of its series of lectures on Marxist Fundamentals. Henry Margulies will speak on the "Theory of Surplus Value." The next lecture will be on the Class Struggle.

Waldman Flays Richberg's Views On NRA in Symposium Address

By Aleck Miller

AN enthusiastic audience packed every corner of the Debs Auditorium last Saturday to hear Louis Waldman and Mathew Woll discuss "Labor Under the NRA," the fourth of a series of highly significant bi-weekly luncheons of the Rand School and the Educational Committee of the Socialist Party.

Waldman attacked the construction of Section 7a of the NRA by Donald R. Richberg, counsel of the Recovery Administration, as anti-labor and unsound.

He said: "Ironically enough the greatest blows of organized labor, the one bulwark against the tragic exploitation of the workers by their employers, come from the Administration's General Counsel, David R. Richberg. His last statement of February 4, issued jointly with General Johnson, whether so intended or not, was another vicious blow at organized labor."

"The learned General Counsel by 'interpretations' whittled away Section 7a, and whatever good it might have done. More, he limited labor's heretofore well recognized rights."

"This last interpretation" was gratuitous. It is a confused, illogical and unsound statement of the law. It was issued, mark you, not to clarify the law, but to nullify the good effect created for organized labor by the Executive Order issued by the President in connection with the arrogant, willful and lawless conduct of the Weirton Steel Company of Philadelphia. The statement begins by declaring that it is issued 'because of an erroneous press interpretation issued yesterday of the Executive Order of the President'... and 'to explain' what is and what is not covered by the Executive Order."

"The statement then continues to give aid and comfort to the open shoppers, to the company unions and to those bitter anti-union employers, who are delighted to learn that the action of a majority of the employees 'does not restrict or qualify in any way the right of minority groups of employees or of individual employees to deal with the employer.'"

"If that is not emasculating Section 7a of the law, then I do not know what is. Does the General Counsel for the Administration think for a moment that there is anything left to collective bargaining if the law is what he says it is?"

"And since when is collective bargaining confined to the action or the vote of even 'all the employees' of one plant? That is the doctrine dear to the hearts of the company union employers."

"Section 7a was designed to en-

The next discussion-luncheon is scheduled for March 3 on "Shall New York Ratify the Child Labor Amendment?" The speakers will be Cornelia Bryce Pinchot, crusading wife of the Governor of Pennsylvania; Owen R. Lovejoy, of the National Child Labor Committee, and Joseph Thomas Cushman, formerly Field Secretary of the National Security League, author of "Socialism and the Twentieth Amendment," etc.

large, not to diminish, those rights. It is of the essence of the life of our trade union movement that these rights be preserved. Anyone who assails them is an enemy of organized labor."

"Although Mr. Richberg speaks in the name of liberty and freedom of choice, when he makes his interpretation of Section 7a he really enunciates a reactionary doctrine, long since upset by the courts, and plays into the hands of coal and steel magnates and other large employers of labor who for years have been fighting the 'closed shop.' Already the coal operators have declared, on advice of counsel, that under the NRA 'an employer may not lawfully contract with a given labor union to employ none but its members.' Thus, the NRA will have outlawed the only effective weapon of labor in its battle for decent wages and working standards."

"If this interpretation of February 4th is permitted to stand, it will mean that the NRA is a step backward instead of a step forward for organized labor in the United States. For until the passage of the Recovery Act it has been the established law that a strike by union employees to unionize a shop is legal, even though non-union workers will be compelled to join the union or lose their jobs."

Mathew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. of L., found that the NRA had both its good and bad features for the labor movement.

"The National Industrial Recovery Act contains some points which are very dangerous to labor. Were the President not sympathetic and human, it would be the worst legal enactment in the history of America."

One good accomplished has been the revival of unionism, he said. Before the passage of the Act many unions were on the point of bankruptcy. It has filled their coffers and inspired them to conduct successful membership campaigns.

Much good, too, has been done in the matter of child labor and in the diminishing of sweatshop labor, said Woll. We have, too, got

the principle of the minimum wage and maximum hours written into the statute books. The A. F. of L. has hitherto disapproved of such laws applying to adult male workers, but it now approves of them. He continued:

"If I were a Socialist, I would approve the NRA. The Act does not provide for higher pay or shorter hours, nor does it give to labor a larger share in the product of industry. The approach is from the point of view of the welfare of industry rather than of the welfare of labor. I object to this law because it is based on the old idea that the government should provide for industry and then some of the prosperity will trickle down to labor. Labor is still at the foot of the table."

"Never did the organizations of industry have such power as they have now under this law."

"Had labor been given power equal to that of industry, I would not object. But when we turn to the labor section, we find that this is not a Magna Charta of labor. Section 7 is no more than a pious declaration. The right to organize is provided for in the Norris-LaGuardia bill. The only new thing provided by this bill is the provision against the yellow-dog contract."

CABMEN BUILDING STRONG UNION

Since the remarkable strike of the taxi drivers, rapid progress has been made towards organizing a solid union of the 30,000 taxi drivers in New York. The owners have at last come to the realization that they will have to reckon with the workers. Attempts by the large operators to form company unions have met with failure.

Some garages are virtually closed shops, the garage stewards seeing to it that nobody but union men obtain taxis. In a number of garages in the Bronx the bosses are dealing directly with the union committee and have agreed to allow the men to determine a rotating plan of work. Some of the bosses attempted to discriminate against men who had been active in the strike. Immediately they were faced with a militant united group who threatened to close up the shop if he continued.

Socialists continue to play a prominent part in the work. In the Bronx the headquarters of the union are now located in the Bronx Labor Center. Amicus Most is general organizer. In Brooklyn William Beedie is organizer. Comrades Panken and Levy are chief advisors to the union and are guiding the work of the Central Committee.

Tribute Paid to Martin Plettl at Farewell

FIVE hundred New York Socialists and trade unionists met in the Central Plaza Hall, 111 Second Ave., on the eve of Washington's Birthday, at a dinner held by the Labor Conference to Combat Hitlerism in honor of Martin Plettl, head of the German Clothing Workers' Union, now in exile in the United States.

After the meal President David Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union introduced B. C. Vladeck as toastmaster. Other speakers were Mrs. Meta Berger, Luigi Antonini, Morris Feinstein, Julius Hochman, Louis Hollander, Algernon Lee, J. Mahoney (A. F. of L. organizer), Isidore Nagler, Joseph Schlossberg, Nathaniel Spector, and Louis Waldman.

A message was read from Mathew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, and there was also a telegram of greeting from President William Green.

All voiced an earnest resolve to answer the attack of Hitler and Dollfuss by redoubled effort on behalf of democracy and the labor movement, here and abroad.

A collection was made for the victims of reaction in Europe, totaling \$4,535.

It was midnight when the guest of honor was introduced, but the audience listened with keen interest to his earnest and lucid address and enthusiastically applauded his prediction that with moral and material support from this country the European movement, which has been decimated and driven underground, will before long begin the overthrow of all dictatorships.

Features of the Week on (231 M.) WEVD (1399 K.)

Sunday, Feb. 25—11 a. m., Forward Hour; 8 p. m., Adele Katz on "New Forms of Old Music"; 8:45, Symposium: "The Theatre and Society"; 10, Symposium; 10:45, William Bowers, Negro baritone.

Monday, Feb. 26—3 a. m., New York's Leading Events; 8:05, Psychology Clinic of the Air—Dr. Jacob List; 4:30 p. m., Actors' Dinner Club; 4:45, Musicale—Charlotte Tonhary (violinist), Blanche Eichmann (soprano), Carlo Lanzilotti (bass); 5:45, Child Study Association—Mrs. Cecile Pipel, Director of Child Study Groups, author and lecturer, discusses "Bridging the Gap Between the Older and Younger Generation."

Tuesday, Feb. 27—5 p. m., G.C.N.Y. Dramatic Group; 5:45, Helen Steele, contralto; 8:15, Herman Bernstein, editor, Jewish Daily Bulletin; 8:45, WEVD University of the Air—Michel Strange; 10:45, WEVD University of the Air—Philosophy Course; 10:30, "Around the Samovar"—Zinoia Nicolina (soprano), Vladimir Radeef, Simon Philippoff, and Zora's Gypsy Orchestra.

Wednesday, Feb. 28—5:45 p. m., Elizabeth Andros, contralto; 8, The Nation Radiatorial Board; 10, "The Heart of New York"—talk, poetry, and music; 10:30, Half-Hour with Shakespeare—"The Taming of the Shrew"; Edward Dolze and Associate Players.

Thursday, March 1—5:45 p. m., Marjorie Harris, songs, with Conrad and Tremont, piano duo; 8, Metropolitan Ensemble; 10, Mildred Anderson, contralto; 10:30, Grand Opera Excerpts—"La Traviata."

Friday, March 2—4:30 p. m., William M. Feigenbaum, The New Leader review; 4:45, Helen Lanvin, contralto; 5:45, "Musical Cities"—Rosalie Housman (composer), Lydia Mason (pianist); 5:45, Maria Minetzka, contralto; 10, Gregory Matusevich, concertina artist; 10:15, WEVD University of the Air; 10:30, Florence Stars Gypsy Orchestra.

Saturday, March 3—3:45, Debate: New York University vs. Brooklyn City College; 5, "Author Reviews His Book"—reviews of books of social significance; 5:15, "Labor Marches On," sketch; 6:45, Eva Miller, contralto; 7:45, Frances Adler, actress—"The Life of Her Father"; 8, Concert Hour—Helen Bishop (soprano), Frances Jenkins (mezzo soprano), Metropolitan String Ensemble; 8:30, Music Hall Program—Helen Steele (contralto), Conrad and Tremont (piano duo), "The Three Cheers"; 10, Tom Burke, Irish baritone.

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

APRIL 15th!

WATCH FOR FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS OF DETAILS OF

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TUCKERS, STITCHERS and PLEATERS' UNION, Local 66, I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St. Phone ALgonquin 4-3657-2658. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union, 2 L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; Joe Goff, Secretary-Treasurer.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th St., New York, N. Y. Phone TOMpkins Square 6-5400. L. Hollender, J. Catalani, 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 135 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 W. 109th St., Brooklyn; STagg 2-0798. Reg. meetings 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice Pres., Stephen Tobasko; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mandel; Treasurer, Albert Heib.

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

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

AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1, Offices, Amalithone 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, 30 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 581, I. U. of T. Office: 259 W. 14th St., City. Local 534 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.

UNITED NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone ALgonquin 4-7081. 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 TYPOGRAPHICAL 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., 290-7th 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 3-5756-5757. A. Snyder, Manager; S. SHORE, Executive Supervisor.

Party Notes

New York City
Special meeting City Central Committee, Wednesday evening, Feb. 23, at People's House, 7 East 15th St.
INTERNATIONAL BAZAAR at the People's House, 7 East 15th St., on March 23-24-25.

MANHATTAN
Village (201 Sullivan St.)—Movies, "Fall of St. Petersburg," dancing, refreshments, Saturday, Feb. 24. Branch meeting, Monday, Feb. 26.
Upper West Side (100 West 72nd St.)—Executive and Bazaar Committees, Feb. 26, at headquarters.
19th-21st A.D. (2005 7th Ave.)—Branch meeting, Tuesday, Feb. 27. Card party and dance, Saturday, Feb. 24.
Washington Heights—"They Shall Not Die!" the new Theatre Guild production based on the Scottsboro case, Theatre Party, April 3. How about postponing seeing it a little while, and help-

Socialist Forum Calendar

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

SUNDAY FEBRUARY 25
Dr. Alter E. Fischhof—"Life and Ideals of Karl Marx"—Yorkville Forum, 241 E. 84th St.
Dr. William E. Bohn—"Americanism and Socialism"—3:30 p. m.—People's Forum, 2005 7th Ave.

Haim Kantorovitch—"Socialism and Trade Unions"—2nd lecture in series of four, 8 p. m.—Flushing Forum, Room 221, Terminal Bldg., Roosevelt Ave., near Main St., Flushing, L. I.
Irving Brown—"Why the Austrian Socialists Fought"—Village Branch, 201 Sullivan St.

Speaker and topic to be announced—Shepherd Bay Forum, 2061 Ave. X, Brooklyn.

Leonard C. Kaye—"Some Tendencies Indicated by the Policy of the NRA"—6th A.D. Branch Forum, 95 Ave. B.
Jean J. Coronel: Topic to be announced—Forum in home of Miss Palumbo, 4 P. M.—349 Rodney St., Brooklyn.

Bob Parker—"Austria"—1148 St. Nicholas Ave., Y.P.S.U., Circle 2, Srs. I.
MONDAY FEBRUARY 26
William M. Feigenbaum—"Peace and War"—Astoria Branch Forum, 399 Steinway Ave., Astoria, L. I.
Al Meyer—"Village Branch, 201 Sullivan St."

Haim Kantorovitch—"Socialism and Democracy"—Washington Heights Branch, 1148 St. Nicholas Ave.

TUESDAY FEBRUARY 27
Bernard Korn—"Socialism in the Trade Unions"—Sunnyside Forum, 4915 43rd Ave., Sunnyside, L. I.
William Karlin—"The New Epoch"—Midwood Forum, Room 54, 1401 Kings Highway, Brooklyn.

J. D. Sayers—"Esperanto—Its Growth and Value to the Socialist New World"—2nd A.D. Jewish Branch, 579 Dumont Ave., Brooklyn.

August Tyler—"The Modern Worker"—3rd lecture in series of six—Bensonhurst Forum, 6618 Bay Pkwy., B'klyn.

Herbert M. Merrill—"Technocracy and Socialism"—Flushing Branch, Room 221, Terminal Bldg., Roosevelt Ave., near Main St., Flushing, L. I.

Speaker and topic to be announced—Jamaica Branch, Queens Labor Center, 137-18 Jamaica Ave., Jamaica, L. I.

Speaker and topic to be announced—Far Rockaway Forum, 1851 Mott Ave., Far Rockaway, L. I.

ing a party branch? All party members and friends who intend to see this play are asked to write for tickets to Morris L. Miller, 328 East 122nd St., and the earlier the choice the seats will be.

4th A.D. (95 Ave. B)—Branch meeting, Monday, Feb. 26, 8:30 p.m.
Morningside Heights (600 West 125th St.)—Business meeting and forum for members, Tuesday, Feb. 27.

BRONX
Bronx Ball, March 17, Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves. Ads are being secured for the Journal.
7th A.D. (789 Elmsere Place)—Tuesday, Feb. 27, 8:30 p.m., business meeting at headquarters.

8th A.D. (Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves.)—Tuesday, Feb. 27, card party at headquarters.

BROOKLYN
Downtown (157 Montague St.)—Dance, Saturday, Feb. 24, at Apollo Studios, 331 Carlton Ave., corner Greene Ave.

Next business meeting, Thursday, Mar. 8, at headquarters. Branch executive committee meeting, same date, 7 p.m.

Midwood (1401 Kings Highway, Room 54)—Important business meeting, Monday, Feb. 26, 8:30 p.m.

Brighton Beach (1113 Brighton Beach Ave.)—Jacob Panken gave a stirring speech on the Austrian Revolution, Friday, Feb. 16. Tremendous crowd attended the showing of suppressed anti-religious Russian film and Charlie Chaplin picture Saturday night, followed by dancing and refreshments. Executive Committee meeting, Monday, Feb. 26. Preparations being made for a bridge party and Russian costume social.

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WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 28
Helen Alfred—"\$25,000,000 for Housing"—Village Branch, 201 Sullivan St.
Debate—Alfred Bingham vs. August Tyler: "Should the Socialist Party Help in the Formation of a New Third Party?"—West-Bronx Socialist Forum, Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves., Bronx.

THURSDAY, MARCH 1
August Tyler—"Origin of Capitalism"—Downtown Branch, 157 Montague St., Brooklyn.

FRIDAY, MARCH 2
Debate—Huey P. Long vs. Norman Thomas: "Capitalism Is Doomed and Cannot Now Be Saved by a Redistribution of Wealth"—Brooklyn Forum, Mecca Temple, 131 W. 55th St., Manh.

William Gombert—"A Socialist Program for Municipalities"—East Flatbush Branch, 539 East 95th St., Brooklyn.
Dr. Siegfried Lipschitz—"Hitler Germany and Socialism"—22nd A.D. Branch Forum, 861 Sutter Ave., Brooklyn.

Speaker and topic to be announced—23rd A.D. Branch 2, 1574 St. Marks Ave., Brooklyn.

TO THE BRANCHES

To Branches and YPSL Circles of Local New York, Socialist Party.

