

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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In Four Sections—Sec. 1

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SOCIALISM IS RECOMMENDED TO LITTLE FELLOWS IN DARROW REPORT

THE ruling groups, having the bulk of the capital and finance of the nation, are divided over the NRA. A powerful section one year ago pleaded for government help when the banks passed into the ditch. Under the NRA the masters of capital were told to organize into nationwide trade associations. They did.

Having organized their One Big Unions, this powerful section has turned against the NRA. They want to scrap it but hold on to what they got. Other big masters are not certain that they can pull capitalism out of the ditch without the aid of the NRA. The ruling class is divided.

Workers are more and more dissatisfied with the administration of the codes, the sabotage, the chiseling, the delays and indecisions. Strikes are on the increase.

Into this situation comes the Darrow report, which presents the claims and the grievances of the fellows with small capital. They are toads under the harrow. The One Big Unions are managed by the big capitalists. They are entrusted with the job of administering "codes of fair competition." The little fellows declare that they are being crushed.

The Darrow report declares that the "monopolistic combinations are expected to enforce against themselves a law to prevent monopoly." That is true but it is also a farce. One might as well ask the burglar to prevent his pals from robbing safes.

The report refers to the "conflict of interest between large and small businesses,

Upper Barons of Capital and Finance Divided Over Future of the NRA; Report Declares That Only Choice Is Between Monopoly by Barons and Socialized Ownership

in which the small man is the loser, and no power under the NRA is showing itself able to protect him." The result is that the small man "is often driven into bankruptcy by the low prices forced upon him by the powerful combinations."

The old law of capitalism, that the greater capital has an advantage over smaller capital, works out as well under the NRA as it did before it was enacted. There are some exceptions to this law, but as a general rule it is true. Because it is true, the tendency for a century has been for the business unit to increase in size and for the smaller units to sink to lesser relative importance in the system of capitalist production.

Capitalism is a game of dog eat dog. "Big business," says the report, "begins by making it impossible for the small man to survive; and, after he is eliminated, it turns upon the weakest of the common aggressors." Moreover, "One may as well dream of making war lady-like as of making competition fair." At all times it

is merely a question of which dog will next be eaten.

Plenty of instances are cited in the report to show that the NRA has strengthened the possessors of big capital. The very bigness of their capital gives them an advantage, but the One Big Unions enable them to add to the pressure which bears heavily upon the owners of little capital. It is the middle and lower middle classes whose stakes are being gathered in by the big fellows.

In the days before the Great Collapse when such investigations were made, they were followed by urging that more teeth be placed in the anti-trust acts. The Darrow report makes no such recommendation. It declares:

"The choice is between monopoly sustained by government, which is clearly the trend in the National Recovery Administration, and a planned economy, which demands socialized ownership and control, since only by collective ownership can the inevitable conflict of separately owned units for

the market be eliminated in favor of planned production. . . . To give the sanction of government to sustain profits is not planned economy, but a regimented organization for exploitation."

The Darrow report is suggestive of the Socialist program. How does Administrator Johnson meet it? By claiming that it means a choice "between fascism and communism." He advises that the board that made the report should be abolished because it "is not proceeding in good faith." What he probably means is that the report is dangerously honest, dangerous to the security of the robber barons in that it tells the middle classes that their hope lies in a Socialist program.

The fact that the report does not turn to the hackneyed conclusion that enforcement of the anti-trust laws will bring relief to the little fellow is evidence of "good faith." The grip of the big barons is based upon their enormous monopoly capital. The future of the farmer, the little fellow and the wage worker lies in taking over the great industries and making them public property to be operated for the common good.

This is Socialism. The class-conscious workers are the vanguard in support of this program. All other victims of the robber barons can find release and security only by making the workers' program their own.

The Darrow Report Stirs Up Excitement in the Capital

By Benjamin Meiman
Special Correspondence

WASHINGTON at last discovered—what it always suspected—that there is a Socialist in the woodpile: Charles Edward Russell is to be blamed for the report of the Darrow Board. Russell was a sort of a "brain truster" to a "brain truster." Russell himself does not admit writing that report. But then, again, he does not deny it, either.

The National Recovery Review Board, of which Clarence Darrow is (or by this time probably was) Chairman, proved to be a severe critic of the NRA. In the main its charges are that the whole system of "fair competition" undertaken under the National Industrial Recovery Act tends to monopoly and to the disadvantage of the little business man and the consumer. These are the criticisms in the general report of the board.

But Chairman Darrow and William O. Thompson furnished the President with a supplementary report of their own, in which it is strongly urged that the country adopt a "planned economy," which

"demands socialized ownership and control, since only by collective ownership can the inevitable conflict of separately owned units for the market be eliminated in favor of planned production."

The NRA through administrator Hugh Johnson, general counsel Donald R. Richberg, and several

code administrators, answered the Darrow reports. Gen. Johnson did not hesitate to denounce the board's report as "superficial, intemperate and inaccurate." He has recommended to the President that the Darrow board be abolished without further ado, on the ground that its continuance in operation can only hamper his successful operation of the NRA and recovery in this country.

Although the Darrow report received a bushel of publicity, insiders in Washington know that General Johnson, or some one else near the White House, put it all

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Roosevelt Doesn't Say the Word To Pass the Labor Bill

By Observer

Our Washington Correspondent

FACED with a business recession which has reached more than seasonal proportions in some lines and with the usual summer dullness close at hand, the Roosevelt Administration will be forced by political considerations if nothing else to make a renewed

effort to increase business activity.

With the Congressional elections little more than five months off, it is vitally necessary from a political standpoint that the Administration push its "recovery" drive with more success than in the past. The Roosevelt Democrats, now busily engaged in building up a great machine in Washington and throughout the nation, do not relish the prospect of losing any political ground.

All except the most self-deluded of the President's advisers know there is plenty of discontent in the United States, despite what seems to be the Mr. Roosevelt's continued popularity. Growing labor unrest, approaching the explosion point in the steel and automobile industries, is merely one indication of this discontent, which is almost certain to result in some Democratic defeats in November. It is the aim of the Administration to hold these defeats to a minimum.

Failure to keep and increase business and employment gains brought by lavish Government spending means increasing disillusionment with the Roosevelt program, with inevitable political repercussions. Just what the President and his advisers will do to head off more discontent and disillusionment is not clearly known, but it is believed their efforts will be centered on a strenuous drive to increase activity and employ-

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Red Flag Law Knocked Out

NEW YORK State's anti-red flag law, one of the fruits of the anti-radical hysteria of 1919, has been declared unconstitutional by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, First Department, in the case of Jack Altman and Alex Retzkin, Socialists, who were convicted for a violation of the law in the Bronx Supreme Court last January.

They were arrested September 10, 1933 in Pelham Park, Bronx, for carrying a red flag in a Y.P.S.L. parade near the Memorial Monument, where members of ex-servicemen's organizations were gathered for a demonstration.

Altman and Retzkin were given suspended sentences, the law having become virtually a dead letter in recent years. But it was determined to appeal the sentence to establish once and for all whether this legislation, passed during the

period of the Lusk insanity (and signed by Governor Al Smith), should remain on the books to be held as a club over the heads of the workers.

Charles Solomon of the firm of Goldberg & Solomon represented Altman and Retzkin in both courts, contending that the anti-red flag law, Section 2095A of the New York Penal Law, was not only ridiculous but a flagrant violation of both the state and federal constitutions. He pointed out that the law was enacted in 1919 during the post-war hysteria when he was a member of the legislature; that he had fought it on the floor of the

Assembly, and that instead of Altman and Retzkin being arrested the "patriots" who had interfered with them in the exercise of their constitutional rights should have been arrested and brought to trial.

In support of his argument that the state law was unconstitutional, Solomon cited the case of Stromberg vs. California, decided in the United States Supreme Court, and in which case Chief Justice Hughes, writing for the court, said:

"The maintenance of opportunity for free political discussion to the end that government may be responsive to the will of the people, and that change may be obtained by lawful means, an opportunity essential to the security of the Republic, is a fundamental principle of any constitutional system." He pointed out that a statute invading such rights was repugnant to the 14th Amendment of the Constitution.

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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, June 1st, from 5 to 5:15 p.m.
Joseph T. Shipley, Dramatic Editor of The New Leader, speaks Friday, May 25th, at the same hour.



Clarence Darrow

NEW LEADER

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JAMES ONEAL, Editor

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Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of The New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its declared purpose.



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THE HEAVENLY NRA

THE NRA will consider "acts of God" as a reason for agreeing to hours of labor longer than are fixed in a code. Perhaps it is necessary to explain this heavenly aspect of the NRA.

Up in Vermont a limestone industry ten miles from the nearest city was isolated by the washout of a bridge. A boarding house accommodating the "hands" of the company was also destroyed by fire and the most severe winter in years brought further inconvenience. All these troubles were "acts of God."

The company wrote a letter to the Recovery Administration asking that these "acts of God" be countered by permitting the 40-hour week clause of the limestone code to be changed to a 48-hour week till

next September "to recover from our losses." The NRA granted the request and the "acts of God" now figure in the ledger accounts of capitalist enterprise. Labor, however, pays for God's acts by increased working hours while the capitalists recover their losses. Don't think too hard over this or you will also be in need of recovery treatment.

BIG SHOT SNOBS

HE who has been down and out and had his home invaded by a charity sneller will appreciate the arrogance of the snob. The big shots of capitalism too often display this insufferable snobbery. Take their attitude towards the labor union controlled by workers.

Alfred P. Sloan, president of General Motors Corporation, is one of this type. He is convinced that "the American workman has generally decided that his interests are outside of a national union rather than inside one." Having surveyed the minds of the workers, he also concludes that they prefer the company union kindly provided by the big shots.

The labor skinnners add snobbery to their role of exploiters. Their patronizing air, their assumption of affection for those they despoil, recalls a similar attitude on the part of planters for their Negro slaves.

SLOAN'S ECONOMICS

A FEW more pearls from the Sloan jewel box should be stored by the historian for future reference. "We cannot distribute that which does not exist. To distribute more we must create more."

But your class, Mr. Sloan, possess the industries that enable us to produce things to distribute. Why are these industries paralyzed in your hands? The laboring masses want to produce and distribute and your class have locked the gates in their faces.

"Few of us for several years past," you say, "have enjoyed the income to which we have been accustomed, to which we firmly believe we are entitled." The assumption is an equality of sacrifice by your class and ours. How do you get that way?

The worker who once received five dollars a day gets nothing now. You still receive an enormous salary which is extracted from the exploitation of the workers who still serve you and from the surplus you extracted from those whom you hurled into the breadline. Millions of workers are outcasts while you still sit high in your tower of dollars. When the masses know the Socialist road to power they will not tolerate your system very long.

FASCIST BULGARIA

LATE last week Bulgaria turned fascist and many Socialists and Communists were imprisoned. This is the third dictatorship Bulgaria has had since the end of the World War. Stambulisky was dictator during 1920-23, ruling in the interests of the peasants. He abolished freedom of the press and assemblage and enacted a compulsory labor law. He was overthrown in June, 1923, in a bloody counter-revolution. Stambulisky was murdered and rule by political assassination became general for a year or two under the Zankov Government.

The governments that have followed have been little better than disguised dictatorships with working class organizations living a precarious existence. Bulgaria has suffered from the depression and the ruling cliques have been unable to restore production and exchange to normal. They now turn to fascism, the last ditch of a decaying order.

One objection that we have to imperialist war is that the generals have always led us to fight our friends and to support our enemies. If they will lead us against the exploiters of the working masses of this country instead of against the working masses of other countries we will talk the matter over with them.

It is now reported that President Roosevelt has prepared a "lasting new deal." So far it has been a blasting new deal for the workers many of whom have been fasting for years.

Our definition of a moving picture is a Democratic or Republican judge issuing orders to striking workers to move on. That picture of a giant ruled by a pygmy moves us to tears.

Yes, we are one happy family in this country with the same interests and no class struggles but it is rather embarrassing that some beg for bread while others are hogs at the same table.

We have the "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" but the right is a phantom of the brain till we can transform it into bread, jobs, homes and security for the workers.

Of course, Socialism might wreck civilization but as capitalism has done such an excellent job along this line we will not waste time arguing the question.

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

By the Editor

NEXT WEEK!

OUT of the underground Socialist movement of Germany has come a small book that is of extraordinary interest to the workers and Socialists of all nations. A group of Socialists have written a survey of what has happened in Germany, interpreting the forces that brought the ascension of Hitler to power, presenting a critical view of the German Socialist movement, re-examining its tactics and methods, of the International, the Communists and the Communist International and presenting some tentative conclusions.

The booklet is not offered as a final word on the issues that are raised but is presented as a serious discussion. It is one of the most important Socialist documents that has ever been published in many years and an English translation is now available. We shall run an article next week regarding this notable publication. We are sure that this feature will be of special interest to all our readers. Watch for it!

With Our Readers

Mordecai Shulman of Chicago writes that "The New Leader has greatly improved lately and is the best Socialist periodical at present."

Lemke Bron of California sends the following: "Congratulations on the militant tone The New Leader is using. Away with all compromise and kowtowing to petty liberals, but let's use common sense."

John H. Bates is enthusiastic over our series on Basic Principles and hopes "that these articles will be continued as a regular feature in The New Leader and that they will later be published in permanent form."

Murray E. King, who writes the

informative article on fascism in this issue, congratulates us on the "splendid historical May Day number," and writes that "The New Leader gets better and more interesting all the time."

William Plampin, state secretary of Texas, wishes that "every party member in the state had received a copy of the Tenth Anniversary number."

Daniel F. Downey of Massachusetts sends a similar letter and was especially impressed by the first page drawing as "full of a deeply tragic symbolism."

Alex Solomon of St. Louis, "as just one more subscriber," is highly pleased with the Labor Section.

Sol Berman, Montreal.—"The May Day issue was great. More power to The New Leader!"

These are only a few of the messages we receive from all over the nation.

Dog Days

The hot summer months are always bad for Socialist publications and Socialist propaganda in general. Activity during dog days declines, with the result that party publications and institutions suffer. No comrade can afford to rest in these days of depression. Every party member and sympathizer

WHAT HO! CONFIDENCE!

The American capitalist system is more severely hit by the depression than any other country. The number of the unemployed throughout the world is over 27 million. The number of jobless in the United States is over 10 millions, more than one-third of the world total.

American capitalism is the highest developed but is terribly affected by the depression disease. It is ripe for Socialist transformation and most rotten for human welfare.

Do the big financial rulers have confidence in their system? They do not. In three months ending March 5 the deposits in national banks increased a billion dollars but bank loans in the same period decreased \$200,000,000. Bulging banks, decreased loans!

When the big bankers have no confidence in capitalism, why should you?

should find his place in Socialist work. Above all, in the street and hall meetings, at picnics and other affairs, do not neglect to get subs to The New Leader. Your paper will carry fifty-two issues to every subscriber loaded with Socialist arguments and reasons why he should join the Socialist Party.

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.

