

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

VOL. XVII.—No. 18

In Two Sections—Sec. 1

SATURDAY, MAY 5, 1934

N. Y. C. Edition

Price Five Cents

THE GREATEST MAY DAY



Unions Join the Socialists in Record March

By William M. Feigenbaum

*'Tis the Final Conflict,
Let each stand in his place;
The International Party
Shall be the human race!*

STAND with me on the platform on the east fringe of Madison Square Square Park and look over the vast sea of faces and of tossing red flags as division after division swung down Madison Square each headed by its band playing the International. Stand with me facing the thousands, the tens of thousands of workers happy in their great May Day celebration, shouting cheers for Labor and for Socialism, singing their hope and their certainty of victory in the Final Conflict.

Stand with me and watch the serried ranks of Vanguards, of Yipsels, of party branch after party branch with clenched fists raised high pledging their all to the only battle wherein no man can fail, where whoso falleth and dieth yet his deed shall still prevail.

Stand with me during the long hours of the sunny May Day afternoon as Madison Square Park filled up with men and women, boys and girls, with banners and with bands, as the very air throbbed with the stirring strains of the International, and you, too, will thrill with me as did every one on the platform at the greatest May Day demonstration in the history of the United States.

Forty-eight years ago American labor set May Day, 1886, as the date of a general strike to win the pathetically modest demand of an eight-hour day. That strike failed, defeated by the united power of the bosses; and out of it grew the dreadful and bloody tragedy of the Haymarket and the frame-up and the judicial murders that followed.

Forty-five years ago the world Socialist movement selected May Day as International Labor Day, and for all the years that have followed there have been demonstrations in every corner of the world.

Today the world lies in ruins, and brutal, bloody fascist reaction rules in once free lands where once the workers marched happily to

the strains of the International. And so today, in 1934, May Day was a memorial, a challenge and a defiance; a memorial to Johannes Stelling and Kolomon Wallisch and Giacomo Matteotti and to the countless other martyrs of fascism and capitalism in all lands; it was a challenge to the might of the exploiters; and it was a defiant an-

Streets are Gay With Myriad Red Flags

swer to the brutality of the decadent masters who would trample the workers under foot.

And so May Day, 1934, was the answer!

It was the greatest May Day demonstration in the history of the United States. Estimates vary, some capitalist dailies reporting as many as 100,000 in line and in Madison Square. It is safe to assert that there were between 75,000 and 80,000 workers in line, most of them members of unions marching behind their officials with the banners of their organizations.

Tens of thousands of workers, organized for the first time in their lines, marched through the streets of mid-town New York to the Square marshalled by their officials and singing the International and the Red Flag. To them it was a stirring introduction to the meaning of the unionism with which they had so recently thrown in their lot.

Too much credit cannot be given to Sam Friedman's Rebel Arts organization, which supplied hundreds of banners, posters and huge allegoric signs carried in the parade. Labor of love, the Rebel Arts boys and girls worked for weeks on this picturesque feature to the demonstration that was widely commented upon by demonstrators and onlookers alike.

It was a real United Front demonstration. Every section of the working class movement—with one exception—was there. Trade unions, XIth-Marty branches (clay to a DALZE Eight)

While Hitler Raves and Goering Shrieks, the Workers Prepare

ON May Day, Adolf Hitler made a speech to a little gathering estimated at 2,000,000 people. He talked about the dignity of labor. He talked about the fusing of the workers into a great national whole. He talked. . . . He always talks.

On May Day, Göring shrieked and Göbbels raved. On May Day, the leaders shouted about the "unity" of the nation. On the May Day they had stolen from the workers they torture and enslave, the leaders of the "new" Germany again proclaimed that the whole nation was back of them to a man—except for the Jews and Socialists and pacifists and intellectuals and liberals and democrats and Catholics and Marxists and other riff-raff and trash like that.

But on May Day they did not report what has been happening in the shops, where the workers are being called upon to vote for Shop Councils.

Two million Berlin workers, half the population of that great city, were regimented and marched to Tempelhof Field, there to stand and listen to speeches and to raise their arms and shout Heil. Two

million Berlin workers were compelled (on pain of savage punishment) to wear bronze buttons bearing the swastika and the (!) hammer and sickle (!) and to pretend to be thrilled at the sight of the Great Man.

But the same workers, in their factories, are showing that the spirit of the Socialism that organized them and taught them and inspired them still lives.

W. N. Ewer, the exceptionally well-informed foreign editor of the London Herald, reports that "The Nazi government is seriously alarmed at the evidences of growing unrest and hostility to the new regime among the German masses. 'The recent elections in the factories of workers' representatives under the Labor Law have increased the alarm.'

"IN COUNTLESS CASES, IN SPITE OF ALL THE PROPAGANDA AND PRESSURE, NAZI

WEVD New Leader Speaker

Ben Blumenberg of The New Leader staff will be the speaker of The New Leader period of Station WEVD (1300 Kc.) Friday, May 11th, from 5:00 to 5:15 p. m. William M. Feigenbaum, Associate Editor of The New Leader, speaks Friday, May 4th, at the same hour.

CANDIDATES HAVE BEEN REJECTED IN FAVOR OF 'NEUTRALS'.

It is an open secret that to vote against the prepared Nazi list is to invite trouble. It is likewise an open secret that the workers have been voting for their own candidates, tried and trusted Socialists. Often the latter are called "neutrals," but the word fools no one. Often the votes are thrown out as "void," But that fools no one, either.

Here are the results of a few scattering elections, a wisp of straw that shows the way the breeze is blowing and which way the gale and the hurricane will soon blow:

Wolfsbank Mine—Entitled to vote, 1,357; Nazi votes, 241; "Void," 1,116.

A newspaper printing plant—319 entitled to vote, 107 Nazi votes and 217 "void."

Electric works—233 votes. For the Nazi, NONE. Votes AGAINST the Nazi, 9; "Void," 224.

There are many such figures available, but Hitler did not boast about them in his "great" speech on his prostituted May Day. They indicate that those who hope for the Day are of good cheer.

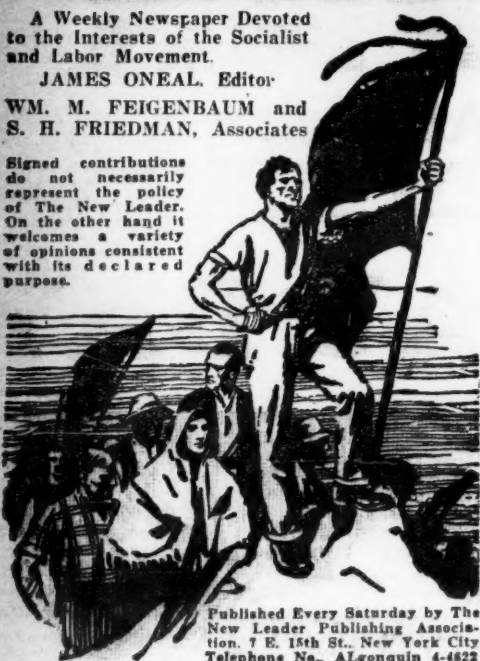
NEW LEADER

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.



Published Every Saturday by The New Leader Publishing Association, 7 E. 15th St., New York City Telephone No. ALgonquin 4-4622

Volume XVII No. 18

SATURDAY, MAY 5, 1934

The Socialist Drive

THE terrible poverty so widespread throughout the nation affects the Socialist Party in its effort to raise the funds that are so essential for its educational work and yet despite this handicap the United Socialist Drive is being carried on with vigor in many states. This is a year of congressional and state elections and we must do our utmost to get the most out of this drive. Some states will be unable to carry on an effective campaign unless they are aided. We urge every one of our readers, to give whole-hearted support to the drive. Give till it hurts!

Fascism and Religion

INTELLIGENT workers who observe the rise of fascism in Europe know that it has a religious content. In Germany a large section of the Protestant faith is fascist while in Italy and Austria the ruling fascism is of the Catholic type. In the latter two countries' fascism has restored the union of Church and State. Not a week passes that press dispatches do not carry some reference to the religious or church aspects of fascism in one or more nations abroad.

This phase of fascism has the possibility of dividing workers in a way that would play into the hands of fascism in general. Whether a ruling class annexes a Protestant or Catholic church, a scientific or atheist cult, for its own purposes should not divert the attention of the working masses into a futile debate over the faith or cult that is so annexed. No matter what religious or other phase fascism takes, it is the ally of the ruling class and the enemy of the working class. Protestant fascism is not the special enemy of the Catholic worker and Catholic fascism is not the special enemy of the Protestant worker. *Fascism of whatever type is the enemy of the whole working class and to single out the religious aspect of a given type of fascism and to argue against it on that basis is for workers to play into the hands of the enemy.*

In this country we have seen Jewish bankers singled out for condemnation, as though we would be satisfied if all bankers were Americans. There are big corporations in this country whose directors include Catholics, Protestants and Jews and they act as a unit in framing labor policies. They permit no religious differences to interfere with these policies. They act in accord with the interests of their class. The Catholic capitalist will sanction the breaking of a strike even though he may know that he is reducing the standard of living of workers of his own religious faith. The same is true of the Protestant exploiter and it is notorious that in the needle trades many of the worst exploiters of Jewish workers are Jewish owners of needle trades shops and factories.

The experience of the working masses in all include all men

countries shows that however much piety the exploiters of labor may profess they do not permit their religion to be the main concern in dealing with the workers. Working people should display the same intelligence. No matter what type of fascism rules, it places the workers of all faiths under the boots of the class that lives by the exploitation of labor. For this reason the Protestant worker should be the first to denounce German fascism and the Catholic worker should be the first to denounce Austrian or Italian fascism. *For each to denounce the other type would be an exercise in hypocrisy and a desertion of the class ideal that should unite all workers in a common solidarity.*

It is important to stress this matter as we have occasionally received material that is tolerant of Protestant fascism and opposed to the other and tolerant of the other and opposed to Protestant fascism. Whatever mask it wears, fascism means chains for all workers. All workers must oppose it no matter what church it annexes and oppose it with the economic arguments that apply to all its forms.

Capitalism and Intellect

JAMES P. WARBURG of the Bank of Manhattan Company this week offered some 300 bankers a political platform. He would have them pledge loyalty to "a capitalistic system" which would provide "reasonable reward for work or enterprise." This system would recognize "that to be born with superior strength or intellect or material advantage carries with it an obligation to use such strength for the general welfare."

What is a "reasonable reward" for work and for enterprise? Work is for workers and enterprise is for owners. What is a "reasonable" reward for one and for the other? Most workers' reward is enough wages to feed house and clothe their families while enterprise may be rewarded anywhere from ten thousand to tens of millions of dollars a year. Be precise, James; we don't know what you mean.

Then there is the assumption that the man with large holdings is of "superior strength or intellect." What of the intellect of our ruling Babbitts who again and again in the past several years have announced that "the worst is over"? What of Jim Fisk, Daniel Drew, Commodore Vanderbilt and others like them who could hardly write their own names? The fact is that capitalism heaves the shrewd gambler into power, not the man of intellect, and those with intellect will not rule till Socialism displaces our bourgeois swine.

The Brainless Slave

WITH the machine robot and the electro eye displacing labor, one need not be surprised to learn of the machine marvel that will displace thousands of mathematicians. Parts of the machine are on exhibition in Philadelphia. The "differential analyzer," as the machine is called, is said to solve in fifteen minutes a problem which required five government experts four months to find the solution.

First the hand, then the eye, and now the brain is being mechanized. Perhaps, by the end of the century the robot will displace most all human effort. It will not vote or strike; it will obey orders; it will not think a thought not approved by its owners; it will be the ideal worker, the most perfect slave in all history.

The brainless slave! The ideal of capitalist civilization!

The "Christian State"

THE much advertised "Christian State" of Chancellor Dollfuss emerged in Austria on Monday with the adoption of a "constitution" by "parliament" which also approved 471 government decrees of the past fourteen months. The constitution makes God the partner of Dollfuss and his fascist squads and puts the "Christian" seal on the bayonets of his gangsters. The landlords, capitalists, bankers, militarists and clerical butlers of capitalism are cemented into this "constitution" for the time being.

This new state reduces the working masses to mudsills but not for all time. The Socialist movement for the moment is crushed but not defeated. It is active and fired with the determination to destroy the ruling cliques and their regime.

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

By the Editor

CALIFORNIA TO THE FRONT

BUILDING the Socialist Party is the main function of a Socialist publication, and The New Leader has kept this primary need in mind throughout the period of its publication. Out in California the organized Socialists recognize this service performed by The New Leader. Through the state organization of the party we have made arrangements to give the California comrades a special column once each month for reporting their activities.

This week a thousand copies of The New Leader go to the California locals and branches. Through this arrangement we will reach practically every party member in that state, and we greet the California comrades with the hope that our cooperation will help to build a powerful and disciplined party organization that will produce good results before the end of the year. Forward to a powerful party organization in California!

A Big Sub Drive

Nearly three weeks ago a conference with representatives of the Workmen's Circle resulted in a planned drive throughout the country to add 5,000 new readers of The New Leader. It takes some time to organize such a drive and reach the circles in all the states, but returns are already coming in from even as far as the Pacific Coast.

A few of the large cities we have already heard from include New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis and Los Angeles, and by the middle of this week the total of new subs from this drive numbered 125. This is a fine beginning and we are confident that from these early returns the Workmen's Circle will make good, as it always has in any cooperation that it undertakes with any other organization or institution.

From an Oregon Local

Let me add my word of appreciation for The New Leader. From week to week Milwaukie Local supplies itself with a small bundle of The New Leader through the state office, and we are beginning to feel the urgency of placing a copy in the hands of every alert Socialist.

The New Leader embodies many fine features, but your clear-cut analysis of the Communist position is especially important at this time. To soft-pedal the difference between the Socialist and Communist point of view is to invite

disaster. The Communists have designated us Socialists as their worst enemies, and to ignore the issue is merely to practice self-deception. If there is a difference between Communist and Socialist thought, consistency demands that the difference be made clear. Experience has taught us here at Milwaukie that the issue cannot safely be ignored. All power to The New Leader!

John H. Bates, Publicity Director of Milwaukie Socialist Local.

Some More Letters

Our Labor Section has made a hit. Bertha Mailly of the Rand School writes that "It is a move that every reader ought to encourage not only by financial support but also by pushing the circulation, especially among labor organizations."

Eli Bourdon of New Hampshire sends a sub and a dollar for the Labor Edition Fund and declares that the Labor Section "alone is worth what we pay for The New Leader. The Leader leads them all."

C. F. Zachary of California thinks "The New Leader is O.K. and I don't want to miss a single number."

E. K. Barnard of Staten Island is of the opinion that "The New Leader is improving all the time." John J. Kinsley of Massachusetts is of the same opinion, and Charles H. Cormack of Kansas writes that it is "one of the best papers published in the cause of the Socialist Party."

The Ehrlich Pamphlet

AN interesting pamphlet on the international Socialist movement is published by the Bund Club of New York, "The Struggle for Revolutionary Socialism," by Heinrich Ehrlich of the Jewish Socialist Party of Poland. Copies of it can be obtained at the Rand School Book Store for 25 cents.

Comrade Ehrlich presents an interesting account of the Paris Congress of the Labor and Socialist International and is caustic in his criticism of the German delegates and the International in general. He begins by presenting the confusion that has developed in the International since the rise of fascism in Germany, and this is the main theme of the pamphlet. About half the pamphlet is devoted to an invaluable account of the conference of Left Parties in Paris. The confusion and chaos of ideas at this conference are almost incredible, and yet the "splinter parties" associated with it live in the hope of replacing the other internationals!

Comrade Ehrlich supports the minority resolution on the Struggle for Power that was defeated at the Paris Congress of the L.S.I. Comrade Kantorovitch, one of the translators of the pamphlet, also supports it in his introduction. The undersigned disagrees with it and states his reasons for this dissent in an article in this issue. Even

Kantorovitch admits that the resolution suffers from "lack of clarity," that "certain expressions should be changed," that the "concept of proletarian dictatorship" requires "greater clarification," but that its "spirit" is acceptable. That is to say that the resolution is confused and adds to the confusion which Comrade Ehrlich discusses in the pamphlet. J. O.

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.

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

New York Marches

By Max Winter



Max Winter in the Parade

THAT was a great event for me and an experience too, this New York May Day. I was surprised to find so many workers behind the Red Flag, behind the signs of Socialism. And this was also great, a hope for me, a hope for a better future.

Three signs justify this hope.

There were in the mass demonstration many thousands of union comrades, not alone the big masses of the garment and clothing workers but also many other unions and they had in their ranks not only signs with inscriptions and symbolic emblems, but many a red flag was to be seen waving over the heads of the masses.

That was a magnificent Socialist demonstration. The bands were playing all workers' songs and the masses sang with them.

The second sign was the interest our youth takes in our movement. That was perhaps the finest part of the great march: the section of the young people. At the head the girls, every girl in a blue blouse with a red neck shawl

CAPTAIN WILLIAM J. PEDRICK is President of the Fifth Avenue Association, and he protests against the way May Day parades keep people from buying goods in the stores that maintain his organization.

"The attitude of the city administration," he says, "in permitting yesterday's parade to tie up business at this critical time indicates a non-cooperative attitude."

But he was wrong. As soon as he uttered his protest, the LaGuardia administration became quite "cooperative" and announced that May Day parades in the future will be so routed that nobody seeking to spend money will find any difficulty in finding "cooperative" business men prepared to take it from them.

This isn't very important, of course, but it indicates something that has got to be carefully noted. The issue involved is not free speech or free assemblage, it was the right to make a little money, and instantly a couple of hundred thousand people are told to take their durned parade somewhere else where it will not break Captain Pedrick's heart.

and every girl a red flag! That was a glorious sight, a sight I have seen often in former time in my poor Vienna. And behind the girls were marching the men— young people, each young comrade also with a red flag; and this raised my hope that the task of a flag is to fly before a mass; and so we can hope, that all these flags will fly before masses in future time. The ranks of youth were the most spirited. The band plays, and not only in rank and file were marching all the young people under the leadership of two young Europeans, Comrades Lipschitz and Eisner, they sang all the great songs of the working class with enthusiasm, the International, the Marseillaise, the European songs: We are the young garde of proletariat and the other rising song with the original refrain: "We are the workers of Vienna."

"So flieg Du flammende, du rote Fahne

"Vor dem Wege, den wir ziehen.

"Wir sind der Zukunft getreue Kämpfer

"Wir sind die Arbeiter von Wien."

And the third sign: At the end of the march causes the group of the Trotzkists, of the opposition

The LaGuardia administration is the result of a mass protest against something, and so a lot of unrelated elements got into it all together. Every man and woman in it seems to mean well; and yet the only people who seem to get anything out of it are the people who want the Mayor to be "cooperative" and help them when there is danger of not making the money they want to make.

For example, there is the matter of the saving of \$2,275,945 on the budget of the city. There is the little matter of the cut in pay Mayor LaGuardia gave himself, so that he now has a mere \$420 a week instead of the \$500 he had before.

There is the little matter of the livelihood of 1,062 city workers, deprived by their Mayor of the only means by which they can live and support their families and purchase goods and contribute to a restoration of what is humorously known as "prosperity."

Charles Solomon and Louis Waldman appeared before the Board of Estimate and protested; but the Board was "cooperative" and made the cuts in order to balance the budget. The teachers and the street cleaners get their "furloughs" and payless vacations. BUT THE

BANKERS GET THEIR SWAG QUITE IN FULL!

That is being "cooperative." Indeed, so "solvent" is the city now that a syndicate of Clearing House banks announces that they are prepared to lend the city \$75,000,000 more—at 4½%—and thus to start the bad old Tammany system all over again.

Here are a few unrelated facts—not so unrelated, however, as you might think:

The city under the LaGuardia administration wants to clean house and balance the budget.

It has an agreement with the bankers, and makes no move to moderate or abrogate that agreement. It sets out to pay in full.

It has an agreement with the city workers, and it cheerfully and quickly breaks that agreement.

The bankers want their loot, and they get it. The workers need their living—and they do not get it.

For comment and interpretation you are referred to what the Socialist Party said before election, and many times since election. The Socialist Party has always been right. It has always been able to say, I told you so. But isn't it time people stopped seeing we were right only after the event?

BUILD THE SOCIALIST PARTY!

The YPSL's in the Parade

Months of hopes, months of preparations — and, finally, the Young Socialists of New York in the Young People's Socialist League and in the Socialist Party achieved their goal more impressively even than they had hoped.