Comrades:—

If proof was still needed, the events a Madison Square Garden last Friday conclusively proved that the Communists are implacable and unscrupulous enemies of the Socialist and Labor movement.

There was nothing spontaneous in the behavior of the Communists at the Garden meeting. It was deliberately planned and organized. Their intention was to disrupt the meeting if they could not capture it.

There is nothing true or sincere in the explanations which they began to make as soon as they realized that their conduct was alienating many of their own sympathizers. Men who come to a meeting with such purposes as they now pretend do not place themselves in squads under leaders and proceed to make a disturbance before a single speaker has been introduced.

Certainly, they do not come to the meeting with knives, scissors, blackjacks, and other concealed weapons. They do not hurl chairs from the galleries upon the people below.

Nor was this action of the New York Communists only a local

blunder. It was in line with the campaign of slander against the Austrian Socialists which was launched by Communists in Europe as well as here as soon as Dollfuss began his murderous assault.

With such elements the Socialist Party can have no dealings without forfeiting its self-respect and betraying its mission by becoming a partner in the vile work of disrupting the workingclass movement.

The Action Committee of Local New York accordingly declares that:

No branch or circle is to conduct, support, or participate in any debate, symposium, or joint meeting in which Communists are to take part; any approval which may already have been given for such events is hereby revoked;

No party member or Yipsel is to participate in any debate, symposium, or joint meeting in which Communists take part, no matter under what auspices such event takes place;

No branch or circle is to send delegates to any conference or joint committee in which the Communist Party or any of its auxiliaries and so-called "innocent" clubs" are represented; if any such delegates have already been elected, they are to be withdrawn;

No party members or Yipsel belonging to any other organization are to accept or serve as its delegate to any such conference or joint committee.

Algernon Lee, Chairman.
Julius Gerber, Secretary.

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YPSELS PLAN AID FOR AUSTRIANS

More than seven hundred New York Young Socialists met in a rousing, enthusiastic meeting to discuss the problems raised by the events at the Madison Square Garden last Friday.

The hall was jammed by 8 o'clock, a half hour before the meeting started. The meeting was called to order by Aaron Levenstein, the chairman who announced the inauguration of the "Defend Vienna Campaign." Local and district meetings will be held to demonstrate our solidarity with the heroic Socialist workers in Austria.

He then introduced Phil Heller who presented a detailed history of the rise and growth of the Austrian Socialist movement. The listeners thrilled to the dramatic story of the heroic fight for Socialism put up by our Austrian comrades.

The assemblage then rose in silent commemoration of our martyred Austrian brothers, singing "The Red Flag."

Comrade Levenstein reviewed the events of the last few days, depicting in a striking manner the brave fight the Austrian Socialists put up against Fascist reaction. He also described the disruptive tactics of the Communists throughout the entire Austrian situation, reading articles and editorials from the "Daily Worker" of a deliberately provocative character. Reminding the members that the Communist Party saw the early dissolution of their movement and was trying to head it off by slanderous attacks on the Socialist movement, he called on all Yipsels to redouble their activity in all fields. He reminded them that the rank and file Communists were beginning to realize that the tactics of the CI were vicious and disruptive and for that reason were ready to join the YPSL if they were approached in a proper manner. It was suggested that Communists be invited to the local meetings.

Comrade Schachner then gave the members definite instructions as to their conduct during the "Defend Vienna Campaign." They are printed elsewhere.

After some discussion and a short talk by Comrade Fritz Eisner, a New York Yipsel and a former member of the Austrian Schutzbund, the meeting adjourned with the singing of the Internationale.

Socialist Teachers Organize

In accordance with the new policy of the Labor Committee of the Socialist Party in organizing party members in their respective trade unions, a meeting of teachers who are party members was held in the Rand School Friday, Feb. 17. The teachers, after listening to Dr. Louis Hendin, Chairman of the Labor Committee, laid plans for a line of activity including a drive to bring all teachers who are party members into the Teachers' Union.

There are many Socialist teachers eligible for membership. The next regular meeting of the group will take place Friday, March 3rd, at the Rand School.

LECTURES and FORUMS

The Debate That Will Thrill New York!
Resolved that—"Capitalism Is Doomed and Cannot Now Be Saved by a Redistribution of Wealth"

HUEY P. LONG says: NO
NORMAN THOMAS says: YES

DR. HENRY NEWMANN—Chairman
FRIDAY, March 2nd—8:30 P. M. MECCA TEMPLE
-Tickets: 25c - 50c - 75c - \$1.00 - \$1.50 - \$2.00 (Tax Exempt)
At Sale: Rand Book Store; Columbia Book Store; New York University.

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At COOPER UNION
8th STREET and ASTOR PLACE
At 8 o'clock Admission Free

Friday, February 23rd—
NATHANIEL PEPPER
"The Twilight of Capitalism"

Sunday, February 25th—
PROFESSOR
HOUSTON PETERSON
"Ominous Symbols: The Psychology of a Plunger"

Tuesday, February 27th—
PROFESSOR
EDWARD KASNER
"Development of the Number Concept"

Friday, March 2nd—
NATHANIEL PEPPER
"Nationalism and Capitalism: Survival or Decay?"
All lectures start at 8 P.M.

INGERSOLL FORUM

PYTHIAN TEMPLE, 135 W. 70th Street
SUNDAYS, 8 P. M.—Admission 25 cents
February 25th—SYMPOSIUM
"Are the Jews Superior?"
Speakers: Dr. Wolf Adler, J. T. Kewish, Woolsey Teller, Dr. J. R. Verner, Thomas Wright, L. E. Schlechter.
Questions, discussion, heckling.

MASS MEETING

FRIDAY, February 23rd—8 P.M.
ROYAL PALACE, 16 Manhattan Ave.
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"SIGNIFICANCE OF PREPAREDNESS WEEK"
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Austrian Rising Greatest Labor Epic Since Days of the Paris Commune

A Proletarian Symphony That Will Live Forever

The following is the speech of the Editor of The New Leader that was not delivered at Madison Square Garden because of the sabotage of the meeting by the Communists.

THESE February days have provided the greatest labor epic in the ages-long struggle of the working masses to be free. When the proletariat of Paris rose 62 years ago to defend the communal autonomy of the city and assert the claims of the workers to a self-disciplined democracy, men, women and children of our class gladly gave their lives for their cause. The pathos and Spartan heroism of that conflict will never be forgotten.

Who can forget Rigault shouting *Vive la Commune* while a brutal soldiery beat out his brains in the street; Milliere, uncovering his breast to the bullets of conscripts and crying, *Vive le peuple*. Dellecluze, reproached by his comrades, walking out into the streets to his death; the men and women who held their red banner above the barricades till the last survivor fell from a bayonet thrust; the multitudes shot by trenches and slaughtered on the boulevards, and the exiles to New Caledonia.

Our French comrades sleep in Pere Lechaise Cemetery where, annually, pilgrimages to their graves are made by grateful workingmen and women. They are remembered while the bloody Thiers and his executioners are forgotten.

And now thousands of the Austrian proletariat, men, women and children, have written a proletarian symphony that will never be forgotten till the earth grows cold and life is no more on this planet. Their deeds, their heroism and their fortitude leave us bankrupt of words to express our emotions. And little Dollfuss—nay, we may say, the Little Assassin—is paired in infamy with the bloody Thiers.

Those who fought in the working class quarters of Vienna and other Austrian cities were not conscript armies swayed by the narcotic of upper class deceit and chicane. No martial music of imperialism guided them to the slaughter pits of the exploiters of mankind. No. They were workingmen and women equipped with the civilized proletarian culture of their age and fighting the barbaric Fascism of an expiring old order.

Nay, even more. They were fighting not alone for the Austria which they had dragged out of the bloody ruins into which their ruling classes had plunged it. They were fighting for the workers of Europe and of the world. They knew that while they braved death in their homes and in the hills of their beautiful country, the workers of all nations, and every other human being who strives for a warless and classless

world, watched every shift of the conflict with profound anxiety. If sympathetic hearts all over the world could beat down the pillars of despotism in this tragic week, Austrian reaction would have passed into oblivion the first night of the conflict. This our Austrian comrades knew.

These fighters for the freedom of Austria, these fighters facing the aristocratic parasites leading illiterate peasants, gangsters and the rotting criminals of the underworld, had endured measureless provocations. Their labor, genius and statesmanship had made Vienna a garden spot in building a new and nobler order. Here a culture embracing the best of the social sciences and social engineering flowered in the homes they built to house the proletariat. Here workingmen, women and children gathered in their singing societies and sang their hopes of a time when peasant and wage slave would be secure and free. Here they built an inspiring human solidarity in their trade unions, their cooperatives, their Social Democratic Party, and their cultural organizations.

Aye, here they worked and dreamed amidst the wreckage left by the imperialist World War. Here, hating physical conflict and bloodshed, they also retained their arms. Not to destroy the hateful parasitic elements that clustered about their garden, but to prevent that garden from being trampled under by the bourgeois vandals. They lived in apprehension in the last five tragic years that their garden might be invaded by the new-style vandals. Over every proletarian household brooded fears that the bloody storm would break and these peaceful workers, yearning for universal peace, were prepared to defend their garden if it were invaded by the Fascist bands.

Ruling by a mandate in the beautiful city hall by a vote of more than 65 per cent of the electorate of Vienna, these workers represented the most advanced city democracy in the world, a democracy representing the toilers and others who regarded Vienna as a mirror reflecting what the world should ultimately be. Every type of reaction was free to appeal to the supporters of this Socialist Democracy. No arbitrary decrees deprived reaction of that appeal. Unable to win the minds that harbored this democracy, the Dollfuss mercenaries decided to destroy the bodies that possessed these minds.

I have said that the Vienna proletariat had for years endured measureless provocations. They had endured illegal arrests and searches of their homes. Vienna had been deprived of the control of her police department and the Federal Government withdrew funds that were essential to Vienna's social services. Parliament was suspended and two petitions to have it reconvened were confiscated by a servile court. Even the celebration of the anniversary of the founding of the republic was last year prohibited. The Heimwehr Fascists were even made an auxiliary of the Vienna police.

Last week the Heimwehr began to trample upon Vienna's garden. Socialist and trade union buildings

Dedicate Our Lives for the Cause for Which They Died

were occupied by the mercenaries of Dollfuss. The hideous menace of Fascism marched like a Caliban through the city to destroy what the workers had built through fifteen years of a terrible economic crisis and intolerable miseries. The hour of the fateful "final conflict" had arrived.

The general strike led to conflicts and the conflicts to civil war. The garden was overrun by the Fascist mercenaries. Workers and their families turned to arms in their apartment homes. Then began the most heroic struggle since the first captives of antiquity revolted against their enslavers.

We can never forget the workmen who died behind the barricades and in the homes shelled by the Fascist artillery. Recorded upon our memories like livid scars are the women and children who passed ammunition to the husbands and fathers fighting the brigands that Dollfuss turned loose upon Vienna. That shoemaker caught with arms in hand and perishing at the end of a Fascist noose, the physician who was executed with a cry of loyalty to the proletarian class which he served, will never be forgotten.

And now proletarian Vienna has perished. In its smoking ruins the Fascist vandals trample under what remnants are left of the garden that was Vienna, but the heroic deeds of our class in Austria will never perish from the memory of mankind. We who watched and were unable to join them feel so little in the presence of this bloody labor epic that has made strong men weep and that has evoked the sympathy of mankind all over the world.

It remains for us to ask, "What can we do to make ourselves worthy of those who died for us?" Our answer is, dedicate our lives to the cause for which these men, women and children gave till they had no more to give. Let us swear eternal enmity to despotism and Fascism in all its forms and resolve to live and to die, if need be, as our comrades in Austria lived and died.

I cannot close without recalling the verse of Alfred Noyes to Copernicus dedicated to an advance courier of intellectual freedom and which may be fittingly ascribed to our dead and the living who are hunted through Austrian hills.

*"I speak not for myself, but for the age unborn,
I caught the fire from those who went before,
The bearers of the torch who could not see
The goal to which they strained. I caught their fire,
And carried it, only a little way beyond;
But there are those that wait for it, I know,
Those who will carry it on to victory.
I dare not fail them. Look back, I see
Those others,—fallen, with their arms outstretched,
Dead, pointing to the future."*

The Communists Succeed in Uniting the Socialists

By George I. Steinhardt

MEN and women of all shades of political opinion came to the Madison Square Garden inspired by the bravery of the Austrian Socialists, their hearts filled with grief because of the butchery of these courageous workers and their leaders. To the Garden also came the Communists. They chanted, "Socialists and Communists, Unite and Fight." Professedly, they came to express their solidarity with us in this dramatic situation.

But no sooner had they occupied strategic sections than they proceeded systematically to disrupt the meeting. Our speakers were interrupted with boos, songs, derisive shouts.

The meeting was forced to defend itself against the atrocities of the Communists who came in disguise of friends. This was the conception of a united front.

Instead of uniting, they chose fighting. To the credit of our comrades, young and old, let it be said the challenge was met. Once the fighting commenced, we took the offensive and maintained it. To the discredit of the Communists, let it be said that when our groups invaded their ranks to drag out their ringleaders, their mob sat back cowed.

The Communists succeeded in disrupting our meeting. But in doing so they united the ranks within our party. As a result of the dastardly provocations of the contemptible Communists, our party today presents a united front against all enemies of Socialism.

I talked to hundreds of our members in the Garden. Many of them had favored a united front with the Communists. Others were tolerant towards the idea. But now this friendship for the Communists has turned to bitterness. They are determined to crush the disrup-

tionists within the ranks of labor.

At the Bronx County headquarters our Yipsels, former friends of the united front and antagonists of the "Old Guard" within the party, underwent an amazing change. They approached me on Friday evening and expressed strong feelings of resentment against the Communists and love and admiration for the "Old Guard" who faced the fray in the Garden with unflinching courage. As one of those who was tolerant towards the Communists, I unqualifiedly and wholeheartedly endorse and share the views of these Yipsels and the rest of the members who faced the disgraceful scenes in the Garden.

I arranged the recent debate between Norman Thomas and Robert Minor, and was arranging a return debate between them to be held in April. This is now definitely off. It may be all right to debate with the Heimwehr wearing the Heimwehr uniform, but when they come disguised in workmen's clothes—never!

While I deplore that the Communists disrupted our meeting, I thank them for uniting our party.

BRIGHT DEMANDS MODEL HOMES

TWO hundred members of the Unemployed Citizens' League of New Rochelle marched on City Hall last Monday night and presented a ten-point program to the City Council through their spokesman, Lyle Wilson, president of the league, and Leonard Bright, chairman of the Socialist Party's public affairs committee.

A leading editorial in the hard-shelled Republican "Standard-Star" declared: "An impressive part of this demonstration, if it may be called such, was the apparent sincerity and complete orderliness with which it was staged," adding: "Even the City Council, which stated it has no authority to consider some of the demands presented, must have been moved by the scene."

The highlight of the hearing came when Leonard Bright, in mentioning the model apartments in Vienna in connection with his advocacy of slum clearance and the

building of decent dwellings for workers, was interrupted by Mayor Walter G. O. Otto. "I hope," said the Mayor, "our houses are not blown down like those words."

To which Bright retorted, "I hope we shall have no fascist troops who will try to take our homes away from us."

Socialists Rally in Sweden

STOCKHOLM.—Between 10,000 and 15,000 Swedish Socialists demonstrated here in protest against Hitlerism in Germany and Fascism in Austria. The Swedish Trades Union Congress has forwarded to the Socialist International \$12,500 for the relief of the Austrian Socialists.

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 (1300 Kc.) Friday, March 2nd.
Dr. William E. Bohn, educational director of the Rand School and frequent contributor to The New Leader, is the speaker on The New Leader period Friday, February 23rd, at the same time.

Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

Austria and the Critics of Marxism

There is one aspect of the struggle in Austria last week that is very important. Not only have many of our capitalist opponents declared that Marxism carries with it a fatalism which paralyzes the will, but we have heard this within the Socialist Party in recent years. This has sometimes been accompanied with a cynical sneer that is irritating because of its smug assurance of finality. The criticism is not only shallow; it has its answer in our glorious comrades who gave their lives to the Socialist cause in Austria and others who are now prisoners of the Heimwehr gangsters.

Where in all history, excepting the Paris Commune, have there been men and women of the working class so possessed with the will to win as the proletarians of Austria? The Austrian Social Democratic Party was the most Marxist party in the International. It was here that we would expect Marxism to have its deadening effect upon the will; instead we have men and women of the working class, Marxists, facing Fascist artillery and machine guns in their homes. Even after the Fascist reaction had announced that the rising had perished, workers lifted the lids of sewers and answered the Fascists with rifle shots!

