

May Day and 10th Anniversary Issue

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

VOL. XVII.—No. 17

In Four Sections—Sec. 1

SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 1934

N. Y. C. EDITION

Price Five Cents

FOR PEACE, FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM

May Day, 1934

**The International to the Workers of all
Countries!**

IN deep mourning, but unshaken in their convictions and in their confidence of victory, the workers of the whole world will celebrate this first of May—in huge demonstrations where freedom prevails, and with set teeth and clenched fists where Fascism has established its rule of terror.

Full of sorrow the workers of all countries stand at the graves of the Austrian workers who fought for freedom, who gave their lives for liberty, peace and the honor of world Socialism. They know that the government of the hangmen Dollfuss and Fey desired and precipitated the civil war in Austria. Superior armed force, and not law and justice, decided the struggle. The victors, quarreling over the booty are leading Austria, which has become a colony of Italian Fascism, into questionable adventures, to Hapsburg or to Hitler, and thereby creating for Europe a new danger of war.

Workers of Austria!

Full of admiration the International has watched you at work during the years since the end of the war, when as peaceful architects you built up Red Vienna and made it an example to world Socialism. With fast-beating hearts the workers in all countries have followed your heroic struggle for freedom, which has set up an everlasting monument to you in the hearts of all decent people. On May Day the workers of all countries will bow their heads in deep respect before your dead, your prisoners, and the widows and orphans of the February fighting, upon whom Austro-Fascism is now exercising its revenge, and swear to you eternal loyalty and solidarity.

The International still relies upon you, and more than ever, today. The heroes of Austria will remain faithful to the banner of international Socialism, you will hold with redoubled force to your ideals, which you have sealed with your blood, just as the International will stand at your side. On this First of May we swear that we will do all in our power to support your struggle for freedom. Just as you are doing, so will the International carry on the most intense and unmitigated struggle against the rule of Austro-Fascism until the day when the red banners wave again victorious from the Vienna City Hall.

Workers of all Countries!

The crisis through which the capitalist economic system has been passing for nearly five years is still unsolved. Fascism is not removing but intensifying it. German Fascism, which throws Socialists into prisons



*Come shoulder to shoulder ere the earth grows older
Hope lies in naught but thee and me.*

and concentration camps, which by its new labor law has completely enslaved the workers and left them to the mercy of the employers, is squandering the national wealth in feverish rearmament. Italian Fascism is allowing hundreds of thousands of unemployed to remain without support and to die of starvation. Fascist force cannot prevent the inevitable consequences of capitalist development. The certain disappointment of those who threw themselves into the arms of Fascism will be fatal to this last capitalist system of government. The victory of Fascism can only be followed by the victory of Socialism.

The more hopeless the economic situation becomes for capitalism, the more powerful will be the forces leading to war. The deliberations on disarmament have become discussions on rearmament. The armaments race has begun. The International therefore renews its demand for universal disarmament: No con-

cessions to Fascism thirsting for war; cooperation between all free nations against the danger of war which arises in all Fascist countries. The best security against the threat of war is the fear of the ruling classes of a workers' revolution. The best guarantee of peace is the strength of the Labor and Socialist movement.

Even though Austria has fallen a victim to Fascism, our courage and convictions are unbroken.

In all the countries of Western Europe, in Great Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, Sweden and Denmark, democracy is unshaken. In the island of democracy in Central Europe, the Czechoslovakian Republic, the whole of the Socialist movement is successfully defending the democratic institutions.

Already we see the first signs of the recovery of the Socialist movement. Shortly after the fall of Red Vienna the British Labor Party gained control for the first time in its history of the largest city in the world, the capital of the greatest world empire, London, and thus gave notice that it would soon capture the government itself. The Belgian labor movement has taken the offensive and by its plan of action has set up a signal for the workers in all democratic countries. In the Scandinavian countries one Socialist victory follows another.

In Switzerland the workers have frustrated all the reactionary attacks and step by step conquered new positions. The Socialists of Argentina have brought the capital of their country under Socialist control.

These are the signs of the great change, which will extend democracy and restore it in the countries which are at present under fascist rule.

On May Day we will demonstrate unbroken and certain of victory:

For the Liberation of the Slaves of Fascism!

For Socialist Democracy!

For Peace and Freedom!

The ideal for which the heroes of Austria fought and died is invincible.

Long live Socialism!

Long live the International!

*The Bureau of the
Labor and Socialist International.*

Two Worlds, One Dead, The Other to Be Born

MAY DAY, the international holiday of the workers of the world, comes in a period of continued decay of capitalist civilization. For more than forty years the workers of the nations have celebrated this anniversary. Each year they have gathered in great mass meetings to rejoice over victories and to consider defeats, to take stock of their experience and to plan for the future.

Since the last celebration the workers have suffered severe blows in Germany and Austria at the hands of fascist vandals. For the moment the working masses have been crushed and their organizations have been destroyed. The black forces of the old order, the clerical and capitalist reaction in Austria, have transformed the nation into a prison. Germany rotting hysterical sections of the middle classes, allied with Nazi criminals, with peasants and the underworld, have delivered themselves to Hitler, the Junkers and big capitalists and bankers.

In the rest of Europe the working masses face the possibility of a struggle with a similar fascist reaction. In South America, in Japan and in the United States this last-ditch movement to save capitalism has its supporters. No one can foresee what another May Day will bring. Despite the best generalship the workers may exercise, despite heroic sacrifices they may make, there may be other nations enslaved.

On the other hand, the barren fruits of fascist rule, the misery of its victims, its inability to solve the contradictions of capitalist production, the continuance of the crisis, are likely to bring recruits to social revolution in one or more nations under the boots of the fascist terror. Or out of the conflicting ambitions of the ruling cliques, out of imperialist greeds, the race for more armaments, the itch for the expansion of capitalist enterprise, or as a result of playing the idiot's game of the "balance of power," Europe or the world may be plunged into another hideous war.

What then? Cities and villages will be reduced to ash heaps, the dead will strew the battlefields, the crippled and the blind will be carted back to their homes as waste products of the war, debts will again be piled up, civilian populations will be destroyed by poison gas,

disease germs will be released, and bombing planes will drop explosives upon great cities.

Or the maniacs in the seats of power may find that their orders for conscripts to mobilize for mutual destruction will be answered with a refusal, with strikes tying up transport, production, communications, and thus paralyze the preparations for another blood bath. In that event, the workers will have learned that the "enemy" is not across the frontier but within the nation itself. Refusal to die for the despoilers at home would bring a crisis within the nation for the ruling classes who hazard their all upon a call for war.

Modern war is something more than the greed of capitalists, bankers and concession hunters. It is a throw-back to an infantile stage of human development. It is a lunatic attempt of the war-makers to live the life of our shaggy ancestors, except that these ancestors did the fighting while our war-makers send those whom they exploit to the front to do the fighting. The murder lust of the gangster in the lower reaches of society is not defended in terms of piety and ethics; that is left for the ruling gangsters of capitalism who send workers to the trenches in the name of God and country.

And why this reversion to infancy? The modern machine and technics have heaped up vast productive powers. Both enable us to live in abundance, but an owning class monopolizes their fruits. From the machine gushes vast quantities of goods which pass into the hands of the owners of the machine. They want to sell the goods and their victims cannot buy. The victims want to use and the owners want to sell. The need of the masses comes into conflict with the greed of the ruling classes. The masses cannot consume, the ruling classes cannot sell, and the machine comes to a standstill.

This is happening in all the capitalist nations of the world. Not understanding the causes of the deadlock, hysterical sections of the population turn to fascist gangsters. Where they are successful it merely proves an alliance between the ruling classes and the gangsters to maintain the old dying order. This recalls the striking statement of Matthew Arnold: *We are living between two worlds, one dead, and the other powerless to be born.*

Capitalism is a dead world; Socialism is the world striving to be born. Throughout the old decayed world of capitalism, monarchist and clerical, fascist and militarist, capitalist and banker, imperialist and nationalist, seek to preserve the old order of decay. Throughout the world the masses who understand their interests organize to deliver the new world of Socialism. *It is a struggle between death and life, between exploiters and exploited, between despotism and freedom, between a possessing minority and a dispossessed majority.*

And what are the stakes? The greatest in the long history of the struggle of slave and bondman to be free. The stakes are the productive powers of the world. It is the effort of the masses to acquire the ownership and control of raw materials and industry, reorganize them on a Socialist basis, to revive our industries, discharge the present owners, and guarantee access to all forms of employment to every able-bodied human being.

This is the May Day ideal that inspires millions of enlightened workers throughout the world. It is the Socialist aim and hope that inspires workers in the concentration camps of Germany and Austria, the tireless heroes who work and wait for a nemesis to overtake fascist Italy, the enlightened masses in other nations who suffer from the depression blight that broods like a nightmare over their homes.

Come what may, do what they will, the black forces of reaction cannot forever keep their dead world from burial. It must go to join the regime of the Roman masters, the feudal rule of the Middle Ages, and our old slave oligarchy in this country. It must go to the tomb, unhonored and unsung, a hideous memory for those who live in the future and read its history.

The Perilous Jewel

By Eliot White

HERE at the entrance to the Reptile House at the Zoological Park, what seem brilliant gems are exhibited in a dish on the shelf of a cabinet.

Rich golden-brown in hue, and of sparkling lustre, they might be costly topazes or Ceylonese zircons adorning a jeweler's window.

What strange place is this then, for their beautiful array?

Do they not belong in some museum collection of the world's precious stones, rather than so near these cages and dens full of dangerous live creatures?

Promises to the workers of the world that their interests will be amply cared for by their exploiting masters dazzle less vigilant eyes with gemlike flash and color.

Assurance that the dispossessed inheritors of a divine birthright in the earth and its manifold resources, may now safely abjure re-

sort to strikes or other like rudeness of revolt, and trustingly commit their welfare to those who have confiscated the common inheritance and now claim to "own" it, fascinate the over-hopeful by their glittering display.

And yet the many devices to make the saddles slightly less galling, the curb-bits easier, and the spurs a degree less sharp, while the riders still refuse to get off the backs of the exploited, are steadily losing their specious attraction for the ridden.

Can it be that they are looking more closely than of old, at those same promises, assurances and devices, to discern what they hold for them of injury beneath the brilliant and colorful outward aspect?

Look! Here is a label back of the dish of sparkling jewels in the Zoological Park cabinet—

It reads, "Crystallized Snake Venom!"

THE NEW LEADER ROLL OF HONOR

IN the job of building the circulation of The New Leader, the most important factor is the worker in the field who never tires of bringing the paper to the attention of others and getting subscriptions. No matter how well the management may develop plans for circulation and push them, without these workers in the field no Socialist publication can succeed.

It is therefore fitting that we call the honor roll of comrades and friends who have helped. This Tenth Anniversary Number is the place to call that roll. It is possible that a few may be overlooked in the list below and, if so, it is not intentional.

The Honor Roll

Arizona—Alva H. Shewey.
California—S. D. Wilkins, Chas. Arlison, Frank C. Page, B. W. Van Winkle, P. H. Minton, A. F. Silver, H. Sheanin, H. Kulkin, B. R. Foler, T. A. Walworth, Jos. Andereg, Selden Osborne, Edwin E. Wilson, M. S. Alderton, M. Dempster, C. Lewis, W. Goldberg, A. Simontacchi, B. Robinson, H. R. Edward.
Connecticut—J. C. Bergen, Peter Monte, Leonard E. Ftelin, S. Schacht.
Florida—Mrs. E. Elkin, Dr. R. Puddicombe.
Georgia—J. Jacobs.
Idaho—D. P. Donahue, T. J. Coonrod, Ralph Collings, H. H. Freedheim.
Illinois—N. A. Hess, M. Franklin, M. Blumin, C. Pogorelec, L. Majowsky, D. Goldstein, G. Moyland, J. F. Smith, J. Branson, Wm. Huettmann, Sr., C. H. Bloom, Joe G. Brincor.
Indiana—H. Sherman, Roy E. Green, Emma Henry, O. G. Overcash.
Iowa—J. H. Bangs, O. Baye.
Kansas—John W. Piercey, Peazlann Briggs.
Massachusetts—Edw. C. Cole, A. J. Tandy, S. P. Levenberg, A. Kallish, A. D. Atkinson, Earl C. Hamilton, Thos. Flavel, Henry Puranen, W. C. Hutchins, T. Nicholson, Daniel F. Downey, Achilles Di Mattio, John Van Vloten, James Smith.
Michigan—Neil Steabler, W. F. Peeler, Max Kalb, Leonard Woodcock, Larry S. Davidow, M. Kakanovich, Seth Whitmore, Thos. Nicholson, John M. Sineikal, John A. Wecklund, John A. Antisdel, John K. Arnot.
Minnesota—Sigmund M. Slonim, Olaf P. Victorien, Jones Juane, Wm. M. Norris.
Missouri—J. A. High, Henry C. Werner, D. B. Beisler, A. Savanow, B. Cohen, W. H. McFall.
Montana—James D. Graham.
Nebraska—James S. Wallace.
Nevada—Rev. E. Peterson.
New Hampshire—R. H. Macfarland.
New Jersey—Samuel Edelstein, George H. Goebel, C. F. Gluck, Morris Berman, E. Kadel, Prosper Schetting, E. G. Simington, Alex. Wiberg, W. Dolder.
New Mexico—Leon Cousins.
New York—Martin Heisler, Wm. C. Perry, J. H. Sullivan, J. Nassivera, Powell W. Smith, Joe Roth, M. L. Matlage, A. Marlorana, G. Parsons, John G. Cooper, C. Valenstein, Dick Eylers, Anthony Zlotnik, A. Kushner, Otto L. Enders, Allin C. Depew, Boris Fogelson, Herbert Lubin.
Ohio—H. C. Leiter, Wm. A. Logan, Geo. W. Kuhlman, Richard S. Parrott, Sidney Yellin, A. Bzezina, Dr. A. F. Green, David F. Davis, Geo. Streck, Mrs. Ruth Stahe, John Kosin, Mrs. Ruth

M. Moore, T. H. Davis, M. A. Wolfe, J. P. Girt, Nick Weltlich, J. L. Robertson, John Kastrevic, J. E. Lehman, Helen Malkin, Homer L. Hylton, C. F. Urie.

Oregon—Donald Kingsley, Stephen J. Christopher, A. Streif, P. Weitzer.

Pennsylvania—Geo. H. Stegmeler, Wm. A. Blankley, Elinor H. Jacobson, Wm. G. Olkelager, Reginald Wilson, Geo. G. Clark, C. R. Schreider, J. S. Thompson, L. A. Strick, Anton Zornik, A. S. Barker, S. J. Marino, A. V. Kaiser, Jr., S. Oshry, S. Stark, S. Limbach, J. Weisberg, Frank J. Oberer, Geo. W. Hartman, E. G. Shentz, J. J. Miske, W. H. Trognitz.

Rhode Island—J. M. Caldwell, L. L. Rottenberg, Roland Whytock.

South Carolina—R. F. Britton.

Tennessee—G. J. Braun, E. E. Mollett.

Texas—L. J. Favier, H. Usdansky, W. Plampan.

Utah—A. L. Wilson.

Virginia—J. L. Kibler, David George.

Washington—C. E. Kirkman, S. Hokanson, A. S. Thompson.

West Virginia—J. Ed Kildow, Harold D. Parry, W. E. Annon, Wm. J. Baltzell, J. F. Higgins.

Wisconsin—Geo. F. Commings, A. J. Biemiller, M. Peters, Arthur E. Rohan, Louis Peterson.

Wyoming—Roy Hines.

WEVD New Leader Speaker

William M. Feigenbaum, Associate Editor of The New Leader, will be the speaker of The New Leader period of (SPEAKERS, WEVD, 1240 K.) Friday, May 4th, from 5 to 5:15 p.m. Samuel H. Friedman, Labor Editor of The New Leader, speaks Friday, April 27th, at the same hour.

THOMAS IN MAY DAY BROADCAST

"The Case Against Fascism—An Answer to Dollfus"—Norman Thomas will speak over NBC May Day from 2:15 to 2:30 p. m., Eastern Standard Time.

The speech will be offered by the NBC Red Network to the following stations:

WTIC—Hartford, Conn.; WRC—Washington; WCFL—Chicago; WMAQ—Chicago; WKBE—Indianapolis; WCHS—Portland, Me.; WFBR—Baltimore; WEES—Boston; WTAG—Worcester, Mass.; WWJ—Detroit; WBEN—Buffalo; WGY—Schenectady; WFAI—Cincinnati; WTAM—Cleveland; WFI—Philadelphia; WLIT—Philadelphia; WCAE—Pittsburgh; WJAR—Provi-

THE NEW LEADER, a Socialist publication, supports the Socialist Party and the struggles of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of The New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its declared purpose. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

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

SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 1934

Volume XVII No. 17

NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement.

JAMES ONEAL, Editor
WM. M. FEIGENBAUM and S. H. FRIEDMAN, Associates

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.



All Out for the May Day Demonstration

THE parade will start at 1 o'clock p. m. from 16th St. and 5th Ave., through 5th Ave. to 14th St., to 7th Ave., to 36th St., to Madison Ave., to Madison Square Park, Madison Avenue, 23rd to 26th Sts., where the meeting will be held.

The meeting at Madison Sq. Park will be addressed by representatives of all the organizations participating in the parade. It will start at 1 p. m. and continue until the whole parade has passed the square.

This year's parade of the Labor Unions and the Socialists will be the largest May Day demonstration ever held in New York. There will be at least a hundred thousand in line.

The lineup of organizations in the parade will be as follows:

1. International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union will assemble 16th St. from 5th Ave. west to 7th Ave., and will consist of the General Executive Board, the Joint Board of Cloakmakers' Unions and all locals in that joint board: 1, 3, 9, 10, 17, 23, 35, 48, 64, 82.

The second division will consist of the locals in the Dressmakers' Joint Board. They will assemble on 17th St. from 5th Ave. west to 7th Ave. and will be made up of the Joint Board Dressmakers,

Mass Meeting at Madison Square Park to Set New Record for Size and Enthusiasm—Details of the Big Parade

Locals 10, 22, 60 and 89.

The third division of I.L.G.W.U. locals will assemble on 18th St., from 5th Ave. west to 7th Ave., and will consist of the miscellaneous locals of the I.L.G.W.U., Nos. 20, 25, 32, 38, 62, 66, 91, 102, 132, 142 and 155, and Shipping Clerks' Union.

The second division of the parade will be made up of the Socialist Party and allied organizations. It will assemble on 15th St., east of 5th Ave., in front of the People's House, and will consist of all branches of the Social-

ist Party, Young People's Socialist League, Students' L.I.D., Socialist Lawyers' Association, Socialist Consumers' League, Rebel Arts, the United Neckwear Makers' Union.

The third division will be made up of the locals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. This division will assemble on 15th St., from 5th Ave. west to 7th Ave.

The fourth division will assemble on 21st St., from 5th Ave. west to 7th Ave., and will be made up of the International Pocketbook Makers' Union, Suit Case and Bag Makers' Union, Cap Makers' Union, Unemployed Workers' Union, Civil Workers Employees.

The fifth division will assemble on 20th St., from 5th Ave. west to 7th Ave., and will be made up of the Communist Party (Opposition), Communist League of America, Industrial Workers of the World, Anti-Fascist League.

The sixth division will assemble on 19th St., from 5th Ave. west to 7th Ave., and will consist of the locals affiliated with the United Hebrew Trades in the following order: United Hebrew Trades,

Butchers' Union, International Fur Workers' Union, Bakers' Unions, Ideal Painters' Clubs of Brooklyn, Union, Retail Grocery and Fruit Clerks' Union.

The seventh division will assemble on 37th St., from 5th Ave. to 7th Ave., head resting on 7th Ave., and will consist of the Millinery Workers' Union.

The eighth division will assemble on 37th St., head resting at 7th Ave., from 7th Ave. west to 8th Ave., and will consist of the Poale Zion, the Jewish National Workers' Alliance, and their schools.

The ninth division will assemble on 35th St., from 5th Ave. west to 7th Ave., head resting on 7th Ave., and will consist of the locals affiliated with District Council No. 9 of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators.

The tenth division will consist of the Workmen's Circle, the Workmen's Circle Schools, and the Young Circle League. It is planned to assemble this division on 30th Street, west from 6th to 7th Avenues, head resting on 7th Avenue.

The locals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will assemble in various halls. They must be ready at 11:30 to leave the halls and start at 11:45 for the assembling point, 15th St., west of 5th Ave.

The locals assembled in Astoria Hall will start at 11:45, east on 4th St., to 2nd Ave., where the locals assembling at 133 Second Ave. and those assembling in Arlington Hall will join them and march up 2nd Ave. to 11th St., west on 11th St. to 4th Ave., where the locals assembled at Webster Hall will join them and proceed through 4th Ave. to 10th St., to

University Place, to 14th St., west on 14th St. to 7th Ave., to 15th St., east on 15th St. to 5th Ave.

The locals assembling in Irving Plaza will leave the hall at 12 noon and march through Irving Place to 14th St., west on 14th St. to 7th Ave., north on 7th Ave. to 15th St., east on 15th St. to middle of block between 6th and 7th Avenues.

The Cutters' Local No. 4 will assemble at their office on 17th St., between 5th and 6th Avenues. They will leave at 12 noon and march on 17th St. to 6th Ave., to 15th St., east on 15th St. to 5th Ave., where they will head the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' division.

The Carpenters' Union will assemble in their headquarters, 133 Second Ave. They will start the parade at 11 a. m. through the following route—Second Ave. to Delancey St., into Kenmore Place, to Lafayette Street, into 4th Ave., 4th Ave. to 22nd St., to 6th Ave., to 21st St., to 5th Ave., where they will join the main parade.

District Council No. 9 and the locals of the Brotherhood of Painters will assemble in Central Opera House, 67th St., east of 3rd Ave. They will start the parade at 12 noon and will proceed through the following streets to join the main parade: 67th St., west to Park Ave., south on Park Ave., to 48th St., east on 48th St. to Lexington Ave., south on Lexington Ave. to 35th St., west on 35th St. to 7th Ave., where they will join the main parade.

BRONX MAY DAY CELEBRATION
BURNSIDE MANOR
Burnside and Harrison Avenues
TUESDAY - MAY 1 - 7 P. M.
DINNER AND DANCE
Reservations at county office, 809 Westchester Avenue, not later than Saturday, April 28. Phone LUdlow 4-8571.

RAND SCHOOL WOMEN HOLD FINAL LUNCHEON

Over 200 persons attended the final luncheon of the season given by the Women's Committee of the Rand School at the Samovar Restaurant. Mrs. Alexander Kahn presided and Mrs. Bertha Mailly made the principal address.

Following the luncheon, William Bowers, baritone, now soloist for the Hall-Johnson choir, gave a short recital.

Seated at the speakers table were Mrs. William Karlin, secretary of the Women's Committee; Mrs. Adolph Held, treasurer; Mrs. Sophia Peck Ross, former editor of the organization's Bulletin, and Mrs. J. Blaufarb, Mrs. N. Turbau and Miss Celia Rotter of the Program Committee.

MAY DAY LEAFLET IS ISSUED BY REBEL ARTS

"THE worker is fighting for a new social order in which function, not birth or place, will be preeminent. The artist must stand with other workers of hand and brain, or prostitute his art. He can no longer consider himself as a breed apart, above the battle, divorced from causes, conflicts or creeds. He must no longer give aid—consciously or unconsciously, actively or passively, by positive deed or temperamental withdrawal—to the system of society that enslaves and degrades all workers, himself among the rest!"

It is with this call to artists that Rebel Arts, organization of artists in all fields affiliated with or sympathetic to the Socialist and bona-fide labor movement, opens the 12-page leaflet which it will publish Monday as its contribution to the literature of May Day and as its manifesto to all creative workers.

The leaflet contains a history of May Day, a poem that sounds the note of labor solidarity, and a prospectus of the new Socialist cultural magazine to be issued by the Rebel Arts. Graphic artists, writers, workers in the theatre, musicians and dancers are urged to join Rebel Arts in New York City, where headquarters are in Students and Workers House, 22 East 22nd St., and to organize sections in other cities. They are also urged to contribute material to the magazine, and to help get subscriptions at \$1 a year.

Party Notes

Symposium under the auspices of the Educational Committee Thursday, May 3, in the Rand School. Speakers: Mary Fox, August Claessens, Samuel H. Friedman and Jack Altman. Topic: "New Techniques for Propaganda." For party members only.

Banquet and Dance by Italian Socialists to raise funds for their branches Saturday, May 5, 6:30 p. m., at Rand School. Speakers: Norman Thomas, Jacob Panken, V. Montana, S. Romualdi. City Central Committee will meet Wednesday, May 2, 8:30 p. m., in Rand School, 7 East 15th Street.

MANHATTAN
11th A. D. Meeting Tuesday evening, May 1, at home of Comrade Janeway, 241 West 108th Street; voting for national convention delegates.

12th A. D. May Day dinner at 71 Irving Place, Tuesday, May 1, at 6:30 p. m. Invitation is extended to all Socialists. Reservations with Mary Hunter, 105 E. 19th Street.

German Branch. May Day meeting, speakers in German and English, also program, May 1, 8 p. m., at Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street.

BRONX
Amalgamated Cooperative Houses Branch. Special meeting Monday, April 30, for taking action on May Day celebration and voting for convention delegates.

BROOKLYN
23rd A. D. (219 Sackman St.). May Day celebration at Brownsville Labor Lyceum Tuesday evening, May 1, with Charles Solomon, Louis P. Goldberg and William Gomburg. Workmen's Circle

school children will render a concert. **Boro Park.** Joint May Day celebration Monday, April 30, auspices of the party branch, the YPSL Circle and the Workmen's Circle branch, at the Labor Lyceum, 14th Ave. and 42nd St. William M. Feigenbaum will be the speaker.

QUEENS
Queens County May Day Affair. Tuesday, May 1, immediately after May Day parade, at Flushing Branch, Bus Terminal Building, Room 221, Roosevelt Ave. (one half block from Main Street subway station), buffet supper and entertainment. Proceeds to go to United Socialist Drive.

Jamaica Branch. Special meeting Monday night, April 30, Queens Labor Center, 138-18 Jamaica Ave., to make final arrangements for May Day, nominate candidates for the state convention and vote for a delegate to the national convention.

**NOTHING
VENTURED,
NOTHING
WON!**

ATTENTION - - -

A Personal Word to New Leader Readers in Greater N.Y.

AS YOU DOUBTLESS KNOW, our rate for the NATIONAL EDITION is \$1 yearly—which hardly covers full cost, but is made by The New Leader Publishing Association to help the Socialist and Labor movement OUTSIDE GREATER NEW YORK—our readers can readily understand that if we hardly break even on the National Edition, it will be a VERY GREAT RISK to make the same rate for the Greater New York Edition, having, as it does from 4 to 8 more pages (including the Labor Supplement) than the National Edition—BUT the LEADER HUSTLERS' COMMITTEE of 16, elected by the recent Conference of New York Party Branches, declare that a dollar rate in N. Y. C. will mean thousands of new subscribers, and in time pay in RENEWALS at the full \$2 rate—They further feel the success of such a drive and offer will advance BY MANY MONTHS the advent of the DAILY BAPER that Socialist and Labor organizations by the hundreds insist is an absolute necessity in this period of rapid changes and sharpening class lines—BECAUSE of this (risk or no risk!). The Leader management has decided to TAKE A CHANCE of your quick wide cooperation, and UNTIL JULY FIRST ONLY will accept NEW Greater New York Subscriptions at \$1 yearly. WILL YOU meet us half way by STARTING OUT RIGHT NOW to get a club of at least 10 subs...? And don't despise the single subs. WHO WILL BE THE FIRST?—Our address is 7 East 15th Street, New York City.



"Hitler's Reign of Terror" in Premiere at the Mayfair

ARTISTS ARE AWAKE

There has always been a sense in which the artist is a natural rebel; but temptations of all sorts—money, prizes, academies, prestige second of which, indeed, most—bring most of them to compromise and mediocrity (from the never ascended). Philip Barry, who has pictured in his plays the many lures bourgeois society can use to entice the rebel, has himself, this season, along with Eugene O'Neill, given comfort to those who seek refuge in religion. But there are signs that intelligent artists are still awar of the social forces at strife in the world today.

The parade of protesting painters at the opening of the first Municipal Art Show indicated why

more than Rivera's murals were invisible at Rockefeller Center; but at the current (eighteenth annual) Independents show at the Grand Central Galleries, there is a larger proportion than ever before of paintings of social content. Einstein faces Hitler more often than Lenin gazes over a capitalist world; and an otherwise unprotesting subway scene shows a newspaper in a pole-clingers pocket, folded to show the word Scottsboro. There is one painting called "Uncle Sam's Crisis," which pictures all the forces of capitalist concern hovering about their critically ill provider. There is one, a full figure of Christ, with all about him little views of life today, from California lynchings to "red apple sauce." There is hardly an alcove in the entire exhibition that does not, through several paintings, remind us that the world needs re-making.

In music, too, there are signs of this awareness. In the current issue of *Modern Music* (published by the League of Composers) Charles Seeger considers the three paths open to composers: "fascism, which means positive propaganda for the older order; isolation, which means negative propaganda for it; and proletarianism, which means propaganda for the new order." Urging full acceptance of the last upon musicians, Seeger declares that music is well on the way to its new, social content, but that its technique is still a bourgeois growth. This may be true of workers' songs; but intelligent composers such as Edgar Varese and others recently heard in the concerts of the Pan-American Association of Composers are establishing, consciously or not, a technique working out of and toward the new emphasis our age is making more marked. Such organizations as Rebel Arts, of course, are directive agents along this way; but even among the unaffiliated artists, many of whom like to consider their field wholly individual, the social point of view is growing forceful and aware. And it is the artist who moves the mores—whose assumptions, whose basic creeds behind their pictures and songs, are a great power in any changing time. J. T. S.

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

Samuel Cummins to Present Much Discussed Film April 30

"Hitler's Reign of Terror," said to be the first authentic and uncensored motion picture record of Adolf Hitler's regime in Germany, will have its world premiere at the Mayfair Theatre next Monday. The picture is comprised, for the most part, from films made in Germany and Austria by Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., and smuggled by him over the German border.

The picture has been subtitled "The Nazi Menace in America," because it is said to disclose Nazi activities in this country. Edwin C. Hill, journalist and radio commentator on world affairs, collaborated with Mr. Vanderbilt in the preparation of the film. He also acts as narrator.

"Hitler's reign of Terror" is said to be a record of the atrocities committed by the Brown Shirts against Jew and Catholic alike. It also shows the spirit of unrest fostered by Hitler all over Europe, threatening world peace and security.

Tenth Steuben Tavern to Open Middle of May

During September, 1930, at the height of the depression, three gentlemen opened a restaurant at 725 Lexington Ave., near 58th St., firm in the belief that they could sell the best quality of food served as a dinner at cost of 55 cents. They named their eating place the Steuben Tavern, and within not quite four years Steuben has developed into one of the most important restaurant chains in the country.

During the past three and a half years, nine stores have been established and the tenth store will be opened shortly in Times Square at the southwest corner of Broadway and 42nd St.

LOUIS P. GOLDBERG CHARLES SOLOMON

announce that they will continue the practice of law under the firm name of

GOLDBERG & SOLOMON

66 COURT STREET
BROOKLYN, NEW YORK
Tel.: TRIangle 5-3668-3669

HALLS and LYCEUMS

BROOKLYN LABOR LYCEUM

949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn
Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals.

STAGG 2-3842

Labor Temple 243-247 EAST 84th ST
NEW YORK
Workmen's Educational Association
Free Library open from 1 to 10 p.m.
Halls for Meetings, Entertainments and Balls. Tel. REgent 4-10038.

RESTAURANTS

For a fitting climax to a pleasant evening—come around to the
SAMOVAR
Dancing Entertainment
Food to delight the most fastidious, prepared by Spiridon Ignatovich.
142 W. 49. St. BRyant 9-0863

RICHELIEU RESTAURANT

61 FIFTH AVE. (Cor. 13th St.)
The Restaurant
Known for Good Food

FIGHT! BLEED! DIE!

FOR WHAT?

SEE
THE
ANSWER



SEE
THE
ANSWER

STARTS FRIDAY, MAY 4

ROXY

7th AVENUE AND 50th STREET

MOVIES

WINCHELL says

"Orchids to..."

VIVA VILLA!

4th BIG WEEK!

M-G-M's "Big Parade of 1931"

Cast of 10,000 Starring

WALLACE BEERY

CRITERION BROADWAY and 44th St.

Twice daily 2:50, 8:50

Mats. 50c to \$1. Evs. 50c to \$2

RADIO CITY
SHOW PLACE of the NATION
2nd WEEK!
"STAND UP AND CHEER"
with Great Cast
plus A GREAT STAGE SHOW
Popular Prices
First Mezz. Reserved Phone CO 5-6535

(Other Amusement Notes on Pages 6-A and 6-B)

Lecture Notes

"Do We Need Religion?" will be the subject of a debate between Dr. Edmund Chaffee and Thomas Wright, Sunday at 8, in the Pythian Temple under the auspices of the Ingersoll Forum. Professor Ernest Sutherland Bates will lecture on "The Just State" in Cooper Union Sunday at 8, under the auspices of The People's Institute.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

Patronize our Comrade
Fred Spitz, Inc. Florist
74 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY
Telephone Dry Deck 4-9355, 4-8886
Not connected with any other store in New York

STATIONERY and MIMEOGRAPH SUPPLIES

at specially low prices to organizations.
Stencils, \$1.50 up
Mimeo Ink 85c lb. and up
LERMAN BROS., INC.
25 E. 14th St. at Union Sq., N. Y. City
Phones, ALgonquin 4-3356-8843

LECTURES AND FORUMS

The PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At COOPER UNION

8th STREET and ASTOR PLACE

At 8 o'clock Admission Free

Sunday, April 29th—8 P. M.

Professor

Ernest Sutherland Bates

"The Just State"

INGERSOLL FORUM

PYTHIAN TEMPLE, 135 W. 70th Street

SUNDAYS, 8 P. M.—Admission 25 cents

April 29th—DEBATE:

"Do We Need Religion?"

Rev. Dr. Edmund Chaffee vs.

Thomas Wright

Questions and discussion.

THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

presents

EDUCATION and the SOCIAL ORDER

by John Dewey

A fundamental discussion of radical educational purpose, and of the importance of basic economic thinking by America's leading educator. Important for Socialists and Labor Union members. Price, 3c, special rate for quantity orders.

Order from

League for Industrial Democracy

112 East 19th Street New York City

Chicago Office: 20 West Jackson Blvd.

CARNIVAL BAZAAR DANCE

SUNDAY, APRIL 29th,

2:30 afternoon to 2 a. m.

by

FRIENDS OF THE SOVIET UNION

at

CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE

205 E. 67th St., N. Y. City

Entertainment

J. EDWARD BROMBERG

MORRIS CANOVSKY

TONY KREBER from Cast of

"Men in White"

MARA TARTAR from "Men in White"

Theatre Union Dance Group

THEATRE UNION DANCE GROUP

Booths with products of the

Nat'l Minorities of the USSR.

Prizes for best costumes

Admission 35c—door prizes

SUPPER - ENTERTAINMENT - BARGAINS - FUN

Celebrate ...

May Day

International Workers' Holiday at
Madison Square Park—and spend

DECORATION DAY - WEEK-END

MAY 30TH TO JUNE 4TH

ATTRACTIVE LOW RATE FOR THIS WEEK-END

at Camp Tamiment

TAMIMENT, PENNSYLVANIA

• A delightful program of music and drama staged for the entire week-end.

All Profits to the Rand School for Workers' Education.

Write for Rates and Details: Camp Tamiment
New York Office, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

British Labor Wins New Victory

THE British Labor Party is marching on. Another parliamentary seat has been won by the Socialists, making the fifth clear gain since the hysterical election of October, 1931.

F. R. West, Socialist candidate, a school teacher, was victorious at a by-election caused by the recent death of Mary A. Pickford, Conservative member for North Hammersmith, polling 14,263 votes to 10,747 for the Tory candidate. There was also a Communist candidate who polled 614 votes.

In 1931 the Socialist vote was 11,838 to 18,815 for Miss Pickford. The Communist then polled 697. The Socialist vote thus has grown 2,425 while the Tories lost 8,058, a turnover in Labor's favor of 10,483.

The North Hammersmith by-election was the 31st held since the General Election, in every single one of which the Labor Party scored heavy gains, in practically all cases polling a higher vote than the highest previous record of the party. Those gains, coupled with the sensational victories in the London elections and other local and municipal elections, constitute the answer to the comic-opera fa-
scism of Playboy Mosley.

At the same time, the MacDonald National "Labor" Party is rapidly disintegrating. A third "National Laborite," Holford Knight, K.C., M.P., member for South Nottingham, has been disowned by the Conservatives, and in that constituency, as in two others, now represented by "National Laborites," the Tories will run their own candidate at the next election. It is admitted that not one of the "National Laborites" could win standing alone, and possibly all of them would be defeated even if the whole Tory strength were thrown to them. The disintegration of MacDonald's "National Laborism," the discrediting of the MacDonald government, dissensions among the Tories, and the relentless onward march of the Labor Party in strength and in militancy are the most striking factors in England's political life today.

Socialist Commencement At Port Chester, N. Y.

On Sunday, April 22, the Rand School class at Port Chester brought to a close its course in the study of Socialism with a very fine commencement program.

Carl Parsons, representing the County Committee, presided, five of the students made excellent short speeches on subjects covered in their course, Jean Jacques Coronel, their teacher, presented the class to William E. Bohn, of the Rand School staff, who distributed the certificates of graduation. The following students completed the work of the class:

Frank Lampe; Elizabeth War-pula; Gertrude Koski; Alli Manner; Reino Nurmi; Arthur Koski; Eino Saari; Vaino Vella; Viola Manner; Irja Nelson; Bror Nelson; Helmi Serafin; Stanley Serafin.

Following the close of the exercises one of the students rose and addressed Comrade Coronel, saying that all the members of the class were poor and had very little, but that they wished to give their teacher some token of their appreciation. He thereupon presented Coronel with an envelop with these words, "To our beloved teacher, Jean Jacques Coronel." The envelop contained a money gift.