Facing a beaming sun, the Socialist reaction passed through Madison Square Park's streets, hailed by tens of thousands of workers. The Socialist Guard's picked squad, the amazingly effective Socialist Women's Guard with its straight columns and its blue shirts, to say nothing of the flapping flags, the Yipsels in blue

shirts, the young men and women whose columns stretched for blocks, whose banners and posters and stunts were the result of weeks of tireless work—these were some of the highlights of the May Day testimony that the Young Socialists are marching on.

No experienced or highly-paid sign painters were working on the YPSL part of the demonstration. After school, after work—the Yipsels gathered to do their work. Nothing kept them from that parade of workingclass might.

Let's hope that the army will be much bigger next year! And let's hope that the huge parade of workers next year will be a parade not only of workers—but of Socialists. Only our labors and devotion will bring that about.

in the Communist Party and their speaker spoke to all, "to Communists and Socialists, anarchists and syndicalists," to all parties and factions of the Socialist movement once more the great word of Karl Marx:

WORKERS, UNITE!

Unions, young people, and Communist comrades, ready to make peace with all workers and with these ready to fight against capitalism, only against capitalism,

CROSSWAITH IS BRACK FROM 5,000-MILE TOUR

Frank Crosswaith who has returned from a successful lecture tour to the Pacific Coast reports that he found among the workers and farmers everywhere a greater interest in the Socialist movement than ever before.

"There is absolutely no doubt but that the tide of Socialism is definitely rising in the United States as elsewhere. As the inevitable failure of the so-called New Deal becomes more and more apparent, the workers and farmers everywhere are turning to Socialism as their only hope. The Negro, too, is happily being caught in the rising tide. Some of my largest and most successful meetings in Missouri, Kansas, Washington and California were organized and managed by Negro Socialists in these states.

"In spite of the noise being made by the Communists in their frantic efforts to capture the Negro, I did not encounter on my trip of over 5,000 miles a single informed Negro Communist, and only two or three of the others. On the other hand, many clear thinking Negroes feel that the Communist Party is using the plight of the Scottsboro boys to build the Communist organizations in the United States, and are resentful. Apparently, the Negro is learning at last how to identify carpet baggers, ancient and modern."

Comrade Crosswaith will speak on "The Negro at the Crossroads," Sunday afternoon at 3:30 o'clock before the Peoples' Educational Forum, 2005 7th Avenue (between 120th and 121st Streets).

GALA NIGHT IN THE ROCKAWAYS

At least once a year the Rockaway Branch stages a large affair to attract as many residents as possible who ordinarily do not patronize the usual branch affairs and also to replenish a depleted treasury.

The program for the night of May 5th is especially attractive. Norman Thomas is the principal drawing card, re-enforced by Sam DeWitt. An added scoop is the appearance of the renowned violinist Max Dolin.

Readers of The New Leader in all of the Rockaways and vicinity are urged to come; also make known to their friends and acquaintances of this event, Saturday night, at 8:30 p. m., at the Commodore Hotel, 127th St. and Boulevard, Rockaway Park. Admission includes refreshments.

They Sure Let No Grass Grow Under THEIR Feet!

FOR GREATER NEW YORK READERS ONLY!

... you remember that last week The New Leader Management took you into its confidence, telling you the LEADER'S HUSTLERS' COMMITTEE OF 16, elected by the recent conference of New York Party Branches, insisted that our making a special offer of the N. Y. C. Edition at \$1 yearly would mean thousands of new subs, with many renewals later at the full rate of \$2 yearly—AND, still more important, hasten by many months the DAILY PAPER that we simply must have if Labor is to fight effectively?

... as we told you, we already lost money on the National Edition at \$1, and must lose still more on a N. Y. C. edition at the \$1 rate, as the latter contains from 4 to 8 extra pages—

... so it was with our heart in our mouth that we last week told you we would meet the wishes of the Hustlers' Committee by making the Dollar Rate on the Greater N. Y. C. Edition—conditioning only that the special rate ends JULY 1ST.

BUT

... if we can judge by the few days since our offer, the Hustlers' Committee may know more than we do—for the ink was hardly dry on that issue before the Amalgamated Branch of the Bronx came in with a nice bunch of subs (promising more) and then, right behind them, the 16th A. D. Kings' with the 2nd A. D. treading on their heels—and a steady procession of ones, twos and threes ever since!

... we know, of course, that "It takes many Swallows to make a Summer," that that for the Dollar Rate to be justified we must have SUBSCRIPTIONS BY THE THOUSANDS—but we ARE encouraged by this first week's response—NOW, WHO'S NEXT?—Make a list of your fellow members and friends; show them this article, and ask them to help The New Leader grow from a weekly to a DAILY—OUR ADDRESS IS: 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

FALCONS CELEBRATE MAY DAY, TOO

By Edith Sachere

Second only to the huge May Day parade and demonstration itself, we insist, was the Falcon May Day parade. At 10 a. m. Sunday, April 29, Van Cortlandt Park was the scene of our impressive parade from the station—through the park, to our gathering place. Several hundred Falcons, most of the members of the 22 Flights represented, marched in beautifully orderly ranks, each Flight behind its flag. From the station, looking north, one could see the line stretching unbroken for about three blocks, with red neckerchiefs and red flags making a colorful spectacle.

In the afternoon in the delightful setting that the park affords, our May Day program was impressive. Gathered in a huge circle, with the flags massed at one end, the hundreds of Falcons, torches held aloft, recited the Falcon Pledge, sang the International and other labor songs, and resolved anew to build up the working class children's movement. Several Falcons gave short talks on what May Day signified to them, and one original poem was even recited by a little girl.

Charters were presented to three new Flights—Friedrich Engels Flight 11; Otto Bauer Flight 28, and Mateotti Flight 29.

Red May, the month of our membership drive, started off with a bang when a group of girls, not then Falcons but a neighborhood club, who had come along, decided that above all else they wanted most to organize their club into a Red Falcon Flight.

After a full day of organized games and eats, the tired, happy and resolute gang marched back to the station, agreeing that this May Day celebration, despite of or because of, they were not quite sure, it had not been broken up by the police (we had a permit)—was even better than last May Day.

Notes

Uniforms will arrive this week—so hurry up and place your order.

Guides' Council meeting Saturday, May 5, 5 p. m., 22 East 22nd St. Attendance of all Guides compulsory. Also bring down your reports.

Remember the following—Parents' meetings, Athletic Tournament, Handicraft Exhibit and Party—and the membership drive of Red May. Last but not least—the camp. A full report will be given at the Council—but it all depends on the theatre tickets—so push them for all you're worth.

WOMEN'S CLASSES END FINE YEAR'S WORK

The women's afternoon classes in Socialism, held for eighteen weeks at the Amalgamated Houses in the Bronx and in Bensonhurst, have come to a successful close.

The Amalgamated group of 35 women celebrated with a tea party on April 24th at the Amalgamated tea room which, by the way, has real atmosphere. Bertha Mailly and Mrs. Fine were the guest speakers.

The class presented their instructor, Esther Friedman, with eighteen red roses—one for each week of the mutually gratifying term.

Mrs. Volovick, tireless organizer, not only had arranged for a very attractive table loaded with many goodies, but, determined to keep the group together all through the summer, announced plans for a trip to Ellis Island.

The Bensonhurst unit also celebrated its successful class work at Bensonhurst headquarters on April 21st with an excellent entertainment and buffet lunch. Julia Primoff, one of the students, made a charming chairman. Esther Friedman and Eleanor Brannon delivered short addresses on the importance of women's agitation against war and the profit system, and joining the Socialist Party to

"Nothing Succeeds Like Success"

By Henry Fruchter

THE United Socialist Drive in New York City started rather late but, as though jealous of the showing made by other sections of the country, the branch organizers of the drive have attacked it with vigor and determination.

We in New York City are justified in feeling a sense of pride at the quickened tempo of our movement during the past few months. Following last election a large number of undertakings—political, economic and social—have occupied us from day to day at a breath-taking speed. Of course, most of the burden of this activity has fallen upon a comparatively small number of active workers; nevertheless, the repercussions of that activity has no doubt influenced the thinking of many thousands within the party organizations and outside its ranks.

The party office and its army of loyal workers handled such a variety of activities as the special Bronx election, the Forward ball, the Madison Square Garden meeting, the Carnegie Hall meeting, the picketing of Macy's and other stores, intensive work among labor organizations and unemployed groups, the International Bazaar—all within a period of a few months.

In addition, over a quarter million pieces of literature has been

printed and distributed in various sections of the city.

In attacking the task of raising the allotted \$7,000, New York's quota in the United Socialist Drive, we fully realized the difficulties involved at this time. Nevertheless, it was felt that with the enlivened interest in the Socialist Party as an organization and the awakened spirit of loyalty on the part of our large membership, the raising of a few thousand dollars should not prove an impossibility.

The Drive was started only four weeks ago, with lists widely distributed and quotas established for all branches. Within a few days of the inauguration of the Drive, three branches succeeded in raising their allotted quotas at single branch meetings.

An intermission was voted in the regular business of the branch, special donations given by the more well-to-do members, with a follow-up collection from the entire rank and file. The result was the raising of \$30 on the first occasion of the branch's meeting and the releasing of the branch from further responsibility.

We are hoping that all readers of The New Leader, all officers of branches of the party, will make this Drive their personal responsibility from today on. It is a well-known fact to all Socialists that the National Office of the party is seriously hampered from lack of funds, and at the present time, with the impending national con-

vention, financial help is desperately needed. And here in New York, too, the urgent need for literature, meetings, work among the unemployed is a matter of daily discussion among all active workers.

A successful drive, yielding fifty per cent to the National Office and fifty per cent to the city and state organizations will contribute substantially to a strengthening of our organization and an enhancement of our work along all avenues of expression.

Flushing Branch held a May Night Jamboree at their headquarters in the Terminal Building after the parade. Comrades from all Queens branches came in heartening numbers, and between singing and sandwiches and general good fellowship, \$37.65 was raised in cash for the United Fund Drive. Flushing is setting its own quota at \$150, several times its authorized quota.

We are all very much encouraged by a last-minute flood of donations from the following branches: Astoria Branch, \$50; Far Rockaway Branch, \$25; 23rd A. D., Manhattan, \$15; Branch 1, 22nd A. D., Kings, \$10; Jamaica Branch, \$7.50; Sunnyside Branch, \$27.75; 4th-14th A. D., Kings, \$10; Morningside Branch, \$75; Village Branch, \$61.50; 2nd A. D., Bronx, \$11; 11th A. D., Manhattan, \$9.50; B. Sokoloff, \$10; Flatbush Branch, \$6; Brighton Beach Branch, \$7; David Rosenblum (list), \$5.05. Total, \$330.30.

the party. The books were signed by all comrades present. Comrades Eliot White, Henry Fruchter and Matthew M. Levy delivered short addresses.

VIGILANTES FIGHT LABOR
HAVERHILL, Mass.—A citizens' vigilance committee—all who know their labor history will realize what that means—has been organized here to rid the city of "foreign" strike leaders, following the close of the six-weeks' strikes that involved 6,000 shoe workers. A settlement calling for a 10 percent wage increase and provision for arbitration of disputes.

RESTAURANTS

JOHN'S RESTAURANT
The best Italian dishes a specialty
Private dining rooms for parties
Open Sundays — Popular prices
302 EAST 12th STREET
Tompkins Square 6-9554
(Readers of THE NEW LEADER are especially welcome.)

For a fitting climax to a pleasant evening—come around to the
SAMOVAR
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The Restaurant
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Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals.
STAGG 2-3842

Labor Temple 213-247 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.

You will follow a program free from all tactical errors, a program that will live up to the code outlawing gloom—by attending

The Fourth Annual MILITANT DANCE
Added attraction: The Striking Movie, The Comrades and One Invention.
NEW WEBSTER MANOR
FRIDAY, MAY 11th • 125 East Eleventh Street

ANOTHER HOPE OF THE WORLD

This time the Yipsels want to raise money for themselves.

What comrade does not know that all year long Yipsels are raising money—for the Austrian workers, for the party campaign chest, for this strike and that strike, for this fund and that fund. All noble causes!

But now the Young Socialists must raise money for themselves. And that's why May 19th is the night for all comrades to trek to the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn, at seven in the evening, to have our Yipsel-prepared dinner, the atmosphere that only our Yipsels can provide, and to hear a symposium.

The dinner is forty-eight cents. The subject, "Fascism—The Hope of the World!"

Fritz Eisner, formerly of the Austrian Schutzbund, will be Chancellor Dolfuss.

Michael C. Arcone, financial secretary of the YPSL, will be Musso-lini.

Eddie Dawley will be Herr Hitler.

And Moishe Cohen will be the Official Heckler. He asks that no one chisel in on his domain.

Tickets at YPSL, 7 East 15th Street, N. Y. City.

Everyone ought to be there to help build the Young People's Socialist League.

Reservations must be in Tuesday, May 15th. Ten reservations get a table.

Lecture Notes

John Haynes Holmes and Lawrence Dennis, American exponent of Fascism, will debate "Is Fascism the Way Out for America?" at the Community Church Center, 550 West 110th St., Friday evening, May 11. Dr. John Howard Lathrop will be the chairman. This debate is under the auspices of the Bronx Free Fellowship.

DEBATE: "Is Fascism the Way Out for America?"
LAWRENCE DENNIS vs. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
FRIDAY, May 11th, 1934, at 8:15 P. M.
Community Church Center,
550 W. 110th St., N. Y.

Auspices of The Bronx Free Fellowship
(Tickets at \$1.00, 50c, 25c)

SUNDAY, May 6th, 8:30 P. M.
YOUNG AMERICA INSTITUTE
106 West 55th Street
7-Reel Film Story of the Russian Revolution "Ten Days That Shook the World"
Justine Wise Tulin will speak on "Russia: A Program of Plenty for Everyone"
followed by a Vetcherinka Russian Party & Dance
Admission 50 cents

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at specially low prices to organizations.
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29 E. 14th St. at Union Sq., N. Y. City
Phones, ALgonquin 4-3356-8843

Referred to the Strategists of Tammany Hall

Benito Can Give Cards and Spades to the Most Ingenious Election Crook That Ever Came Out of the Wigwam in the Gentle Art of Winning Elections.

FROM a cable despatch to *La Vanguardia*, Buenos Ayres Socialist daily, interesting light is shed on the reason for the overwhelming number of "Si" votes in the recent Italian "totalitarian elections." The cable was from the official Italian government news agency.

Each voter was handed two ballots: the one marked "Si" (yes) being printed with the national colors and the fascist emblem, while the "no" ballot was printed on plain white paper. Both ballots are "authenticated" on the outside with the signature of an election official. The colors of the "Si" ballot were visible even after folding.

Shortly before election a call was sent out to all registered voters by the fascist political secretaries to attend a meeting (and none dare decline such a summons!) to listen to "important and urgent communications." The following is a resume of the official statement of the government:

"The voter will take both ballots to the booth, where he will fold one, after the manner of a telegram, into a small rectangle, which, besides its transparency, bears the signature of authenticity. The elector must then deliver the ballot to the chairman of the board, who will deposit it in the box. The chairman can ascertain whether the vote is affirmative or negative by the simple fact of the 'signature of authenticity.' But there is a further control, of almost mathematical certainty, of the identification of the vote cast by the elector, due to the fact that on leaving the booth he still retains one of the ballots. The fascist militia on guard at the entrance to the polling place, 'to guarantee order and freedom in voting,' demands that the voter show his uncast ballot. Naturally, if he has retained the 'Si' ballot that proves



The Great Man

that he has voted 'No' and in that event the rebel, besides being subject to immediate and exemplary punishment, will be denounced by the militia before the Commission for Confinement in the Islands of Deportation for his bad, subversive and anti-national conduct."

And the sermon of the hierarchs terminated patriotically with the following injunction:

"Now everybody will know how to fulfill his duty, which is to vote the 'Si' ballot, not only for his own interest but in the superior interest of Imperial Italy of the Duce."

After which the free and independent citizens of Italy marched forth singing *Giovanizza* and cast their untrammelled vote for their beloved Benito to the tune of 10,041,997 against 15,265. Whereupon the Duce smirked and said: Behold, my beloved people are behind me almost to a man! B. L.

FIGHTING SPIRIT HAS NOT BEEN DULLED

In the Siemens factory, the largest electrical machinery works in Vienna, the workers unanimously elected as their shop stewards the Socialists who had been ousted by decree of the Dollfuss government.

When the names of the Socialists were rejected by the government, the workers refused to elect any substitute, saying that there was not a traitor within the factory.

In a large textile factory in Lower Austria, Dollfuss' "Patriotic" Front attempted to hold a meeting of workers. Four men turned up. As a punishment a number of workers were dismissed from their jobs. At another factory a "patriotic" meeting had to be called off because of hostile demonstrations by the workers.

According to the official reports of the Kuomintang government in China, there are now 800,000 workers in Shanghai and 202,408 of them, or 25%, belong to Labor unions. In Wusih the percentage of organized is larger—58, and in Tientsin smaller—13 per cent.

Words of Wisdom from Our Own Charlie

After the Crash

December 10, 1929: "Never before has American business been as firmly entrenched for prosperity as it is today."

October 16, 1930: "Looking to the future, I see in the further acceleration of science continuous jobs for our workers. Science will cure unemployment."

December 1, 1930: "Though I get depressed and blue sometimes, I know that our normal trend is upward and onward."

October 1, 1931: "The over-liquidated prices of many securities are a sign of too short perspective and too excitable temperament."

December 30, 1931: "I am just as confident as ever that we will ultimately emerge to a period of prosperity and happiness as great, if not greater, than any we have ever seen."

April 27, 1934. He said he was optimistic and believed that the depression, "the worst we ever had," was ended and that the country was really back on the solid road leading to prosperity.—New York Times.

May? June? July? August? etc. 1935? 1936? 1937?

Now turn to the Scriptures. Hebrews, 13: 8, for appropriate comment.

ONE of our most celebrated philosophers and economists, Charlie Schwab, steel king, has just returned from a pleasant sojourn abroad. He oozes wisdom from every pore. Charlie knows. Look to Charlie for the right tip on economic conditions. His forecasts for years have been treasured by "thoughtful persons."

Charlie was interviewed by the reporters upon his recent arrival from abroad. His sunny disposition captivated the newspaper men. What did he think of the depression? It is about ended and—

But, let Charlie speak for himself over the years. Ladies and Gentlemen, Charlie Schwab!

Before the Wall Street Crash

March 5, 1929: "I do not think that there is any danger to the public in the present situation."

October 25, 1929: "In my long association with the steel industry, I have never known it to enjoy a greater stability or more promising outlook than it does today."

The Basic Principles of the Modern Socialist Movement

By David P. Berenberg

This is one of a series of articles—six groups of six articles each—to appear in *The New Leader* in cooperation with the Committee on Education of the Socialist Party. The *New Leader* has enlisted the assistance of the Rand School of Social Science, whose staff have undertaken to help readers who wish to get the utmost value out of the series, by answering questions that may arise in their minds as they read, and directing them to sources of information, advising them as to further study, and so forth. Inquiries should be addressed to the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, New York, and if possible a few postage stamps should be enclosed, so as partly to pay the cost.

2. Are There Classes?

ONE of the weapons that the capitalist class (our present master class) uses in America—and an effective weapon it is—is to deny that there are classes. Naturally, if there are no classes, there can be no struggle between them. In America, they say, all are born equal, all are equal under the law. There is opportunity for rich and poor alike. It is possible for the son of a farmer or of a workman to become President, or a multi-millionaire. Classes exist, they say, in the old countries of Europe. Here, since we do not permit titles of nobility, to speak of classes is nonsense.

This is very clever—and altogether dishonest. No one denies that a few exceptional men and women born in the working class rise out of it into the ruling class. Nor, on the other hand, can it be denied that a few members of the ruling class slip back into the ranks of the workers. But to argue from these facts that classes do not exist is brazen effrontery.

Equality before the law is a beautiful phrase, but every worker knows how hollow it is when he fights a case for damage against a great corporation; when he sees Sacco and Vanzetti slain, and the Scottsboro boys railroaded to the gallows while a Harry Thaw, an admitted murderer, buys his way to freedom.

There are no legal titles of nobility, but phrases like "the four hundred," "the best people," "class advertising," "residential districts," "the diamond horseshoe" tell their story.

In spite of legal fictions, in spite of protests on the part of those who would pull the wool over our eyes, there are classes in America. The almost unanimous and automatic opposition of the press to all strikes is proof enough of that. If more proof were needed, it lies in the dastardly campaign against the Child Labor Amendment, in the persistence with which the capitalists sabotage the labor provisions of the NRA codes; in the crooked fight of the Motor Industry against unionization; in the fierce hatred shown by capital for all labor organizations; in the unending attempts to substitute slavish company unions for the free unions of the workers.