The powder-puff critic has his answer while the barber is giving him his massage. Marxism restrains workers from fool enterprises but it also prepares them for the "final conflict." To be sure, even Marxists can make mistakes, but it is our opinion that the will becomes palsied to the extent that our basic philosophy is adulterated.

Traducing the Dead

While we are on this subject, Socialist duty impels me to refer to an incident of a few months ago. The "American Guardian" carried a reprint from a European correspondent of the New York "Times." Some of this correspondent's stories indicate that he has pro-Mussolini sympathies. The burden of this correspondent's story was that the Austrian Socialists lacked the fighting spirit. The whole trend of the story was to discredit the working class movement in Austria. Just why this item was selected by the "Guardian" for display to its readers we do not know. Perhaps its editor thought that, as its articles in favor of inflation brought it a circulation among farmers, so it would bring it new readers among non-Socialists.

We have long kept silent regarding the mish-mash served by the "Guardian," but in the perspective of events in Austria the carrying of that story has become a burning shame. The honor of the Socialist Party itself is involved when a party member can indulge in this sort of thing. Some of us knew what was coming in Austria. We knew of the preparations being made by the Austrian party for a "final conflict" which the members did much to avoid. Here in our own ranks was a party member passing a story on to his readers without attempting to check it. He also has his answer in the smoking ruins of Vienna's working class homes, in the comrades who have been executed by the Fascist Heimwehr, and in the children of our class who have been orphaned by the machine guns and artillery of Dollfuss' mercenaries.

Comrades of the Socialist Party: We owe to the movement for which brave men, women and children died the duty of picking up the torch that has fallen from their dead hands. To be worthy of carrying it we cannot tolerate this sort of thing. Not only does the proletariat of Austria bleed, but the class-conscious workers of all countries sorrow over our fallen comrades. The recreant traducer has no place in the ranks of those who mourn our dead.

Democratic Self-Discipline

In 1905 the writer was soap-boxing in Ohio. The "Toledo Socialist" offered a prize for the best essay on party democracy and discipline. As a youngster of 30 he was tickled to win the prize. Here are a few paragraphs from that essay, the whole of which he would accept today:

"The greatest necessity in the Socialist Party today is a strong, self-disciplined party organization with a democratized machinery responding to the initiative and expressing the will of the dues-paying membership.

"Education expressing the proletarian ideals of the party is indeed necessary, but this will not avail to make the party organization free from the self-seeker and the faddist, though it is an important aid thereto. The Socialist imbued with proletarian ideals and sound Marxian formulas may be in the majority in the party organization and yet may be outwitted by a few men not in accord with those ideals. The latter by their training and experience in a capitalist party or similar organizations, are able to master the proletarians by a strategic move or by taking advantage of certain rules. It is a delusive harmony that is bought at the price of permitting vicious tendencies in the party.

"There are always those who are willing to write our platforms and constitutions and to general assume a paternal proprietorship over OUR party if WE let them. But there is always the possibility that they will not conduct it as we would. We may make mistakes, but, once made, there is little danger that we will repeat them."

Considering that there are some who would reverse this democratic self-control and discipline, I am glad to recall this essay which met general approval by party members.

LIBERTY AND NOT DICTATORSHIP

[Address of B. Charney Vladeck at the luncheon of the League for Industrial Democracy, January 27, at the Town Hall Club. The close of the address was in reply to a few remarks made by Miss Jennie Lee.]

B. C. Vladeck Shows How Dictatorship and Liberty Are No Two Freedoms for the Same People

MR. HITLER'S Totalitarian State is a new name for a pretty old concept. It is that the State supersedes everything and that the official leader of the State is the State. A few generations ago a gentleman by the name of Louis XIV expressed it very tersely in three words—*L'etat c'est moi*—I am the State. Before him and after him the Russian Czars lived up to the idea of a Totalitarian State more efficiently than any of their contemporaries.

Mr. Hitler is the only one who is attempting to improve upon them. Of all the distinguished speakers at this table I am the only one to have the distinction of having been born under the red

beard of Alexander III, who began his public pronouncements with the words, "I, the Emperor of all the Russians . . ." This, parenthetically, should be a consolation to all who are born under the clipped moustache of Mr. Hitler. For I have lived to see Czarism dead beyond any possibility of resurrection.

Like the absolute and autocratic state of the Czars, the Totalitarian State suffers no vestige of democracy. Like Czarism, the Totalitarian State permits no organization except its own, no thought except one of submission, no freedom except the freedom of oppression. Like Czarism, the Totalitarian State permits no workers' organizations, no free newspapers, no free assembly, and like it, it uses the Jews as a lightning rod against the wrath of the people.

It does nothing but repeat the

Czarist phrases about a place in the sun for the great Russian Empire, about uniting the national sentiment and about spreading civilization in the East. *And like Czarism it carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction.* For the Totalitarian State, like the Czarist State, like the Corporate State, means aggression. Aggression means war and war means revolution. The Totalitarian State will not last as long as the Czarist State for the simple reason that the forces operating against it are more powerful and more mature. It is much easier to keep under the leash a country of peasants, scattered on two continents in isolated settlements, than a country composed of several sharply defined classes congregated in the cities and who have already tasted the advantages of social and political organization.

However, it must be borne in mind that even before Mr. Hitler's Totalitarian State came into being, liberty ceased to be a goddess and became a waif. The great conglomeration of poets, philosophers, educators and orators who had extolled liberty since the days of the French Revolution, have for the last fifteen years or so with equal zeal extolled the beauty and charm of the Proletarian State—the mental godfather of the Totalitarian State. Hitler discarded liberty and democracy because they are the companions of Socialism. The Proletarian State discarded liberty and democracy because they are the companions of capitalism. First democracy was violated so that a strictly Leninistic interpretation of the teaching of Karl Marx might endure forever, and then democracy was violated so that the teachings of Karl Marx might be banished forever. Both the Proletarian and Totalitarian State say, "But what benefits it a man if he retain the ballot but has no job and no bread? Does freedom include the right to be unemployed and be sent into the trenches?" To which we say that so far only one thing is certain, that great masses of humanity have been deprived of their freedom but they have not been rewarded with either more bread or



B. C. Vladeck

more peace. The deficiencies of the people express. No ignorant people can build an intelligent political people will suffer. Under a democracy at least have their bread. While under any dictatorship their bread the hands of others. The meaning of liberty has changed within the last century. First it meant justice and over-ment liberty from the Feudal State. Then liberty from the church. Liberty also meant injustice and a full Today liberty means complete liberty, and social democracy. These abstract terms have been expanded of the intelligence of the people. England people Minister as a part of citizenship, watarian, Proletarian State they can't constable without

And Just Why Did the Air Mail Have to Be Given to the Army?

By Wm. M. Feigenbaum

OF course army flyers will handle the air mails efficiently and economically. That goes without saying.

Why was the air mail turned over to private lines in the first place? (Of course we know the answer; considering the hard-boiled capitalist psychology of the rulers of the country in the piping times of bull-market "prosperity," the wonder is that an apology was not made and rebates turned over for profits they lost during the brief period of public operation.)

Of course, General Goethals made a magnificent success of digging the Panama Canal after fantastically over-paid private enterprise had made a ghastly failure of the job. And General Jadwin and General Gorgas and other army engineers and surgeons did superb work in building the Canal, great bridges, roads, and other engineering work, in sanitary work and in war upon yellow fever, malaria and other disease.

Indeed, every peace-time job undertaken by some public agency has been brilliantly successful as contrasted with miserable failure when undertaken by private enterprise. The only possible comparison with the work of the army surgeons in warring on yellow fever at the risk of their own lives is the selfless work of scientists for the great foundations in laboratory and in the field—but there, too, the profit motive is absent and public service is the object.

But why must the Army get credit for work that is essentially non-military? Indeed, in its implications positively anti-military?

Everywhere we see the collapse of private enterprise, disaster due solely to the existence of the profit motive. The private carrying of the air mail is only the latest and most spectacular incident of its kind; but housing (for profit), employment (for profit), distribution of food and other necessities of life (for profit) have been so disastrously unsuccessful that the world lies in ruins because of the un-success of the profit motive in securing a decently workable world.

The Army can—and will—fly

the air mail efficiently, economically and without graft.

BUT WHY DOES IT HAVE TO BE THE ARMY?

In the big military build-up, preparing the people for preparedness "against" the "next" war, the subtle, sinister and increasing militarist propaganda is eagerly seizing upon the success of army conduct of the air mails as a point in favor of building up the army and the air forces.

But the success of the Army flyers is in no sense a success of the Army and of militarism. IT IS A SUCCESS OF ENTERPRISE FOR USE AND PUBLIC SERVICE AS OPPOSED TO ENTERPRISE FOR PROFIT.

Tying it up with the Army is part of the campaign of militarism. It is prostitution of public enterprise.

Look over the field of public enterprise and see what is being done when the profit element is eliminated.

The brave and efficient Coast Guard, battling storms and perils at sea and saving lives, charting channels and mapping oceans and harbors. The Coast and Geodetic Survey. The management of Yellowstone Park (and of Bear Mountain, Jones Beach and other playgrounds within New York State). The management of the Panama Railway and its associated enterprises. The great water system of New York and other great cities, the school systems and the State Universities—with all their shortcomings—are striking examples of what can be done AND IS BEING DONE in countless lines of human endeavor with the profit element eliminated.

Turning the air mails over to public operation was a good thing and a sound lesson in public versus private enterprise. Turning them over to the Army, of all government agencies, is designed to divert public attention from the real issue—that is, the virtue of public operation as opposed to the evils and graft of private operation—and it directs that attention to the military using the success of public enterprise as implied argument for militarism.

There is more to this than meets the naked eye.

To the Victims of THE AUSTRIAN REPRESSION

AND a faded leaf and a blood-stained coin is yours
you will have for the keeping,
And a troubled peace and a broken laugh in a world
world gone blind with weeping,
But we who have lost the feather and heard the
death-horns blow—
Shall pass through mists of tears and blood to a
land you shall never know.

BLACK grows a hell in the heart when the burial
torches are gleaming
Upon the dear, still faces white with death and past
their dreaming,
But ah, the fierce, insistent pang that is mad and
hot and grand—
The terrible recompense that you can never understand.

FOR you always win and we always lose in the
the death-duels of the world,
But what is there left to you when your battle-flags
are furled?
For the dead heave and moan beneath your con-
quering feet,
And we have still the rags of honor in the wreck of
the retreat.

SHIP FOR THE WORKING MASSES

Singles and Stifles Those it Rules. There for the People of the World.

2333 years ago an old man of 70 by the name of Socrates stood up before an assembly of his fellow citizens, swayed by prejudice and ignorance, and said: "I would have you know that if you kill such a one as I am, you will injure yourselves more than you will injure me. For if you kill me, you will not easily find another like me who am a sort of gadfly which God has given the State and all day long and in all places am always fastening upon you, arousing and persuading and reproaching you."

But the tyranny of the State in the days of Socrates was child's play in comparison with the all-powerful State of today. The people who made Socrates drink the hemlock were only ignorant and prejudiced. The people who make the Socrateses of today drink the hemlock are glorified gangsters perpetrating the most cruel crimes in the name of high-sounding abstractions of State.

Since the days of Socrates generations of heroes have perished on the gallows and guillotines of the world, fighting for the principles of the gadfly, for the right to resist, for the privilege to think, for the joy of self-expression, and it is inconceivable that all these sacrifices should have been in vain. One of the founders of the modern Socialist movement, Frederick Engels, said that Socialism is a transition from the realm of necessity into a realm of freedom. You will all agree with me that while all dictatorships, irrespective of their forms and purposes, have aggravated the realm of necessity, they have not given us any promise or even a shadow of a promise of a realm of freedom.

My fellow-speaker, Jennie Lee, tries to defend the proletarian government of the Soviet Union with hackneyed arguments. First, she ridicules the democracy which a worker has in a free country. The English worker has the right to boo his Prime Minister? What value has this priceless privilege for him? Should he boo his boss he would lose his job.

Then we continually hear from the defenders of the Soviet Govern-

ment, that even if it is not so efficient, it is worth while suffering; that the results so far have been marvelous, and for this alone we may condone the dictatorial methods employec., that in the proletarian paradise there is a new democracy, a new freedom.

But it is obvious to one who is not blinded by the proletarian government that the excuses are no excuses. The worker in England cannot boo his boss. Could the worker in the "proletarian" government do it? Let him try, and he will lose his job sooner than in England, where a union can at least protect him.

In the U.S.S.R. there is no protection for the workers. If an English worker should boo his boss and lose his job, he still has a chance to find one. In Russia that is impossible, because throughout

the country there is only one boss who controls all political and economic destinies. In Russia he can boo neither Stalin nor the Communist boss of his factory.

I was once in a Russian jail. When I left jail I realized the value of being free; but life under a dictatorship is nothing but a life in jail.

They say that in Soviet Russia new freedom is being born, but there is no such thing as an old and a new freedom. There are no two sorts of freedom. There is only one freedom, the type that dictatorship strangles.

We will not discuss the accomplishments of the proletarian government at present. We may have different opinions concerning its results. At least we can debate about them. One may bring one set of figures and facts, and another may adduce another set of figures and facts, but while results are debatable, there can be no two opinions concerning methods. The methods by which they are trying to accomplish their ends are barbaric, ugly and hideous.

The Communists, the Police and The Garden Meeting

By Julius Gerber

WHEN on Wednesday, February 14, at the demonstration before the Austrian Consulate in New York, the police used their clubs on the demonstrators and rode their horses into the crowd, Socialists and non-Communists protested. Comrade Thomas telegraphed his protest from Tennessee.

Two days later, at the Madison Square Garden meeting called to protest against the Dollfuss terror in Austria and to express solidarity with the Socialists in Austria, the Communists came. When they arrived in solid formation they could easily have been kept out. I remember the incident of November, 1918, when ten thousand soldiers and sailors marched to break up our meeting in the old Garden. The police kept them within blocks of the Garden, and the few hundred who filtered through and got into the meeting were covered by police and they had to behave.

What the police could do to ten thousand soldiers and sailors they surely could have done with a few thousand Communists. But we felt the occasion was too solemn, and that even Communists would not mar the solemnity of the meeting with a display of their usual tactics. We were not afraid of any fascists or Nazis who might dare to come.

But the Communists, by their behavior, demonstrated that they are worse than fascists and Nazis and differ from them only in color.

Fascist Hathaway claims their intention was to demonstrate solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Austrian Socialists, and that he wanted permission only to quiet the Communists. The remarks made by Hathaway and Browder at the Communist meeting in the Bronx Coliseum on Thursday evening preceding the Madison Square meeting and quoted elsewhere in this issue show that he lied.

If one reads utterances of Hitler, Göring, Starbemberg and Mussolini, one can find similar speeches. They, too, claim they never advised their followers to mob Socialists or Jews. In fact, some of the fascist, Nazi and Heimwehr speeches are tame compared to those uttered by the exponents of Bolshevism.

It would have been easy to get

a hundred or more policemen in the Garden and with their clubs to restore order. That we did not want to do. The few instances where our comrades had to resort to force they did so in self-defense, and I speak from personal knowledge.

I congratulate our comrades and friends for their patience and restraint. They were sorely tested, but they stood their ground, kept their heads and did not yield to the Communist provocation.

The Communists hoped the police would step in and duplicate what happened in Vienna. They were fooled.

But let this be a warning to them. This is the last time Communist hordes will break up a Socialist and labor meeting. From now on organized labor and the Socialists will know how to treat Communists. Constitutional rights and guarantees exist for those who concede these rights to others, not for those who claim these rights for themselves and deny them to everybody else.

Let this be a warning and a lesson to all who would have freedom. Let those who are opposed to fascism, Nazism and dictatorship add Bolshevism. By their action last Friday the Bolsheviks have demonstrated what we can expect should they ever get power. It is this kind of action and behavior that helped Hitler in Germany. If you do not want Fascism in the U.S.A., you must fight Bolshevism.

After long and painful negotiations, the International Federation of the Building Trades Union and the International Federation of the Woodworkers Unions have merged their forces into one international unit.

Dear Comrade Editor:
The next time the Socialist Party wants to hold a meeting anywhere, we must positively get permission from the Communist Party and submit for their approval our list of speakers and resolutions to be adopted. Are they not the vanguard of the proletariat?
Joan Jacques Coronel.

The Workers Abroad

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

By Mark Khinoy

They Refuse to Die

NORWAY is still in the grip of a silent political drama, whose first acts were played in the parliamentary elections last fall.