The Victims of Class Rule and Secret Diplomacy

By W. N. Ewer

First Soul—

I was a peasant of the Polish plain;
I left my plow because the message ran:
Russia, in danger, needed every man
To save her from the Teuton; and was slain.
I gave my life for freedom—this I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

Second Soul—

I was a tyrolean, a mountaineer;
I gladly left my mountain home to fight
Against the brutal, treacherous Muscovite;
And died in Poland on a Cossack spear.
I gave my life for freedom—this I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

Fifth Soul—

I worked in a great shipyard by the Clyde,
There came a sudden word of wars declared,
Of Belgium, peaceful, helpless, unprepared,
Asking our aid; I joined the ranks, and died.
I gave my life for freedom—this I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

Third Soul—

I worked in Lyons at my weaver's loom,
When suddenly the Prussian despot hurled
His felon blow at France and at the world;
Then I went forth to Belgium and my doom.
I gave my life for freedom—this I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

Fourth Soul—

I owned a vineyard by the wooded Main,
Until the Fatherland, begirt by foes
Lusting her downfall, called me, and I rose
Swift to the call—and died in fair Lorraine.
I gave my life for freedom—this I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

IMPORTANT ROLE OF THE NEW LEADER

By Clarence Senior

National Secretary, Socialist Party

THE NEW LEADER, having been founded at a time when the Socialist Party was at its lowest ebb, is to be congratulated on having survived for ten years. Seven of these years might properly be called the worst period in the party's history. Socialist writers and speakers were voices crying in the wilderness of so-called prosperity.

Without finances and with a decreasing membership the Socialist party was struggling to maintain a press and an organization which would carry the message of Socialism in a territory more vast than that which any other Socialist Party except that of Russia had ever attempted to organize. A territory whose problems are complicated by sectional and racial lines more than in any other nation of the western world.

The party had been practically wiped out by war and post-war persecution, by the Communist split, by the La-Follette experience, by prosperity and by the well-financed group to the left that chose to consider our party its worst enemy.

In spite of all these disadvantages, the Socialist movement of America has survived and The New Leader has played a big part in its revival.

Let's hope that ten years from now, there will be hundreds of substantial weekly Socialist propaganda papers in this country instead of the few that now struggle on. Best wishes for the future!



THE DOLLFUSS TERROR

IN a letter to Comrade Max Winter, Fritz Adler, Secretary of the Labor and Socialist International, writes that the Dollfuss government would not permit Austrian Socialists' children to leave Austria for Switzerland. The Swiss Socialists had arranged to take care of 2,500 children, victims of the brutality Austrian of Dollfuss' murderers, but Dollfuss would not permit the children to leave the country.

The excuse was that the foster parents might not be good Roman Catholics, and that would endanger the souls of the children!

Comrade Adler further urged Comrade Winter to press for the collection of funds for the Austrian comrades. He states that the defense of the comrades now incarcerated will cost from \$30,000 to \$50,000, in addition to the need for the support of the victims, as Dollfuss has stopped all pensions and payments of even unemployment benefits to known Social Democrats, the wives and children of the imprisoned comrades.

May Day "Vetcherinka" at the Russian Social-Democ.

The N. Y. Auxiliary Committee of the Russian Social Democrats Labor Party has arranged a May Day Vetcherinka for Saturday eve, April 28th, 8:30 p. m., at 262 Cypress Ave., Bronx (Workmen's Circle School). Admission includes supper, a real Russian proletarian atmosphere.

CHAS. SOLOMON TO FIGHT ABOLITION OF DIVISION

Charles Solomon has undertaken to lead the fight of the civil service employees of the Division of Gas Examination of the New York City Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity against the announced intention of the City Administration to eliminate the division in the interest of "economy."

The approximately 2,000,000 gas consumers of the city depend for the purity of their gas supply on the policing of this service performed by the 22 gas inspectors operating through 21 gas testing stations located in different parts of the city.

Solomon declared that he has already conferred with Mayor LaGuardia and the Commissioner of the Department and that since he launched his fight on behalf of the gas examiners and the gas consuming public the city administration has begun to give evidences of an intention to abandon its plan to kill the division and to substitute this plan with one to reduce the personnel of the division. According to Solomon, "the reduction of the personnel would cripple the service and the proposal represents a meaningless compromise."

The inspectors of the Gas Examination Division make tests three times daily at intervals of three hours, at points not less than one mile distant from the source of supply. The reports based on such tests are filled with the department for use by the city in fighting for the protection of the interests of gas consumers in the courts and before the Public Service Commission.

The division which the City Administration announced its intention to kill has been in existence since 1877 and has survived attempts in past administrations to cripple or end it.

Solomon expressed the opinion that the gas companies were probably to be found somewhere in the background of the latest assault on the Division of Gas Inspection.

BOOST THE NEW LEADER!

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

Celebrations to Be the Biggest Ever Held

MAY DAY will be celebrated more extensively this year than for many years throughout the country. Huge demonstrations will be held in other countries and in some European capitals the public authorities appears to be apprehensive that there will be revolutionary outbreaks.

Besides the big demonstration in New York City others so far reported to The New Leader are as follows:

Detroit. Cass Tech High School Auditorium, 7 p. m. Speakers, F. V. Cederwald and W. G. Bergman. There will be a dance pantomime, "Strike," a scene from the "Machine Workers," and other features.

Boston. Demonstration at the Parkman Bandstand, Boston Common, 5 p. m.

Passaic, N. J. Afternoon demonstration, Pulaski Park; evening, Workmen's Circle, 50 Howe Ave.

Hudson County, N. J. Demonstration Sunday, April 29, at Floral Park, 4221 Boulevard, North Bergen, at 2 p. m.

Cleveland, Ohio. Demonstration in Metal Trades Temple, 1,000 Walnut Ave., evening. Herman J. Hahn of Buffalo will be the principal speaker.

Bridgeport, Conn. Demonstration at Bassick Jr. High School, evening. Speakers: Samuel Beardsley, secretary of the Jewelry Workers' Union, Mayor McLevy, and a Yipsel speaker.

New Haven, Conn. Hamden Socialists will join with the New Haven celebration.

New Rochelle, N. Y. Debs Hall, 284 North Avenue, evening, Socialist Party and Workmen's Circle branches. Speaker, Leonard Bright. Entertainment, a one-act play and labor songs.

Yonkers, N. Y. Community Center, South Broadway. William M. Feigenbaum.

New Brunswick, N. J. Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Poughkeepsie, N. Y. Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Newark, N. J. 190 Belmont Ave. Speaker: August Claessens.

Paterson, N. J. Carpenters' Hall, Van Houten St. Speaker: August Claessens.

Elizabeth, N. J. J. M. H. A. Auditorium, 1035 E. Jersey Street. Walter E. Peck and others.

United Front Lying by Bourgeois and Bolshevik

Real workers will not be fooled either by the story written for the New York American by some ignorant or calculating reporter or by the Communist organ's prompt capitalization of that story. The Socialist Party and the so-called "right wing" unions won't meet in Madison Square Park "to affirm their loyalty to the government" and to repudiate all taint of radicalism and Socialism. That isn't true, and the Daily Worker knows it isn't true, though it is content to quote from the capitalist press—even from the stupidities of a Hearst reporter—whenever such quotation can serve its ends. We advise the writers for both papers to read the manifesto of the May Day Labor Conference—or the columns of The New Leader—if they want the truth.

Editor's Corner

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

By James O'Neal

Some Early Socialist Wings

JACOB WINNEN, an old Chicago Socialist, presents our readers in this issue with a few recollections of the movement in the seventies, and Theodore Debs recalls the hardships of comrades in founding the Socialist Party. The later period cannot be reviewed in a short article but it is interesting to consider the "wings" the movement has sprouted in this country.

In the eighties the S. L. P. was captured by a wing that believed that the revolution was at hand. Its basic idea was "Destruction of the existing class rule, by all means, i. e., by energetic, relentless, revolutionary, and international action." It expired as force Anarchism after the Haymarket affair.

Beginning in 1895 the S. L. P. organized its own unions under Socialist control and waged a savage battle against the existing unions. That adventure expired in the arms of Syndicalism about 1908.

In the Unity Convention that organized the Socialist Party in 1901, A. M. Simons declared that the social revolution was a matter of a few years and fought for the elimination of all relief measures from the platform. A small group voted for this proposal—and in 1917 Simons left the party to support the war.

In 1904, a wing in the Socialist convention opposed unions as "crutches" that must be kicked from under the workers. A left wing delegate said that he did not want to be placed in the position of being "opposed to the scabs" and "taking sides with the union men." He lived to learn better.

In the convention of 1912, another wing opposed a declaration against sabotage and some of its sponsors turned against political action. Self-advised as a "proletarian" wing, a later survey of its members by W. J. Ghent showed that nearly 75 per cent were not proletarians. Since 1901 the wings had gone through the following evolution. The impossibility of Simons in 1901 which ended in the social patriotism of 1917. In 1904 another left wing approved political action but regarded economic organization of the working class as a crutch that must be destroyed. The left wing of 1912 favored industrial unionism and sabotage and some of them turned against political action in favor of anarcho-syndicalism. The left wings of 1904 and 1912 offered proposals that were in contradiction with each other.

The Communist Wings

THE left wing of 1919 created three Communist parties. Like Simons in 1901, it believed that a social revolution was imminent and it fought for the exclusion of measures of relief from the party platform. It held that these were "master class measures" intended to "prevent the growing class-consciousness of the workers." It "visioned inarticulate rumblings which presage striking occurrences" and believed that the soldiers would return home with some vague revolutionary purposes.

This wing repudiated democracy as a "bourgeois prejudice" and urged "establishment of Socialism through a proletarian dictatorship." Workers' Councils were approved as the only basis by which "Socialism can be introduced." Before the end of the year, after spending months in distributing leaflets calling for "armed insurrection," this left wing was driven underground by nationwide arrests. Its secret retreats were self-imposed concentration camps.

Several months of underground life brought yearnings for an "open party" and a desire to take advantage of that freedom of action by workers which had been rejected as a "bourgeois prejudice." In the meantime, this left wing had sprouted a dozen wings, each fighting all the others and each claiming the exclusive support of Moscow. The organ of one wing, the "Worker's Council," late in 1921 confessed that the Russian revolution had "carried us off our feet"; two years had taught it that its program attracted "numerous romantic irresponsibles."

Reunion and Division

BEFORE the end of the year all the wings but one were urging an "open party" on the basis of a "fight for the immediate necessities of life," as the organ of the Communist Party put it. Within two years these left wings adopted what they had repudiated and repudiated what they had adopted in the matter of electoral campaigns.

All the wings were eventually gathered into the Communist Party but in the last several years, through splits and expulsions, it has sprouted three wings. All this is a psychic output of the decay of the capitalist world and the influence of the Russian Revolution. Looking over the entire period since the eighties, the various programs offered in the name of Socialism are grotesque in some phases and none acquired much importance or built anything enduring.

We still have wings. Like Simons in 1901 and the left (Continued on Page Six)

STIRRING STORY OF THE B

By Theodore Debs

THE merging of the American Railway Union and the Brotherhood of the Cooperative Commonwealth terminated in the organization of the Social Democracy at a joint convention held in Ulrich's Hall on North Clark Street, Chicago, on June 18, 1897. The latter had been organized by the Coming Nation, a weekly publication with considerable circulation of which the late J. A. Wayland was the editor, and had for its purpose the establishing of colonies in some western state with a view of capturing it politically.

While the former had lost a hard-fought conflict with the railways west of Chicago, known as the Pullman strike, in which the General Managers' Association, finding itself defeated at every point, called in all the forces of government, from President Grover Cleveland down to the vilest thug and gunman sworn in as a U. S. marshal, all of whom, including the Attorney-General, federal judiciary and government troops, performed like trained spaniels when the railway managers cracked the corporation whip.

This exhibition of political power on the part of the railway corporations brought to the strikers, as it did to thousands of other workers, the stern realization that economic organization alone was insufficient to cope with powerful corporations in time of industrial disputes; that independent working class political power and influence was equally necessary, each united in separate organizations, yet acting as a unit on both the economic and political fields to the mutual welfare of all.

The Pullman strike, though lost, was not in vain. It taught thousands of men and women the imperative need of a working class political party, and it was this lesson that prompted the A.R.U. to take advanced ground.

Once the convention got down to work a Socialist platform and a constitution were adopted. The national executive board elected was composed of the old A.R.U. officials: Eugene V. Debs, James Hogan, R. M. Goodwin, Wm. E. Burns and Sylvester Kelliher. The Railway Times, the official organ of the A.R.U., was converted into the Social Democrat. Offices were established in Chicago and the work of organizing local branches was prosecuted with vigor. In a short time branches were established in a number of states, and wherever branches were sufficiently strong to place tickets in the field the vote was most encouraging.

To all outward appearances things were moving smoothly and harmoniously within the organization. But under the surface, as the first annual convention approached, it became more and more obvious that trouble was brewing and certain to break out between the political actionists and the colonizers; and as the days passed this feeling became more intensified.

A number of anarchists had and were joining the party, all of whom favored the colonization project, but they were utterly indifferent to, or openly scorned political action. The activity of the anarchists within the party but widened the breach.

The first annual convention, held at Ulrich's Hall, was called to order by Chairman Debs on the morning of June 7, 1898. There

The A.R.U. of Eugene V. Debs, Defeated Social Democracy ~ Th

were 70 delegates, representing 94 branches. The two first days were consumed in organizing, the election of various committees, presentation of annual reports of national officials and discussion of matters of more or less importance. On the third day the committee on platform, composed of John Lloyd (Chicago), Victor L. Berger (Milwaukee) and Margaret Haile (Massachusetts), presented a majority and a minority report. The minority report submitted by Lloyd favored the continuation of the colonization scheme, while the majority report favored the adoption of a clear-cut Socialist platform and the abolition of the colony feature. A prolonged discussion, often heated and bitter, followed the presentation of the reports, and it continued until 2:30 a. m., when a vote was taken upon the adoption or rejection of the minority report. The result was 53 for, against 37. Some delegates favor-

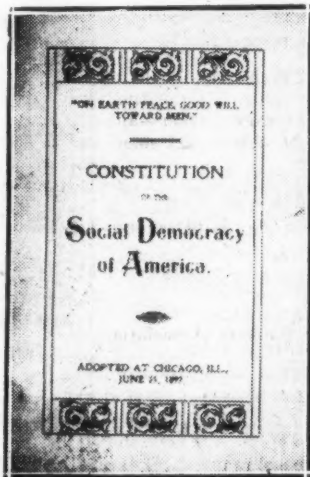
ing straight political action cast their ballots for the minority, firmly convinced that a split in the party was inevitable and that it might as well come then as later. Besides, they were unalterably opposed to an anarchist element within the party.

After the vote was announced, about fifteen delegates, supporters of the majority platform, quietly left the convention and made their way to Parlor A at the old Revere House, almost opposite the convention hall, where many of the delegates were registered. Here the situation was thoroughly discussed. Frederic Heath acted as chairman and F. G. R. Gordon as secretary of the gathering.

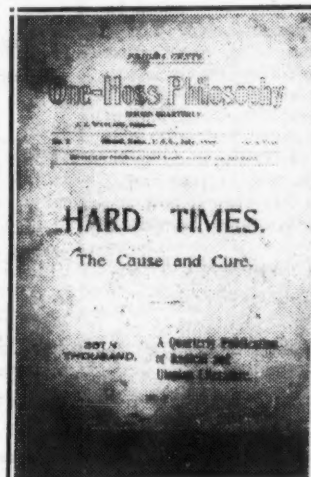
The result was the formation of a new party to be known as the Social Democratic Party of America. The majority platform, as presented to the convention, was adopted, a national committee chosen, and an address to the membership ordered prepared. The

sun had already set, and the meeting, which later in the day adjourned.

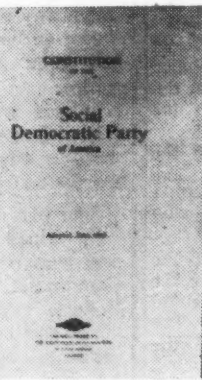
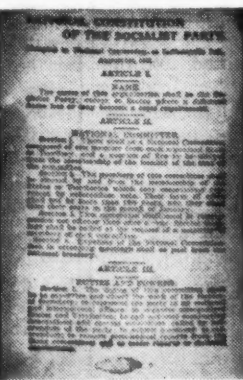
At this convention, Victor L. Cox presided, acted as secretary, and was elected to the executive board.



Constitution of the Social Democracy of America, adopted at the Chicago convention, June 21, 1897. Debs, Berger, Seymour Stedman and the remnants of the A. R. U. were the founders.



Pamphlet published by the Social Democracy of America, Appeal to Reason in July, 1897, written by F. G. R. Gordon who later turned renegade.



Two important documents in American Socialist history are shown here. Left, first page of the first National Constitution of the Socialist party adopted in 1901. At the right is the National Constitution of the Social Democratic party, adopted 1898.



Membership card in the American Railway Union founded by Eugene V. Debs. The card was issued February 3, 1894, to James D. Graham, now state secretary of the Socialist Party of Montana.



Sample of card used by Social-Democratic candidates nominated by the Social Democratic Party in Terre Haute for the first time, 1898. The reverse side carried three paragraphs of the fundamental demands contained in the national platform.

White workers in Chicago arranged for his release, held on Friday, the black "tendered" "Chicago's C

Debs, Seymour Frederic Heath writer secretary and

Few of the pledge the perspective branches would have return home some came others rem Democracy, branches to or disbanded

Here we full of assu a penny in much as a of office eq were imbucrusaders Spartans. were establ in the wri miles from ludicrous bearing the sounding tratic Pan have its quarters. lem of rer item, espe nothing to Confer members li daily occu were const there was

NEW LEADER LABOR SECTION

Vol. XVII—No. 17

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 1934

In Four Sections—Sec. 2

The Editor Comments

UNION RECRUITS NOT ALONE IN NEEDING EDUCATION

"An undigested horde of more than a million and a half new members" has been sweeping into the American Federation of Labor since last June, the World-Telegram comments. We don't know just how deprecatory or condescending this "liberal" paper intends to be about the new union members in its use of the word "undigested."

If it means that these recruits to the ranks of labor need education, we say "Amen." (The World-Telegram needs it, too.) Education for service to labor; education in the traditions and ideals of trade unionism and of the larger movement for the emancipation of the working class of which narrower trade union ideals are only a part.

More workers' education is needed both by old unionists and new. More work like that carried on by the ILGWU and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (especially the wash suit section). More unions ought to take advantage of the aid offered by the Rand School, pioneer on the western hemisphere (some say in the world) in the work of labor education. Tens of thousands of workers will make their start in labor education in the streets of New York and at Madison Square Park on May Day.

THANK GOD, IF IT'S SO— FOR THE SAKE OF PROGRESS

"It begins to appear that you can not satisfy the average labor leader or union head. If he hasn't got a strike on his hands, progress isn't being made." A commentator in the Fairchild Publications (garment trade papers) thus reveals his knowledge of industrial conditions and his sympathy for those who do the work of the world.

It's always been known that when it comes to profits, "you can not satisfy" the average industrialist or banker. If it's true that you can't satisfy the average labor leader today when it comes to getting more for the workers, why, that's all to the good. If the time ever comes that you won't be able to satisfy the average worker, and that he's anxious to do something about it—we'll be able to get somewhere with the movement for a workers' world.

The best part is the second sentence, "If he hasn't got a strike on his hands, progress isn't being made." That sounds almost like superbly unconscious truth to us...

BANKER AND BOSS HAVE THEIR UNIONS TOO

The executive council of the American Bankers Association has been meeting at the Arlington Hotel in Hot Springs, Arkansas. There are many things bankers do that we wouldn't advise workers to emulate, but here's one the toilers of the nation ought to learn to get wise to: What's been meeting at Hot Springs is a union, a strong union, a powerful union of bankers, organized to safeguard their interests and to fight those dangerous to such interests. Workers of hand and brain, unite!

MAYOR CEDES UNION SQUARE BUT LABOR MARCHES NORTH

The Communists "claimed" Union Square; nice liberals like Roger Baldwin and Arthur Garfield Hayes bowed; the police assented; the mayor, for good reasons of his own, gave in. The tremendous outpouring of bona fide labor unions, the Socialist Party, the Workmen's Circle and other fraternal organizations, and many other groups (some of whom marched in the Communists' "united front" last year) will converge on Madison Square Park this May Day. The "revolutionists" are claiming their usual victory—neglecting to state that it's a victory of a not unusual united front of the city administration, the police and "liberals" with alleged revolutionists.

Well, the forces of Labor and Socialism, after a parade that will break all records in this country's labor history, will demonstrate in Madison Square Park, also a traditional rallying center for labor and dissident opinion. There will be no clash and no bloodshed—that may disappoint the Communists. Thousands of rank and file labor unionists will echo the disappointment of the trade union leader who exclaimed at a May Day committee meeting: "The Communists are looking for another Madison Square Garden meeting at Union Square. Let 'em come and try it. It's one thing to yell like wild beasts and throw chairs from upper balconies. It's another thing to try to break up a demonstration of union men ready for it." (This man heads a union of over 38,000 workers, a large number of whom will be in line with the May Day Labor Conference.)

ARE JOURNALISTS PEOPLE? THE GUILD SHOULD ANSWER

You'll find in another column a story showing that New York's newspaper workers aren't ready yet to affiliate with the AFofL, though they are members of a "guild." In Philadelphia, in the case of at least one newspaper, the guild has assumed the proportions of a union and has signed a contract with the owners, who in this case don't object. But the great majority of the newspaper owners do object to union contracts with their editorial workers—who are supposed to be of a higher breed than the mechanical workers and therefore not entitled to as many privileges, immunities or provisions for security—as witness the report of Howard Davis, business manager of the Herald-Tribune and President of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, to his fellow-publishers Wednesday at the Waldorf-Astoria. "Your committee took the position from the outset that it

(Continued on Page 3-L)



REBEL ARTS

"All Out for May Day" Poster, Drawn by Harry Herzog and Issued by Rebel Arts, Calls Workers to Parade and Demonstrate with Labor Unions and Socialist Party. Poster Displayed in New York City Rallies Workers to Madison Square Park, Scene of This Year's Meeting.

"Back to Work" Roosevelt Urges As New Mine Strike Threatens

WASHINGTON.—President Roosevelt took a hand in the wage battle in the soft coal industry and urged the 50,000 strikers to go back to the mines on the basis of a new order issued by General Johnson restoring North-South wage differentials. Roosevelt used the old "patriotism" appeal, requesting all concerned to "cease controversy and get back into production with the least possible delay."

The new scale calls for \$3.80 a day in Alabama and Georgia, as compared with \$4.60 under the Appalachian agreement and \$3.40 under the original code. The government hopes that the new order will put an end to the state of warfare in the coal industry, which has been marked by strikes and lock-outs. The men think differently.

The new proposal does not modify the seven-hour day, which will become universal in the bituminous coal industry.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Almost a thousand ore miners in this district announce that they will go on strike unless their demands for a seven-hour day, wage increase and union recognition are met. Four hundred workers at the Republic Steel Co. furnaces in East Thomas walked out Wednesday morning because the company rejected collective bargaining.

George F. Coles, international vice-president of the Mine, Smelter and Mill Workers' Union, is on the ground pushing the demands of the ore miners. Meanwhile, 20,000 miners are still out in the strike that started so bloodily last week

with company thugs and militia out in full force.

MADISONVILLE, Ky.—A federal court injunction against the new wage scale incorporated in the NRA code will be sought by mine operators in Western Kentucky, who aim to use one part of the governmental machinery to offset the other. Meanwhile every major coal mining company has shut down, in effect locking out 15,000 workers.

The code wage scale calls for \$4.60 for a seven-hour day. The companies, in defending themselves against this magnificent wage, refused to tell how much the average miner would earn in a year even in "good" times.

POTTSVILLE STRIKERS WIN

POTTSVILLE, Pa.—The strike at the Philadelphia & Reading Coal & Iron Co. ended when the management bowed to a ruling by the Arbitration Board that the wages of mechanical miners should be the same as that of miners in other classifications. Strikers in four of the mines in the Shenandoah district returned to work after Martin F. Brennan, president of District 9, United Mine Workers of America, announced that a victorious agreement had been reached.

ANOTHER INJUNCTION

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—An injunction restraining the United Mine Workers from attempting to organize the workers of the De Bardeleben Coal Co. has been granted by Chief Justice Anderson of the Alabama Supreme Court.

May Day to See Historic Labor Event

ALL signs point to a labor and Socialist demonstration on May Day that will surpass every record in the history of American labor. The tremendous outpouring of workers, not only in the needle trades but in other industries as well, the vast gathering of toilers by hand and brain, organized and unorganized, men and women, white and Negro, will signalize the long-delayed beginning of the re-awakening of labor.

Especially significant to the members of organized labor is the fact that so many labor unions have officially voted to participate in the parade and demonstration. Just a glance at the organizations signifying the call reveals the following bona fide mass unions (and if you want to get a line on the militant spirit of these bodies, read their May Day messages on other pages of The New Leader):

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, all locals (including, of course, the famous Joint Board of Cloakmakers' Unions and the Joint Board of Dress and Waistmakers' Union and the Italian local);

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, all locals;

Millinery Workers' Union; Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union;

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, all 14 locals (participating in this May Day event for the first time in its history);

United Neckwear Makers' Union; Waiters' and Waitresses' Union; International Pocketbook Makers' and Suitcase Workers' Union;

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union; Bag and Portfolio Workers' Union;

Hebrew-American Typographical Union;

Butchers' Union; Furriers' Joint Council, International Fur Workers' Union;

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union; Ladies' Garment Shipping Clerks' Union;

United Hebrew Trades, including countless affiliated local unions;

The Workers' Unemployed Union, consisting of workers in many fields;

The Industrial Workers of the World, which in the East at least

(Continued on Page 4-L)

Starts Union Library at Rand Book Shop

The great revival in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union does not show itself only in growth of membership and establishment of standards in the shop, but also in educational activity. An example is the recent action of Dressmakers' Local 150, in South River, N. J., which has established a library for its members. Business Agent Baumerind started it off a few days ago by the purchase of more than fifty well selected volumes at the Rand Book Store.

TOM MOONEY GETS HIGHEST VOTE AS UNION DELEGATE

At a specially set election meeting of San Francisco Local No. 164, International Molders' Union of North America, Tom Mooney was elected one of the four delegates to the twenty-eighth convention in Chicago this summer, by the largest vote cast for any candidate.

"The International Molders' Union, of which Tom Mooney has been a continuous active good standing member for the past 32 years, thus expresses its solidarity towards a brother member by conferring upon him one of its highest honors as a token of their belief in his innocence, and their further determination to continue the struggle for his freedom and vindication," the union states.

The union first elected Mooney a delegate to its international convention in Milwaukee in 1912 and elected him to every succeeding convention. In 1917, while in the death cell awaiting to be executed, he was elected to the Rochester (N. Y.) convention, and again in 1923 to the Cleveland convention at which he was elected a delegate to the American Federation of Labor. The Cleveland convention also appointed a committee to call upon the Governor of California to plead for Tom Mooney's freedom, and donated \$1,000 to the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee to carry on the fight. Tom Mooney was again elected in 1928 to the Montreal convention, which instructed its officers to continue the fight for his liberation. The following year the international executive board donated \$1,000 and the same year Local 164 donated \$250 to Mooney's fight for freedom.

Tom Mooney will be unable to attend this convention. But the defense committee expresses the hope that he will be freed by the pressure of the working class in time to attend the next.

COMMITTEE OF LABOR MEN TO GET CHARGES

After the executive board of the United Neckwear Makers' Union had voted to expel him on charges of trying to "frame" Manager Louis Fuchs, Philip Glick, formerly business agent for the union, appealed Tuesday, at a general membership meeting in Beethoven Hall, for a trial before a committee of the labor movement.

Despite the fact that Glick was alleged to have admitted the charges against him in the hearings before the executive board, Manager Fuchs waived a decision by the membership and consented to appear before any "responsible committee named by Glick of representative figures in the labor movement." The membership thereupon voted to accept Fuchs' offer.

Confirming previous decisions of the general membership to expel from the union those who distributed "slandering attacks upon the union and the administration," the membership meeting sustained the executive board in the expulsion of three alleged disruptionists guilty of this act. The accused members took the floor in their own defense and received considerable support from a minority.

MOVIE MEN TO MEET

The Progressive Group of the Moving Picture Operators' Union, Local 306, announces that it will "swing into action" Friday at midnight with a mass meeting at Stuyvesant Casino, 8th Street and Second Avenue, at which former Judge Jacob Panken and August Claessens will speak.

Painters' Union Combatting Powerful Interests in Fight For Better Working Status

By Isidore Polstein

The various trade problems facing the Brotherhood of Painters of New York City, such as a new working agreement with the employers, the struggle to embody in the code a 35-hour week or less with a living minimum wage and no "kickback," and the imperative need of organizing the thousands of mercilessly exploited house painters, are now being considered by the union.

The members, particularly the "old timers," are fully aware of the great changes in the painting industry since the boom period. Whereas in the past most painters were employed on new buildings in the process of construction, and on private residences and mansions requiring great skill and artistic ability, now ordinary work known as "alteration painting," requiring little skill but great speed, is the prevailing work. Also a new generation of painters has sprung up, unacquainted with union conditions, who must be reached and organized.

Facing the Bankers

In the present struggles for improved working conditions and control of the painting industry, the brotherhood must not only cope with organized employers. It is ever more being forced to come to grips with the real power behind the scenes, the great financial institutions, such as banks and mortgage and insurance companies. These aggregations of big capital, since the collapse of the building industry in 1930 and the devastating effect of the depression on the thousands of heavily mortgaged properties which were forced to the wall, have gradually assimilated the major portion of the immense real estate properties of New York City.

HEARING TUESDAY ON BRICKLAYERS' CODE

WASHINGTON.—A public hearing will be conducted on Tuesday, May 1, in the Commerce Department building on an application for approval of an agreement establishing standards as to maximum hours, minimum wages and other conditions of employment for the mason contractors' industry in New York City and part of Long Island.

The proposed agreement, which is in accord with provisions of the approved basic code for the construction industry, was negotiated by employer representatives selected by the Mason Builders' Association of Greater New York and representatives of employees chosen by the members of Bricklayers' Union Nos. 1, 9, 21, 30, 37 and 41 of Greater New York and Long Island, members of the Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union of America.

The union is participating in the hearing in the hope of incorporating the bricklayers' union agreement in New York into the construction code. If approved by the NRA, employers who are not members of the association will have to pay union wages and observe union hours.

Socialists Ordered to Stop Picketing

TOLEDO.—The Socialist Party, its secretary, John Crichton Taylor, and the Lucas County Unemployed League are restrained from picket duty at the Bingham Stamping and Auto-Lite plants by a temporary injunction issued for the companies by Common Pleas Judge Roy Stuart. The unions will be allowed only 50 pickets at the plants, instead of the customary several hundreds who have appeared heretofore.

These powerful interests, through their agents and real estate operators, are the cheapest and meanest employers of painters. Through conniving employment agencies, they hired help as porters, maintenance and handy men, paying unskilled labor wages for skilled work and exploiting them, under fear of dismissal, to the limit.

The largest office buildings, apartment houses and hotels, and the great institutions of learning, medicine and culture, with few exceptions, are the greatest offenders.

Union Will Fight

Now that the government has stepped in and in the name of "fair competition" has established a code permitting these same malefactors of great wealth to retain their system of exploitation by excluding from the code "any building owner performing such services (as painting) by his permanent employees of six months or more," the painters' union will make every effort to eliminate these and other obnoxious causes, and have its major demands of a 35-hour week, no "kickback" and protection of men on the job, incorporated in the code.

The methods of combating the evils in the painting industry are now being decided by the fourteen locals comprising District Council No. 9. The first weeks in May will probably see more than usual activity in the Brotherhood of Painters.

For the first time in its history, the painters' brotherhood in the greater city will participate in the May Day Labor and Socialist parade and demonstrations culminating in a meeting in Madison Square Park. Fourteen locals, totalling a membership of over 10,000, will be represented in the demonstration.

Unemployed and CWA Workers Mass at City Hall Saturday

A mass delegation of hundreds of unemployed and CWA workers of five organizations under the leadership of the Joint Committee of Unemployed and CWA Organizations will assemble at City Hall Plaza, Saturday, April 28, at 10:30 a. m., to present to Mayor LaGuardia a program for unemployment relief and CWA working standards.

Despite the refusal of the Mayor thus far to give the Joint Committee an appointment, a statement issued by the Joint Committee said that the mass delegation would still insist upon an interview with the Mayor on Saturday.

The program of the Joint Committee calls for an appropriation of \$25,000,000 for the month of May for unemployment, to ensure families on Home Relief a minimum of \$15 a week in cash; and for workers on field projects a minimum of \$20 a week, \$5 a day for four days a week. The statement assailed the present inadequate relief policy as kowtowing to the bankers; and that the Mayor was dodging his fundamental duty toward the unemployed in failing to provide for full cash relief and an appeals board with worker representation.

The organizations represented will be the Workers' Unemployed Union, the League of Office and Professional Employees, the Association of Civil Works Employees, the Emergency Workers in Adult Education, the Association of Unemployed Single Women, with headquarters at 22 East 22nd St. The spokesmen at the City Hall will be David Lasser (chairman), Miriam Silvis, Edward Welsh, Agnes Martocci and Mabel Smith.

Barbers' Mass Meeting To Fight Code Wage

A mass meeting in protest against the low minimum wage set by the new deal code has been sanctioned by the barbers' local unions in all the five boroughs, as well as in Nassau and Westchester counties. The meeting is to be held in Cooper Union on May 3.

The new code scale calls for a \$17 minimum in New York City. John Tartamella, representative of the Journeymen Barbers International Union, said this wage is totally unacceptable. The union will probably ask for a \$25 to \$27 minimum in New York City, weekly salary and a 60 per cent commission on all earnings over \$37.

Counter proposals will be drawn

Coming Congresses of Transport Workers

The following conventions of transport workers abroad are scheduled by the IFTU:

Swiss Railwaymen's Federation, April 26-28, Lucerne.

Dutch Railwaymen's Union, May 14-16, Utrecht.

British Railway Clerks' Association, May 28-31, Dunoon, Scotland.

French Railwaymen's Federation, June 24-26, Paris.

Belgian Railwaymen's Union, June 30-July 2, Liege.

British National Union of Railwaymen, Aberystwyth.

Swedish Transport Workers' Union, August 19-25, Stockholm.

INJUNCTION STOPS CITY FROM BANNING FIREMEN'S UNION

NORFOLK, Va.—The public safety director—that's what they call him here—didn't like the idea of municipal firemen's joining a labor organization. He tried to stop them, but they went before Circuit Judge Hanckel here and got a temporary injunction preventing him from preventing them from joining a new local of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

Forbidding membership in a labor union added a condition of fitness of applicants for the fire department not prescribed by Civil Service Commission rules, the firemen's attorney contended. "The safety director has authority to dismiss only for failure to perform duty. We have found no case in which it has been held that a civil service employee may be legally discharged, solely because he is a labor union member," he added.

WAGE CUT RESCINDED RAILWAY WORKERS ON EVE OF VICTORY

As The New Leader goes to press, negotiations are still going on in Washington between the railway managers' committee and the Association of Railway Labor Executives, with an all-day conference adjourned until the next day and the ultimatum or deadline of the representatives of 21 standard railway unions shoved over 24 hours.

The union executives rejected the compromise offer made by the roads Tuesday night, and went into conference to consider a modified proposal. Under this latest proposal, regarded as a moral victory for the workers, the roads would grant to the employees a quarter of the 10% reduction on July 1, another quarter on January 1 and the rest on April 1. The victory consists in getting back the wage decrease they consented to in February, 1932, by an agreement that was extended in January, 1933, and again in June.

President Roosevelt has asked the unions to agree to the railway management's proposal that the full 10% reduction be maintained from July 1 to the end of the year. "Our rank and file won't stand for any such proposal," the union leaders told him pointblank.

The latest basis for a possible settlement provides that the railways are to deduct 7½% of basic wages instead of 10%, from July 1, when the reduction arrangement expires, to December 31. The railways are to deduct 5% of basic wages from January 1, 1934, to March 31, 1935.

Beginning April 1 the employees are to receive the full basic wages, as existing prior to February 1, 1932, when the reduction went into effect.

CLEVELAND'S GAS PUMPS CLOSED TIGHT

CLEVELAND.—The greater city's gasoline pumps are still dry as a result of the strike of filling station workers against the major oil companies. Independent dealers have arranged an agreement with union attendants whereby 20 stations will be opened for key commercial industries, but the 250,000 motor owners will not be served until the big companies come to terms with the strikers. Profits from these stations will be divided between the independent dealers and the union, and the strike will roll merrily on even if the car drivers don't.

Police cars have been conveying big tank trucks through downtown streets with supplies of fuel for hospital ambulances, doctors, the fire department, milk dealers, drug store deliveries, transcontinental and air-mail planes, and the like. Mayor Davis is trying to get the companies and union representatives together, but the union stands pat on its demands.

AKRON, O.—This city, 30 miles from Cleveland, is faced with an equally effective tie-up of gasoline stations as the attendants' union served an ultimatum on the operators to come to terms on an agreement.

UNION DANCE SATURDAY

The Ladies Garment Shipping Clerks' Union will run a dance this Saturday night in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street, in order to raise funds for organization activities. There will be entertainment and refreshments and music will be furnished by a six-piece band.

The offices of the union, which is headed by William H. Levine, a YPSL member, are at 131 West 33rd Street, care of Local 102.

Long and Honorable History of Labor Press in America Recorded

By Nathan Fine

Director, Research Department, Rand School; Author, "Farmer and Labor Parties in U. S."

EARLIEST LABOR PAPERS

BEFORE there was a Socialist ideology or organization in the United States, there was a trade union formation and a labor movement. And from the earliest days, when there first appeared a labor philosophy, there arose a labor press to espouse it.

The beginnings of labor journalism are found in Philadelphia, in 1827, where the struggle for the ten-hour day led to a united front on the economic and political fields. The *Journeyman Mechanics' Advocate*, started in June or July, 1827, was, according to Commons and Associates, "the first distinctly labor paper ever published in the United States and perhaps the first in the world." There were trade unions before 1827, but there was no trade union or labor movement.