There are classes. There is a small class of men and women who own and control industry—the capitalist class. There is a vast class of men and

women who possess no property but their own bodies—the property-less workers, the proletariat. Between these two there is a large and bewildered middle group broken up into many fragments, that turns first this way, and then the other, but that on the whole sides with the capitalists.

The class of the capitalists is small and powerful. It consists of not more than two per cent of the whole population, yet it controls 65 per cent of all the property of the nation. It is itself dominated by about 150 men in whose hands are the great banks, the railroads, the supplies of basic metals, and hence real power, political and economic.

The proletariat consists of the huge mass. How large it is finally estimated to be depends on whether you include in it the farm laborers, the working farmers and those who are classed as "white collar" workers. If you do—and they ought to be included—then the proletariat consists of between 60 and 70 per cent of the people. And this huge population owns two per cent of the nation's wealth. Two per cent, as against sixty-five per cent.

Between these two are the groups that make up the middle class: the smaller manufacturers, who work in their shops side by side with the workers they employ; the small retail storekeepers, who likewise do day-labor in their stores; those farmers who own their land without mortgage, or who have a reasonable expectation of being able to pay off their mortgages; the professional groups (i. e., doctors, lawyers, dentists, architects, accountants).

These groups once dominated America. The America of 1776 was composed in large measure of people who would today be put into the middle class. In these days the middle class has lost its economic power and is rapidly losing even the small remnant of political power that it still retains. The small manufacturer cannot compete with the great factory geared to mass production. The chain store and the department store are crushing the small retailer. The owning farmer is being changed into a peasant tenant. Even the professionals are being crowded out by legal aid societies, title companies, hospitals, clinics and the growth of all types of social service.

Within a short time these three classes will become two—the class of the workers, great in number, great in possibilities, will stand face to face with the class of the exploiters, small in numbers, but great in prestige and by virtue of its wealth. Between these two forces the irrepressible conflict will be fought out.

Only a short while ago it was difficult for the workers of America to realize their existence as a class because it was relatively easy for them and particularly for their children to find a way out of the working class and into the middle class. This is no longer possible, even for the most gifted of the children of the workers. As this new fact is realized by the workers the struggle of the classes will grow sharper and more evident. Soon it will no longer be necessary to prove to the workers that a class struggle exists. They will know it through their own experience. Then the struggle will enter its final stages; it will become a struggle for power.

Workers' Fire Ins. Co. Reports Big Year

Declaring that "in spite of adverse conditions the membership of the Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society had increased and a financial surplus was evident," Executive Secretary N. Marquer delivered a favorable report at the annual meeting of the society.

"The surplus," Marquer pointed out, "would allow the Board of Directors to maintain the 10c rate for each \$100 of insurance carried by members." Membership as of December 31, 1933, numbered 63,265. The insurance values amounted to \$79,665,470. The assets of the society are \$1,037,048.33.

Following the report, officers for the coming year were elected as follows: Bruno Wagner, president; Neumann Marquer, executive secretary; John Hoffman, treasurer; Richard Pohle, recording secretary; August Jansen, controller; Ludwig Schmidt, John Balling, Emerich Steinberger, Adolf Grodinger and Jack Melhado, members of the Board of Directors.

Flury to Head West Virginia Party School

Dr. Henry Flury, founder and first president of the University of Pennsylvania Chapter of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society (now the League for Industrial Democracy) in 1908, has been elected Educational Director of the First Labor Summer School of West Virginia to be held near Philippi, July 1 to 31, by the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

The Board of Directors are as follows: Chairman, J. F. Higgins, State Secretary, Socialist Party; Secretary, G. G. O'Kane; Camp Sup't, W. E. Annon; Assistant Camp Sup't, J. R. McNeil; Organizer, Harold W. Glasgow; Assistant Educational Director, L. P. Malone. The faculty will be a combined academic and practical one consisting of Dr. Joel I. Seidman, Brookings Institute; Dr. Frank N. Trager of Johns Hopkins University; Dr. Robert T. Kerlin of Keyser, W. Va.; Dr. Shank of Wilson Teachers' College, Wash., D. C., and Prof. Bryan Fulk of Arkansas State College.

The main purpose of the school will be to train young men and women workers for progressive labor leadership, giving them courses in economics, labor history, strategy, tactics, unemployment, public speaking, social science and psychology, organization methods. The mornings will be devoted to study and class work, while the afternoon will be free for swimming, games, hiking and conferences. In the evenings nationally known figures will give addresses. Some of those expected to address the students are Norman Thomas, Harry Laidler, Frank Crosswaith, Marx Lewis, Jim Maurer, August Claessens, and George R. Kirkpatrick.

There will be no discrimination on account of color, race, sex or religion. Students will have to provide their own subsistence unless it is provided by relief agencies. Those who are interested should get in touch with Secretary O'Kane at an early date. Elizabeth Gilman, well known Socialist worker in Baltimore, is cooperating in getting aid for needy students.

BOOST THE NEW LEADER!

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

Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

Winning the Farmers

IT isn't easy to argue with one who reveals the choler Joe Sharts does on this page, but we shall try again. Joe reveals panic over the defeat of the movement in Germany and assumes that I hold to an "orthodoxy" that is not warranted by the changing world of capitalism. Every informed Socialist will welcome and always has welcomed a critical re-examination of our basic ideas and programs. Joe has done this, but he draws conclusions which we believe Socialists will reject.

It is true that the Manifesto of 1848 declared for the "abolition of property in land," but Joe himself goes back to the orthodoxy of that period and accepts it, although Engels in his preface to the Manifesto, written in 1888, states distinctly that the program from which Joe quotes was even then largely "antiquated."

Joe wants to win the farmers whom he includes in those who are "land-minded." Does he think that he can win them by promising the abolition of property in land? Hardly. We agree that it is necessary to "free the soil" for the users thereof, but we do not agree that it can be accomplished by the method Joe proposes. The future ideal that has a chance of winning the farmers is co-operative farming on a large scale, with society providing all the advantages of power, chemistry, and machinery. There is no reason why the farmers should not be permitted cooperatively to own their equipment and land while their productive activities are also integrated with urban industry. The possessive instinct would thus be expressed through cooperation and thus correlate it with the collective ownership of industry.

Two Phases of Land History

WHEN Joe speaks of the "plunder of the public domain," he confuses two things. That plundering was done by speculators and capitalists in alliance with servile members of the government. Its chief booty consisted of gathering in coal, oil and mineral resources; forests, quarry sites and, later, power sites. But by the side of this capitalist exploitation of the public domain there also appeared the small homesteader, who acquired his acres under various acts, permitting payment for his land in a number of installments. He and his heirs for generations have become "land-minded." Their possessions are based upon memories of back-breaking toil.

Now, any land program that does not distinguish between these two phases of the public domain is futile and harmful. To propose "abolition of property in land" and make no distinction between the two types is to make the small farmer the ally of the big exploiters of the public domain. Joe's orthodoxy goes back to 1848 and does this very thing. We should insist on the recovery of the plunder of the big exploiters but approach the small farmer in a different day. Otherwise we will turn him over to some Hitler financed by these same exploiters.

I do not mistake the fight we make for the organized workers as Socialism. I regard it as the duty of the Socialists in the class struggle, and when we fail in that duty we cease to be Socialists. To assume that when we help the worker to wrest increased wages and shorter hours from the owners of industry, these victories are obtained at the expense of the tax-payers, is something I am unable to understand. Why the exploiters of labor fight strikers when it is tax-payers who will pay the bill if a strike is won must remain a mystery.

The Patriotic Approach

WE cannot accept the patriotic approach Joe recommends. It seems to us very naive to assume that if the German Socialists had only seized the republic's banner before Hitler did, it would have changed the history of the German movement. The fact is, however, Hitler did not seize the republic's banner. He hated it and raised a new one, the swastika, and raised it by the side of the old monarchist banner.

Instead of trying to utilize the old American patriotic traditions, we should produce a working class literature that will give the workers a sense of their struggles and achievements as a class in our history. Most of our patriotic traditions are based upon a perversion of history and they concede nothing to the workers. In the Colonial period and in much of the later period of our history the farmers and workers have a continuous history of struggle against injustice and exploitation in many forms; yet knowledge of that struggle is lost to the modern workers. Back of the movement that culminated in the Declaration of Independence, which Joe mentions, was a class struggle for power by workers. The workers were defeated. Shall we tell their story or forget them, as the bourgeois historians have, and tell the story of the merchants, land speculators, smugglers and slave owners who were victorious in that struggle?

Cultivate historical knowledge and memories of the struggles of the masses, recover the inspiring story of many battles they fought against discrimination, injustice and class rule. Pick them up with their final phase, the struggle for Socialism. That is our job.

Come to Uncle's Arm



"Hop it, chaps, or they'll have us!"

[Italy, France and Germany are taking new measures to increase their birth rates]

Our Aim the Same, Though Our Methods May Change

By Otto Bauer

Comrades, there is only one party. Only one banner soaked in our blood.

We are led by those, who fell in the fight.

Koloman Wallisch is clearing the way for us.

—Kurt Doberer.

WE are Social Democrats. We are the successors of those who began the struggle for liberty that the Austrian workers, under the leadership of the Social Democrats, carried on for so many years.

We are the successors of that generation of workers who, under the glorious leadership of Victor Adler, gathered workers, imbued them with the spirit of class-consciousness, organized them, obtained for them the freedom of social activity, gained for them the right of universal suffrage, founded and developed their trade unions, reduced their hours of daily labor from eleven and twelve to eight and thus created the basis for the physical and spiritual regeneration of the working class.

We are successors to that generation of workers who in 1918 expelled the Hapsburg, founded the Republic, gained by armed force, under the leadership of Ferdinand Hannusch, the new code for labor—the eight-hour day, vacations with pay, factory and shop councils, unemployment insurance, the civil service law—and, under the leadership of Reiman, Seitz and Breitner, created a model of Socialist municipal economy ad-

mired by the entire proletarian world.

Just as after the defeat of the Russian Revolution of 1905 followed the victory of 1917 that has had world-wide significance so our February defeat will also be followed by triumph.

We are successors to the Austrian workers in their heroic war against fascism. We are successors of the February uprising, which is compared by the entire Socialist world to the glorious Paris Commune of 1871, and although unsuccessful, is of colossal historical significance in the development of socialism. We are heirs of Weissell, Wallisch and Munich-reiter. The banner of the Social Democracy, which fell from their lifeless hands, is taken up and carried on by us.

But though it is the same banner, the new situation requires new methods and new ways.

The Resolution of the International

As far back as August 1933, the Labor and Socialist International at its Paris conference adopted the following decision:

"In countries, where fascism is victorious, the fascist dictatorship can be overthrown only by a revolutionary uprising of the masses. The revolutionary power, emerging from a revolt against fascism, not only disarms fascism, but strikes a mighty blow upon its most important economic support—upon the private property of big capital, agricultural and industrial, lays the foundation for the new social order and establishes the Socialist democracy."

This decision of the International Social Democracy also shows us the road we have to take.

Under democracy we fought by means of the ballot. We wanted to win over the majority of the people to our ideas in order to reconstruct society by the peaceful method of the ballot.

The Austrian fascist dictatorship destroyed these democratic methods of struggle. This dictatorship can be conquered by no means other than revolution.

The disintegration of world capitalism

(Continued on Page Six)

Some Problems of American Socialism

By James Oneal

This is part of an address delivered by the editor of The New Leader at the Tenth Anniversary Dinner, Sunday, April 15.

THERE is protest in the party against political opportunism and some of it has taken the form of impossibilism, that is, a demand that all immediate measures be eliminated from the platform. I agree with the protest but not with its impossibilist form, which, in my judgment, would doom the party to sterility. However, the industrial crisis continues so severe and the future is so uncertain that I believe that our Congressional platform should eliminate most of the detailed measures we have hitherto stressed and only a few of the measures related to the socialization of banks and the basic industries, unemployment insurance, the child labor amendment, injunctions and civil rights should be singled out for special mention.

The rest of the platform should be a terrific indictment of the whole capitalist system in terms of the class struggle. It should also be a popular presentation of the Socialist philosophy and aim. The fearful prostration of industry and agriculture fully justify this emphasis upon our fundamental aims and listing mainly those measures that correlate with them.

How to Win America

Sharts Takes Exception to Criticism of Answer in "Editor's"

By Joseph

LET me enter protest against the cruel exploitation of the editor, Jim Oneal. He is so hard worked, he had to criticize my Program and Points of Policy without reading it through.

He says, "the program reverts back to the land reformers"; and "the Socialist movement emerged out of this view 75 years ago."

It happens the land planks are based upon the Communist Manifesto of 1848, written by those discarded "land reformers," Marx and Engels. These said the "first step in the revolution" must be for the working class to "win the battle of democracy," and then should come:

"1. Abolition of property in land."

If the Socialist movement "emerged out of this view," as Jim Oneal learnedly announces, I ask for particulars.

And into what did it "emerge"—to become the doormat of Hitlerism!

There was no excuse for the comment that I am urging "free access to the soil" in the style and spirit of the free-soil farmer of 75 years ago. Jim should have read the other planks.

But the one big point raised was: *How may we in America readjust our program and policies so as to avoid the destruction that overtook German Socialism?*

On that main point the editorial critic is stone blind, deaf, and dumb. Apparently he is so idolatrous of certain habitual forms,

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If we would democracy in must change policies. Thus pealed, in the st...

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Otto Bauer

NEW LEADER LABOR SECTION

Vol. XVII—No. 18

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 5, 1934

In Two Sections—Sec. 2

The Editor Comments

THE sinister and significant united front between the administration and police, the la-de-da liberals and the fire-eating Communists in regard to the use of Union Square May Day came in for some attention from this column last week. Traditionally the home of labor and Socialist demonstration, the Square was handed over to the Communists by a subservient police force, anxious no doubt to build up a legend of "red" frightfulness in order to aggravate an alleged problem and shed lustre on the police department's brilliant handling of that "problem."

The united front referred to—so different from the united front of Socialists and organized labor at Madison Square Park—won another equally noble ally on the afternoon of May Day and the next morning. The capitalist press rallied to the defense and aggrandizement of the Communist forces and proceeded to double and treble the numbers actually participating in the Union Square parade and to cut in half or third the vast numbers of men and woman who marched to Madison Square Park.

BUILDING A SOCIAL MYTH

What the secret object of the newspapers was can only be surmised. As an old newspaper man myself, I know that the Communists have succeeded in building themselves up into a "story." More attention was paid by the press and the movies to their goings-on; more reporters and photographers were assigned to them and their pronouncements were much more punctiliously observed and recorded. (So Dillinger gets more attention than Einstein.)

The kept press saw nothing to comment on in the fact that the International Ladies Garment Workers' and The Amalgamated Clothing Workers' contingents alone were one and a half times the size of the entire Communist turnout. The capitalist commentators saw nothing significant in the march of almost five thousand members of the Brotherhood of Painters, attired in white overalls and caps and participating in the demonstration for the first time in this generation's history of the building trades unions... vociferous and colorful indication of the fact that the labor movement is becoming aware of May Day and its implications and is drawing nearer to the Socialist ideal.

The seekers after sensation saw nothing in the fact that tens of thousands of real workers marched in the Madison Square Park parade, representing real and not paper unions. Nothing dramatic in the magnificent rally of the genuine hosts of labor assembled behind real revolutionary slogans and proclaiming the awakening of New York workers to the necessity for struggle AGAINST war and fascism, the open shop and company unionism, starvation and degradation in the midst of plenty, struggle FOR the 30-hour week, labor solidarity and a Socialist world. Saw nothing startling in the fact that the Stalinist Communists marched alone, deserted by all their erstwhile allies (except some intellectual neo-Marxists and crack-brained though able artists who see so much more opportunity for self-expression and self-aggrandizement behind the sickle and hammer than with the workers)—these former allies, not so strong in numbers but ideologically important, marched in a real united front with the Socialists.

MISLEADING THE WORKERS

The newspaper reporters and photographers took a look at the long but extremely narrow strip accorded by the police to the Socialist and labor demonstration at Madison Square Park and didn't apparently take the trouble to find out that physical conditions make it impossible to the trouble to find out that physical conditions made it possible to gather a huge-appearing crowd in the isthmus between up and down town, that tens of thousands were shunted away by the police at the subway stations and tens of thousands of others couldn't pierce the dense throngs who blocked the park lanes leading to the speakers' stand; that thousands waited in Union Square for the labor parade unaware of the changed meeting place (I talked to almost a hundred such workers myself) that thousands went to the neighborhood of Tammany Hall, misled by the clever but unscrupulous leaflets broadcast by the Communists and headed "Socialists and A. F. of L. Members, March to the United Front Meeting at Union Square!"

Apparently, these "reporters" forgot to scout around town; otherwise they could have discovered that at the very time the Communist chairman announced (at five after three) that the last Socialist parader had just filed into the "other" square, signalling the end of the meeting there, a number of contingents were just starting their long journey all 'round town, and that three hours after the hour some of the papers (apparently getting their news from Union Square) gave as the time of the end of the parade, divisions were still swinging in and filing past the red flag-draped reviewing stand.

REAL RED IN MADISON SQUARE

Apparently the reporter for the Daily Worker was as blind, though perhaps for different reasons, as the capitalist writers. He referred to the fact that the only red on the reviewing stand was in the red, white and blue flags. He may have been color-blinded by the flash of stripes in the innumerable American flags carried by members of his own contingents in their trek to Union Square. But take it from me—and check back with the movies (if the theatres don't also join the Stalinist united front)—that reviewing stand was one blazing conflagration of RED, and the Socialist and Young Socialist paraders—not to mention the I.W.W. and the Lovestonites and the Trotskyites and the unions and the Workers' Unemployed Union and the Workmen's Circle—carried a mass of banner, pennants, floats and signs which, if laid to end, would have filled up the Red Sea with no change in its color, if its color is anything like its name. New York never before was so rubricated.

The capitalist reporters, always so tender to big business, must (Continued on Page 2-L)

Most Impressive Labor Parade in New York History Marks May 1st

Huge Throng Pledges War on Capitalism

THE following resolution was unanimously passed by the huge mass meeting of the May Day Labor Conference at Madison Square Park on May 1:

"In the fifth year of the depression that was the inevitable breakdown of the system of production solely for capitalist profit; in the second year of the reign of sinister and murderous fascism in Germany, and on the very day of the proclamation of an even more sinister fascism in Austria; in the face of unspeakable persecution and outrages upon political opponents and outlawed racial minorities; faced by an ever-growing war danger in every corner of the capitalist world; tortured by hunger, unemployment, exploitation, the growing menace of company unionism, constant assault upon their liberties and an ever-growing arrogance of

the exploiting class of finance and industrial capitalism,

"We, Socialists and trade unionists, in May Day mass meeting assembled in Madison Square Park in New York, declare a ceaseless and relentless war upon capitalism—the cause of all the ills that afflict the world today.

"We turn this May Day into a powerful and mighty demonstration of working class unity against the bloody hordes of fascism. We raise the banner of international brotherhood and solidarity against the danger of a new world war. We raise the flag of peace. We launch a mighty demonstration for bread and work for all. We reaffirm our opposition to a system that has made outcasts and beggars of forty million people in the United States.

"We prepare the way for a workers' world of peace and plenty for all who toil."

By Gertrude Weil Klein

ORGANIZED labor marched on Tuesday, marched in the largest Socialist and labor parade the city has seen. According to a total check of the estimates made by the marshals in charge of each union's division, there were in the union section alone 50,000 workers, members of regular labor unions, in line with the Socialists, Workmen's Circle, I.W.W., and other allied groups.

The labor division was by far the most impressive one, if not the most colorful and spirited. Here were the city's earnest, sane if somewhat settled, determined if no longer young, workers. There wasn't as much singing or dancing or shouting as in the young Socialist and other divisions, but there was a look of solidity, of intelligence, of trustworthiness about the line that bespoke the years of struggle and of building that had gone before, and the period of tenacious holding what they had built, during these terrible years of unemployment and suffering.

This Was Labor!

They knew what they were about. They knew it deep in their

DOLLFUSS, MUSSOLINI, HITLER—ALL DICTATORS MUST GO!