In these elections the Labor Party secured 46% of the total vote and elected 69 deputies out of 150. Since the Laborites scored a brilliant victory—an increase of their representation from 47 to 69—and the ruling parties recorded a corresponding defeat, the Socialists urged the immediate resignation of the government. In vain. The Left Liberal cabinet refused to resign before the opening of the new Storting in January. It continues its refusal even after the new parliament met and elected a Socialist as its president. For the fate of capitalism is at stake.

The Labor Party announced during and after the election campaign that if given power it will inaugurate a drastic redistribution of wealth and lay the foundation for a new Socialist society. With this prospect in view, the Labor Party leaders refused all coalition with other parties. They held this view in 1928, when they ruled as a minority government for twelve days and were voted out of power the very moment they showed an inclination to realize their militant program. Under such conditions the present government refuses to vacate its office. It does not deny the tragic fact that its own parliamentary strength is reduced to 27—42 less than the Socialists. But the capitalist system is at stake and all capitalist parties forgot their little and big quarrels to place themselves behind the "savior of society," Premier Mowinkel. The thirty-one Conservative deputies, the twenty-three Farmer deputies and even the one Radical—all stick to the Mowinkel government, blocking the efforts of the Labor Party to create a workers' government.

The Socialists were therefore forced to change their tactics. Forced to remain in opposition, they offer one radical bill after another and hope that some of the governmental allies, especially the farmers, may not dare to vote against some of these bills, and then the banker-industrial block will be beaten. This game has continued for four weeks, but the bourgeois government still refuses to die.

Remele Begins to See Light

REMELE resigned from the presidium of the Communist International in Moscow and withdrew from the Executive of the Comintern.

Newman, another of the Holy Trinity which for years past ruled in Moscow's name over the six million Communists of Germany, is also in troubled waters. The last meeting of the Plenum of the Moscow Comintern (Dec. 1933) proclaimed Newman an opportunist and defeatist.

And since the third of the Triumvirate—Ernst Thälmann—is in prison, one may wonder what are the names of the new handy boys that Kuusinen and Piatnitzky have appointed for the petrified body of German Communism.

The same Plenum declared that the tactics of the Communist Party of Germany before, during and after the Hitler catastrophe was absolutely correct. One wonders then why Remele was forced to resign and why Newman was censured if their sinister tactics were "absolutely correct before, during and after the Hitler catastrophe."

An answer to this is given in Remele's letter of resignation. There he states quite frankly that the Communists in Germany were made to follow a wrong policy which led to the Hitler victory. He also attacks the Stalin policy of "Social-Fascism" and dares to advocate a real united front with the Social-Democrats.

Editor of "Rote Fahne" a Hitler Agent

THE Communist *Unser Wort* of Paris announce that the former editor of the Communist *Rote Fahne* in Berlin, Helmut Briker, is a Hitler agent and spy. The Trotsky publication prints a detailed description of the stool pigeon and warns all comrades in underground Germany against this "successful agent" and spy of Göring's secret police.

Among the Socialists in Spain

BESTEIRO and Gomez, president and secretary respectively of the Spanish Federation of Labor, did not agree with the new revolutionary policy the Executive Committee adapted lately, and sent in their resignation. The decision of the Federation Executive endorses the policies of the Socialist Party as represented by the Caballero majority and was adapted almost unanimously—33 to 2.

Caballero advocates unity with the syndicalist unions and other working class elements for a direct attack on the counter-revolutionary forces. This militant attitude brought about a "re-organization" of the Executive Committee of the Madrid local, where a considerable part were out of tune with the new trend but were voted down by a majority.

177 delegates, in convention assembled, decided to revive the Social-Democratic Party of Yugoslavia, suppressed five years ago by the dictatorship of King Alexander.

The great Socialist victory at the last election, for shop

(Continued on Page Eight)

The Victors

By M. J. S. J.

... and hard the road of defeat but we still can turn and see the unborn world of our faith that glimmers through agony, and feel that flow of grace that touches pain and gives surcease, when we go stumbling from the plains of Death to the valleys of our peace.

... is the hour of madness and great the toll of courage and of beauty, the night still holds our stars though ruin and death have been the end of duty, and all your legions thwart the purpose of the breaking body; and the shaken mind, Truth takes her light from the terrible eyes of the trodden and the blind.

... shall come back along this road for the steeds of your doom are drinking; here is blood in the east and the die is cast and the sands are sinking, and those torrents into which we poured our strength and youth shall be forever hurled till the last, great breach is entered in the last, loud crying of the world.

Breshkovskaya Lives on at 90, Dreaming of Her Past

By Gertrude Weil Klein

THE story of Catherine Breshkovskaya, the gently-reared, convent-bred girl who turned her back on a life of luxury and security to endure the privations and persecution of a Socialist agitator in Czarist Russia; and the sequel, a story of a 90-year-old refugee, living out her days on a little chicken farm in Czechoslovakia, an exile from the country for the liberation of whose peasants and workers she fought and in whose cause she spent so many years of her life in Siberian prisons, needs a Tolstoi for adequate telling.

Breshkovskaya was an idealist and a dreamer, but also a fearless worker and fighter. In her early twenties she married a nobleman with liberal tendencies, and together they established a cooperative bank and schools for the peasants. After the birth of her son she left her home and travelled among the peasants spreading propaganda.



G. W. Klein

In 1874, at the age of 30, she was arrested and sentenced to Siberia. After 22 years of Siberian exile she again returned to Russia and took up the work as an active member of the Social Revolutionary Party. She made a trip to America to raise money for the Revolution of 1905. Arrested again in 1908, she remained in Siberia until 1917. During Kerensky's short-lived regime, Breshkovskaya was a senior member of the Constituent Assembly, but with the coming into power of the Bolsheviks, her life and liberty were again in danger and she fled.

To Breshkovskaya life under a dictatorship—whether of an arch-reactionary monarch or of a horny-handed son of a proletariat—spelled slavery. That the ideology at the top was different, that the goal proclaimed was the emancipation of the masses, could not shake her terrible grief and disappointment in the fundamental sameness of the outcome. She learned also that under a dictatorship—any dictatorship—there was no room for dissenting opinions on any question. And so the grandmother of the Russian Revolution is an exile—cast out by her own grandson—while some of her

Well, Why Not?

In Vienna, on the vast square in front of the Parliament buildings, the grateful Austrian people erected a monument to the three founders of the Republic—Victor Adler, Jacob Reumann and Ferdinand Hanusch.

Chancellor Dollfuss, in his madness, has now ordered that the bronze statues be taken away and in their places plaques of himself, of Emil Fey and of Prince von Starhemberg be erected for the admiration of posterity.

It is reported (but not confirmed) that a similar movement is on foot in the United States to convert the Lincoln Memorial in Washington into a monument to Jesse James, Al Capone and Charles F. Murphy.

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

The Workers Abroad

(Continued from Page Seven) and factory councils, showed the futility of the suppression and forced the government to tolerate the revival of a legal Socialist movement.

The 177 delegates represented 75 locals that were built up during the six years of underground activity. The local delegates spoke the many tongues of this multinational country: Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, German, Jewish, Hungarian, Turkish and Macedonian.

Another veteran of the First International—the French Socialist Philippe Apied, age 88—died last week in Sayat (Puy-de-Dome). He joined the French section of the First International in 1868 and was an active militant until the last months of his fruitful life.

The Nazi press announces the death of Louis Pappenheim, ex-Editor-in-Chief of the *Volksstimme*, who was murdered in concentration camp of Capenburg. He died in strict conformity with the established formula—"while trying to escape."

The Typographical workers of Paris, France, whom the Communists succeeded in splitting in two competing unions, are now going to have a single union. After long negotiations on the conditions of readmission, all the members of

Retail Clerks Win Recognition Of Union After Long Strike

AFTER a long and grueling struggle that involved battling one of the worst anti-labor injunctions issued by a New York judge in recent years, the Retail Clothing Salesmen's Union have concluded the strike against Howard Clothes.

The settlement involves recognition of the union, the establishment of a minimum wage, the 48-hour week and submission of all disputes to arbitration. The union was represented in the negotiations that led to the settlement by Samuel Feder, Morris Kominsky, Abraham Liebowitz, Abraham Chernow and Julius Frankel.

It was in the early days of August that Supreme Court Justice Meier Steinbrink issued an injunction seeking to restrain the members of the Retail Clothing Salesmen's Union from circulating or attempting to circulate circulars, cards or other printed or written matter or making any oral or other

statements that the plaintiff's place of business had a strike on its hands; from entering or congregating in front of the place of business; from attempting to induce any person or persons not to enter the place of business or deal with the plaintiffs; from loitering, picketing, patrolling, walking singly or with others to and fro in front of the place of business; "from doing any act or thing or making statements, oral or written, tending to boycott plaintiff's place of business."

The Socialist Party and large sections of the labor movement rallied to the attack upon that injunction, and Samuel S. Liebowitz, noted Scottsboro attorney, volunteered to become associated with Hyman Nemsler in fighting the injunction in court as counsel for the union. It was Liebowitz's first labor case and he threw himself into it with enthusiasm.

The settlement came, however, before the argument on the injunction.

the Communist-led "United" C.G.T. union will be readmitted into the C.G.T. union proper without losing their priority rights, pension rights and other relief privileges.

Communist Opposition Joins S.P.

THE *Neue Volkszeitung* of Warsaw, in its issue of Jan. 18, reprints from *Robotnik* an interest-

ing letter of the Communist Opposition (Right). The letter is addressed to the N.E.C. of the Socialist Party and asks the admission of all the members of the groups into the S.P. and the Socialist-controlled unions.

The letter states that C.P. Opposition lost all hope of changing the present anti-proletarian policies of the party, or even to overcome the resistance to the calling of a national convention; that the struggle against Fascism demands a united workingclass movement; that on the political field the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) is the only representative party of the Polish workers; that on the economic field the Central Trade Union Commission is the recognized leader of the majority of the organized workers; that the two bodies will win the struggle for a Workers' and Farmers' Government in Poland, and that therefore they subscribe to the Declaration of the Socialist Party and beg to be admitted. They wind up with a "solemn promise of loyalty to the Socialist banner, and the Socialist struggle for a better tomorrow for the working class, for Socialism. . . ."

The Passing of a Famous Revolutionary

ON January 8, 1934, there died in Moscow one of the most colorful figures in the revolutionary movement of the world—Armand Ross, real name Michail Sajin. An anarchist of the Nechaiev school, a pupil, friend and co-worker of Bakunin, he represented the Russian Federation in the First International. He was in succession the organizer and leader of the Anarchist rebellion in Lyons, an active barricade fighter of the Commune in Paris (1871); a prominent chieftain in the uprising and battles of Hertzogovina, a participant in the famous trial of 193 (1874) in which he received a long penitentiary term; a political exile in Siberia, where the revolutionary anarchist Armand Ross came under his own name—Sajin—the managing head of the large Russian gold mines—the Lena gold mines; a manager of a Socialist monthly before the revolution of 1917 and—after the October revolution—a veteran anarchist in loyal service to the Soviet Union because "bolshevism means social discipline." . . . He was born on the border of Europe and Asia in 1845, 88 years ago.

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

How Fascism Worked in Austria Even Before the Bloody Fighting

The following from the secretariat of the International Federation of Trade Unions, written just before the bloody events of Feb. 12th, shows clearly how Fascism, in any guise, seeks to destroy the workers.

FASCISM is more practice than theory. It is accordingly chiefly in its methods that Fascism shows great resemblance in the different countries. These methods are characterized by an authoritative regulation of the representation machinery of the working class. The real, that is to say freely elected, representation machinery is supplanted by sham machinery installed by the Fascist regime itself.

This practice is now also deliberately applied in Austria. The Chambers of Labor*, in existence since 1920, for which elections were due to take place at the end of last year, have by means of the usual emergency decree been stripped of their value for the working class.

Hitherto the free trade unions had an overwhelming majority in the Chambers of Labor, having at the last election polled no less than 430,820 out of a total of 546,769 votes. In Vienna and Lower Austria alone nine-tenths of the workmen and three-quarters of the salaried classes voted for the free unions. In this part of the country 111 candidates of the free unions were returned, as against only 10 Christian Socials, 10 German Nationals and 3 Communists.

Under a government "emergency" decree the composition of the administrative boards of the Chambers of Labor has been changed. For the Vienna Chamber of Labor it was proposed that the administrative board should consist of 4 free union representatives, 4 Christian Socials, 1 German National and 2 representatives of the "independent" (yel-

low) Heimwehr union. As it was obviously the intention of the government in any case to give the Christian Social and Heimwehr representatives a majority over the free unions, the latter rejected the proposal.

In Germany such a measure would be known as *Gleichschaltung* with the difference that in the case of Austria the labor movement did not resign itself to its fate without a battle. But though in Austria the term is not used, the government's action amounts to the same thing. This is clear from the appointment of a supervising commissar for each chamber, who has to be kept informed of everything, may attend all the meetings, may fix and change the agenda as he thinks fit, and recommend the government to annul decisions reached.

So much for the measures of the government so far as they relate to the functioning of the chambers. In addition, their jurisdiction has been clipped. Although the government would pose as strong, its acts show that it does not feel so secure as it likes to pretend. It wants to increase its hold on that part of the working class which is mostly dependent on it. The decree which withdrew the Chambers of Labor from the influence of the free unions laid it down that the personnel of the Austrian Federal Railways and other main and local railways and the personnel of post, telegraph and other public services, shall in future not be represented thereon. At the same time, the old works councils elected by the different categories of public transport employees were abolished. Their delegates in the representation machinery will in future be appointed by the government.

The ink with which this decree was written was barely dry when the Graz Tramway Company had worked out new rules for its staff representation machinery. There

is little to distinguish them from the labor regulations of the Hitler regime. They propose that the machinery shall consist of:

"Representatives of the officially recognized trade organizations of the employees of the (Graz Tramway) company, which the company recognizes as authorized to appoint delegates. . . . Whether the conditions for authorization to appoint delegates be complied with in specific cases will be decided by the company. . . . If one or more of the trade organizations do not comply with these regulations in the appointment of delegates, the company will appoint delegates itself in the way it thinks fit."

The measures described above, the implications of which were fully explained to the workers by the labor movement, aroused a storm of protest. In the chemical, rubber and glass industry alone 8,000 workers voiced their protest. Thousands of workers in all branches of the industry passionately declared:

"That the free unions had done well not to enter the new administrative boards (of the Chambers of Labor), and that these new administrative boards, composed as they were only of a small anti-Marxist minority, had not the right to speak in the name of workmen and employees."

The government, now realizing that the Austrian labor movement does not intend to submit passively to *Gleichschaltung*, must either take drastic steps or submit to limitations being laid on it in the violent suppression of freedom of speech. The situation is very strained and the future very uncertain.

* One of the chief duties of these chambers is to express the labor point of view on measures proposed by the government in the social and economic spheres.

The Great Tradition Gleams in "Richard of Bordeaux"

MOVING THE MONARCH
"RICHARD BORDEAUX." By Gordon Daviot. At the Empire.

The traditional glamor of the Empire Theatre clothes its latest occupant, the plotted pageant of England's Richard III, in gorgeous flow of action and proud costume against a sober background. Background not merely of closet and throne-room and garb, but of low design overtopping high desire, of policy triumphant over the ideal.

Gordon Daviot, with words that strangely fit our time, shows Richard as a king who loves peace, and the arts and glories of peace, seeking an end to the long wars with France—and bedogged by the many councillors, Gloucester, Lancaster, York, and more, who for various reasons will further warfare. How the peace-loving Richard is torn to a bloody desire for revenge, and beats upon his foes until, carrying his triumph too far, he remains alive while his successor rules—to bring new wars: this is the plot the play unfolds. In its telling a quick naturalness of dialogue replaces the pseudo-poetry that usually infects an historical play; here is not bombast but tenderness, intelligence, playfulness, fire; and Dennis King rides the role of Richard like one to the manner born. Those who have enjoyed the Guild's "Mary of Scotland" (one of the season's two biggest hits) will be held by this earlier scene of her country's studied story.

New Wheeler-Woolsey Film on Roxy Screen—Stage Show

Bert Wheeler and Robert Woolsey in their newest musical comedy, "Hips Hips Hooray," with Ruth Etting, Thelma Todd and Dorothy Lee, is current at the Roxy Theatre as the featured screen attraction. This is the first Wheeler and Woolsey film ever shown at the Roxy Theatre. The screen play, music and lyrics are by Harry Ruby and Bert Kalmar, and the direction is by Mark Sandrich.

Shirley Howard, popular young radio star, is the headliner on the new variety revue. The Gaudsmith Bros. and Howe, Leonard and Alyce are also in the stage show.