The first labor party was launched by the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations of Philadelphia, and the paper which bore the brunt of the fight was the *Mechanics' Free Press*, which appeared on January 12, 1828. The independent political movement of labor drew a galaxy of intellectuals to its banner in New York City.

Wright, Owen and Evans

Frances Wright and Robert Dale Owen were the editors of the *Free Inquirer* (1828-1835) in its early days, which, "though primarily a free-thought publication, also distinctly championed the workingmen's party." George H. Evans, the labor and land reformer, was the editor from the very start of *The Working Man's Advocate* (October 31, 1829-1836), and in the thick of the political contests published a daily and semi-weekly: the *New York Daily Sentinel* and the *Daily Sentinel and Working Man's Advocate*.

A number of other papers advocated the cause of the labor party. Thomas Skidmore, exponent of a primitive agrarian communism, after his split with the New York trade unionists, founded his own paper. The *Farmers', Mechanics' and Workingmen's Advocate* of Albany (1830-31), as its name indicated, appealed to the tillers of the soil as well as the sons of toil. The farmers and workers were at some places united in the independent political movement.

Labor Union Papers

After the passing of the labor party phase, from about 1832 to 1837 we had in miniature the structural framework of practically all future trade union bodies: local, city-central and national. The outstanding papers of the period reflected this development. New papers that appeared included *The Man* (1834-1835) and the *National Trades' Union* (1834-1836) of New York, and the *National Laborer* (1836-1837) and the *Radical Reformer and Working Man's Advocate* (1835) of Philadelphia. Over 50 labor papers published in that remarkable decade between 1827 and 1837 have not been recovered. The character of the labor movement of those times may be judged by this extraordinary flowering of the labor press. There were dailies as well as weeklies, and they were edited by some of the ablest men and women in the labor and reform movement.

FROM 1840 TO 1860

The "hot air" phase of the period between 1840 and 1860 has re-



received undue emphasis as a result of the writing of Commons and Associates and Socialists. Norman J. Ware's study, "The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860," has done excellent service in throwing light on the labor side of these two decades. In his "Selected Bibliography," as in the body of his book, he refers to the organ of the shoemakers of Lynn, *The Awl*, the *Voice of Industry* of Fitchburg, Lowell and Boston, and the *True Workingman* of Lynn. He includes the New York papers: the *Working Man's Advocate* and the *New York State Mechanic*. The *Lowell Offering* was a "repository of original articles exclusively by females actively employed in the mills" of Lowell. These New England and New York labor papers are a source of important data on the conditions of the workers and the reactions to them of the workers themselves, which Ware has so ably brought out in his book.

Utopian Press

Of course the colonizers (Utopian Socialists) gave scope to their ideas and plans in numerous publications. Their papers carried more colorful titles than did the

more prosaic labor press. Theirs was *The Herald of the New Moral Order* or *The Spirit of the Age*, *Young America* and the *Phalanx*, which was continued as the *Harbinger*.

According to John B. Andrews, no less than 120 daily, weekly and monthly journals of labor reform appeared between 1863 and 1873. *Fincher's Trades' Review* of Philadelphia was the "most influential paper of the entire period." He lists the Chicago *Workingman's Advocate* as the labor organ of the West, with the Boston *Daily Evening Voice* as the spokesman of the New England labor movement. The Chicago paper carried the program

of the National Labor Union, to be carried into effect through independent political action, while the Boston daily stressed the 8-hour movement to be effected by economic action.

Official Journals

In these decades we get a number of official journals of international unions. That famous Massachusetts organization of shoemakers, the Knights of St. Crispin, had its *Monthly Journal*. That abortive national federation, the Sovereigns of Industry, had its bulletin. The Knights of Labor did not begin publishing its journal until 1880. The third parties of the 1870's issued their labor,

farmer and farmer-labor papers. The *Patrons' Bulletin*, organ of the Grange, sponsored the farmers' movement known as the Grangers on the political field. With the 1880's we enter the modern period, heralding the formation of the American Federation of Labor. A separate article would be necessary to describe the labor press

SOCIALIST PRESS

Joseph Weydemeyer, a convinced Marxian Socialist, came to the United States in 1851, and one year later he was editing *Die Revolution* in New York. In twelve months he changed the title of his paper to that of *Die Reform*. Wilhelm Weitling, closer to Proudhon than to Marx and more concerned in building up colonies than a labor movement, was the editor of the *Republik der Arbeiter* (1850-1855). The *Soziale Republik*, edited by Gustav Struve, and *Der Arbeiter*, organ of the Workers' Association of New York, appeared in the 1850's also.

The Lassalleian Socialists started a paper in 1870 in Chicago called *Der deutsche Arbeiter*, edited by Karl Klinge, while in New York, during the sixties, the Socialists had the *New Yorker Arbeiter-Zeitung* (1864) and *Die Arbeiter-Union* (1866), of which Adolph Douai was the editor. The North American Federation of the International Workingmen's Association (First International) founded an official organ in 1873, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (New York).

It is not until the 1870's that we have the establishment of a Socialist press upon a lasting foundation. And it is not until then that we have English organs of the Socialist movement. The *National Socialist* (Cincinnati), started in 1870, was the official English weekly of the Socialist Labor Party, formed in 1876. Two years later the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* began its long course of over 50 years as a German daily, representing first the Socialist Labor and later the Socialist Party.

In 1919, Herman Schlüter, the editor, died and was succeeded by his associate, Ludwig Lore. This was the time of the Communist split, and Lore swung himself and the paper into the Communist ranks. Later he was expelled from the Communist Party and conducted the *Volkszeitung* for some years thereafter as an independent "Lore-ite" paper, attacking both the Socialist and the official Communist parties. Support of the paper dwindled and it began to die. Not even Lore's ousting as editor by the Socialistic Cooperative Publishing Association and the appointment of Dr. Siegfried Lipschitz, for several years correspondent for the German Social Democratic press, was able to save the historic *Volkszeitung*. It went under in November of 1932, but was succeeded almost immediately by the *Neue Volkszeitung*, a successful, fighting Socialist weekly edited by an editorial committee and Siegfried Jungnitsch.

It was this paper which helped launch the *Leader* as a daily for about a year during the campaign of Henry George for mayor of New York City in 1886. In Chicago, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* saw the light of day, which with the *Vorboten* (1874) and the *Anarchist* weekly, *The Alarm*, were to play so prominent and tragic parts in the Haymarket trials. The Socialist Labor Party also had its organ in Yiddish, as well as in German and English, but this is a story large enough for a special contribution.

Strikers' Relief Committee Issues an Appeal for Funds

The following appeal for funds has been sent out by the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, pioneer organization in first aid to striking workers in the United States. The appeal is signed by Norman Thomas as chairman, and money may be sent (or should be rushed) to the committee at 112 East 19th Street, Room 1105, New York.

"It is some months since we have written a general letter to our friends who have backed the work of the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief. You will recall that we have been trying in every way in our power to aid the constructive building of workers' organizations of the right sort, particularly in time of strike. This necessity is as great or greater now than ever. The plain truth is that the cost of living has gone up faster than weekly wages, so that the average employed worker was a little better off in June of 1933 than in February of 1934. If anything, the automobile settlement tends to in-law rather than out-law company unions. Any company unions, no matter how fair they look, are boss controlled.

"In other words, the situation requires clean, aggressive industrial organization by the workers. We want to be able to help in emergency. I cannot list all these emer-

for agricultural workers.

"THE FIRST CONCERNS THE STRIKE IN CAMDEN, N. J., OF THE WORKERS IN THE CAMPBELL SOUP FACTORY. They have formed under excellent leadership an industrial union. Their company made 10 million dollars in profits last year and paid out only agencies, but would like to cite two

THE EDITOR COMMENTS

(Continued from Page One)

was impossible to accede" to the demand of "certain labor leaders" for a uniform wage scale, President Davis acknowledged as chairman of the newspaper code committee.

Old timers like the editor will recall the old News Writers Union, headed by Heywood Broun and Arthur Warner and adhered to by some thirty valiant souls, who weren't so very valiant because the existence of the union was a dark secret. Well it might be, in those dark days when white collar men were afraid to call their souls souls instead of something belonging to the boss. Now the brain-workers are beginning to learn from the "workers of hand" and pretty soon journalists will line up with teachers and actors and miners and railroad men in the fight for a better world.

examples of immediate need, one 3 million in wages. They have used coercive methods in attempting to force the workers into a company union. Women are averaging \$12 to \$13 a week. The run of the men average \$15, \$16 and \$17. Many of them do not even get a full week. Their union has no financial reserve and the struggle is a critical and important one at this juncture.

"The other situation affects those 'forgotten men,' the share croppers, mostly in the South. There are around a million and a half of them. The inevitable tendency of the reduction of acreage has forced them into the ranks of the homeless or of the very lowest order of agricultural labor. Their position was bad and, if anything, it was worsened by the acreage reduction program.

"A splendid committee in Memphis and Eastern Arkansas is asking for modest help to uncover facts and to assist the share croppers in constructive organization. It is my sober judgment that with the possible exception of migratory workers, the fruit and cotton pickers in the far West, these people are the most miserable in the United States. It is for this sort of work we ask your help. Can you not give generously and promptly?

Sincerely yours,
Norman Thomas, Chairman."

Organized Labor Power, Not NRA Magic, Will Succeed

ONLY as labor is organized and makes its power felt will it record progress, Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick, acting chairman of the Regional Labor Board, declared at a meeting in the Community Church. All one can expect of the NRA is that it act as umpire, she added, and the task of raising wages and improving working standards must belong fundamentally to labor and not to the government or the NRA.

Only in those industries where labor has been strongly organized

have code provisions approached relatively high and proper standards, Mrs. Herrick declared, corroborating the predictions of Socialists and other labor spokesmen.

"Many people have criticized the government for failing to secure better standards in codes, and while in some instances there is justification for this criticism, I contend that the inadequacies of minimum wage provisions and the various exemptions with which many codes are riddled must be laid on labor's doorstep," Mrs. Herrick said.

OWNERS WANT TO CLOSE SILK MILLS

PATERSON, N. J. — Twenty thousand employees in 600 mills in the Paterson area may face a week's lockout if plans of the manufacturers go through. Peter H. Van Horn, chairman of the National Silk Code Authority, will ask General Johnson to permit the shutting down of the industry in order to reduce the huge amount of manufactured silk already on the market.

The plan was supposed to be kept secret, according to the New York Times correspondent, so as to prevent "harmful reactions among workers." But rumors got about and Van Horn had to put his cards on the table to prevent even more harmful reactions. Workers here, naturally, aren't pleased at the idea of a lockout of a week or more after so short a period of work following their general strike. But the system demands that shut-downs follow gluts and gluts follow overproduction. Underconsumption isn't mentioned.

OFFICERS INSTALLED BY CUTTERS' UNION

Officers of Cutters' Union Local 4 were installed recently at an enthusiastic meeting of over a thousand cutters. President Sidney Hillman, who installed the officers, predicted a national 30-hour week in the near future, and urged workers in all industries to take advantage of present organizational opportunities. The installed officers, Murray Weinstein, manager, Sam Katz, Abe Silverman, and Moe Levy, business agents, all spoke briefly, thanking the membership for its confidence and pledging continued work.

Grocery Clerks Push Organization Drive

The Retail Grocery and Fruit Clerks' Union reports that it has been successful in its organization drive along the entire west side of Manhattan, including Broadway. The union has also signed up the Kings County Merchants Association, officials state.

The union has voted to donate \$100 to the fund for the relief of the Austrian Socialist heroes. Also, the entire membership will stop work May First to participate in the Socialist and labor demonstration. Members will meet at nine o'clock in Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth Street, where a program will precede the parade.

The union records show that 1,000 new members have been initiated since April 1. Moe Kudish has been engaged as an additional business agent for Manhattan in order to cope with the pressure of organization work. President Louis Vankofsky has been designated to cover Long Island.

Of 3,530,000 women in British industries, 416,700 are affiliated with the Trades Union Congress. About 200,000 other women are or-

TEACHERS' UNION AUXILIARY ACTIVE

The Teachers' Union Auxiliary, consisting of friends of the union and others anxious to support the fight for progressive educational standards, has launched an organization drive and is inviting new members. Offices are at 70 Fifth Avenue. The auxiliary is primarily concerned with problems confronting public school education in New York City.

The auxiliary has conducted classes, seminars and conferences on educational and kindred affairs; has given teas and luncheons on topics of interest to those concerned with child and adult education; has issued public statements and appeared at public hearings in reference to legislative matters and is planning to intensify its work along these and similar lines.

TO JOIN OR NOT TO JOIN THE A F of L? EDITORS WONDER

The Newspaper Guild of New York is in a receptive mood, but can't quite jack up enough courage to affiliate with organized labor. Five hundred members of the "guild," formed under Section 7A by newspaper workers throughout the city who formerly had been opposed to any form of craft association, heard a debate on the subject of affiliation with the A F of L. No action, however, was taken. According to President Allen Raymond, no action had been contemplated, but the matter may come up again.

Marlen Pew, editor of Editor and Publisher, a trade paper, spoke against affiliation. Charles Howard, president of the International Typographical Union, cited the advantages of joining up. The meeting was held in the Hotel New Yorker.

Laid-Off Workers

Swell Strike Ranks

TARRYTOWN, N. Y. — The strike of the 500 employees of the Chevrolet Motor Co. and the Fisher Body Corporation continues, with almost a thousand other workers added to the list of idle by the company's move in laying off employees in a change of working hours and shifts. However, the strike gains additional impetus through this action, dictated from main headquarters in Detroit.

The order changed two shifts of thirty-six hours each a week, under which about 5,400 men were employed, to one shift of nine hours a day, five days a week, reducing the number of workers to 4,200.

CLEVELAND. — General Johnson is worrying in Washington about the strike of 8,000 Fisher Body Corp. employees, but the strike goes on just the same. Negotiations are also going on in the national capital for a settlement.

ganized in the Civil Service and the teaching professions.

May Day to See Historic Labor Event

(Continued from Page One)

has been drawing closer together in action to the other labor groups and the Socialist Party.

In addition, as usual, are the affiliated or sympathetic fraternal and educational organizations, some (like the Workmen's Circle) with a huge membership of organized and unorganized workers and professional men and women. Added to these are the non-Stalinist Communist groups, like the Communist Party Opposition (Lovestonites) and the Communist League of America (Trotzkites); youth groups, like the Young People's Socialist League, always in the forefront of the Socialist battle; the Young Circle League, affiliate of the Workmen's Circle; the Workmen's Circle Schools; the youth adjuncts of the groups above mentioned; the Student League for Industrial Democracy, valiant and vigorous student's section; and Rebel Arts, organization of artists in all fields affiliated with or sympathetic to the Socialists and bona-fide labor movement.

Last, but not least is the group ideologically and organizationally in the vanguard of the event—the Socialist Party, with its 75 branches in the city and thousands of members and sympathizers.

All in all, May Day 1934 should go down in the history of New York as a day blazoned red by the banners of labor militant, labor awakened, labor uniting, labor bound to triumph.

"On international May Day, 1934, we call upon the workers of this, the greatest metropolis in the world, to come out in the streets in their tens and hundreds of thousands, to close their ranks and march to Madison Square Park in one powerful united labor demonstration AGAINST fascism and war, AGAINST company unionism and the open shop; AGAINST starvation and degradation; FOR the six-hour day and the five-day week; FOR unemployment relief and social insurance; FOR international solidarity of the working class; FOR bread, for peace, for work; FOR A WORKERS' WORLD." Thus concludes the manifesto of the May Day Labor Conference. The demonstration Tuesday will sign, seal and deliver that manifesto.

Class Day Luncheon to be Held May 5

The Women's Committee of the Socialist Party is holding a Class Day luncheon on Karl Marx's birthday on Saturday afternoon, May 5, at 1 p. m. in the Thomas restaurant, 71 Irving Place, New York City. A fine musical program has been arranged. Willie and Viosa Syrjah will play the concertina and the cello. Morton Bly will be the violin soloist. Gertrude W. Klein will read selections from the revolutionary poets.

Among the speakers will be Algernon Lee, William Bohn and Eleanor Brannon. Short speeches will be made by several graduates of the classes which were conducted in various parts of the city in the afternoon by the Women's Committee in conjunction with the Rand School. The instructors were Esther Friedman, Rebecca Jarvis and William Bohn. Mrs. Thomas will be hostess.

Derby, England, recently paid tribute to 1,500 workmen who, 100 years ago, blazed the trail for unionism.

Letters to Editor Show Spirit of Revolt Spreading

Railroad Shopmen Climb Fire Escapes to Organize

Sayre, Pa.

To the Editor, Labor Section:

At last the workers in the strongly anti-union Sayre Shops here will have the opportunity of having a bona-fide labor union speaking in their interests.

A meeting was recently called and sponsored by 21 standard organizations of railroad workers at Odd Fellows Hall. Norman England, of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, was chairman and introduced the speakers, who included J. J. Buckley, of the Railway Clerks; George Rowland, of the B. of R. T.; M. J. McMahon, of Scranton, representing the American Federation of Labor, and Stephen Rauschenbush, of the Pennsylvania Security League.

Although only about 50 men were present, this was no indication of the sentiment which has been aroused even in the shops that sent no delegates. In most shops, the workers are virtually abject slaves, dominated body and soul by the bosses. They had been warned not to go to the meeting. However, many such men did go to the meeting, but reached the

assembly hall by the back way via the fire escape.

I wish you had the space to print the material I could send you about conditions in the shop at present, especially in reference to stool pigeons and spies, and the degradation and low morale among the workers. However, the spirit of the workers is being aroused, and I shall send you news as progress continues.

Yours for political and industrial democracy,

B. W. B.

Union Directory

BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS' TUCKERS, STITCHERS AND PLATE-ERS' UNION. Local 66 I.L.G.W.U., 1 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-3657-3658 Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union. Z. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; I. A. Barkinsky, Sec'y-Treas.

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. Catala, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer

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

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

FUR DRESSERS' UNION. Local 2, International Fur Workers Union Office and headquarters 949 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn; Stage 2-0798 Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice Pres., Stephen To-basko; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Heib

JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAIST MAKERS' UNION.—Offices: 232 West 40th St., N.Y.C. Tel. Longacre 5-5100. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening; Joint Board meets every Wednesday evening in the Council Room at 218 W. 40th St. Julius Hochman, Gen. Mgr.; Phillip Kapp, Sec'y-Treas.

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

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

AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA. New York Local No. 1 Office, Amintown 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 7-4541; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St., phone Wisconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening. P. M. Manager, N. Spector; Sec'y-Treas., Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldner, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board Saul Rodas

UNITED NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION. Local 11016, A. F. of L. 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-7084. 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. L. and U. I. T. 290-7th Ave. M. Gottfried, Pres.; B. Gottesman, Secretary.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS UNION. Local 82 of I. L. G. W. U. 3 West 16th St., New York City. Phone Chelsea 3-5756-5757. Snyder Manager S. SHORE, Executive Supervisor

THE HISTORY OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

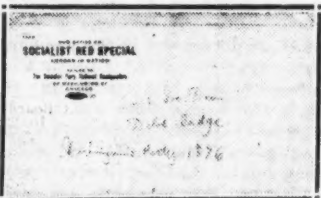
in the Pullman Strike, Reappears as the Early Days of Our Party

risen when the
as to be resumed
at Hull House,

meeting Jesse
William Mailly
A national
insisting of Jesse
berger, Eugene V.

raising money for postage and printing. Soon it became evident to all familiar with the situation that without direct contact with the membership, a work impossible through personal correspondence, the party could not survive. We must have a paper to keep the rank and file informed as to our progress, stir enthusiasm and create greater activity among the locals. But how? Where was the money to come from for such an undertaking? Here WAS a problem!

After a long discussion it was suggested by Comrade Cox that we call upon our good Comrade Eugen Dietzgen—then a Chicago business man—, whose father had been a Socialist writer of prominence and an intimate associate of Karl Marx, for a loan of \$300 to launch the proposed weekly publication. It was the belief that this amount would be sufficient to carry the paper until it could be made self-sustaining. How dreadfully mistaken we were! Anyway, a meeting was arranged with Comrade Dietzgen and the loan was immediately forthcoming. Later on Comrade Dietzgen made a present of the loan to the party.



Envelope used for correspondence by comrades who accompanied Eugene V. Debs on the Socialist Red Special Train in the campaign of 1908.

badge worn by
big demonstration
ene V. Debs upon
Woodstock Jail,
December 22, 1895.
above the word
the inscription,
ing."

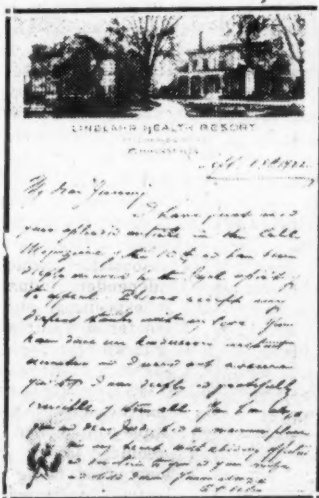
Stedman and
was elected; the
pointed national
asurer.

the present could
upport of their re-
s. That question
e decided on their
As it turned out
the new party,
with the Social
le still other
neutral position,
isgust.

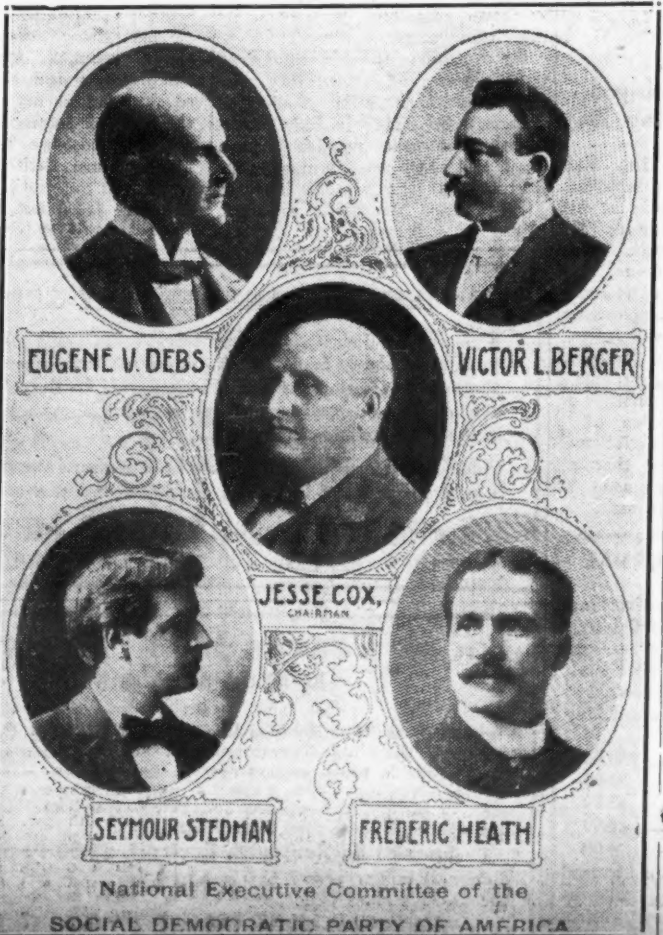
wish but a hand-
members, without
treasury, not so
pencil in the way
ent. However, all
ith the spirit of
the courage of
onal headquarters
in a room 8 by 10
small flat, seven
op. It was really
an organization
entious and high-
the Social Demo-
America should
office in such
less the prob-
solved, quite an
when there was
ith.

between the board
in Chicago were of
new difficulties
arising; and then
the problem of

With the publication of the paper assured, an uptown office became an absolute necessity. We changed to 126 Washington Street, an old and dilapidated structure. The first month's rent, \$10, was paid in advance by Comrade Cox out of his own pocket. The ceiling was festooned with hanging strips of various colored wall paper that threatened at any time to engulf its tenants; no ray of sunlight, on the brightest day, penetrated its windows. After purchasing two plain kitchen chairs and two common kitchen tables for use as desks, at a total expense of \$3.50, we were ready to transfer the property of the Party to the newly acquired quarters; not a difficult task, however, as all office effects



Letter by Eugene V. Debs to James Oneal, written from Lindlahr Health Resort, Elmhurst, Ill., September 18, 1922.



National Executive Committee of the
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

were readily transported in an ordinary suitcase.

Despite our miserable surroundings and inadequate equipment, enthusiasm was never lacking. The Party had an uptown office! That was something. We were at last on the way to real achievement.

On July 9, 1898, the first issue of the Social Democratic Herald, the official organ of the party, appeared, with Alfred S. Edwards as editor. It was an occasion of great rejoicing; but alas, our jubilation was of short duration. Only too soon it became evident that the cost of publishing the Herald was far greater than the entire office receipts. The loan of \$300 was speedily exhausted. Previous difficulties, great as they had been, were by comparison as molehills. The party was still numerically weak. Further to complicate the situation, a number of locals that had taken neutral grounds were considering the advisability of joining the new party. The suspension of the Herald would not only discourage these locals but have such a disheartening influence upon the membership as to sound the party's death-knell. The inside situation, for obvious reasons known only at headquarters, became more desperate with the passing days. Each hour seemed the very last, yet no one was willing to acknowledge defeat. Life of the party was suspended on a very slender thread. The situation of the editor and secretary became more and more precarious. Never were there funds to meet their meager wages. What was received came in dribbles wholly insufficient to cover rent and living expenses.

A small sympathetic printer allowed us to fall back on our payments to the extent of three issues of the Herald. That was the extreme limit of credit. Then it became cash or no paper. At extended intervals a few good Chicago comrades chipped in five or ten dollars each to pay for "one more" issue of the Herald. Always was it "one more" issue; the party was hanging on by an eyelash, living only from day to day. When all else failed, when the zero moment was reached, our watch went to an obliging pawnbroker who, at 5% per month, smilingly handed us the cost of "one more" issue.

Thus it continued for almost two years without surcease, with never a moment when the party was not on the very verge of collapse. Finally, however, conditions improved and the party survived its desperate struggle for life.

In the meantime, the Socialist Labor Party, seething with internal discontent due to the narrow and intolerant policy of some of its leaders, split. Soon thereafter the seceding element made overtures to the Social Democratic Party and after much discussion, in a joint convention held in Indianapolis in March, 1901, the two united under the name of the Socialist Party which, since that eventful day, though it has gone through hell, has fought with undaunted courage for its lofty ideals, for Socialism and for Freedom for all the human race.



The Workers Abroad

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

By Mark Khunoy

Communists Give Up Name in Sweden

THE Communist Party of Sweden has decided to change its name to "The Socialist Party of Workers and Farmers." Announcing the change the party leaders explained that since there are two Communist parties in Sweden, one of them affiliated with the Communist (Moscow) International, they do not want to be mistaken for those blindly following Moscow orders.

Out of 230 deputies in Parliament there are 104 Socialists, 2 Stalin Communists and 6 non-Stalin Communists. The six have supported the Socialist cabinet since it was organized, Sept. 26.

One of 107 Socialist deputies was expelled last month from the party for breach of discipline. He is reported to be playing ball with the non-Stalin Communists.

A Continental Congress in France

ORGANIZED Labor of the French Republic continues its titanic struggle on two fronts—against the growing menace of fascism and for an immediate economic reorganization of the present social order.

As an organic part of this two-edged campaign the Confederation General du Travail (C. G. T.) on April 7 and 8 called a unique congress to which came between 5,000 to 6,000 delegates from every corner of France. The object of this "Continental congress" (in French they call it *Etats Generaux du Travail*, in memory of the congress that laid the foundation for the great Revolution of 1789, was to bring together all the workers of the factories, mines and shops with the white collar workers, technicians, intellectuals, farmers, and gainfully employed veterans for a common attack upon fascism and common agreement on a plan of immediate reorganization of the economic structure.

The response was surprising. Among the delegates—in addition to the local, city and state bodies of the Federation of Labor—were present the representatives of the most important national organization of the farmers (*Confederation Paysanne*), college professors and men of science, national association, of technicians, of farm hands, workers' and farmers' associations of producers and consumers, small business men, veterans, and a great number of Socialist and semi-Socialist municipalities.

The congress made a considerable impression on both camps facing the impending civil war and strongly consolidated the anti-fascist front.

The delegates, after a fruitful discussion, adopted a manifesto denouncing the fascist danger and demanding the immediate dissolution of all militarist, semi-militarist and fascist organizations. The congress also, by unanimous decision, made its own the Program of Economic Reorganization submitted by Leon Jouhaux, general secretary of the C. G. T.

Prior to the congress, the program was discussed and adopted by all the district federations of Labor. It strives to unite all the anti-capitalist forces of France around a detailed plan of economic reconstruction on the foundation of political and economic democracy.

The leaders of French Socialism are somewhat skeptical about certain phases of the Federation program, but their members all voted both for the manifesto and the program. They seem to think that at present they must support everything that helps to mobilize the working masses against fascism and capitalist reaction.

The "United Front" Again

ACCORDING to the original plans the "Continental Congress" of French Labor was scheduled to open with a mass meeting for which 100,000 people reserved seats. This meeting was "recalled" at the last minute. The reason lies in the announcement by the Stalin Communists and their dual unions that they intended to repeat in the *Velodrome d'Hiver* of Paris what their brethren in New York did at Madison Square Garden.

The following communication of the Federation of Labor is self explanatory. It reads:

"For the defense of civil liberties, Against fascism and for the reorganization of the economic life of the country, the Confederation General du Travail had organized for April 8 a national demonstration of exceptional magnitude.

"Among the participants of the great demonstration were all the workers' and peasants' organizations of France, the delegates of all the producers' and consumers' cooperatives, the representatives of the intellectual and technical world, the spokesmen of the veterans, the delegations of the largest municipalities, in short, all those who represent the active and productive life of our land.

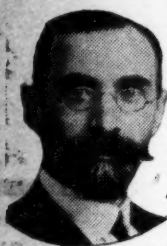
"This demonstration cannot be held. The Communist Party and the Communist-controlled 'Unity' Federation of Labor have provoked, by a shameful maneuver, the revocation of the permit." (The C. P. announced its intention to break up the demonstration and the manage-

(Continued on Page Six)

THE WHOLE WORLD WATCHES AMERICA

By Raphael Abramowitsch

DURING the last years or perhaps even decades, no problem had occupied the European Socialists more than the problem of American Socialism.



Rap. Abramowitsch

From Sombart, when he was still a Socialist, up to Kautsky and Bucharin, all save a great deal of thought to an attempt to reconcile the fact that in spite of the tremendous development of capitalism in America no Socialist mass movement came into being there with the traditional contention that capitalism will automatically create its heir and grave digger—the Proletarian movement.

There are very many beautiful explanations to it, some of them are correct and very brilliant. But even the most beautiful one cannot replace for the European proletarian the missing movement in America, nor, therefore, convince him to the contrary that without a strong proletarian labor movement in the biggest and most powerful capitalist empire in the world the prospects of the European Socialist movement must be and remain modest.

Now there is taking place in the United States a development that is being watched by the whole world. There may be different opinions concerning Roosevelt's experiment and we in Europe do not believe that American capitalism will succeed through this experiment in creating an organized and controlled economy that will overcome the crisis. But what is clear to all of us is the fact that the tremendous changes connected with this experiment offer to the Socialist movement an opportunity that it never had before.

Will American Socialism know how to take advantage of this historic opportunity in order to lay a foundation for a real mass movement? Will it succeed in laying out the proper road and sound the proper tone that will appeal to the masses? The future of Socialism in America and to some extent the future of European Socialism depends on this.

In this historical situation to be the guiding light is the task of The New Leader. In this difficult and glorious task I wish The New Leader success from the bottom of my heart.

The Workers Abroad

(Continued from Page Five)

ment fearing trouble broke the contract with the unions.—(M. K.)

"By this act the Communist Party and its unions throw off their mask. Already on February 6, they were fighting on the streets of Paris alongside the fascist enemies of the Republic. And now, once more, they have joined hands with the enemies of civil liberties and freedom.

"With this criminal 'maneuver' they repeat in France what they did in Germany, where they prepared the bed for the Hitler dictatorship.

"Between them and all those who appreciate the value of civil liberties there can be nothing in common. They committed a crime against Liberty and the workers will remember."

May Day and the American Young Socialist

By Julius Umansky

AS the sun rises slowly upon the dawn of a new May Day and its comforting rays slant gently downward as if to soothe a sorely troubled earth, there mounts a strange restlessness, a marked stirring. While the warmth turns to naught, the grayish clouds and break of day frighten night away, the skies clear, and far, far below are discerned masses of humanity: humans in legion, men, women, and children—of one mind, of one hope, of one goal, locking arms in common cause, to prepare for the New Day.

From the subterranean recesses of fascist lands to the lofty crags of freer states is heard a profound and resounding rumble. A force is growing, a vast and irresistible force, dormant since the morning of the world, and now awakening, surely, steadily, the conscious rumble of the downtrodden. It is the strength of the organized workers of the world.

True—great losses have recently been sustained. As well true that we have just done with counting the dead. But we are the living, infused with the eternal spirit of our heroic comrades, charged with the sacred duty of carrying on unflinchingly to found the Socialist Commonwealth.

Therefore, it is good that on May Day, while we demonstrate in the eyes of the enemy our purpose and our solidarity, we must simultaneously ascertain how well, in our own eyes, we perform this duty which reposes upon us.

In such an examination we discover close at home the being of an organization, which despite

years of adversity has persisted with inspiring devotion in serving labor's cause. Composed of more than two thousand young men and women who are, not yet overwhelmed by the experience of older people, the Young People's Socialist League has established itself in each of the most important industrial centers of America. From New York to California it has acquired a prestige and respect which in its history is unparalleled. Not alone the labor movement but even the Socialist Party which has been a long time in so doing now accords the Y.P.S.L. serious consideration and due recognition.

Within the last year many opportunities arose to test the sincerity, the courage and the usefulness of the League. The organization was tested to the utmost, and responded most generously. The magnificent strikes waged by the I.L.G.W.U. and A.C.W.A. in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York saw the members of the League step in overnight to perform the most remarkable bit of organization work in America. Almost the entire membership turned out to help as organizers, speakers, pamphleteers, clerks and shop attendants. In the latter capacity the Yipsels brought to bear all of their knowledge and training in instilling in the minds of the raw recruits the fundamental concepts of unionism and workingclass organization. The full significance of this activity and its fruition will not be immediately visible in so short a period. But that the League has made a deep impression is undoubted.

On the campus the Yipsels wield an influence far out of proportion to their members. There is no

single collegiate or student activity of major dimension in which the YPSL has not played a prominent role. The nation-wide student strike against war could not have been so successfully staged were it not for the hundred of Yipsels who gave so unstintingly of their time and energy to make it possible. It is mainly the YPSL which is injecting backbone into the still considerably spineless body of the American student.

It is not without reason that the YPSL has become an important factor in the life of the class-conscious worker, both young and old. Since its inception it has dedicated itself to the expression of a threefold aim. For the labor movement it is to function as an auxiliary, to give aid at all times. For the Socialist Party it is to supply a trained membership and an equipped leadership. For its own members it strives to form effective fighters in the cause of our class.

Its members, in preparation, engage in activities of comprehensive scope. Discussion and study range from a proletarian interpretation of Rivera's art to a Marxian analysis of contemporary civilization, such as it is. With the Vanguard and Rebel Arts for athletics and esthetics, with its live monthly newspaper, the Challenge, and the extremely live junior YPSL, the Red Falcons; with pamphlets, lectures and debates, the Young People's Socialist League provides not even a solitary futile moment for the willing Yipsel.

How inane for the super-sensitive soul to fear the submersion of his individuality, that he may become the proverbial cog in a highly fictitious wheel, by joining the Socialist movement! Through the combined effort of all each feels as if it is his idea that is being brought to life, that it is his dream which is being made into a thing of substance, that it is his own strength, magnified a thousand times. Rather than a dwarfing of the individual the active member of the movement develops into a more complete human being than when alone.

In a desert of poverty swept by the gusts of uncertainty, the swiftly shifting sands of circumstances may suddenly blow down upon those who wander askew. Each and every worker must make certain that the present ideal of his comrades becomes a coherent, organized expression of the de-

A SALUTE FROM KARL KAUTSKY

By Karl Kautsky

I appreciate very highly the work done by The New Leader under the most terrible difficulties.

I salute the men and women who have performed this great work, their pluck, their perseverance, their never-lagging enthusiasm, their knowledge of theory and practice.



Karl Kautsky

But I hope that the comrades on the tenth anniversary of The New Leader have just cause to be proud not only of their work done but sanguine about the work to be done in the future.

Whatever may be the success of the Roosevelt experiment, it is undeniable that it has given new life to the labor movement, and I trust that it will give the impetus for an independent working class party that will inevitably become a Socialist Party.

In the coming battles The New Leader will lead our cause to glorious victories.

With best wishes for the success of The New Leader,

I am, dear comrades,
Yours fraternally,

Karl Kautsky.

sires of the working class.

To be alone is disaster; to be of service is the answer. And in the words of Eugene Victor Debs:

The thoughts that breathe and burn are the living and inspiring thoughts that encircle the world and embrace all humanity. Love is service, the joy of service is consecration and the crowning of consecration is immortality. The greatest souls spring from the greatest struggles. Only they who lose all, find all; only they know the joy of triumph and the grace of exaltation. Every homeless brother challenges the validity of my title; every sorrowing sister rebukes my Christless complacency and every neglected child smites my conscience in the name of humanity. Not until all are fed, are any fed; not until all are sheltered, are any sheltered; not until all are free, are any free; not until all are civilized, are any civilized.

EDITOR'S CORNER

(Continued from Page Four)

wing in 1919 another one declares that we must "prepare for life or death" and it regards workers' councils as organs for a proletarian dictatorship in this country. Does this mean that we are to repeat the history of the party in the period of 1919-1923? I hope not.

At the same time it is necessary for us to re-examine our philosophy and program and adapt both in accord with the experiences of the movement in recent years. Marxism is no more changeless than capitalism itself. It is an evolutionary act. Engels wrote for its own evolution. In the early period of their agitation, Marx and Engels also thought that the revolution was just around the corner. In his pamphlet on "The Evolutionary Act," Engels wrote of the revolutions of 1848 that he and Marx had no doubt "that the great decisive struggle was at hand, that it would have to be fought to a finish in one long revolutionary period and with shifting fortunes, but that it could end only in the final victory of the proletariat."