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F. M. Wiggle Is (What a Man) With Us



ON Tuesday there was a roar in the Rand School, a crash and the door of The New Leader office fell in, a figure strode across the threshold, paused in the center, and gazed at us with an air of triumph.

"Fothergil Montmorency Wiggle!" some one cried. Yes, it was Fothergil. Members of the staff and a few visitors rose in respect and stood at attention. All realized that the great hour had come.

With a majestic wave of the hand Fothergil bade us to resume our sitting posture. He looked for a moment at the portrait of Karl Marx, shifting his glasses upward from their lodging on a wart at the end of his nose. "Pouff," said Fothergil with another gesture as he turned from the portrait.

"I'm a radical," said he, at the same time surveying each person in the room. "I believe that I was Born during an eclipse of the sun, man, but—ahem—there are others. Born during an eclipse of the sun, an astrologer declared that I was destined to great things. The depression gave me my opportunity."

All this was said with a modesty that was impressive. "Why the umbrella?" he was asked.

"Sometimes it rains and sometimes it pours," said Fothergil. "Ever think of that?"

The query came as quick as a flash of lightning, showing that the man was resourceful in any emergency. The comrade who asked the question wilted.

"What do you think of the Darrow report?" he was asked.

"It's right but, on the other hand, it could be wrong," Fothergil responded. "In fact, it may be wrong in part if the report is approached in the right spirit. It's all a matter of perspective and perspective is important to right what is wrong."

We marveled at the man's reasoning powers. He was a little academic, of course, but he had made the answer as simple as is possible, considering the complex matter it dealt with.

We were afraid to press Fothergil further on this issue for fear of exposing our intellectual limitations.

"How long will you be with us?" he was asked.

"For some time," he answered. "You know that eternity is endless, and no educated man will trifle with time. Space is also infinite, and where I am or where I will be is also immaterial. I am; therefore I be. You are; therefore you be. We are; therefore we be. That is all that can be said in answer to your question."

What a man! we thought. And to think that he is added to The New Leader staff!

"I'll be up and at 'em," Fothergil added. "Tell your readers about it, and now for a wash and a sandwich." He strode out of the room and was gone.

Long live Fothergil Montmorency Wiggle! His views will appear exclusively in The New Leader. Pass the good word on.

Tolpuddle a Guiding Light For the Whole World

Walter M. Citrine, President of the International Federation of Trade Unions and Secretary of the British Trade Union Congress, on the Centenary Commemoration of the Dorsetshire Laborers and the Part Played by Great Britain in the Fight for Freedom in Europe.

WHAT is Tolpuddle? It is a little village in Dorsetshire in England where, a century ago, in February 1934, six farm laborers were arrested at daybreak. They were taken to Dorchester jail and were later sentenced to seven years' transportation overseas. Why was this savage sentence—usually reserved for the most hardened criminals—inflicted on men who were guiltless of any crime? These poor laborers, four of them married, all hard-working, chapel-going folk, had formed a trade union and this was their only offense! Today history repeats itself. Not six but thousands of people are languishing in concentration camps, and hundreds of thousands have to hide away like hunted animals, all merely because they have belonged to free trade unions!

The British Trade Union movement and free Trade Unionists the world over will this year pay homage to the Tolpuddle Martyrs. The centenary celebrations will be held at Dorsetshire; the General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions will this year meet in Dorsetshire, as a mark of respect to the brave fighters of 1934, and will at the same time pay tribute to the martyrs of today, the enslaved workers of Germany and Italy, the heroes of Austria, all who fight in the battle of freedom for Europe, where the clock has been turned back a hundred years and which has become another Tolpuddle, whose heroes will in the years to come be honored as we today honor the heroes of 1934.

This year we celebrate, but we must fight too.

This is a year of destiny for the British Labor movement, which is fully alive to the menace of the situation. It is determined to resist every encroachment on its rights, and to do everything in its power to roll back the tide of barbarism which has already engulfed so large a part of the continent.

Its task, in effect, is to save Europe for freedom, progress, and the democratic spirit.

Let us look back 100 years, and see how a British working class, faced with the same perils, vindicated its rights by an act which proved one of the main inspirations of a century of successful evolution.

In 1834, as in 1934, the greater part of Europe lay under the shadow of grinding despotisms which seemed as firmly established as they were detestable. Reaction was, on the whole, sure of itself: even in England it had shown no hesitation in using the most severe methods of repression against any manifestation of discontent. Particularly was it on guard against trade unionism, then beginning to make an effective appearance in the field as the champion of social justice.

The government of the day was alert for opportunities of exercising its vigilance: it found one in a complaint from the landowners of Tolpuddle that certain farm laborers in the district had formed a trade union.

The authorities decided this must be sternly repressed. They invoked an obsolete and irrelevant statute to make good their case, and had to take some other precautions not entirely consonant with ordinary

notions of justice. But they were too seriously frightened to boggle at trifles of this kind, and in due course the "criminals" were brought to the bar of "justice."

The sufferings of these men, in English jails and in distant exile, their final triumphant vindication, due to the strenuous efforts of the trade union movement, and the deep significance of the whole episode have indeed provided an inspiration which has lasted down to our own time.

The commemorations take place at Dorchester, the county town of Dorsetshire, from August 30 to September 2. They have been planned to make the widest appeal to the trade union and labor movement, and to the general public.

The program of events for the commemorations will include a sports meeting with international football matches, a play based on the story of the martyrs, a pageant of labor, a monster demonstration, a brass band contest and a fair. Six modern cottages, erected to the memory of the martyrs, will be dedicated.

But the celebrations will be more than a mere festival of the movement. They will be symbolic of the strong determination of labor men and women to stand firm for the ideal which inspired the martyrs of Tolpuddle 100 years ago, and which today need more than ever the unshaken support of every real friend of progress.

Delegates Now Beginning to Arrive in Detroit

DETROIT.—Reservations for rooms for the National Convention, to be held here June 1-3, are pouring in, according to Comrade Clara Naysmith, chairman of the Housing Committee. She has been receiving many applications from comrades who are making the journey from distant parts of the country.

The registration of delegates begins at the Hotel Fort Wayne, Cass and Temple Aves., at 8 a. m., Friday, June 1. The second floor of the hotel has been reserved for the convention and will serve as headquarters.

Visitors and delegates should note the following directions for reaching the convention headquarters: The principal street in Detroit is Woodward Ave., running north from the Detroit River, and Cass Ave. runs parallel with Woodward Ave. two blocks west. The Fort Wayne Hotel is at the corner of Cass and Temple Aves., about one mile north of the Detroit River. The main business section of the city is six blocks north of the river, with the convention headquarters just a little further north. The Detroit Socialist Party headquarters are at 225 E. Forest Ave., about two miles north of the Detroit River and one block east of Woodward Ave., at the corner of John R. A cordial invitation to all delegates and visitors to visit the Detroit party headquarters is extended by the comrades of the local.

While Millions of Men Stand On the Breadline

By Bruno Fischer

MEN and women may starve, wages may be cut to the bone, but interest must remain untouched. This is a credo accepted by all capitalists and their lackeys, whether they be bankers or railroad magnates or President Roosevelt or Mayor LaGuardia. If liberals like LaGuardia make occasional speeches against interest's rights above human rights, their actions belie their words.

It was the "liberal" mayor of New York who exempted the bankers from his proposed 1/20 of 1 per cent tax on business. It was the New Dealer in the capital who advised railroad workers not to fight to regain their wage cuts, but made no mention of the fact that the interest rate could be reduced.

A glance through statistics released by the Department of Commerce on the national income, 1929-1932, reveals that during the worst years of the depression, while wages were being slashed and the standard of living steadily driven downward, interest not only kept its prosperity level but in some cases mounted.

Taking the 1929 income level as 100, we observe wages on a steep toboggan. In 1930 wages were down to 82.7; in 1931, 61.0; in 1932, 39.8. But interest was riding serenely along almost

level ground. In 1930 it had risen to 102.4; in 1931—horrors!—it dropped to 99.5; and in 1932 the investments of the coupon-clippers and bond-holders, who had probably never seen the inside of a factory, returned to a mere 96.7 of the 1929 level.

Meanwhile the value of the dollar was going up, so that the income from interest, which had dropped less than one-fifth of a billion dollars between 1929 and 1932, almost doubled in value in real dollars during that period.

Let us consider this matter of wages and interest from another angle. Wages in 1929 amounted to 21.2 per cent of the total national income, and both wages and salaries (which include million dollar salaries) to 65.1 per cent. By 1932 wages amounted to only 14 per cent of the income; when bankers and insurance officers' salaries are included, the total of wages and salaries was 64.5 per cent.

And interest? Interest, which had been receiving 7 per cent of the total income in 1929, by 1932 received 11.2 per cent.

What is obvious is that the wages of the proletariat fell more than 7 per cent during the very time when the total income fell some 60 per cent, whereas the receivers of interest got a still larger share of the national income.

All you who refuse to believe that wealth is becoming more and more concentrated, consider these figures. They tell a story more sweeping and profound in its indictment of capitalism than the most powerful proletarian novel ever written.

Krzycki and Hoan Head Wisconsin Delegation

MILWAUKEE.—Delegates to the national convention from Wisconsin have been announced by the state office of the party. They are National Chairman Leo Krzycki, Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, Carl Minkley, Al Benson, Andrew J. Biemiller, State Senator Walter Polakowski, City Attorney Max Raskin, Alderman Emil Seidel and Alderman Paul Gauer, all of Milwaukee; Mayor M. V. Baxter of West Allis, Alderman Jack Harvey of Racine, E. L. Vernon of Madison, George Mueller of Sheboygan Falls, Herbert Dumky of Medford, Paul J. Boyd of Gilmanton, and Jessie Winters of Oconto Falls.

Alternates are Otto Hauser, George Hampel, William Zumach, Supervisor Robert Buech, Milton Peters, Walter Palm, Heinrich Bartel, Supervisor Frank Metcalfe, Elmer W. Bauman, and Alderman August Strehlow of Milwaukee, Harry Miller of Kenosha, Alfred Nabor of Mayville, Charles Emmrich of Oshkosh, Arnold Zandler of Two Rivers, Harry Taylor of Rivers Falls, and Alex Schaufelberger of Gleason.

Levenstein Heads Class in New York City Law School

Aaron Levenstein, active New York Socialist and former executive secretary of the Y.P.S.L., will receive his degree at the New York Law School this commencement season, graduating with the highest mark in his class.

Comrade Levenstein just issued winning the school's first prize of \$100 because he transferred from the day class to the night class. He won a prize for each of the two sections of the school, and his mark led him to win it in either one or the other of the sections, but he missed it when he changed from one session to the other.

Loose Leaves from A Busy Life

By
Morris Hillquit



"A vivid description of unforgettable stories and stirring days in which the author bore a noble part."

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Clarence Darrow in his famous report this week preaches "socialized ownership and control of industry." Get busy, start ten of your friends toward a better understanding of Socialism.

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Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

Dogma and Pseudo-Radicalism

SECTIONS of the revolutionary movement can degenerate into empty dogmatism as well as other movements, and this is made clear by translations into English of pamphlets and books published by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute. There are two dangers for a working class movement; one is to cease to think by relying on what has been written by those who are dead; the other is to discount what the dead have written by sneering at "orthodoxy" and refusing to do any thinking of our own.

The first type is found in the Communist Party, and the second sometimes in the Socialist Party. The first produces sterile dogmatism, and the second pseudo-radicalism. The pseudo-radical generally exhibits a state of mind rather than a code of principles. He may range all the way from the snob in his attitude toward the conservative working class to the person whose head carries a miscellaneous assortment of ideas more or less contradictory. He is too lazy to apply himself to an earnest study of Marx and Engels and the writing of others that have expanded and modified the old Marxism. He is likely to make up for this lack by using radical phraseology and by insufferable posing of revolutionary virtue. He is as sterile as the Communist dogmatist.

The dogmatist, however, does not have a single text book as the religious cult does. Every pamphlet and book of his organization is a text. One of them is the "Critique of the Gotha Programme" by Karl Marx, with an introduction by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute. This is something more than the valuable criticism of the Gotha program of the German Socialists in 1875 by Marx. It also contains a reprint of the correspondence of Marx and Engels with Bebel, Liebknecht and others, and is littered with notes and comments by Lenin and the Institute. The correspondence is enlightening, but the same cannot be said of the notes and comments.

Some Ghostology

IN the latter we have a thesis that is utopian. These notes and comments follow the theory that all that preceded Bolshevism was an unfortunate mistake. Men and movements are indicted in accord with this theory. A book by V. F. Calverton in this country late in 1932 presented the same view regarding the American movement. He declared that "Our so-called proletarian movements prior to the World War were essentially petty bourgeois in psychology and programme." With one sweep this disposes of Debs, DeLeon, Haywood and others and the movements with which they were identified.

Like Mr. Podsnap, a gesture and a phrase disposed of everything not within the ken of Podsnapery. The notes and comments to the Gotha Programme are of the same type. One note declares that in Germany, during the World War and after, "the social chauvinists and social fascists frequently put forward—and still put forward—the slogan: 'Back to Lassalle!'" We never heard of that slogan, but the author of the notes needed it so he invented it and there it is.

August Bebel died in 1913 before Bolshevism became an issue in the International, but he is dragged into the conflict between Bolshevism and Menshevism. It is declared that his "centrism showed itself also in his relations with Bolshevism, in his endeavors, along with Kautsky and others, to water down Bolshevism into Menshevism." *Marvelous Bebel, to die in 1913 and yet to "water down" something many years after his death!* Here is ghostology used for purposes of interpretation.

The Dead and the Living

NOW, before the World War the main difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism was one of organization, not of principles. Bolshevism stood for an autocratic leadership of the party by professional revolutionists, while Menshevism relied upon the rank and file. The difference of opinion grew out of the special conditions that faced revolutionists under Czarism. The Socialist parties and leaders outside of Russia took no part in this controversy, as they believed it was one that belonged to Russian revolutionaries alone, and yet Bebel is dragged out of his grave as a partisan in the post-war conflict between the two parties!

But another note is still more mystical. It declares that "Lassalle looked rather to the leaders than the masses of the people." For this he is condemned; but if this is true of Lassalle, then he took a position in favor of what Bolshevism supported in opposition to Menshevism before the World War!

So we have this rather interesting situation. Lassalle when alive approved a party administrative course approved by Bolshevism and is condemned; Bebel, though dead, is charged with post-war Menshevism, although he could not know of the differences that developed between the two movements in the modern period!

And all this is presented in the cocksure lingo of Podsnap, whose word and gesture are final. This is not only dogmatism of the worst type; it is also pseudo-radicalism.

Warren Billings Keeps Busy in Jail

By Lena Morrow Lewis

TRIPS to Sacramento always include in my schedule a visit to Warren K. Billings in the Northern California Prison—Represa post office. Through kindnesses of officials, I was permitted to go at once to the warden's office, where Billings was already waiting to receive me. Every time I visit him I wonder if I will find any indication of a break in his spirit, but as before he was full of courage and showed no sign of the disheartening and demoralizing effects to prison life.