Industrial Workers of the World Contingent Provides One of Many Colorful Shots in Parade, Voicing Workers' Hatred of Fascist Dictators

10,000 Leather Workers Strike

SALEM, Mass.—Ten thousand leather workers in Salem, Lynn, Danvers Woburn, and this city went out in a general strike this week, shutting down 30 factories in these five cities

Remembering the disorder during the last leather workers' strike a year ago, when the hiring of

thugs by the industrialists and the endeavor to import scabs resulted in violence, workers in the tanning communities regarded the mobilization by police authorities of emergency forces as significant. But long lines of pickets surrounded most of the 30 factories at five o'clock in the morning.

bones, where it had been bred years before. Did they once dance and shout and sing in their May Day parades, or did they always display an almost Nordic assurance and calm? They marched as though they realized that they were THE labor movement, lied about and vilified by the propagandists of both the left and right, assailed by enemies speaking in the name of one form of reaction or the other, but nevertheless the historic, (Continued on Page 3-L)

Steel Boss Uses Norris' Act To Sanctify Company Union

WASHINGTON.—Tables were again turned against labor in the United States District Court here when the provisions of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, hitherto regarded only as a labor anti-injunction safeguard in industrial relations, were invoked by the notorious Weirton Steel Co. in its defense against a government suit. The government is attempting to force an election among the company's steel workers to decide which type of union they prefer. The Weirton Company, rooting for the company union and claiming that a farcical poll recently conducted by it called for this form of organization, maintained in court that the law prevented "summary action against an employer under the labor guarantees of the National Recovery Act."

It is believed that the case will have important and far reaching effects on the whole question of collective bargaining guarantees under the NRA. The company's counsel, Earl F. Reed, declared that if the government were allowed to hold an immediate election at Weirton, "labor trouble would certainly be created which would spread rapidly through the many industries now operating under similar company unions." This prediction was advanced as a reason for not holding such elections! Reed defended the company union as a legitimate bargaining agency under the NRA, and denied that employees had been intimidated or coerced into joining the company union, despite the many affidavits advanced by the government showing both bribery and intimidation. The company representative didn't deny, however, that J. C. Williams, president of the Weirton Steel Co., had maintained at pre-election meetings that even if his employees

voted for affiliation with the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, he would not bargain with the Amalgamated representatives. He waved aside government affidavits showing that \$5 was offered one man for his union card and \$1 to another to vote, that company police herded men to the polls with clubs and that employees were threatened by their superiors. In some cases he offered counter-affidavits, scouting the contention that these were also obtained by the same bull-dozing or bribing tactics.

Reed kept the auditors in the courtroom in gales of laughter when he told what he called the true story of the country club party given by the company to girl workers as an inducement to vote the company's way. None of the girls "passed out" at the party—one was "sick" from drinking soda—and no evidence showed that the company paid for the party at an expensive resort not usually attended by mill girls. Furthermore voting was merely "announced," the steel firm's counsel contended with no pressure brought to bear on the girls, who cheered at the announcement.

When the judge asked what kind of cheer it was, Reed recited: "Ice cream soda, ginger and pop—the company union goes over the top!"

Fighting the issue of collective bargaining under the NRA, Reed contended that the "theory of the plan for an election is to see who is going to represent the men by majority vote." In the give and take of questioning by the court, Reed denied that contracts with the men, or with recognized representatives of the employees, needed to be entered into under the law.

OLD NON-UNION FIRM SIGNS UP

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union announces that an agreement has been reached with David Crystal, Inc., sportswear house, whereby the firm agrees to join the National Dress Manufacturers' Association. The firm has been non-union for 25 years.

The change came when union contractors working for the firm were laid off and Crystal, Inc., with factories here and in Lebanon and Reading, Pa., agreed to become a closed shop. This agreement places the firm under the minimums of the dress code and puts its workers under the collective labor agreement the association has signed with the ILGWU.

ANOTHER MINE EXPLOSION

COALDALE, Pa.—Adding to the huge toll of victims of the capitalist system of industry in the mining field, a gas explosion in the Alliance Coal Company's Kasker-Williams mine here injured seven men, two seriously. Rescue crews brought the men to the surface and took them to the hospital, treating five others at the mine.

Coal Men Get Injunction Against \$4.60 Code Wage

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Even the low government code wage of 4.60 a day for seven hours' work—on the days when the miner does work—is too much for the operators in Western Kentucky, who have just been granted an injunction against application of the code by one of their judicial lackeys, Federal District Judge Charles A. Dawson. A hearing will be held May 11 to make permanent the injunction, which was granted temporarily because "the NRA bituminous coal code is unconstitutional as applied to local business."

The mine operators, claiming that they have \$50,000,000 invested in the mines in Hopkins, Muhlenberg, Union, Webster and other counties, shut down their properties on April 2 and incidentally shut out their hands, paying more than the previous \$4 a day rate for eight hours' work, despite unemployment and the misery among miners' families. Eleven thousand men were thrown out of work by the operators, who proceeded to set up a company union, the "Independent Miners' Union."

This dummy union expressed itself as willing to "sign up" with its creator.

The United Mine Workers of America, through its district president, E. J. Morgan, and its members, is standing pat, utilizing the lockout of the employers as a period for organization and strike work. The union has 5,800 dues-paid, working miners in Western Kentucky.

"I don't believe Congress dreamed that the NRA act would be misread and distorted to mean that Congress had power to control all activities," the judge said, apologizing for his "unconstitutional" verdict by using the plea that coal-digging couldn't come under the provision of "interstate commerce" which alone Congress is supposed to have power to regulate. "I don't believe that Congress thought it was voting itself any power except in the sense that such power always was understood. And if it did, I cannot escape the conclusion that it exceeded the power granted to it by the people."

Teacher Told Me!

Socialist Educators to Run Educational Meeting May 11

The Socialist Teachers' Committee is ready for its first public appearance: a general educational meeting at the Rand School on Friday evening, May 11. The topic for discussion will be, "Our New Deal for Education." When last interviewed, the secretary of the committee denied that the term "new deal" meant a payless furlough.

The committee was organized on February 1, 1934, at the People's House despite the fact that February 1st was promotion day and the day of the first blizzard. Norman Thomas was one of the speakers.

"These teachers are very strict," Secretary Lena Tulchin stated. "The first thing they do is to make you join the Teachers' Union. There's no use arguing with them—they just hand you a blank. They handed one to Algernon Lee, but he's one of those bad boys that make teachers the way Dr. Altman says they are. He just kept on saying he couldn't join. And why

not? He's been a member for a long time."

The committee is getting after the parents, too. Previously only the teachers had to worry about closed night schools, closed summer sessions, crowded classes, lack of supplies, lack of progressive leadership. Now the parents can do some worrying and fighting. The committee has been organizing parent-teacher groups. On May 20th they will participate in the Parent-Teacher Conference at Butler, N. J., sponsored by the Women's Committee. If you are a parent, you'd better go along, especially if you have a car. Since they are going to walk in the No More War Parade on May 19th, it's only fair that they should ride on May 20th, the committee insists.

Speaking of marching, the Socialist teachers wanted to march on May 1st, but the Board of Education decided that since May 1st was Health Day, all the teachers and all the children would have to stay indoors.

ROGERS PEET CO. MAY SIGN SOON

That the Rogers Peet Co., big chain clothing firm, may soon sign a collective agreement with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is an interesting though not officially authenticated report in union circles.

In a bitter strike only last spring, the Rogers Peet Co. had an army of private guards around the plant and around the subway entrances near the plant. Many of the non-striking workers were brought to work in busses for a while. Later the firm set up cots on the premises and also served lunches to those workers who did not want to brave the picket line.

This was not the first strike the Amalgamated conducted against the Rogers Peet Co. Always they were bitterly fought by the firm. It would be quite a feather in the Amalgamated cap—and just before their convention, too—if the report is true.

THE EDITOR COMMENTS

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have been deeply moved by the thought of the huge sums spent to decorate the Communist parade that wended its way to Union Square. Elaborate posters and floats that might have served to liven up a Ziegfeld Follies production characterized the one demonstration, as opposed to the inexpensive simplicity, but telling vigor, of the revolutionary banners carried in the Socialist and labor march. Only in the Socialist and I.W.W. ranks was there an attempt at more elaborate satire and thunderbolt in visual form, but even here the "economy of poverty" had been carefully (and necessarily) adhered to.

One of these days I'll print a penetrating analysis by that radical war-horse, Ben Blumenberg, of the reason the police and the Ham Fishes "build up" Communist importance by magnifying the "red scare," by "guarding" public buildings, by mobilizing machine guns and gas to protect a city in nowise endangered, by multiplying the numbers actually engaged in the more publicized but much less vital events engineered by the so-called lefts. Ben refers to the time-honored custom used by the police officials in "shaking down" the bankers who hold the purse strings by playing up the shivers and shudders of the red menace as May Day approaches. But there is an even more significant motif underlying this underplaying of the really revolutionary forces of labor as opposed to this police and newspaper exaggeration of Communist strength and virility. It is that capitalism realizes that the real danger to its existence lies in the potential power of the labor forces, once they are aroused

and made more class-conscious by dint of Socialist teaching and example and by contact with Socialists on the picket line and in demonstrations. The cohorts of the so-called "reds" (the use by the capitalist press of the term "red" to apply only to Communists, who really should be called "blacks" because of their reactionary and opportunistic policies, harking back to the black international of Bakunin, is one example of the same tendency) the capitalists know how to herd them along, led as they only too often are by agents provocateurs and government spies: but real labor unions torn away from their adherence to pure-and-simple policies and rendered class-conscious—that's another matter!

New York never saw such a sight before in all its born days. Next year it will see a greater, more beautiful, more menacing one—menacing to the forces of reaction and fascism. I believe that a combined demonstration of all workingclass forces on May Day would mean even more and would be wonderfully effective in forcing concessions for labor. But I am also aware that no such union can be effected as long as the Stalinist forces maintain their disruptive, their sectarian, their vindictive, their maliciously mendacious, their reactionary, their anti-workingclass attitude, expressed in word and deed against the Socialist and labor movement of the world. But that awareness can't keep me from dreaming...

SILK STRIKE ENDS

EASTON, Pa.—The strike at the Jacwin Silk Mills here ended when a forty-hour work-week was won by employees

BOARD REPORTS ON SETTLED STRIKES

The report by the Regional Labor Board in New York that it has settled 325 strikes out of 437 since its inception in October, 1933, involving a total of 174,692 workers, is significant chiefly because of its failure to note that the workers won out in the settlements chiefly where they were strongly organized, labor leaders point out. Approximately 60 per cent of the cases were closed by agreements, the board states in its report, just forwarded to the National Labor Board by Judge Jeremiah T. Mahoney, recently named chairman. The number of disputes handled was 641, involving 257,872; the number now pending is 71.

Reinstatement was secured for 3,582 persons discharged for union activities, the report claims. Further claim is made that 83 strikes in plants employing 41,999 workers were averted by the board, although no indication is given as to whether the workers won or lost through such prevention of strikes.

TORONTO.—Twenty thousand men will get work directly or indirectly as the result of five million dollar contracts let by the Ontario department of highways, Minister Leopold Macaulay announces.

Inside Bronze Workers Expect Charter at Mass Meeting May 4th

Since the issuance of the announcement of a mass meeting to be held by the Architectural Ornamental Iron, Bronze and Structural Workers' Union at the People's House on Friday evening, May 4, comes news from St. Louis that the union has been granted a charter by the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers.

William Karlin, attorney for the union, stated that this is the result of five years' efforts on the part of the inside iron and bronze workers to be re-affiliated with the international union. This is attributed by Mr. Karlin to the belief of the international officers that the local union was still dominated by Communists. These officials had really been ousted several years before.

William H. Pope, international vice-president, will attend the meeting Friday night, when the local's charter should be ready for presentation to those in attendance. Samuel Singerman, secretary of the union, stated that the workers, including several hundreds employed by the General Bronze Corporation in Long Island

City and other parts of Queens County, were overjoyed by the news that the charter had at last been granted, and a large turnout of iron and bronze workers is expected.

The speakers' list Friday will be headed by Karlin, Pope, Samuel H. Beardsley, secretary-treasurer of the International Jewelry Workers' Union; Max Karasik, president of the local union; Singerman, and Bruno Wagner, business agent of the Painters' District Council.

PULP MILLS TRY TO FRIGHTEN STRIKERS

FORT FRANCES, Ontario.—Despite the "ultimatum" by pulp companies here that they will shut down the mills unless the three thousand men now on strike go back to work the strikers are maintaining a solid front at the Fort Frances and International Falls Pulp and Paper Mills. The men are demanding higher wages and shorter hours. Resident Manager McMurray, in an attempt to break the morale of the strikers, threatens transfer of the newsprint and paper tonnage to other mills.

Most Impressive Labor Parade in New York's History Marks May 1st

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fighting labor movement, knowing its past and looking to a future of struggle and achievement for themselves and their children.

And marching with them by the tens and thousands were the new members of the unions—keen and vivid, not quite aware of what it was all about but curious and eager to learn. All they knew was that they were marching on a historic labor and Socialist holiday to express a sense of labor solidarity and progress. By next year, with the new spirit in the unions and the educational work so many of the unions are conducting, these fledgelings will be vigorous proponents of unionism and the fight for a workers' world.

We're ready to concede that the International Ladies' Garment Workers walked away with the chief honors of the parade. It took over two hours for their division to pass the reviewing stand, and they made a grand showing pictorially as well as numerically.

Sheer Force of Numbers

Of course, as pointed out by their nearest friendly rival, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, they had several obvious advantages. By sheer force of membership, they outnumber everyone else. Local 89, Italian Dressmakers, alone has a larger membership than the entire New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated. And they're a younger crowd, with a substantial proportion of women and girls; all of which makes for color and spirit.

Then, too, I imagine the fact that David Dubinsky, their International president, led the line of march, must have put a lot of pep into the occasion.

The different divisions wearing the insignia of their trades attracted considerable attention. The women's neckwear makers with their sheer, snowy frills; the capmakers with their uniform caps; the padmakers carrying their pads. . . (By the way, if anybody was puzzled by this, or thought that women were going back to bust pads and bustles, let me inform you that these pads are for the adornment of the male sex exclusively. They are shoulder pads and go into men's coats to give them that he-man look.) The pantsmakers all wore pants, though they might have attracted more attention if they hadn't.

Painting the Town Red—in White

The painters' union had the most spectacular sign unit in the labor division. A solid phalanx of 5,000 men in white overalls and caps made quite a splash in the spring sunshine. And the kilted, bare-legged Highland bagpipe band with them also made quite a hit!

In the Amalgamated division, the smaller locals made, proportionately, the best showing. The pantsmakers, the kneepants makers and the vestmakers must have had their total membership in line. The cutters had a larger division than in any previous parade. There must have been nearly 1,500 at the start, but we suspect some of them got lost on the way. This was also the first year the Amalgamated had a showing of women in the parade.

The padmakers—first section marching—were composed of white and colored girls evenly divided, each one of whom carried a large flag. This was their first parade, as it was for practically all of the girls in line. They are new to the union, and the idea of marching was surprisingly embarrassing to them. That is, it was a surprise to us, who are not at all self-

THREE MARSHALS OF NEEDLE TRADES WORKERS



Joseph Breslaw, vice-president; David Dubinsky, president, and Isidore Nagler, vice-president, of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, marching at the head of their cohorts. After the tens of thousands of ILGWU members came the ranks of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, captained by the leaders of the New York Joint Board. The ILGWU chieftains pictured above reached Madison Square Park before the ACWA forces started marching.

conscious about showing our colors in public.

The vestmakers, I imagine, had the most old men. One man said, he'd marched in May Day parades for thirty-six years. I don't know. Have we had that many? Anyway, there was a nice sprinkling of heavy beavers (beards, in case you don't know) and they marched all the way. (Abe Cahan, stalwart despite his years and snowy head, also walked the whole distance in the Forward Association ranks, flanked by B. Charney Vlodeck.)

Roxy Plays the International

The pantsmakers had the best band, and the band that marched with the big shots up front was the worst. Well, maybe it wasn't the worst, but it was plenty terrible! The pantsmakers' band looked so unfamiliar that I couldn't help speaking to them. The way they played the International, it sounded like a pretty hot number. Well, they were from Roxy's, and they had never played the International before! But could they play! I nearly joined the pantsmakers then and there.

The Polish-Russian Local 103 had the only accordion orchestra I've ever seen or heard of. It's true, their repertoire was not very large, but, then, none of the bands seemed to know more than three songs at the most.

The Italians helped a bit by playing opera, but it wasn't so easy to march to. Especially the Pilgrims' Chorus, which made me feel like reaching for a walking stick and humping my back like a poor old peddler. Next year—well, we'll do a few things differently next year!

One of the old-timers pointed out to me an old Amalgamated banner from which the words American Federation of Labor had been ripped years ago when the Amalgamated was formed as an inde-

pendent union. "Now we have to put it back again," he said, almost sadly.

The Radio Factory Workers' Union, which had a large delegation waiting to march, received word that a strike had been called against some firm and most of them had to return to their headquarters for strike duty. A small group of unemployed members remained in the march behind a sign, "Unemployed Members, RFWU."

The Celluloid, Catalin and Galilith Workers' Union was probably the smallest union with the largest name. Marching at the end of the parade, after a five-hour wait, came the white and Negro members of the Workers' Unemployed League—an inspiring band of jobless but fighting men and women.

Madison Square's Impossible

All in all, it was a grand and inspiring day. It was too bad, of course, that we had no adequate place to hold a meeting. Madison Square is impossible. There's no square. Just narrow lanes winding in and out of the park. We'll have to make other arrangements next year. I know that at the close of the parade we simply had to drop people at the subways and tell them to go home because there simply was no way to route them to the "square" for the meeting.

Also calling people to assemble at 10 o'clock in the morning for a parade which isn't scheduled to start until 1 in the afternoon is poor management. Standing around for three hours will knock anybody out. Somehow or other, standing in the street for three hours is more tiring than standing at the pressing machine for the same length of time. At least so the pressers told me when I asked them why they should be so tired when they were used to standing all day in the shop.

That Marching Psychology

I really felt sorry for the girls. Most of them wore high-heeled shoes and they were ready to collapse long before the parade got under way. Hundreds of them dropped out and sneaked away—

Next Week

A very interesting article on conditions among the workers and labor organizations now being carried on by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers among the shirt makers in Pennsylvania will be printed next week. It was written by Louis Yagoda, formerly of Brooklyn and now A.C.W.A. organizer in York, Pa.

were distributed to the Socialist fighters on the barricades—by the Communists!)

The biggest kick in the whole day, for me, anyway, was the sight of David Dubinsky leading the march. Of course, it's no news to us Socialists that when unions are young and struggling, they turn to the Socialist Party for help. Then when the unions are big and strong and powerful, we become sort of poor relations. You know the attitude: after all who are we? An insignificant group, nobodies, without prestige, without influence, without weight in the community. Beh, beh; meh, meh; Socialist Party. Or anarchists, bolsheviks, trouble-makers—depending on the times and on what language happens to be the most popular—the cynical group.

But there was Dubinsky, the president of the biggest union in the city, maybe in the country, and not too big to march in the May Day parade with tens of thousands of his fellow unionists. Yes, it was a pretty swell day.

A roll call of the marshals of the labor division in the parade reads like a blue book of the labor movement in the city. Leading the International marshals, to mention only a few, we noticed—who could help it?—Julius Hochman at the head of the Dressmakers Joint Board, Sascha Zimmerman, of Local 22, Luigi Antonini of Local 89, Sam Shore of the White Goods Workers, Joe Tuvin, supreme, happy at the head of his neckwear workers, Greenberg of Local 91 and I. Nagler, Jacob Breslaw of the cloakmakers. Leading the Amalgamated ranks were Abraham Miller, Louis Hollander, Joseph Catalanotti, Joseph Gold, Peter Monat, I. Itzkowitz, and Murray Weinstein—I was in along here somewhere, too—farther down we had Paul Arnone, Ben Addeo, Mike Cerotola and other Local 63 and 142 officers. Blumenreich marched with the pantsmakers, Reich with the vestmakers, Gable at the head of the recently organized padmakers (girls), Zinkowitz with his Russian accordion players; (if I leave anybody out here it means execution at sunrise). Then leading the hat and cap people there were Max Zaritzky and Spector. Louis Fuchs, they tell me, marshaled the men's neckwear workers. And there were innumerable others marching at the head of or in the midst of their delegations.

I may have missed some interesting sights. I know the shirt makers had a grand banner. I broke into all the newspapers. I didn't see it: It was pretty hard to march and watch at the same time. While I'm only commenting on the labor division, I want to say that the most outstanding banner in the parade was the huge "Down With Fascism" sign carried by the 2nd A. D. of the Bronx. What a labor of love went into that!

CONFERENCE WILL DISCUSS TEACHING LABOR ECONOMICS

The New York City Conference on Workers' Education will hold its next meeting on Wednesday evening, May 9, at 71 Irving Place. A dinner will take place at 6:30, with discussion to follow.

The executive committee, headed by Eleanor G. Coit, acting chairman, has arranged for a discussion of the problem involved in teaching labor economics, the question of how far workers' schools are meeting the need through their program of workers' education, especially in economics and labor problems, and related questions of materials, training of teachers, etc.