They lived to admit their mistaken judgments. Our task is not only to build but to also avoid illusions. In this country we have a vast job of education before we can even think of meeting any revolutionary crisis. An uninformed working class can be led for anything but Socialism. Without a vast well disciplined Socialist movement and a class-conscious labor movement permeated with Socialist views our aims have no chance of winning whatever. Even after such movements are built, in a final contest with reaction we may

be defeated and then face measureless sacrifices for many years before the reaction is conquered. Energetic and devoted work by all party members is the primary need if we are to have even a faint chance in a contest for power in the next few years.

Brownsville Unemployed Union's May Day

On April 30th, May Day Eve, dance, entertainment and mobilization for the labor parade at 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn, the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. There will be a Children's Revue. Bill Gomberg, Harry Lopatin and Judah Altman will give an interpretation

Leon Nicole, Socialist president of the Geneva state government in Switzerland, announced on April 7, the organization of a Government Bank. He followed this with the statement that all the private banks will soon be taken over by the government.

CONVENTION JOURNAL

All organizations, federations, locals, branches, or individuals wishing to have advertisements or greetings in the 1934 Socialist Convention Journal are asked to make application before May 15. The rates are:

Full page	-----	\$50.00
Half page	-----	30.00
Quarter page	-----	15.00
Eight of page	-----	10.00
Inch	-----	5.00

Letters should be addressed to Joseph Bernstein, 225 E. Forest Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

MAY DAY AND ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS

● Congratulations to The New Leader. Its Tenth Anniversary finds it a mighty force for the education and organization of the men and women of toil. Its unceasing battle on behalf of the oppressed is finding an ever widening appreciation in the ranks of the workers.

Adding to the power of The New Leader means the strengthening of the Socialist Party and the labor organizations.

Socialist Party, Local New York

ALGERNON LEE, Chairman JULIUS GERBER, Secretary

Loose Leaves from a Busy Life

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

Beginning with "The Roofs of Cherry Street" in 1886, these memoirs close with the Utica Convention of 1932, and the great speech in which Hillquit asked and answered the question: "Was It Worth While?" It is more than a book of personal memoirs. It is also, in effect, a history of Socialism and Progressive Labor in the United States through more than forty years.

Special Edition, with Portrait, \$2.50 Postpaid.

● Get your orders in now. Only a limited number of the special edition are available.

RAND BOOK STORE
7 East 15th Street New York City

Ibsen's "The Lady From the Sea"—May Day Arrival

Nathan Zatkan's First Venture Due at the Little

"The Lady from the Sea," one of the less played of Ibsen's dramas, will be presented by Nathan Zatkan as his initial venture in production. It will open at the Little Theatre on May Day with a cast including such players as Moffat Johnston, Richard Whorf, Mary Hone, Clem Wilenchick and Roman Bohnen. John Houseman, hitherto known as a playwright, will stage the production. He did, by the way, direct the production of "Four Saints in Three Acts" which recently closed at the Empire to go on tour.

"The Lady from the Sea," although not as frequently on the boards as other Ibsen plays, was the favorite of the great actresses. It was played by Duse in all her tours, and has been acclaimed by both Nazimova and Eva Le Gallienne as their favorite. It has always been interesting to Ibsenites because of its timelessness. It doesn't date as to "Ghosts," "The Doll's House" and "Hedda Gabler." And it is the one Ibsen play with a happy ending.

Its producer, Nathan Zatkan, is a young man known in theatrical circles first as a newspaper man and dramatic critic, and more recently as a publicity man. He was

drama critic of the Morning Telegraph here for some years, and before that music critic for the Chicago Tribune, in Paris and Nice. He was for some time associated with Eva Le Gallienne as press representative, and was one of the group that produced "Four Saints in Three Acts" in Hartford.

"No Greater Glory," Frank Borzage's Production, Will Have Its New York Premiere at Roxy Theatre on May 4

"No Greater Glory," Columbia's much discussed Frank Borzage production, of which so many laudatory and rave reviews have

been written by important critics, will have its New York premiere at the Roxy Theatre on Friday, May 4.

"No Greater Glory" is a picture of Ferenc Molnar's famous novel, which was prepared

for the screen by Jo Swerling and directed by Frank Borzage.

The cast is headed by George Breakston, and includes, among others, Jackie Searl, Frankie Darro, Jimmie Butler, Beau Anderson, Donald Haines

Nathan Zatkan announces the opening of "THE LADY FROM THE SEA" on Tuesday, May 1st, at 8:50 P. M., at the LITTLE Theatre, West 44 St. Tel. L.A. 4-1551

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. Matinees Thurs. and Sat. at 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. Matinees Thurs. and Sat. at 2:20

Beginning Monday Eve., 8:20 Sharp

JIGSAW

A comedy by DAWN POWELL

with ERNEST TRUAX and SPRING BYINGTON

ETHEL BARRYMORE THEA., 47th St., West of B'way

"YOU COULD NOT ASK FOR A MORE ATTRACTIVE EVENING IN THE THEATRE."—Atkinson, Times

THE WIND AND THE RAIN

with FRANK LAWTON & ROSE HOBART

RITZ THEATRE 48th STREET W. of B'way
Eves. 8:40; Mats. Wed. & Sat.

WINTER GARDEN B'way & 56th St.
Eves. 8:30—Mats. Thurs. & Sat. at 2:30
"The funniest 'Follies' we have had in a good many years."
—Brooks Atkinson, Times

ZIEGFELD FOLLIES

with Fannie Brice
Willie and Eugene Howard, Everett Marshall, Jane Froman, Patricia Bowman, Vilma & Buddy Ebsen, Don Ross, Oliver Wakefield, Cherry and June Preisser, others.

Dwight Deere Wiman & Tom Weatherly present

SHE LOVES ME NOT

Dramatists' Guild Prize Comedy
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
Eves. \$1 to \$3 Mats. Wed. 50c to \$2
8:40 & Sat., 2:40

MOROSCO Thea., 45th W. of B'way
Eves. 8:50, Mats. 2:45
Matinees Wednesday and Saturday
New York's Big Laugh Hit

NO MORE LADIES

MELVYN DOUGLAS—LUCILE WATSON
Rex O'Malley, Ruth Weston, Nancy Ryan
"GIDDY, RIOTOUS."—Atkinson, Times
Best Seats: Eves. \$2.50; Mats. \$2 plus tax

MUSIC

PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY
AT CARNEGIE HALL
TOSCANINI, Conductor
This Afternoon at 2:00
(Last Concert of the Season)
ALL-WAGNER PROGRAM
Soloists: GERTRUDE KAPPEL, Soprano
PAUL ALTHOUSE, Tenor
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

GEORGE ARLISS in THE HOUSE OF ROTHSCHILD

A Darryl F. Zanuck Production
Presented by JOSEPH M. SCHENCK
4 WEEKS IN ADVANCE
ASTOR BROADWAY at 45th Street
Twice daily 2:50; 8:50—4 times Sat.
2:50; 5:50; 8:50; 11:50—3 times Sun.
and Hols. 2:50; 5:50; 8:50—Mats.
(except Sat. & Hols.) 50c to \$1.
Evenings 50c to \$2.

HIPPODROME OPERA

PASQUALE AMATO, Director
SAT. Mat., Apr. 28... RIGOLETTO
Eve. LA GIOCONDA
Sun. Eve. 8:15... CARMEN
Mon. Eve. CAVALLERIA & PAGLIACCI
Tues. Eve. NORMA
Wed. Eve. IL TROVATORE
Thursday ... LA TRAVIATA
Friday ... SAMSON & DELILAH

Seats at Box Office Now
for Entire Week's Repertoire
25c, 35c, 55c, 83c, 99c
incl. tax

HIPPODROME, 6 Ave., 43 St. V.A.N. 3-4266

"A Picture to be seen"
—N. Y. Sun

"THE EARTH TURNS" JEAN MUIR

—RKO Vaudeville—
GRACE HAYES
GOMEZ & WINONA
RAY & SUNSHINE
Others

R K O PALACE B'way & 47 St.

GLOBE THEATRE

B'way & 46th St.
HELD OVER!
2nd BIG WEEK!

'UNKNOWN BLONDE'

Amazing Revelations of
a Professional
Divorce Co-respondent

LEE TRACY, Gloria Stuart, Roger Pryor
'I'LL TELL THE WORLD' "Witty, entertaining."—W. Tel.
Stage—The glamorous star IN PERSON
OLGA BACLANOVA 25c
Bert Frohman Spring Carnival Revue with Rhythm Girls, Music Masters

Critics Rapturously Welcome 1934

GILBERT & SULLIVAN

MAJESTIC THEATRE 44th ST. W. of B'way
Eves. 8:30-50c to \$2.
MATS. WED. & SAT. 2:30 50c to \$1.50

WEEK OF APRIL 30th

"IOLANTHE"

Cast: William Danforth, Hitti Koyke, Roy Cropper, Vivian Hart, Herbert Waterous, Vera Ross, Allen Waterous, Laura Ferguson

MAY 7th

"PATIENCE"

NEW SUMMER PRICES FOR SAILOR, BEWARE

THE UPROARIOUS NAVAL COMEDY

EVERY EVE. ORCHESTRA \$2.00 and \$3.00
BALCONY \$1.00 and \$1.50
THURS. MAT. ENTIRE ORCHESTRA \$1.50
ENTIRE BALCONY \$1.00
SAT. MAT. ENTIRE ORCHESTRA \$2.00
BALCONY \$1.00 and \$1.50

252 GOOD SEATS ALL PERFORMANCES 50c

LYCEUM THEA., West 45th St.—Seats Selling for Next 8 Weeks

"Proves play of high merit... good acting and good theatre."
—World-Telegram.

GEORGE BUSHAR - JOHN TUERK offer
HELEN FRANCES EDITH
GAHAGAN STARR BARRETT
in DAN TOTHERO'S PLAY ABOUT THE BRONTES

MOOR BORN

with GLENN ANDERS
THOMAS FINDLEY BEVERLEY SITGREAVES GRACE FRANCIS
ARLINE ALCINE : : : Staged by MELVYN DOUGLAS
PLAYHOUSE 48th E. of B'way Mats. Wed. & Sat. 55c to \$2.20
B'way 9-2628 Eves. at 8:50 55c to \$3.30

• MAX GORDON'S OUTSTANDING SUCCESSES •

WALTER HUSTON in "DODSWORTH"

Dramatized by SIDNEY HOWARD

SHUBERT Theatre, 44th Street West of Broadway
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Gladys COOPER Adrienne ALLEN Raymond MASSEY

"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

"ROBERTA"

A New Musical Comedy

by JEROME KERN and OTTO HARBACH

Adapted from Alice Duer Miller's novel "Gowns by Roberta"
NEW AMSTERDAM Theatre, 42nd St. W. of B'way. Eves. \$1-3.
Matinees Wed. & Sat., 50c, \$2.50, plus tax.

"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

"TOBACCO ROAD"

by JACK KIRKLAND. Based on Erskine Caldwell's Novel
48th ST. THEATRE—E. of B'way Pop. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40
B'way 9-4175. Eves. 8:40

"No Greater Glory": Molnar's Potent Plea for Peace

About the Folly and Futility of War

The folly and futility of what passes for patriotism and the glory of war moved Ferenc Molnar, greatest of Hungarian dramatists, to write "The Paul Street Boys," a sad and searching story of two rival gangs fighting unto the death for the possession of a vacant lot and a rag.

The story has been made into a movie under the name of "No Greater Glory," and it constitutes a terrific indictment of those sentiments that cause men to give their lives (at the behest of sinister interests) for meaningless abstractions. The two street gangs, garbed in uniforms pointedly resembling the garb of Hitler's armed ruffians, carry on maneuvers, spying, intrigue and finally actual fighting in which a lad loses his life. It is a touching story, outwardly only the tale of youths who take meaningless trifles too seriously, but

actually a blasting and blazing assault upon those things that make whole nations of grown men act like so many gangs of street boys. Honor, glory, loyalty and courage—all the vaunted virtues of strong men—are shown as nothing but infantilism. Wiping a tear from the eyes at the death of a brave child, adults may or may not realize that they are witnessing a satire that blasts at the roots of our dearest moralities. W.M.F.

Barthelmess in "A Modern Hero" at Brooklyn Strand

Richard Barthelmess in Warner

Roxy Theatre Celebrates 7th Anniversary—To Show New Chatterton Film

Howard S. Cullman announces that beginning today the Roxy Theatre will celebrate its Seventh Anniversary Week with a new stage and screen show. The feature film attraction is the new Warner Bros. picture starring Ruth Chatterton, and entitled "Journal of a Crime."

Bros. production of "A Modern Hero" is current at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre.

Lee Tracy in "I'll Tell the World" at Fox Brooklyn

Lee Tracy, Gloria Stuart and

Roger Pryor in "I'll Tell the World" opens at the Fox Brooklyn

Theatre today.

"★ ★ ★ ★ ★ Eye, Ear Delight!"—News
"A HONEY FOR ANYBODY'S MONEY!"—American

Now! MEET YOUR IDOLS OF RADIO FACE TO FACE

in Warner Bros.' funniest musical, staged at the other end of the broadcasts—the Wonderland of Radio you've never seen till now!



20 MILLION SWEETHEARTS

15 Stars

DICK POWELL
GINGER ROGERS
4 MILLS BROS.
TED FLORITO & BAND
PAT O'BRIEN
3 RADIO ROGUES
3 DEBUTANTES
ALLEN JENKINS
A First National Picture

35c to 1 P. M.
Mon. to Fri.

NOW DAZZLING BROADWAY-STRAND
CONTINUOUS POPULAR PRICES - MIDNIGHT SHOWS - B'WAY & 47th ST.

BEG. WEDNESDAY 11 P. M. - BK'LYN STRAND
CONT. POP. PRICES - MIDNIGHT SHOW SAT. - FULTON & ROCKWELL

FIGHT! BLEED! DIE!

FOR WHAT?

SEE THE ANSWER



SEE THE ANSWER

STARTS FRIDAY, MAY 4

ROXY

7th AVENUE AND 50th STREET

stevedore

"An evening of unquenchable excitement"—

Carlana, World-Telegram

CIVIC REPERTORY THEATRE 14th St. & 6th Ave. Eves. 8:45
Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:45
PRICES: 30c, 45c, 60c, 75c, \$1.00 and \$1.50 (NO TAX)
For information on benefits TELEPHONE WAL 9-3451

"WE'RE NOT DRESSING"

with BING CROSBY

and

CAROLE LOMBARD

George

Gracie

BURNS & ALLEN

ETHEL MERMAN

LEON ERROL

A Paramount Picture

United Artists **RIVOLI** B'WAY 49th St.

HELD OVER! 2nd BIG WEEK

TARZAN and HIS MATE

Johnny WEISSMULLER

MAUREEN O'SULLIVAN

—ON THE STAGE—

National Broadcasting Company Presents

GALA RADIO SHOW

Your Favorite Stars in Person

JAMES MELTON

& Hotel Ritz-Carlton Orch. with JOEY NASH

RICHARD HIMBER

"SISTERS OF THE SKILLET"

(Eddie & Ralph)

3 PICKENS SISTERS

CAPITOL Broadway at 61st St.

Maj. Edward Bowes, Man's Dir

Her Greatest Picture Since 'Madame X'

RUTH CHATTERTON

"JOURNAL OF A CRIME"

with ADOLPHE MENJOU

The Glorious New Birthday Spectacle

The CUBANACANS

Popeye (Billy Costello) the Sailor

MARTY MAY & JEAN CARROLL

FOSTER GIRLS

WESLEY EDDY and HIS GANG

COMING—FRIDAY, MAY 4th

"NO GREATER GLORY"

SHOW VALUE OF THE NATION Week days

ROXY 25c to 2 P. M.

35c to 6 P. M.

55c to Close

7th Ave. & 50th St. Children 15c

NOW PLAYING

ON STAGE

Broadway's Popular Columnist

ED SULLIVAN

IN PERSON

& His Club Dawn Patrol Revue

with HARRY ROSE - EDDIE

PEABODY - CARDINI

LOOMIS SISTERS - Others

ON SCREEN

'AS THE EARTH TURNS'

ALBEE Albee Square

BROOKLYN

UNCENSORED By the German Government **SUPPRESSED** Until NOW

Startling Nazi Expose Photographed by CORNELIUS VANDERBILT JR. and SMUGGLED OUT OF GERMANY at the risk of his life!

SENSATIONAL DARING MOTION PICTURES!

HITLER'S REIGN OF TERROR

or THE NAZI MENACE IN AMERICA

FIRST N.Y. SHOWING MON. APR. 30th

Continuous 9:30 to Midnight
GOOD SEATS 25¢ AT ALL TIMES
Also Now Being Shown at Majestic Theatre Chicago

MAYFAIR Theatre B'WAY at 47th St.

SEE YELLOWJACK

"Yellow Jack" seems to me to be one of the most original and remarkable dramas we have had in the contemporary American Theatre." —Brooks Atkinson, N. Y. Times

"Sidney Howard has added something to the theatre! 'Yellow Jack' is a powerful and steadily interesting play which should not be missed." —Wm. Lyon Phelps

MARTIN BECK Theatre 45th St. WEST OF 5th AVE.

Eves. 8:35—Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:35

VARIETIES SUNDAY FROM 10 A.M. ★

FIRST B'WAY SHOWING

A shocking glimpse behind the guarded portals of society's smartest school

"FINISHING SCHOOL"

★ FRANCES DEE ★ BRUCE CABOT ★
★ GINGER ROGERS ★ BILLIE BURKE ★

35c to 1 P.M. **CASINO THEATRE** 50th St. 67th Ave. phone COL. 5-6357 CONTINUOUS

On the Stage:
WATSON SISTERS
WELCOME LEWIS
RIO BROTHERS
MILES & KOVER
INTERNATIONAL MANGEANS

"A SOUND AND MERITORIOUS PLAY . . . ONE FOR YOU TO SEE."—NEW YORKER.

MEN IN WHITE

BROADHURST THEA. 44th St. W. of B'way.
Eves. 8:45—50c to \$2.50
MATINEES WEDNESDAY AND SATURDAY, 50c to \$2

ATHEISM

For free catalogue of anti-religious books, and list of lectures and debates, write:

FREEMAN HOPWOOD, General Secretary,
American Association for the Advancement of Atheism, Inc.
307 East 14th Street, New York, N. Y.

Enclose 10c (coin or stamps) for a set of Atheist leaflets and tracts, including Bertrand Russell's "Why I Am Not a Christian" and Robert G. Ingersoll's "What Is Religion."

The Cooperative is part of the movement working towards a more fair system of production and distribution... Based on Service and not the making of profits.

When you buy from the Cooperative Bakery you are helping to strengthen it and enable it to offer its Service to the Consumer more effectively.

COOPERATIVE TRADING ASS'N. Inc.

4301-3 8th Avenue, Brooklyn
Tel. AMBassador 2-4500

\$1.50 MONTHLY (No extras)—Classes.

70c full hour—private lessons... French, Russian, Spanish, Italian, German. Free trial. No obligations... Convince yourself before enrolling...

LANGUAGE EXCHANGE CENTER

156 W. 45th Street—LONagore 5-8310

GERMANY REVOLTS! Read THE FIRE
by Joel Rustam
TOMORROW, PUBLISHERS.
11 W. 42 St., N. Y. C. Stamps or coin 25c

WORKMEN'S FURNITURE FIRE INSURANCE SOCIETY
(ORGANIZED 1872)

A co-operative Fire Insurance Society, affiliated with the Cooperative League of America and operating under the supervision of the New York State Insurance Department.

Why Pay Exorbitant Fire Rates?

When our Society offers you **HOUSEHOLD FIRE INSURANCE AT ACTUAL COST**

ONLY 10c Annually \$100 Insurance for Every—insurance irrespective of location or character of dwelling.

Fire Losses Appraised Liberally and Paid Promptly.

\$75,000,000.00 Insurance in Force.

\$1,000,000.00 in Assets.

\$500,000.00 paid out in fire claims.

60,000 Members.

Upon admission every member must make a deposit equal to \$1.00 for every \$100 of insurance. This deposit will be repaid in full upon withdrawal.

For further information apply to the Main Office
227 EAST 84th STREET
New York City

THE 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, \$16, \$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.

For information apply to
THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
175 East Broadway, N. Y. City
Telephone Orchard 4-4940

Socialist Party Moves Forward

Michigan

Ludington Organization Conference Sunday, May 6. Representation is asked for from Muskegon, Cadillac, Charlevoix, Pellston, Acme, Manistee, and other branches in that locality.

Wayne County.—May Day demonstration at Cass Tech High School Auditorium.

The Joint Session for Monday, May 7, at 225 E. Forest, is for the discussion of the convention agenda and instruction to delegates.

Branch 1.—Sphagetti Supper Saturday, April 28, at headquarters, 225 E. Forest Avenue.

Branch 5.—A dance to real Hill-Billie music at headquarters, 9105 Hamilton Ave., Saturday evening, April 28.

Three regional party conferences on organization work will be held by the state organization committee, in Flint, April 22; Vermontville, April 29; Ludington, May 6.

The state executive asks locals for invitations for holding the state nomination convention. The tentative date is June 30. Locals should communicate with Francis King, state secretary, 225 E. Forest Ave., Forest.

A "Detroit Labor Conference Against Fascism" has been formed, composed of the Detroit Federation of Labor, the Socialist Party and other labor groups. Larry S. Davidow is temporary chairman.

The directors of the Holland annual Tulip Time Festival, held each year in May, have asked the Socialist local to have Norman Thomas participate in the opening ceremonies on May 12.

Virginia

The "Richmond Workers' School," supported by the Socialist Party, the Central Trades and Labor Council and the industrial department of the Y. M. C. A., directed by Cary White, Socialist candidate for governor last year, is finishing a successful three-month term. A recent feature is the weekly publication of a large "wall newspaper," edited by students, which is hung in the lobby of the Labor Temple.

Indiana

Lake County.—Socialist mass meeting in Hammond, evening of May 20, with Norman Thomas. Locals Hammond, Gary, Lowell, Crown Point and Ross Township will participate. Eugene Cooney will preside. For further information, write V. E. Hoff, 2530 169th Street, Hammond.

Ohio

Cleveland.—May Day Celebration at the Metal Trades Temple, 1000 Walnut Avenue. Herman J. Hahn, Buffalo, is main speaker of the evening. Organizations cooperating are the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, International Ladies Garment Workers, Metal Trades Council, and American Federation of Teachers. Gustav Dabringhaus, Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Society (East Side), will be chairman.

There will be chorus of the Vojan (Bohemian), Zarja Theatrical Society (Yugoslav), and the Workmen's Circle (Jewish). Youth representatives of the labor movement will recite "STEP."

Massachusetts

Boston.—Meeting for Max Winter, Wellington Auditorium, Morton Street, Dorchester, Sunday, April 28, at 11 a. m.

General Membership Meeting of Local Boston at 10 Stuart St., 8 p. m., Monday, April 30.

May Day Meeting at Parkman Bandstand, Boston Common, at 5 p. m.

New Jersey

Haledon.—Oldtimers are making one grand effort to revive the movement. With the help of a Paterson branch they are arranging a meeting Sunday at 10 a. m., 333 Clinton St., from which a new branch is to emerge. George H. Gobel will speak.

Pompton Lakes.—This new branch will meet May 5, 8:30 p. m., at the Lunch Wagon. Joseph O. Dell is arranging to carry the Socialist Banner into Wanaque.

Hawthorne, Clifton, Little Falls.—Comrade De Young of Paterson and others are lining up possible new members for a branch in Hawthorne. A meeting will be called soon. Fine connections are also being made in Clifton and Little Falls. New Leader readers in Passaic County are urged to communicate with County Organizer A. Dolder, Box 55, Great Notch.

Passaic.—Friday, April 27, at 8:30 p. m., at 585 Main, Branch 1 will sponsor a debate on "Should the Branch Endorse the Appeal Made by the Revolutionary Policy Committee?" "Yes," says Abe Simon. "No," says Herman Miller. All party members invited. May Day demonstrations, afternoon in Pulaski Park; evening, Workmen's Circle, 50 Howe Ave.

Business meeting Friday, May 4, at 8:30 p. m.

Paterson.—April 28, afternoon. A study class of members of the Wyoming Church from Milburn and East Orange will visit Paterson to study conditions in the silk industry and other factories conducted by members of the Socialist Party.

April 28: Comradeship Supper, at 66 Washington St., at 8 o'clock.
May 5: Second Chapter of Case for Socialism, led by Comrade Kendra.
Hudson County.—May Day celebration, Sunday, April 29, Floral Park, 4221 Boulevard, North Bergen, 2 p. m. Speakers in English and German and an entertainment. Phillip Nemoff chairman. Six organizations will cooperate. Small admission charge.

Long Branch.—Auspices Local Monmouth County.—Dr. Frank Kingdom on "Socialism, Fascism—or neither?" Tuesday, May 8, High School Auditorium.
Camden.—Sunday night, April 29, 814 Broadway. August Classens, speaker.

Connecticut

Hamden.—Local card party last week brought a considerable sum for the

Nervous and Irritable? It's a warning...

That elimination is delayed—that you're absorbing intestinal poisons. Ex-Lax acts safely and gently to rid the body of unhealthful wastes.

Ex-Lax has been the family laxative for nearly a quarter of a century and its popularity is constantly increasing as the years go by. Ex-Lax is prescribed by numerous physicians and is recommended by millions of users, because it is the most pleasant and the most dependable laxative known to science. It is eagerly taken by children as well as grown-ups.

Keep "Regular" with
EX-LAX
The Chocolate Laxative

In the name of solidarity we send May Day Greetings to all workers who are striving to make a better world for the toilers.

Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Organized 1894 Incorporated 1899
Main Office: 714-716 SENECA AVENUE, Ridgewood Station, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Telephone—HEGeman 3-4058

OVER 50,000 MEMBERS IN 352 BRANCHES

Reserves on December 31, 1932—\$3,500,000.00

Benefits paid since its existence:

Death Benefit \$5,300,000.00 Sick Benefit \$13,000,000.00

WORKERS! PROTECT YOURSELVES!

In Case of Sickness, Accident, or Death!

THE WORKMEN'S FURNITURE FIRE INSURANCE SOCIETY, Inc.

ON the occasion of Labor's International Holiday—The First of May—when the workers all over the civilized world, moved by the spirit of international solidarity and cooperation, will assert their demands for economic justice and political freedom, it is but fitting for

THE WORKMEN'S FURNITURE FIRE INSURANCE SOCIETY

to join the great hosts of Labor.

In doing so it emphasizes that during the 62 years of its existence it has adhered strictly to the high ideals of cooperation and mutual help, which its founders, the pioneers of the Labor Movement in the United States, have made its corner stone foundation.

It can point with pride to the fact in the great progress of our Society, which from a very humble beginning, it has through steady growth reached its present magnitude, a household fire insurance organization having

\$80,000,000.00 outstanding Insurance

\$1,000,000.00 in Assets

65,000 Members

In the meantime every one who wishes to insure his household against fire and secure such insurance at the exceptionally low rate which our Society offers can do so by applying in person or by communicating with the Society's Main Office.

227 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY
227 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

Boston to Honor McLevy

BOSTON.—A dinner and reception in honor of Jasper McLevy, Socialist mayor of Bridgeport, Conn., will be held at the American House, Saturday, May 5th, at 6:30. This dinner is being held to raise Boston's share in the United Socialist Drive. Reservation can be made through the secretary of the reception committee, Leo Meltzer, 20 Pemberton Square.

campaign fund. Much interest was shown in the referendum for delegates to the National convention. The following candidates were endorsed: Devere Allen, Arnold Freese, Walter E. Davis, Jasper McLevy, Martin Plunkett and Martin Rhodin. Nominations for state officers of the party were made on April 18. Hamden Socialists will cooperate with

"SO THIS IS WAR!"

by Tucker P. Smith,

a 48-page illustrated pamphlet exposing the war machine at work in schools and colleges, with other related material on sugar-coated militarism, sent upon receipt of 15 cents in stamps. Of special interest to workers in the labor and socialist cause.

COMMITTEE ON MILITARISM IN EDUCATION
2929 Broadway, N. Y. C.

Local New Haven in their May Day celebration.

New York State

Huntington.—The local reorganized by William E. Duffy has chosen officers. Rockland County.—William E. Duffy has been working in the county this week. Branches are to be organized at Spring Valley and Haverstraw and the local will provide for the election of a central committee.

Albany.—A new local is under way as the result of work by Regester Duffy. An organization committee of five has been constituted.

PROF. IVAN P. PAVLOV'S

Mechanics of the Brain

Behavior of Man and Animal

A Scientific Film which has made Cinema History

A film depicting the brilliant experiments in the physiological background of human behavior.

NOW AVAILABLE on 16 mm. for organizations and clubs.

Other 16 mm. films available

WAR AGAINST THE CENTURIES ROAD TO LIFE

For further information write to

Jarrison Film Distributors, Inc.

129 7th Avenue New York City

GUNS OR IDEAS?

A PARANOIC with a revolver makes a fine dictator for a while. Give him an army with rifles and tanks and some field artillery and he becomes a Leader with a way of life that will solve all difficulties.

He can "catch people by the scruffs of their silly necks and just sling them into the way they should go with as many kicks as may be needed to make a thorough job of it"—in the words of the hero of Mr. Shaw's new play.

Suppressing the opposition is truly a wonderful method for simplifying problems. Our Cromagnon ancestors used it exclusively, splendidly careless of the fact that one suppression leads invariably to another. In many parts of the world, their descendants have turned to it today as a way out of their perplexities. With modern weapons at hand, the method is even more simple—and its results are more appalling.

"Yet the fact remains that the final argument against cannon is ideas. The thoughts of men which seem so feeble are the only weapons they have against overwhelming force."

That was the principle upon which The New Republic was founded. That is the ground on which it invites your support today.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION. FOUNDED IN 1914.

13 weeks trial \$1
subscription

THE NEW REPUBLIC

421 W. 21st St., New York City

For the enclosed \$1.00 (check or money order if possible) please send me The New Republic for the next 13 weeks.

Name _____

Address _____

in full _____

_____ N. Y. C. 4/28/34

The Proudest Chapter In Socialist History

By Andrew J. Biemiller

THERE is no prouder chapter in the history of the international Socialist movement than the record of the American Socialist Party during the World War.

Standing foursquare on the principles of Marxism, American Socialists proudly voiced their opposition to the war at the special convention of the party held in St. Louis shortly after the United States Government had joined in the international madness.

That convention issued a ringing statement of opposition to all capitalist wars.

The St. Louis platform is a great heritage which should be treasured by every Socialist. I want to quote some of its most significant passages.

They are: "Modern wars as a rule have been caused by the commercial and financial rivalry and intrigues of the capitalist interests in the different countries. Whether they have been frankly waged as wars of aggression or have been hypocritically represented as wars of 'defense,' they have always been made by the classes and fought by the masses. Wars bring wealth and power to the ruling classes, and suffering, death and demoralization to the workers."

"The Socialist Party of the United States is unalterably opposed to the system of exploitation and class rule which is upheld and strengthened by military power and sham national patriotism. We, therefore, call upon the workers of all countries to refuse support to their governments in their wars. The wars of the contending national groups of capitalists are not the concern of the workers."

"The only struggle which would justify the workers in taking up arms is the great struggle of the working class of the world to free itself from economic exploitation and political oppression, and we particularly warn the workers against the snare and delusion of so-called defensive warfare. As against the false doctrine of national patriotism we uphold the ideal of international working class solidarity. In support of capitalism, we will not willingly give a single life or a single dollar; in support of the struggle of the workers for freedom we pledge our all."

"The acute competition between the capitalist powers of the earth, their jealousies and distrusts of one another and the fear of the rising power of the working class forced each of them to arm to the teeth. This led to the mad rivalry of armament, which years before the outbreak of the present war, had turned the leading countries of Europe into armed camps with standing armies of many millions, drilled and equipped for war in times of 'peace.'"

"The danger of recurrence of war will exist as long as the capitalist system of industry remains in existence. The end of wars will come with the establishment of socialized industry and industrial democracy the world over. The Socialist Party calls upon all the workers to join it in its struggle to reach this goal, and thus bring into the world a new society in which peace, fraternity, and

human brotherhood will be the dominant ideals."

That platform is as true today as it was in 1917. Socialists have not and will not retreat one inch from the position taken at that time.

The clarity of the American Socialists' position in 1917, in contrast to that taken by many of the Europeans and by a few in our own ranks, came from the straight class analysis applied to the situation by the party leaders and members at that time.

They saw clearly that wars are the inevitable result of capitalism. They saw that wars are fought by the workers in the interests of the owning class. They saw that workers had nothing to gain from any war.

American Socialists were not deluded by talk about spurious "patriotism," "the fatherland," "the interests of the community," or similar smokescreen propaganda released by press agents of the government and the industrialists.

They saw their position clearly and took it. Thousands were persecuted as a result, newspapers were suppressed or so hampered that it was almost impossible for them to carry on. But the Socialist spirit was not killed.

Today as never before we should remember that war record. We are faced with a similar situation. War threatens on many horizons. We have a government pursuing a policy that cannot but lead to war. We have the biggest peace time military budget in our history. We have a president who has always been a big navy man.

Some may not realize the imminence of the danger. But the government does. Reports reach by desk in Milwaukee daily showing that war preparations are proceeding rapidly.

Commission men report large orders for cattle which are being stored for war purposes. An unusually large order for army gloves is placed here. Orders equivalent to preliminary mobilization orders are issued to the Wisconsin National Guard. The "patriotic" societies, and the reserve officers' association in Madison, where the Socialist movement is growing rapidly, form a National Defense Council whose avowed purpose is the suppression of radicalism.

Let us be ready. Let us start now preparing the masses for war resistance. Let us carry on a widespread propaganda campaign against war. Let us propagate the idea of the general strike against war.

And let us reaffirm the anti-war resolutions of the Stuttgart and Copenhagen congresses of the International—"In case war should break out, they [the Socialist parties] shall be bound to intervene for its being brought to a speedy end and to employ all their forces for utilizing the economic and political crisis created by the war, in order to arouse the masses of the people and to hasten the breakdown and predominance of the capitalist class."

We must not flinch in our duty. We must go forward in the spirit of 'Gene Debs and Morris Hillquit and the hundreds of other martyrs of the last war. We must stand uncompromisingly against all capitalist wars.



By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

The New Deal Stumbling

Clearly the New Deal is not going well. Insofar as it had any purpose it seems to be merely a purpose to raise prices under the old price and profit plan of capitalism. The President has not worked out any plan for redistributing the national income either by definite wage increases or by systematic taxation of incomes and inheritances, to say nothing of a capital levy.

In the matter of taxation the Senate has proved itself more radical than the President. In the matter of wages, the President has not answered the argument of the railway men for the restoration of the ten per cent cut nor has he suggested one single thing to do about putting at least part of the cost of restoring railroads upon banks and bond holders, to whom, since the depression, an increased sum has been going although a million workers have been laid off! Again, under pressure from Southern mine owners, the Administration has backed down considerably from its first stand against the low wage differential in the South, the acceptance of which is one of the things which keeps purchasing power in the South so low.

Professor Tugwell's assurance of his essential conservatism evidently goes for the entire Administration!



Norman Thomas

A Grab for Favors

WHAT the New Deal has degenerated into is a grab for special favors or subsidies by one or another of various groups of those with something to sell or something which they own or used to own. Some of these groups have Administration support, and some, as yet, have not. Let us begin with the cotton landlords.

The President's signature of the Bankhead Bill may yet prove to be the most significant act of his administration, and significant probably for disaster. The new law limits the amount of cotton which may be marketed without a prohibitive tax to 10,000,000 bales. No system can be devised to enforce such a law which does not supply an army of snoopers. It will have all the difficulties that attended the enforcement of prohibition, and the effort to prevent chiselling under the NRA and under voluntary agricultural agreements. The voluntary agreements resulted in the production of more cotton in 1933 than in '32 and, according to Henry J. Allen, of Kansas, an estimated increase of production of wheat in that one state 40,000,000 bushels in 1934 in excess of 1933.

If compulsory regulation works at all it will be at the price of freezing the status quo and subsidizing inefficiency. For this consumers will pay—\$1,095,005,010 in subsidies to farms in 1934 alone. The landlords of the South are to be paid for the land they do not plant in cotton besides getting a higher price for a reduced cotton crop. Theoretically a share of these benefits is to be passed to the share croppers who do the work. Practically the institution of private landlordism and the whole social structure of the South make this impossible. There is no way of reducing cotton acreage 40% without driving thousands of share croppers off the land and reducing other thousands to the even more precarious level of occasional agricultural workers. The Bankhead Bill makes no pretence of seeing that those who need cotton can have cotton.

The proposed dairy plan of AAA, dubious as it is, at least sets aside \$5,000,000 of the processing tax to supply milk for the most needy consumers. There is no equivalent of this in the matter of cotton. Theoretically the Bankhead Bill is limited to a year, and cotton farmers, including share croppers, are to be consulted as to its continuance. In reality the share croppers, unless they are organized, will have precious little to say about it. Some of them won't even be around to be consulted after another year of reduced acreage.

It will be noticed that this whole effort to raise agricultural prices is based not on the acceptance of the economy of plenty, but of the return to scarcity. The same general principle prevails in the success of Trade Associations in fixing their own prices under the codes. The monopolist or the big producer is the gainer, not labor in its role either of producer or consumer.

Two Proposed Subsidies

TO two proposed subsidies to groups the President is lukewarm or opposed. And these two are dear to pseudo-radicals like Father Coughlin. One has to do with silver, the other is the McLeod Bill

for reimbursing depositors regardless of who they are or what was the amount they claimed in closed banks, or banks whose assets are frozen. If the government had socialized banks, then automatically these depositors should have been taken care of. To single them out for special help from taxpayers under a system of privately owned banks is another matter of doubtful economic wisdom!

Depositors who guessed the wrong bank under a system of private banking may have some claim to relief from the governments, state or federal, which supposedly supervised the banks. It is a claim definitely inferior to the claim of the unemployed for relief—a relief which they are not getting in anything like adequate amount and which they would have less hope of getting if bank depositors got first claim. For the McLeod Bill in its revised form, which limits aid to smaller individual depositors, more is to be said. But it is a tragedy of economic folly that supposed radicals should read the lesson of the failure of our banks in terms of doing something for the victims rather than of changing the system which they permit to operate until the next time—which isn't likely to be so very far away!