I always come away from the prison marvelling at the way in which Warren Billings makes the best of his environment and how by his application and study he has educated himself in various trades, made himself useful in prison, conducted an interesting correspondence with persons all over the United States, carried on chess tournaments and lived a life of service that would be a credit to the best of our citizens. All through the years he has not allowed his fate to embitter him, and the way he has maintained the integrity of his own soul is the admiration of those with whom he lives from day to day.

At present he has charge of the time-pieces of the prison, winding and keeping all clocks in order, as well as the watches of the guards and their families. He is free to go practically all over the grounds and into any of the homes.

It speaks well for Billings that prisoners in this department of work before he was placed in charge never had enough to do to keep busy half the time. In order to keep up with his orders he is often obliged to work at night.

Some years ago, having discovered that he could take a watch apart and put it together again and make it run, he was asked by his prison friends to fix their watches. He sent out for watch catalogues and made a thorough study of the various movements. Leading jewelry stores in Sacramento, San Francisco and Los Angeles have been most kind in sending him all kinds of equipment and watch movements. As he sat telling me of his work, he pulled three watches out of his pockets to illustrate his conversation—one watch was made in Switzerland and was from 75 to 80 years old. He has several unique ideas in the line of watch and jewelry novelties which he hopes some day to produce.

One curious aspect of the whole situation is that Billings has been able to accomplish many interesting things in prison and become efficient in many lines because he has not been crowded by the driving greed of commercialism seeking to produce things for profit. Doings things by the tick of the clock does not make an artist. Just now in his spare time he is working on some legal phases of his case and while adjusting himself to his present situation is nevertheless quietly and persistently studying how he may help his friends on the outside to secure his release.

John Paton, for many years general secretary of the Independent Labor Party, last week quit the I.L.P., saying, in his resignation, that he cannot stand any more the "fatuous policy" of the party.

**BOOST
THE NEW LEADER!**

While America Are Planning t

By Murray E. King

Salt Lake City, Utah.

AMERICAN fascism in various guises is spreading with alarming rapidity and ominously is turning toward the seizure of arms. The following developments have recently occurred in one typical Western city.

Two years ago these movements were practically unknown in this community. A year ago the Silver Shirts emerged above the surface, but for some time attracted little attention. Six months later they counted a local membership of a thousand and a large circulation of their official publication, *Liberation*.

Since then their literature, influence and membership have spread like a blight in the County and City Building; the police department; the Federal Army post at Fort Douglas on the confines of the city; the Chamber of Commerce headquarters; among members of the American Legion; to some extent at the University of Utah; and strangest of all, among elements formerly calling themselves "progressive" or radical. Particularly does this disease affect religious people.

Like putrid odors from the rotting corpse of capitalism these various fascist factions arise, all actuated by a common carefully implanted hatred of Jews, Socialists, Communists, radicals, democratic ideals and "subversive" movements, and by a common fear of economic or political change from below. Everywhere they beget a fanatic attitude which is rapidly closing doors to the spread of real democratic enlightenment.

Only a week ago the writer was amazed and alarmed over what he saw during a visit to the City and County Building. One office looked

Silver Shirts Have Already in City and County Gov

like a depository of written Silver Shirt propaganda. An official opened a private drawer of his desk. It was full of copies of *Liberation* and *The Silver Ranger*.

It was a dismal situation particularly considering the shallow, in-

"This is good stuff," he informed me. "What they are saying about them damned Jews and Communists hits the nail right on the head. Everybody in the Building is reading it."

The county official head of this office had a drawer full of copies of *Liberation*.

"Great dope!" he exclaimed with gusto, handing some of them back to my informant, "Bring me some more. It's what we been needing for a long time."

A Silver Shirt propaganda dispenser came in with his arms full of copies of *Liberation*



The Silver Shirts Want

On the Threshold

By Maynard C. Krueger

THE Socialist Party of America stands on the threshold of a great opportunity. If it has the courage and the vision to grasp that opportunity it can yet, after a generation of struggle in unripe times, be the instrument for the accomplishment of the social revolution. Only if we are willing to depart in certain respects from traditional practice can we achieve the results which will justify the sacrifices of those comrades who have already given the best years of their lives to the work of the party.

A national convention is the highest authority in the party, subject to a referendum of the membership. The 150 delegates to the Detroit convention will register the developments that have taken place in the party since 1932. The geographic spread of the party into new areas, the building of new organizations and the increase in membership will all be manifested in the number of new faces in the convention. This may be distressing to those who have come to think of the party as a small static organization whose actions can always be predicted accurately, but it is encouraging if we think of the party as a vehicle for the abolition

of capitalism.

To what I have said recently in the American Socialist Quarterly on the road to power, on the farmer-labor party question, and on the problem of how to keep the party from being responsible for the care of bankrupt municipalities under capitalism, I shall add nothing here. To what I said in the Quarterly about the party and the union movement I shall add only that during the next two years there will be a terrific revival of interest in workers' education, and we shall need scores of Socialists for that vital work. There are already now several full-time openings unfilled for want of adequately trained people, and the opportunity for volunteer work in the field of workers' education in the immediate future will be unlimited. This is undoubtedly the most effective approach to the problem of making the trade union movement class-conscious.

The remainder of this space I should like to devote to the problem of the Socialist press and that of the Congressional platform.

The Press

A group of Socialists can have the most correct ideas in the world, but unless a functioning organization be built, those ideas amount to nothing. We can well afford to leave to the splinter parties the notion that the only important

thing is to win analysis of the and the logical fall of capital down somehow form, so that the working class the stacks of the "These were the will make them

But if it is necessary there can be no organization without Without an going to all members never party is doing ganda paper thousands of thizers non-me what the party therefore, two a national circ the house org edited in the should be fina that it gets to other is of th Upon it den larity of th membership

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LABOR SECTION

THE EDITOR COMMENTS

GREETING I.L.G.W.U. CONVENTION
BY QUOTING ITS OWN G.E.B.

THE Editor feels that he doesn't have to comment on the following passage from the report of the general executive board of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union which will be submitted to the 22nd convention of that great union at Chicago Monday, except to say "Amen" solemnly and fervently.

"While we acknowledge that the NRA has been a lever of great benefit to those labor organizations, our own included, which have had the foresight and initiative to make the utmost use of the chances offered, we should emphasize here, as we did on many other occasions, that the NRA, standing alone, without the enforcement power of a militant labor organization, would not have been effective. In our own industry, we hardly need tell you that without the policing power of the union, the employers would lose no time in converting the codes into scraps of paper.

"One other thing should not be forgotten, lest we become over-confident and leave ourselves open to attack. The tide may have turned to a degree in favor of labor... But the bridge toward economic security is far from crossed. We have not completely emerged from the chaos which all but submerged us in the past of not so long ago. We must, therefore, keep on building, struggling, strengthening our positions in every sector and corner of our industry; we must continue to consolidate our resources against any emergency that might descend upon us tomorrow; we must never cease organizing and recruiting into our ranks the masses of unorganized workers in our industry who are still half-enslaved by profit-hungry employers.

"This goal and these objectives we must constantly bear in mind as we assemble in convention, for the twenty-second time in our history and on the eve of the 35th year of our existence as an international union, in the city of Chicago. Fortunately, today our ranks are united as seldom before and the serpentine voices of disunion and disruption within our ranks have been smothered, let us hope forever, by their own vicious futility. We have today the great opportunity to legislate constructively at our convention, imbued with the sole aim and ideal of the greatest good for the greatest number of our membership.

"Fellow delegates! Two years ago, at Philadelphia, you entrusted to us the leadership of this International Union. We have tried our utmost to discharge our obligations of leadership to the best of our ability. Today we are returning to you this trust of stewardship in the hope that you will judge our endeavors to serve you in the traditional spirit of genuine comradeship and fraternity which always has pervaded the councils of our beloved International Union.

"Delegates to the Twenty-second Convention of the I.L.G.W.U., we bid you welcome!"

We say "Amen" but should like to add a word of prayer, as it were. The members of the G.E.B. must know that only the use of political power by the union—as well as industrial power—can help attain the union's objectives. Workers' education will mean educating the workers to a realization of that fact.

WHY NOT ENLIST LABOR
TO FIGHT LABOR'S BATTLES?

IT happened at a central committee meeting of the Socialist Party in New York. Labor Committee Secretary Altman had called for aid to striking theatre ushers. Up rose an embattled veteran of many such voluntary battles with the bosses—he's all of 20 years old:

"We're only too glad to pitch in and help," he said. "But what do we look like when we realize that while we're picketing with the strikers, getting beaten up for them, fellow members of theirs—affiliated with the AFofL through another craft union—are working away in the very same theatre? How about getting them to help?"

Party members and Yipsels are helping. But the question remains, and the A. F. of L. will have to determine that time-honored but never settled controversy. For one craft to continue on the job at a given plant where another is striking isn't very far from scabbing. Some way out will have to be found or the solidarity of labor doesn't mean a thing.

Something will have to be done, too, about jurisdictional disputes—sometimes even within different locals of the very same union. The spectacle of one local of the restaurant workers' union picketing shops settled by another local of the same union, as is alleged to have happened several years ago, must have been a spectacle to set the gods in the bosses' olympus chortling with glee.

"EMBATTLED FARMERS" STOOD,
BUT LABOR RUSHES IN

AMERICAN labor may not know the phrases of the class struggle, and workers may be woefully ignorant ideologically. But when it comes to a straight out-and-out battle with the bosses' police and specials, you've got to hand it to our boys—once they're aroused. The accounts of the struggle for better conditions of the workers in Toledo and Minneapolis tell their own tale. The pictures back up the impression that the workers aren't taking a licking lying down.

(1) ABOUT REACTIONARY UNIONS
(2) ABOUT CONSPIRACIES OF SILENCE

EVERY now and then we get parallel letters asking us (1) why we "support so reactionary an organization" as the AFofL and (2) why we persist in criminally ignoring some particular strike situation (the latter usually from someone who resents our not publicizing the particular situation the Communist Party is currently interested in exploiting.)

The answer to (1) we've given time and again. The AFofL is a loose federation of autonomous international unions, each of which can set its own tempo. Some are reactionary, some more advanced and militant than most Communist paper unions claim to be. But all are, strangely enough, working class organizations fighting the industrial

(Continued on Page Four)

General Strikes Possible in Toledo
And Twin Cities as Workers Battle
Police and Specials; Militia Ready

BLOODY BATTLES IN MINNEAPOLIS
Truck Drivers Meet Cops on Their Own Ground and Don't
Give Way as Labor Plans General Sympathy Strike.

Millinery Union Executive
Board and ILGWU Delegates
Convene in Chicago Monday

WITH millinery locals reported in all of the large millinery centers of the country for the first time in the history of the international union, the Cap and Millinery Department of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union will celebrate its gains at a series of events in various cities.

Chicago, the largest of the millinery markets outside of New York, will welcome the general executive board of the department on Monday, May 28, when the board will convene for a three-day session. Under the leadership of Max Zaritsky, president of the department, the board will review the results of the various strikes conducted during the last six months to insure the supremacy of the union wherever the millinery trade is conducted. The trade is now over 80 per cent unionized as a result of these efforts, the board will be informed.

A series of events in Chicago will conclude on Wednesday night, when the board will go to Milwaukee, the most recent of the millinery markets acquired by the union, to join in a celebration of the 100 per cent unionization of that socialistic city. St. Louis and Cleveland, two of the other cities, will be visited, while members of the board from the western states will bring reports of the millinery locals' gains in that part of the country.

CHICAGO.—When the delegates to the 22nd biennial convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union convene here Monday morning, they will be celebrating a jubilee year of change and growth. The 400 delegates will hear from their general executive board a tale of progress and promise which has brought the union to a membership of 200,000 and has pulled it out of the slough in which it was floundering just two years ago.

Pioneers, as the G.E.B. report points out, in many fields—in collective bargaining, in educational,

(Continued on Page Two)

Minnesota National Guard Prepares
To Help Cops Put Down Truck Drivers

MINNEAPOLIS.—Mobilization of 3,700 officers and men of the Minnesota National Guard, holding arms in readiness to interfere "as soon as requested by civil authorities," has aroused the resentment of striking truck drivers, who have been compelled to fight for the right to picket and organize. They have battled valiantly for the past week against augmented forces of police, specials assigned to scab trucks, and socially prominent bond salesmen, wealthy idlers and former football heroes who thought it a lark to help break a strike. The

Police Get Taste of
Own Medicine as
Scabs Hurl Tear
Gas Bombs.

By Staff Correspondent

TOLEDO, O.—With threats of a general sympathetic strike hanging over the city, and thousands of strike pickets and union sympathizers resenting the attempt of scabs to get out the work and of police and armed "company employees" to help them, this city will soon be an armed camp as the uniforms of state militia begin to tramp the streets. Strikers at the Electric Auto-Lite Company plant are determined to hold their ranks, still firm after a five-week walkout.

A general strike to back up the automotive workers has already been sanctioned by one third the local unions. And the sending of state troops, asked for by Sheriff David Kreiger, may be the spark that will set the whole thing off.

So far four people are in the hospital as the result of the attempt by police and "company employees" armed with iron bars to usher day shift scabs in and out. The strikers, hungry but full of pep, are in no mood for foolin' and the cops are finding it out. Especially when the "foolin'" comes in the shape of bolts thrown from the factory, of tear gas bombs hurled by scabs, and of fire hose wielded by specials. (Gas is no respecter of persons, and a couple of policemen went to the hospital and even the mayor got a whiff of the scab gas.) The result is that the strikers brought bricks and rocks into action as they fell back momentarily.

Now the bosses and the boss sheriffs are awaiting the troopers. So are the strikers and their sympathetic forces, who refuse to be frightened by talk of militia.

It isn't only the guardsmen the strikers must fight. Judge Roy Stuart in Common Pleas Court has been sweating like a day-laborer issuing injunctions against picketers and hearing contempt proceedings against pickets who just can't help violating his injunctions. Once, angered by strikers' boos, he ordered his deputies to clear the court. But they couldn't do it, so he rescinded his order and the crowd stuck around to boo again.

American Legion has also been called upon to help enlist 1,500 members as special police to preserve the well-known law and order, but so far hasn't rallied to the employers' colors.

The deputies and sensation seekers have tasted a new sensation in the past few days. The strikers, with working class sentiment behind them, have done more than hold their ranks. They've invaded enemy territory and seen to it that no trucks move. They've shown the football veterans some new tricks

(Continued on Page Four)

Frisco Dock Workers Tie Up Harbor

By Special Correspondent

SAN FRANCISCO. — A solid strike front of dock and shipping workers such as has not been seen in the local labor movement in years has completely tied up shipping in this port.

Following the strike of the longshoremen, practically every craft connected with the shipping industry has walked out in sympathy or taken steps to aid the striking workers.