ANNUAL RAND SCHOOL CONCERT

The Women's Committee of the Rand School has arranged a Metropolitan Opera House concert for Sunday evening, March 18, with a program headed by Lily Pons, Giuseppe DeLuca and Nino Martini.

Organizations and comrades are requested to hold this date open and to cooperate in every way possible to make a success of this important event. Headquarters, 7 East 15th Street.

MUSIC

PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY
AT CARNEGIE HALL
TOSCANINI, Conductor
This Afternoon at 3:00
BEETHOVEN-BRAHMS Program

HANS LANGE, Conductor
Wed. Eve., at 8:45; Fri. Aft., at 2:30
Soloist: MYRA HESS, Pianist

Sat. Eve., at 8:45 (Students)
Soloist: GREGOR PIATIGORSKY, Cellist
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

2 SUNDAY NIGHTS

MARTHA GRAHAM

LOUIS HORST, PIANIST
FEB. 18—Solo Program
FEB. 25 with Dance Group
Tickets \$2.50 to \$1 plus tax

"The Big Shakedown" with Big Cast at Brooklyn Strand

Charles Farrell and Bette Davis, co-starred for the first time on the screen, will make their appearance in "The Big Shakedown," which opens at the Brooklyn Warner Strand Theatre today.

Ricardo Cortez, Glenda Farrell, Allen Jenkins, Phillip Faversham, Robert Emmett O'Connor and John Wray are also in the cast.

The balance of the program is composed of Vitaphone short subjects in which are introduced Sigmund Spaeth, radio's "Tune Detective"; Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle in "Tomalio," a two-act comedy with Charles Judels and Fritz Herbert, and "Around the Clock," seeing Musical New York by the clock from radio in the morning to night club at midnight with Norma Terris.

"Wonder Bar" to Have Long Awaited Opening at Strand

"Wonder Bar," First National's all-star musical picture based on the international stage success, will have its Broadway premiere on Wednesday evening, February 28th, at the Strand Theatre. Al Jolson, who is co-starred in the picture with Kay Francis, Dick Powell, Dolores Del Rio, Ricardo Cortez, Hal LeRoy, and others, will be present in person at the first New York showing of "Wonder Bar," in which he played for over two years on the stage in New York and throughout the country. The cast of principals is as follows: Dick Powell, Al Jolson, Ricardo Cortez, Kay Francis, Dolores Del Rio, Hugh Herbert, Guy Kibbee, Ruth Donnelly, Fifi d'Orsay, and Hal LeRoy.

"Devil Tiger," Animal Film, at Fox Brooklyn—Al Shayne in Oumansky Stage Revue

"Devil Tiger," Fox Film's saga of the wilderness, is on the Fox Brooklyn screen. It is said to be the record of a group of people who cut their way through the tangles of the Asiatic jungle, woven by untouched nature for thousands of years. Marion Burns, Kane Richmond and Harry Woods are featured in the cast.

The stage fare is headlined by Radio's Ambassador of Song, Al Shayne, with Jerry Baker and Bill Melia, in a new revue devised by Alexander Oumansky, called "Music on the Air." The music for this Radio Revue will be presented by Freddy Berrens and his C.B.C. Orchestra.

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

DENNIS KING

RICHARD of BORDEAUX

EMPIRE THEATRE
B'WAY at 40th St.—Tel. PE. 6-9541
Eves. \$1 to \$3.
Wed. & Sat. Mats. \$1 to \$2.50, plus tax

MARTHA GRAHAM

LOUIS HORST, PIANIST
FEB. 25 with Dance Group
Tickets \$2.50 to \$1 plus tax

On Albee Screen



Janet Gaynor and Robert Young in a scene from "Carolina," adapted from last year's stage success, "The House of Connelly."

Martha Graham to Give Two Dance Recitals at the Guild

Martha Graham will appear in a solo program at the Guild Theatre on Sunday evening, February 18, at 8:45. This appearance will mark the first solo performance Martha Graham has given in New York in six years. Her program will include two new dance numbers for one of which the music has been written by Lehman Engel. The music for the dance group "Fantasy" is by Schönberg.

On the following Sunday, February 25, Martha Graham will dance at the Guild Theatre again, assisted by her dance group. On this occasion there will also be

WINTER GARDEN 57th & 58th St.

Eves. 8:30; Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

ZIEGFELD FOLLIES

with FANNIE BRICE
WILLIE & EUGENE HOWARD,
EVERETT MARSHALL, JANE FROMAN, PATRICIA BOWMAN, VILMA & BUDDY EBSEN, DON ROSS, THE PREISSERS
BALCONY SEATS \$1 to \$2.50
Orch. Seats \$5 to \$4 (ex. Sat.)
Matinees: Balcony \$1 & \$1.50
All Orchestra Seats \$2.50

★ ★ ★ ★ —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

BROADHURST THEA.

44th ST., W. of BROADWAY
Evs. 8:45—50c to \$2.50
Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40—50c to \$2.00

Janet GAYNOR Lionel BARRYMORE

"CAROLINA"

★★★★—News

—On Stage—

DE MARCOS
BUCK & BUBBLES
Other RKO Acts

ALBEE Albee Square BROOKLYN

THE RENEWED EMBASSY

All those interested in the world, in life with all its teeming events and personalities, its promises of new deals and threats of revolutions, will welcome the reopening of the Embassy Pathe Newsreel Theatre. Under the new Pathe control, the theatre returns to its original policy of an all-news showing, with frequent introduction of up-to-the-moment flashes. The full program is changed every Saturday, and those who want first-hand views of excitement and of significance all over the world should "get the Embassy habit."

Last week, the Embassy presented a fast moving program of exciting and stimulating scenes. The vigorous editorial policy that features this new enterprise is given full sway in action shots of the recent tragic events in Austria and in France. "Europe on the Verge of War" was the title of one subject, with a detailed series of shots depicting the military strength of Germany, France, Italy and Czechoslovakia, with Austria the center of dispute.

included two new group dances. Louis Horst, who will be pianist and musical director for both programs, has composed the music for one of the new group numbers. The music "Six Casual Developments," by Henry Cowell, will be used for the other.

TAMARA SCORES IN "ROBERTA"

Tamara, she of the singular name and memorable voice, is playing one of the leading roles in Max Gordon's musical comedy, "Gowns by Roberta," at the Forrest Theatre. "Gowns by Roberta" has a Jerome Kern score and a book by Otto Harbach, adapted from the Alice Duer Miller novel of the same name.

Tamara's plaintive voice has been heard in night clubs, on the musical comedy stage and over the radio. There is an exotic, Oriental quality in the voice of this dark-eyed, sleek-haired Russian beauty.

She first attracted attention by singing the ballads and lullabies of her childhood in night clubs. It was attractively incongruous to see this young girl in a gypsy costume strum a guitar and sing in a foreign tongue on the floor of a Times Square "hot-spot." Her night club success was so rapid that she was soon appearing in Broadway musical comedies.

Tamara was featured in "Americana," "Crazy Quilt," "Free for All" and "The New Yorkers." She has also been heard over all the leading radio net works.

Also appearing with Tamara in "Gowns by Roberta" are Bob Hope, Lyda Roberti, Fay Templeton, George Murphy, William Hain, Sydney Greenstreet, Julie Johnson, Raymond Middleton, Nayan Pearce, and the California Collegians.

The
WIND
and the
RAIN
With New York's FRANK LAWTON
Newest Sensation
and ROSE HOBART
"One of the most sensitive and intelligent performances of the Winter."—Brown, Post
RITZ THEATRE, W. 48th St.
Eves. 8:40. Matinees Wed. & Sat.

"The azure of Mr. Hull's characterization of Jeeter Lester is as perfect a feat of acting as I have seen in forty years of playgoing."—Percy Hammond, Herald Trib.
HENRY HULL
in
"TOBACCO ROAD"
by JACK KIRKLAND. Based on Erskine Caldwell's Novel
48th ST. THEATRE—E. of B'way
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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."
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EVERY EVENING AT 8:45

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Gladys COOPER Adrienne ALLEN Raymond MASSEY
in **"The Shining Hour"**
A New Play by Keith Winter
with Cyril Raymond — Marjorie Fielding — Derek Williams
BOOTH Theatre, 45th Street, West of Broadway. Evenings 8:40
Matinees Thursday and Saturday 2:30

FREDRIC MARCH
in
'Death Takes a Holiday'
A Paramount Picture based on the Broadway Stage Success . . . with Evelyn VENABLE — Sir Guy STANLEY — Kent TAYLOR
On the Stage—Cast of 100
Connie's 'Hot Chocolates'
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YOUNG & CREWS**
(IN PERSON) in
"HER MASTER'S VOICE"
A New Comedy by
CLARE KUMMER
with ELIZABETH PATTERSON
and FRANCES FULLER
PLYMOUTH Theatre, 45th St.
West of Broadway
Eves. 8:40. \$1-\$1.50-\$2-\$3
Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40, \$1-\$1.50-\$2

Sincere Writing and Acting Lifts "The Shining Hour"

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

THE FLAMING MOMENT "THE SHINING HOUR." By Keith Winter. At the Booth.

Intelligent portrayal of human nature, with sensitive and subtle responses, in "The Shining Hour" changes an obvious situation into an effective play. Into the unexciting, contented atmosphere of an English country home, eldest brother comes back from the colonies with a sweet young wife. Youngest brother conceives a puppy-love for her, which blurs crudely when he finds that middle brother has forgotten his old wife when something sparks with the newcomer. Wife goes and leaps under the roof of a blazing barn—after which, of course, the lovers in remorse are parted forever.

Of course—in the usual story. But Judy and Mariella grow to understand one another, and to like one another, as much as the wife and the mistress in "When Ladies Meet"; and Judy recognizes that these two are "made for each other." Her death must not be futile; the lovers, through present tears, are joined.

Gladys Cooper plays the role of the intruder into the Lindens with a crispness that admirably fits the sharp intelligence the role assigns her; as the unloved but loving wife, Adrienne Allen rises to the play's occasions. Raymond Massey, whose well attuned direction is felt throughout, wits a bit too much in his performance as the husband who loves the later lass. "The Shining Hour" shows how effective and sympathetic work can produce, if not the natural gem, at least a valuable synthetic pearl.

Shipley, Sifton, Lawson, Gorelik, Brown, and Maltz Participate in Theatre Union's Timely Symposium

At the Civic Repertory Theatre on 14th Street, last Sunday night, under the auspices of the Theatre Union, producers of the stirring drama "Peace On Earth," there was conducted a symposium on the theatre and society. Joseph T. Shipley, dramatic editor of The New Leader, opened the discussion with a survey of the season on the

stage, pointing out that most of the Broadway shows are "escape" art, developing reactionary contentment with things as they are. He was followed by Paul Sifton, author of "1931," and John Howard Lawson, whose two plays, "Gentlewoman" and "The Pure In Heart," are both in rehearsal, they spoke on the need of a clear point of view in art. Mordecai Gorelik, noted stage designer, traced the growth of the workers' theatre movement in this country, and pleaded for a new audience. Mr. Brown, co-producer of "Tobacco Road," and A Maltz, co-author of "Peace On Earth," also emphasized the workers' role in creating a worth-while theatre.

Belle Didjah in Dance Recital March 11th

Belle Didjah, well-known American interpretive dancer, who recently returned from an extensive tour of the Orient to study native dancing for her recital, Sunday evening, March 11, at the Forrest Theatre, will offer the first presentation of "Oriental Suite." The highlights of this series consist of "Bedouin Lady," "Cafe Dancer," "Arabian Dandy," "Yemenite Chant," and several others. In these numbers Miss Didjah will wear for the first time in public a number of Occidental ornaments, dance and costume jewelry, shawls, and other paraphernalia, which were given to her by native dancers and wives of Arabian desert sheiks.

The "Bundling" Hit

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

"Spicy, impudent and genuinely amusing." —*Krutch, Nation*
AVON Theatre 45 St. W. of Broadway
Eves. 8:45, \$1 to \$2.50. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

In New Comedy at the Rivoli



Above is a scene from the Jimmy Durante comedy, "Palooka," which will open Wednesday at the Rivoli. Lupe Velez and Stuart Erwin are shown in a scene from the film.

"Ragged Army" to Have Postponed Opening Monday

Due to the innumerable mechanical effects necessary for the production and the installation of additional electrical equipment to conform with the new regulations of the fire department in the Selwyn Theatre, Crosby Gaige has postponed the premiere of "Ragged Army" to Monday evening, Feb. 26.

Dwight Deere Wiman & Tom Weatherly present

SHE LOVES ME NOT

The Season's Comedy Smash Hit
By HOWARD LINDSAY
Adapted from Edward Hope's novel.
"Full of merriment... It is spontaneous, guileless and tumultuous. It is pure comedy."
—*Brooks Atkinson, Times*
46th ST. THEA. W. of B'way L.A. 4-1219
Evs. \$1 to \$3 Mats. Wed. 50c to \$2
8:40 & Sat., 2:40

"PLEASE DON'T
I'm not that
kind of a girl"

IT'S VITAL
"THE ROAD TO RUIN"
A STORY OF YOUTH IN THE RAW!
CAMEO NOW
THEATRE
42nd ST. EAST OF B'WAY.
CONTINUOUS 10A.M. to 11P.M.

Joseph M. Schenck presents
CONSTANCE
BENNETT
in a Darryl F. Zanuck Prod.
"MOULIN ROUGE"
with
FRANCHOT TONE
RIVOLI
UNITED ARTISTS B'WAY at 49th ST.

"Death Takes a Holiday" Opens at B'klyn Paramount

"Death Takes a Holiday," starring Fredric March, opens today at the Brooklyn Paramount. Again in "Death Takes a Holiday," as he did in "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," March assumes two forms. In this new picture, one is mortal and the other represents Death. Neither is hideous, but both are endowed with a thrilling supernatural touch.

On the stage, "Hi-de-ho!" is the battle cry. Connie's "Hot Chocolate" holds the sway and rhythm. "Peg Leg" Bates, Radcliff and Rodgers, Baby Cox, Avis Andrews, The Gobs, Luck Seven Trio, the Hot Chocolate Creole Chorus, and LeRoy Smith and his orchestra are all along.

Guthrie McClintic's Production of "Yellow Jack" to Open March 1st

Guthrie McClintic's production of "Yellow Jack" will open on Thursday evening, March 1st, at the Martin Beck Theatre. The play deals with the heroes of science and was written by Sidney Howard in collaboration with Paul de Kruif. It is based on a chapter in Mr. de Kruif's book, "Microbe Hunters."

The large cast of "Yellow Jack" includes Katherine Wilson, who plays the only feminine role; John Miltner, Geoffrey Kerr, Barton MacLane, Robert Keith, Eduardo Ciannelli, Whitford Kane, Harold Moffat, George Nash, Richie Ling, ward Acuff, Samuel Levene, Myron McCormick and about 20 others.

"Nothing finer has been seen in months!"
—*World-Telegram*



ALEXANDER KORDA'S PRODUCTION OF
CATHERINE THE GREAT
with DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS, JR. and ELIZABETH BERGNER
Directed by PAUL CZINNER Released thru UNITED ARTISTS

ASTOR B'WAY at 45th ST.
Twice daily—2:30-3:50, 4 times Saturday 2:30-3:50-8:00-11:50, 3 times Sun. & Hols. 2:30-5:50-8:50.—Matinees (except Saturdays and Holidays) 50c to \$1.—Evenings 50c to \$2

2nd SUCCESSFUL WEEK!—KAY
FRANCIS in "MANDALAY"
with RICARDO CORTEZ
STRAND B'way & 47th St.
Continuous—Pop. Prices

CHARLES FARRELL - BETTE DAVIS
in **"The Big Shakedown"**
CONTINUOUS POP. PRICES
BROOKLYN STRAND
Fulton St. & Rockwell Pl.
MIDNITE SHOW SATURDAY

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

JOHN WEXLEY'S play
THEY SHALL NOT DIE
ROYALE THEATRE, 45th Street & Broadway
Matinees Thurs. & Sat.