The Silver Subsidy

THE second subsidy to a special group, which will arouse a greater fight than the McLeod Bill, is primarily a subsidy to silver-mine owners and others who happen to have silver on hand. The present proposal looks to raising the price of silver from 64½ cents an ounce for newly-mined silver to \$1.29 an ounce, at which after January 1st the United States would proceed to buy silver in the world market up to 50,000,000 ounces a month until the world price of \$1.29 was established or until the general commodity price level was equal to that of 1926.

This, of course, is inflation pure and simple; it is, moreover, inflation not directed to the pockets of the unemployed, but to owners of silver. The latter have a political power in America out of all proportion to their economic importance. Silver bulks large in six states with twelve Senators. Idaho produces most silver, which may help to explain Senator Borah's loyalty to it. In 1929, the value of all the silver mined was less than the value of the peanuts grown in America. According to a recent article by Charles Merz, silver produces 6/10 of 1% of the less than 3% of the total national income derived from the mining industries. Few groups in America have less claim to a subsidy at the general expense than the silver industry. Nor will this subsidy to the silver industry do much, as is pretty well proved, to help the Orient or our trade with it. The popular case for silver is that from an historical point of view its remonetization is the most familiar prescription for inflation.

I have always held that there was a case for reflation after the deflation of the Hoover panic. I have insisted that it is not inflation to pay for wealth and work-producing public works by treasury notes instead of interest bearing bonds. But any reasonable effort after reflation has been satisfied by the devaluation of the dollar. There is no lack of money in the United States, as is proved by the fact that the government can borrow from the banks short time money at the rate of ¼ or 1% per year, as it did on April 9th. The banks are buried in money. Member banks of the Federal Reserve System exceed their legal requirements in the matter of reserves by more than 70%. In plain English that means that we have too much investors' money in the banks. The conservatives, for whom the New York Times is a spokesman, are wrong when they demand that the situation be cured by lightening the restrictions in the Banking and Securities Act. The silver inflationists are equally wrong in thinking that with so much money in banks we need more money indiscriminately dumped into our system.

The very newspaper which announces that the silver bloc will defy the President also announces that the City of New York is trying to stop the increase in the price of milk to city consumers, and that the bakers and the hotel men say that prices must increase under the codes. Inflation will simply boost prices, letting wages lag farther behind than they do at present. Inflation will not make work on any planned scale or change the ratio of distributing national wealth in favor of the real worker. It must be fought.

But whether we are fighting inflation, or monopoly prices under the codes, or the Bankhead Bill, we must make it plain that we do not want to go back to the bad old days. We are not merely against something, we are for something. We are for planned abundance, and this requires the cooperative commonwealth with social ownership of the great means of production. If we are going to fix prices, it must be on the basis of social ownership and plan for the common good, not for the profit maker. If we are going to do anything about the redistribution of wealth, it must be in terms of the proper reward of work and a proper system of taxation, including the capital levy, not in terms of blind inflation primarily for the benefit of silver mine owners.

The New Leader

May Day

Tenth Anniversary

Vol. XVII—No. 17

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 1934

In Four Sections—Sec. 3

And Now Our Eleventh Year

By William M. Feigenbaum

THE NEW LEADER, now beginning its eleventh year of service to the cause of Socialism and labor, was born out of a defeat; just as every defeat of the workers is but the prelude to greater victories so the collapse of the old New York Call (for a brief six weeks the New York Leader) led to the founding of the New Leader to carry on the age-long struggle for the emancipation of the human race from exploitation.

The New York Call had carried on for more than fifteen years, beginning with its first issue on May 30th, 1908. It had been founded as a result of the magnificent efforts

The New Leader Carries On the Glorious Traditions of the New York Call; Honor To Many Unsung Heroes!

Instantly the Socialist forces of New York rallied to establish a weekly paper unequivocally supporting the Socialist Party—as the short-lived New York Leader had not—and The New Leader was launched shortly thereafter.

From the start there was no question as to who would be its editor. James O'Neal, Socialist scholar and historian, associate editor and chief editorial writer of the Call for five years, beloved

Socialism, peace and freedom during the fifteen years of its existence. But it was by no means the first daily Socialist paper in New York. For as long ago as 1886 there had been another Leader that attained considerable success during one exciting year.

In 1878 the gallant German comrades had founded their great daily, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, edited at one time and another by Alexander Jonas, Hermann Schlüter, Sergius Schewitsch, Dr. Douai and others, a fine collection of able men and noble souls. In 1886, the entire Socialist and labor movement threw itself back of the candidacy of Henry George for Mayor; what was called the United Labor Party. The *Volkszeitung* was an influential organ in that campaign, but it was felt that an English daily was needed. The German comrades thereupon founded the *Leader* with Louis F. Post and Schewitsch as editors, and it attained a circulation at the height of the campaign of over 100,000. Al Smith, in his memoirs, speaks of his work as a newsboy, and records that the *Leader* was the most popular paper at the time among the working people of the city.

But the movement died down, torn by dissensions deliberately fomented by Tammany agents who joined the party for that purpose, and within a year or so the paper vanished.

There was published in New Haven in the eighties a struggling labor weekly called the *Workmen's Advocate*. It was purchased and brought to New York by the Socialist Labor Party about 1889 and placed under the editorship of the late Socialist sage, Lucien Sanial, shortly thereafter it became known as the *People*. By that time the arrogant and domineering Daniel DeLeon began to emerge as would-be party dictator, and he had Sanial removed and himself made editor. The reign of DeLeon continued for about a decade, with dissensions, quarrels, and, finally, the split that broke off the major portion of the party to join the Social Democratic Party (the story of which is told in another article in this issue by Theodore Debs) into the Socialist Party.

For a brief time there was confusion and recourse to the courts. DeLeon published a paper called the *People*; so did the Social Democratic faction, the latter edited by N. I. Stone. A court decision awarded the party name and emblem, and the name of the paper to the DeLeon faction and the opposition—immediately thereafter and ever since the overwhelming majority of the Socialist movement in the city and nation—changed the name of the paper to the *Worker*.

With the issue of July 1, 1900,

the *People* became a daily, and it was published as such for fourteen years, its change back to a weekly occurring almost simultaneously with DeLeon's death in the spring of 1914.

The *Worker* was edited during most of its career by Algernon Lee, and with him were associated at one time or another the late William Mailly, the late Courtenay Lemon, the late Horace Traubel, Harry Rogoff and James O'Neal.

But a weekly was not enough. Indeed, there had been a movement for a daily for many years. In 1894 the late Leon A. Malkiel wrote a letter calling for the establishment of a daily and mailed a check for ten dollars to start a publication fund. Within six years the fund had mounted to \$13,000, held by the National Executive Committee of the old SLP. When the party split that fund went with the party organization, the courts awarding it to the DeLeon faction together with the party name and emblem. And it was with that fund that the *Daily People* was launched.

The 1900 elections resulted in the then unprecedented vote of close to 100,000 for Debs and Harriman. Immediately after the election a meeting was called at the long-since demolished Clarendon Hall on East 13th street, where after listening to an inspiring speech by Job Harriman the comrades decided at once to raise \$50,000 to establish a daily, regardless of what the DeLeon faction did with its newly acquired \$13,000.

An old and almost defunct organization called the *Workmen's Cooperative Publishing Association* was revived as the agency for publishing the paper. That organization had been formed in 1884 to publish the *Daily Voice*, and after it secured in corporation papers it promptly became dormant. In 1886 it was galvanized into life to publish the *Leader*; and then it was again forgotten. In 1900 Morris Hillquit discovered that the organization had never been legally dissolved, and furthermore, that the laws had been changed making it more difficult for a new cooperative nonprofit-making organization to be organized. Julius Gerber, therefore, set to work to look up surviving members of the old organization, and found that ten were still alive. Six were brought together, and they undertook to revive the WCPA to publish a Socialist paper to be known as the *Globe*.

The following seven years and more were devoted to the task of money raising for the *Globe*. The old *Commercial Advertiser* changed its name to the *Globe*, and the name of the projected daily was changed to the *New York Call*. Balls and bazaars were held, money was donated by unions, meetings were held and in every possible way the drive went on. Those who were in that seven-year campaign will never forget it. It was at one of the bazaars that James O'Neal served as a judge, fining everybody arrested by the constables for contempt of court.

And so at last we came to May 30, 1908. The paper was at last to appear. The managing editor was George Gordon, a capable newspaper man, and with him were associated William Mailly, W. J. Ghent, Louis Kopeloff, Fred Merrick, Algernon Lee and others who served the cause quietly and with devotion.

(Continued on Page Fourteen)

The New Leader Staff



James O'Neal, Editor of The New Leader, center of front row. At left, William M. Feigenbaum, Associate Editor; at right, S. M. Levitas, Business Manager. Second row, left to right, Samuel H. Friedman, Labor Editor; Salome Benowitz, Circulation Manager; Yetta Riesel, Office Assistant; Bernard Feinman, Manager Theatrical Department. Back row, left to right, Joseph T. Shipley, Dramatic Editor; Victor S. Riesel, Assistant Circulation Manager.

of the Socialists and many trade unions of New York following nearly eight years of effort, during which the Socialist banner was held aloft in New York by the fighting Socialist weekly, the *Worker*.

For more than ten years the *Call* carried on with only the usual difficulties of a Socialist daily—great though they were. But after the tenth year of that great paper dissensions, disruption and confusion arose in the Socialist movement due to the Communist split, and for close to five years the paper limped with only divided support by the movement that should have been wholeheartedly working for success. Finally, a supreme effort was made, and the management was reorganized, new support was thrown back of the paper, its name and character were changed . . . and in six weeks it ceased publication.

party leader and official, was the only man considered as editor, and he has remained at the helm for every issue. With him at the start the oversigned was associated, continuing a long and affectionate association begun years before on the *Call*; shortly thereafter he left to take up other work in journalism, and during eight years there were associated in the editorship of The New Leader Edward Levinson, Philip Hochstein, Paul Hanna and Samuel H. Friedman. Now again the staff consists of O'Neal, Feigenbaum and Friedman, a team of men to whom there is no object in life that transcends in importance the promotion of the Socialist and labor movement and who bring years of experience in Socialist journalism of all kinds to that task.

The New York *Call* was a great newspaper, and it performed mighty services to the cause of



This is the first page of the first issue of The New Leader, containing news of the organization of the first labor government of Great Britain.



The *Workmen's Advocate* was a weekly labor paper published in New Haven, purchased by the Socialist Labor Party and brought to New York as official organ of that party. Copy shown here contains reports of the American delegates

to the first International Socialist Congress held in Paris in 1889. The *Workmen's Advocate* became the *People*, which became the *Worker*, which became the *New York Call*, which became The New Leader.

The L. I. D. and the Old Intercollegiate

By Harry W. Laidler

MORRIS HILLQUIT'S "Loose Leaves from a Busy Life," a story of Socialist devotion and achievement that every one should read, contains a vivid description of the beginnings of a venture in socialistic education that has had no inconsiderable effect on the intellectual life of America—the Intercollegiate Socialist Society.

It was while I was an undergraduate at Wesleyan University, following some thrilling days of stump speaking for Socialism in the Middle West, that I first heard of the move on the part of Upton Sinclair, George H. Strobell, a New Jersey business man, and others to establish in American colleges and universities groups for the study of Socialism and the Socialist movement.

In 1900 Eugene V. Debs received around 100,000 votes for President. During the next four years, the Socialist Party grew with remarkable rapidity and, by 1904, the vote for Debs had more than quadrupled.

The universities, however, gave Socialism during these days scarcely a thought. Sinclair wrote afterwards that he had graduated from CCNY and had done graduate work in Columbia without so much as knowing of the existence or the meaning of the world-wide Socialist movement. In 1902 Daniel W. Hoan, Helen L. Sumner and a few others had, it is true, organized a Socialist club at the University of Wisconsin, while a few students at the University of Chicago had formed a temporary study group. But these were isolated instances.

And so, following the 1904 campaign, Sinclair and Strobell secured the signatures of a number of well known writers and publicists to a call for the formation of an Intercollegiate Socialist Society.

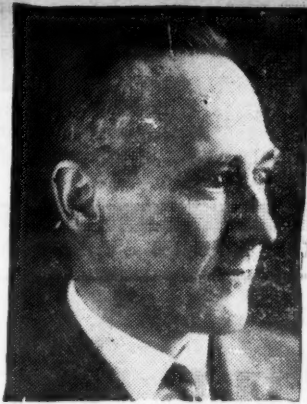
"The undersigned," read the call, "regarding the aims and fundamental principles of Socialism with sympathy, and believing that in them will ultimately be found the remedy for many far-reaching economic evils, propose organizing an association, to be known as the

Intercollegiate Socialist Society, for the purpose of promoting an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women, graduate and undergraduate, through the formation of study clubs in the colleges and universities, and the encouraging of all legitimate endeavors to awaken an interest in Socialism among the educated men and women of the country."

The call was signed by Jack London, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, "Harvard's grand old man"; Clarence Darrow, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Professor Oscar Lovell Triggs, Leonard D. Abbott, B. O. Flower, magazine editor; J. G. Phelps Stokes and Upton Sinclair.

The first meeting in response to the call was held on the top floor of Peck's restaurant in Fulton Street, New York, September 8, 1905. A hundred or more students and alumni were present. I still remember Upton Sinclair's rather shrill voice telling about the meaning of it all to the assembled gathering. The meeting elected Jack London president, Sinclair and Stokes vice-presidents, Owen R. Lovejoy, then a minister in Mount Vernon, treasurer, and Morris Hillquit, Robert Hunter, Katherine Maltby Meserole, George H. Strobell, George Willis Cooke of Boston and myself as members of the Executive Committee. To my nomination I was indebted to William M. Feigenbaum, now associate editor of The New Leader, then an undergraduate in Columbia. In the Fall Feigenbaum in Columbia and I in Wesleyan founded the first two college chapters of the ISS.

During its first days the society subsisted on a "shoe string." Sinclair, then writing "The Jungle," and George Strobell, did much of the work of typing up bundles of literature to send to collegians, writing to inquirers and giving publicity to the organization. During these days, Jack London made a tour of the universities lecturing on Socialism. When he arrived at Yale Woolsey Hall was crowded to overflowing. Many of the fathers of the university were present to hear what he might say about his experience as war correspondent in the Russian-Japanese war. He



Harry W. Laidler

spoke on "The Present Crisis." It was, however, not about Asia, but about industry at home and the need for an industrial revolution that he spoke of. The students and faculty saw a ruddy, stocky figure dressed in white flannel shirt, rolling collar and flowing silk tie and black cheviot suit. He declared that he found the American university clean but not alive.

"I found," he declared, "that the American University had this ideal, as phrased by a professor in Chicago University, namely: 'The passionless pursuit of passionless intelligence'—clean and noble, I grant you, but not alive enough... and the reflection of this university ideal I find—the conservatism and unconcern of the American people toward those who are suffering, who are in want. And so I became interested in an attempt to arouse in the minds of the young people of our universities an interest in the study of Socialism. We do not desire merely to make converts. If collegians cannot fight for us, we want them to fight against us—of course, sincerely fight against us. But what we do not want is that which obtains today and has obtained in the past of the university, a mere deadness and unconcern and ignorance so far as Socialism is concerned. Fight for us or fight against us. Raise your voices one way or the other; be alive. That is the idea upon which we are working."

The speech which ended by declaring the need for another industrial revolution in America, shocked the university world. "The spectacle of an avowed Socialist, one of the most conspicuous in the country, standing on the platform of Woolsey Hall," declared the New Haven Register the next day, "was a sight for God and man."

(Continued on Page Fifteen)

The Rand School and Socialist Education

William E. Bohn

READING of Morris Hillquit's "Loose Leaves from a Busy Life" has aroused anew the interest of all Socialists in the history of the institution to which he devoted his time and strength. Among them the Rand School stands out as an object of his special affection. Characteristically he plays down his own part in the founding and maintenance of this institution. For some years before the will of Carrie Rand, in 1905, provided the means for actually starting the school, Comrade Hillquit had taken the lead in the formation of the American Socialist Society, an organization which had for its purpose the initiating of such a project.

The demand for the school grew out of the needs of the Socialist movement. "The need of a school for the systematic study of the Socialist philosophy and related subjects," he says, "was felt keenly by the Socialist leaders. The rapidly growing movement called for trained organizers, speakers, writers. There was no dearth of qualified teachers among the Socialist intellectuals; but the movement was poor, and a regular school, no matter how economically managed, meant a substantial initial outlay in the establishment and comparatively large expenditures in operation."

Then came the bequest, and the actual foundation of the school in 1906, first under the leadership of William J. Ghent and soon afterward under that of Algernon Lee, who has remained at the head of the enterprise down to the present time. But Comrade Hillquit, who during his life was himself a generous donor to the school and who spent much time planning for its financial support, is careful to make clear that income from the original bequest rapidly grew less and finally disappeared altogether. The generosity of Carrie Rand, then, provided for the initial equipment of the school and for its maintenance through its earliest years. It gave to the Socialist and labor movement a permanent institution, but placed upon the movement itself the duty of maintaining and expanding it.

From 1906 to 1934 there have been many stirring pages in the

history of this school. Many thousands of Socialists and Labor Unionists have been trained and inspired in its lecture halls and class-rooms and have gone out to work for their cause all over America and in other lands. Many great scholars, many earnest Socialist and Labor Union leaders have spoken and taught there. There has been plenty of drama, as when the school was attacked by soldiers and police, when it was fined thousands of dollars for publishing an anti-war pamphlet. There is also the longer story, less dramatic but no less splendid, of the hundreds of devoted friends who have sacrificed time and money to keep the Rand School alive and to permit it to expand and grow. In an anniversary issue of The New Leader one would naturally expect to see something of this history so intimately tied into the growth of the Socialist movement and that of The New Leader itself.

But when I said to Algernon Lee, "What shall I say in The New Leader?" he answered; "Don't give them much history; the present and the future are far more important than the past." He was expressing a mood that has developed in the entire school staff during the current year as the expanding Socialist and Labor movement has made ever increasing demands upon this old institution. There have been so many opportunities that if we had twice as much financial support and a staff twice as large we could not have taken full advantage of all of them.

We are now approaching the end of our twenty-eighth season. Though we have tried strenuously to limit the size of our Workers' Training Class it has grown to a size far beyond our original plan. From outside Greater New York it includes a surprisingly large number of students from New Rochelle, Hoboken, Jersey City, Newark, Passaic and other towns within striking distance. There is, of course, the usual large proportion of students from the Socialist Party, the Workmen's Circle, the YPSL and the Young Circle League. But the most inspiring aspect is the growing number of young members from labor unions

(Continued on Page Seven)

May Day Greetings from

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

Labor solidarity is a vital necessity now, more than ever before. It is the only hope of a suffering world

SIDNEY HILLMAN, General President

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, General Sec'y-Treas.

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD:

AUGUST BELLANCA
HYMAN BLUMBERG
ABRAHAM CHATMAN

JACK KROLL
LEO KRZYCKI
SAMUEL LEVIN

ANZUINO D. MARIMPIETRI
ABRAHAM MILLER
SIDNEY RISSMAN

FRANK ROSENBLUM
MAMIE SANTORA
STEPHAN SKALA

Why Amalgamated Clothing Workers Celebrate Labor's Holiday May First

By Joseph Schlossberg

General Secretary-Treasurer of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

LABOR'S MAY DAY originated in America. The St. Louis convention of the American Federation of Labor in December, 1888, took the initiative when it decided to hold a general eight-hour work day demonstration on May 1, 1890, thus giving the world a new symbol of international labor solidarity.

The idea traveled from America to Europe, where an international congress translated it into action. That congress gathered in Paris on July 14, 1889, the centennial anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, the fortress prison hated by the people as an emblem of despotism. July the Fourteenth is to the French people what July the Fourth is to the American. The one hundredth anniversary of the destruction of the stronghold of royal tyranny was a fit date for the launching of the movement for labor's freedom. The congress, composed of representatives from various countries in which labor movements existed, inaugurated what came to be known as the Second Socialist and Labor International. The decision of the American trade union convention so impressed that body that, upon the proposal of the French delegates, the following resolution was adopted:

The congress resolves that a great international demonstration shall be held on a definite date. Arrangements shall be made so as to enable the workers to demonstrate simultaneously in all countries and all cities and demand of the public authorities to limit the working day to eight hours and to carry out the other decisions of the International Congress at Paris.

In view of the fact that the American Federation of Labor, at its convention in December, 1888, in St. Louis, has already decided to hold such a demonstration on May 1, 1890, that day is accepted as the day for international demonstration.

The workers of the several nations are to carry out the demonstration in such manner as may be required by the conditions prevailing in their respective countries.

Now It's Universal

That was the genesis of the Workers' May Day. Conceived in America, executed by the international labor movement, the May Day idea has become a universal labor institution, and has stood the test of time.

For forty-four years—since 1890—May Day has been celebrated. Many things have happened since then to give the world a new face. The significance of May Day has grown with the modern world. The original purpose of labor's day was to promote the eight-hour movement—at that time a remote and vague hope. At present, the eight-hour day, and even the shorter day, is a reality. Four decades ago the eight-hour day was "viewed with alarm," as a revolutionary aim; today it is an accepted standard. Almost everything that workers strive for is "revolutionary" until it is attained, at which time it becomes normal and reasonable.

The eight-hour movement—as well as its spiritual expression, the May Day idea—was of distinct American origin. It began as far

In Spirit of May Day, Union Organizes Workers, Raises Living Standards, Fights Against War and Despotism and Battles for Political and Economic Freedom -- International Holiday Originated in U.S.

back as 1842, when carpenters and others in the Charlestown Navy Yard secured the eight-hour day. The movement for the shorter work day gained strength towards the end of the Civil War, because of the fear that the return of the soldiers into the industries would cause much unemployment. It is remarkable that a similar situa-

tion, the end of the World War, was the immediate cause of the shortening of the work hours to 44 a week by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in 1919. In 1863, eight-hour leagues were formed in different parts of the country. The machinist, Ira Steward, was the philosopher of the eight-hour movement. He had

the task of showing the workers that shorter hours would not mean reduced earnings, and of showing the employers that a higher standard of living for the workers would improve business by increasing the workers' demands for goods.

The eight-hour movement was continued by the Knights of Labor

and by the American Federation of Labor.

Now a Broad Holiday

Before long it became clear that May Day, as a labor holiday, could not be confined to the eight-hour issue, as that is not the only problem confronting the labor movement. Also, because of the constant improvement in the methods of production, the eight-hour day could not be the law in shorter work hours. May Day has become a working class holiday in the broadest sense, an epitome of labor's aims and aspirations, from improvement in immediate conditions to final emancipation from the system which spells poverty and economic insecurity for the workers.

May Day has a fascination all its own. In the minds of the people, this day has been associated with the season of the year when Nature re-awakens and blossoms forth with new life and beauty. In olden times, when the people were close to Nature, not removed from her by skyscrapers and subways, they celebrated May Day as the return of the season of youth and fruitfulness. It is altogether likely that the authors of Labor's May Day hearkened to the voice of the people who lived with Nature and rejoiced in it. Labor's May Day has the added significance of the promise of a happy future for those who do the world's work.

May Day comes each year to lift us from our routine, to remind us that the struggle for daily bread, the wrestling with unemployment and other evils to which workers are subject under our social order, are not the beginning and the end of things; that we are civilized men and women, united by a common ideal, and it is our task to make the world a happy place to live in. A movement like ours must have such a holiday, devoted entirely to its spiritual purposes, from which to draw encouragement for the fulfillment of our tasks.

The Spirit That Wins

It is for that reason that the Amalgamated has made May Day a legal holiday and continued to celebrate it every year. In the spirit of this day, we have carried on our work throughout the years, organized the great masses of clothing workers, raised their working and living standards, and extended help to many of our fellow-men. The spirit of May Day has made the Amalgamated what it is and enabled it to win battles. We meet every year on this day to renew our pledge of loyalty to one another and our faith in the ultimate triumph of the cause of labor.

At this time, as the menace of war is threatening the world, we raise our voice in the cause of peace among nations. We oppose war. We oppose militarism. We oppose everything that makes for hostility among nations. ON MAY DAY WE DEMONSTRATE OUR OPPOSITION TO DESPOTISM AND TYRANNY OF ALL KINDS—ECONOMIC, POLITICAL OR ANY OTHER—AND PROCLAIM OUR FAITH IN THE COMING OF A NEW ERA FOR THE WORKERS, AN ERA OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY.

est and very often with enthusiasm and acclaim. All this is due to the fact that the men in the shop know that everything possible under the circumstances was done—and done honestly and conscientiously.



FOUR VALIANT WORKERS IN N. Y. AMALGAMATED JOINT BOARD: (Left to right) Abraham Miller, secretary of Joint Board; Joseph Catalanotti and Louis Hollander, co-managers of Joint Board, and Peter Monat, manager of Control Department.

How N. Y. Joint Board Grew

By Abraham Miller

Secretary-Treasurer, New York Joint Board, A. C. W. of A.

AT the beginning of 1932—not to go back too far—the New York Joint Board, in the vortex of an industrial depression which followed the treachery of a corrupt cutters' officialdom, was demoralized seemingly beyond hope of recovery. With work continually disappearing into outside non-union territories and with no cooperation from cutters' officials, wages naturally sunk to the lowest levels. The huge trucks that carried the bundles to all parts of the country, to be made up by men and women under miserable conditions, brought despair into the hearts of officers and members. The market was in complete collapse. No organized force apparently could bring order out of the industrial chaos created by unscrupulous employers on the outside and functional collapse on the inside.

After a bitter and costly fight, which at one time looked as though it might wreck the organization completely, the corrupt cutters' officialdom was thrown out and the Cutters' Union reorganized.

This was the first step in the rehabilitation of the organization. Two local men, Louis Hollander and Joseph Catalanotti, were placed in charge of the New York Joint Board. Together with the new administration of the Cutters' Union, headed by Murray Weinstein, they began to rebuild almost from the bottom.

The preparation for the strike of August, 1932, and its successful execution would have been impossible without the whole-hearted support of the rank and file. In

Influence Spreading

Since that time we have continued to make progress. Slowly but surely we have added to our strength and influence. What once seemed a nightmare has now become a source of strength and en-

couragement. Passaic, South Jersey, Pennsylvania and other localities have by now become a part of the organization ready to fight for the improvement of their own conditions and for the strengthening of the Amalgamated. It is true that in the localities above mentioned we still have a big job ahead of us: we still have to teach the newcomers the rudiments of unionism, but we are sure that they will in due time give a good account of themselves. Instead of a drag on the organization, they will become a factor for the good of all.

The establishment of the classification of garments was a death blow to the chiseler and unscrupulous manipulator among the manufacturers. The establishment of the classification of garments by our new management was positively the greatest accomplishment both for the membership and the industry. Only those familiar with the nature of New York industry and with some of the types of its manufacturers will appreciate this great achievement.

Morale Strengthened

Another source of satisfaction to the membership, adding greatly to the change in its morale, was the great campaign of organization in and around New York among the bushelmen, the custom tailors and the uniform makers.

In the foregoing paragraphs I have tried to point out the reasons for the change of spirit and the morale of our membership in New York. The accomplishments above referred to have undoubtedly contributed to a mental change among the rank and file to their union. But the most important reason for the change, we all admit, was the

increase in earnings and other improvements in the shops. Our earnings today in 36 hours are considerably greater than they were formerly, with all sorts of hours. Without saying anything derogatory about the NRA or its administration, our members know that it was their union, the New York Joint Board, THE AMALGAMATED, that called a stoppage in July of 1933 for the sole purpose of raising wages and for the strict enforcement of hours.

As a result of that stoppage, the wages of the workers in the industry were raised anywhere between 15 and 30 percent, in some cases more, depending upon the earnings of the individual man or woman. Only in a very small number of cases did the people receive a raise of only 10 percent. All this happened in July of 1933, two months before the code for the men's clothing industry went into effect.

In conclusion, I want to point out that during the last few dark years, our organization in New York—and that was only natural—was susceptible to all kinds of mental diseases. Due to unemployment and great suffering, a small and insignificant portion of our membership was ready to try all sorts of experiments in the organization. This was noticeable at the Joint Board and local meetings. It is true that there never was any serious danger of this small and irresponsible group getting too far, but it created quite a bit of trouble. Some of our local meetings were anything but pleasant. In the past twelve months, a complete change has taken place. Local meetings are attended by the great mass of membership, and quite a number participate in the discussion of union problems. Reports of the officers are received with great inter-

Cutters' Local Vital Factor in Onward March of Workers

By Murray Weinstein

Manager, Clothing Cutters' Local 4, ACWA

The position which the Clothing Cutters' Local 4 occupied in our general organization work in the past, and the position it occupies at present, are of utmost importance. A clothing workers know it to be a fact that the root of all the evils effed in the past was hidden in the Cutters' Local. Various previous administrations deliberately isolated the local from the other branches of the organization and from the Joint Board.

In those days, the Cutters' Local sent delegates to the Joint Board not for the purpose of mutually solving problems, but for the purpose of dictating conditions to the Joint Board. I have a vivid recollection of how at our conventions time and energy were wasted on efforts to effect harmonious relationships between the cutters and the tailors. If such negotiations were not going on at the regular sessions of the conventions, they were carried on at caucus meetings. Just at the time when everybody concerned believed the problem to have been solved, a new wave of antagonism would flare up and the disastrous fight between the cutters' administration and the tailors would become more tense.

Had it been only a question of politics, the results would not have been so demoralizing. But the fight was carried on in the industrial sphere as well and sufferers were not only the tailors but also the cutters, with the exception of the minority that grouped itself around the administration of the local and was protected by the administration. The tenseness in the relationship between the cutters and the tailors reached its climax when we were assembled at our last convention in Toronto in 1930. The result was open warfare between the administration of the Cutters' Local on one hand and the organization as a whole on the other hand. Bad as the fight was and undesirable as it was, it nevertheless had a wholesome effect on the organization—because that

fight was the operation which cured a disease considered by many to be incurable. It brought about a change in our relationship which exerted a very constructive influence on our whole organization in New York.

No More Divisions

In the past couple of years, we know no more of any division in the ranks of the cutters and tailors. Now, as always in the past, the cutter works in the cutting room while the tailor works in the tailor shop. Now, as before, the cutters belong to one local union and the coatmakers, pants-makers or vestmakers belong to other local unions. But here the division ends. In the work of our organization we function as one unified body. We are solving our problems mutually and we are performing our duties unitedly. In the 20 years of our existence, there hasn't been a time when the relationship between the Cutters' Local and the Joint Board was so harmonious, and this relationship has been cultivated all through the last two years. True, we disagreed very often.

On occasions we criticize one another. But this does not prevent us from finding a mutual basis for work. It does not divide us into enemy camps. Whatever the problem is, we are bending all of our efforts to solve them in the interest of the membership and of the organization as a whole. Our accomplishments in the past two years are a natural result of this unity. And the organization has all the rights to feel proud of these accomplishments.

Important Evils Eliminated

We know that the New York Joint Board lacked power and influence. We know that in the past the tailors were compelled to surrender many of their conditions. The methods practiced by the clothing cutters' local under the previous administrations were largely responsible for that, we believe. The attitude at that time seemed to be "to the devil with the tailors as long as the group that catered to the administration was adequately protected." And mind you, the protection was accorded not to all the

cutters but to a very small group of them.

The strategy of the cutters' administration at that time consisted of the following: The welfare of the membership was none of its concern. And still less was it interested in the welfare of the tailors. Those administrations per-



Murray Weinstein
Manager of Cutters' Local,
A.C.W.A.

mitted manufacturers to do the cutting in New York and to send the garments to country shops, which were open shops or scab shops, to be made up. They have even permitted manufacturers to establish cutting rooms in the country. They even went further than that and permitted the so-called "cut, make and trim" system which was undermining the conditions of the workers and was justly considered one of the most dangerous advantages in the hands of the manufacturers.

Let no one think that only the tailors paid the penalty for such a state of affairs. The majority of the cutters suffered no less than the tailors. They were deprived of employment and the administration of the Cutters' Local paid no attention to them.

Conditions Eliminated

This condition was eliminated in the past two years. We have now one law for the market and that is that all the cutting rooms must be located in New York. Even in cases where manufacturers have legitimate tailor connections outside of New York, their cutting must be done in New York. We have another law that garments cut by our members must be made up in unionized tailor shops. While in the past this law remained only on paper, at present it is being vigorously enforced. In addition we have forced every manufacturer irrespective of the size of his business, to employ at least one cutter. Previously, many manufacturers in New York were doing the cutting themselves, while cutters were swelling the army of unemployed. Such a condition also made it hard, if not impossible, to control where such manufacturers send their work.

What we have accomplished through enforcing such a law is that while in the period prior to the time when the present administration assumed office, only about 40 per cent of the cutters had permanent jobs, now almost 90 per cent of the cutters are provided with permanent jobs. We have brought back to New York every cutting room that was located in the country and we have completely stopped the process of manufacturers moving out from New York.

The latest developments in the country, the inauguration of the NRA and the codes, found our organization well prepared. While the code prescribes a 36-hour week with \$1 an hour minimum for the cutters, all our members are enjoying the 36-hour week, but the scale for the cutters remained \$50 per week and no one works for less. As a result of these accomplishments, the New York organization and the Cutters' Local, which considers itself an internal part of the organization, regained its power and the respect of the manufacturers. I am convinced that we will be able to enforce whatever legislation we work out for the industry and for our membership.

Hillman Active in Cause of Labor on Advisory Board

By Union Observer

THOUGH the Amalgamated was not at the time affiliated with what is sometimes referred to as "the official labor movement of the United States," the American Federation of Labor, one of the first acts of the Federal Administration when it called a conference of the leading labor representatives of the country in the office of the Secretary of Labor was to include in the list of those invited the general president of the Amalgamated, Sidney Hillman. When, as a result of the deliberations of the conference, a small committee was appointed to discuss with President Roosevelt the problems faced by the workers of the country, Sidney Hillman was named as one of its members.

All through the spring of 1933, Hillman was active in the work of furthering the claims of the workers to an entirely different sort of treatment than they had been receiving from the Federal authorities since the depression began. He was always frank in stating that no legislation could further the interests of the workers as effectively as a 100 per cent organization would. Nevertheless, certain legislation would very much improve the chances to accomplish such a desired goal. Every handicap that the employers could build up through their control of those who happened to be in power in the government had been erected through a series of years, and President Hillman threw all his energy and intelligence into the struggle to remove at least some of these handicaps.

Hillman Named to Board

When the NRA was set up in the early summer of 1933, President Hillman was appointed a member of the Labor Advisory Board and has taken as active a part in the work of that board as his duties as president of the Amalgamated would allow. This meant grinding work both day and night on top of almost ceaseless labor necessitated by the crisis through which the Amalgamated, like other unions, had been passing since the acute depression beginning in the early part of 1930. The activities of the general president and his fellow executives of the organization in the struggle to secure a code for the industry that would improve wages and conditions of the clothing workers is known to all members. The

code authority is now functioning and President Hillman, together with Hyman Blumberg and Samuel Levine, represent the Amalgamated on that body.

President Hillman took an active part in the forming of the code for the cloak and dressmakers and others, and was being constantly called in on other matters involving the workers.

Hillman has never had the illusion that things get done in any way except by the doing of them. Nor has he ever had the illusion that the passage of the National Recovery Act was going to bring about recovery for the workers unless the representatives of these workers were on the job of seeing that the NIRA was administered in such a way as really to bring about an increase in real wages. He has kept continually pointing out that the forty-hour work week would not take up the slack of unemployment; that on the average thirty hours was the maximum hours that could be hoped to accomplish this. The employers wanted forty hours in the clothing industry. Thirty-six was agreed upon as a compromise, but Hillman believes that events of the last six months have conclusively proved that the 30-hour basis which he wanted to see adopted was the proper one both for the workers and the industry.

Labor Not Satisfied

IT IS WELL KNOWN THAT THE FORCES OF LABOR REPRESENTED ON THE NRA ARE ANYTHING BUT SATISFIED WITH THE DEAL THAT LABOR HAS SO FAR RECEIVED, AND THAT THEY ARE NOW STRUGGLING TO BRING ABOUT A CHANGE. They feel that in many cases the NIRA has not been contributing toward the increasing of the purchasing power of the mass of the people. It is reported that the Labor Advisory Board is becoming more insistent that there should be a radical change in the attitude of the NRA toward labor.

It is peculiarly fitting that the Amalgamated, which for nearly twenty years has waged a ceaseless struggle to secure improvements for its members and to maintain these betterments after they have been gained, should bear an active part through the presence of its general president on the Labor Advisory Board in this fresh struggle involving the interests of all of the workers in the country.

What Amalgamated Clothing Union Means to the Workers

THE Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is a union of the workers in the men's clothing industry. Its 120,000 members are engaged in the production of suits, single pants, boys' wear, shirts, pajamas, leather coats, etc.

The Amalgamated was organized in 1914. Before the depression, its record of achievement included the 44-hour week, the abolition of the sweatshop in organized centers, and wage standards equal to those in the better paid trades.

The Amalgamated has established unemployment insurance in three centers: Chicago, New York, and Rochester. The Amalgamated labor banks in New York and Chicago, workers' credit unions in several cities and extensive cooperative housing settlements for the workers in New York City are other activities of significance.

The Amalgamated believes in vigorously pressing forward the workers' right to a bigger and richer life. The protection of the worker on his job in the shop is a primary condition in this program. The union seeks to get these things peacefully, through negotiation and arbitration; but if necessary, the strike weapon is likewise used with vigor when other means fail. It is out for results and is utilizing all proper means to that end.

The Amalgamated is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. It has a proud record of solidarity with all labor organizations. It has given unsparingly of its time, energy, and financial resources to the struggles of workers in other industries and to the workers in other countries in times of their distress. The Amalgamated believes that the interests of the workers are indissolubly bound together, and that a gain for one is a gain for all.

Where Union Members Will Gather for May Day Parade

MEMBERS of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America will assemble as follows before one o'clock for the gigantic May Day labor parade and demonstration, converging at Madison Square Park (23rd St. and Madison Ave.) in a huge meeting:

Cutters of Local 4—In front of Cutters Union, 40 W. 17th St.
Operators, Tailors, Bushelmen and Canvasmakers, Local 25—Webster Hall, 119 East 11th St.