Socialists are supporting the strike and giving valuable aid to the strikers. Milen Dempster, Socialist candidate for governor, and Samuel S. White, chairman of the labor committee of the state executive committee, have addressed the strikers' mass meetings. Yipsels, under the leadership of Jean S. Jones, are aiding with voluntary office work and in distributing leaflets. The party has contributed many leaflets, which it has multigraphed in its office.

Opens Their Eyes

The strike has opened the eyes of thousands of workers to the class character of the city government. More than 300 police have been concentrated along the few miles of the Embarcadero, which runs along the waterfront, and they have not hesitated to interfere with peaceful picketing of the strikers. Applicants for city relief have been sent to the waterfront as strike-breakers. The docks are city-owned, but committees of strikers are not permitted on the docks to talk to the strike-leaders and to seek to persuade them peacefully to leave their jobs. Many students at the state-supported University of California have been scabbing; for a time the university employment office hired students, but this was discontinued when labor organizations and the Student L.I.D. Chapter vigorously protested against such activity.

More than 2,000 longshoremen walked out, after employers refused point blank to recognize the International Longshoremen's Association in negotiations. Seven weeks before the walkout, a government mediation board had halted a walkout at the eleventh hour by a compromise agreement along the lines of the automobile settlement. Employers, however, broke their word to negotiate with the organization representing the majority of workers.

It's Solidarity Forever

The longshoremen ask \$1 an hour, with \$1.50 for overtime, and a 20-hour week. At present they get 85 cents an hour, \$1.25 for overtime and work 48 hours, and are completely at the mercy of the boss-operated employment agency, which forces workers to wait for hours in the cold and rain for a few hours' work, and discriminates against active unionists.

In addition to the Sailors' Union, with 7,000 members, which walked out in sympathy and with a demand for higher wages and better working conditions, and the Marine Cooks and Stewards, approximately 1,000, the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders and the Ship Clerks have also walked out in sympathy. Masters, Mates and Pilots refuse to allow their members to work on ships where scabs are employed, and Marine Engineers have refused to work on ships transporting freight to docks. Teamsters, boilermakers, machinists, shipwrights, joiners, caulkers, and hide workers have refused to move freight or handle merchandise destined for the docks or to repair or in any way work on docks or ships involved in the strike. The International Ladies'

Worker's Education, Revealing Union's Soul, Spurs to Action

AS we celebrate the thirty-fifth anniversary of our International we proudly point to the achievements of our union as a leader in the field of workers' education. Through our educational department our members and their families discover our union and the labor movement. They discover that our International has a soul, a social philosophy, a history rich in idealism and courage. The response, especially of our new members, to our educational activities is encouraging and the effect upon them is inspiring. They find suddenly that they are a social force that must be reckoned with.

Never was there a greater need for workers' education than now when we witness amongst the oppressed—the working class—a mass movement unique in the history of our country. As such a time a purposeful, dynamic workers' educational program becomes an important arm of the labor movement. So our International is determined with renewed courage and vigor to further its educational, social and recreational activities so as to enlighten our members, broaden their vision and inspire them to further action. —From report of Fannia M. Cohn, secretary of the Educational Department, I.L.G.W.U.

Secret Bankers' Pact That Hits Jobless Honored by City

THE charge of the Workers Unemployed Union that a secret agreement, made by the O'Brien Tammany administration with the bankers of New York, is being honored by the "liberal" LaGuardia administration, and that this secret pact prevents the expenditure of sufficient relief funds for the city's unemployed, has aroused the fury of the jobless of the richest city in the world. Some of the consumer press has seen fit to give front-page notice to it and even editorial comment has been evoked. The charges were made by the union through David Lasser, chairman.

This secret agreement, Comrade Lasser declared, was probably the real reason why the city officials have not—despite the present crisis—used for relief purposes the three million dollars and more collected in utilities taxes which according to the law should have been used for relief. The Workers Unemployed Union, as reported in these columns last week, has brought a law suit to compel the mayor and the comptroller to begin disbursing immediately the three millions to the unemployed. Morris Shapiro is attorney for the W.U.U.

The story of the secret agreement begins last fall, when the four year bankers' agreement was presented to the Board of Estimate providing for the purchase of \$70,000,000 in bonds by the banks for unemployment relief. Lasser and Henry Rosner, then a member of the City Affairs Committee, immediately got from Mayor O'Brien a denial that there was any limitation in the agreement as to the rate of expenditure of this fund. A month later Norman Thomas got the same answer from O'Brien.

"I Inherited a Straitjacket"

But when the Workers Unemployed Union led a delegation of unemployed to Mayor LaGuardia on Jan. 2, his first day in office, and asked why he was not planning to spend sufficient money for relief, LaGuardia answered, "I can't."

Garment Workers' Union has offered aid to the strikers.

Freight Piling Up

Despite frantic efforts of bosses to replace the strikers with scabs, freight is piling up by thousands of tons. The workers march daily along the waterfront as a show of their strength.

The same situation exists in every port along the Pacific Coast. One striker, Dick Parker, 20, was shot and killed by police in an assault on strikers' lines in San Pedro.

The amazing display of solidarity has infused a new spirit into the San Francisco labor movement, which at one time was among the most militant in the country. Workers of all industries are beginning to feel the spirit of struggle, and the labor movement on the West Coast will soon be militantly on the march.

spend more, my hands are tied. I have inherited a straitjacket from the previous administration, I am limited to \$3,000,000 a month. It is the law." The delegation was informed that the bankers' agreement limited relief expenditures to that amount. Commissioner of Welfare Hodson nodded consent. Comrade Lasser then scrutinized the bankers' agreement, as it had passed the state legislature on Nov. 1, 1933. The agreement, among other things, called for the purchase of \$70,000,000 in bonds by the banks, out of which the city was to repay bankers for past indebtedness of \$32,000,000 which made a net to the city of \$38,000,000. But not one word was stated in the public record about any limitation on the expenditures of this money.

Lasser thereupon wrote Hodson, asking in what public record this limitation could be found. On Jan. 19 Hodson's reply came, with the following amazing words: "With regard to the bankers' agreement, I am informed by George McAneny, the former controller, and Duncan McInnes of the finance department, that in conversations with the bankers, there was an unwritten oral agreement to the effect that not more than \$38,000,000 would be expended by the city for emergency relief for the period up to Sept. 1, 1934, which would mean an expenditure of approximately \$3,000,000."

In other words, the LaGuardia administration was taking, as an obligation on itself, a secret agreement between the bankers and the former Tammany administration that the only money the city could spend for relief for one year would be that money which the bankers had loaned it.

"Bankers Would Object"

Finally, in the middle of February, a delegation of the Workers Unemployed Union visited Hodson and demanded to know why the city was not using for relief the \$3,000,000 raised by the utilities tax which had also been passed by the O'Brien administration. To this Hodson replied, "The bankers might object to this use, for it would be a violation of the bankers' agreement not to spend more than \$38,000,000 for one year."

This stand was maintained by

UNION ASSEMBLY RADIO PROGRAM

Last Friday's program of the ILGWU over Station WEVD during the period called "The Union Assembly" (10:15 p.m.) featured Fanny Hurst, novelist, as guest speaker, a musical program including Pasquale Amato, Giuseppe Bamboschek, Sigmund Spaeth and the Stradivarius String quartet, and Vice-President, Luigi Antonini, manager of the Italian Dressmakers Union. Norman Thomas will appear on a future program.

Chicago ILGWU Convention Will Be a Jubilee Rally

(Continued from Page One)

recreational and health work, in enlisting public spirited agencies in the battle against sweatshops, in taking part as a labor union in community activities, and in helping other labor organizations both here and abroad in their struggles for elementary human rights—the union had suffered both from the defeats inflicted on it by Communist misleadership in New York and from the effects of the depression.

Drive Starts in 60 Cities

The oppression of the workers, the ravages of the restored sweatshops, were merciless—in the dress and cloak, in the underwear, chil-

dren's garment and knit goods trades, in the neckwear, rainwear and corset fields in New York and in other centers.

In the spring of 1933 a sweeping drive was conducted in the major industries in the metropolis and in out-of-town districts. Experienced campaigners and local organizers were installed. A concerted campaign started in 60 cities. The word went forth "Prepare for immediate strikes." Minor industries were organized.

"We rehabilitated the cloak and dress unions in Cleveland," the union's executive board will report at the convention. "We fought and won a historic strike in Chicago, bringing 6,000 dressmakers in, lifting them from sweatshop depths to influence in their trade." Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Ore., and Seattle, Toronto, Montreal, St. Louis, Kansas City, cities in the Middle West and the South—the union's drive was far-flung and incisive.

Union Gains Recorded

"Our international union and its affiliated bodies are today in contractual relations with 37 employer associations in New York and 31 employer associations in various other markets in the United States and Canada, in addition to individual agreements in several cities with employers where no associations exist—a total of 68 associations," the board will report. "Over 90 percent of our workers have the 35-hour week. Wages were increased in our industry from 20 to 25 percent, not counting compensation for the reduced number of work hours. In many cases where sweatshop earnings prevailed before, wages were increased twice, four times, and in some instances, even more than that."

"Among other standard labor conditions are: the closed union shop, recognition of the union, elimination of overtime, classification of wage scales for various crafts, and guaranteed minimum wage scales for piece workers, elimination of home work, the right of the worker to his job, and in the event of dismissal, the right of review before an impartial tribunal, and, in the cloak industry, limitation of contractors, labor representation on code authorities in most of our major industries."

"The morale of our members at the present moment is at a higher point than ever before in the history of our union. While company unionism is a serious problem to many labor organizations, we suffer very little from it in our industry."

"We come to this convention representing 131 chartered locals and 13 joint boards located in 56 cities and 16 states. These locals will be represented at the convention by 370 delegates. In 1920, when our union registered its highest advance after the war, we had only 64 local unions, 10 joint boards and 154 delegates. We come to this convention with a membership of 200,000, as compared with a membership of 110,000 in 1920 and 60,000 in 1932."

"Our task, however, is far from completed. We are the third largest international union in the American Federation of Labor, with our fighting morale at its highest point and our material resources multiplied many times. But there are tens of thousands of workers on women's garments who have not yet been affected by our drives. Most are employed in the cotton dress and undergarment factories in the Middle and Far West, where they work under the cotton garment code regulations in sharp competition to the organized workers in similar shops in other parts of the country."

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

The New Leader

Meyer London
Section

Vol. XVII—No. 21

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1934

Sec. 3

Meyer London Library Dedicated

(Read Story of Dedication on Page 3, This Section.)

Rand School To House Notable Collection

THE Rand School Library—henceforth the London Memorial Library of the Rand School—occupies a spacious and well lighted hall in the front of the second floor of the People's House, a mezzanine at either end of this hall, and two small rooms adjoining. Altogether these comprise about 1,700 square feet of floor space.

In the main room are tables at which twenty readers may be accommodated at a time, and on all sides are open stacks and wall-cases on which are some 5700 bound volumes and a large number of current periodicals. The mezzanines and one of the small rooms are overfilled with such books as are in less frequent demand and especially with files of periodicals, bound and unbound, and in the remaining room several thousand pamphlets are kept in boxes devised for the purpose, all labeled and systematically arranged.

The Labor Research Department has a considerable amount of up-to-date material on the labor and radical movement, at home and abroad. Pamphlets and documents, organizational and official reports of a most varied character are available to research workers and students. Together with the archives on the balconies, they comprise a unique collection.

All this sounds fairly impressive, but the fact is that the library is cramped for space. Books have overflowed into the offices of President Lee and Associate Directors Bohn and Fine, and a good deal of valuable material is so piled away as to be difficult of access. One of Minnie Seldon's dreams—Minnie is the librarian, all by her lonesome self, though there ought to be two—one of her dreams is to annex another room or two, have shelves built, procure more boxes to hold more pamphlets, as well as locked cases to house some of the older and rare items, and some time or other to get everything catalogued, so that those who use the library will not have to depend so much on her memory to locate things as they now do.

It is a neck-and-neck race between the growth of the library's contents and the growth of the physical equipment necessary to make it accessible. But anyhow, there is growth.

In the summer of 1906, when everything was being got ready for the opening of the Rand School in the old "brownstone front" house at 112 East Nineteenth Street—long since demolished and replaced by an office building—one of the congenial tasks of the school's first presiding genius, William J. Ghent, was that of selecting about a thousand volumes to make up its library. To know Ghent is to feel sure that the selection was carefully and judiciously made. It was a good library from the start. Some of those volumes are still on the shelves, but some have been and more have been used till they fell to pieces. That is a pen-

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How the Memorial Fund Was Conceived and Raised

By Joseph Baskin
General Secretary of the Workers' Circle

EIGHT years have passed since our beloved comrade Meyer London was so tragically snatched from our midst. An untoward accident robbed us of one of the noblest and best loved figures in the Socialist and labor movement. Meyer London in the flesh is no longer with us; we can no longer see him, no longer can we meet or confer with him—and yet his presence is as much a reality today as though he were actually alive. His voice still echoes in our ears—that same voice that so often called us forth to battle, the voice that rang out to the workers to awaken them from their slumber, to come to a realization of their interests and to embark upon the revolutionary road that history mapped out for them in modern capitalist economy.

Meyer London at times addressed the masses with bitterness or with anger, but it was not the bitterness of hate or an underestimation of their strength; on the contrary, there spoke a soul in anguish, a heart tortured by the realization of the great ignorance of the masses and their indifference to

their own interests. And Meyer London, the fighter, the prophet, the protagonist of Socialism and the lover of humanity, wanted passionately to elevate them culturally and morally, to educate them socially, to turn them into class-conscious fighters. And this noble voice, silenced long ago, still reverberates in our ears, still keeps calling us to renewed battle.

The years continue to roll by, and men disappear from our midst, but the name of Meyer London will live and be cherished in the hearts of the laboring masses. His memory will be strengthened by the monument erected in his name by those labor organizations with which his entire existence was bound up, and to which he devoted all the energy of his life: the Meyer London Memorial Library.

It is a fitting memorial, this monument to Meyer London, a tribute to knowledge and learning and freedom from slavery that he so valiantly championed throughout his fruitful young life. The Rand School Library, the home of that great aggregation of important works of a politico-sociological nature, enlarged and made up-to-date by many valuable additions, will house the new Meyer London Memorial.

The organizations that took it upon themselves to establish this library comprise the two largest

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London's Whole Life a Story Of Devotion to His Ideals

By William M. Feigenbaum

IT was early in the morning following election day in 1914. After a wild night full of rumors, punctuated with brawls at polling places, often breaking out into open fights, the news had been published in election extras that the sitting Tammany Congressman, Henry M. Goldfogle, had been re-elected by a majority of 5,000 in the 12th Congressional District in New York's congested East Side. The extras, however, gave only the Republican and the Democratic vote; they made no mention of the Socialist vote, nor did the evening papers until late the next day.