The "Cracked Nuts" are loose again!
Bert WHEELER
and
Robert WOOLSEY
'HIPS, HIPS, HOORAY'
RKO—Radio Laugh Riot with
RUTH ETTING
THELMA TODD - DOROTHY LEE
★ Plus Gala New Stage Revue ★
Shirley HOWARD - HOWE LEONARD & ALYCE - GAE POSTER GIRLS RUBE WOLF & GANG - OTHERS
SHOW VALUE OF THE NATION
ROXY 25c to 2 P. M. 35c to 6 P. M. 55c to Close
7th Ave. & 59th St. Children 15c

MUSIC HALL
SHOW PLACE of the NATION
Clark GABLE
Claudette COLBERT
in
"IT HAPPENED ONE NIGHT"
Popular Prices plus GALA STAGE SHOW
First Mezz. Reserved Phone CO 5-6335

On Stage—IN PERSON
CLARK GABLE
Plus Big Stage Show
On Screen
Robt. MONTGOMERY
in **"THE MYSTERY OF MR. X"**
Lewis STONE - Eliz. ALLEN
Alec B. FRANCIS
CAPITOL Broadway at 51st St.
Maj. Edward Bowes, Man'g Dir

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.

Surpasses hair-raising exploits of "Bring 'Em Back Alive!"
FOX "DEVIL TIGER" —American
—Stage Show Includes OUMANSKY'S—
Radio Revue "MUSIC ON THE AIR" 25c
AL SHAYNE - Other Acts 10:50 P.M. & 11:45 P.M.
FREDDIE BERRENS & his CBS Orch.

In the Central States

(Continued from Page Two) shared the sad duty with Comrades Joseph Weinberg and Laderman in speaking there.

Back again to Racine, Wis., for two more big meetings and a lovely banquet opening the campaign for the spring elections. Our party in Racine is a magnificent organization. Working against the handicap of a renegade Socialist mayor in office and some other minor internal troubles, our local and its many branches have surmounted these difficulties and is entering the coming campaign with the assurance of electing some more aldermen and supervisors. If they win they will increase their strength in the county and city government, elect a genuine Socialist as mayor and place their congressional district in a position to elect a Socialist Congressman.

I have finished a five-day tour down Indiana. The Hoosiers are also awakening. A goodly number of locals are again functioning and I can safely report that Socialists are more numerous and active in Indiana than since 1920. After a lively and somewhat bitter contest recently held for the election of a State Secretary and the Executive Committee, our organization is getting down to business. I would ordinarily be sensitive and even irritable in the face of any disension in our party in these critical times, but the situation in Indiana appears to me not very serious. Some of the troubles are due to growing pains, conflicts of personalities and misunderstandings and the usual difficulties involved in assimilating the new elements. As in many other states, there is also in Indiana that unfortunate gap between the older and newer (not necessarily younger) comrades. The intermediate section of a healthy, growing organization

is sadly missing. But there is here that very saving condition—the overwhelming and substantial working-class character of our party.

Comrade Oneal's recent comment on the necessary proletarian character and outlook of our party was a timely critique. Where this is lacking in a couple of the mid-western states our organization is not in a healthy condition and there one finds impatience with, and often hostility to, the trade unions, the superior and braver-than-thou attitude towards our European comrades and all sorts of queer resolutions. And what is most unfortunate is the suspicion of the revolutionary integrity of any comrade who has been in the party for more than ten years. The working-class elements are not without faults and they have many annoying habits, but there is one sterling characteristic about them that is so touching, and that is their warm appreciation for all comrades, high or low, who have given a lifetime of service to our movement. In Indiana I feel that I am among informed Socialists when describing the contents of The New Leader. An outburst of applause always greets my mentioning of Comrades Oneal, Thomas, and others.

The "hurry-up" intellectual has no respect for past performances and must have his thrill and publicity at once. On the other hand, the great mass of workers know ever so much better what a cruel, hard, long and thankless task it is to pound some sense and inspiration into their class, and they honor and love those who have done and are doing this. Furthermore, there is among them that fine stratum of real fighting material that distinguishes our heroes in Austria and has given our move-

ment that glorious history in almost every country.

I had fair meetings in Gary and Kokomo. A very good one in Marion and met here one of the finest locals in Indiana. In these cities there is terrible unemployment and poverty, and one is touched with the severe physical condition and appearance of our comrades. But they are carrying on with grim determination and their progress is remarkable considering their many difficulties.

I met another surprise in Indianapolis. A busy State Office with our splendid warrior, Emma Henry, as secretary and guiding spirit. A huge local with fourteen branches and a lively crowd of Ypsels. Under their auspices I faced a crowd of a thousand in a debate with one Prof. Slifer of Butler University. The poor victim was ecstatic about the "New Deal"

At the Forward Ball



Dave Rubinoff, who will shine at the big annual Forward Ball, Saturday night, February 24.

The Labor Committee

Labor Committee will meet Saturday, Feb. 24, 3 p. m., at 7 East 15th Street. It is imperative all members attend.

Cleaners and Dyers.—The Socialist Party, at the outbreak of the strike, offered its aid and has been sending speakers to every meeting of the striking workers in the cleaning and dyeing industry.

Taxi Strike.—After playing a leading role in the taxi strike, the party's Labor Committee is now helping to build a strong organization, The Taxicab Drivers' Union of Greater New York. Every Socialist using a taxicab should insist on the driver showing his membership card. Elections are about to take place in all boroughs for officers and joint council, and an outside labor committee consisting of Dr. Louis Hendin (chairman of the Labor Committee), Morris Feinstone, Nathaniel Spector, Roger Baldwin and Adolph Held will take charge and see that an honest election is secured.

Movie Ushers' Union.—As soon as the announcement appeared in the press that the movie ushers were to take a strike vote on Monday, Feb. 26, Jack Altman, labor secretary, immediately offered the aid of the Socialist Party and it was gratefully accepted.

Hotel Workers.—The Socialist Party is aiding in every phase of this strike. Comrade Max Delson is the attorney for the union and Socialist speakers appear at every meeting. The Yipsels took the leadership in arranging a city-wide tag day to raise money and relief for the strikers and have succeeded to a considerable extent.

Textile Designers.—This is a new group being organized with the help of the Labor Committee, and a number of comrades will be needed Monday, Feb. 26, at 4 p. m., at the Rand School, to aid in distributing leaflets outside some of the larger factories.

Local 102, Painters' Union, has appealed to the Labor Committee

and our crowd was a magnificent demonstration of discipline and self-control—not a boo in a car load—and let loose so many salvos of applause to our arguments that my debating time was considerably limited.

I also had a couple of sessions with the Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers' Union, an organization confab with local comrades, and another good meeting in Speedway City, a suburb. Was glad to visit Comrade Powers Haggood at a hospital and to cheer him a bit shortly after his operation, and visited another wonderful fighter, Comrade Robson, who was so painfully ill. A very devoted pair, Comrades Rogers and Pierce, entertained me splendidly and insisted on driving me some 110 miles to Cincinnati.

Our as yet small Socialist world would be so very much poorer with the great loss of Abe Shiplacoff if it were not that hundreds more like him are again coming into our party.

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Claessens' Dates

Columbus, Feb. 24-25; Athens County, 26-27; Willoughby, 28; Canton, March 1; Akron, 2-3; Warren, 4 (afternoon); Youngstown, 4 (evening); Sebring, 5; Wilkinsburg, 6; Rochester, 7; New Kensington, 8; Jeanette, 9; Uniontown, 10; Pittsburgh (Squirrel Hill), 11; McKees Rocks, 11 (evening); Burgettstown, 12; Jeanette, 13; Black Lick, 14; Johnstown, 15; Barnesboro, 16; Sykesville or McKees Mills, 17; Brookville, 18 (afternoon); Hawk Run, Phillipsburg or Ocoola Mills, 18 (evening); Lock Haven, 19.

RUBINOFF and his VIOLIN (In Person)

will conduct the Dance Orchestra at the

Forward Costume Ball

Saturday Eve,
Feb. 24, 1934

71st Regiment
Armory, 34th St. and Park
Avenue, New York

PRIZES: A trip to Europe. Ten trips to Chicago Fair and Niagara Falls. Cash prizes for fancy costumes. Philco and Grunow Radios and others.

Ticket in Advance: 75¢ • At Box Office: \$1.25

For Sale at Following Stations:

Forward Building, 175 E. Broadway, New York | Bronx Labor Center, 809 Westchester Ave., Bronx | Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., B'lyn
Finnish Book Store, 2056 5th Ave., New York | Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, New York | Socialist Party Headquarters

The Hour of Decision Socialism at a Historic Crossroad

By Dr. S. Lipschitz

THE tragic events in Austria confirm once more the unbearable tension which grips Europe since the advent of Hitlerism in Germany. The League of Nations is dead. The half-hearted, insincere attempts of the great powers to stem the coming showdown are doomed to failure. Austrian Labor stands with its back to the wall and there remains nothing else but to fight and to die in honor of liberty, freedom and all that which mankind through centuries of courageous upward struggle has striven to attain.

Fascism, whether of the Dollfuss-Starhemberg Italian variety or of the brown Nazi kind, is all the same to the worker. It is not his fault that Fascism is able to claim another victory or bloodstained Austrian soil. The attempts of the Austrian Socialists to reach an understanding with all other groups against the rising fascist tide have proven unsuccessful. As late as January 18 the inner council of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, which is composed only of workers' rank and file representatives—no party or trade union officials or paid employees can belong to it—declared once more that Labor was willing to support the Dollfuss Government to the utmost, provided that the constitutional rights of the masses would be fully preserved. Even this last hour offer failed, with the results that are known today.

Europe is slowly drifting into a war. Chancellor Dollfuss has reached the stage which the Germans picturesquely describe as "sitting between two chairs." No man can last long in this peculiar position. His days are numbered; his one-way ticket to a concentration camp or to exile is assured.

But it is erroneous to say that the completely disrupted Austrian bourgeoisie and bureaucracy as represented by Dollfuss is victorious. It has only been able to survive thanks to the peculiar balance of political forces in Austria and, more than that, thanks to the rivalry of the two fascist brands, the Italian and the German. Now it is slowly ground to dust by the grindstones of organized labor and fascism.

The step of the Dollfuss Government to outlaw the Socialist Party has no significance. The Austrian worker realizes that it is a life-and-death-struggle. He is no longer concerned with technicalities and the preservation of organizational forms. The struggle in Austria has reached a new stage. Austrian Labor, proud in its more than fifty years of fighting tradition, knows that it is better to court an end with terror than to suffer a terror without end. Out of the ashes of the present a new and stronger labor movement will rise, better equipped to deal with its death enemies.

What must the new movement be and look like? How must it act, confronted by reactionary terrorism and endless persecutions? What shall be its guiding forces and the ideas determining its tactics?—A ringing answer is found in the new programmatic platform drawn up by the exiled executive committee of the German Social Democratic Party in Prague, and published just one year after Hitler's victory made organized labor a dead letter in Germany. It is a platform which despite its unavoidable shortcomings sounds like a fanfare on the scarred battlefield of international labor.

To deal with the document in its entirety seems an impossible task. There will be future opportunities

to analyze it thoroughly and in all its aspects. But let us look at Chapter III, "The exercise of power," which deals with the immediate requirements after the overthrow of Fascism and the seizure of state power by labor. Many comrades will agree that it is precisely this issue which has aroused most important and far-reaching controversies in our ranks. We are glad to note that the new "Magna Charta of German Labor" acknowledges the shortcomings of the German Social Democracy in 1918 after the collapse of the mighty empire.

What will Labor do after its victory? The meaning of the proclamation is unmistakably clear. It proclaims:

Establishment of a revolutionary tribunal for all fascist criminals, their aiders and abettors in the judicial, bureaucratic and political state machinery;

Annulment of the law which declares German judges irremovable;

Occupation of all important judicial positions as well as all bureaucratic key positions by trustees of the revolutionary gov-

ernment, accompanied by a thorough cleanup of the bureaucratic Austrian staff;
Organization of a revolutionary military and police force;
Complete reorganization of the army officers' corps;
Separation of church and state;
Suppression of all counter-revolutionary activities;
Immediate promulgation of all necessary social, economic and financial laws by the revolutionary government;
Complete destruction of the old political, economic and social apparatus;
Immediate expropriation of the great land owners, without compensation;
Immediate expropriation of the heavy industries, without compensation, and their socialization;
Socialization of the German banks, to be administered by financial trustees of the revolutionary government.

There are many minor points which fittingly complete the new revolutionary picture. But most important is the following passage which speaks for itself: "The erection of the free people's state can and must only begin after the revolutionary power has become sufficiently entrenched and all political positions of the counter-revolution have been thoroughly destroyed. (No period for the length of this virtual dictatorship

is given.) After the firm consolidation of all revolutionary achievements, an assembly of the people's representatives, elected by general, free, equal, direct and secret suffrage, shall be called. . . ."

Comrades, no brutal bloodshed, no wanton destruction must dispel our belief that the days of the new, strong and, first of all, UNITED labor movement are drawing near. Through the clash of arms and the groans of our suffering comrades come the faint bugles of militant European Labor, battling against the concrete strongholds of Fascism and undermining them by unceasing underground work. A new era has begun, new and yet so closely associated with the past era of heroism which distinguished the beginnings of our modern Socialist and labor movement.

European Comrades, we, your brothers in America, are with you in these decisive hours!

ONE RESULT

After witnessing the disgraceful behavior of the Communist Nazis at the Garden last Friday, we hereby present our membership applications to the Socialist Party.

Syra I. Redfern,
Laline Meltzer,
Faigie Meltzer,
Julius Weiss.

to express solidarity with the Austrian heroes and heroines, to raise money for their relief and to create an agency for continued aid.

Communists CLAIMING that in the interest of a United Front, to unite all workers against Fascism, urged their members to attend, and they did.

They attended in a body, trying to enter with banners denouncing the leaders of the Vienna struggle, and carrying scurrilous literature AND WEAPONS.

In other words, THEY ENTERED IN A HOSTILE SPIRIT.

When the meeting was called to order their rioting began. Shouting, shrieking and boing greeted every speaker. Not one single speaker was able to make his denunciation of fascism heard beyond the press table.

THE SHOUTING AND BOING WERE CAREFULLY ORGANIZED.

The Climax

The climax of the rioting came when Hathaway sought to force his way to the platform and steal the meeting.

The moment he was discerned rushing to the rostrum WHILE ANOTHER MAN WAS SPEAKING, the Communist blocs began chanting in unison, "WE WANT HATHAWAY! WE WANT HATHAWAY!"

At the same time men and women in the gallery directly back of the speakers' platform, began to stand up AND FLING CHAIRS INTO THE CROWD OF MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN WHO HAD COME TO PROTEST AGAINST FASCISM.

It is significant that as soon as Hathaway started to move toward the speakers' rostrum the massed Communists in various sections of the galleries began moving forward. Numbers of them picked up chairs to fling down into the mass of men, women and children on the platform. The first chair struck Hathaway, thrown by one of his own followers, before a word had been spoken. The claim that the rioting began only when hands were laid upon him is a deliberate and a rather clumsy lie.

Hathaway was hustled from the platform, AND ONLY THE COOL-HEADEDNESS AND COURAGE OF THE SOCIALISTS MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO ESCAPE WITH HIS LIFE. Meanwhile, the Communist-fascist blocs in various parts of the hall deliberately picked fights, some people WERE STABBED IN THE BACK WITH PENKNIVES and heads were struck with black-jacks wrapped in newspapers.

Up to this time, there was no sign of the police, the committee in charge of the meeting having requested that officers remain outside only to direct traffic, and that they be unarmed, even leaving clubs behind.

IT IS DUE SOLELY TO THE COOLNESS OF THE SOCIALISTS AND THEIR SELF-RESTRAINT THAT THE GARDEN DID NOT BECOME A SHAMBLES.

"Victory!"

After the meeting was adjourned to the shouts and hisses of the Communists who booed when speakers called for cheers for the Vienna workers, the gangs adjourned to Union Square where they held a celebration of their "victory."

A cable of thanks and congratulation signed by Dollfuss, Fey, Starhemberg and Mussolini, has not yet been received. If it is not transmitted, however, it is indication that gratitude has died out in the world.

Hathaway sent a long telegram to the city editors of all newspapers (collect!) the night of the meeting, explaining that all he wanted was one minute to appeal to his followers to be quiet and listen to the regularly scheduled speakers! Hathaway himself had led a group hissing and booing.

The Meeting at the Garden

(Continued from Page One)

by their leaders. The Communist sheet parroted the lie of Dollfuss that Otto Bauer, Julius Deutsch and other Socialist leaders had run away—that at the very moment they were exposing themselves on the barricades!

Day by day the slanders became viler. Day by day the "crimes" of the Austrian Socialists in "misleading" the workers were more apparent to the editors in the safe retreat of 13th Street.