Pressers Local 3—Webster Hall, 119 East 11th St.

Italian Coat Makers, Locals 63 and 142—Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th St.

Childrens Clothing Workers, Local 10, 11 and 176—Arlington Hall, 19 St. Marks Place.

Lithuanian and Russian Workers, Locals 54 and 103—Arlington Hall, 19 St. Marks Place.

Pants Makers, Locals 8, 40, 43, 85, 159 ad 280—Joint Board Auditorium, 31 West 15th St., 1st floor.

Vest Makers Local 32—Joint Board Building, 31 West 15th St., 6th floor.

Knee Bants Makers, Local 19—Joint Board Building, 31 West 15th St., 2nd floor.

Custom Tailors, Locals 162 and 80—Astoria Hall, 62 E. 4th St.

Lapel Makers Local 161, Buttonhole Makers Local 50, Turners Local 55—135 Second Ave.

THE PARADE STARTS AT ONE O'CLOCK. The meeting at Madison Square Park also starts at one o'clock.

THE road that Labor has traveled has not been a course of unbroken victories. Setbacks, discouragements and temporary defeats have marked the path where trod the sons and daughters of toil . . . Every gain, every advance has meant sacrifice and idealism by those who struggled for human rights, human dignity and freedom.

The army of labor that has passed on, has left us a heritage that is priceless, the heritage of devotion to the cause of human emancipation. Let us show ourselves worthy to carry on the legacy they have left us . . .

Let us dedicate ourselves anew to the task of reshaping the world free from human degradation in all its forms.

Forward to the task of organizing the workers to make themselves masters of their own destinies!

Forward to the building of peace, plenty and prosperity!

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

International

Ladies Garment Workers

Union

David Dubinsky, *President*

Now We May Find Out Who Makes Profits Out of War

By Observer
Our Washington Correspondent

THIS week saw the beginning of a Senate investigation that may be of more importance in the lives of millions of Americans than any governmental move in years.

The investigation is concerned with the influence of munition

interests that will weaken or even destroy their influence on governmental policy and action and so be a powerful factor in the prevention of war.

The munitions makers and their satellites, lowest of all the capitalist breed, may be depended upon to do whatever they can to hamper and sabotage the inquiry.

It is headed by Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota, a stout

and studied. Coincident with appointment of the committee, Nye introduced a bill to create a "peace division" in the State Department, with an Assistant Secretary of State in charge, whose duty would be to study the fundamental nature, origin and cause of war, the remedy for controversies which lead to war and the "social, political and economic factors which contribute" to friction and war between nations.

An annual appropriation of \$50,000 would be authorized for the office, which would report its recommendations to the Secretary of State, the President and Congress.

Commenting on the munitions inquiry, Nye said: "A nation that is spending well over twice as much money maintaining its army and navy as was spent in the year before the World War undoubtedly will be proved to be paying tribute to men whose business and fortune depends on ability to keep orders for munitions flowing their way."

"I anticipate the investigation will reveal a large part of the urge for war and greater national defense is encouraged by munitions makers."

POWERS OF THE COMMITTEE
The preamble of the resolution directing the munitions inquiry declares that "the influence of the commercial motive is an inevitable factor in considerations involving the maintenance of the national defense" and "the influence of the commercial motive is one of the inevitable factors often believed to stimulate and sustain wars."

The committee is authorized and directed to investigate the activities of individuals and firms and all other agencies engaged in the manufacture, sale, distribution, import, or export of arms and munitions, the nature of the organizations engaged in the arms traffic, methods used in promoting the sale of munitions, the quantities of munitions imported into the United States, and the countries of origin, and the quantities exported from the United States and the countries of destination.

The committee is further instructed, "to investigate and report upon the adequacy or inadequacy of existing legislation, and of the treaties to which the United States

is a party, for the regulation and control of the manufacture of and traffic in arms, munitions and other implements of war within the United States, and of the traffic therein between the United States and other countries."

Most significant is this: "To inquire into the desirability of creating a Government monopoly in respect to the manufacture of armaments nad munitions and other implements of war, and to submit recommendations thereon."

The resolution was adopted in lieu of an amendment by Senator Nye providing for doubling income taxes in case of war. The committee will investigate and report on the Nye proposal.

"Profit plays more of a part in preparing for war, in occasioning war, than any other thing to which we might devote our attention," Nye told the Senate.

Senator Vandenberg said that the world's efforts toward peace are constantly jeopardized by the "intriguing influence of an international munitions lobby which thirsts for the blood of war as the wellspring of its prosperity."

"I do not know," he continued, "whether this malignant influence is in any degree persuasive within the United States or not. Under the Nye-Vandenberg resolution we can find out; and we can find out many useful things."

"I favor an everlasting end to anything that smacks of a munitions lobby, here or elsewhere, or that reflects the commercial war motive at work. Then, and only

then, can rational neighborliness have a fair chance to compose itself in peace."

"Many believe—and some undertake to prove—that the profits factor not only engenders deliberate international frictions which seek sordid toll out of resultant trouble but also that wars often are prolonged by this same horrible stimulant."

"I favor an end not only to the stimulant but also to any suspicion of an opportunity that it may ever again curse and victimize our people."

No opposition was registered against the resolution. Apparently the Senate was unanimous in favoring the investigation. If there was opposition, no Senator cared to risk the suspicion he was a friend of the munitions interests by voting against the resolution.



makers and of private profit in promoting war. If the inquiry is as searching as its promoters intend it to be, interests that fatten on the blood and tears of mankind will have the secrecy which surrounds their business and their activities stripped away.

Exposing profits for the munition makers as a prime cause of conflict between nations may cause a revulsion of feeling against

friend of peace and he will in all probability hold the investigation to a course that will unearth significant and startling facts. Nye and other Senate sponsors for the investigation are confident it will show beyond a doubt that manufacturers of arms and munitions are actively engaged in propaganda to promote war and a stronger "national defense" for private profit.

The other committee members

We greet The New Leader on its Tenth Anniversary. Our hope is that the workers will resolve this May Day to strengthen the bonds of solidarity and increase the effectiveness of our press.

Cloak and Suit Operators' Union
LOCAL No. 1—I. L. G. W. U.

LOUIS LEVY, Manager-Secretary
R. ZUCKERMAN, Chairman

WE GREET THE WORKERS WHO HAVE BEEN
LOYAL TO THE IDEALS OF UNIONISM.

Doll and Toy Workers' Union
LOCAL 18230—Amer. Fed. of Labor

SAM FARULLA, President

On This May Day Let Us Rededicate Ourselves to the Cause of Unionism and the International Solidarity of All Workers.

Cloak, Dress Drivers' & Helpers' Union
LOCAL 102—I. L. G. W. U.

Saul Metz, Manager
Sam Berger, Asst. Manager
David Karpf, Asst. Mgr. Dress Dept.

Murry Savitt, Pres.
Mac Shatunoff, Vice-Pres.
Nat Wallace, Sec'y

We are confident that the power to enlighten the workers will increase until the industrial and political emancipation of all the toilers is accomplished.

United Neckwear Makers Union
LOCAL 11016—A. F. of L.

PEOPLE'S HOUSE—7 EAST 15th STREET

EXECUTIVE BOARD

HARRY HEISLER, President	LOUIS FUCHS, Manager
IRVING BERGER, Vice-President	
MOLLY GREENWALD, Recording Secretary	
RUTH BERMAN	MAX FRUCHTER
MORRIS BLEETTERFEIN	MAX HOENIG
MORRIS FEIG	ADOLPH HEISLER
IRVING FEIG	ISAAC LEVY
LOUIS FRIEDMAN	JACK ROSENBERG
HARRY FUCHS	RUBIN RUBINSTEIN
JULIUS FRUCHTER	HARRY STERN
	LOUIS FELDHEIM, Business Agent

With faith in your untiring task and unending struggle in the interest of the downtrodden and oppressed, we are always with you . . .

Ladies Neckwear Workers' Union
LOCAL 142—I. L. G. W. U.

JOSEPH TUVIM, Manager.

MAY DAY GREETINGS

To the Army of Organized Workers Whose Program Is
A Better, Saner and Fuller Life for All Who Toil.

SKIRT MAKERS' UNION
LOCAL 23—I. L. G. W. U.

LOUIS REISS, Manager

The history of the Labor Movement is the history of struggles of the masses to gain a larger share of the wealth they created. The gains made are the results of organization. Setbacks in the march of the workers should make us realize as never before that we can only hold our own and achieve our goal by struggling unceasingly to increase the effectiveness of our organizations—economic and political.

CLOAK PRESSERS' UNION
LOCAL 35—I. L. G. W. U.

J. BRESLAW, Manager

The Rand School

(Continued from Page Two)

represented by locals in the vicinity. The various locals of the ILGWU and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers are well up on the list, and, too, the Millinery Workers, the Bricklayers, the Cement Workers, the Truckmen, the Painters, the Electricians, the Neckwear Workers are all there—as well as many other unions.

The Correspondence Classes have expanded during the year. Two courses have been offered, one in Socialism and one in Economics, and the classes in these two subjects include well over 400 students. They are literally scattered over the continent, for five excellent classes are in various Canadian provinces. Two are far out on the western prairies where the wheat farmers have to travel long distances to attend their sessions. Three most promising groups have recently been organized in New Mexico. Some are led by college professors and many more by working men and farmers, but they all do good work. Almost every day we get news of new members who have been won for the Socialist Party by work in these classes or of new speakers who have been developed.

As a part of this work for students outside of New York we have announced for next summer, June 17 to 23, an institute for intensive work in Socialism and propaganda and organization methods. There will be three classes every day—with plenty of time left for social gatherings with New York comrades, for seeing the sights of the city, and for study in museums and libraries. The fee for this week of study will be \$5.00. A limited

number of free scholarships are offered to selected comrades from the various states. Scholarship students will be taken care of free-of-charge from the time that they reach New York until they leave. It is thought that the intimate association of a group like this, representing far-separated states, will develop a spirit of good will and enthusiasm which will be at least as important as any gains in actual knowledge.

It becomes more and more evident that a Socialist school cannot confine itself to the terms and semesters of the conventional academic year. The Rand School is offering a service to the working class, and more than ever the working class is rising up and asking for service. Recently special classes have been started for special labor union groups, and another will begin in May. For some months past a group from Local 306 of the Motion Picture Operators Union and another from the Grocery Clerks have been attending classes of their own, classes especially arranged for them and consisting exclusively of their members, in the Rand School. The Labor Committee of the Socialist Party of New York has also organized a large class for members of various unions with which it is working. The new class, the one to begin in May, is being organized by members of the Ladies Neckwear Workers and will meet in their union headquarters.

As a result of demands made by comrades in neighboring towns extension courses have been given this year in Newark, N. J., and Port Chester, N. Y., and short lecture courses in Passaic, Mount Vernon and New Rochelle. It is expected that next year there will be regular study classes in at least four centers in Northern New Jersey and as many in Westchester and Suffolk Counties, N. Y.

The Rand School, then, at the end of its twenty-eighth year, congratulates The New Leader on the completion of its first decade. For comradely cooperation the staff of the school give thanks. May The New Leader become a daily, and may the Rand School become better fitted as time goes on to serve the needs of our expanding movement.

My Greetings to you Comrades and my best wishes to see The New Leader a daily paper of and for the Working Class of America.

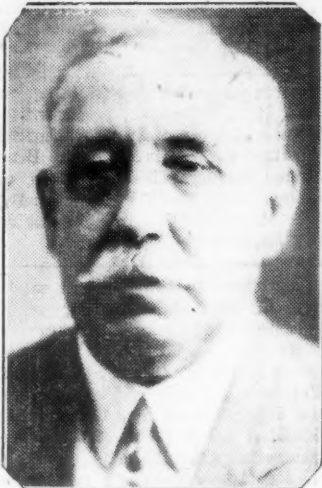
J. KITZIGCLOW

Hillquit's Work for Puerto Rico

By Santiago Iglesias

Resident Commissioner in Congress

WHEN I came to the United States from Puerto Rico for the first time, some thirty-six years ago, I had the pleasure of meeting Comrade Morris Hillquit, whose assistance together with that of other representatives of the Socialist movement, helped



Santiago Iglesias

to transform the Puerto Rican workingman's status from one of menial servitude to that of a freer and more dignified citizenship.

To a great degree he also was responsible in having the military form of government which prevailed in Puerto Rico in 1899 changed to a civil form of government. It was at a public meeting, held in Cooper Union Hall at that time that Comrade Hillquit, who was the principal speaker, convinced that great audience of the necessity for a change in government in the Island, whereupon a resolution, drafted by him, was passed, directed to President McKinley, asking him and Congress to substitute civil government for the existing military one, establishing a more democratic and pro-

Icelandic Socialists

By Finnur Jonsson

Socialist member of the Althing, the Icelandic Parliament

COMRADE JONSSON, in response to an inquiry as to what the Icelandic comrades fight for in their ancient parliament, wrote

gressive political representation of the people, that would protect the human rights of the workers and promote the welfare of the people of Puerto Rico at large.

When the American Federation of Labor with President Samuel Gompers came to the oppressed workers of the Island, Comrade Hillquit was ever willing to be of assistance to the people and he was also instrumental in lending his altruistic cooperation in the accomplishment of many laudable achievements politically, economically and otherwise in behalf of the working classes in Puerto Rico, as well as in the mainland and other countries.

Labor and Socialist movement of the Island hold nothing but gratitude in their hearts to the memory of Comrade Hillquit who did so much for them.

the following:

You asked me what we have been fighting for in the Icelandic parliament.

For years we have battled for the rights of the young and the poor. Up to December, 1933, the minimum age for voters to the Parliament was 25 for the Lower House and 35 for the Upper House. In addition, anyone seeking Poor Law aid lost the right to vote.

Thanks to years of struggle by our party the minimum age for voting for both houses is now 21 for both sexes, and the distinction between rich and poor has been removed.

The first elections under the new laws will be held June 24, when we expect to increase our vote to about 10,000 and elect eight or nine deputies, instead of the five we have now.

As to further work that we carry on, there is just this to say:

So long as there are poverty and capitalism in this world there always will be plenty of work for Socialists.

I know you share my wish that all young and intelligent people will join us in this great work.

MAY DAY 1934

The Amalgamated Bank of New York

Sends Its
GREETINGS
to the Workers of America
on their
LABOR HOLIDAY

THE AMALGAMATED BANK
11-15 UNION SQUARE CORNER 15th STREET
NEW YORK

The black clouds of reaction cannot cast shadows on a labor movement that forges powerful organizations, industrial and political. Down with fascism in all its forms! Forward with labor's army of freedom!

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 24

CLOTH, HAT, CAPS AND MILLINERY WORKERS
INTERNATIONAL UNION

Alex Rose, Sec.-Treasurer

INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK MAKERS' UNIONS

CHAS. GOLDMAN, Sec'y-Treasurer
B. STEIN, Manager

Beginnings of Socialism in the United States

Jacob Winnen, one of the pioneers of Socialism in America, is one of the few survivors in this country of the period of Marx, Engels, Lassalle and Liebknecht. His story, told here for the first time in an American Socialist publication, is a fascinating account of a vanished period of our movement.

By Jacob Winnen

TO write the history of the Socialist movement of this country it is necessary to start with its early beginnings. I came to Chicago in 1872 from Germany, where I had joined the Social Democratic Party, the so-called Bebel-Liebknecht Party, in the fall of 1869. I found a German section of the Karl Marx International in Chicago, locally known as the Sozialpolitischer Arbeiter-Verein.

The majority of its members came from the famous revolutionary district, the Ruhr and Wupper Valleys, in which is located the ancient and world-renown cutlery industry of Solingen and Remscheid and the silk and wool industry of Elberfeld and Barmen.

The members of our section were known as the Scherenschleifer, scissors grinders. It is characteristic that Ferdinand Lassalle had a great liking for us carefree fellows in our blue silk blouses and caps over our left ear. Karl Marx found his best disciples right in the Wupper and Ruhr regions, even during the revolution of 1848.

The leader of our section was Karl Klings, intimate friend of Marx and Engels, the latter a native of Elberfeld. Klings was Lassalle's confidential representative for that district. He was well versed in Marx's theories and a good speaker. In 1868 he published the weekly Arbeiterzeitung and an edition of the "Communist Manifesto." The last issue of the paper was printed in red.

The manifesto was the first pamphlet I read. In the library I found the first volume of "Capital" which I studied and used as a reference book in my writings.

After the great fire October 9, 1871, Chicago was filled with workers who came in the hope of finding work with good pay. They found themselves stranded when in the fall of 1873 the financial and industrial crash came.

"Now it is time to go over the top!" we said. We issued pamphlets and called meetings all over the city, kept two headquarters open all day and registered the unemployed. Shortly before Christ-



Jacob Winnen

mas we had a demonstration to try to make the city administration do something. Mayor Colvin and the council told the delegation, "The city is bankrupt, we haven't a cent." The Relief and Aid Society was asked by the mayor to help out with the funds it had on hand to help the victims of the great fire. They refused till they were forced by another demonstration and then only for a few days.

In the spring we organized the "Workingmen's Party of Illinois" and placed a party ticket in the field. We knew that it was only the beginning of a great political movement and expected only a moderate vote because our following consisted mainly of non-voters. We therefore started a weekly four-page paper in the German language, the Vorbote (Herald). I was made editor and manager. In my writing I endeavored to keep in line with Marx's theories and educate the readers to understand the causes of the prevailing crisis and the workers' misery. In 1876 the paper was taken over by Conrad Conzett, the printer, who later sold it to the Chicago Arbeiterzeitung. This paper died because of hard times, the rise in the price of paper, and lack of income only a few years ago.

In 1878 the party started the Daily Illinois Volkszeitung. During its short existence, about three

THE RED BANNER RESCUED!

In 1924 the Labor and Socialist International gave a presentation banner to the Austrian labor movement. This banner, past which the Austrian workers used to march in all their more important parades, was kept on the premises of the Socialdemocratic Party.

When, in the course of the February fighting, the Dollfuss Government "confiscated" the Socialdemocratic party premises on the Rechte Wienzeile the International's presentation banner also fell into the hands of the reactionaries. It has, however, now been successfully rescued.

By means which it will only be possible to make public later on the International's presentation banner has—according to accurate information received from Brno—been brought into a place of safety. It is shortly to be handed over in Brno to a detachment of the Republican Schutzbund.

or four months, I was editor, working in my stair-building shop, writing evenings at home, serving without pay. When the Workingmen's Party of Illinois, the Social Democratic Party in the East and the International had formed the Socialist Labor Party, the new organization published the Workingman's Advocate and the Volks-Anwalt (German). For the latter I wrote most of the leading articles.

The first stage of the political Socialist movement in Chicago was German throughout till in the late '70's the Bohemian movement with Spravednost, a daily paper was founded. The Slovenians had a weekly. The Scandinavians followed with one.

The English movement made its appearance in 1878 when in the spring election we put up a full city ticket with Dr. Ernst Schmidt for mayor. We polled 12,000 votes. The first English speaking member was John McAuliff, a typical Yankee, a stationery engineer for the Board of Trade. When one day the president of that concern told him if he liked his job he should quit his Socialism, John answered: "I sell you my labor, but my soul is not for sale."

About the same time Tommy Morgan made his appearance. A machinist by trade, and with typical Irish wit and eloquence, he kept his audiences always attentive and he won many converts to our cause.

The New World and the Old

By Emile Vandervelde

President of the Socialist and Labor International

THE tenth anniversary of The New Leader affords me the opportunity to transmit once more the long-standing affection and best wishes that I have always had for the Socialist Party of the United States and its active workers.



During the past few years I have followed as closely as I could the Socialist movement and Socialist thought in the New World and in this I have found The New Leader more than invaluable.

Our Socialist literature in Europe is, to a certain extent, bound by traditions. It is therefore wholly refreshing to find, for example, in the publications of the League for Industrial Democracy something new, fresh, liberated from the ancient formulae, which gives those who follow the work of such men as Harry W. Laidler and Norman Thomas an understanding of their great country.

It is with the warmest friendship, therefore, that as President of the Labor and Socialist International, I send The New Leader my fraternal greetings.

Argentine Workers Give Big Majority to Socialists

By Ben Lichtenberg

BUENOS AYRES has gone Socialist. This is the lesson drawn from the elections held on March 4 in the Federal Capital to fill half of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies from that city and the Municipal Council.

The Socialists elected all 12 of their candidates for Deputy and 7 out of 15 candidates for the Municipal Council. Of all the voters 74.3 per cent went to the polls. The results constitute a smashing victory for the Socialists. It was the only party to put up candidates in all the provinces, in many of which there was no possibility of election; nevertheless they conducted a widespread and intensive campaign which included, besides speakers and leaflets, talking propaganda pictures and ambulatory loud speakers.

In the Capital the opposition was divided into 19 parties which attacked and vilified the Socialists, yet in the twenty districts into which the Capital is divided the party was completely triumphant.

Out of a total vote of 277,725 cast for deputies the Socialist Party received 131,976 votes (with a difference of but a thousand between the highest and lowest vote for the 12 candidates), while the next highest party, the "Concordancia," received but 40,199 votes. The vote for the Municipal Councilors was 129,422 for the Socialists, out of a total vote of 267,195, the "Concordancia" party, the next highest, receiving only 36,088 votes. In the Provincial Legislature of Salta a Socialist Deputy will sit for the first time.

The significance of the above figures can best be realized by comparing them with those of 1931, when the Socialists joined forces with the Progressive Democrats in an effort to secure the election of the Democrat De La Torre to the Presidency and of the Socialist Dr. Depetto to the Vice-Presidency. At that time were also held the elections for deputies, in which the Socialists had the support of the

Progressive Democrats. The number of votes cast in that election, when the campaign was an exceptional one and was a fight against dictatorship, was greater than that of last month. In the 1930 elections in the Federal Capital the Socialists polled 83,068 out of a total of 192,388; in 1931 in (alliance with the Progressive Democrats) they polled 171,350 out of a total of 275,455; in the municipal elections of 1932 the Socialists polled 95,111 out of a total of 224,518, while last month the figures were 131,976 out of a total vote of 277,725!

The "Concordancia" party is a combination of "Independent" Socialists and conservatives. This joining of forces with the conservatives has given rise to a schism among the Independent Socialists. The representation of the "Concordancia" party will be divided both in the National Congress and in the Municipal Council.

In all the congressional districts of the Federal Capital the Socialist Party obtained a decisive mandate from the masses. The results demonstrate that the people have translated into favor of Socialism the restlessness and dissatisfaction they are experiencing provoked by a disoriented government with a reactionary, anti-democratic and anti-libertarian policy. By supporting the Socialist Party, which is the only responsible and democratic political force in the country, the voters have thunderously repudiated the fascist pretensions prevailing there in the shadow of official tolerance.

A Decade of Leadership

By Daniel W. Hoan
Mayor of Milwaukee

THE tenth anniversary of The New Leader marks on its part the close of a decade of courageous, inspiring and purposeful leadership in an



era of artificial prosperity climaxed by industrial collapse and economic chaos. The New Leader has been like a voice crying in the wilderness, warning of impending doom but for the most part unheeded by the bewildered and deluded multitudes.

Its prophecies, based on a clear understanding of the social and economic forces that rule men and nations, have come true with startling and unerring realism.

Justified by the experiences of the past and the encouraging gains of recent months, The New Leader can now resume with renewed vigor the task of carrying to the awakening masses of toilers the hopeful message of Socialism. It will not be satisfied with futile half-measures and glittering expedients but will aim to inaugurate a social order founded on production for use, shared abundance, equality of opportunity and universal brotherhood.

May a well-earned success crown its efforts!

Hitler Storm Troops Suffer Steady Casualties

The political tension prevailing in Germany and only insufficiently covered by talk of national unity, is thrown into bold relief by monthly casualty lists of the Hitler brown army. Some of these lists, which are only for the information of Nazi bureaucracy, have found their way into the hands of the Transatlantic Information Service correspondent.

They show not only large numbers of storm troopers and party members "incapacitated in fulfillment of their duty," but also an increasing number of dead. No details are given, but it is safe to assume that there is a steady occurrence of clashes between Nazis and their enemies.

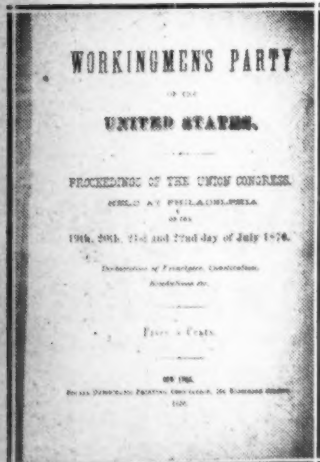
The National Socialist relief and insurance fund confidentially reports 47 dead storm troopers for January alone.

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

New Leader Association Will Meet Friday, May 18

Notice is hereby given that there will be a special meeting of The New Leader Publishing Association Friday, May 18, at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

From an Older Day



Proceedings of the national convention of the Workingmen's Party of the United States, held in Philadelphia July 19-22, 1876, a forerunner of the Socialist Labor Party.

As America Stands at Crossroads

By Jacob Panken

WE are at the crossroads. Man is facing many roads. He stands confused. He does not know what road to take. The road of *laissez-faire* leads to the precipice.

There are those who give directions to him to turn and move towards the corporate state, to fascism, as the way out. The nihilist's way is offered to the bewildered mass. Violent upheaval is advanced as a solution.

An abandonment of democracy and entrusting into the hands of the few the destinies of all is lauded as the "cure-all." And humanity stands confused, waiting for leadership.

In all the confusion, doubt and bewilderment the Socialists hew close to the line which has been marked and charted for them by the march of historic events. The development of society in its economic, political and social implications point clearly the path to follow.

The conclusions which we saw as the result of progressive development, sometimes called prophecies, vindicate our position.

We saw increase in unemployment, of power in the hands of those who control the means of our livelihood. We saw accumulated profits growing to such tremendous proportions that its investment in profitable enterprise was no longer possible.

We foresaw the breakdown of capitalist economy. We warned that anarchistic production and the robbing of those who produce the wealth, without the right to use it, would, as it should, destroy the system which fostered these

iniquities. We warned the masses of the impending doom and called upon them to join with us in the reorganization of society so that profit, rent and interest be abolished, industry socialized and democratically managed.

By our propaganda we compelled recognition of the rights of the workers and the farmer. By our agitation we forced concessions from the masters. Vigilance prevented the complete nullification of the liberties of our people. In self-sacrifice we defended free speech, free press and free assemblage.

The solidarity of the workers was to us Socialists a form of religion. We have bent every effort to make for that solidarity and maintain it where we have achieved it.

Humanity is in a state of bewilderment. Economic development has reached a point where less and ever less labor is required to create what the world needs. The machine has replaced the work of man, has aided man to produce in such abundance that he can hardly consume what is produced. The machine, which was to aid mankind, has become its curse.

Even the capitalist finds himself in the mesh which social development has created. He is in a vise unable to move backward and incapable of moving forward. The capitalist, as well as the proletarian, is slave of the Frankenstein monster which economic growth has fashioned.

The State is appealed to to save the capitalist order. Ever greater power is ceded to it. It is being welded into an instrument to use that power in the interests of the few against the many.

Only the other day the Chief Justice of the United States Su-



Jacob Panken

preme Court in the Minnesota case said:

"Where, in earlier days, it was thought that only the concerns of individuals or classes were involved, and those of the State itself were touched only remotely, it has later been found that the fundamental interests of the State are directly affected, and that the question is no longer merely that of one party to a contract as against another but the use of reasonable means to safeguard the economic structure upon which the good of all depends."

The concept of the State is that it is something that differs from and is not part of the people. There is danger in the idea that the State is something foreign to and not part of the people.

Greater power is vested in the State on the excuse that emergencies arise. In the same case, Justice Hughes says: "While emergency does not create power, emergency may furnish the occasion for the exercise of power."

In the next decade, emergency after emergency will arise, produced by economic causes, and efforts will be made to give the capitalist state ever greater power to meet them. No thought will be given to the progress of development and evolution pointing towards a socialized economic society—not by those who are seeking greater power for the capitalist state.

We are definitely at the point

where the State will guarantee profits to the capitalist; a state capitalism created which will permit the continuance of the private ownership of the machine and the State used to exact from the workers, farmers and consumers a profit for the individual capitalists. The corporate state may follow.

Some have no thought beyond the immediate future. To such the corporate state, the fascist state, dictatorship or democracy are equally acceptable. They must be awakened, stirred—their imagination fired.

Despair and despondency bring in their wake pessimism—cynicism. It is the basis of the philosophy of nihilism—destruction. Some there are now who would destroy everything and either perish in the destruction or justify their philosophy in an ill-founded hope that on the ruins of the past a world of beauty can be built.

Most people realize that a change is imperative. It must come or man will be thrown back for a terrible loss.

There are some who stand at the crossroads and cry aloud, for a violent upheaval. The appeal to the spirit of violence rather than to reason is their plan of action. Take by force. Keep by force what you have taken. Build by force. Maintain what you have built by force. Do it, though the ground is not prepared for it. Do it, though it may engulf you and the objective that you seek.

Impatient of the slowness of the masses, they hope that by violent acts they will stir the masses into action. They do not realize that action, unless based upon intelligent planning sustained by intelligent thought and supported by an intelligent group, is futile.

Education of the workers now, as never before, is necessary. The weapons in hand must be used. The right to speak must be defended. The right to print must be maintained. The right to assemble and to discuss freely must be protected.

The government must be made to bend to the will of the people, rather than the people to bend to the will of the government. The State must be the instrument of man, rather than man to be the plaything of the State.

Democracy must be enthroned, not only in political life but in industry. One without the other is empty. Social Democracy—that is the goal. To attain social de-

mocracy the democratic weapons in our hands must be used fully and must be defended arduously.

These are days for clear thinking. These are days for guidance and leadership. These are days for the spread of knowledge, for the dissemination of truth.

The spoken word serves its purpose. It is the written word, however, that is most far-reaching.

Ten years The New Leader has served in the dissemination of the truth, in the spread of information and knowledge. It has performed a great service to the cause of man.

Now that clear thinking and definite guidance is necessary for man who is at the crossroads, The New Leader has an heroic task before it.

Underground Work Goes On in Germany Daily

DRESDEN.—Highly interesting facts on the systematic underground work carried on by the enemies of the Nazi regime are given in an official communiqué of the police direction of Dresden. Labeling all illegal activities, for obvious reasons, as communist and commenting on recent mass arrests of more than 300 "enemies of the state," the report says:

"... Investigations disclosed that the dissolved Communist organization collected dues from many members. Unemployed, supported by the National Government and the cities, paid 10 Pfennig weekly; those employed paid 35 Pfennig. It was also found that a paper, *Arbeiterstimme*, was published and extensively circulated in the districts of Dresden. The paper was sold for 10 Pfennig and contained lies from abroad about conditions in Germany, mainly based upon the Brown Book. Other papers... published in Czechoslovakia, were also sold. In the district of Chemnitz, preparations for the publication of a new paper, *Kämpfer*, were uncovered. The printing machinery as well as office equipment and manuscripts were seized by the local police... These activities, apparently, served the purpose of contacting the illegal labor defense unit *Arbeiterwehr*, the successor of the former Red Front fighting organization."

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

We extend our greetings to the workers of the world on this international labor holiday.

On with the march for a Socialist Commonwealth.

Painters Local No. 261

PETER BARON, Chairman
M. GAFT, Secretary-Treasurer

New York District Council No. 9

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America

THIS MAY DAY MARKS THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER GREAT ORGANIZING DRIVE LAUNCHED BY THE PAINTERS OF NEW YORK CITY FOR A GREATER MEMBERSHIP AND FOR UNIVERSAL ENFORCEMENT OF HIGHER STANDARDS OF WORKING CONDITIONS THROUGHOUT THE PAINTING AND DECORATING INDUSTRY.

To our New Leader — Our Greetings
To the Workers of the World — Our Pledge to
Continue the Struggle for Socialism

Socialist Party

Finnish Branch, Maynard, Mass.
Finnish Branch, Worcester, Mass.
6th A. D. Bronx, N. Y.
7th A. D. Branch, Bronx, N. Y.
Unit of Socialist Women,
Bensonhurst, N. Y.
Jewish Soc. Verband Branch,
Los Angeles, Calif.
Portland, Oregon
3rd Ward, Pittsburgh, Pa.

21st Ward, Milwaukee, Wis.
Racine County, Wisconsin
Palo Alto, Calif.
Jewish Soc. Verband, Branch 2,
Bronx, N. Y.
Jugoslav Federation, Branch 1
Finnish Branch, Portchester, N. Y.
Landsdale, Calif.
Williamsburgh, N. Y.
(Jewish Soc. Verband)

Five Clothing Workers Go to Prison

THE Sigmund Eisner Co., a clothing firm in Red Bank, N. J., has contracts with the United States Government. It has grown wealthy upon these contracts, but it pays its employees low wages and denies them the right to organize. When the NIRA was passed, the Eisner employees took the law seriously and went out on strike to organize and better their conditions. The workers were peaceful and united.

But strange things happened. The corporation created a company union; one of the Eisners became the State NRA Administrator; another associate of the Eisners became State NRA Secretary. And the company obtained from a court a drastic injunction forbidding the strikers to picket peacefully. Then the company followed the strikers with a camera. A number of pictures were taken in the hope that they would show scenes of disorder, but they all showed very peaceful and orderly groups of people.

When these pictures were shown in court, five men, out of the hundreds of strikers, were picked for punishment. Joseph Sala and Bruno Bellia, for years general organizers of the A.C.W.A., honest, loyal, incorruptible; Ignazio Pullaro, 54 years old, 16 years employed by the company; Salvatore LoPresti, 56 years old, 26 years employed by the company; Tony Scarpini, 42 years old, 20 years employed by the company—these were the five that were sentenced to jail.

Sala and Bellia were given 90 days, for being leaders. Leaders in what? Leaders in the fight to help the workers and to enforce the New Deal. The other three were given 30 days each. Their crime was that they had dared to organize and demand better wages.

Speaking at the trial, Pullaro said:

"I work for Mr. Eisner for five or six dollars a week, no one can live—that is the trouble."

And that was the trouble. The workers were unable to live. When the NRA came, they believed in it, and asked for more than five or six dollars. But the NRA failed them. Eisner became State

Administrator. And the courts failed them. They gave the injunction so that the firm could break the strike. The injunction judge said, in effect: "If you ask for more than five or six dollars a week, there is trouble for you and you go to jail."

The three Eisner employees have completed their terms. Sala and Bellia are still in jail. The Eisners are respected, law-abiding citizens. They grow wealthy on government contracts, on the labor of their sweated employees. But the Pullaros, who ask for better pay because they cannot live on five or six dollars a week, are sent to jail.

During the court proceedings, Vice-Chancellor Berry, who granted the injunction, stated frankly: "Courts are not servants of the people." And being no servants of the people, they have no regard for the people's rights. The Vice-Chancellor therefore did not hesitate to throw five innocent men into jail. Frankly, openly, he was caring not for the people, but for those whose interests were opposed to the people. He served not the people, but the people's enemies.

So this is why five clothing workers were sent to prison. They were sentenced because they cherished the rights held dear by all of us, the right to organize,

to win decent living conditions. They were sentenced because they were tenacious and courageous in fighting for those rights. And we accept the imprisonment of our fellow workers as a challenge. We shall fight the perpetrators of this outrage. We shall fight to free our courts from these enemies of the people. We shall fight to attain the power that will command justice. We shall carry high the banner of labor in the teeth of all enemies.

J. S.

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

Austrian Labor Martyrs Honored by Socialists

Despite strictest orders of the Austrian Government to keep the graves of the executed labor martyrs Weissl and Munichreiter a secret, their last resting places have been discovered by comrades of the defeated Socialist defense corps.

The graves are constantly covered with flowers and other tokens of respect. A few days ago, wooden tablets glorifying the deeds of the two heroes and attacking the murderous Dollfuss dictatorship were found fastened to the crosses.

BOOK REVIEW

Maynard C. Krueger: *Inflation—Who Wins and Who Loses?* (Issues of the Day Series, No. 4). Chicago: Socialist Party of America.

Under inflation, says this pamphlet, "prices go up the elevator while wages climb the stairs." And while the farmer is given some help in the reduction of his debts, "inflation will raise both his buying and selling prices and will not eliminate the difference between the two. This means that the farmer would get only a temporary relief from his debts because they would inevitably pile up again."

The pamphlet is a broadside against money "tinkering" from the Socialist viewpoint. "Inflation has been tried in practically every country in Europe. It has never succeeded in solving a depression problem." And again, "There is no sound system of money and credit in an economic system which is unsound at its very base." He quotes the English economist G. D. H. Cole: "Our task is to socialize the machinery of production, and to bring the fixing of both prices and incomes firmly under Socialist control."

Aside from its argumentative passages, the pamphlet gives a very clear explanation, in question and answer form, of exactly how changes in money affect the price level.

An official statement of the Socialist party's executive committee is given as an appendix to the pamphlet.

INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF THEATRICAL STAGE EMPLOYEES AND MOVING PICTURE MACHINE OPERATORS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

MOVING PICTURE MACHINE OPERATORS UNION LOCAL 306

Only Projectionist Organization in Greater New York Having A. F. of L. Affiliations

Affiliations:

American Federation of Labor
N. Y. State Federation of Labor
Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity
Theatrical Federation of Greater New York
Central Union Label Council of Greater New York
United Hebrew Trades
Women's Trade Union League

Local 306 solicits the patronage of NEW LEADER readers for those theatres in Greater New York which employ its members, the only such group of workers affiliated with the A. F. of L. When you attend the theatre you are entitled to enjoy the very best projection work—with a maximum of safety. The average experience of Local 306 members is 20 years, during which period they have provided your family with fine work and absolute safety. These craftsmen merit your support.

Be certain that the theatres you and your family attend employ member of Local 306—for your own enjoyment and safety and as an aid to the growth of organized labor in Great New York.

HARRY SHERMAN
President, Local 306, M.P.M.O.U.

Silently, Safely — We Serve You!

"The Joint Board Cloak, Suit, Skirt and Reefer Makers' Union

EXTENDS ITS HEARTIEST GREETINGS TO ALL READERS OF "THE NEW LEADER" ON ITS TENTH ANNIVERSARY THE JOINT BOARD HAS BEEN PROUD OF "THE NEW LEADER'S" RECORD AND IT WISHES THAT THIS PUBLICATION LIVE AND GROW IN INFLUENCE."