The Socialists had carried on a terrific campaign, and they knew they had elected their Congressman. The Socialist watchers had stuck to their posts, often at imminent risk of their lives, and did not turn their reports in to headquarters until the last vote for the least important office had been entered upon the tally sheets (that was before the time of voting machines). Socialist runners had brought in preliminary reports that indicated the election of Meyer London. But it was not until the dawn was breaking that the election was confirmed by the totaling up of the watchers' reports.

The news swept the East Side like wildfire. The humble folk of that teeming section had long been enslaved and plundered by Tammany Hall at its vilest. This was the first break. Tammany, for all its brutal election methods, was licked. It was the dawn of a new day!

The Socialist watchers and other party workers gathered for a bite of breakfast in a Division Street restaurant. Just as the first rays of the sun broke through, Meyer London entered—unutterably weary but walking like a conquering lion. No one who was there will ever forget the indescribable thrill of the moment. It was worth waiting a lifetime for. Comrades shouted their joy, embraced and kissed Lon-

don, tears streaming down their faces; workmen long exploited, plundered and outraged by the Tammany rule of the district looked up in awe and said, "Is that he?"

Meyer London had been elected to Congress; and the following Sunday Madison Square Garden was jammed with deliriously happy Socialists who came to celebrate. "Congressman London," said Morris Hillquit triumphantly, "is the only member of the House of Representatives who has to hire Madison Square Garden for a Sunday afternoon reception to his constituents."

Meyer London served six years in Congress, six of the most terrible years in recent history. Unlike Victor L. Berger, who came to Congress at a time of friendliness and good will, he was promptly plunged into the fearful problems of the early years of the war, and of the beginning of America's participation in the European slaughter. A man of peace, one of the friendliest and sweetest souls I have ever known, his whole public life was a battle; he fought three bitter and unsuccessful campaigns before he finally won election to Congress; (he told me that a Socialist in that district had to have 10,000 votes in the bag just to break even); he was engaged in earnest and often violent controversy within his own party, and he used to say that his bitterest fights were with himself: "Often in the afternoon I differ violently from my position of that same morning."

London lived a turbulent, a fighting life, and it was not until after his retirement from Congress—a "retirement" forced by a crooked Tammany gerrymander of his district, a Republican-Tammany fusion and wholesale theft of votes—that many of his comrades began really to appreciate him. He had been with them so long, they had known him so intimately, they had been through so much together that in many cases they had hardly noticed his steady growth from just a good and willing branch worker to the stature he assumed toward the end.

For London was one of that rare

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THE PROPHET OF SOCIALISM

By NORMAN THOMAS

IF Socialists believed in patron saints for particular causes, Meyer London would be our saint and inspiration in the matter of the right sort of labor organization. New years bring new problems, and the methods which Meyer London used in the great days of 1909-10, when the needle workers broke the sweatshop yoke are not in all respects the same methods which will succeed by slavish imitation for the problems of our time. But the standards and the spirit which Meyer London brought, as a Socialist, to the task of organizing workers on the economic front can never be improved.

He gave us once and for all an example of the way in which a Socialist, without compromising Socialist principles, can make himself an inspiring force in the American labor movement. In background and many of the outward circumstances of their lives, Meyer London and Gene Debs were very different men; they rank together in the selfless quality of their devotion to the working class movement.

American Socialists are richer for the heritage of noble memories. In our memory and affection none deserve to stand higher, especially among the workers of New York, than Meyer London, the immigrant boy who became an American Congressman, the worker who invested his legal learning and oratorical powers in the service of his fellows, the prophet of the cooperative commonwealth that yet shall be.

London's Life an Epic of Labor

When Millions Mourned

All His Talents Devoted to the Workers

(Continued from Page One)

breed that knows how to grow and develop. When he went to Congress he was not satisfied merely to make conventional Socialist stump speeches; he gave himself the task of studying and understanding everything that was before the House, and so he gradually became one of the best-informed public men in America. At one time a tariff bill was before Congress, and he made himself a master not only of the tariff before him but also of the history and the theory of tariffs. He studied tariffs of the past, and he learned of the tariff measures of the House of Doges that had ruled Venice for many centuries. He thereupon learned to read Italian and he read all he could of the House of Doges—and quite startled the best-informed men in the House with his exceptional knowledge of the whole field of government.

But despite his deep knowledge, despite his genuine contributions to legislative progress, despite his services to the workers on the industrial field (and they were many and of incalculable value), Meyer London remained to the end what he was in the beginning: a flaming soul, a man on fire with love for humanity and devotion to the cause of human emancipation. To know him was to love him. His bitterest political enemies had the deepest affection for him personally. The henchmen of Tammany, who had conspired to steal election after election, felt so grieved at his tragic and untimely death that they quietly attended his funeral, walked behind his coffin—and were unknown to any one in the throngs that mourned. Those who know the habits of Tammany henchmen will realize the depth of that personal tribute.

London lived briefly, but his life covered much. He was but 54 when he was struck down on the streets of New York by a taxicab, but in his 35 years of activity he had packed in so much work and so many achievements that it is impossible even to list them in a space like this.

Meyer London was less than 43 when he was first elected to Congress in 1914, but he had already put behind him nearly a quarter of a century of matchless service in the cause of labor, of Socialism and of freedom.

When he was hailed at the great celebration meeting at Madison Square Garden the Sunday after his first election Jacob Panken reminded the vast audience that the foundation for the victory had been laid more than four years previously, on June 29th, 1910, when the Garden was jammed with cloakmakers who had come to vote upon the declaration of the great general strike that resulted in the magnificent victory of that year; and that London had been the leader of that historic battle.

LONDON was born in the Ukraine December 29th, 1871, and he came to the United States twenty years later. His father was an old-time philosophical anarchist, and in this country he published an anarchist paper called *Morgenstern* (Morning Star). The passion for liberty and justice that characterized London's whole life can be traced to his upbringing and the influence of his father; but his keen intelligence caused him to reject



Part of the long line of sorrowing men and women passing in and out of the Forward building where their beloved Meyer London was lying in state, honored by those to whom he had devoted his noble life.

anarchism and to embrace Socialism as the proper vehicle for human emancipation.

Meyer came to the old East Side in the days of the first flood of Jewish immigration, when the disease-breeding tenements began to be a problem, when red lights twinkled everywhere, when sweat-shops were vilest, when Tammany politics and plunder of the helpless masses was virtually unchecked by any activity on the part of those masses. He himself was to play a mighty role in instilling in those masses a spirit of self-respect and of revolt that did much in changing the outward face and the very inner nature of that exploitation.

He was a studious youth, and he read enormously. He haunted the library in the Educational Alliance on East Broadway, while at the same time joining debating clubs that dotted the East Side, in which the ambitious Jewish youths discussed everything from politics, science and religion to literature and music. He was an ardent debater as he was a profound thinker, and he wanted to give his ideas the test of give-and-take debate.

At the same time he studied law while working as a cigarmaker, and he was admitted to the bar in 1898.

He had become an enthusiastic Socialist, a member of the party and active in its educational work. He was particularly interested in American history, and he lectured much on the subject. I recall that he ran for Assembly as early as 1896, when he was not yet even a citizen. His candidacies during those early years were opportunities for him to get out and preach his ideals to larger audiences than he could get in debating societies and clubrooms.

Little by little he came to be known as one of the most effective campaigners in the party; little by little he came to be known as one who always had something to say, whose every campaign speech was a lecture from which the hearers could learn much. He had the knack of stirring up the whole population with his zeal, his fire and his earnestness.

He participated in the organization of the Social Democratic Party in 1898, and was an early co-worker of 'Gene Debs in the city that up to that time hardly knew him. He ran for office again and again, using the platform always and only for the purpose of propaganda for Socialism.

As a lawyer he was one of those rare creatures, a man who did not care for material success. Stories

could be multiplied indefinitely of his refusal to take fees from workers and from unions, many of which were not learned until after his death.

London's warmth of heart was proverbial, even as was his outspokenness and frankness in disagreeing with others. I have never known a man who quarreled more fervently than London—nor one for whom people had a greater affection, often the very ones with whom he had been berating.

Side by side with his Socialist work went his work in the labor movement, mainly in the needle trade unions. The story of London and of those unions cannot be disentangled. He was not their counsel—he was their friend, their comrade, their big brother. There was hardly a decision in many years in which he was not consulted. He was brutally frank, telling his colleagues when he disagreed with them; but once a decision was taken he gave up everything to throw himself into their battle even if the decision to fight had been taken against his advice.

London worked with many unions, the furriers and the cloakmakers being his particularly close friends—clients is hardly the word. Dur-

ing the historic Cloakmakers' Strike he declined to accept any retainer; he closed his law office and was in the front ranks of the strike every moment of the long sixteen weeks' struggle. His speech at the mass meeting Panken referred to is still remembered for its fervor and its moving eloquence.

At the close of that strike London worked out the "Protocol of Peace," a new method of maintaining industrial tranquility, and about that document violent controversy raged for years.

In 1906, following the defeat of the first Russian revolution, the stream of Russian revolutionists to this country began, heroes of the struggle who came here for financial support for the battle in the Czar's realm. London again closed his "law factory," as he called it, and gave up two or three years exclusively to matchless propaganda in aid of the Russian revolution.

The story of his campaigns for Congress are stories of indomitable heroism. London set the whole East Side afire. He brought hope to the downtrodden masses. He brought light into their lives. He led them, after three unsuccessful battles, to

London Was a Real Debs Of the Jewish Workers

By James Oneal

MANY of the present generation of Socialists know little of Meyer London and his work in the labor and Socialist movement. He was a type that makes the Socialist equipped for valuable and enduring service to the movement. Meyer London had knowledge, experience, idealism and intense loyalty to the working class.

Too often we have seen party members in the past and the present satisfied with an arrested intellectual development. They read a few pamphlets and the party press and never get beyond this stage of knowledge. Or Socialist philosophy, Syndicalism, Anarchism, Trade Unionism and the history of these movements they knew and know little.

The Socialist who would serve the movement effectively, he who would avoid excursions into the romantic, who would keep himself and his views within the realm of objective reality, must instantly

grow in knowledge. This is the price of effective service to the Socialist movement and the best interests of the working class. Unless he pursues this quest he can be little more than a pseudo-radical. Just as one can peel an onion of layers of various sizes, so the pseudo-radical has a series of intellectual layers. Peel one and he is a Syndicalist, another and he is an impossibilist, another and he is an opportunist, and so on through the various complexes that go with the word "radicalism."

Meyer London was not of this type. He had a rounded Socialist culture based upon many years of earnest study. He grew from year to year, grew in intellectual stature and nobility of soul. He was a fiery evangel in the labor struggle. The class struggle was not a theory with him. It was life, it was feeling the sorrows and struggles of the class out of which he came.

Although he ascended to the professional class, his heart and soul were always in the ghetto, in the tenements and sweatshops, in the struggles of the working class, poor.

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In Congress He Battled for His Cause

victory over the ruthless and brutal machine that had so long enslaved them.

THEN came the war. In Congress London was a man of peace. He fought against militarism. His first move in Congress was to propose a resolution calling upon the President to summon a Congress of neutral nations to sit permanently and receive the maximum and minimum demands of each of the belligerent nations. Had that resolution been carried the war might easily have ended in 1916, and millions of lives and tens of billions of treasure would have been saved, America would not have been dragged in and the world would have been spared the horror, the heartache, the anguish that has made it a madhouse since 1918.

London, James H. Maurer and Morris Hillquit as a Socialist Party committee called upon the President urging his support of the resolution. Woodrow Wilson listened politely, asked many questions, got much information (much of which he later embodied—without credit—in his "14-point" speeches) and did nothing.

In Congress London used every avenue of publicity for his principles—and none for himself. His speeches were remarkable and members who were bored by most speeches rushed in from the lobbies to hear him. More remarkable still, his speeches read as well as they sounded. In printed form they were excellent Socialist propaganda. His work for social legislation of all kinds is only now bearing fruit.

When the time came for dragging the United States into war he delivered a speech of superb courage against war, a speech that for lofty patriotism and high devotion to noble ideals was remarkable. He spoke and wrote against conscription and the Espionage law. He was the only member of either house of Congress to vote against declaring war against Austria. "I am a teetotaler," he said in that speech. "I am against war. I will not take the first drink; I will not take the first step into war."

But his noble work in Congress did not win him immunity from bitter, unfair and scandalous attacks within the party by those who a year later unmasked themselves as open enemies of the party; in 1918 they nearly succeeded in defeating him for renomination, and the bitterness engendered resulted in their great "left-wing" victory in the reelection of the Tammany henchman Goldfogle.

But he came back to Congress in 1920, and again he fought for humanity and for amnesty; for Socialism and social sanity. He was one of America's leading public men—but Tammany preferred to throw him out of Congress, and managed it by a crooked gerrymander, a misalliance with the crooked Republican machine and wholesale theft of votes.

When London was fifty years old the whole labor movement celebrated. But his work was over. Upon his retirement from Congress he gave himself to rebuilding his shattered personal fortune, and rebuilding the party. But a week later, on June 1st, 1921, he ended his career, and took from the world one of the greatest souls that ever served our cause. He will never be forgotten.

The New Leader

New York City Section

Vol. XVII—No. 21

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1934

Sec. 4

Stop the Milk Gougers Now!

Children Suffer For Other Men's Profits

By Isidore Polstein

THE New York State Department of Markets through its Milk Division, and upon application of the large milk companies, issued an order on April 16 granting permission to milk distributors to raise their price to the consumers one cent a quart for bottled milk. Because of subsequent litigation, however, this price increase has not yet been enforced.

In the meanwhile the Milk Division has conducted public hearings at Albany although no definite solution has been proposed.

The prediction of a strike by milk producers and farmers unless they are paid higher prices than the present two and three cents per quart came from Stanley Piseck of Herkimer County, one of the leaders of last year's strike. He took the stand that the increase should come from the distributing companies, not the consumers. The great milk corporations have heavy overhead expenses in the shape of advertising campaigns and publicity bureaus, and carry on their payrolls college professors and politicians.

An advocate of a consumers' milk strike was Mrs. E. H. Rodman who represented an emergency conference of consumer and co-operative organizations of New York.

Dr. John L. Rice, Health Commissioner of New York City, said that an increase in the milk price "will seriously jeopardize the health of the children of New York City through the curtailment of their milk ration." He further stated that for each year of the past five depression years an average of 15% of the city's children suffered hunger and sickness due to malnutrition, one of the chief reasons being an insufficient use of milk, and, he continued, that since the middle of last year this decrease in the consumption of milk has been more marked.

Another peculiar slant is the fact that former Health Commissioner Dr. Shirley W. Wynne represented the milk companies at this hearing through their publicity bureau known as the New York-New Jersey Milk Institute. In answer to the producers' (farmers) representative he stated that if the New York City dealers are compelled to pay more to the farmers for milk they will be "forced out of business." L. A. Van Bomel, president of Sheffield Farms Company, said he believed that an increase in the price of milk to the consumers was "inevitable," and Kenneth M. Lee, director of the Division of Milk Control of the State Department of Markets, was of the opinion that the milk companies are entitled to a rise of one cent a quart.