Amalgamated May Day celebrations were held in Newark, New Brunswick, Passaic (where Garfield people also held a meeting), Elizabeth, Vineland, Egg Harbor, Poughkeepsie, Peekskill, Utica, Buffalo, Rochester, Uniontown, Gallitzin, Pa.; Philadelphia, Pa.; St. Louis, Chicago, Nassau County, L. I. Among speakers at the meetings were Joseph Schlossberg, Leo Krzycki, J. B. S. Hardman, Chas. Ervin, James Duffy, Dorothy Bellanca, Jack Kroll, Henry Jager, Alex Cohen John Martin, Gertrude Weil Klein.

GENERAL STRIKE OF LONGSHOREMEN IN N. Y. AVERTED

A general strike of longshoremen on the piers of the coastwise steamship line in New York City has just been temporarily averted. But the strike will still be called if the shipping executives persist in their refusal to recognize the International Longshoremen's Association as official spokesman for the employees, President Joseph P. Ryan declares.

Ryan left for the South to look for the field of battle in Lake Charles, Louisiana, and seven Texas ports where longshoremen are on strike. The Transportation Trades Council, which consists of representatives of teamsters, truckmen, loaders and longshoremen, will take care of the situation in New York City while Ryan is gone. For quite a while the longshoremen's union has been demanding recognition of the coastwise lines without recourse to a strike. When a strike broke out in Texas and Louisiana, the union took advantage of the difficulties of the lines to press its demands under penalty of a walkout here as well. Companies concerned are the Clydeallory, South Pacific, Eastern Steamship, Savannah and Dominion lines. President Ryan conferred with various executives, holding out their heads the threat of a strike here unless recognition is accorded the longshoremen's union spokesman for the pier workers. "I have told Mayor LaGuardia," President Ryan declared before leaving for Texas, "that while we do not want to embarrass transportation on the waterfront, we are prepared to tie up shipping completely unless the lines grant demands. The coastwise lines have already made a concession as a result of our organization's demands—they increased wages from cents an hour to 75 cents an hour when the union obtained the daily wage of 85 cents from the piers. If the companies are aching for a fight, we'll show them that we do represent the workers on the pier. The men have accepted membership with us and we asked us to speak for them. Our demands include, besides recognition, one that the practice of employing 'car groups' on load-out contracts at wages below the regular longshoremen's pay be discontinued and that gangs of workers be organized at 7:55 a.m., 2:55 p.m. and 7 p.m."

We send greetings to our fellow unionists and friends who have been loyal to our organization. The label of the International Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union stands for better conditions.



BEIGAL BAKERS

LOCAL 505-7-9
111 E. Houston St.
Joseph Levine, Sec'y-Treas.
448 E. 94th St., Brooklyn, N.Y.

Our Heartiest Greetings
to the Voice and the
Spokesman of Labor—
The New Leader

FURRIERS' DISTRICT COUNCIL, NEW YORK

J. COHN, Manager
J. BEGOON, Secretary

GETS INDICTED IN DRIVE TO UNIONIZE MOVIE HOUSES

The determined effort being made to organize the workers in the moving picture houses has brought about a campaign of intimidation by the theatre owners, the latest move being the indictment of Chas. C. Levey, secretary of the Theatrical Employees Union, Local 118, on the charge of coercion.

"My 'crime,'" says Levey, "is that I am trying to bring the worst exploited workers into the ranks of the union. All the efforts to spread terror and intimidate our ranks will fail. Workers have been switched from one theatre to another, women employed, at cleaning work all night are receiving a wage that is lower than a bare subsistence level and the provisions of the code for theatres have been flouted."

The wage scale for ushers, doormen, janitors, matrons and fire prevention men, calls for \$10 to \$14 per week. In many cases the workers have four hours work five days a week, at 25 cents per hour. The wages of those who work under the "stagger" system, opening and closing the houses, is \$10 per week.

Some of the employees, according to the union, work from 70 to 80 hours per week. The efforts of Sol A. Rosenblatt, district administrator of the NRA, was blocked by the theatre owners, the latter spreading the report that the workers who voted for affiliation with a bona fide labor union would be fired.

The efforts to organize the RKO and the Loew theatres will continue, say the officers of the union; also the Tivoli theatre of Brooklyn which was responsible for the indictment of Levey.

The Theatrical Employees Union urges members of unions and their friends to patronize theatres like the old Roxy which are 100% fair to organized labor.

Utility Union Developing As Workers Learn

By Jack Schuller

The Brotherhood of Utility Employees is waging a concerted campaign to organize electric light and power employees under its standard of industrial unionism. Initiated last August by Robert Berry, a \$22-a-week clerk in the New York Edison system, it has developed so rapidly that it now numbers 18 locals from coast to coast.

No group of employees in the United States have been so paternistically treated as the power employees. Vacations, sick leave, holidays with pay, etc., have tended to blind them to the need for organization, while their power trust employers were grabbing profits as high as 40% a year. Holding companies have been pyramided on their backs until now the average operating company must of necessity have its profits siphoned to maintain holding company dividends.

The BUEA embraces all classes of utility employees and includes professionals, clerical and mechanical help. The following organizations are now amalgamated with the brotherhood: Brotherhood of Edison Employees of America, Federation of Public Utility Workers of America, Municipal Utility Workers' Union, United Utility Workers of Pennsylvania, United Public Utility Workers of Kentucky, Narragansett and Southern Division of the New England Power Association, and the Edison Employees Equity Association.

Robert C. Berry is provisional president, Gordon Mitchell secretary, and Jerome Count general counsel.

Thomas Warns Against Ex-Chief; B'klyn Branch Answers Slanders

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

OPPOSES "COMEBACK"

May 1, 1934

To the Labor Editor:

It is with apprehension and amazement that I hear that some groups in the Fancy Leather Goods Workers Union are seriously considering the return of Ossip Wolinsky to power in that organization. I am aware of recent difficulties in that union and sympathetic with the sufferings of the rank and file in an industry with an unsatisfactory code.

I know that Mr. Wolinsky is a man of ability and was at one time one of the most promising leaders in the labor movement. Alas, he was one of the victims of the cynicism and false standards of success of the gambling epoch of the 1920's.

I was chairman of a committee which long and patiently looked into the affairs of the pocketbook makers while he was their leader. Concerning some of the charges against Wolinsky, what might be called a Scotch verdict of "not proved" had to be rendered. There was, however, no question at all but that at the latter end of an administration which he had begun well, he did not give his abilities solely to the work of the union and that he seriously compromised himself by his relations with some of those men who have been a curse to the American labor movement and by his undue friendliness with at least one of the employers in the industry.

I am understating rather than overstating an opinion formed on the patient hearing of the evidence. Our final verdict was carefully drawn up and was unanimous. It was accepted by the union. Mr. Wolinsky gave away his own case by promptly identifying himself with Morris White, one of the largest employers in the industry, with whom he had previously had overfriendly relations.

It is this same Wolinsky who after years of loyal service to the employers seeks to stage a comeback in the union. And there are supposedly strong elements in this radical union with so little sense of labor's solidarity, of the meaning of the class struggle or of labor's standing, that they are willing to overlook the past and let Wolinsky come back. They say that once Wolinsky was a good labor leader, which is true. So, for the matter of that, to use an extreme and exaggerated illustration, was Benedict Arnold once a good American General. He had his troubles later on with King George, but I never heard that any considerable number of Americans desired on that account to reinstate him as a general in the American army.

The whole labor movement is threatened by this tendency, of which Local 306 of the Motion Picture Operators has also given an illustration, to take former labor men who have gone over to the employers in an executive capacity back into the ranks of labor unions without any sign of contrition from the renegade labor leaders thus restored to power. The leather goods workers' union may have been more prosperous when Ossip Wolinsky was their manager. The reason was mainly in the difference of the time in which he functioned and not in what he himself did or left undone. If they sell their integrity as labor unionists by taking Wolinsky back, they will find that they do not even get a good mess of prosperity pottage for this sale of their birthright.

Sincerely yours,
NORMAN THOMAS.

KARP BROS. STRIKE

To the Labor Editor:

We are submitting to you a leaflet we have been compelled to issue in our section of the city in answer to statements contained in innumerable pamphlets and articles issued by the Communist Party and in their press attacking the Bensonhurst Branch of the Socialist Party: TO THE WORKERS ON BENSONHURST: The Socialist Party of Bensonhurst has been attacked and lied about and its position distorted in regard to its stand in the so-called strike at the Karp Bros. store here. What are the facts?

The Retail Dairy, Fruit and Vegetable and Grocery Clerks Union, Local 338, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has been carrying on a highly successful organizing drive in Brooklyn, enrolling over 1,000 new members during the past three months. The conditions won by the union included a raise in wages, which were as low as from \$18 to \$20 a week, to \$35 a week; a decrease in hours from 85 to 90 hours a week to 10 hours a day, six day week, 13 legal holidays with full pay, and no discharge without union consent.

On March 10, after a vigorous organizing campaign among the Karp stores, an agreement was signed with Karp Bros. involving all seven stores of the chain. The Communist dual union, the so-called Food Workers Industrial Union, which by its strikebreaking tendencies and activities had been partly responsible in the past for some of the bad conditions in the industry, started a lying campaign among the workers in the store at 2221 65th St., and on March 20 pulled these workers out on strike for no other reason than the political aims of the Communist Party.

The union, of course, had to live up to the agreement it had signed with the firm involving all its stores—otherwise the livelihood of dozens other workers would be at stake and the entire agreement with its higher standard of living for the workers, would be violated and rendered null and void. The New Leader, official organ of the Socialist Party, carried a news story about the successful drive of the AFofL union all over Brooklyn and about the attempts of the Communist "union" to obtain an injunction against the bona-fide union.

A committee from the "industrial union," together with one of the strikers and a committee of the Bensonhurst Socialist Party branch, came to the Labor Committee of the party in New York asking that the Labor Committee retract the story which appeared in The New Leader. Jack Altman, secretary of the Labor Committee, told them that the facts did not warrant such retraction, but, he added, the columns of The New Leader would be open for any statement they might choose to make. Furthermore, Altman informed them that he would arrange a conference between Local 338 and the strikers and also a committee of the Socialist Party and representatives of the Communist "union."

No answer was ever returned to this offer, proving conclusively that all that the Communists desired was to make political capital out

WASHINGTON.—Morris Greenglass, of the Button and Novelty Workers Union, Local 138, and Philip Lubliner, of the International Pocketbook Workers Union, were appointed labor representatives on the code authority for the covered button industry and the women's handbag industry respectively.

of the entire matter, caring nothing about the lives and welfare of these misled men. This is a repetition of their conduct in the taxi strike where they played with the fate of 40,000 men and their families. The taxi men got wise to them and rejected them and we call upon the workers of Bensonhurst to treat these "revolutionary" scabs in the same manner. The offer of the Labor Committee of the Socialist Party is still open.

Don't heed the usual Communist lies and slanders! Support the organized workers in the bona-fide union, fighting not to make political capital out of workers' struggles but to better the conditions of the workers. Buy only at union stores!

COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST
PARTY OF BENSONHURST.

Union Directory

BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS
TUCKERS, STITCHERS and PLEATERS UNION, Local 66 I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-3657. Executive Board meets every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union. Z. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; I. A. Barkinsky, Sec'y-Treas.

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

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

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

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers Union Office and headquarters, 949 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn; STAGG 2-0798. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice Pres., Stephen Tobasko; 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.

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

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

LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1, Offices, Amalfithone 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. Hanton, Vice-President; Frank Skol Fin, Secretary; Emil Thenen, Rec. Secretary; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer

MILLINERY WORKERS UNION, Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union Downtown office, 640 Broadway, phone Spring 7-4548; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St., phone Wicconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening 8 P. M. Manager, N. Spector; Sec'y-Treas., Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodas

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION Local 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-7083. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer

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

WAITERS' & WAITRESSES' UNION, Local No. 1, A. F. of L. and U. I. T., 290-7th Ave., M. Gottfried, Pres.; B. Gottesman, Secretary.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS UNION, Local 82 of I. L. G. W. U. 3 West 16th St., New York City. Phone Chelsea 3-4750-5752. A. Snyder, Manager; S. SHORE, Executive Supervisor

Issues That Face Socialists



bers, a dictatorship that reduced the S.L.P. to a sterile sect despite more than forty years of agitation. That more unity in thought and action is essential no one will dispute, but this solidarity cannot be realized by establishing an executive bureaucracy with extraordinary powers. It can only come by intensive education of the party members in the philosophy of Socialism. Any attempt at forced cohesion by an executive is certain to involve that body in conflicts with the members, leading to factional wars and to the inevitable expulsions and splits that have always come of such a mechanical arrangement.

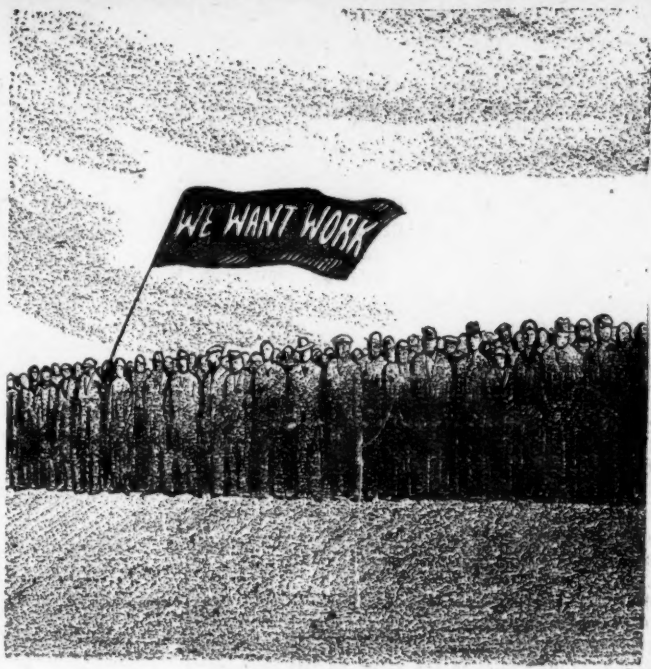
The Middle Class and Fascism

Events in the post-war period in Europe show the importance of winning the middle and professional classes to the side of the proletariat in the struggle for the abolition of capitalism. In this country we have the advantage of European experience in the struggle with fascism, and we can also point out what has happened to the professional and middle classes in fascist Italy and Germany. That these classes have not realized the hopes aroused by the fascist demagogues is certain, and this fact should be brought out in a number of pamphlets. The situation in Germany is especially valuable, for there the Nazi chiefs have made middle class and professional groups conscripts of the upper capitalist and financial oligarchy.

Our approach to these elements should also be changed. In our (Continued on Page Six)

neal encourage our the basic aims ment. atorship chaotic opinions comrades would th extraordinary state, local and ns and the mem- ications, schools, institutions of ly enough, there rs who demand ocracy in the who favor this acy in the party. arty was in part st a similar p in the S.L.P. nce in the mem-

When Does Their New Deal Begin?



Argentine Socialists Call for Great Congress of Nations

By Ben Lichtenberg

THE National Executive Committee of the Argentine Socialist Party has called a congress of the Ibero-American democracy to meet next September in Buenos Ayres. Socialist and labor parties as well as central labor bodies that uphold democratic tendencies in the Spanish-American countries will be invited.

The purpose of the congress, as outlined by the call, will be "to consider and adopt a plan of common action so that in each country the parties and workers' centers may defend and maintain, from their respective positions, the development of free commercial and cultural interchange, the pacific solution of international conflicts, the defense of the democratic and republican form of government, the control of finance capital, compulsory free and lay instruction, and the separation of the church from the State."

In order to organize the preparatory work and to consummate this design of establishing relations and coordinating a common plan of action between representative groups of the Ibero-American democracy, the Argentine Socialist Party designated three of its foremost men—Dr. Alfredo L. Palacios, a National Senator and a man of solid intellectual standing in South America; National Senator Dr. Mario Bravo, a noted publicist and organizer of the first Latin-American opinion, should be: Will it "win

the battle of democracy" in America? Will it advance Socialism here?

Applying that test, I have arrived at the conclusion that we can not advance Socialism in America along the old ruts; I am for discarding what has proved a drag upon us; I am for adopting what promises to break down the walls of prejudice and to enable us to achieve our goal. I am unconcerned as to the strict orthodoxy of my methods. It is the substance, not the forms, I want. Let us go out to win Socialism, not gather our Brahmanical skirts about us and go down to sure destruction with the holy satisfaction of having stuck rigidly to the purest

ican Socialist and Labor Congress in Buenos Ayres in 1919, and Dr. Enrique Dickmann, a National Deputy and an outstanding figure of long and useful activity in the Socialist Party, now in charge of the foreign relations commission of the Executive Committee of the party.

In no continent does there exist so many homogeneous countries as in the Ibero-American continent. Compared with Europe it is almost as a single nation. It is composed of ten republics, the language of nine of which is Spanish, which could readily agree on a common objective because they are bound together by many common ties. They all have a common origin and the same form of government; they have all fought for liberty in order to attain their own economic and political position; they have a diversified production, thanks to the various climates they enjoy, which readily facilitates commercial exchange; they can easily understand each other since they speak a language which is common to all of them; and their historic destiny will tend to bring them closer together in the future.

It is intended that economic accord be complemented by another, social, spiritual and political in nature, so that all the countries may march shoulder to shoulder along the path of peace, Socialism and liberty, concepts which have lost not a little of their ancient prestige in the European continent, but which are preserved and invigorated in the Ibero-American countries.

The Argentine Socialist Party states that the purpose of this "get-together" movement is not to set off the Ibero-American countries against the rest of the nations of America nor of the world, but to convert it into a constructive movement in favor of and not against anything. Its aspiration is to make of a generous group of kindred nations a unity capable of working for their common welfare and civilization, and of advancing their peoples in the development of their noble and useful aptitudes.

The Spanish-speaking countries in America number one hundred million people, and it is hardly likely that such a vast mass of people should not play an important role in the more or less near future.

The Workers Abroad

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

By Mark Khinoy

George Lansbury for a New Orientation

OUR movement is in urgent need of being born again," writes George Lansbury. All of us, Lefts, Rights or Centers, have become stodgy and full of doubts and difficulties.

"We may gain the world of office and lose our souls." The veteran Socialist leader wrote this significant statement from his sick bed in Manor House Hospital, where he has been confined since he broke his leg twenty weeks ago. It was written in the form of an introduction to a series of articles on "How Labor Party will govern next time" which the Clarion began to publish April 15.

In his second installment he speaks vigorously against "Office without Power," against "Futile Alliances" and "Wild Promises." He openly confesses that he has thrown overboard some of his old views: that what he has to say may not be entirely endorsed by the Labor Party.

"The most immediate piece of work the government would have to do is to restore confidence in the power of democracy to work," he writes, adding that fascism is accepted by some because it is "a doctrine of action, though it is of a sort that is hateful to millions."

Quite candidly he also discusses Labor's attitude toward the crown, the civil service and the bankers. But of real importance is his verbal promise to Thomas Johnston of the Glasgow Forward to take up in the next installment the advocacy of a "tremendous effort to establish big blocks of Socialism in Britain" as soon as the Labor Party again takes hold of office.

"I am convinced," he writes, "that we should fight elections on a straightforward program of Socialism, without any make-believe."

"I do not think that we can safely or sensibly attempt to carry through Socialism except after an election which has been fought upon this question and has resulted in a majority. Otherwise, we should not take office again."

A "New Beginning" for Germany

THE publishing house Labor Colleges of London deserves the gratitude of English reading Socialists for getting out an English translation of the pamphlet *Neu beginnen*, whose appearance made such a stir among the leading Socialists of Europe. It was written by a group of active Social Democratic workers, living in Germany where they are leaders of the underground Socialist movement. They jointly signed it "Miles" and smuggled it out to Karlsbad, Czechoslovakia, where it was published by the Prague center of the German Social Democracy.

By its unfeigned candor of political self-criticism it exceeds anything any political party ever published about itself. It is fearless in the realm of principles and ideas and more so in the critical evaluation of the practical activities, tactics and strategy of the Socialist movement in post-war Europe.

It asserts, for instance, that after the revolution of 1918, during the 13 years of the Weimar Republic, the German Social Democracy remained "a party which accepted the bourgeois state and the capitalist system."