REUBEN ZUCKERMAN, *President*
ISIDORE NAGLER, *Gen. Manager*
LOUIS E. LANGER, *Secretary*

May Day Greetings!

On this workers' holiday, we proclaim anew our solidarity with our fellow workers throughout the world, and rededicate ourselves to the achievement of that classless society which has been our goal and inspiration

from

Cap and Millinery Department,
United Hatters', Cap and
International Union
Millinery Workers'



245 Fifth Avenue, New York City

Our Union Label

Max Zaritsky, President

ON MAY DAY AND
ALL OTHER DAYS,

READERS OF
THE NEW LEADER
BUY THEIR FLOWERS
FROM

FRED SPITZ
The Florist

74 SECOND AVENUE

DRy Dock 4-0355
DRy Dock 4-8880

BELL BINDERY, Inc.

41-43 VESEY STREET

CORtland 7-6863

Bookbinding of every de-
scription, including booklets,
pamphlets, by-laws and con-
stitutions for unions and
fraternal organizations. Day
and night service.

We will be pleased to quote prices.

THE RED FLAG OVER WALLISCH'S GRAVE

The spirit of the workers of
Loeben and Bruch, the centres of
the fighting in Upper Styria, is by
no means broken. An eye-witness
who visited both places on Easter
Saturday has supplied the follow-
ing report:

During the morning the workers
tried to organize a procession to
Koloman Wallisch's grave, but the
police intervened and stopped them.
As usual, the workers and peasants
brought small bunches of flowers
with which they decorated the
grave; but during the afternoon
all the flowers were removed by the
police, who trampled on the grave
until it was level with the sur-
rounding soil and without any-
thing to distinguish it—for al-
though all graves in the Loeben
cemetery have a cross or a grave-
stone, there is no cross for Kolo-
man Wallisch.

I was told all this on my way to
the cemetery, I was carrying a
large wreath, intending to lay it
on the grave. Men and women
stopped me and advised me not to
take it into the cemetery, which
was occupied by troops and police.
Nevertheless, I went on, and when
I had got near I witnessed a re-
markable sight.

As the clocks struck three, a
red flag was hoisted at the edge
of a copes of fir trees which
dominates the cemetery. The
hundreds of men and women in
the streets pointed proudly at
the flag and watched it waving
in the wind that blew down from
the snow-covered mountains.

I entered the cemetery and saw
that a Socialist from Yugoslavia,
Mrs. Wallisch's sister, and an En-
glish Socialist, who had arrived
ahead of me, had been stopped by
the police and were being gruffly
asked who they were and what
they wanted. Mrs. Wallisch's sis-
ter tearfully asked the police officer
for permission to lay a few flowers
on the grave. He replied that he
would have to telephone to get
such permission. Leave was finally
granted, and it was thus possible
to lay a single wreath on Wal-
lisch's grave.

All flowers had already been re-
moved again and again by the
Heimwehr and the police, only to
be replaced by fresh ones. The
spirit in Loeben is good. During

the past weeks the workers, both
employed and unemployed, have
collected 180 shillings, notwith-
standing their poverty, to provide
food for the 300 imprisoned So-
cial Democrats.

Labor's holiday is a tribute to labor's heroic struggle for justice.
Holidays are a symbol of civilization, and this day which labor has
wrested from the employing class is a sign that the trade unions
are beginning to civilize industry. On this anniversary of
labor's victories, our union greets the trade union movement.

EXECUTIVE BOARD

White Good Workers' Union
Local 62

SAMUEL SHORE, Executive Supervisor

MAY DAY GREETINGS
TO THE NEW LEADER
AND TO ALL WHO ARE WORKING
FOR THE EMANCIPATION
OF THE WORKING
CLASS

GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION
AMALGAMATED LADIES

LOCAL 10—I. L. G. W. U.

JOE C. ABRAMOVITZ, President
S. PERLMUTTER, Manager

We greet the workers who
have been loyal to the ideals
of unionism. Their devotion
lessens exploitation and
blazes the way to industrial
freedom.

**SHIRT MAKERS'
UNION**

of New York

Affiliated with the
**AMALGAMATED CLOTHING
WORKERS**

WE EXTEND OUR GREETINGS
TO THE WORKERS ON
THIS INTERNATIONAL
LABOR HOLIDAY

**Ladies' Tailors, Custom
Dressmakers, Theatrical
Costume and Alteration
Workers' Union**

LOCAL 38

I. L. G. W. U.

J. L. BANACH, Manager
LUICI REA, Bus. Agent

"A Half Century of Continued Uninterrupted Unionism"

Theatrical Protective Union
LOCAL NO. 1

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
PATRONIZE UNION THEATRES

Let the Workers of America Rededicate Themselves to
Labor's Inspiring Ideal, International Brotherhood
and Peace in a World Where the Toilers Will
Receive the Full Fruit of Their Labor.

**Bonnaz, Singer Embroiderers,
Tuckers, Stitchers & Pleaters
Union**

LOCAL 66—I. L. G. W. U.

7 EAST 15th STREET NEW YORK CITY

Leon Haltab, Mgr. Z. L. Freedman, Pres. I. Barkhinsky, Sec'y-Treas.

It is the army of the organized workers that make possible
the improvement of all who toil. Let us resolutely
strive to spread the power of labor unionism.

**United Automobile, Aircraft and
Vehicle Workers**

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

351 West 59th Street

New York City

**FOR Banquets, Gatherings, Dances,
Celebrations, COME TO**

Webster Hall

119 East 11th Street, New York City

Telephone: Tompkins Square 6-7070

The Home of All Radical Festivities

The Joint Board & Locals of the Dress and Waistmakers Union, I. L. G. W. U.

Extends its May Day Greetings with the hope that the American working class will organize itself politically as well as industrially and will join with the advancing masses of organized workers of the world

●

Joint Board Dressmakers' Union

Julius Hochman, General Manager
Isidore Wasilevsky, President
Philipp Kapp, Secretary

Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 22

Charles S. Zimmerman, Mgr.
Louis Nelson, President

Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutter's Union Local, No. 10

Nathan Saperstein, President
Samuel Perlmutter, Mgr.

Dress Presser's Union, Local No. 60

Isidore Wasilevsky, President
Max Cohen, Mgr.

Italian Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 89

John Gelo, President
Luigi Antonini, Gen. Secy.-Mgr.

Crosswaith Wins Acclaim in Frisco

FRANK CROSSWAITH, noted Socialist orator, startled the exclusive Commonwealth Club of San Francisco by a straightforward defense of Mooney and Billings and by a courageous championing of Negro rights in America. His speech was so impressive as to cause John D. Barry, famous columnist of the San Francisco News, to devote an entire column to our Frank's speech.

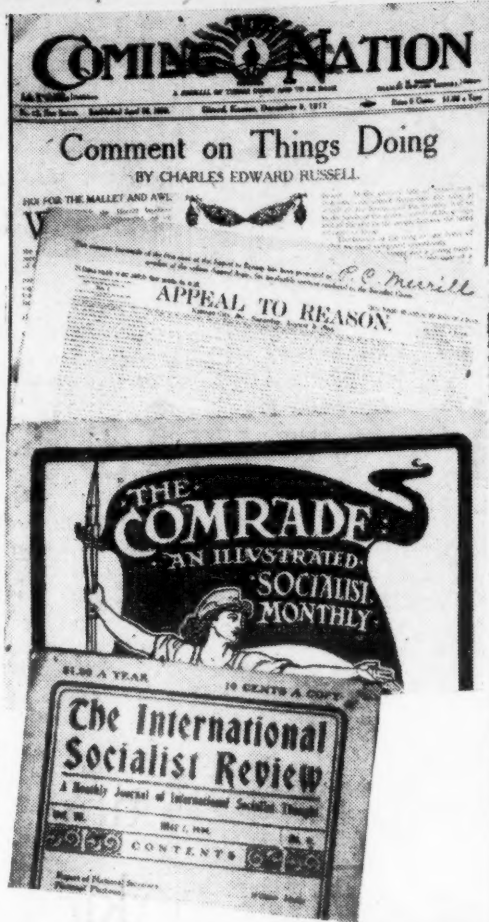
In commenting upon the speech of Comrade Crosswaith, Barry wrote: "I was interested to observe what a fine, deep voice he had. His sturdy temperament counted here. Something else, too. His training as a Socialist. Whatever else might be said of him and his fellow Socialists, they could not be accused of timidity or truckling. They had a philosophy that inspired them with what seemed like religious fervor."

"This comparatively new Negro leader wasn't like Booker T. Washington. He had no interest in the practical value of compromise. In his outspoken aggressiveness he resembled W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. He felt that his people had terrible grievances and those grievances he voiced in plain language. Incidentally he even dared to mention the names of Mooney and Billings, a circumstance rather startling within the precincts of the Commonwealth Club. It was natural that as a Negro he should be solicitous about any public situation that damaged respect for the law. The feeling that kept Mooney and Billings in prison he saw at work in the San Jose lynching where law had been flouted that the passion of the mob might glut itself."

"After referring to several of

FOUR SOCIALIST PAPERS

Here are four important Socialist papers of an earlier day. Top to bottom: The Coming Nation, featuring a weekly article interpreting the world's news by Charles Edward Russell and containing articles and stories by the leading Socialist writers of the day; a facsimile of the first number of the historic Appeal to Reason, which built up a weekly circulation of over half a million; the Comrade, best known Socialist monthly illustrated magazine of thirty years ago; and the International Socialist Review, theoretical Socialist monthly, carrying the details of the convention of 1904 that nominated Eugene V. Debs and Ben Hanford.



the alphabetical groups under the New Deal, like the AAA, the CWA and the PWA, he declared the Negroes might just as well have been under the KKK. He meant, of course, that they had been treated in the spirit of the Ku Klux Klan."

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

The ideal place for meetings, dances, banquets and gatherings of all kinds is

THE LABOR LYCEUM

949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn
Stagg 2-3842

Large and small halls at reasonable rates.

THE PEOPLE'S HOUSE

Sends its greetings on Labor's holiday, May Day, to Labor's own organ, THE NEW LEADER. The People's House invites labor, fraternal and other sympathetic organizations to use its beautiful Debs Auditorium at a very reasonable rental. For information call ALgonquin 4-3094.

Rand School Cafeteria and Restaurant

under the management of Comrade Schecter.

Good Food and Attractive Surroundings.

Comrades and their friends will always find the Rand School Cafeteria serving the best food at reasonable prices.

PROMPT ACCURATE REASONABLE

Mimeographing, Multigraphing, Addressing and Mailing Union Letters, Agreements, etc.

ACADEMY MULTIGRAPHING CO.

7 East 45th Street, New York
ALgonquin 4-2123

In Hitler's Garden

Nazi propaganda in this country, writes W. N. Ewer in the London Herald, is being very skillfully done.

They do not send over bigwigs to talk to meetings—public or semi-private.

But there is a steady flow of German visitors—young men and women of "good families" and "so-

cial standing," who move charmingly about in "good society" and explain how all the reports are exaggerated and how everything is really lovely in the Hitlerite garden.

Over and over again these days you may hear: "Oh, but I met a delightful young German at So-and-so's the other day and he told me that, as a matter of fact."

LIBERAL PRESS, Inc.

80 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

Phone: SPring 7-1610

UNION SHOP

MAGAZINES - CATALOGS - NEWSPAPERS - JOB

POLISH NATIONAL HOME of the CITY OF NEW YORK, Inc.

ARLINGTON HALL

19-23 St. Mark's Place, between Second and Third Aves. - - - ORchard 4-2585

BOOK YOUR NEXT AFFAIR AT ARLINGTON HALL

Large and small halls for balls, weddings, banquets, concerts, society anniversaries and entertainments. An ideal meeting place for unions and fraternal meetings. Moderate rentals.

Annual Flower Day

of the GEWERKSCHAFTEN CAMPAIGN for the Organized Jewish Workers in Palestine

will be held in Greater New York and throughout the country beginning on May 1 and ending on May 6.

Organized workers and Socialists respond to the call of our volunteers. Strengthen the hands of the Jewish Workers in Palestine in their effort to build a cooperative labor commonwealth for the benefit of the toiling masses.

NATIONAL LABOR COMMITTEE FOR THE ORGANIZED JEWISH WORKERS IN PALESTINE

Max Zaritzky, National Treasurer Joseph Schlossberg, Chairman Administrative Committee
Abraham Miller, Associate Treas. David Dubinsky }
Isaac Hamlin, National Secretary Morris Finestone } Co-chairmen

LUNCHEON 50 Cents - - DINNER 60 Cents

The freshest foods prepared by experts

BIRNKRAANTZ'S RESTAURANT

29 E. 14th Street, a few doors from University Place

You will always meet friends at Birnkrantz's Restaurant

Irving Plaza Hall

Fraternal Organizations Which Have Made Our Halls Extend May Day Greetings to the Many Labor and THE CENTER OF THEIR ACTIVITIES.

AS in the past, Irving Plaza Halls invited all organizations regardless of their internal affairs and policies, to hold their regular and mass meetings, their banquets and other affairs in our inviting halls.

Irving Plaza Hall

Irving Place, cor. 15th St.

STuyvesant 9-0580

A NEW DEAL FOR WORKERS

Newly Renovated — Completely Modernized
For Balls Meetings Forums Concerts
Banquets Conventions Dances etc.

Stuyvesant Casino Hennington Hall

140 SECOND AVENUE
Near 9th Street
STuyvesant 9-9742

214-216 E. 2nd STREET
Near Avenue B
DRydock 4-8399

ELEVATOR SERVICE



FLOWERS FOR LABOUR'S MAY DAY
"ALL A BLOWIN' AND A GROWIN'"

Ten Fighting Years

(Continued from Page Three)

It was a hot day, and the rain came down in torrents. There was to be a great mass meeting at the old Grand Central Palace, and at the New York entrance to the Brooklyn Bridge the newsboys were shouting, "New York Call! Get the new paper! New York Call!"

Grand Central Palace was jammed to suffocation. Morris Hillquit was chairman. He held up the paper and shouted, "Here it is!" and we all went wild with enthusiasm. He continued, "The Call is not an experiment. IT IS A FACT. It is here to stay. The workers need such a paper, and it was born of that need. IT WILL

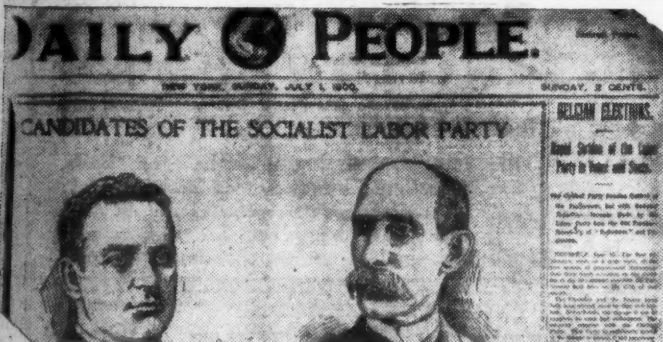
Maley and Meta Lillenthal; Anita Block and Ryan Walker; Herman Simpson and that splendid Socialist journalist—quiet, efficient, brilliant and devoted—Frank MacDonald; the protean genius Louis Gardy; quiet Charlie Laue; the salty and colorful Joshua Wanhope; Charles Edward Russell, Robert Hunter, Ernest Poole, Art Young, Leroy Scott, Theresa S. Malkiel, David Karsner and David Cummings. (Are any names omitted? Then pardon me; merely to list the men and women who served the Call nobly and well would fill columns.)

In later years such editors as Chester M. Wright, great labor journalist, and the fiery and de-

publish the weekly, and early in 1924 The New Leader appeared. You who read and support The New Leader know the story of this paper, for it is your story; you have told it with your own lives. Through thick and thin; through good and evil times, through "prosperity" and collapse; in times of Socialist triumph and of fascist diaster. The New Leader had carried on, flinging down the thunder of the types and releasing the sky-born lightnings of the pen.

Today we celebrate May Day and the beginning of the eleventh year of The New Leader. Today we begin with our drive for a new daily. Today we review the gallant and historic past, and again we face the future.

We cannot fail!
For in our failure, Freedom fails!



This is the first issue of the Daily People, edited by Daniel DeLeon, the first Socialist daily in

New York of the modern period. The Daily People continued to be published for fourteen years.

LIVE!"

Captain W. E. P. French of the United States Army, a devoted Socialist of that time, read a poem written for the occasion by Edwin Markham:

*Hail, Titan, with the hair upon
your chest,
Be terrible in battle to throw
down
The stronghold of the traitors
and their crew.
Flash down the sky-born light-
nings of the Pen,
Let loose the cramped-up thun-
ders of the Types.
Hurl on the Jupiter of Greed
enthroned
Defiance, and less challenge,
-fire or scorn.
Stand out upon the walls of
darkness—stand
A young god with a bugle at
his lips
To rouse the watchmen sleep-
ing at their towers.
Fling out the banners of the
People's Right—
A flag in love with all the
winds of heaven;
Plunge your dread sword into
the Spoiler's den;
Hurl down into the faces of
the thieves
The blaze of its intolerable
light...
Fail not, for in your failure
Freedom fails!*

And then came 'Gene Debs! He had just been nominated for President, and it was his "keynote" speech. He said in that wonderful voice of his; "I have just looked over its columns and I find that it is filled with matter that thrills and throbs, that appeals to the heart and the soul and the very conscience of the working class." And so the New York Call was on its way!

There is no room here for the story of the fifteen years of the Call, except to say that IT DID NOT FAIL! It carried high the banner of Socialism as long as it was possible; it battled greed and exploitation, it fought for the workers day in and day out, and when it went down, with the Red Flag still flying high, it had done work that will endure forever.

Some of the names associated with the Call are among the most shining in all Socialist history; gallant, noble Ben Hanford who poured out his last heart's blood fighting for the paper; Anna

voted Charles W. Ervin; for a while Walter W. Liggett edited the paper, and during many years Oneal and I were associated with it. Many of the leading journalists in America did their first (and best) work there. It was a great paper, a fighting paper, a paper that is remembered with respect and admiration and even awe in newspaper circles today.

There were many great battles; the great shirt-waist strike of 1909, and the garment strikes that followed; the war upon war and militarism, the war against shocking events in industrial life, such as the Triangle fire; the war against war with Mexico, the war against militarism calling itself "preparedness"; the war for peace and for civil liberties; and finally, the sad and heartbreaking war for the integrity of Socialism against disruption.

Never mind the details of the collapse. They are fresh and bleeding wounds even now, eleven years after. Norman Thomas was editor for a while, but the forces that brought the paper down were at work beyond the control of any Socialist. And so after election day in 1923 the paper died.

Then the comrades rallied to

May Day Greetings to The New Leader and to all who are working for the emancipation of the working class.

CAP MAKERS' UNION
Local 1

A. HERSHKOWITZ
B. EISENSTERN
Secretary

GREETINGS
from
**SOCIALIST PARTY
BRONX COUNTY**

MATTHEW M. LEVY
Chairman
GEORGE I. STEINHARDT
Treasurer
DAVID TULCHIN
Secretary

We are with you, comrades,
in your struggle for a
bigger and better
New Leader.
**CITYCENTRAL COMM.
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE**
CHICAGO, ILL.
MEYER WEINRIB
Secretary

GREETINGS
from
**RETAIL CLOTHING
SALESMEN'S UNION**
LOCAL 717
American Federation of Labor

LET US STRIVE UNCEASINGLY TO
MAKE THE NEW LEADER A
GREATER POWER FOR EVERY
BRANCH OF THE LABOR
MOVEMENT

**HEBREW BUTCHERS
WORKERS' UNION**
American Federation of Labor

NATHAN TEITELBAUM, Pres.
JOSEPH BELSKY, Sec'y
I. LEFF, Business Agent
B. LEVINE, Business Agent

We stand with all the workers
in their struggles. They can
help better working conditions
by insisting that the Union
Label must appear on all
Printed Matter.

**HEBREW-AMERICAN
TYPOGRAPHICAL
UNION No. 83**
I. T. U.
142 HENRY STREET, N. Y. C.
Hyman Bloom, President
Morris Rosenman, Sec'y-Treas.

MAY DAY GREETINGS
AND CONGRATULATIONS TO
THE NEW LEADER
ON ITS TENTH BIRTHDAY.

**BUTTON & NOVELTY
WORKERS' UNION**
LOCAL 132
I. L. G. W. U.
191 W. 33rd Street

At a General Membership Meeting of
**The International Bakery and
Confectionery Workers' Union**
LOCAL No. 505

HELD ON APRIL 13th, 1934

it was unanimously decided to express publicly our deep
appreciation and gratitude to

HON. JACOB PANKEN and MATTHEW M. LEVY

the Attorneys of our Union

for their splendid achievements in behalf of our Union and
particularly for their successful legal defense of our members.

(Signed) RESOLUTION COMMITTEE
Harry Permison Abr. Baron
Harry Katz

We pledge ourselves to increase the
power of that mighty weapon for
emancipation, the labor press.

**WATERPROOF
GARMENT WORKERS**
LOCAL 20
International Ladies' Garment
Workers' Union

SOLIDARITY IN LABOR'S
RANKS COMES AS THE RE-
SULT OF AGITATION, EDU-
CATION AND ORGANIZATION.
BUILD UP OUR UNION
AND OUR PRESS.

**UNITED
TEXTILE WORKERS
OF AMERICA**
Affiliated with the
American Federation of Labor

THOMAS F. McMAHON, Int. Pres.
605 Bible House, New York, N. Y.

(THE ONLY UNION)
**HOTEL
AND RESTAURANT
EMPLOYEES' UNION**
LOCAL 16

247 West 46th Street
BRyant 9-4496
CHARLES B. BAUM
President
T. COULCHER
Secretary-Treasurer

The workers can only
advance through
AGITATION
EDUCATION
ORGANIZATION

**UPHOLSTERERS'
INTERNATIONAL
UNION**
LOCAL 76

162 East 23rd Street
New York City

MAY DAY GREETINGS
from
**AMALGAMATED
SILVER WORKERS'
UNION**
LOCAL 38

45 Astor Place, New York City
Jack Coleman, President
Harry Groebler, Vice President
Harry Spodick, Business Rep.
Frank Bean, Recording Sec'y

The building up of the organi-
zations of labor constitutes the
strongest bulwark against the
inroads of fascism and Hitlerism

CAKE BAKERS' UNION
Local 505-79

of
Greater New York

Affiliated with the
American Federation of Labor



Resolve on This May Day
That You Will Always
DEMAND THE LABEL
of the
**International Bakery &
Confectionery Union**

On ALL Bread and Rolls

LOCAL 509
219 Sackman St., Brooklyn, N.Y.

Show at all times that you support
the principles of unionism.
Buy Bread with the Label of the
**Bakery & Confectionery
Workers' Union**

LOCAL 79 — 2023 Mermaid Ave.
Harry Meth, Sec'y.

When you buy bread that bears the
Union Label you are doing your duty
to your fellow workers. On May Day
and all other days buy bread
that has the label of

**International Bakery &
Confectionery Workers'
Union**

LOCAL 597 — 1353 Boston Road
M. Yanofsky, Sec'y.

• A strong labor press throws the
searchlight on the dark spots of tyr-
anny and exploitation. The New
Leader is doing magnificent work
along this line. Let us work un-
ceasingly to make this spokesman
for forward-looking labor a powerful
daily paper.

BAKERS' UNION
Local 505

315 GRAND STREET
New York City
L. Korman, Sec'y

GREETINGS ON THE TENTH ANNI-
VERSARY OF THE NEW LEADER

**Sheepskin and Leather
Goods Workers' Union**
Local 178

AMALG. CLOTHING WORKERS
of America
Ab. Kronick, Sec'y

The L. I. D. and the I. S. S.

(Continued from Page Two)

Woolsey Hall was closed to student meetings for some time after that event! London's packed meetings in the old Grand Central Palace, New York, in Harvard, the University of California and other colleges led to the boycott of some of his books in the libraries of the country.

Expenditures for the ISS during the first two years amounted to the grand total of \$722, of which amount \$238 went for services, the rest for publications. These included "Political Decay" by Professor E. A. Ross, "Confessions of a Drone" by Joseph Medill Patterson (now publisher and editor of the New York Daily News) and "What Life Means to Me" by Jack London and Upton Sinclair. Most of the services were given voluntarily.

In 1907 the newly established Rand School permitted the society the use of a desk at its quarters at 112 East 19th Street, the same site as that now occupied by the society's successor, the League for Industrial Democracy. Rosa Ladd, the school's assistant secretary, gave much attention for the next three years to the society's work, while W. J. Ghent and Algernon Lee, the school's secretaries, were for some years successively the secretaries of the ISS.

In 1908 the society sent a young collegian, Fred H. Merrick, to several colleges as organizer. At Princeton the arrival of a Socialist was hailed as an event to be duly celebrated. When Merrick arrived at the station he was met by a great crowd of students who insisted on placing him at the head of one of their famous "pee-rades." Red flags were waved, revolutionary songs sung, while during his address he was compelled to dodge

firecrackers and skyrockets thrown from the windows.

George R. Kirkpatrick later did good work as the society's organizer, and in 1910 I was appointed its executive officer.

During the following seven years the society branched out in many directions. I sent lecturers to every part of the country. In 1916, my trip in the South was the first of its kind ever undertaken by a Socialist among Southerners. The society had active chapters in over a half hundred colleges. It developed its pamphlet literature, bulletin and quarterly, it conducted economic researches, arranged frequent conferences, organized a dozen city chapters and did much educational work in behalf of its ideal. Many now prominent in party activities and in educational and literary life obtained their first vision of a new society in the ISS chapters.

Notable among its great Carnegie Hall meetings during these days was the reception to Victor L. Berger, immediately following his election to Congress, a Hillquit-Untermeyer debate and a meeting in honor of Keir Hardie.

Morris Hillquit, Helen Phelps Stokes, Mary R. Sanford, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Ernest Poole, Leroy Scott, Florence and Nicholas Kelley, Evans Clark and J. G. Phelps Stokes were among the most active members of the Executive Committee during those days.

The war came. Stokes, Walling, Poole and others who supported the war resigned from the society's councils. Mrs. Florence Kelley became the organization's president. The ISS refused to be drawn into the support of the "war to end war" and kept up its educational work on problems of a cooperative social order.

Following the armistice Arthur Gleason returned from Great Britain, where he had earned an enviable reputation as British labor's most understanding interpreter, and became the society's president.

Following the war, in 1921, the society organized as the League for Industrial Democracy, in order to extend its educational work outside of college walls. While, as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society it confined its attention merely to study and included within its ranks all who wished to promote an intelligent understanding of Socialism whether convinced that a change was necessary or not, as the League for Industrial Democracy it became committed to a program of "education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit" and its active members committed themselves to the principle of social ownership and democratic control of industry.

Soon after its reorganization Norman Thomas became one of the two executive directors of the league and within the next few years became one of the most popular and effective speakers on social problems in the universities of the country. Robert Morss Lovett of the University of Chicago and an editor of the New Republic became the league's president, Stuart Chase treasurer, and a distinguished group of men and women, including Dr. Charles P. Steinmetz, Florence Kelley, John Dewey and James H. Maurer, Alexander Meiklejohn, Mary R. Sanford, Vida D. Scudder and Helen Phelps Stokes, its vice-presidents.

During the last year the league has conducted lecture series in 46 cities from Maine to Louisiana. Its lecture series, organized under the direction of Mary Hilmyer, opened in New Orleans with an attendance of 850. The league has had charge of an extensive weekly radio series over the Red Network of the NBC on the "Economics of

the New Deal" every Saturday afternoon beginning in November and concluding at the end of May. It has been estimated that this series reaches a million people weekly. It has continued to develop its pamphlet literature; to send lecturers to scores of colleges; to conduct notable conferences, such as its annual June Conference at Camp Tamiment; to promote Norman Thomas' editorial service; to develop effective city chapters in New York, Boston, Baltimore, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, Los Angeles and other cities; to help in strike and unemployment situations and to do everything possible to advance, through educational means, the movement toward a Cooperative Commonwealth. Its radio luncheons arranged by Mary Fox, executive secretary, have continued to attract wide attention.

The work in the colleges conducted by the Student League for Industrial Democracy has this year gone ahead with great vigor. The league has kept in close touch with clubs or affiliated organizations in over 100 colleges and universities. It has organized, through its young college secretaries, Messrs. Lash, Sweetland and Chamberlain, and its many student cooperators, regional conferences in the East, the South and the Middle West. It has taken a strong stand against war and militarism, against compulsory military training, against race discrimination and against all fascist trends. It took a leading part in the April 13 student strike against war which led to demonstrations in New York alone attended by from 10,000 to 15,000 students. It has cooperated with the YPSL and other organizations in many other effective conferences and demon-

strations. Its Student Outlook, the monthly student paper edited by the Student ILLD, has done much to cement the movement on a national scale.

During the last quarter of a century a great change has come over the college world. When the ISS was founded the average student felt that if he were only able to get a college education he would be assured of a secure place in the sun. He was many times unsuccessful, but some type of a job was usually to be had for the asking. Today, with every profession overcrowded, with tens of thousands of college graduates out of work, the college student is facing the same type of insecurity that prevails among other workers. He is becoming interested in social change not only because it is necessary for the well-being of the great mass of workers, but because it is necessary to his own security and happiness. He is far more interested than in the past in doing something about the situation. The task before the LID is the double one of assisting in educating the student in the philosophy of social change and of pointing the way to constructive activity in behalf of a socialized order.

Abroad thousands of collegians and other members of the middle class have been swept into fascist organizations. The discontented and insecure collegians, and members of the middle class in this country must be shown that in fascism lies not their salvation but their destruction and that of society.

In the performance of this type of educational work, the League for Industrial Democracy, which proudly proclaims its great inheritance from the ISS, asks the continued cooperation of its hosts of friends among the readers of The New Leader.

We are serving a 50c Table d'Hôte

LUNCHEON, 11:15 to 2:30.

BLUE PLATE with Bread, Butter and Coffee for 35c—DINNER, 50c

AUNT CLEMMY'S

49 East 9th Street, near Broadway
Tel.: STuyvesant 9-1338

Quiet and Inviting Surroundings

WHITE LILAC TEA
WHITE LILAC
COFFEE

are fragrant, delicious all the year 'round beverages. Sold by grocers all over the country.

COLUMBIA TEA CO.

165 Division St., New York City

Let us make May Day 1934 a memorable one. May it mark the beginning of a mighty forward stride in the struggle to improve our conditions. Let us strive unceasingly to strengthen our organizations, ever keeping in mind that the emancipation of the workers depends upon themselves.

Amalgamated
Clothing
Cutters

LOCAL No. 4

A. C. W.

MURRAY WEINSTEIN,
Sec'y-Treasurer

SACHS-DAVIDSON
INCORPORATED

Union Printers

187 EAST BROADWAY
Phone ORchard 4-4230

Diversity of opinion, unity of action, and solidarity with our brothers in the common struggle for a free world will make every day a May Day for all humanity.

Millinery Blockers, Local 42

Cloth, Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union

19 WEST 38th STREET NEW YORK CITY

Max Goldman, Manager
I. Hammer, Fred Carano, Organizers

LET THIS MAY DAY BE THE FORERUNNER OF A YEAR OF TRIUMPH AND VICTORY FOR THE TOILERS.

The Retail Dairy Grocery Fruit
and Vegetable Clerks Union
Local 238

Affiliated with
United Hebrew Trades and American Federation of Labor

L. WANKOWSKI, President
M. KUDISH, Vice-President
S. WALCHAK, Manager
S. HELLER, Chairman
of the Finance Committee

MAY DAY GREETINGS from the

COOPERATIVE BAKERY
of Brownsville and East New York, Inc.

543 Osborn Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Join the Cooperative Movement—Support Cooperative Undertakings

The shorter workday, higher wages and a voice in the management of industry prepares the way for the emancipation of the men and women of labor.

GREETINGS FOR MAY DAY

Corset and Brassiere Workers
LOCAL 32, I. L. G. W. U.

A. Snyder, Manager

3 WEST 16th STREET NEW YORK CITY

Labor Day Greetings to All Our Fellow Workers

Waiters' and Waitresses'
LOCAL NO. 1

290 SEVENTH AVENUE

Lackawanna 4-5483

We appeal to labor and fraternal organizations to hold their banquets, balls and receptions where members of our organization are employed.

WILLIAM LEHMAN, Sec'y-Treas.

THE RISING TIDE OF LABOR UNIONISM
WILL SWEEP BACK REACTION NO MATTER
UNDER WHAT NAME IT CLOAKS ITSELF.

Cleaning & Dye House Drivers'
LOCAL 185—A. F. of L.

JACOB EFFRAT, Manager
JACOB TAUBER, Secretary

JACK COHEN, Asst. Manager
H. STERN, Asst. Manager

the w.

Four Decades of Socialist Journalism



In the above display of Socialist publications no attempt is made to present a complete record of the Socialist press. This would be impossible as hundreds of papers were published in the period covered, some of which continued a few months, others a year or several years, and then disappeared. What is presented is a selected list of the more important publications that have something of a permanent historical interest. These publications fall into what may be roughly called the "modern period"

of the Socialist movement, beginning with the Coming Nation in 1896. Other important publications belonging to this period, not included in the above, will be found elsewhere in this issue.

In the first column, reading from the top down, is the first number of the Chicago Daily Socialist October 26, 1906; next, the first number of The New York Evening Call, May 30, 1908; then the Debs Freedom Edition of The New York Call, December 24, 1921; next the first number of Light, a monthly

magazine published at Springfield, Mass., March, 1913; then The Grander Age, a semi-Socialist monthly published at Biloxi, Miss., February, 1904; then The Vanguard, a monthly published at Green Bay, Wis., May, 1903.

In the second column, reading from the top down, is The Western Clarion of Vancouver, British Columbia, April 29, 1911; next the first number of The Social Advance, Terre Haute, Ind., February 11, 1911; then The New Era, Pitts-

burgh, Penn., January 30, 1915; next The New England Leader, Boston, Mass., July 27, 1917; then The Worker, New York City, January 4, 1908; next the Debs' Edition of the Toledo Socialist, Toledo, Ohio, January 1, 1922; then The Coming Nation, Ruskin, Tenn., November 28, 1896.

Third column, reading from the top down, The Party Builder, national bulletin of the Socialist Party, Chicago, December 13, 1913; next the Florida Socialist, Jackson-

ville, Fla., October 26, 1904; then The National Socialist, Washington, D. C., May 10, 1913; next the Social Democratic Herald, organ of the Social Democratic Party of America, Belleville, Ill., April 29, 1899; then Political Action, Milwaukee, Wis., April 27, 1912; next The Christian Socialist, Chicago, Ill., May 1, 1908; next The Indiana Socialist, Indianapolis, November 30, 1907; then the Social Democratic Herald, Chicago, January 26, 1901; next the Socialist Voice, Seattle, April 27, 1912.

PAPERS FROM MANY CITIES



A few additions to the Socialist press in the modern period. Reading from the top down, the Chicago Evening World, successor to the Chicago Daily Socialist, September 17, 1912; The Socialist, Seattle, Wash., September 4, 1909; the

Seattle Daily Call, Seattle, Wash., August 27, 1917; The American Socialist, published by the National Organization of the party until suppressed by the Government during the war terror; The Socialist, Toledo, Ohio, February 10, 1906.

From Youth of the World

By Erich Ollenhauer

Secretary, Socialist Youth International

AT a time of the bitterest political and economic struggles The New Leader celebrates its 10th anniversary. In all countries capitalism has reduced millions of workers to a state of great misery; the menace of fascism to liberty and progress is seriously growing, and 15 years after the World War mankind is again facing a serious threat of a new war.

In the face of this situation the Socialists of America and of Europe should not relent in their struggle against economic misery, political oppression and war madness. Socialists are the forerunners in the fight against the barbaric spirit of Hitlerism and it is their duty to bring home to the widest circles of nations that there is only one road to liberty, peace and employment and that this road is Socialism.

The New Leader has participated in this task for a decade.

A WEITLING PAPER



This paper, *Republik der Arbeiter* (Workers' Republic), was founded in New York in the fifties by Wilhelm Weitling, one of the most significant figures in the early Socialist movement. He was founder of the League of the Just out of which grew the Communist League of Marx and Engels and of which the historic Manifesto was the

statement of principles. His early writings bridged the gap between early Utopian and romantic Socialism and the scientific Socialism of Marx and Engels. Weitling played an important role in the Socialist and labor movement in America for several years following the German revolution of 1848. He died in New York in 1871.

At a time when stupidity, barbarism, deception and senseless hatred seek to triumph over culture and humaneness it is the duty of The New Leader to continue this task in the future.

Deep are the chasms that again separate the nations. But when the present rulers divide and an-

tagonize the nations, then we Socialists will band together all the closer in the struggle for Socialism!

In this struggle may The New Leader be, as it was till now, the spokesman and the guiding light of the American Socialists and especially of the Socialist youth.



NEW LEADER WORKMEN'S CIRCLE SECTION

Vol. XVII—No. 17

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 1934

In Four Sections—Sec. 4

Our English Division

By Frederick Shulman

The vigor and strength of the Workmen's Circle cannot be better proven than by the fact that it is constantly broadening the scope of its activity. The driving power of its growth impels the Workmen's Circle to create additional benefits, to extend its educational and social influence, and to seek new fields for soliciting members.

Among its most realistic recent efforts is the renewed emphasis it has placed on the development of its English Speaking Section. The Workmen's Circle realizes that the restrictions placed upon immigration has eliminated a valuable source of membership, making it necessary to interest the American-born population in the organization. To effectuate this purpose it has created an English Speaking Section, composed of branches in which the language used and the psychological media employed are in accordance with the cultural background of the persons to whom the appeal is made.

These branches must not be confused with the Young Circle League branches, to whom they stand in the relation of older brothers. The League caters to young people of from 16 to 25 years of age, while the English Speaking Section is intended to accommodate people between the ages of 25 and 45 years.

There are thousands of comrades in the unions, the Socialist Party and among the readers of The New Leader who would make useful and valuable members of the Workmen's Circle, and to whom our powerful fraternal order offers material security and labor solidarity.