However, due to increasing publicity and rising protests from nu-

merous sources, the leading milk companies have suddenly changed their tactics, and they are now making "compromises." Sheffield offers to sell 1600 quarts of bulk milk "for the poor" at eight cents a quart; Borden will do the same with paper containers and now the Brooklyn-Queens Milk Dealers' Association also offers a limited amount of bottled milk at six or seven cents a quart. But in return they want permission to raise the regular bottled milk from 12c to 13c per quart.

Mayor LaGuardia has also taken a hand in the situation. In his efforts to "balance the budget," which has amounted to cutting of civil service employees' salaries to

assure the interest of the bankers' loans to the city, he has also provided for payless workdays for the school teachers. These so-called "furloughs" of fifteen to thirty days added to their previous salary cuts has forced the teachers to stop their contributions to the public school relief and milk funds, amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars.

As LaGuardia is now faced with this added burden of relief for undernourished school children he now advocates the sale of "surplus milk" for this purpose only, and at the same time would permit the companies to maintain present prices. And as a remedy for the milk-price situation the mayor ad-

vocates a "milk-marketing" agreement whereby though the farmer will be guaranteed a fixed price for his product the price to the consumer will be determined by competition in the distributive field.

"The price might be lower; it certainly would not be any higher," LaGuardia states, with apparently good intentions. Yet though he, as well as everyone else, knows that the Milk Trust controls the price of the New York City market. How can the Mayor be so "liberal" with the consumers' money?

The only public official so far who is frank enough to admit the truth is Charles H. Baldwin, New York State Commissioner of Agri-

culture, who states "it is time to admit the fallacy of the theory of over-production, and direct our attention to better methods of distribution." But he also piously adds, "I hope we can find some way of selling safe milk to the people of New York City at a lower price, and return a greater price to the farmer at the same time."

Though Commissioner Baldwin, Mayor LaGuardia and representative of the state and nation approached by LaGuardia are all aware of the huge surplus of milk, cream, butter, cheese and other by-products of milk which cannot find customers due to small or no-income consumers, yet they do not even consider the distribution of all this surplus to the needy.

This initial step alone, if applied, would immediately bring present prices of dairy products crashing down and the final step, which only the Socialists advocate, of the Government stepping in and completely eliminating the Milk Trust and paying the producer a living income for his product while charging only actual cost of production and distribution to the consumer, is the only logical solution to this grave problem.

It behooves then not only public spirited leaders and citizens to advocate this change but here is also a challenge to the representatives of labor who should be most concerned to advocate the public ownership of the milk distributing agencies in New York City.

London Shows the Way

By William M. Feigenbaum

NOW that London has a Socialist municipal government, a municipal bank is being projected. The move to establish a publicly-owned bank in London comes shortly after the remarkable success of Socialist administration of Glasgow in restoring wage-cuts to city employees out of the proceeds of a simple little financial operation; interest paid to bankers on loans negotiated in pre-Socialist administration days was lowered one per cent, and that was all.

The principal difficulty of our city is the fact that it is nearly bankrupt. Depression plus long years of Tammany thievery left the city broke. The LaGuardia "reform" administration looked upon the situation, the Mayor said he was sorry to cut wages and salaries and the social services, and then the city proceeded to slash unmercifully.

Giving him full credit for sincerity for his expression of profound sorrow for cutting off the means of life of many faithful city workers, it is interesting to see what reason LaGuardia gave for the major operation upon the city payroll and its social services. It comes down to one thing and one thing only:

The city's obligations to the bankers, who have loaned a total of \$2,294,688,191, and to whom the city pays annually between \$92,000,000 and \$95,000,000 in interest, in addition to close to \$125,000,000 a year for amortization. That is all.

The city never thought of revising its agreement with the bankers on the basis of changed circumstances—as the Socialist majority in Glasgow did. Nor did it ever think of doing its own banking.

The city of New York spends close to half a billion dollars a year; in the boom days of Walkerism the annual budget ran close to \$600,000,000 a year. In addition, there are the heavy expenditures by the five counties that make the city. And in addition, there are the loans floated by the city that at one time totalled close to \$100,000,000 a year, not counting bond issues often reach-

ing half a billion or more on self-sustaining and self-liquidating enterprises like the subways and the water system.

All the city's banking is done through private banks, and the flotation of loans is done through private bond houses. And they skim off tens of millions a year in profits.

Party Election In the Bronx

In Bronx County, Matthew Levy and Samuel Orr were elected delegates, with 176 and 172 votes respectively. There is doubt in regard to the vote for the third delegate, the count between Haim Kantorovitch and George Steinhart being close and indeterminate. The executive committee has ordered another vote on these two comrades, to be held SATURDAY, MAY 26.

Members of the 1st, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th Assembly District branches and members of Jewish branches 2 and 4, will vote at the Bronx Labor Center, 809 Westchester Avenue.

Members of the 2nd and of the 8th Assembly District branches and Jewish Branch 1, will vote at the Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Avenues.

Members of the Amalgamated Cooperative Branch and Jewish Branch 3, will vote in the Workmen's Circle, Schoolroom, 3990 Saxon Avenue.

Polls will be open from 1 to 10 p. m.

To vote, members must be in good standing and must be members of the party for at least six months.

Socialist Guards

All S.G. men are to attend:

1) Ridgewood Anti-Nazi Demonstration. Brooklyn comrades meet at Myrtle and Wyckoff Aves., 7:15. New York and Bronx comrades meet at the Rand School, 6:30. Friday, May 25. Full uniform.

2) Hike to Tuxedo Island. Meet at Pelham Bay Parkway Station on the Pelham-Lexington Ave. line, I.R.T. 10 A. M. Sunday, May 27.

3) Mitchell Square Anti-War and Fascism Demonstration. Wednesday, May 30. More details to follow.

Does it ever occur to the people what might be done if the city had its own bank? The handling of the vast sums of the city could be its own affair, NOT A JUICY RACKET FOR PRIVATE BANKERS. The flotation of the bond issues, that have totaled two and a quarter billion to date, would be the city's affair, AND THERE WOULD BE NO PRIVATE BANKERS TO HOLD THE CITY BY THE THROAT AND EXACT PAYMENT TO THE LAST FARTHING, REGARDLESS OF THE CHANGING CONDITIONS.

There would be direct contact between the city and those who took its bonds, without the intervention of profit-hungry bond houses.

City employees would be paid their wages with monthly credit in the bank against which to draw checks.

Add to a municipal bank the establishment of a city printing plant to do the city's printing and to print school text books; add to that other city enterprises, and it will be plain that even under a decaying capitalism our city could continue and extend its social services, keep up and improve decent wage and salary standards, and (with the addition of the elimination of graft and corruption) easily pay its way.

London shows the way. Glasgow shows the way. Why cannot New York?

Well, the bankers don't want it. They don't want it in London, either. BUT IN NEW YORK THE BANKERS BACKED THE FUSION CAUSE WHILE IN LONDON AND GLASGOW THE WORKERS REJECTED MERE STERILE "REFORM" AND CARRIED THEIR CITIES FOR THEMSELVES.

There is more to this than at first meets the eye.

Al Meyer Named For Assembly in 2nd A.D. Kings

Al Meyer, one of the leading spirits of the Brighton Beach Branch, was named as candidate for Assembly in the 2nd A.D. Kings, at a joint meeting of all the party branches in the district last Monday. The branches represented at the meeting were the Brighton the Midwood, the Sheepshead, the East Flatbush and the Brownsville Jewish Branch.

Comrade Meyer, who is a high school teacher, was one of the principal workers in building up the branch to its present high degree of efficiency. He was the leader of the highly successful singing of the Ocean Theatre, among many other party activities.

The following campaign committee was elected: Comrades Wurm and Manus of the Sheepshead Bay Branch; Comrades Ethel Weiss and Kaye of the Brighton Beach Branch, and Ruth Weisberg and Lou Hay of the East Flatbush Branch. The names of the two members each of the Midwood and Jewish Brownsville branches to be announced later. The campaign committee met Thursday, May 24th, to map out a stirring and efficient campaign.

ATTENTION, ORGANIZATIONS!

Please Don't Arrange Any Conflicting Affairs for SATURDAY, JULY 28, 1934.

This is the occasion of the Grand Picnic at Ulmer Park of New York's Socialist and Labor Movement!

Are We Really United On the United Drive?

By Henry Fruchter

MY previous articles on the United Socialist Drive were written in an impersonal, dignified manner, entirely befitting the pages of The New Leader. But after examining the income of last week, I am disposed to throw formality to the winds and start "getting personal" with my comrades.

I am getting to the point where I am worried. With a total quota for New York of approximately \$7,000, we have thus far raised \$1,118.67. I know to a dollar which comrade made the donation and to which branch quota the donation is to be credited. I do not at the moment of writing know who is responsible for the odd 67 cents! But after examining the various lists which have been turned in, I am convinced that a considerable number of comrades strained every effort to raise as large a fund as possible among their friends and comrades.

Among the branches which stand out for their vigorous drive the following call for special attention: The Astoria Branch, which raised its quota of \$50 with a snap and bang, at one affair, and then turned to other important questions of organization. An affair was arranged, with appropriate entertainment and speeches. The stage was set for a stimulating, interesting evening, and with the assistance of August Claessens, Samuel DeWitt and others the trick was turned.

The Morningside Heights Branch, which sent in \$75 on account of its quota, is deserving of special mention. Morningside Heights may have been the residential section

of rich people, and for all we know it still harbors a considerable number of well-to-do. But unfortunately the majority of the members of the Socialist Party are poor, unemployed, suffering from the same sense of insecurity which marks millions of workers elsewhere. Nevertheless, with resolution and intense loyalty to our movement the sum of \$75 has already been sent in.

Sunnyside Branch, while unable to raise its large quota at one sitting, is thrilling our office with substantial checks every few days. With an initial sum of \$18.75 a few weeks ago, it followed it up with another \$14.70; and on top of that came across with \$53. A few days ago checks came in to the credit of Sunnyside for an additional \$1.67 and \$4, and we are expecting any day for a jump to higher figures.

The Upper West Side, slow in starting, is all set for a record. Its quota is a very large one, but we have already credited with \$69. I am confident that the Upper West Side will promptly fall in line among the "big shots," for this sum is far, far from the designated quota of this center of wealth and affluency!

A considerable number of donations have come in from New Leader readers, unaffiliated with any party branches, and due credit has been given them. We hope other readers will recognize the importance of the drive and will help us with their contributions.

I hope in my next article on the Drive to announce an increase far beyond the sum already raised—\$1,118.67, and to make special reference to other branches actively engaged in meeting their quotas.

Party Notes

NEW YORK CITY

Labor Committee.—The last meeting of the present Labor Committee will take place Saturday, May 26, at 2 p. m. The executive committees of the Socialist Leagues are invited to attend this meeting. A discussion will take place of the events of the last five months on the party's labor work.

Lost.—Red banner with white lettering "Down With Fascism!" at the parade last Saturday. Those who know where it is or saw it after the parade, please inform Jack Altman or Ben Senitzer.

MANHATTAN

6th A. D. (95 Ave. B).—Branch meeting Monday, May 28, at headquarters. 11th A. D.—Branch meeting Tuesday, May 28, at home of Comrade Fichandler, 310 West 106th St. Discussion of the majority and minority resolutions. Voting will follow discussion.

Morningside Heights (Room 7, 600 W. 125th St.).—Open discussion meeting on Tuesday, May 29, in Room A, International House, 500 Riverside Drive. Street meeting Monday, May 28, corner St. Nicholas Ave. and 125th St. Village 1201 Sullivan St.—Monday, May 28, regular branch meeting, voting on the referendum.

BRONX

The quarters for the WHTRMFTUSD Dance have been changed to the Juliette Mansion, 1389 Washington Ave., Saturday, May 26.

Lower 4th A. D. (1137 Ward Ave.).—Branch meeting Tuesday, May 29. 7th A. D. (789 Elmside Place).—Enrolled voters' meeting last Tuesday, at which Matthew Levy spoke.

BROOKLYN

Downtown (157 Montague St.).—Entertainment and dance Saturday evening, June 9, in the Church basement, 101 Pierpont St. Entertainment by Rebel Arts players. Purpose to raise balance of branch quota for the United Socialist Drive. Red Falcon Flight to hold charter party on Saturday, May 26, 2 p. m., at 157 Montague St. New branch in 3rd-7th A. D. being formed. Meetings held weekly. Canvass of 3rd and 7th Assembly Districts being undertaken. Congressional campaign being planned, also canvass of enrolled Socialist voters. Weekly bundle of New Leaders being disposed of.

Midwood (Room 54, 1401 Kings Highway).—Important branch meeting Monday, May 28, voting on referendum. 11th A. D.—Important business meeting affecting future activity of branch. Every member must be present Monday, May 28, at 500 St. Johns Place.

18th A. D. (289 Utica Ave.).—Bridge party Saturday, May 26, at headquarters. Class on Mondays at 8:30 p. m. Regular meeting every Tuesday. Open-air meetings Fridays at Eastern Parkway and Utica Ave.

Brighton Beach (1113 Brighton Beach Ave.).—After weeks of hard work by the members of the branch, the Ocean Theatre strike was finally won by Local 4, Stagehands, and the manager of the theatre is now employing union help. Falcon group, led by Mildred Gebner, meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m. Comrade Gebner is making plans for a membership drive. Branch plans to have a supper at which the May Day parade movie will be shown and a well-known Socialist will speak. Membership meeting Monday, May 28, at 6th A. D. (167 Tompkins Ave.).—Ice cream festival Saturday, May 26, at headquarters.

QUEENS

Far Rockaway (1851 Mott Ave.).—Discussion meeting, Saturday, May 26, 8:30 p. m., on "Fascism and the Class War." Isabelle Friedman, leader.

81; Bradford Young, 67; Samuel H. Friedman, 49; Joseph Glass, 38; Samuel Block, 28; I. Fried, 11; Maurice Miller, 1.

Alternates—William M. Feigenbaum, 293; Emil Bromberg 250; Alexander Kahn, 240, and Jack Altman, 216. Vote for the other candidates: Nathan Chanin, 203; Murray Baron, 158; Samuel Friedman, 143; David Breslow, 73; Joseph Glass, 73; Evelyn Young, 69; Samuel Block, 49; Martha Safranoff, 34; Max Frankle, 25; Maurice Miller, 8.

Queens County—Anna Bercowitz, 92; James Oneal, 65; Kirby Page, 6. Alternates: A. C. Weinfeld, 105; Robert Koeppicus, 58.

The vote in New York City for delegate and alternate-at-large for the State of New York was: Delegate, Norman Thomas, who was the only candidate, received 1,373 votes. The vote for alternates was: William Lowber, 154; Elizabeth C. Roth, 334; Theresa B. Wiley, 630.

The three delegates from Bronx County will be definitely decided on by Saturday, May 26.