"To protect this bourgeois republic against the rebellious working class, to defend it against a more advanced revolution, it disarmed the proletariat, but on the other hand placed the power of the state in the hands of the officers of the old Imperial state, the reactionary citizens' guard and the Free Corps, in short, all those counter-revolutionary organizations out of which grew the National Socialist movement, which was ultimately to drive that same party leadership out of the country. In every critical situation, in the inflation, in crisis after crisis, and during the reactionary attack by the bourgeoisie against the interests of labor it placed the interests of the bourgeois state above the interests of the proletarian class struggle, and boasted, withal, of its 'sense of responsibility.'" "They have been right," says the pamphlet, "who saw the essence of activist Socialism not in tolerance, not in submission, but in the active struggle against capitalist society."

Lack of space does not permit any more quotations from this thought-provoking pamphlet. Comrades wishing to read the original will be able to secure it from the Rand School Book Store, New York. At this time, I would like, however, to stress again the gratifying fact that the fearless piece of self-criticism of party policies was originally published last October by the official party center that has as its head Otto Wels, former chairman of the party, Friedrich Stampfer, editor-in-chief of the party organ, and Hertz, secretary of the Social Democratic deputies in the Reichstag.

The pamphlet "New Beginnings" served as a basis for the inter-party discussion that later resulted in the new Revolutionary Program. The discussion about the lessons of the German catastrophe did not end, however, with the publication by Jan. 28, the Prague Center, of the new program. German and foreign comrades con-

(Continued on Page Seven)

America for Socialism

His "Program and Points of Policy"—See Corner" to the Left.

W. Sharts

go in the very ate German com- allow them to the miasm.

the battle of rica, clearly we r program and ar we have ap- yle and spirit of n, to the purely Let us recognize t in America the is a small mis- we appeal only m the Socialist ll minority group or dangerous

the Amer n all. But the e small prop- over, they are inded. This is a n history, which e plunder of an omain, an enor- alth that was from the people rivate monopoly y of many still em on that, and interested. De- on, and they are e trade unionist benefiting wage rians at the s (which Jim mistakes for em cold.

fascist," says ggest a patriotic American people ying to win. I se to say I was substitutes for

the claims of the working class for the abolition of the capitalist system."

If patriotism and love of country are taboo in our Socialist movement, what a perfect set-up we offer, we and our red flag, for the first real fascist attack! We stand self-branded as opposed to the Stars and Stripes.

Our late German comrades made the same fatal blunder. Hitler saw their mistake, seized the flag they had discarded, used it against them, and destroyed them.

For fifty years Socialist parties have tried in vain to attract the American masses by waving the red flag. We never got to first base with it, and never will. It has done nothing but erect a wall of prejudice against us. If we are using the emotional symbolism of a flag for the purpose of attracting adherents, why use a form of emotional symbolism that repels? Why not use a form which attracts?

To the average American the Stars and Stripes symbolize those principles which the Declaration of Independence announced: Equality, Democracy, Freedom, the inalienable rights of the common man. It is upon this foundation we must build Socialism in America, if at all. Why not appeal to the American with a symbolism he understands and accepts? Our time grows short.

With a distressing sterility of mind Jim Oneal rejects my plan for avoiding the disaster which overwhelmed our German comrades, but offers nothing in its place. The test of any plan, in my

American Socialist Problems

(Continued from Page Five)

literature and our own agitation. Socialists have predicted the extermination of middle class men by the masters of corporate capital and finance. This prediction has been made in terms of exultation and sometimes with contempt for those who expected to become master bourgeois. This approach has undoubtedly led many middle class persons to believe that Socialists are really allies of the upper ruling capitalists and bankers. What is more natural than for the middle class to turn against Socialists whom they erroneously believe to be allies of the ruling class and enlist under the banner

of fascists?

While making no concession to any lingering desire of the middle class man to recover his former stake in the capitalist system, we should avoid any appearance of exultation because he is being crushed. On the contrary, we should approach him with the message that he is in the same boat with the deflated wage worker, and that his future security and freedom are bound up with the emancipation of the proletariat. We should assure him that the rise of the proletariat does not mean the rule of another class over him but the abolition of all classes by wresting the means of production,

distribution and exchange from the ruling class and making them accessible to all, with no monopoly privilege extended to anybody. Fascist demagogues, when obtaining power, place a noose about his neck and hand the rope over to the old ruling classes.

The Farmers

The agricultural problem has always been the most difficult problem for the Socialist movement, because agriculture has been a case of arrested development from the economic point of view. However, in this country commercial farming appears to be doomed, as it does not produce an income for the farmer; farm values have collapsed and the farmer's equity in his mortgage is practically worthless. The tendency is to reduce the American farmer to a peasant or to a wage worker on a mechanized farm owned by absenteees.

Time will not permit even suggesting a program for the farmers, but here again our approach to them is the same as the approach to the middle class man. Aside from approach, the problem of agriculture is a regional one. The pamphlet written for the fruit growers of Florida and California is useless for the cotton croppers of the South, the wheat and corn farmers, the dairy farmers and the cultivators of livestock. While our collective program for the whole of agriculture is largely the same, the program for each region will differ and we suffer from a poverty of literature suitable to reach the working farmers. In each region some comrade or a number of comrades should be assigned the task of studying the agricultural economics of their region, and on the basis of such studies a program for each region may be worked out that will appeal to the working farmers. Each program, to be sure, should look forward to co-operative farming, except in such sectors where special conditions may reveal the need of something less than collective farming, as in the case of small gardens where foodstuffs are raised primarily for family needs and only incidentally for sale. In any event, the working farmer is becoming more and more needed as a factor in the fight against capitalism.

The Working Class

Most important of all is the need of reaching the proletarians of the cities. Until we build powerful party organizations of the workers in the industrial centers we have not even laid the basis for an enduring and effective Socialist movement. There are many thousands of proletarians to be recruited for the Socialist Party and they can only be reached by working class agitators. In my opinion, too much attention has been paid to reaching colleges, churches and clubs where proletarians are not to be found, and this policy has tended to give the party an air of respectability in liberal and bourgeois circles.

What is needed is a large group of agitators inspired to take the field to agitate in the streets, before factory gates, in mining towns, and in unions and strikes.

Our former soapboxers worked for the sheer joy of reaching their class with the message of Socialist emancipation. Considering this fine phase of party history and the vital need of repeating it today, it is sheer pretense for us to speak of a "militant" Socialist movement until couriers of the proletariat are again in the field enduring the hazards of proletarian agitation and building locals and branches whose members are overwhelmingly of working class composition.

The defeat of the Socialist

HARTFORD, Conn. — Workers at the Belamose Textile Corp. have voted to strike unless a 25 per cent wage increase is granted. In a demonstration by discharged employees, state police injured a number of workers.

New Ways to the Old Goal

(Continued from Page Five)

italism, violently shaken by the worst of economic crisis; the contradictions within the very Austro-fascist dictatorship; the antagonism between the Austro-fascists and Nazi-fascists; the struggle between France and Italy for hegemony in the Danube basin; the entire international situation leading towards a new world war—all this is guaranty that in Austria there will surely be created conditions for a new revolutionary uprising of the masses.

What should be the aim of a revolution against Austrian fascism? When we are victorious should we at once inaugurate democracy?

In 1918, we gave political freedom and equal political rights to all classes, to all parties. But the capitalists, agricultural barons and priests used their political freedom only to undermine the democracy in order to deal it a deadly blow by fire and sword. They used their money to recruit bands of fascist mercenaries; they used their domination in industry and agriculture to compel the workers to join the fascist mercenary army; they used the crisis of their own capitalist order as bait for the sons of the middleclass and peasants and lured them into the fascist hordes and converted the unemployed proletarians into their janizaries.

This experience teaches us that no genuine strong democracy is possible as long as the economic power remains in the hands of the capitalists, aristocrats and clergy, who will use it to crush the democracy.

Therefore the first result of the revolutionary uprising of the masses of the people in Austria should be the revolutionary dictatorship of the working class. The immediate aims of this dictatorship are not only to disarm the bands of fascist murderers, not only to turn over to the revolutionary tribunal the present destroyers of the constitution, whose hands are stained with blood, and not only to rout the officers who broke the law for the benefit of fascism, but also to take away from the aristocrats, capitalists and priests their economic power.

The revolutionary dictatorship should declare as public property all banks, large industrial establishments, big commercial houses, all the forests, and divide the great agricultural estates among the farm workers and the sons of peasants and soldiers and thus create the foundation for a Socialist order.

When the revolutionary dictatorship has completed these tasks, then and only then a genuine, real and strong democracy will be possible in Austria.

Socialism means that the entire nation is the owner of all the means of production and the sole distributor of the wealth, produced jointly by all workers.

Therefore, Socialism presupposes the freedom of self-determination of all the people: the freedom of the individual to propagate his convictions, the freedom of the social unit to administer the tools and products of its labor according to the convictions of the majority. Even the right of government ownership of the tools and products of labor creates only *State Capitalism*, and not *Socialism*. It remains such until the people themselves jointly change the government into an instrument of their will, their self-determination.

Therefore, Socialism presupposes democracy. It must be preceded by the personal and spiritual freedom of the individual and the right of self-determination for all the people jointly.

In this sense, we remain democrats: the freedom of the individual to form and propagate his own convictions, and the freedom of the people to decide jointly according to the convictions of the majority, remain our aims.

But the revolutionary dictatorship must first strip the capitalists, agricultural barons and priests of their economic power before the genuine freedom of the individual and before real self-determination will be possible.

Our aim is not the restoration of bourgeois democracy of yesterday, but a revolutionary dictatorship, as a transitional form to a real Socialist democracy, based upon the ownership of the people of all the means of production and the products of its labor.

The Austrian bourgeoisie destroyed bourgeois democracy. By this very act it placed before us in Austria only one choice: either a *fascist dictatorship* of the capitalists, aristocrats and priests, or a *revolutionary dictatorship* of the laboring masses of the cities and villages. We are fighting for the revolutionary power of the laboring masses not in order to replace the rule of one class by the rule of another class, but in order to create through the means of socialization of large capital and agriculture the foundation for the abolition of all class rule and a true and real democracy, in order to change the class-government of all classes into a "league of free people" (as Marx said); and in order to change the capitalist society, based upon exploitation, slavery and cultural degradation of the masses into what Marx called an "association in which the free development of every one is the condition of the development of all."

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF

MORRIS HILLQUIT

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and action of working class organizations.

The Trade Unions

So long as there is no fraternal understanding and cooperation with the trade unions the Socialist Party will be bedevilled with this problem. The almost incredible conservatism of many unions has felt the impact of the depression, and in recent years the A. F. of L. has abandoned its individualist philosophy, has accepted the principle of social legislation, and effected a half-way compromise that for the present permits organization of industrial unions in the mass production industries. All this shows a hopeful trend, and it is the duty of Socialists to encourage further advances, for unless there is eventual understanding and cooperation between the political and economic organizations of the working class the ideal of Socialism can never be realized.

The union members are bound together by their common interests as workers; the party members are bound together by a social philosophy. In human composition the unions are distinctly working class, but not in their social philosophy; in human composition the party is not entirely working class, but it is or should be in its philosophy. To unite both organizations so different in composition and views in support of the Socialist ideal is the task.

An arrogant attitude by either organization to the other because of alleged or real shortcomings will not tend to bring them together. Only real educational work by the party member in the union and the union member in the party will be helpful. The primary problem is how to reach the mass of the members. Once they are won, the whole of trade unionism will be transformed in leadership, organization and policies and thus be adapted to that fraternal understanding and cooperation that are so essential.

This aid and sincere educational work should in the next few years prove to be invaluable in bridging a chasm that means weakness to the unions and the party so that both can look forward to intimate cooperation not only in day-by-day struggles but in any final conflict that may face the whole working class in the ultimate contest between the black forces of Capitalism and the red forces of Socialism.

"The Chocolate Soldier" Comes Back to Broadway

Party Notes

City Executive Committee Wednesday, May 9, party office, 7 East 15th St.
MANHATTAN
Upper West Side (100 West 72nd St.). The Executive Committee has voted a resolution on the death of Comrade Sigmund Haiman which expresses "deep sorrow at this sudden loss of a fine and loyal Socialist and friend and that we convey to the members of his family our deep condolence at their great loss. The memory of the personality and the life of Comrade Haiman remains with all of us as a memory of one of the most intelligent and fine human beings."
Morningside Heights (Room 7, 600 West 125th St.). Regular business meeting Tuesday, May 8, 8:15. Street meeting Friday, May 11, 8 p.m., St. Nicholas Ave. and 125th St. Speakers: Duval, Lids and others.
19th-21st A. D. Branch meeting Tuesday, May 8, 8:30 p.m. This Saturday, May 5, Workers' Unemployed League, Local 31, will hold a social and card party at the headquarters.
Greek. Branch will hold a hike Sunday, May 6, meet at foot of Pelham Bay Parkway station 9 a.m.
Village (201 Sullivan St.). Italian elementary class every Saturday at 4 p.m. Sunday, May 6, at 8 p.m., one thousand feet of movie film will be shown of Socialist May Day parade and other interesting films.
Banquet and Dance by Italian Socialists to raise funds for their branches Saturday, May 5, 6:30 p.m. at Rand School, East 15th St. Speakers: Norman Thomas, Jacob Panken, V. Montana, S. Romualdi.
BRONX
Lower 6th A. D. (1137 Ward Ave.). Branch meeting Tuesday, May 8, 8:30 p.m., at headquarters.
7th A. D. (289 Elmside Place). Business meeting Tuesday, May 8, 8:30 p.m. Plans for summer activities and coming social will be discussed. Last chance to vote for National Convention delegates.
Amalgamated Houses Branch. Dr. Wm. E. Bohn on "Socialism and the Middle Class" Monday, May 7, 8:30 p.m. at the Assembly Hall, Amalgamated Houses.
BROOKLYN
11th A. D. Enrolled voters' meeting. Girls Commercial High School, Classon Ave. and President St. Music Room. Speaker: Chas. Solomon. Monday, May 7, 8 p.m.
18th A. D. Branch 2 (844 Utica Ave.). Enrolled voters' meeting will be held on Tuesday, May 8, 8:30 p.m., at headquarters. Speakers: Louis P. Goldberg and Jacob Axelrad.
6th Congressional District (844 Utica Ave.). Joint congressional meeting will be held on Thursday, May 10, 8:30 p.m. Saturday evening, May 19, a joint congressional dance and beer party will be held.

Socialist Forum Calendar

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

FRIDAY, MAY 4

August Classens: "These United States"—Brighton Beach Branch, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., Brooklyn.
 Louis Francis Budenz: "The American Workers Party"—22nd A. D. Branch, 864 Sutter Ave., Brooklyn.
 William M. Feigenbaum: "The Road to Power"—23rd A. D. Branch 2, 1574 St. Marks Ave., Brooklyn.
 David L. Lee: "War and Fascism"—East Flatbush Branch, 539 East 95th St., Brooklyn.
SATURDAY, MAY 5
 Norman Thomas and Samuel A. DeWitt—Hotel Commodore, Rockaway Park, L. I. Far Rockaway Branch.
SUNDAY, MAY 6
 Layle Lane—Parent-Teacher meeting—3:30 p.m., People's Educational Forum, 2005 7th Ave.
 Haim Kantorovitch: "Revolutions and Counter-Revolution"—Sunnyside Branch, 4915 43rd Ave., Sunnyside, L. I.
 Henry Jager—May Festival—4 p.m., Workmen's Circle Branch 54, Broadway-Central Hotel, 673 Broadway.
MONDAY, MAY 7
 Dr. Wm. E. Bohn: "Socialism and the Middle Class"—Amalgamated Houses Branch, Assembly Hall, Amalgamated Houses, Bronx.
TUESDAY, MAY 8
 Dr. Simon Berlin: "Communism, Fascism or Socialism?"—Midwood Branch, Room 54, 1101 Kings Highway, Brooklyn.
 B. C. Vladeck: "Municipal Housing"—16th A. D. Branch, 6618 Pay Parkway, Brooklyn.
 Martha Koopman: "Incentive Under Socialism"—Flushing Branch, Room 221, Terminal Building, Roosevelt Ave. near Main St., Flushing, L. I.
 Louis E. Goldberg and Jacob Axelrad—Enrolled Socialist Voters' Meeting—18th A. D. Branch 2, 844 Utica Ave., Brooklyn.
FRIDAY, MAY 11
 Symposium: "Proletarian Literature"—Bruno Fisher and others—Brighton Beach Branch, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., Brooklyn.
 Speaker and topic to be announced: 22nd A. D. Branch, 864 Sutter Ave., Brooklyn.
 S. Lipschitz: "Fascism in Europe"—23rd A. D. Branch 2, 1574 St. Marks Ave., Brooklyn.
 Speaker and topic to be announced: East Flatbush Branch, 539 E. 95th St., Brooklyn.

Bensonhurst Unit Holds Successful Celebration
 The recent third anniversary celebration of the Bensonhurst Unit of the Women's Committee

Features of the Week on WEVD (1300 Kc.)

Sun., May 6—11 a.m.—Forward Hour; 8 p.m.—Theatre Union Forum; 8:15—Hippodrome Grand Opera; 10—Symposium; 10:45—Bill Bowers, baritone.
Mon., May 7—4:30 p.m.—Actors' Dinner Club, direction Doris Hardy; 4:45—Musical, Elda Ercole, soprano; Carlo Lanzilotti, bass; 5:15—Steven Barry, popular songs; Conrad and Tremont, two-piano duo; 5:45—"The Virginians," male quartet.
Tues., May 8—5:45 p.m.—Herbert Gubelman, baritone; 8—Herman Bernstein, Editor, Jewish Daily Bulletin; 8:15—"A Night in Vienna," Garfield Swift, baritone; Renee Shieber, soprano; Helene Lanvin, contralto; Studio Orchestra and others; 10:15—"Religion in Our Changing Times," Dr. Henry Neuman.
Wed., May 9—5:45 p.m.—Elizabeth Andros, contralto; 8—Oswald Garrison Villard; 8:45—"The Dance and Our Changing Times"; 10—North Queens in "The Heart of New York," poetry, music and talk; 10:30—"Around the Samar," Zinoida Nicolina, soprano; Simon Philipoff, balalaika artist, and Zam's Gypsy Orchestra.
Thurs., May 10—5:15 p.m.—Repertory Playhouse Associates, dramatic group; 5:45—"Musical Cities," Rosalie Housman, composer; 8—"Germany Today and World Danger," Algonquin Lee, President of the Rand School; 8:15—"Old Time Favorites," Helen Bishop, soprano; Helen Lanvin, contralto; Eugene Byron Morgan, baritone; 10—Hippodrome Grand Opera.
Fri., May 11—3:45 p.m.—Nicholas Slavsky, baritone, and ensemble; 5—Ben Blumenberg The New Leader Review; 5:30—"Half-Hours with Shakespeare," Edward D'Oize and associate players; 8:15—"My Boy," sketch featuring Jennie Moscovitz; 8:30—Jamaica Night in "The Heart of New York," poetry, music and talk; 10—"The Voyagers," vocal duo; 10:15—"The Union Assembly," talk and music.
Sat., May 12—4:15 p.m.—Kitty Conroy, blues singer; 5—"Author Reviews His Book"; 5:15—"Labor Marches On," dramatic sketch; 6:45—Eva Miller, contralto; 7:45—Frances Adler, actress, "The Life of Her Father"; 8—"Half-Hours of Song," Helen Bishop, soprano; Frances Jenkins, mezzo-soprano; Metropolitan String Ensemble; 8:30—Music Hall Program, Conrad and Tremont, piano duo; "The Three Cheers"; Virginia Vallance, soprano; Garfield Swift, baritone; 10—Hippodrome Grand Opera.

YPSL Notes

May is the month of the drive for subs for the Challenge, official organ of the Yipsels. Party members and Yipsels are especially urged to become subscribers for only twenty-five cents, for which a year's worth of the monthly young Socialist organ will be received. A contest is being run in New York, with Bob Parker in charge. A Yipsel shirt and all regalia will be the first prize. Valuable books will be given to the comrades in each borough who sell the most subs.
 YPSL posters—proclaiming "Socialism in Our Time," slogan of the young Socialists, have been published by the National Office of the League. They are on sale at the City Office as well as throughout the country for fifteen cents, two for a quarter. The size is 22 inches by 35 inches.
 The Yipsels are becoming active in building the Youth Committee Against Fascism, a youth organization striving to create, build and organize sentiment against Fascism in America and abroad. Working side by side with their young comrades in other young workers and student organizations, the Yipsels are striving to build the YCAF influence on campus and in shops and labor's gathering centers.
 Organizers of the YCAF who are Yipsels meet Saturday, May 5, at the Rand School at 2 p.m.
 Circle organizers Meet May 5 a 3 p.m.