Intelligent men and women understand the necessity for insurance, for sick and death benefit, for medical service for themselves and their families. More than that, they appreciate the importance of joining in the struggle of labor to make this a better world. The Workmen's Circle fulfills both of these essentials of life.

The financial strength and the numerical solidarity of our organization enables it to promote the cause of labor. We appeal to all progressive-minded men and women to join our ranks, not only for their own benefit but also so that we may bring greater and greater weight to bear in the fight for the Cooperative Commonwealth.

The Workmen's Circle --- What It Is and What It Stands For

By J. Baskin

General Secretary of the Workmen's Circle

Fraternal orders in the United States are not altogether a new thing. They have existed for years and have figured prominently in the life of the country. At the present time, notwithstanding the crisis, more than 10,000,000 individuals are members of one or another fraternal organization, most of them with elaborate trappings, secret rites, mystic insignia and what not.

The reason for this mushroom growth of fraternal orders in the past was the lack of adequate material protection for the worker and little fellow, who were and are forced to live from hand to mouth, and the criminal inadequacy of our insurance and compensation laws. To insure themselves against the hazards of life they had to establish their own private insurance organizations.

If this was considered a necessary step for the American born citizen, what more logical thing for the Jewish immigrant, coming here to a strange land, in an alien environment, far from friends and family, than to organize into an order of his own. And he did and thus laid the foundation for the Jewish orders in the United States. Middle class Jewish elements organized the Independent Order of Brith Abraham, B'nai Brith, etc. From their very inception these organizations took in hundreds of thousands of members, and thus began to play an ever more prom-

inent part in the life of the Jewish community in this country.

At the beginning of the 20th century a new element reached out for these shores—the radical workers and revolutionaries driven

such protection is most needed. And so, in their Declaration of Principles, they designated themselves "Friends"—for friends they were: friends in need and friends in deed.



Workmen's Circle Hymn

WE shall be forging forever
A radiant circle of steel,
The order of workers and dreamers,
A guard both in woe and in weal.
With flames from our hearthstones we'll fashion,
The link of the chain manifold.

All of the workers together,
United whate'er befall,
Struggling for life that is perfect,
Each of the workers for all.

from Russia, from Czarist persecution, seeking a haven of refuge here. Once in this country they also got the idea of organizing an order of their own where they could gather to discuss the problems of the day, the affairs of their daily lives, the demands of their environment. Imbued with their old revolutionary idealism, they could not adjust themselves to the old orders. The atmosphere was bourgeois; they felt stagnated and cut off from the vital throbbing life surrounding them. In them they found their bosses and sweatshop foremen—their recognized enemies. How could they discuss their innermost longings and aspirations with these men? It was a physical, a spiritual impossibility.

And so the more intelligent ones among them decided to found an order of their own. In 1892 there was laid the foundation for the first workers' fraternal organization of men and women in this country, the Arbeiter Ring Society, out of which emerged a few years later the Workmen's Circle. The founders sought to fashion an organization that would afford protection and security in times when

litical and economic system unless the system itself which breeds these evils is completely scrapped. This is a goal that the membership must at all times and under all circumstances keep in mind. Furthermore, the Workmen's Circle must consider itself an irrevocable part of the radical labor movement, one of its distinct wings, ready to go to the battle side by side with its bravest fighters. Its

(Continued on Page 4)

A Place for Youth

By J. L. Afros

The Young Circle League, like its parent, The Workmen's Circle, is not just another lodge, not one more gateway to a "Never, Never Land," not just one of the countless fraternal orders where men get together to play Indians in order to escape from a drab world. The Young Circle League is not just another youth organization competing for the attention of American young men and young women. The League aims to provide its members with fraternal benefits, fellowships and educational activity "in an atmosphere sympathetic to the ideals of the labor movement." The YCLA is unique among the radical youth organizations in its special adaptability to the American scene.

Long after the passing of the "economic" frontier the American worker retained the belief in the existence of "equality of opportunity" and the "chance to work yourself up." The existence of this illusion, fostered by the schools, press and pulpit is one of the reasons why the American working class and American youth have not matured in their political and economic thinking, have been unresponsive to the call for independent political action, and have shunned Socialism as "red" and "foreign."

When, therefore, the Workmen's Circle, largest radical fraternal order in the world, decided to organize the children of its members into young Circle Clubs, it did not overlook or disregard the peculiarities of the American scene.

Let us see for a moment what such successful capitalist youth organizations as the Community Centers, YMCA's and YMHA's offer their membership. Primarily it is athletic and social activities. Young people are, after all, young people! They must have those activities that young people everywhere like for their recreation and fun. They must have games, and athletics, and dances, and they go where they can get them. The fact remains that young people look for attractive clubrooms, well-equipped gymnasiums, swimming pools, and all those other comforts and pleasures, and they find them among the successful conservative and religious organizations to which they belong in such large numbers.

So we, too, in the Young Circle League, have had to resort to athletics, socials, dramatics, and parties to attract and interest our youth. But whereas these activi-

(Continued on Page Four)

What the W. C. Offers Its Members

Materially:

Disability Benefit of \$8 to \$28 weekly.
Insurance Policies ranging from \$100 to \$3,000.
Sanatorium treatment for 12 months or \$600 in Consumption Benefit.
Cemetery and Funeral provisions for the entire family.
Medical Treatment at a minimum cost.
Direct Material Aid in times of need.

Culturally:

Lectures, Debates, Forums, Concerts,
Workers' Choirs, Dramatic Groups.
Jewish Schools, Youth Clubs.
Children's Orchestras, Literary Publications.

Recreationally:

Athletics, Dramatics, Social Activity.
Summer Camps, Labor Lyceums.
Comradeship, Labor Solidarity.

SOCIALISTS AND WORKERS!

The Workmen's Circle is Labor's Fraternal Order. It welcomes into its ranks all Socialist and progressive elements, men, women, children. If you are interested and seek further information about the organization, fill out the attached blank and forward to: General Office, Workmen's Circle, 175 East Broadway, N. Y. C.

Name
Address
City Age

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY AMONG THE MEMBERS

What distinguishes the Workmen's Circle primarily from other fraternal insurance organizations? This question is frequently asked by those who are unfamiliar with the nature of the Workmen's Circle. But the answer is not far to seek. The existence of an Educa-

Circle branches in discussions. Recent outlines touch on such questions as: "NRA—Who Will Gain By It?"; "Consequences of Inflation"; "Will Democracy Suffer From Hitlerism?"; and "Can Jewish Culture Influence American Youth?"



A Pageant of School Children at the Pawling W. C. Camp

tional Department is in itself a clue to the answer.

Aside from the fraternal benefits provided for its members, the Workmen's Circle is interested in educating them in the spirit of labor and Socialism. This dedication to an ideal is the most important single fact about the organization.

The establishment of the Educational Department dates back to the very beginning of the Workmen's Circle more than a generation ago. The Jewish immigrants who founded the organization, thirsty for knowledge and culture, appropriated, at great sacrifice to themselves, some two thousand dollars for educational purposes. Today the Educational Department, together with the branches of the Workmen's Circle, spend \$225,000 annually. The chain of lectures who regularly visit every Jewish community in the country, the Yiddish publication, outlines and pamphlets, and the Jewish schools for children, testify to the great cultural and educational activity of the Workmen's Circle.

Every year lecture tours are arranged for outstanding Jewish publicists and literary critics whose subjects range through politics, literature, science, health and philosophy. Moreover, the department assists 100 forums in every part of the country. For those cities that do not maintain forums, outlines are published to guide Workmen's

Every effort is made to cultivate the literary and artistic appreciation of Workmen's Circle members. Literary evenings are arranged to discuss the life and works of great writers in Jewish and world literature such as Gorky, Peretz, Raisin, Sinclair Lewis, Opatashu, etc. Concert artists are occasionally toured through the "provinces" to bring Jewish folklore and music to those who live even in the remotest hamlets.

With the establishment of Workmen's Circle schools within the past 15 years, the emphasis has been increasingly upon the education of children. This is in accord with modern educational tendencies which stresses the training of the child at an early age, particularly if the purpose is to work for fundamental social change.

The Workmen's Circle Jewish schools were, therefore, an outgrowth of the desire—first, to educate the children in the Socialist spirit; second, to teach them the Jewish language, history and culture in order to develop greater understanding between parents and children; and, third, to create a reservoir of future members of the Workmen's Circle.

Within the short space of fifteen years, more than 65,000 children have studied in Workmen's Circle schools which have grown to 103, with a registration this year of 6,000. The elementary schools are

(Continued on Page Three)

A W. C. Haven of Cure

By Y. M. G.

Located a short distance from Liberty, N. Y., in fresh-green hilly surroundings near a silver-clear lake, and stretching over a distance of 157 green acres, is "Sanatorium City," home of the beautiful Workmen's Circle Sanatorium. It is well named "Sanatorium City," for it is a small, almost self-sufficient city in itself, a vast green farm-forest, with its own homes, buildings, barns, laundry, heating plant, doctor's cottage, chicken farm, piggery and up-to-date accommodations.

The Sanatorium consists of an entourage of buildings costing \$600,000, and representing the latest knowledge of science in architecture, sanitation and health. In the twenty-four years of its existence the Sanatorium has grown from one meagre open air dwelling to ten buildings including the new hospital. The latter, built in 1927, is an innovation in the treatment of tuberculosis and is so regarded by the best medical authorities. The medical profession having discarded the use of open air dwelling (lean-tos) in the treatment of T.B., the Workmen's Circle, adapting itself to the latest dictum of science, has built one of the most up-to-date hospitals to be found anywhere in the country.

The hospital is a huge red-brick edifice, housing under one roof the most stupendous innovations of scientific research in the treatment of T.B. The rooms are spacious, airy, well-ventilated, with a maximum of sunlight, and ingenious trappings for detaching a part of the walls in the event of extreme heat. Each bed has a radio attachment to cheer the patients in depressed mood. There are game rooms, library, roof garden, showers. (Elsewhere also, playgrounds, lecture and concert halls, provision for motion pictures and talkies, etc.). The entire building is in electrical contact with the working and medical staffs... the mere pressing of a button will bring nurse or doctor to the patients bedside. In addition, there are of course the necessary medical and surgical rooms, and experimental laboratories, in charge of an expert technician to effect the necessary work—all for the further advance of medical science and superior treatment. This "House of Medicine," which is capable of treating one hundred patients at one time, costs the Workmen's Circle \$120,000 annually to operate.

"Sanatorium City" employs a large staff of physicians, surgeons, specialists, nurses and general help under the careful surveillance of recognized medical authorities. It is a well-organized, efficient haven, which in the period of its existence has saved the lives of close to ninety per cent of its inmates whose number exceed 3,600. Members of the organization who are stricken with tuberculosis are given a year's treatment at this refuge of cure. This is an insurance which represents a real value of \$2,000 and is unequalled anywhere in the country for the infinitesimal cost of \$2 a year to the member.

A year away from the smoke of the city, the incessant noise of the grinding wheels of industry, the carrossion of miserable living conditions—a year under the shelter of "Sanatorium City," under God's own sun and trees, and a new man emerges—a man who can once more resume his place in society, by the side of his comrades and family.

A SERVICE FOR NEEDY MEMBERS OF THE W. C.

By Rose Ash

When a movement was begun in 1925 for the establishment of a Social Service Bureau in the Workmen's Circle, the immediate response was definitely in the negative.

The contention of the leaders against that movement was that Social Service smacks of charity and since the Workmen's Circle members have been brought up on the principles of mutual aid, they would resent the thought of charity.

Incidentally, even the sponsors of the Social Service Movement, at that time, did not realize what depression, what terrifying conditions were in store for the worker. The underlying thought and purpose of creating a Social Service Bureau then was confined chiefly to the idea of modernizing the Workmen's Circle. They felt that since there is no organization in the United States, whether it be a hospital, a settlement, an orphan asylum, a college, or a church, that did not have a Social Service Department, it was therefore high time for the Workmen's Circle to fall in line and establish a Social Service Department.

What is social service? This question cannot be answered adequately even by professionals, let alone the layman, because of the variegated fields and activities that it explores from day to day.

The idea of social service is a very old one. The movement commenced some fifty odd years ago with the establishment of settlements in all parts of the country, but active social service became a factor only about thirty years ago.

In former years private charity organizations were the only ones in the field to help the needy in time of distress. Such charity organizations were supported by vol-

untary contributions. The recipient felt, and rightly so, that whatever he got was a gift and often was humiliated by it. The charity organizations have been subjected during those years to much severe criticism. They were charged with waste of funds because of large salaries; they were criticized for the method and manner of investigation; for the lack of judgment in distribution, and other elements that entered into the work. Because of that, these organizations gradually began to give way to state institutions that eventually took the form of Social Service Departments.

Hence, the resentment of the Workmen's Circle members to the idea of social service was from the outset unjustified. Most of the agencies we are dealing with today (with minor exceptions) are state agencies, conducted by the state and supported by the tax payers. We shall enumerate some of these agencies which the Social Service Bureau of the Workmen's Circle is called upon to deal with in behalf of its members, and will thus make it clear to them that they are dealing not with private charities, but with institutions which they themselves are helping to support by means of taxes paid to the government.

The partial list includes: Old Age Security; Bureau of Child Welfare; Bureau of Home Relief; Bureau of Foster Home Care; Commission for the Blind; Bureau of Research; Medical Care; Division of State Aid; Division of Administration of State Institutions; Bureau of Dependent Adults.

We can continue enumerating dozens of other institutions, but they are of no importance in this connection. Even the Home Relief Bureau, to which our indigent

(Continued on Page Four)



The new Hospital of the W. C. Sanatorium at Liberty, N. Y.

Among the W. C. Institutions

The W. C. Sanatorium at Liberty, N. Y., one of the finest and best equipped of its kind in the country, is valued according to conservative estimates at over \$500,000. In the 24 years of its existence some 4,000 patients have passed through its doors, close to 90 per cent of whom have been permanently cured. Incidentally, a year's stay at the Sanatorium is worth \$2,000, for which the member pays less than \$2 yearly, making it unquestionably the best insurance buy in the country.

The W. C. operates seven summer camps in the U.S. and Canada, without profit for the benefit of its members. The Pawling W. C. Camp alone, which accommodates 1,300 people, is valued at more than a quarter of a million dollars.

The W. C. maintains 100 Jewish elementary schools, 6 kindergartens and 5 high schools with an enrollment of 6,000 children, at an annual most of \$225,000.

In addition, it boasts 115 youth clubs and branches and 33 women's clubs with a total membership of over 6,000.

The Medical Department of the W. C. maintains a staff of 43 district physicians; 20 consultant specialists in the treatment of heart, lungs, stomach, eye, ear, nerve and skin; and an up-to-date Health Center, with a staff specializing in surgery, dentistry, X-ray, bone specialty and men's and women's diseases, offering its 16,000 affiliated members—with their families 65,000 to 75,000 persons in all—the finest medical service at a cost of no more than 77 cents quarterly to a single member and \$1.27 to a family.

The W. C. provides adequate cemetery and funeral provisions for the entire family of a member. It owns seven cemeteries in and around New York alone, with a gross area of 600,000 sq. ft., valued in the neighborhood of a half million dollars.

Instructive Facts About the W. C.

The Workmen's Circle is the largest Labor Fraternal Order in the world. It has close to 700 branches in the United States and Canada with an aggregate membership of over 70,000, and capital funds totalling \$5,700,000.

Since its inception over thirty years ago, the W. C. has paid out \$6,770,000 in disability benefits and \$4,500,000 in death benefits. Its annual disbursements for sick and death benefit alone amount to \$600,000. The total amount of insurance carried by W. C. members is \$18,631,650.

From 1929, the beginning of the depression, to date, the W. C. distributed in addition to the regular benefits \$200,000 in direct aid to needy members.

In the last fifteen years, the W. C. has contributed close to a million dollars to aid various labor and progressive institutions, including the following:

\$80,000 to labor unions; \$70,000 for the relief of victims of the last war; \$100,000 to HIAS; \$70,000 to the Jewish schools of Poland; \$25,000 to "The New Leader," "Wecker," and similar Socialist publications; \$15,000 to the Rand School, Brookwood and other labor colleges; \$40,000 for famine relief in Russia, and thousands of dollars to hospitals, orphanages and convalescent homes.

The Social Service Bureau, youngest institution of the W. C., has in the past year handled 7,966 relief cases of members, extending some form of aid to approximately 80 per cent of them.

The fund established by the W. C. in 1921 for the erection of an Old Age Home for its members—the only institution it still lacks—now totals \$210,000. The next convention of the organization in May, 1935, is expected to give the word to start construction of a Home at once.

A BOLD FIRST STEP IN SOCIALIZING MEDICINE

By S. Koner

The Workmen's Circle is probably the only organization in the United States which can boast of having brought about a successful reform in the manner of rendering medical service to its membership in the large cities in an organized and efficient manner, formerly unknown to the members of any fraternal organization.

We often hear remarks here and there with reference to State Health Insurance. If we had such a system in this country, or in this state, it would really be nothing new, for such systems exist in other countries, under one name or another. It is a matter of common knowledge that a number of countries in continental Europe, such as Austria, Belgium, France, Poland, Lithuania and formerly Germany, have devised systems of their own for caring for their sick, especially the wage earners, the little men, who cannot very well care for themselves.

But to come closer home, has it occurred to anyone that our own system of the Medical Department of the Workmen's Circle is very much analogous to any of the above mentioned? It is a real attempt at the socialization of medicine.

True, it is not supported by governmental funds, nor by the funds of employers. In that respect it differs from the European systems. The principle, nevertheless, remains the same. Under our system we are providing our members and their families with the best medical assistance known to science, at what is practically no cost at all to them. What is more, our procedure and method of work are such as to be devoid of all possible humiliation or loss of self-respect to the member.

We keep our heads up, we buy our service for our own money. Certainly there can be no fault in the fact that we are able to buy it at the cheapest rate.

The Medical Department was organized some eighteen years ago by a small group of active members who conceived the idea of reforming the old decayed "lodge-doctor" system. They proposed to organize in New York a system of district physicians whereby the membership of the city of New York was to be divided into districts according to localities, and to appoint in each locality a district physician to care for the members assigned to him in the same manner as he cares for his private patients.

After a few years of initial planning such a system was established in the year 1919.

Out of what was then just a nucleus there developed a brilliant

institution—the Medical Department of the Workmen's Circle. In the fifteen years of its existence it has become one of the outstanding institutions of the Workmen's Circle. Organized and conducted on a scientific basis, it is now rendering medical services to about 16,000 members and their families in the city of New York. Figuring on the average of four to a family, it cares for about 65,000 persons. In addition to its staff of 43 district physicians covering the several boroughs, the department also boasts a staff of specialists in the various branches of medicine and surgery, and a health center where ambulatory patients are treated. These three medical divisions are components of one complete and composite system interlinking with one another in the work. So, for instance, when a person suffering from some ailment finds that his district physician has exhausted all means at his command and can not help him, he may turn for help and advice to a specialist at a fee within easy reach of the patient.

When a consultant or a district physician finds that a case is chronic and will need extensive specialized treatment, the department's own Medical Center makes it possible for the patient to receive these treatments at a still smaller fee than he would have to pay if treated at the specialist's office.

To appreciate in these brief remarks the extent of the services of the Medical Department to its membership it will be well to mention a few figures: for instance, about 7,000 members are examined by specialists at their offices annually in consulting capacity, about 200 consultations are held at the bedside of patients, and about 400 operations are performed every year. In addition thereto about 4,000 new patients are examined and treated annually at the Health Center, making a total of about 25,000 visits in both the dental and the medical sub-divisions of the center. These figures are the best evidence of the volume of the services of this institution. If volume means anything, it surely indicates the high regard in which the membership of the Workmen's Circle holds the Medical Department.

Coming: An Old Age Home

The building of an Old Age Home for its members is next on the agenda of the Workmen's Circle. In the last ten years a fund of close to a quarter million dollars has been accumulated, and the coming Convention of the organization, in May, 1935, is expected to give the word to start construction.

Behind Office Walls

By Sid Q. Cohen

Typewriters click, telephones ring, men, women, shuffle about busily. Campaigns are being mapped, conferences are held, there is a bustling activity in every corner—it is the Workmen's Circle office...

A little girl enters cringing to a middle-aged mother... adding machines thunder a relentless staccato... child and mother are lost in a wilderness of foreign environment. How solemn and mournful is the expression on the woman's face!... how sympathetic does her child nestle to her!... Fear is written on both their faces...

"I come to see about my husband's insurance."

Employees whisper her arrival... they know who she is. An uncanny silence seeps into a humming machine... death is an uncomfortable companion... and death is burnt in the tearing eye of a kind mother's face, as she explains:

A good husband... but no work. He tried... but to no avail. Wife and child go hungry... man, built limitedly, cannot endure the harrowing suffering... His body is washed up on an East Side wharf... a smile on his face... maybe happiness at last... But a wife and child, left to the mercies of a relentless civilization, stand as tragic evidence of the bungling of a greedy world. Still, she must carry on... Finally her mission is completed... she leaves. Secretaries and accountants stoop lower over their books... but see nothing but a haunting face... America!

Many are these incidents of tragedy, many and far reaching are the causes of these endless miseries... a Fraternal Order consoles and aids in crises and emergencies... a friend in trying times...

Another mother... another sorrow... another death... a child, a daughter in the crest of life lies under a freshly dug mound. A blot on an already bloody escutcheon of governmental inefficiency. No money, no home, and the doctor said: "A baby!" Schemes... old fashioned devices... then that horror of infected death—abortion, unskilled and cheap! The death certificate reads: "Death by hemorrhage due to abortion," but "MURDER" seems to belch from between the lines... MURDER in highest degree... MURDER without rhyme or reason... and the murderer goes unpunished... has gone unpunished for hundreds of years. He still glories in his crimes; he has many.

An old woman, 40 years old, is found hung to a clothes hanger... a weary, poorly clad husband fills out the necessary papers... she was good... all he had... but she had to work in that foul shoe factory... he couldn't find work... shoes... shoes... shoes... finally death! A system, greedy and inhuman, stalks murderously somewhere in the background...

The files of the Workmen's Circle are replete with bursting tragedy. Even in death capitalistic companies play their ironic games of hide-and-seek with other people's money... a member asks legal aid... her husband drowned... acknowledged... but no!... Life Insurance Companies must have evidence... The Workmen's Circle knows the game... aid is given... at least some alleviation... faith in a friendly, aiding organization... and that necessary practicality, money!

The Cemetery and Social Service Departments of the W. C. handle most of these cases. Such a work, though morbid, is necessary. But although death is an



An Educational Confab of Club Advisors of the Young Circle League

A Summer Home for Young and Old at the W.C. Camp

By Harry Haskel

Overlooking the banks of Sylvan Lake, about seventy miles from New York, the Workmen's Circle Camp at Pawling covers a hundred acres of land in country as beautiful as one can find anywhere in the state of New York. The camp is one of the most magnificent of its kind in the country. More than sixty buildings equipped with modern conveniences which are the marvel of all who visit the camp, bring the joys of comfort and pleasure to working people and their children that are a far cry from the wretchedness and almost indescribable misery of Jewish immigrants when they founded the Workmen's Circle more than a generation ago.

The camp is divided into two sections: one for the adults and another for the children. The section for children, who range in age from 7 to 15, has thirty bungalows in a place removed from the activities of the adults, where they have a life all their own under the constant supervision of trained counsellors. The "bunks" are equipped with modern plumbing, sanitary facilities and electric wiring and accommodate about 500 children. The founders of the camp took special care to provide for the health and comfort of the children.

A tour of the camp on a typical summer day would be most instructive. We find children engaged in the lusty enthusiasm of their favorite sports on perfectly equipped baseball, basketball, tennis and handball courts. At the lake others are swimming and rowing under the careful guidance of life guards and counsellors. In an open theatre high up on a hill at the furthest end of the camp children are engaged in rehearsals for a play. Nearby is the art studio where children are encouraged to express themselves with paint, clay and metal.

No opportunity is lost to develop in the children a spirit of sympathy for the labor and Socialist movement. Weekly projects on "The Fiftieth Anniversary of Karl Marx," or "The Jewish Labor Movement in America," or "The Martyrdom of Tom Mooney" were, for example, carried out last year. A number of teachers from the Workmen's Circle Jewish schools give the children some understand-

end and final process in this, our life—must it be augmented by barbaric conditions, must tuberculosis be a rampant universal scourge, should willing muscles be denied the opportunity of labor? How much longer must a worker fear the morrow?... The Workmen's Circle supplies the answer: help, help now—but help is at best only a palliative; the main task is to abandon this vicious system, to build a new one in its place.

ing of Jewish history and literature.

Every summer 15,000 children spend two or more weeks at the camp.

Last year more than 11,000 adults visited the adult section of the camp, where they are housed in bungalows and tents. The spacious dining room, with a seating capacity of 1200, modern ventilation and artificial lighting facilities is considered a model of its kind. The extraordinarily large kitchen is the last word in automatic machinery, assuring a high standard of efficiency and sanitation.

Nor have the camp founders neglected to provide for the entertainment and cultural needs of the members and guests. Prominent artists from the Jewish and English stage participate in the regular Saturday night concerts. Educational symposiums are held in which Socialist leaders are invited to take part. Every evening there is dancing in the casino and there is no lack of camp fires, community singing, cabaret nights, etc.

Today membership in the camp is open to branches which pay \$1 per member annually and to W. C. schools which pay \$15 for the first year and \$5 thereafter.

Each year about 400 children are admitted at half the regular price from branches affiliated with the camp, and about 100 are admitted from branches which pay an additional voluntary five cent tax per quarter. The basic principle regarding the financing of the camp is that it is founded not on philanthropy but rather on the principle that you pay for what you get in a cooperative institution collectively owned and managed with profit entirely eliminated.

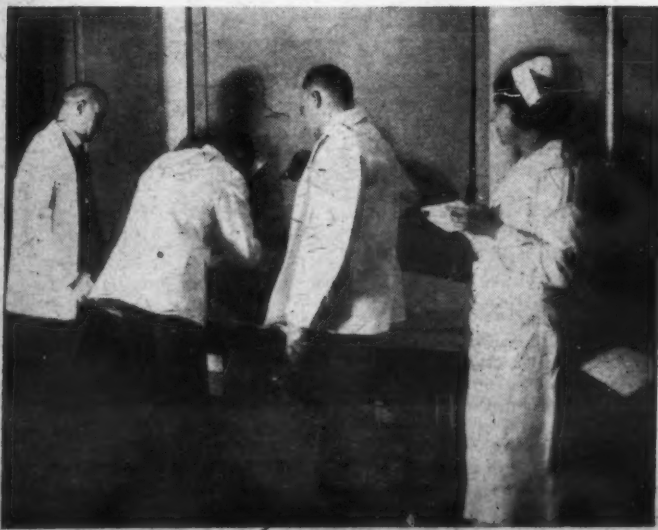
Truly, the Workmen's Circle Camp is a living example of what the spirit of cooperation can do today even while we work for a better tomorrow.

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY

(Continued from Page Two)

mit children of 7 to 13, when they are graduated into the "Mittelschule" or High School, of which there are at present 5. There are also 10 high school classes conducted in small towns. After formal education in the "Mittelschule" at the age of 16, it is expected that the graduate will join the intermediate section of the Young Circle League, youth section of the Workmen's Circle, and later, at the age of 18, enter the ranks of the Workmen's Circle by joining a senior branch of the League.

The celebration this year of the fifteenth anniversary of the schools was an occasion of great rejoicing. The schools had established themselves as a worthy educational institution of the Workmen's Circle.



A Consultation of Physicians at the W. C. Health Center

THE YOUNG CIRCLE LEAGUE

(Continued from Page One)

ties, along with so-called "character building," are the objectives of the various Y's and Community Centers, in the Young Circle League the social, athletic and dramatic activities are only a means of interesting the young people; our real purpose is to develop a consciousness of current social, economic and political problems in our members, and to imbue them with a passion to work co-operatively for the elimination of capitalism and the substitution of Socialism.

By means of an interesting play or the publication of a club magazine, a more effective lesson in Socialism can often be taught than by the most interesting and skilled lecturer. Our dramatics consists of plays that portray the life and struggles of workers—at any rate, plays that deal with a social problem. With the proper stimulus from a socialistically-minded leader, a boy or girl cannot go through picking a play, rehearsing it, understanding it, becoming part of it, and still remain quite the same person as when he went into it. In a great number of cases "something" happens to the participant. It is a "something" that dissolves a prejudice, that arouses an emotion favorable to the characters or to the situation portrayed.

The publication of a club magazine is another effective medium for conveying the lessons of our movement interestingly. And a magazine will reflect better than any one activity I know of, the change in attitudes.

In most every instance when we call the first meeting to organize a new club we are sure to get a few questions regarding the radicalism of the League. These questions are asked by the older ones, but there is plenty of evidence to indicate that the fear of radicalism is in the minds of the vast majority of those we seek to draw into our ranks.

Another illustration of the baggage of prejudices with which our youthful applicants arrive, is race prejudice. In the model constitution which we supply all clubs the provision that "any young man or young woman, between the ages of 16 and 25, may become a member of this club, regardless of race, color or creed," invariably meets with opposition.

The educational activities of the

League are conducted on the basis of monthly projects. Each club is asked to devote one meeting in the month to a discussion and another meeting during the same month to a lecture. Our lecturers are drawn from the Socialist and labor movement. Each month the League sends an outline on the subject of the month to the club's educational director. The monthly projects of the current year touch on such significant questions as "Fascism"; "The Next War"; "Russia Today"; "One Year of the New Deal"; "Revolutionary Literature" and "Proposed Roads to Socialism."

The educators' truism that we learn most effectively by doing, is made use of at every opportunity. A new member who brings with him an equipment of prejudices towards things radical, can have these prejudices dissolved by engaging in an activity that enlists his sympathies towards those suffering under an existing social injustice. Take the case of the boy who looks upon strikers as law breakers. Tell him of the suffering of a particular family in a strike. Or better still, invite a striker to tell the entire club the story of his hardships and suffering as well as the causes of the strike. Then ask the boy along with the rest of the club to go out and collect some money for the strike relief fund. He'll do it because his attitude towards strikers has undergone a change through his personal contact with a victim of the strike.

Countless examples can be presented of prejudices, antagonisms and fears of things radical that have been broken down after participation in a mass meeting, and enjoying the experience, resulting in a better attitude toward the idea behind the mass meeting or the parade, or the strike relief campaign, or the celebration of labor holidays or the birthdays of outstanding leaders in the radical movement.

It is significant that as the social-mindedness and social-consciousness of our members grow, less and less emphasis is placed upon social activities such as dances, bridges, parties; these are relegated to a place of lesser importance. Social activities, however, must be retained if we are to weld our clubs into socially harmonious groups.

THE SOCIAL SERVICE BUREAU

(Continued from Page One)

members are forced to come for aid, and to which we are obliged to send them, is also not supported by private charities but by the Federal Treasury.

As we pointed out at the outset of this article, the conception of a Social Service Bureau in the Workmen's Circle in 1925 was not the result of urgent need, because prosperity was still rampant and our members were well provided. It came, however, in very good stead when the economic, industrial and financial breakdown occurred in 1929. The Workmen's Circle members did not escape the horrifying conditions that the depression imposed upon all. Only then did we realize the great value of an organized Social Service Agency in the Workmen's Circle.

Unfortunately, the poor people are still with us. For that reason we must heed the cry for aid and the only way to do it, to save our members from humiliation and secure expediency in help, is to do it on an organized basis such as the Workmen's Circle has accomplished.

The great watchwords of social service work are Health, Vocation and Recreation. Under health we must also include all mental, physical

In connection with the latter, it requires the greatest sympathy of the stonger for the suffering of the weaker member of the community.

We have learned that we may be able to supply a member with a roof over his head, with the necessary food, with clothing and many other needs, but the greatest need that requires skill and human understanding in handling occurs in troubles of human relationship.

Our experience with such applicants has called for serious thought and great effort, and through such experience great tragedies were revealed to us in the homes of our members. It became evident that through lack of understanding parents have created a gulf between themselves and their children, and the results therefrom were quite devastating.

We know that all such problems require education and since the question was brought to the door of the Social Service Bureau we decided to inaugurate every possible means to eliminate those tragedies.

For that purpose we have devised a series of lecture courses on child psychology and adult education, led by an educator with twenty-five years of experience to her credit—Miss Meriam Finn-Scott—which touch on such vital

(Continued from Page One)

aim, first and foremost, should be to help the workers on every front, to be their succor in battle, their friend and mainstay in times of adversity.

This general idea in time became crystallized in the preamble of the Workmen's Circle Constitution, and was strengthened with the continued influx of revolutionary elements fleeing from the Thermidorian reaction of the first Russian Revolt in 1905. Social Democrats, Social Revolutionaries, Bundists and others, began to swell the

questions as: How to Know Your Child; The Home and its Influence Upon the Child; Adolescence; How We, Parents, Make Problems of Our Children; How to Avoid Conflicts in the Home; How to Know Yourself.

This series aims to give the most practical suggestions and help the parents and children in a manner conducive to understanding and better relationship.

We know that the proper relationship and understanding will help make the child selfless and socially-conscious citizens of the world, and the parents proud of their children.

All members of the Workmen's Circle have one aim and that is the emancipation of the working class. When classes will be abolished and the worker will be the owner of his own labor and beneficiary of his own toil, poverty will be eliminated and we will all see a better day.

Let us all unite and cooperatively work to that end. If social service will be required then, it will be for the purpose of the uplifting of mind and spirit, and not for material and physical relief.

WE EXTEND THE HAND OF SOLIDARITY TO ALL WORKERS. OUR CONGRATULATIONS TO THE NEW LEADER. LET US STRIVE TO MAKE THE NEW LEADER A GREATER POWER IN EVERY BRANCH OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Workmen's Circle

Branch 1—New York

" 3—New York
" 4—New York
" 6—New York
" 7—Union City, N. J.
" 20—Bronx, N. Y.
" 25—New York
" 27—Rochester, N. Y.
" 29—Buffalo, N. Y.
" 39—New York
" 42—New York
" 45—Pittsburgh, Pa.
" 47—Elizabeth, N. J.
" 52—Bronx, N. J.
" 52-B—New York
" 62—Passaic, N. J.
" 64—New York
" 64-B—New York
" 66—New York
" 69—Wilmington
" 73—Plainfield
" 75—New York
" 84—New York
" 92—Washington, D.C.
" 93—New York
" 96—New York
" 99—New York

Br. 110—Providence, R. I.

" 111—Detroit, Mich.
" 114—San Francisco, Cal.
" 107—Newark, N. J.
" 117—Schenectady
" 121—Paterson, N. J.
" 138—Philadelphia, Pa.
" 149—New York
" 155—Toledo, Ohio
" 177—New York
" 183—New York
" 200—Brooklyn
" 206—New York
" 208—New Brunswick
" 209—Philadelphia, Pa.
" 210—New York
" 212—Norfolk, Va.
" 225—Bronx
" 238—Hammond, Ind.
" 244—New York
" 247—New York
" 251—Providence, R. I.
" 275—Bronx, N. Y.
" 276—Passaic, N. J.
" 277—New York
" 278—New York
" 295—Brooklyn
" 312—Memphis

Br. 315—New York

" 352—New York
" 353—Duluth
" 358—San Diego, Calif.
" 362—Camden, N. J.
" 390—Erie, Pa.
" 392—Brooklyn
" 402—Brooklyn, N. Y.
" 412—New York
" 419—Brooklyn
" 423—Brooklyn
" 441—Jacksonville, Fla.
" 457—Grand Rapids
" 470—St. Louis
" 481—Brooklyn
" 486—West New York
" 495—Chattanooga
" 500—Brooklyn
" 530—Houston, Texas
" 641—Nashville
" 684—New Brunswick
" 698—Oakland, Calif.
" 705—Roxbury, Mass.
" 711—Springfield
" 845—Bronx, N. Y.
" 933—Brooklyn
" 957—Denver, Colo.

The W. C. and What It Stands For

rank of the Workmen's Circle and quickly and indelibly burned the mark of labor radicalism into its body, which thereafter always remained as its distinguishing mark.

The education of the masses in the Workmen's Circle continued. A special department to carry on this work was created. The Workmen's Circle knew the necessity of spreading enlightenment among the masses, of elevating them to a higher degree of culture. It knew that strong body and muscles alone, going for the most part toward the enrichment of the few, was not enough. It was necessary to make them use their brains as well as their brawn, make them understand their position in the existing capitalist economy, to see its class relationships, to have them fight for its overthrow to the end of building a new order based on greater justice and understanding.

Nevertheless, while the leaders of the Workmen's Circle realized the importance of this larger aim, they did not neglect the day-to-day needs of the membership. They tried to combine the ideal of a classless society with the pressing demands of a day-to-day existence. Benefit for Illness, Old Age and Death were adopted; institutions like the Sanatorium, the Cemetery Department, and the proposed Old Age Home were created; a Medical Department, a Health Clinic, District Doctors to care for the health of the membership without much cost, were provided for; a Social Service Bureau was established; Schools for children and Clubs for young people were set up.

Combining these two elements of necessity and ideal brings to mind the Biblical analogy of Jacob's dream of a ladder, its top reaching

high into heaven, its legs rooted deep in the earth. In the case of the Workmen's Circle, too, its social ideal of a classless society reaches high into the heavens, while the reality of its day-to-day struggle for material improvement is rooted firmly in the ground.

The Workmen's Circle has frequently been called the "Red Cross of the Labor Movement." This gives the impression of our organization as an "aid" to the labor movement. The image is not wholly correct, in my opinion. We are more than an "aid"; we are an integral part, an important factor. The Red Cross implies *neutrality* on the battle field; its functions is merely to succor the sick and the wounded. But the Workmen's Circle does more than that. For, while it gives the necessary aid to the wounded of labor, it does not, never has, and never will forsake the battle field. Its entire history is shining proof of its active combatancy on the barricades of labor. Moreover, its foremost leaders have been generals in these battles, supplying leadership to the scattered armies.

The Workmen's Circle has always considered itself a part of the larger labor movement, be it on the industrial or political front. It has a place in its ranks for all radical and progressive elements imbued with a spirit of justice and a willingness to fight for something finer and better, for a more rational world. The Workmen's Circle is a great army of such men and women engaged in a battle to the finish, a battle that will end in the erection of a new order of society free from the brutal exploitation and human misery of this one.