A Militant Pamphlet

The "Militants" of the Socialist Party of New York have issued a pamphlet entitled "Towards a Militant Program for the Socialist Party of America." The pamphlet is divided into three parts, the first section discussing the need for a new orientation of International Socialism, especially stressing the limits of democracy, the probable necessity for resorting to extra-parliamentary methods in achieving power, and the essential role of the dictatorship of the proletariat in retaining power. The second part briefly reviews the his-

YPSL's Join Big Memorial Day Peace Demonstration

CLOSING the Y.P.S.L. calendar

for May—which opened with an inspiring May Day Labor Demonstration and has been crowded with parades, demonstrations, a banquet, etc.—will be a mighty united Youth Demonstration against War a 1 P. m. on May 30. Starting at 134th Street and St. Nicholas Avenue at 12:30, the YPSL, Spartacus Youth, Communist Youth Opposition, Communist League for Struggle (Youth Section), Student League for Industrial Democracy, Young Circle League, Young Poale Zion, Vanguard Youth, Pioneer Youth, Youth Committee Against Fascism, Student Conference Against Fascism, and the New York Conference Against War (Youth Section) will parade through Harlem to 110th Street and Fifth Avenue.

There speakers will protest the fleet maneuvers scheduled for the following day and war preparations, the deportation of four young German workers into Germany by the Holland government, the attack by Legionnaires last May 30 on six Yipsels at Mitchell Square and the slaughter of Cuban workers and students. Memorial Day the day of military display—will become a day of protest against war and fascism. 700 Yip's paraded May Day—800 Yipsels took part in the No More War Parade—a thousand Young Socialists, wearing blue shirts and flying red flags, must demonstrate May 30!

Three hundred Yipsels and their friends filled the Brownsville Labor Lyceum last Saturday and made a success of the Yipsels Dinner and Symposium. Following the dinner, Hitler, Mussolini, Dollfuss, Father Coughlin and Huey Long in the persons of Eddie Dawley, Mike Arcone, Fritz Eisner, Al Levy and Murray Nathan discussed in an informal manner (in Arcone's case, in Italian) the merits of "Fascism, the Hope of the World" and their personal qualifications as the greatest man of all time.

One large table at the dinner was completely taken by a large group, chiefly non-Yipsels, of the Ladies' Garment Shipping Clerks' Union. Other unions helped the success of the dinner in the preparatory stages.

The world premiere of the Traveling Labor Theatre before a trip through seven states will take place the evening

Socialist Forum Calendar

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

SATURDAY, MAY 26
J. B. Matthews: "War and Fascism"—Village Branch, 201 Sullivan St.

SUNDAY, MAY 27
Frank R. Crosswath: "Wage Slavery vs. Chattel Slavery"—3:30 p. m.—People's Education Forum, 2005 7th Ave.

MONDAY, MAY 28
Leonard Lazarus: "Organizing Queens Bus Drivers"—21st A. D. Branch, 2307 Snyder Ave., Brooklyn.

TUESDAY, MAY 29
E. J. Lever: "Organized Consumers"—Morningside Heights Branch, Room A, International House, 500 Riverside Drive.

Samuel H. Friedman: "Songs of the Revolution"—Midwood Forum, Room 54, 1401 Kings Highway, Brooklyn.

Martha Koopman: "The Bugaboo of Public Ownership"—7th A. D. Branch, 789 Elmside Place, Bronx.

Phil Heller: Topic to be announced—16th A. D. Branch, 6618 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn.

Jacob Bernstein: "The Critical Analysis of Capitalism"—Flushing Branch, Room 221, Terminal Building, Roosevelt Ave. near Main St., Flushing, L. I.

FRIDAY, MAY 1
Bela Low: "The Problems of the German Social Democracy"—8th A. D. Branch, 226 East 10th St.

Martha Koopman: "The Bugaboo of Public Ownership"—East Flatbush Branch, 539 E. 95th St., Brooklyn.

Speaker and topic to be announced—22nd A. D. Branch, 864 Sutter Ave., Brooklyn.

tory of the American party, and the "emergence of the Left." The concluding section of the pamphlet charts an immediate program for the party. The pamphlet is available at the Rand School Book Store.

of May 30th at the Washington Heights Labor Center, 1130 St. Nicholas Ave., between 166th and 167th Streets. Several plays and a puppet show will be displayed.

"No Speeches, No Symposia, No Cauc!" will be the feature of the first city-wide League hike, Sunday, May 27. Mobilization plans for the May 30th demonstration (singing, etc.) will be part of the hike. The comrades meet at the Pelham Parkway station of the Lexington Ave.-Pelham Parkway line of the I.R.T. at 10 a. m.

A general membership meeting of all Manhattan Yipsels will be held immediately following the hike at the Harlem headquarters at 2005 7th Ave. to discuss plans for building and strengthening the Manhattan organization and coordinating and intensifying Yipsel activity. City Organizer Bob Parker, Executive Secretary Ben Fischer and others will speak.

Attractive posters advertising the Y.P.S.L.—about two by four feet—are available in the City Office for 15 cents, two for a quarter. At least one should be hanging in every Yipsel and party headquarters. More posters will follow this one if it is a "sell out."

Following closely on the steps of New Rochelle, Yonkers has been admitted into the Y.P.S.L. as Circle 2, Westchester, with eighteen new members.

With the arrival of the Youth Committee Against Fascism buttons, Yipsels should spur their efforts to gain supporters for the Y.C.A.F. No effort should be overlooked to gain supporters for this highly important organization.

Mobilization meeting for the May 30th demonstration at Mitchell Square, 168th St. and Broadway, Tuesday, May 29, at 8:30 p. m.

May Festival and Dance of Circle 8, Srs. Kings, at the Amalgamated Temple, 11 Arion Place, Brooklyn, Saturday, May 26. Admission, 25 cents.

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Features of the Week on (331 M.) WEVD (1300 Kc.)

Sunday, May 27—11 a. m. Forward Hour; 8 p. m., Theatre Union Forum; 8:15, Hippodrome Grand Opera; 10, Symposium; 10:45, Bill Bowers.

Monday, May 28—4:30 p. m. Actors' Dinner Club, direction of Doris Hardy; 5, Clementi Gigli, drama and music; 8:30, Conrad and Tremont, two-piano duo; 5:45, "The Virginians," male quartet.

Tuesday, May 29—8 p. m. Herman Bernstein, Editor, Jewish Daily Bulletin; 8:15, "A Night in France"; 10:15, "Religion and Our Changing Times"; Bishop Francis J. McConnell; 10:30, Hippodrome Grand Opera.

Wednesday, May 30—4:45 p. m. Harriet Ayes; 5:45, Elizabeth Andres, contralto; 8:45, "The Dance and Our Changing Times," talks by outstanding dancers; 10, North Queens in "The Heart of New York"; 10:30, "Around the Samovar"—Zinoida Nicolina, soprano; Simon Philippoff, balalaika artist, and Zani's Gypsy Orchestra.

Thursday, May 31—4:45 p. m. "Mildred's Style Review"; 5, Clementi Gigli, drama and music; 5:45, "Musical Cities"—Rosalee Housman, composer; 8:15, "Old Time Favorites"—Helen Bishop (soprano), Helene Lanvin (contralto), Eugene Byron Morgan (baritone); 10:15, Congressional Series—Congressman J. H. Sinclair; 10:30, Hippodrome Grand Opera.

Friday, June 1—4:30 p. m. Ben Blumenberg, The New Leader Review; 8:15, "My Boy," sketch starring Jennie Moscovitz; 8:30, Jamaica Night in "The Heart of New York"; 10:15, "The Union Assembly," talk and music.

Saturday, June 2—4:15 p. m. Kitty Conroy, blues singer; 5:30, "Labor Marches On," dramatic sketch; 8, Music Hall Program—Conrad and Tremont, piano duo; Harriet Ayes, soprano; Steven Barry, songs; "The Threep Cheers"; 8:30, "Half-Hours with Shakespeare"—Edward D'Ooze and Associate Players; 10, Hippodrome Grand Opera.

NEW YORK'S CONVENTION DELEGATION

The following were elected delegates to the National Convention from New York City:

New York City—At Large, Frank Crosswath was the only candidate and received 1,302 votes. Esther Friedman was elected alternate by a vote of 779. Vote for the other candidates: Samuel A. DeWitt, 406; Mary Fox, 169.

Delegates in New York and Richmond Counties (five to be elected): Algernon Lee, 361; Julius Gerber, 355; Simon Berlin, 339; Jacob Panken, 316; Louis Hendin, 248. The vote for the other candidates was as follows: Reinhold Niebuhr, 155; Max Delson, 150; Edwin Koppel, 130; Amicus Most, 129; Edward Levinson, 123; David Kaplan, 83; Ellis Sulkonen, 66; Ruth Shallcross, 32; Mary Hilley, 27; Ronald Duval, 22; Harry Lichtenberg, 7.

Alternates—August Claessens, 378; Morris Berman, 333; G. A. Gerber, 319; Wilho Hedman, 295, and Max Delson, 161. The vote for the others follows: I. Minkoff, 159; Leon Gibson, 142; Ed Koppel, 130; Amicus Most, 134; Edward Levinson, 125; Margaret Lamont, 74; Helen Pickenbach, 62, and I. Menkes, 20.

Kings County (four to be elected)—Charles Solomon, 340; Harry W. Laidler, 319; Louis Waldman, 297, and B. C. Vladeck, 293. Vote for the other candidates: Jack Altman, 150; Murray Baron, 124; Theodore Shapiro, 120; Louis P. Goldberg,

An Informal Vacation

DECORATION DAY WEEK-END

● Unity House offers an experiment in comfort and well-being for five days of the Decoration Day week-end. For a limited group of 150 guests Unity will open Friday, May 25th, until Sunday, June 3rd (choose any five days at the special cost rate of \$16.00...\$4.00 per day...proportional reduction for union members.) Rooms redecorated, more convenience, 3 new tennis courts (9 in all), 2 additional handball courts and a fleet of new boats and canoes will be on hand for the 1934 season. Informal entertainment and dancing for your every mood. June rate—\$22 a week.

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Direct bus—from 3 W. 14th Street,..... 3.95
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STEUBEN TAVERN OPENS TODAY

Since early in July, 1933, when huge signs were erected on the historic property that runs from 42nd Street and Broadway to 7th Avenue on the south side of 42nd Street, announcing the erection of a Steuben Tavern, everybody has been speculating as to the reason why, at this late date, the restaurant was not opened.

The delay was occasioned by the Transit Commission and the Building Department on account of the double subway entrances and exits on the subway floor of the building, which necessitated the complete rebuilding and reconstruction of the subway entrances.

The B.M.T. and the I.R.T., in conjunction with the Transit Commission and the Building Department engineers, together with the building contractor, had to work out a method that would be in accordance with the regulations and which would not hamper the terrific traffic that flows through this spot, twenty-hours a day. It was not until the last week in February that all the parties concerned agreed upon the building of a new subway entrance on 7th Avenue, and the removal of the existing entrance on 42nd Street.

Opening today, May 26, the new Steuben Tavern at 42nd Street and Broadway, designed and planned by Simon B. Zelnick, built on the site where once stood the John L. Norton homestead of what was then "The Hermitage" farm, which stretched from 38th Street on Broadway to 48th Street, west to the Hudson River, brings to a culmination a building deal involving \$350,000 that has been in the making since July, 1933.

Just twenty-five years ago the famous old Metropole Cafe, operated by George and John Considine, a rendezvous for the sporting and theatrical fraternities, closed its door on that historic spot and now a quarter of a century later the corner again comes into its own with a restaurant.

The restaurant, occupying three floors and a sub-basement, facing three streets, is said to be the only popular priced one in the city having a scientific cooling system. It will have a seating capacity of 800 and is finished in English Tavern style, done in light brown. Murals and lunettes, designed and painted by Winold Reiss, the international artist, will adorn the walls of the three dining rooms.

A sub-basement has been built underneath the subway network underneath 42nd Street, and this will house the refrigeration and cooling systems and will also hold the preparatory kitchens, lockers, washrooms. On the level with the subway floor will be a basement dining room, bar and oyster bar. On the street floor will be the largest and longest bar in New York, and also a dining room. There will be an entrance to the Steuben Tavern from the subway floor, and the main street entrance will be on 42nd Street.

At Fox Brooklyn

Edgar Allen Poe's "The Black Cat" with Boris "Frankenstein" Karloff and Bela "Dracula" Lugosi begins its Brooklyn screen engagement at the Fox Brooklyn today.

Dwight Deere Wiman & Tom Weatherly present

SHE LOVES ME NOT

Dramatists' Guild Prize Comedy for 1934
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Adapted from Edward Hope's novel.
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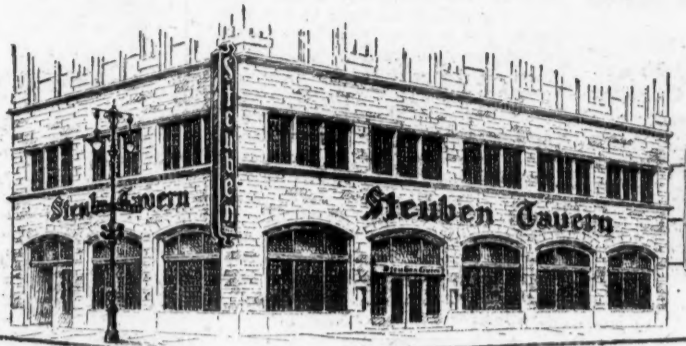
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to new and greater fame... Sound-proof ceilings... A modern air conditioning plant to keep this restaurant delightfully cool in summer.

Steuben has grown from a modest beginning with one small tavern in September, 1930, to a chain of ten distinctive taverns, catering to millions annually, and Times Square Steuben is our crowning achievement.

Dine here, comfortably, luxuriously, leisurely if you wish... speedily, if you must... the food is of the best, the wines and liquors gathered from the finest vintages and distilleries in the world!

You are welcome at any hour of the day or night at Times Square Steuben Tavern.

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No Dead Moments in "Invitation To A Murder"

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

ROLL YOUR OWN BOMBS

"INVITATION TO A MURDER."

By Rufus King. At the Masque.

The head of the Channings—pirate-sprung chief family of the south-west Coast—feels that her life is being threatened. The parrot who nibbled one of her grapes dropped dead; the maid who sprinkled perfume from the mistress' atomizer met the same fate. And what happened to the half-breed who would not tell . . . ! But weirdest of all is the Romeo-Julietish device which the serene Lorinda took to discover which of her relatives and heirs it was that thus desired to hasten the day of inheritance. And the temptation that overcame the doctor, employed in the fantastic and hazardous enterprise adds another element of grim suspense to the odd evening.

Watching at the funeral of the fair yet determined Lorinda, knowing that she was buried alive and

that the avenues of her return are strongly nailed, we wait to see by what queer turn the lady will wreak her vengeance. When the innocent doctor, lured by prospect of great fortune, succumbs to the desire for gold, his burglary seems destined to turn to murder, and his death—also planned murder—moves deftly toward apparent suicide. How all these deeds and imminent disasters recoil upon their instigator, so that Lucinda, having avoided the fate of Juliet, must imitate that of the Borgias, makes an effective evening's thriller for the cool spring air.