The First Provocation

The first outbreak of provocation came on Wednesday, Feb. 14th, when Communists sought to "capture" a Socialist demonstration in front of the Austrian consulate at 42nd Street and 5th Ave. Called for 4 p. m., the Socialists were to appear with banners denouncing Dollfuss and Fascism. The Communists thereupon sent their people to parade around the building an hour earlier with banners denouncing the leaders of the Austrian Socialists! Blinded with hatred for every organization other than their own they were unwilling to permit an impressive demonstration against Dollfuss to be carried to a successful conclusion, and they gave comfort to the representatives of the little assassin by publicly denouncing the men against whom he was at that moment waging war.

The Madison Square Garden mass meeting was called by a conference hastily summoned, at which were representatives of a number of important unions, the Workmen's Circle, the Forward Association and the Socialist Party.

The day before the meeting the Communists called for another meeting in the Bronx Coliseum, meanwhile continuing their barrage of lies about the "treachery" of the Austrian Socialist leaders. The tenor of all the statements was the same; the Austrian leaders had misled their followers and the workers had gone over the heads of their leaders in the battle they were staging. One quotation: "The outbreak is a spontaneous reaction to fascist provocation . . . the workers are inadequately armed, unprepared and have been betrayed by their Social Democratic leaders."

At their Bronx meeting a Socialist attended—a competent stenog-

rapher—and took notes. The Socialist did not shout down the speakers, did not hiss and boo, did not clamor for a Socialist Party speaker; only took stenographic notes. Here are some of the contributions to a united front of the workingclass in the face of the Austrian tragedy:

Hathaway Speaks

Clarence A. Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker: "The treachery of the Social Democratic leadership has stood out in paving the way for the liquidating of the revolutionary Austrian working class."

"What the Social Democratic leaders do in calling upon the workers to defend democracy in to pave the way for war and fascism."

"The unit; we seek is the unity which recognizes the historic treachery of the Social Democratic leadership."

Earl Browder, another big shot of that crowd: "The Austrian working class has been held back from revolutionary action by their leaders."

"This struggle can only be successful if they have real Bolshevik leadership."

At that meeting orders were given to march on the Madison Square Garden meeting and capture it.

"Go to the Garden"

Hathaway said: "Go to Madison Square Garden. Talk to the Socialist workers and the A. F. of L. workers."

Browder said: "March to Madison Square Garden and show them that we are for a United Front. We'll make the United Front in spite of all its enemies."

The day of the Garden meeting the Communist sheet again carried a long, slanderous and lying editorial denouncing the leaders of the Austrian workers; on the front page was a four-column box headed: "Rally today at Madison Square Garden," and carrying the words: "ANYONE WHO SPLITS THE RANKS OF THE WORKERS AT THIS TIME HELPS THE FASCISTS, INJURES THE VALIANT STRUGGLE OF OUR HEROIC BROTHERS IN AUSTRIA AND IS A CONTEMPTIBLE ENEMY OF THE WORKING CLASS."

Two paragraphs further down

is this statement: "Socialist workers in New York trade unions, aroused by the bloody murder of their Austrian comrades, anxious to join the struggle for their support, have forced their leaders and trade union bureaucrats to call the Garden meeting!"

In the same issue are given instructions to the Communists to assemble at certain points TO MARCH ON THE GARDEN MEETING IN A BODY.

For "Unity"

On the day to the meeting they contributed to "united action" by distributing circulars reading: "SOCIALIST AND A. F. OF L. WORKERS! Your leaders have united with American Fascists."

Another circular (without the union label) tells that in Austria "THE SOCIALIST LEADERS DISARMED AND DESERTED THE WORKERS." Authority for that lie is Engelbert Dollfuss, picked up and retailed by his Communist allies.

In that spirit of comradeship the hoodlums marched on the Garden with a band and banners carrying the same statements denouncing the Austrian Socialist leaders, as their contribution to "unity." They had called for the gathering of their supporters at a time earlier than the general stoppage ordered by the big unions, so that when they marched to the Garden they would find the hall not yet filled. They found places in several sections, where they sat in large blocs.

A Socialist usher, recognizing some of the Communists, asked before the meeting started: "Well, are you fellows going to let the meeting go on?"

Their answer was an emphatic "NO."

As they entered the hall, their banners DENOUNCING THE AUSTRIAN SOCIALIST LEADERS were taken from them, as well as their band instruments.

Other things taken from these "friends" of the "unity" of the workers were:

Six stink bombs.

Beer bottles wrapped in aprons and newspapers.

Large quantities of literature denouncing the Socialist leadership. Here was the set-up:

A meeting called by the Socialist Party and various labor unions

to express solidarity with the Austrian heroes and heroines, to raise money for their relief and to create an agency for continued aid.

Communists CLAIMING that in the interest of a United Front, to unite all workers against Fascism, urged their members to attend, and they did.

They attended in a body, trying to enter with banners denouncing the leaders of the Vienna struggle, and carrying scurrilous literature AND WEAPONS.

In other words, THEY ENTERED IN A HOSTILE SPIRIT.

When the meeting was called to order their rioting began. Shouting, shrieking and boing greeted every speaker. Not one single speaker was able to make his denunciation of fascism heard beyond the press table.

THE SHOUTING AND BOING WERE CAREFULLY ORGANIZED.

The Climax

The climax of the rioting came when Hathaway sought to force his way to the platform and steal the meeting.

The moment he was discerned rushing to the rostrum WHILE ANOTHER MAN WAS SPEAKING, the Communist blocs began chanting in unison, "WE WANT HATHAWAY! WE WANT HATHAWAY!"

At the same time men and women in the gallery directly back of the speakers' platform, began to stand up AND FLING CHAIRS INTO THE CROWD OF MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN WHO HAD COME TO PROTEST AGAINST FASCISM.

It is significant that as soon as Hathaway started to move toward the speakers' rostrum the massed Communists in various sections of the galleries began moving forward. Numbers of them picked up chairs to fling down into the mass of men, women and children on the platform. The first chair struck Hathaway, thrown by one of his own followers, before a word had been spoken. The claim that the rioting began only when hands were laid upon him is a deliberate and a rather clumsy lie.

Hathaway was hustled from the platform, AND ONLY THE COOL-HEADEDNESS AND COURAGE OF THE SOCIALISTS MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO ESCAPE WITH HIS LIFE. Meanwhile, the Communist-fascist blocs in various parts of the hall deliberately picked fights, some people WERE STABBED IN THE BACK WITH PENKNIVES and heads were struck with black-jacks wrapped in newspapers.

Up to this time, there was no sign of the police, the committee in charge of the meeting having requested that officers remain outside only to direct traffic, and that they be unarmed, even leaving clubs behind.

IT IS DUE SOLELY TO THE COOLNESS OF THE SOCIALISTS AND THEIR SELF-RESTRAINT THAT THE GARDEN DID NOT BECOME A SHAMBLES.

"Victory!"

After the meeting was adjourned to the shouts and hisses of the Communists who booed when speakers called for cheers for the Vienna workers, the gangs adjourned to Union Square where they held a celebration of their "victory."

A cable of thanks and congratulation signed by Dollfuss, Fey, Starhemberg and Mussolini, has not yet been received. If it is not transmitted, however, it is indication that gratitude has died out in the world.

Hathaway sent a long telegram to the city editors of all newspapers (collect!) the night of the meeting, explaining that all he wanted was one minute to appeal to his followers to be quiet and listen to the regularly scheduled speakers! Hathaway himself had led a group hissing and booing.

HOLMES HEADS PARTY SLATE IN PENNSYLVANIA

HARRISBURG, Pa.—Professor Jesse H. Holmes of Swarthmore College, old-time Socialist and educator, was named for Governor by the Socialist Party at an enthusiastic state convention here during the week-end.

James H. Maurer, beloved veteran of half a century of battling for Socialism and labor, twice vice-presidential candidate, many times State Legislator and councilman of his native Reading, one of the best loved Socialists in America, was named for United States Senator.

Birch Wilson of Reading was named for Lieutenant Governor, David H. Felix for Superior Court Judge and Meyer Maurer for Supreme Court Judge.

More than 200 delegates attended.

VERMONT

The State Executive Committee recently elected Bertrand C. Lavigne, 12 Seminary St., Barre, as new State Secretary-Treasurer.

At the recent annual convention, about 20 delegates and comrades met in Rutland. Party activity of past year and plans for 1934 discussed.

West Virginia Plans Summer School

The Socialist Party of West Virginia is planning a Labor Summer School during July or August. Comrade Flury of Washington, D. C., will direct the educational activities.

The location has not yet been definitely decided upon. All party members and others interested and those who can loan tents and bedding for the school period, write to J. F. Higgins, State Secretary, Star City, W. Va., or to Gerard G. O'Kane, 521 Walnut Ave., Fairmont, W. Va., who has charge of arrangements.

State Organizer Harold W. Glasgow, in an open letter to the Sheriff of Marion County, has been successful in arousing public sentiment in a drive to force the Democratic county officials to collect the bonds—now a year overdue—covering a shortage of \$250,000 in the accounts of the preceding Democratic Sheriff. The affair has been given much favorable publicity by the local press.

Rand School Records Year of Successful Educational Work

The American Socialist Society, the body which for twenty-eight years has carried on the Rand School of Social Science in New York, held its annual meeting at the Peoples' House on Friday of last week. Adolph Held, the president, being unavoidably absent, Dr. Louis Hendin was voted into the chair.

Reports submitted by the staff showed that the educational work of the school has been held at least up to last year's standard both in scope and in quality, although the expense budget has been cut down by more than 20 per cent, and that there has been a substantial reduction of the heavy burden of debt under which the school has for several years been suffering.

Three of the outgoing members of the Board of Directors—Ben Belsky, Sol Levitas, and Harry Lichtenberg—declined re-election, and Ben Josephson, Dr. Sergius Inperman, and Alexander Kahn were chosen to succeed them.

The other seven members—Jacob Afros, Julius Gerber, Louis P. Goldberg, Adolph Held, Mrs. Bertha H. Mailly, David Rubinow, and Charles Shapiro—were re-elected.

The Rand School has this season registered nearly 700 students in classes held at the Peoples' House, over 350 in correspondence classes, and another 100 or more in extension classes.

Party Demands Government Protest Austrian Terror

THE following wire has been sent to President Roosevelt: We understand Austrian trade commissioners are expected in America Monday. We urge you to make clear to these men that America will make no agreement to trade in goods wet with workers' blood.

Leo M. Krzycki, National Chairman, Socialist Party, Norman Thomas.

Communists Call for Police Against Taxi-Men

A meeting called by the so-called Taxi-Workers' Union, a Communist outfit, to "expose Jacob Panken and the Socialist Party and their betrayal of the taxi drivers of New York," to be held at 1472 Boston Road, the Bronx, last week, was not held.

A number of taxi drivers came to the hall and were told to come back later. One of them told the

head of the Communist organization not to dare say anything against Panken. "I'm no Socialist," he said, "but I know what Panken did for us."

Within a short time a detachment of policemen came in five radio cars, stood guard over the hall and chased everyone away. "What are you doing here?" one of the men asked a policeman.

"Aw, the lousy Communists called us for protection." Only the language he used was a little stronger. The meeting was not held.

The Party Progress

Crosswaith Begins Tour

Frank Crosswaith left New York on a tour that will take him to the Pacific coast and back. Among his engagements already booked are the following: Feb. 21-27, State of Michigan; 28, South Bend, Ind.; March 1-4, Chicago; 5-7, Milwaukee; 8-14, Minnesota; 15, Omaha; 16, Denver; 19-25, State of Washington; 26, Portland (tentative); 27, Eugene (tentative); March 28 to April 10, State of California; 11, Salt Lake City; 13, Denver (tentative).

The balance of his schedule will be announced later. Locals along the way desiring to schedule him should communicate with Ethel Davis, 549 Randolph St., Chicago.

Nebraska

Omaha.—S. Lerner, State Secretary, reports increasing activity. Among the speakers recently heard or about to be heard at Sunday night meetings at party headquarters, 218 Lyric Building, 19th and Farnham, are Arthur F. Stearns, Charles Nelson, president of the Omaha central labor body; J. Harvey Kern, Roy Burr, Frank Crosswaith, Rabbi Goldstein, and others.

Michigan

Note change in the Crosswaith schedule. The Sunday meeting in Detroit will be held at the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, Fredrick at St. Antoine, at 3 p.m. The dinner is at 6 p.m. at 527 Holbrook, with the lecture following at 8 p.m.

Branch 1.—Leonard Woodcock is the speaker at the regular Wednesday evening meeting Feb. 28. Junior Yipsels sponsoring party and dance at 225 E. Forest, Feb. 24, at 8:30.

Ohio

Cleveland.—Cleveland Socialists swung into action the moment word was flashed of the tragic events in Austria. In addition to picketing the Austrian consulate with demands that captured Socialists be treated as prisoners of war, several meetings were held with speakers including the veteran Max S. Hayes, James Dudl of the Amalgamated, Jos. Martinek, and others. Gustav Darbringhaus, former chairman of the Socialist Party in Essen, Germany, spoke in German.

The following wire was sent to the President: "Czech Socialists of Cleveland appeal to you to use all the influence of this country to impress upon the Vienna government that it must stop all hangings of prisoners taken in the Austrian civil war."

"Viennese rebels are neither bandits nor criminals. They took up arms in a desperate struggle to save the republic and the constitution of their country from criminal usurpers of power. They conducted a clean fight for highest ideals of mankind, winning admiration of the whole world for the courageous stand they made."

"The conscience of the world demands that they be accorded the same protection which international law gives to prisoners of war. We deem it a sacred duty of every man and every country believing in true democracy to help save these men."

New Jersey

Passaic.—Branch 1: Friday, Feb. 23, at 585 Main Ave., Nathan Fine on "The NRA and the Socialist Party." The last lecture by Comrade Fine in this present series will be held Friday, March 2.

Executive Committee meets each Tuesday, and the Yipsels meet Wednesday evenings. Workers' educational class each Monday at 8:30.

First annual dance and entertainment of Socialist Party branches and Yipsels, Sunday evening, March 11, at Ritz Ballroom. Drawing and entertainment for Headquarters Fund, March 18, at 585 Main Ave.

Newark.—Calendar of Socialist activities in Essex County for the coming week:

Saturday, Feb. 24—Supper by members of Central Branch at county headquarters, 1085 Broad St., Newark, 6 to 8 o'clock. At 8:30 o'clock, M. Hart Walker, county director for the United Socialist Drive, will meet with branch directors to make final plans.

Monday, Feb. 26—Gus Tyler will lecture at the Newark Branch of the Rand School, 1085 Broad St., Tuesday, Feb. 27—County Executive Committee, Wednesday, Feb. 28—Branch of the Oranges

meets at West Orange Community House, 242 Main St., West Orange. Hugh Maguire, branch organizer, will speak on "What Should Our Political Program Be?" South Side Branch, Newark, will also meet that evening.

Emma Goldman will speak in Newark Thursday, March 1, at Krueger Auditorium, 25 Belmont Ave., on her book, "Living My Life." The meeting is sponsored by the Public Meetings Committee of Essex County Local, Socialist Party. The Socialist Party, in announcing the event, makes it clear that it does not subscribe to the doctrine held by the speaker and that statements she makes do not necessarily reflect the policy of the party.

Dover.—Branch meets second and fourth Wednesday of month at 13 South Sussex St. Mrs. Allen Hahn, 90 West Clinton St., secretary. The recently organized Y.P.S.L. meets at the same address every Sunday evening at 7:30. Miss Jean Parker, 28 West Fairview Ave., secretary.

Resolution adopted by the Dover local Wednesday night: "We, members of the Socialist Party of Dover, condemn the slaughter of men, women and children of Austria in their attempt to prevent the establishment of a fascist state. Not since the slaughter of St. Bartholomew in France in 1572 has the world witnessed such an onslaught on a non-combative, peace-loving people, as that now taking place in Austria."

The sympathies of all who believe in democracy should be with those who are struggling to maintain a democratic system of selecting the people's representatives.

"Those who would rule by force must expect to meet defeat by the same method, when the oppressed can no longer bear the oppression of government established and maintained by force. Self-determination should be an irrevocable right of all people. This is the chief issue at stake in the present Austrian conflict."

New York State

State Executive Committee met last Saturday and nominated as International Congress delegates Oneal, Panken, Thomas and Waldman, of New York, and Benson and Hoan, of Wisconsin. An allotment of quotas for the United Socialist Drive was made. Permission was granted B. C. Vlodek to accept appointment on the New York City Housing Authority, and the Executive Committee of Local New York City was requested to elect a committee to cooperate with him. The representation of the party at the legislative hearing on public utility bills was provided for.