Sigmund Haiman

Socialists of New York will be grieved to learn of the recent death of Sigmund Haiman, a director of the Rand School and an old-time member of the party.
 Comrade Haiman, who was 46, died of kidney trouble at the Presbyterian hospital last week. He was one of the leaders of the great waistmakers' strikes of 1909 and 1913, and one of the real builders of the labor movement in that trade.
 In recent years he was in the insurance business.
 Comrade Haiman is survived by his wife, Stella Gillis-Haiman, daughter of Comrade Meyer Gillis.

was a great success. More than seventy comrades were present. Over \$40 was raised, of which \$25 was donated toward rental of the branch headquarters and \$5 to the United Drive.
 West Bronx Unit.—Ten dollars was raised by a card party at Mrs. Shonwits. Next meeting with a speaker will be May 10.

Charles Purcell, Donald Brian and Bernice Claire in First of Revival Series

Straus' "The Chocolate Soldier," one of the most notable operettas of recent years, is being currently presented at the St. James Theatre with an all-star cast and at popular prices.
 The cast is headed by Charles Purcell, Donald Brian and Bernice Claire. Mr. Purcell and Mr. Brian will alternate in the leading role, playing three days each.
 Other members in the cast of principals include John Duns-mure, Detmar Poppen, Fritz Von Busing, Lauretta Brislin and Parker Steward.
 In addition to the above there are a chorus of forty singers and an augmented symphony orchestra.
 It is the plan of the management to follow "The Chocolate Soldier" with a series of former Broadway musical comedy hits, which will include "Desert Song" (Miss Claire's first starring vehicle) and "Naughty Marietta."
"No Greater Glory," Powerful Peace Film, at Roxy
 May Day brings new recognition and encouragement from many sources to the Socialist. Striking and fraught with much significance at this time is the announcement of public presentation of a film transcription of Ferenc Molnar's eloquent unmasking of the utter futility of war under the high-sounding yet sarcastic title, "No Greater Glory."
 Molnar, greatest living Hungarian playwright, is better known to the social elite through the many plays his pen has contributed to the American stage than to the masses through his more philosophical writings. Author of nearly fifty published volumes, Molnar wrote one book for the express purpose of pleasing himself through expressing himself openly and unashamed. Turning back memory to boyhood days and employing youth as a symbol, he sketched a picture of the hollowness of human conflict and the emptiness of victory won through strife. The book found publication in eight languages under the title, "The Paul Street Boys." Translated into English by Louis Rittenberg and published in New York in 1927 the edition was brought, highly praised and forgotten in the welter and hurry of the period.
 Save for a few autographed copies treasured by the owners, the book and its thundering message might have disappeared from American view and consciousness had not the movie-maker sensed

All-Day Symposium, Sunday, May 6, at Rand School

An all-day symposium will be held at the Rand School this Sunday, May 6, and will be divided into three sessions.
 During the first session (morning), Murray Barron and Louis Hendin will be heard on "Labor Resolutions." During the second session (afternoon), David Berenberg, James Oneal and B. C. Vladeck will speak on "The Third Party Movement."
 Algonquin Lee and Haim Kantorovitch will be heard during the third session on "International Resolution."

The fourth annual Militant Dance will be held in Webster Manor, 125 East 11th St., Friday, May 11. Several novel features are promised by those in charge of the affair. One of the evening's features will be a showing of the film, "The Comrades and One Invention."

Rev. Leon Rosser Land will speak on "Two Significant Books on the Christian-Jewish Tragedy," at the Bronx Free Fellowship, 3591 Boston Road, Sunday evening, May 6th. At the open forum J. B. Matthews will speak on "The Forgotten Consumer."

Politics Most Interesting News

Translux Contest Awards

National economics and international politics were the most popular newsreel topics among the young people of Greater New York, the Translux contest, recently completed, reveals. "Strikes, What Do They Mean?" (by Raymond G. Leddy of Jackson Heights), "The Pact Between Italy, Austria, and Hungary" (by Helen Earle of Englewood) were among the essays winning scholarships for their writers; while the activities of the President, and the Wirt allegations account for two more of the five prizes. Summer at camp, journalism courses, business administration are among the scholarships awarded in this first film news contest, successfully sponsored by Translux.

a new Warner Bros. musical production. The cast is headed by Dick Powell, Ginger Rogers, Pat O'Brien, Ted Fio Rito and his band, and the Four Mills Brothers, whose voices are known from coast to coast.

The story by Paul Finder Moss and Jerry Wald, presents the intimate side of the singers and announcers, well-known on the air. There are four catchy airs written by Harry Warren and Al Dubin.

the timeliness of the subject at a moment when the dogs of war are straining at the leash in every land.

Columbia Pictures Corporation made the production under the skillful guidance of Frank Borzage, one of the master hands of cinema art. Private preview screenings disclose that "No Greater Glory" is Molnar's message precisely as he wrote it. The work will be disclosed at the Roxy Theatre for an engagement commencing today, and subsequently throughout the entire world, wherever American-made pictures are shown, affording a rallying point for those who oppose war and the senseless aftermath of misery and debt that inevitably follow.

In this sense "No Greater Glory" is "peace" doctrine powerfully and eloquently expounded, and an instrument that should awaken many who remain blind and deaf to the perils of the hour.

Ben Atwell.

"20 Million Sweethearts" Offered at Brooklyn Strand—Low Summer Price Policy

The Brooklyn Strand Theatre's new low summer price policy of 25c in the afternoon and 40c in the evening, at all times, is showing as its first attraction under that policy, "20 Million Sweethearts,"

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 and Adrienne ALLEN and Raymond MASSEY in "The Shining Hour"

A New Play by Keith Winter

with Cyril Raymond — Marjorie Fielding — Derek Williams
 BOOTH Theatre, 45th Street, West of Broadway. Evenings 8:40
 Matinees Thursday and Saturday 2:30

CLOSES SATURDAY EVENING, APRIL 28

ROLAND YOUNG and LAURA HOPE CREWS

in CLARE KUMMER'S comedy

"HER MASTER'S VOICE"

with ELIZABETH PATTERSON and FRANCES FULLER

PLYMOUTH THEATRE | Mats. Thurs. & Sat.—\$1.10 to \$2.20
 W. 45th St. | Evenings 8:40 — \$1.10 to \$3.30

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1934 **Gilbert & Sullivan** REPERTORY Season
 Evening 50c to \$2.00
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 MAJESTIC THEATRE 44th St. W of BWAY

WEEK OF MAY 7th
 RETURN ENGAGEMENT
"PIRATES OF PENZANCE"
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 DOUBLE BILL
"PINAFORE"
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"TRIAL BY JURY"

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

GEORGE BUSHAR - JOHN TUERK offer
 HELEN GAHAGAN * FRANCES STARR * EDITH BARRETT
 in DAN TOTHEROH'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. 50c to \$2.20
 BRyant 9-2628 | Evs. at 8:50 55c to \$3.50

Labor Color-Line Cut in Vivid "Stevedore"

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

Theatre Union Wins Again

"STEVEDORE," by Paul Peters and George Sklar. Second Theatre Union Production, at the Civic Repertory Theatre.

Excellent staged and well acted, "Stevedore," the second presentation of the problems of labor and color along our Southern docks. A program-note declares that "some of the scenes in this play are based on incidents which occurred during the attacks on Negroes in East St. Louis in 1919, the Chicago attacks in 1919, the Dr. Sweet case in Detroit, the Begalusa lumber strike, the New Orleans dock strikes, the Colorado Bathing Beach fight, the attack on the Camp Hill, Ala., sharecropper, and the similar attack at Tuscaloosa, Ala." While this sounds a good deal like a listing of a lot of similar race and labor troubles in order to win sympathy for the play, there is no doubt that the action in no way goes beyond the range of truth. And that the play has power. It also has flaws, being in some respects crudely put together, and not always—as when the policeman steps behind the counter to reach the bottle, instead of the girl's handing it to him, which was natural and would have prevented the shooting—does it convince us that it is real. Nor is the supposed Negro attempt at rape as closely linked with the labor trouble, in the texture of the play, as one might desire. And—while one is indicating defects—one continues to feel, in the Southern plays of late, that a good dramatist would get beneath even the characters

toward whom the audience is hostile, and show that they, too, are the product and the victims of their environment. Then we should have no deep-eyed villains, but a scene in which all elements are the inevitable result of a system: therefore we should work against, not the individual villains, but the system that makes them inevitable. Which means education instead of shotguns.

This is perhaps too much to expect of the average play—there were 2,000 years between Sophocles and Shakespeare; and "Stevedore" is a gripping picture of how laborers down South are beginning to realize that the color-line is less fundamental a dividing mark than that between worker and capitalist; and how the cry of "rape," even falsely raised, is an easy screen for breaking up any effort of the Negroes to better their condition. The temporary victory of the Negro group, with which the play ends—though at the cost of leaders' lives—gives the audience no doubt as to the white triumph; and emphasizes the fact that force, begetting force, leads to no near solution. In the movement toward a true theatre of the people, the Theatre Union is taking long strides in the right direction; and in "Stevedore" it has again produced a play no one should miss.

At Brooklyn Paramount

"Double Door," the successful stage play, has been transcribed into a thrilling cinema, and will be offered today at the Brooklyn Paramount Theatre, together with a stage show featuring Ethel Merman and a galaxy of stars.

At Both Strands



Dick Powell and Ginger Rogers make an interesting new cinema team in Warner's new musical hit, "20 Million Sweethearts."

"The Milky Way" to Open at the Cort Theatre May 8th

A new prize fight play, "The Milky Way," is scheduled to come to Broadway on Tuesday evening, May 8. Sidney Harmon and James R. Ullman, who ventured into the medical profession as co-producers of "Men in White," the season's longest-running play, at the Broad-

Bobby Sanford Readies Third Edition of "Showboat Revue" Aboard the Buccaneer

Bobby Sanford, the young Broadway producer, who during the past two years gave New York theatre-goers a new vogue in summer entertainment by the presentation of his "Showboat Revue," announces that he has just completed negotiations with James A. Kenyon, of the Hudson River Day Line, to present the third edition of his revue aboard the floating theatre "Buccaneer."

This year Sanford will have Meyer Davis, the "Maestro of Jazz," associated with him in the production of this novel attraction. He has already started casting for this new edition, which will feature a prominent Broadway cast of 50 people, including his personally selected "Sanfordolls." A Meyer Davis orchestra will furnish the music for the revue and also for the dancing on the Day Line steamers preceding and following the Showboat performances. The revue will also feature an entire new score, original sketches by prominent authors and specially designed costumes for this new edition.

Support The New Leader Labor Section! Pass it on to your neighbor!

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

hurd, are sponsoring this comedy of the squared circle by Lynn Root and Harry Clark at the Cort Theatre.

Leo Donnelly, Brian Donlevy and Hugh O'Connell have the featured roles.

"3 on a Honeymoon" Has Premiere at Fox Brooklyn—New Oumansky Stage Show

"3 on a Honeymoon," Fox Film's new romance, will have its world premiere at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre today.

The screen play is an adaptation of the novel "Promenade Deck" by Ishbel Ross. Sally Eilers has the featured role; Charles Starrett has the masculine role opposite Sally. Zasu Pitts, Henrietta Crossman, Irene Hervey and John Mack Brown complete the cast.

Phil Duey, young American baritone radio entertainer, headlines the Alexander Oumansky production, "The Heat Wave Revue."

Bert Frohman, master of ceremonies; Jack Starnes and his troupe of entertainers, and the Fox Melody Masters are in the stage revue.

"WE'RE NOT DRESSING"

with BING CROSBY

and

CAROLE LOMBARD

George

Gracie

BURNS & ALLEN

ETHEL MERMAN

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A Paramount Picture

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

2nd WEEK! WARNER BROS. BEST MUSICAL!

"20 Million Sweethearts"

with Dick POWELL - Ginger ROGERS - 4 MILLS BROS.

Also at B'KLYN STRAND • STRAND B'WAY & 47th St. Fulton St. & Rockwell Pl. Cont. Pop. Prices

FOX
FLATBUSH at NEVINS

GALA ANNIVERSARY SHOW on Screen & Stage
World Premiere **SALLY EILERS** & ZASU PITTS
Premiere **CHAS. STARRETT**
"3 ON A HONEYMOON"

On the Stage—**PHIL DUEY**
BERT FROHMAN

Jack Starnes' Revue—"HEAT WAVES"—Others

25¢
10:50 P.M.
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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

JIG SAW

A comedy by DAWN POWELL

with ERNEST TRUEX and SPRING BYINGTON

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

Eves., 8:40. Matinees Thurs. and Sat. at 2:40

Dwight Deere Wiman & Tom Weatherly
presents

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
Evs. \$1 to \$3 Mats. Wed. 4-12:15
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JACK HOLT

in

"WHIRLPOOL"

JEAN ARTHUR - DONALD COOK

LILA LEE - ALLEN JENKINS

—ON STAGE—

America's Radio Sweetheart

JEANNIE LANG

AND 3 RASCALS

Bert GORDON & Olive SIBLEY

CALIFORNIA REVELS

Intimate Musical Revue

CARLTON EMMY

and His MAD WAGS

ARTHUR PEDLEY & CO.

Thrills of the Air

CASINO THEA., 50 St. & 7 Ave.

Continuous 10:30 A. M.

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ON SCREEN

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UNITED SOCIALIST DRIVE IS NEAR THE \$6,000 MARK

CHICAGO. — Tennessee is the fourth state to win a place on the "Red Special" in the 1934 United Socialist Drive. Thus all the states that have succeeded in oversubscribing their quotas in the drive are in the south—Tennessee having been preceded by Georgia, Kentucky and Arkansas. Furthermore, there is every indication that Arizona will be the fifth state on the "Red Special"—scoring another point for the southern comrades.

According to this week's report on drive contributions sent in thus far to the national headquarters the total raised is now near the \$6,000 mark. Wisconsin continues to be far in the lead with Massachusetts once more in second place. Illinois, Pennsylvania, California, New Jersey and Ohio hold the next five places respectively in the latest state by state report on the drive.

New Locals, Branches and Yipsel Circles

CALIFORNIA, Ventura; MASSACHUSETTS, Quincy (YPSL); MINNESOTA, Montevideo; MISSOURI, Naylor, Neosho (Jaybird School District branch), Seneca (School District branch), Seneca; NEW JERSEY, Dover (YPSL); NEW MEXICO, Hagerman, New Hope; NORTH CAROLINA, High Point; NORTH DAKOTA, Forman; OHIO, Cleveland (Italian branch); OKLAHOMA, Alva, Covington, El Reno, Rush Springs, Waurika; OREGON, Multnomah, Willamina; PENNSYLVANIA, Bethlehem (YPSL), Lanesville; WEST VIRGINIA, Cedar Grove.

Final Convention Agenda

The final agenda for the Detroit convention will be mailed to branch secretaries May 10 as a national headquarters' supplement to the Milwaukee Leader. Extra copies are available from national headquarters.

For Socialist Athletes

The Workers' Gymnastic and Sport Alliance, member of the International Socialist Association for Workers' Sport and Physical Education, now has twenty-one affiliated groups in the United States and is making a real effort to increase the number of its affiliates. Karl Hengster, 624 Livingston St., Elizabeth, N. J., is secretary.

Michigan

The last state organization conference will be held at Ludington Sun., May 6. Next SEC meeting at An Arbor Sunday, May 7.

Wayne County. All comrades should attend the Joint Session at headquarters, 225 E. Forest, Monday, May 7. Last joint session before next fall.

Branch 1. Party is planned for Saturday, May 5. Clara Naysmith is in charge.

Branch 5. The Rev. J. H. Bollen will speak at the Saturday evening forum at branch headquarters, 9105 Hamilton Ave. on "Civil Liberties and the Trend Towards Fascism." Discussion meetings every Wednesday will be devoted to the next few weeks to an analysis of the weekly articles on Socialism now appearing in The New Leader.

Wisconsin

A sample issue of the Wisconsin Leader, a new party weekly, will be printed this weekend, and the paper itself will be started regularly in about a month. Sample copies from 536 W. Juneau St., Milwaukee.

New Jersey

Mercer County. Two new branches started Monday, April 30, one at White Horse in Hamilton Township with 15 members and one in Ewing Township with 12. This makes five branches in Mercer, and still growing.

A full ticket is being entered for the General Election, with candidates for congress, state senate, assembly and Freeholders.

The Brookwood Labor Chautauqua played at the Labor Lyceum April 26 under the auspices of the United Socialist Drive committee and pleased all present. They will return the latter part of May and should receive a hearty reception.

Newark. A reactionary police chief prevented a large May Day parade planned in Newark with the cooperation of many unions, but a large and enthusiastic mass meeting was held with Socialist and labor speakers.

Saturday, May 5. Debate on "Shall the Socialist Party of America Urge the Entrance of the United States into the League of Nations?" Dr. George Trager takes the affirmative and Harry Lichtman the negative. A 25 cent supper served by the Women's Committee will precede the event.

Tuesday, May 8. Voters in Belleville and Irvington are asked to support Socialist candidates in local elections this day. Charles Longhi is commission candidate in Belleville, and in Irvington our candidates are E. H. Kaempff, Fred Haug, August Zimmerman, A. Abramovich and Harry Lichtman.

Wednesday, May 9. Branch of the Oranges meets at the West Orange Community House, 242 Main St., West Orange, to elect officers.

Thursday, May 10. George Pfau will speak on "The Organization of the Radical Movement in the U. S." at 1065 Broad St., Newark, sponsored by the Central Branch.

Thursday afternoon. Socialist women's discussion group meets at county headquarters, 1065 Broad St.

Sunday evening, May 13, at 1065 Broad St. David P. Berenberg of the Hand School will lecture on "A Program

Socialism." Tickets, selling at 25 cents, include a copy of Berenberg's book, "The Fundamentals of Socialism," with every two tickets.

M. H. Walker, director for the United Socialist Drive, reports the county has raised \$490 or 60 per cent of its full quota. The 13th Ward Branch and Branch 3 of Newark still lead with 100 per cent of their quotas raised, while Bloomfield and Oranges Branches are tied for second place with 85 per cent. Central Branch Newark comes third with 78 per cent raised. The drive continues.

New York

Claessens' Tour. The cross-state tour of August Claessens is to open with a meeting at Port Jervis Saturday night. He will spend the 6th, 7th and 8th at Binghamton and Endicott, and will speak at Waverly on the 9th, Sayre, Pa., on the 10th, and at Elmira on the 11th or 12th. The 13th to 15th will be devoted to Schuyler and Steuben counties, and the 16th to 18th inclusive to Cattaraugus County, with Olcott scheduled for the 17th. The 19th, 20th and 21st will be given to Jamestown, where meetings will be held at the City Hall. Dunkirk and Silver Creek are scheduled for May 23rd and 24th respectively, and beginning with May 25th Claessens will devote nearly a week to Buffalo, Niagara Falls and nearby towns.

Westchester County. This county has elected Carl O. Parsons and Leonard Bright, both of New Rochelle, as delegate and alternate to the National Convention respectively.

Yonkers. The branch and Yipsel circle held a very successful pre-May Day celebration at party headquarters Monday evening. There was a musical program and short addresses by State Secretary Merrill, J. Jay and P. Koss and others. Wm. M. Feigenbaum of New York was the speaker at a May Day celebration at the Community Center Tuesday evening.

Jamestown. Jamestown has raised its United Socialist Drive quota and is looking forward to the appearance of August Claessens in a series of lectures at the City Hall auditorium.

Rockland County. Meeting, May 10, at 8 p.m. in the home of C. P. Svensson, Palmer Ave., Nanuet.

Concert and lecture at Community Center, Spring Valley, Sunday, May 13, at 3 p.m. Jacob Panken will speak on "The March of Fascism." Spring Valley branch established at meeting on April 28 with Max Liebowitz as organizer and M. Zimmem as financial secretary.

Buffalo. A Buffalo and Erie county anti-fascist committee is being formed. A preliminary conference was held last Sunday and permanent officers will be elected Sunday, May 13, when Leo Krzycki of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Tucker P. Smith of Brookwood Labor College will speak.

Temporary officers are—Chairman, Isidor Beckman of the Workers' Circle; Secretary, John Newton Thurber of the League for Industrial Democracy; Treasurer, Murray D. Lynds of the Young Peoples Peace Alliance.

The Socialist Party delegates are James Battistoni, Ernest D. Baumann

The Workers Abroad

(Continued from Page Five)

tributed lately a number of new articles and pamphlets on this subject. A lengthy declaration of principles by the large group of German, Social Democratic emigrés in France seems to be the most important of these contributions. On such questions like revolutionary methods in Hitler Germany, ruthless extermination of the ruling classes, socialization of the means of production and distribution, and a temporary dictatorship during the transitory period, the Paris declaration goes even further to the left than the new program of the Prague center. And it adds a new organization demand: Complete self-elimination of the old German leaders from the new-born movement. . . .