Buffalo.—A protest meeting against the massacre in Vienna was held at the Salem Church last Sunday evening. Harold R. Raitt presided, and the speakers included Robert A. Hoffman, James Rathston and Herman J. Hahn of the Socialist Party, Clyde Fitch of the Proletarian Party, and John Newton Thurber of the League for Industrial Democracy. Resolutions were adopted favoring the boycotting of Austrian goods and requesting President Roosevelt to withdraw recognition of the present Austrian government.

Organizer Baumann of Local Buffalo is proceeding to the organization of neighborhood branches, about ten of which are in prospect.

Buffalo.—Local Buffalo has nominated for delegates and alternates to the National Convention: delegate at large, Herbert M. Merrill; alternate at large, Elizabeth C. Roll, Buffalo; delegate from Western district, Robert A. Hoffman; alternate, Herman J. Hahn.

Bessie Federman, Hutchinson high-school teacher, will speak on her visit to Soviet Russia and show three reels of moving pictures taken by herself, at the Riverside Branch, Tuesday, Feb. 27, at Liberty Hall, Niagara, near Austin St. Elmira.—The local has adopted the system of ward captains, and is putting on a drive for new members. A literature fund has been created.

Rockland County.—Business meeting, Thursday, March 1, Com. Sauter's, Upper Nyack, at 8 p.m. Combined forum with Workmen's Circle, Sunday, March 4, in Community Center, Spring Valley, at 3 p.m. Wm. Duffy will speak on "The New Deal—Socialism or Fascism?"

400 Cigarmakers In 12-Week Strike

The lockout of 400 members of the Cigarmakers' Union by the firm of A. Seigel & Sons is now in its twelfth week. To date no code has been established for the cigar manufacturing industry. The steps taken some weeks ago by the deputy administrator at Washington to confer with the manufacturers' association were protested by the officers of the Cigarmakers' International Union and a new official was put in charge.

The union had submitted a minimum scale of \$16 weekly for hand workers, \$14 for machine workers and \$12 for strippers. The firm Seigel offered a scale far below these figures, ignoring the decision of the NRA officials to pay women. The firm also operates a factory in Camden, N. J.

Workers in the Utrecht Avenue shop of the Primate Cigar Co. are also on strike against similar intolerable conditions as those which have prevailed in the plant of Seigel.

French Socialists Rebuff "United Front"

The French Socialist Party and the trade unions of that country are preparing a great battle against Fascism and for Socialism. But they do not want the sort of "cooperation" Communists traditionally provide. By a unanimous vote they rejected a "united front" offer.

THE LABOR COMMITTEE

(Continued from Page Nine) to help solve their differences. Despite a bitter fight, both sides have agreed to the Labor Committee's selection of a group to investigate conditions in their local, and have agreed to abide by their decision.

GROUP MEETINGS Retail Grocery Clerks.—The Socialist Party members of the Retail Grocery Clerks' Union will meet Friday, Feb. 23, at 7 p. m., at 7 East 15th Street.

Pocketbook Makers.—Socialist Party members of the International Pocketbook Workers' Union will meet Saturday, Feb. 24, 1 p. m., at 7 East 15th Street.

Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.—Socialist Party members of this local will meet Monday, Feb. 26, at 8:30 p. m., at 7 East 15th Street.

Painters' Union, all locals.—Socialist Party members of the Painters' Union will meet Tuesday, Feb. 27, 8:30 p. m., at 7 E. 15th St.

All Socialist Party teachers will meet Friday, March 9, at 8:30 p. m., at 7 East 15th Street.

At the meeting of all members of the party who are members of trade unions, held last Saturday, a number of subscription lists were distributed. Some comrades have responded, others not. Please send in your list at once! All who desire lists can get them at 7 East 15th St. The purpose of this drive for funds is to support a Labor Department that can devote full time to the labor movement.

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A progressive School for Children from Kindergarten to High School. Residential. Small Group. Arts and Crafts. Social outlook. Address: P. O. Box 155, 115 Cary Street, Lakewood, N. J. JAMES AND NELLIE DICK, Directors.

RAND BOOK STORE

"America at the Crossroads" By David P. Berenberg. Up-to-the-minute analysis of industrial conditions and of the administration of the NRA. 96 pages. 35c. Order your books from the Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th St.—Profits go to workers' education.

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

The Largest Radical Workingmen's Fraternal Order in Existence. 75,000 MEMBERS \$5,000,000 ASSETS. 100 Branches All Over the United States and Canada. Insurance from \$100 to \$3,000. Sick benefit, 15 weeks per year, at \$8 \$18 \$23 and \$28 per week. Many branches pay additional benefit from \$3 to \$5 per week. Consumption benefit \$400 and \$600 or nine months in our own sanatorium located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.

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Why not smoke our unrivaled five and ten cent HAND-MADE CIGARETS of purest Habana with Connecticut wrappers at wholesale prices? They are made in a closed shop affiliated with the A. F. of L. They carry the Union label and are produced in a factory owned by Socialists. Order a box of 50 cigars today. Opportunities for agents. THE VANGUARD P. O. Box 5885, Tampa, Fla.

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Washington Stands Aghast at Massacre in Vienna

By Observer
Our Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON officialdom was frankly disturbed by the savage attack of the Austrian reactionaries on the Socialists. Tradition and precedent, of course, prevented any public expression of opinion.

No particular sympathy was expressed when first reports came from Vienna, telling of a Socialist "revolt." But when it was revealed there had been no Socialist "revolt," rather that instead the Socialists had defended themselves against the unprovoked onslaught of Dollfuss and his Heimwehr cut-throats, indignation began to grow, intensified as later reports told of the wanton destruction of the fine workers' apartments put up by the Vienna Socialist administration. Among the more liberal of the "New Dealers," Dollfuss and his gang were vigorously denounced.

It seemed to be quite generally recognized by Administration officials, as well as by the press, that the Austrian Socialists were fighting for democracy and that out of their defeat the triumph of Hitlerism seems certain.

The press here, as throughout the country, no matter how hostile it may be to Socialism, was unable to stomach the Austrian horror. Dollfuss was roundly denounced and this denunciation, in common with similar expressions throughout the world, was undoubtedly a factor in causing him to make a labored defense of his course in a radio address broadcast throughout the world.

Quotations from three newspapers show press recognition of the fact that Austrian Socialism was fighting the battle of democracy in its brave resistance to the Dollfuss fascists.

"The Socialists are fighting to defend the constitution and the liberties of the people," the Louisville "Courier-Journal" said.

"It still remains the strong probability that out of the crushing of the Socialists, the one strong group standing for democracy and constitutionalism, will come the dominance of the fascist elements," the Waterbury (Conn.) "Republican" remarked.

"In Austria the crisis was precipitated only by the government's attack on democratic institutions which the Socialists hold dear. . . . The sympathy of American progressives must go to the Socialists in this battle," the Omaha "World-Tribune" declared.

LINDY BÄTS FOR AIR MAIL KINGS

Money—big money—has Charles A. Lindbergh in its thrall. So say those "in the know" at Washington.

Once Lindbergh, son of an inde-

J. MAHLON BARNES DIES AT SIXTY-EIGHT

Another of the thinning band of pioneers and founders of the Socialist Party passed away when J. Mahlon Barnes died in Washington on Thursday. Barnes, who was 68, was one of the few surviving founders of the present party.

From 1905 to 1911 he was National Secretary of the party, and in 1912 he was manager of the great Debs campaign that was the most successful the party ever had.

A cigarmaker, Barnes was active in his union for over 40 years and delegate to many A. F. of L. conventions.

Funeral will be held Saturday at Hines chapel, Washington.

pendent and courageous father of small means who fought the battle of the common people in the House of Representatives, was thought beyond the influence of riches.

Now Lindbergh is revealed as a champion of capitalists who made a "good thing" of airmail contracts and who shared generously in their bounty.

Not that Lindbergh was insincere when he permitted a protest to be made in his name against the Government's cancellation of airmail contracts. He may have voiced his honest convictions. Many here hold that he was fooled into acting as a catspaw for the air transport companies. But whatever his motive, the effect was the same. He stands forth in the public mind as a champion of interests accused of cheating the Government of the United States.

Evidence before the Senate Airmail Investigating Committee indicates that Lindbergh had stock option warrants from the Pan-American Airways which would have given him a profit of \$1,330,000. He had a stock gift of 25,000 shares from Transcontinental Air Transport from which he could have realized a profit of some \$1,000,000.

Whether the famous flyer actually realized these profits is immaterial. His connection with the airplane interests, which exploited his name and fame for all they were worth, was of a highly lucrative nature and helped largely to make him the wealthy man he is today. He says himself that he made \$187,838.55 from stocks and warrants.

So it is not surprising that Lindbergh has a warm spot in his heart for the air transport companies and is quite willing to lend his still great prestige to their defense.

Lindbergh's protest against the Government's action has not greatly impressed Washington, except in the case of professional champions of the airplane and air transport interests. Neither have the noisy protests of Representative "Ham" Fish and others.

Conceding that the Administration might have been less hasty in its action, opinion here points out that it is more than likely the Administration would not have moved against the powerful airplane interests unless it was pretty sure it had the goods on them. The President and his advisers are not taking on any fights just for fun. They have plenty of trouble on their hands without looking for more. It is felt that the situation must have compelled the President and Postmaster-General Farley to act.

The whole episode is another example of the truth that the profit system is shot through and through with graft and dishonesty, which tends to break down the integrity of even the most honest and upright.

That carrying of the air mails by the Army, as provided in the order cancelling the contracts, may prove no picnic is indicated by the death of three Army flyers while en route to new posts to take over airmail service. But Army men, especially those interested in the peacetime work of the Army, are betting that Army flyers will make good on the task.

WINDING UP CWA PROGRAM

As the Administration went ahead with its plan to wind up the Civil Works program by May 1, social workers from all over the nation, meeting here, voiced strong opposition to the termination of the work.

By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

Milwaukee.

A Priceless Heritage

THE courage of our Austrian comrades is a priceless heritage to all of us. It has raised men's regard for Socialism everywhere to see men and women ready to die to maintain the workers' "right to live." Whatever happens, Dollfuss, who now weeps crocodile tears for the orphans of Vienna and

the liberty he has slain, is loomed. He is a dictator who is the puppet of the Pope and Mussolini. At the order of the latter he opened the drive to destroy Socialism which will destroy him. While either he or the Nazis whom he now fights rule in Austria we must boycott goods from Austria or the sending of goods to Austria, especially such as bulwark Fascist power for war. Indeed, there should be a boycott of three enemies of the workers: the governments of Italy, Germany and Austria. Finally, we should demand American diplomatic protest in Vienna against the Fascist terrorism which, having bombarded women and children and destroyed the finest homes for workers in the world, now seeks vindictive punishment upon brave men who so long and with so few arms kept the government forces at bay.

Heroic and inspiring as the Austrian struggle was, it shows once more at what a disadvantage workers are against a government with plenty of munitions whose troops remain loyal. The Austrian troops were recruited from peasants and "little men," reached by nationalist, not Socialist propaganda. It is an obvious lesson that we Socialists must reach farmers and white collar workers in our struggle. The better we reach them the better the chance of avoiding or minimizing violence. The better our publicity in the press the better we can make our position plain to outsiders. I am glad to see these truths increasingly plain to comrades throughout the country.

Of course, we must not sell our souls or betray our principles for friendly publicity, but there is no virtue in a labor or Socialist policy which fails stupidly to get publicity which might be had with proper care. For instance, letters to the editor, properly written by Socialists, might straighten out many misconceptions I have found in the truth about Socialism in Austria and America.

What the Communists Did

WHAT the Communists did at Madison Square Garden Friday by their attack on a peaceful meeting was not to break up a Socialist and trade union rally which they did not like. It was to discredit the cause of our Austrian comrades throughout an America all too ill-informed about Austria; it was to invite the police hereafter to use force and more force at labor gatherings; it was to wound what civil liberty we have left; it was to encourage Fascism and to make the united front impossible. It was, in short, to do the very thing that helped pave the way for Hitler in Germany.

It happens that I do not like the policies Matt Woll stands for in the A. F. of L., but even Communists, if they are sincere in fighting Fascism, ought to understand that when right wing, non-Socialist labor men join us in opposing fascist cruelty it is not we who have surrendered to them, but they who have come to see the force of some of our positions. It is a united front on a great issue. And if we cannot get such a front, we shall be united in common disaster.

NRA for Share Croppers

IF ever there were forgotten men it is the share croppers of the cotton states to some of whom our comrades in Tyrona, Arkansas, gave me so valuable an introduction. Before there was a New Deal these men lived in penance to the landlords. They lived in shacks scarcely fit for pigs, farmed thirty or forty acres for half the crop, and were kept, often by crooked figuring, in constant debt. They cultivated in Arkansas bottom land some of the richest soil in the world and they who raised cotton could not get enough cloth to clothe their children. Then came the New Deal which paid landlords—who did nothing—for a 40% reduction in acreage. From this bonus the share cropper who did everything got nothing. He lost even that which

Citing the "large labor surplus" over the number of jobs available, the social workers declared that "the halting of the civil works development has already resulted

he had. He was either put out on the road or allowed to exist in a cabin without the right to stick plow in ground. I found one man who after months of idleness got work on the levee. He travelled sixty miles, leaving home at 3 a. m. and getting back at 9 p. m. His seven children are all out of school. The state runs no bus to collect them for the school in town; it provides no books, and the children have no clothes but rags. (That's why there is overproduction in cotton!)

In summer they shake with malaria. Unless new legislation makes these folks and not the landlords the beneficiaries of crop reduction, from 500 to 800 thousand of them will be homeless wanderers in a country of the unemployed. They will flock to cities like Birmingham where laundry workers make 14c an hour and may have to wait five hours to get one or two hours' work. (I addressed some determined strikers there, both white and colored, who may change that story!) But today no city workers, not even the unemployed, seem to me quite so wretched as the share croppers of the cotton belt.

IRONY of ironies, the government which is chasing share croppers off the land is trying to put other men on subsistence farms. I saw something of the movement in Tennessee. Conceivably it might give a little relief to some unemployed city workers who as boys knew farming. It might help mountain farmers temporarily who, as a recent investigation shows, average \$25 cash per year. But subsistence farming on individual farms, fixed up by a government agency and sold on easy terms, solves no economic problem. With the proper use of machinery we need fewer, not more, farmers. Industry expanded to meet our needs and with shortened hours, not agriculture, must absorb surplus workers in a stationary population. The only economic good of subsistence farms would be as experimental farms to show how most effectively through collectivization or cooperation to make modern machinery and comfortable homes available to farmers.

The New City of Norris

BY contrast with mountain cabins, share croppers' shacks, or even subsistence farmers, the new city of Norris where workers are building one of the great dams for the Tennessee Valley project shows what can be done. I take no time to describe the camp and the modern homes with every convenience which the one socialistic agency of the New Deal, the T.V.A., is creating. Newspapers are doing that. I saw it, addressed some of the workers, and conferred with members of a very fine staff. The problems of T.V.A. are not engineering. They are: Who will use the power and on what terms? Municipalities may buy some. Citizens, especially farmers, in the region can buy little or none. T.V.A. would have to give them power and appliances.

If corporations get it, the government will simply have helped them out. If T.V.A. starts cooperative farmers around little towns which produce, one cement, another electrical appliances, etc.—and T.V.A. could do that by capitalizing what is now poured into the bottomless pit of relief—private industry would howl.

The moral, of course, is that a nation cannot exist one hundredth Socialist and the rest capitalist. T.V.A. is a flower in a garden of weeds and great corporations water the weeds. We can't have socialized planning just for one valley. Nevertheless, T.V.A. is doing some fine pioneering.

Nothing But a Palliative

OUTSIDE T.V.A. everything I see increases my sense of the failure of the New Deal to meet the crisis or to be anything but a palliative. I have written of crop sharers and laundry strikers. I could write of CWA workers laid off with no place to go and nothing to do but riot. The "New Republic" in its issue of Feb. 16th, gave figures to show that under NRA from June until now the cost of living per worker has gone up faster than wages by about 2%. Chiseling is terrible. At Harriman, Tenn., the hosiery workers are fighting a great battle against bosses openly contemptuous of an impotent Labor Board. The sheriff and the tear gas are on the bosses' side. Now is the time to organize and act!

SPACE fails me to tell of the hopeful signs of organization and action I found in New Orleans, Atlanta, Birmingham, the four Tennessee cities, and eastern Arkansas and the hospitality of comrades. Here, at Milwaukee, a four-day bazaar has just closed in a burst of financial success and general glory. It shows what hard working comrades can do together even in bad times.

as favoring a permanent national system of Government welfare services to provide insurance against the hazards of unemployment, old age and widowhood.



Norman Thomas