The present attempt of the Prague Center to move to Paris is obviously an attempt to bridge the growing abyss between the two centers of politically active Social Democratic emigrés.

"Revolt and Revolution" by Georg Decker and "Fascism and the Intellectuals" by Judge *** are two of the latest pamphlets on the lessons of German counter-revolution, the *Graphia*, official publishing house of the German Social Democrats, had just put on the market. This department may still have a chance to speak of them.

and Robert A. Hoffman. Other affiliated groups include the Buffalo branches of the LID and the American Civil Liberties Union, Workers' Circle, Salem Brotherhood, Young Peoples Peace Alliance, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Buffalo Joint Board, Foursquares Club of First Presbyterian Church and the Poale-Zionist organization.

Ernest Schleifer, secretary of the Metal Trades Council of the AFOF, comprising 14 local unions, was present at first meeting and will urge affiliation of this group.

Trade union, fraternal, peace and other groups will be invited to send delegates to the next conference.

California Party News

See article, "California to the Front," on Page 2)

California SEC Meeting at Stockton

The State Executive Committee met at state headquarters, 511 E. Channel St., Stockton, April 14 and 15 in accordance with the new policy of holding meetings in various parts of the state. The next meeting will be in the vicinity of Los Angeles May 19-20. Saturday evening the Stockton local gave a well attended banquet. Students from Pacific college served the dinner. J. W. Southwick, candidate for Lieutenant Governor, spoke on the need for organization and John Packard on strikes in the Imperial Valley. He is head of the subcommittee on civil liberties and has personally investigated the situation. The last speaker was Milen Dempster, gubernatorial candidate.

The principal actions of the SEC included the following: Alan Clark was made director of the party summer schools to be held in July and August. Roy Burt, national organizer, is to be in California for a month and will give about half his time to the schools. Those desiring to attend should communicate with Alan Clark or the state office. The committee recommends that where necessary locals might supply scholarships to their most active members.

Local Glendale is organizing CWA workers and has formed the American Labor League under party control. The League has been successful in securing for its members more adequate maintenance and in building up the party. Attention of members is also called to the strike of the Campbell soup workers, and the SEC urges cooperation with the strikers.

A number of counties and a few cities have recently passed anti-picketing ordinances. If they are upheld they will prevent effective activity by organized labor, declares a resolution of the SEC. John Packard is to arrange a test case in which it is hoped that the ordinances will be declared unconstitutional.

Local Oakland was granted permission to run Clarence Rust for the state senate. Copies of the official letter stating the party's position on Upton Sinclair's attempt to capture the Democratic primaries were ordered sent to those who ask for them. Copies may be obtained from the state office.

A recommendation by Sam White for the subcommittee on labor that Socialists aid in farmer-labor strikes was approved. White stated that Socialists should not take a stand-off attitude because strikers may be led by other organizations, nor need they take orders from such strike leaders. It should be

made clear that the party is not fighting the small farmer. Three-fourths of California farm land is owned by 7 per cent of the land owners. Solution of the state's farm problem will come only when the small farmer and the farm laborer unite against their common enemy.

Local Bakersfield was commended for its fight against unfair discrimination in the use of schools for public meetings. Seldon Osbourne, state organizer working in Los Angeles county, was commended for his work.

E. E. Porter reported on the state literature agency. Locals and members are urged to purchase literature from the agency. All standard party literature and many books are available at prices identical with those of the National Office.

The subcommittee on finance would appreciate the locals' remitting the state's share of the United Socialist Drive funds. The National Office share should also be sent in. The subcommittee is to be augmented by appointment of members in various parts of the state to assist in the practical work. Activities will be deferred until after the national drive is over.

A charter was granted to Ventura. Referenda for the election of delegates to the National Convention and for the selection of a platform are in the hands of the local secretaries, to be returned to the state office shortly. Members should get their ballots and vote immediately.

The referendum on the new constitution was deferred for a month so that a new draft by Raymond Henderson can be considered. Comrades Packard, Henderson and Rogers are to give special attention to combining good points of the new draft with the one prepared by Rogers. Amendments adopted by the state convention were sustained by the referendum.

The state office will supply locals with a political calendar to guide them in making nominations for the assembly, congress, etc.

News Bulletin in New Dress

This issue of The New Leader marks the inauguration of a new policy of reporting state news to the members. News formerly contained in the bulletin will appear once a month in The New Leader, and copies will be furnished to locals. Each organization will receive about two-thirds as many copies as it has members.

Campaign Paper

In cooperation with the Milwaukee Leader 5,000 copies of a special campaign paper will be printed. It will be two pages in length.

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For further information apply to Main Office, William Spuhr, National Secretary, or to the Financial Secretaries of the Branches.

FURTHER GREETINGS from

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Br. 330—Brooklyn

" 389B—Scranton, Pa.

" 410—New York

" 443—Los Angeles, Calif.

" 529—Syracuse, N. Y.

" 559—Cleveland, Ohio

" 710—Brockton, Mass.

" 876—New York

Br. 2—New York

" 13—Paterson, N. J.

" 19—Syracuse, N. Y.

" 87—New York

" 100—Brooklyn, N. Y.

" 120—Richmond, Va.

" 154—Columbus, Ohio

" 216—New York

" 299—New York

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material, and the inside will be made up of matter from the Leader's Saturday feature page.

YPSL Group Formed in Fresno

M. J. Shannon, with the aid of Frank Crossworth, have organized a circle, beginning with eight members, and had 15 present at its first regular meeting. A study class has been started, and social activities are planned. Monroe Sweetland will address the group late in April.

Scott Lewis Working on Hand Book

W. Scott Lewis, chairman of the SEC, felt that there is a need for an inexpensive hand book of facts for party lecturers and organizers. The SEC has asked him to prepare a sample. The committee also requested the National Office to communicate with Scott Lewis about the book since it should be of national use. Such a book should be revised biennially. The first edition will be made available soon.

In this connection, Kirby Page's "Individualism and Socialism" is highly recommended to all party members.

Cooperation Being Discussed

There has been an increasing amount of discussion of the possibility of working out some means of cooperation with other groups that share party objectives. The organization integrity of the party and its right to propagandize for Socialism will have to be maintained, and it seems clear, the Communist party will have to be excluded from such a scheme.

The First Congressional District convention will meet at a picnic at Austin's Resort, Lower Lake, soon.

Local secretaries are asked to send news items for inclusion in this column to the editor, Stanley Rogers, 2033 N. Argyle Ave., Hollywood, or to the State Office not later than the date of meeting of the SEC each month.

TEXAS

By William Plampin

SAN ANTONIO, Texas.—The most successful state convention the Socialist Party has held in Texas since the war which met recently in Waco, passed a resolution that Socialism must "cease making a fetish of parliamentarianism and reserve its right to use all the weapons necessary to carry out our principles as set out in the Declaration of Independence."

It was only two years ago that a small conference was held at Waco, the scene of this year's convention, and a resolution passed to organize the cities of Dallas, El Paso, San Antonio, Austin, and Waco. E. M. Lane of Dallas pointed state organizer. Since

then the movement has grown until now fully 30 locals are in existence, and a dozen in active operation.

Lane was reelected state organizer and William Plampin of San Antonio state secretary. The convention was very enthusiastic and I expect good cooperation from the comrades throughout the state.

A state executive committee was elected as follows: A. F. VonBlon, Waco; W. D. Montgomery, San Antonio; J. W. Hembree, Smithville; Virginia Monk, Dallas; W. B. Starr, Cisco; Thomas B. Burns, Fort Worth, and Lorenz Peterson, Houston.

George Clifton Edwards, noted Dallas Socialist and lawyer, was elected delegate to the National Convention at Detroit, with A. F. VonBlon as alternate. The committee chosen to write the state platform were Carl Johnson, San Antonio; C. A. Burdick, Waco, and G. C. Edwards, Dallas.

Another committee was formed to rewrite the state constitution, to be ratified by referendum when completed. Those elected were A. F. VonBlon, J. M. Jewel, John M. Killough, E. M. Lane and William Plampin.

William Chamberlain, a visitor from Michigan and an active LID organizer, spoke to the convention on his work among the college students, as did James Starr of Cisco who discussed the anti-war work going on at Texas A & M college.

Plampin urged the organization of YPSL circles and more work among the youth and called for the support of The New Leader as well as the American Guardian and the Challenge.

A resolution was passed in protest of the poll tax, in the collection of which Texas stands as one of the four remaining states. Another resolution calls for the local charter fee to be raised to \$5, in return for which locals are to receive booklets for propaganda purposes.

John Killough appealed to the delegates to support the United Socialist drive and urged them to get busy and forward the money to National Headquarters as soon as possible.

The Greatest May Day

(Continued from Page One)

and auxiliaries—not forgetting the Vanguards and Yipsels—fraternal bodies, anti-fascist organizations—all, all were there.

But in addition, for the first time in the history of May Day other revolutionary bodies were there, organizations that in the remote and the recent past had waged bitter and often relentless war upon the Socialist Party and the trade unions that usually work with the party, because of differences of opinion as to methods.

There were the I.W.W., the far-famed Wobblies, colorful, rugged, untamed, many in them in uniform—the uniform of workers, soiled overalls and dungarees.

There were the two "opposition" Communist parties, the so-called Trotskyites and the Lovestoneites, with their auxiliaries of schools, youth organizations and cultural organizations.

There were the Socialist Zionists, the Jewish Workers' Alliance, and other related organizations.

There were anti-fascist organizations, libertarian organizations—organizations of every radical and revolutionary point of view, each of which was represented in the speaking on the platform, the only test that was applied being good faith and a willingness to keep a pledged word. Every organization in the great United Front demonstration had pledged itself to unite upon those things upon which all were agreed—workers' unity, war upon war, fascism and upon capitalism—and every organization kept its word.

The only organization that were missing were those associated with the "official" Stalinist Communist party, who characterized their "united front" pleas with their usual tactics of vilification and denunciation of everyone and all organizations that would not take dictation from them.

By persisting in their methods of alienating everyone who continued the "bourgeois ideology" of doing their own thinking the "official" Communists challenged comparison between the Socialist and trade union United Front demonstration, and their own.

Despite the ballyhoo they received from the capitalist press, despite the fact that they were given the far more adequate Union Square, despite their utmost efforts, their parade had finished its march into Union Square three hours before the Socialist and trade union parade had finished its march.

But at 3:05 a speaker from the Communist platform announced that the Socialist parade had finished five minutes before. (It continued for three hours after the announcement.) And it appears that many capitalist papers took their information of the Socialist demonstration from veracious Communist sources rather than sending their reporters seven blocks north to find out for themselves.

Not the least of the colorful divisions was that of the Wobblies. At their head marched the Marine

Transport Workers' Industrial Union, husky longshoremen in working clothes, beamingly happy to be in line on May Day with comrades and fellow-workers in the struggle for liberty.

Another Wobbly battalion carried high on a standard a pair of overalls with the information that they were available for J. P. Morgan whenever he got ready to do some useful work. The old Wobbly spirit still lives!

There were floats and signs galore telling the world what the marchers thought of Hitler and Mussolini and Dollfuss and fascism in general. There were school and college boys and girls with books under their arms. And there were the almost endless lines of labor marchers. (A story of the labor divisions is told by Gertrude Weil Klein in another section of this paper. However, there must be reference here to Gertrude herself in a red blouse marching near the head of the Amalgamated division, cheering and being cheered and having the happiest time she has enjoyed in a long, long time.)

The Workmen's Circle was there, with its schools and its great Young Circle Clubs; and at the head the grizzled veteran officials of the organization.

One organization that won wild acclaim was the Forward Association, headed by a banner borne by M. Sood, who seemed about to burst with pride, while alongside the red banner marched the lion-like veteran of fifty years of Socialist battles, Abraham Cahan surrounded by his colleagues of the Forward staff.

But, after all, the most colorful, the most thrilling of all the divisions was that of the Socialist Party. Headed by Frank Crosswaith as Grand Marshal who bore himself like a conqueror to the cheers of thousands, he was followed by the beloved Max Winter of Vienna and the Executive Committee of Local New York.

And then a glorious burst of color!

The Socialist Vanguard, marching in machinelike precision, headed by the bearers of a forest of red flags, the boys, and then the girls, in blue shirts with red ties. And as they passed the stand, as they sang the International with raised fists it was a sight that no one will ever forget.

And while all this was going on, across the street from the platform in the building of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, Charles Solomon was arguing an appeal against the recent conviction of Jack Altman and Alex Retzkin for bearing red flags!

There were speakers, too; many speakers—Norman Thomas, Max Winter, William Karlin, Abraham Cahan, James Oneal, Charles Solomon, Jay Lovestone, J. P. Cannon, I. Hamelin, William M. Feigenbaum, Abe Miller, Joseph Baskin, Jacob Panken, Frank Crosswaith, Ethel Schachner, David Lasser, Mrs. Primoff, Louis Waldman, Julius Hochman—representatives of all the organizations of every shade that participated.

The speeches were important. The vast crowds cheered them. But after all is said and done, the real performers were the marchers and the demonstrators—they who held up their fists and pledged themselves to fight for the better world that is in birth.

It was their day. It was their celebration. It will be their triumph!



By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

The Tailor Goes to Jail

IT was that good supporter of the Administration, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, which gave the most effective comments on the way NRA is working that I have seen. In a little box at the head of a column is carried a paragraph headed: "Tailor Who Pressed Suit for 5 Cents Less Than Code Price Gets Thirty Days." Underneath a bigger heading under a longer article read: "NRA Has No Case on Big Companies That Will Stick. General Johnson says so—an explanation of why no conspicuous example has been made."



Norman Thomas

It is no use for a thick-and-thin supporter of NRA to get up and say that after a while the tailor was let out and that really he oughtn't to have acted the way he did. The fact is that he was put in jail, while big companies guilty of price-fixing and continual chiseling of the labor provisions of the codes go utterly unwhipped of justice. I repeat on the basis of what I hear everywhere: Chiseling is more universal under the codes than bootlegging in prohibition days.

Warburg Tells Some Truths

WE owe to banker James Warburg the statement of one truth at least. In a speech he said something to this effect: The Administration is trying to protect all the savings of the American people at a hundred cents on the dollar and at the same time to reduce the burden of debt, and it can't be done. On this matter, at least, Mr. Warburg is right. It is possible to reduce the burden of debt to some extent even under capitalism without wiping out savings, as might be done by a wholesale inflation. The capital levy would help. But it is not possible at all to validate all certificates of debt at a hundred cents on the dollar and still reduce the burden of debt. Now it happens that savings of banks, insurance companies, and the like, are very generally invested in indebtedness certificates, that is, bonds and mortgages. There's the problem. It is time the American people got it into their heads that we cannot protect capitalist property rights—let alone the right of labor to the product of its labor—and give everybody what they want. You can't support the present structure, the burden of interest, and yet find any sensible way to relieve its intolerable pressure upon farmers and others. It cannot raise prices and fix prices, as is being done under the codes, and at the same time give adequate protection to consumers. The Administration's present intent to prevent cut-throat competition and yet not encourage monopolistic price fixing; to fix a reasonable cost in an industry but not to fix prices; to raise the entire price level but not to gouge consumers, is as impossible as the squaring of the circle. The economy of abundance will never be reached by that road. We have got to start out on the principle of social ownership, planned production and a sharing of the abundance that can thus be produced. In a transition period we can take steps somewhat to mitigate the shock of panic change upon the system and masses of men under it, and that's all. We cannot fool ourselves that we can keep on granting profits to small owners of property and take it all out of the big men, either by taxation or otherwise. Let Father Coughlin, Huey Long, and others, take notice of that plain fact.

A. F. of U. I., Inc.

WHAT is potentially about the most dangerous organization in the economic world which has come to my attention is the American Federation of Utility Investors, Inc. This is an effort on the part of big utility companies to evade popular wrath for their excessive profits, for the kind of financing which brought about the Insull crash, and for their general corrupting effect upon democracy by organizing the absentee owners of stocks in public utilities to do their fighting for them. These absentee owners do not really manage or control the companies. If they did, they should bear the responsibility for the crimes and blunders of these companies.

There is nothing meek about this American Federation of Utility Investors. It admits no wrongdoing on the part of the managers of public utilities. It is prepared to fight rate reduction, taxation, government competition through the Tennessee Valley Authority and other federally owned enterprises, or through the development of municipally owned public utilities. It conducts its fight on the basis of a calm acceptance of the almighty rights of property. From reports that I have got it seems to be advertising itself through

notices sent out with dividend checks and in every other way open to public utilities with enormous resources.

This is the kind of opposition the workers have to expect. Every effort is going to be made to fool the worker, the farmer, or the professional man with a little insurance policy or a little money in the savings bank or one or two shares of public utility stocks by making him think that he will lose enormously if these monopolies which should be socialized are socialized. They conceal the fact that as a worker and consumer, whether on farm or in factory, that man will gain far more than he will lose as an investor. And, of course, they conceal the fact that the present structure of our utility companies is an intolerable burden upon our economic life. One of the worst things about this American Federation of Utility Investors is that the big financier hides himself behind men like Dr. Hugh S. Magill, nominally president, and Charles B. Kirwin, one of the directors. Who are these men? Well, Dr. Magill is the General Secretary of the International Council of Religious Education of Chicago, a Protestant organization of some importance. Mr. Kirwin is Treasurer of the Catholic Church Extension Society of the United States of America. Here, in other words, is a very clever attempt to line up churches and educational institutions along with the public utilities because of their investments. This is the kind of thing that will put to a test the deep sincerity with which certain church organizations have recently been adopting rather radical resolutions.

The Ministers for Peace

ONE can make all the allowances one wants and still it must be admitted that the response which Kirby Page has collected from more than 20,000 answers to questionnaires sent to Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis is somewhat surprising and very encouraging. The opposition of the ministers is far greater and more thoroughgoing to war than to capitalism. 13,997 out of 20,870 ministers who answered believe it is time for the churches to go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war. The opposition of the ministers to old-fashioned individualistic capitalism is even more overwhelming. Nevertheless, it is encouraging that 5,879 of these ministers definitely favor Socialism, a little more than half as many as favor a drastically reformed capitalism, which presumably in the minds of most of these ministers may mean the New Deal. Without overemphasizing the real power represented in the opinion of these ministers, here is a factor in our social life of which neither labor nor the Socialist Party should fail to take account.

The United Drive

THE same mail which brings me good news of fine work of Socialist organizers in North and South Dakota, in Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Kansas, Missouri and Iowa also brings me news that in this last week of the United Socialist Drive we are far from going over the top. Only four states—Georgia, Kentucky, Arkansas and Tennessee—are on the Red Special, that is, have finished their quota. The entire amount so far raised or pledged, while decidedly in excess of the amount raised in a similar period last year, is or was for the week ending April 23rd not a tenth of the amount that must be raised this year if we are to carry out our minimum program. And unless we carry out that minimum program, we can adopt all the resolutions that the wisest men can think of, we can have a cheering crowd at a glorious May Day demonstration, we may even have a successful convention, but the Socialist Party will not be the vehicle that will win the battle against war and fascism. We can make the grade. We must make the grade. There is not time to be lost!

The Fascist Danger

IF anyone still has doubts about the menace of Fascism in "Anglo-Saxon" countries let him read the story in the New York Times of Monday, April 23rd, about Sir Oswald Mosley's dramatic Fascist meeting in Albert Hall, London. Says the correspondent: "Sir Oswald ceases to be a joke in British politics, for the movement he started eighteen months ago was definitely launched tonight with the blessings of an audience of men and women in whom there seemed to be not a spark of internationalism or a spark of goodwill for anybody outside the British Empire."

This is the menace with which British labor must deal. All our hopes of intelligent democracy and fair play depend upon it. In the meantime, the one thing American Socialists cannot do and remain Socialists rather than near-Fascists, is to go as far as Comrade Sharts of Ohio has urged, in a recent issue of The New Leader, in playing up nationalism.

I HOPE in next week's issue either in my column, or elsewhere briefly to summarize my address at The New Leader dinner, May 1, in this connection, congratulate The New Leader on the La' Supplement and its steady improvement and servability to the party and the labor movement.

Where You Can Get

Thomas' Radio Speech

We are informed by Norman Thomas that the National Broadcasting Company announcer, who introduced him on the occasion of his May Day broadcast against Chancellor Dollfuss, was ordered by the higher-ups of that organization not to permit the announcement that copies of the speech could be secured from the National Headquarters of the Socialist Party.

Comrade Thomas asks us to report that copies are available, and can be secured for ten cents from the Party Office, 549 Randolph St., Chicago.