Dix-Dunne on Albee Screen

This "Decoration Day" week brings Irene Dunne and Richard Dix in "Stingaree" to the Albee Theatre, where Jeanie Lang, the radio cutie, and Ruth Harrison and Alex Fisher, dancing stars of Constance Bennett's "Moulin Rouge," share headline stage honors.

Co-Authors of "Stevedore"



George Sklar and Paul Peters, the young authors of the Theatre Union's current hit at the Civic Repertory Theatre.

Cagney and Blondell at the Brooklyn Strand

James Cagney, the tough guy of America's screen, is to be seen in "He Was Her Man," with Joan Blondell, at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre this week.

Victor Jory, Frank Craven, noted actor-writer-director, Sarah Padden, Ralfe Harolde and John Qualan are others in the cast.

In addition to the feature picture the Strand offers a varied program of Vitaphone short subjects in which are introduced famous stars of the stage, screen and radio.

Virginia Mishnun Dances in "Don't Mind the Rain"

The Intimate Theatre Group is offering a new revue, "Don't Mind the Rain," at the Provincetown Playhouse. The current offering was directed by John Graham and features among others Virginia Mishnun, well known in party circles, who contributes two solo numbers to the evening's activities.

MAX GORDON'S OUTSTANDING SUCCESSES

WALTER HUSTON in **"DODSWORTH"**
Dramatized by **SIDNEY HOWARD**
SHUBERT Theatre, 44th Street West of Broadway
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

"ROBERTA"

A New Musical Comedy
by **JEROME KERN** and **OTTO HARBACH**
Adapted from Alice Duer Miller's novel "Gowns by Roberta"
NEW AMSTERDAM Theatre, 42nd St. W. of B'way. Eves. \$1-3.
Matinees Wed. & Sat., 50c, \$2.50, plus tax.

THE THEATRE GUILD

presents
EUGENE O'NEILL'S Comedy

AH, WILDERNESS!
with **GEORGE M. COHAN**
LAST WEEK

GUILD THEATRE, 52nd Street, West of B'way
Eves., 8:20. Matinees Thurs. and Sat. at 2:20
Extra Matinee Wednesday Decoration Day

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
Extra Matinee Wednesday Decoration Day

JIG SAW

A comedy by **DAWN POWELL**
with **ERNEST TRUAX** and **SPRING BYINGTON**

ETHEL BARRYMORE THEATRE, 47th St., West of B'way
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"The azure of Mr. Hull's characterization of Jeeter Lester is as perfect a feat of acting as I have seen in forty years of playgoing."—*Percy Hammond, Herald Trib.*

HENRY HULL

"TOBACCO ROAD"

by **JACK KIRKLAND**. Based on Erskine Caldwell's Novel
48th ST. THEATRE—E. of B'way Pop. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:45
Eves. 8:40

"The Unknown Soldier Speaks" in "Peace Parade" Shown on Broadway

"The Unknown Soldier Speaks," said to be a true story of the World War as it was fought on all fronts, is being shown at one of the Broadway theatres.

"The Unknown Soldier Speaks" makes no excuse for the glory of war, but is a direct appeal for peace among the nations of the world.

In conjunction with "The Unknown Soldier Speaks" will be shown the exclusive motion pictures of the Peace Parade held last Saturday on Fifth Avenue.

SAM H. HARRIS presents
Marilyn Miller - **Clifton Webb**
Helen Broderick
in a new musical revue

"As Thousands Cheer"

by **Irving Berlin** and **Moss Hart**
with **Ethel Waters**
250 front balcony seats now \$3.30
and best orchestra seats now available at box office.

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

NOW I'LL TELL By Mrs. Arnold Rothstein

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Alice Faye - **Shirley Temple**
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B'way & 47th St.

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JAMES CAGNEY - **JOAN BLONDELL**

"HE WAS HER MAN"

A Warner Bros. Hit!

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B'KLYN STRAND

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MIDNITE SHOW SAT.

HELD OVER 2nd WEEK!

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"SADIE MCKEE"

An M-G-M Picture

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FRED WARING'S

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with **TOM WARING**

CHESTER HALE GIRLS

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Broadway at 51st St.

Maj. Edward Bowes, Man'g Dir.

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"STINGAREE"

EXTRA!

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in 2 act comedy, "Managed Money"

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"STINGAREE"

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THEATRE PARTIES

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

Thousands Honor Meyer London

Beautiful Ceremonies Are Held at the Rand School

By Nathan Fine

ALGERNON LEE remarked that the Gods would be good to us, and they were. The weather was ideal. With the street closed to traffic, the platform set up on East 15th Street, flood-lights from the People's House, the physical arrangements were completed. The plaque was in place on the building. Every detail had been attended to by that quiet, unassuming but very efficient worker Ben Senitzer, to whom much credit is due for that impressive evening on May 23rd which formally dedicated the Meyer London Memorial Library of the Rand School.

The fine Workmen's Circle Chorus, with Lazar Weiner as conductor and 90 voices, started the program, singing the International, the Red Flag, the May Song by Posner, and *Di Shvive*.

And then came one of the most telling features. The uniformed Socialist Guards, led by Henry Margulies; the Women's Section of the Guards, with Reba Pushkoff at their head, and the Yipsels, with noble, tall, red standards, marched upon the platform. Immediately they and the audience joined in singing the International, led by Samuel H. Friedman.

At this point the writer, who was in general charge of the meeting, presented the chairman, Charles Solomon, who had been Meyer London's secretary in Congress. Solomon delivered a masterful speech, reviewing London's life and beautiful and devoted character, calling London the Ghetto Lincoln. He pointed out that quite apart from his public life London was a lover of books and fine literature, and that no more fitting memorial could be conceived than a library dedicated to the use of the workers.

Joseph Baskin, secretary of the Workmen's Circle, prevented by illness from attending, wired: "London's name will never be forgotten by the Jewish masses. The monument which we here dedicate is only the tangible proof of their love and esteem for that intrepid and tireless champion of the oppressed." Speaking for the Arbeiter Ring, Joseph Weinberg, president of that organization, stressed the overwhelming necessity at this time of having men like London, and books and libraries dedicated to him, to make men decent, human, in a world which seems destined for hell. Nathan Chanin of the Jewish Socialist Verband struck a similar note when he pointed to the ugliness of our capitalist era and the contribution of a pure soul as Meyer London. He prophesied that when London's world will be born, not only libraries will be named after him but streets and squares, cities and states.

Norman Thomas' message (printed in another section of this issue) was read by Jack Herling.

Greeted by warm applause, Abraham Cahan declared that London was elected to Congress because he represented organized labor, the Jewish masses. When American labor backs up the Socialist Party as Jewish labor supported London, then our movement will have adequate representation in Washington and will be a factor in American life.

A letter was read from David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union: "Meyer London was one of those who did most for the cloak-makers and dressmakers who were toiling in the sweatshops and to

inspire the victims with courage and wisdom to unite and struggle for their own emancipation. Our union, in common with all the organizations in the needle industry, owes a great debt of gratitude to Meyer London."

The chairman, at this point, referred to one who could not attend because death had snatched him from our midst, late secretary of the Board of Directors of the Rand School, who had been close to Meyer London, interested in the founding of a memorial library to

the late beloved Socialist leader. It was altogether fitting, said Comrade Solomon, that we pay our respects at this time to that loyal, able and fine Socialist Abraham Zucker.

Algernon Lee characterized London as one of the finest types of Americans. He paid a glowing tribute to the character of the man, and then read the inscription on the plaque:

"In Honor of Meyer London; 1871-1926; Born Leader of Men; Loyal Socialist; Trusted Adviser to Organized Labor; Champion of All the Oppressed; His Comrades Dedicate This Memorial Library."

The Madison Trio, under the direction of Jack Finestone, played two numbers, and then the chair-

man introduced Jacob Panken, who declared that London was a great lover of men; he understood men, he could interpret men; he could forgive. Because he loved men, he hated the system which prevented men from becoming what he wanted them to be. He was a pillar of fire. He could not compromise with wrong, with traitors and renegades. Oh, for a score of Londons today to raise the movement to the level which he sought to elevate it!

Abraham Miller, for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, spoke of the contribution of London to the needle trades. B. C. Vladeck came early to the meeting but was called away and then returned just at the moment as it closed. He was most anxious to add his words of

praise to the memory of Meyer London. A letter was read from Frank Crosswaith: "Comrade London was one of the great oak trees of American Socialism. Like Hillquit, Debs and Berger, his roots are buried deep and will sprout again. A beautiful new world will be built because of the deeds of these noble men."

Youthful Mildred Kaplan of the Meyer London Club was the last speaker, and made a touching talk, stressing the faith of the rising generation in London's ideals, and their determination to follow in his footsteps.

On the platform were seated the mother, widow, and daughter of Meyer London, his brothers and sisters and near relatives, as well as scores of the outstanding men and women in the Socialist and labor movement, the Workmen's Circle and auxiliaries. When the meeting closed, the audience visited the library, in the center of which, banked by flowers, was an oil painting of the man to whom was dedicated the Meyer London Memorial Library.

London in His Young Manhood



Meyer London (indicated by arrow) in front of the printing shop of Morgenstern (*Morning Star*) run by his father in the early nineties of the last century.

The London Library

(Continued from Page One)

altly every open-shelf library pays. The alternative is to make every reader ask for the book he desires—which discourages so many readers and makes so much work for the librarian that it seems better to risk losing a book now and then.

On the average the school has hardly been able to spend more than \$250 a year on new books for its library—sometimes much less. For many years one-fifth of that sum has come, "like clockwork" every January, from one of the school's most thoughtful good angels, Mrs. Annie Berman.

History, sociology, economics, political science, current social and labor problems—these are naturally the subjects most largely represented, though natural science, philosophy, and psychology are not neglected. Naturally, too, Socialist works and books about Socialism and related subjects are relatively more numerous than in most libraries.

Besides the books of more or less general interest, there is a great mass of material, some of it very rare if not unique, and of great value to serious students. There are, for example, bound files of

several short-lived weekly papers published by German Socialist organizations in the United States in the 1850s and the 1870s, together with manuscript minute books of such organizations. These formerly belonged to Franz Sorge, and were given to the school by Mrs. Sorge after his death. From the same source came a file of the *Neue Zeit* from its establishment in the early 1880s down to 1906. Add a practically complete file of the daily *New Yorker Volkszeitung* through its whole history, from 1878 until 1932, partial files of the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, printed proceedings of several national congresses of the German Social Democratic party, and a number of other such items, and it will be seen there are here data for a fuller history of German Socialism than has yet been written.

To David Mikol the library is indebted for the first of some thirty-five volumes in French, dating from 1871 to 1892, and vividly illustrating the story of the Paris Commune and of the Socialist and Anarchist movements in France through the next two decades. There are also partial files of *Le Revue Socialiste*, of *Le Mouvement Socialiste*, and of *La Vie Socialiste*,

and proceedings of a number of conferences of the French Socialist party.

Among the most treasured items are the proceedings of all but two or three of the long series of International Socialist Congresses from 1864 to 1931, as well as of nearly all the congresses of the International Federation of Trade Unions and of the Communist International.

Shortly before his death Eugene V. Debs presented to the library a bound file of the *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine* for the eighteen years that he edited it, from 1876 till 1894, and of the *Railway Times*, organ of the memorable A.R.U., partial files of the *Social-Democratic Herald*, the *Appeal to Reason*, and the *National Rip-Saw*, and nine massive scrapbooks into which he had pasted clippings that interested him from 1898 till 1914. These are preserved in a specially built cabinet.

The list might be made much longer, but that would only tempt the editor to use his blue pencil. Enough has been said to show that the library is a thing to be proud of. Let it only be added that, besides printed matter, there is the nucleus of a manuscript and typewritten collection (including, for example, typed stenographic reports of the famous Unity Con-

THE GHETTO DEBS

(Continued from Page Two)

litical and economic. Their wrongs were his wrongs, their defeats and victories his defeats and victories.

He was never arrogant in his relations with the organized workers. He knew their difficulties, their prejudices, and the foul environment that shapes and, too often, misshapes human beings. He was patient, tolerant and hopeful, ever confident that education and experience would hammer the mass into an eventual solidarity of aims.

Into the struggle he threw himself with an intensity that amazed those who for the first time saw him in action. I recall, when coming to New York for the first time in 1906, of seeing him on the Socialist platform and addressing strikers. His impassioned earnestness moved workers to a frenzy of enthusiasm. He communicated to them the deep convictions and feelings that swayed every moment of his life.

Meyer London was a Yiddish Debs. He hated pretense, dishonesty and the small motives that too often influence the actions of men. He was impatient with the mere poseur, with the person who substituted radical rant for sound knowledge, impatient with the mouther of phrases. During the Communist upheaval in 1919 he said: "It isn't necessary to be a fool to be a revolutionary." The epigram stung like a lash because it was true. Again and again he would coin a phrase that would sum up a situation, bare its basic content, when others required more time and words.

Not that Meyer London was infallible. That is not possible to any human being, but when he had something worth saying it was worth hearing because of the knowledge and the sincerity of the man.

Sleep on, Comrade London, soul of the working class, fiery crusader against wrong, yeoman fighter for liberation! May we who survive you be better workers in the Cause for having known you and worked with you in the days when you inspired us by your noble example?

vention of 1901 at Indianapolis and of the national convention which nominated Thomas and Maurer at New York in 1928), and a great mass of photographs, cartoons, posters, leaflets, badges, and other objects which will constitute a veritable museum of Socialist history, whenever wall space and suitable cases for displaying them are available.

His Memory Will Never Die

London's Character Was As Notable as His Service

By Harry Rogoff

Author of "An East Side Epic."
The biography of Meyer London.

WHAT manner of man was Meyer London?

In physical appearance he was of medium height, rather spare, with large grey eyes, a wise, high forehead, a deeply lined face, prominent nose, nervous, capable hands. A quick step, with chest thrown forward, betrayed a large reserve of energy and a spirit of defiance. He was always restless. On the platform he would pace up and down, back and forth; at a conference he would strain and fidget, rise, walk about, sit down. Even at social gatherings he was constantly on the go, pacing about the room restlessly.

Humaneness and sincerity were the dominating traits of his character. He was incapable of acting for effect. He could not disguise his feeling, whether of liking or of dislike. His actions proceeded from humane impulses. He never stopped to calculate, to figure out how a concentrated action would affect his person or his fortunes. The act was performed as soon as the humane urge manifested itself.

His humaneness bore no taste of philanthropy. It was not from pity or from a sense of duty that he gave himself to others; it was instinct. He never remembered himself when confronted with the needs of others or with a call to action.

Yet he had a keen sense of life for the joy of living. He laughed heartily at the slightest provocation. He loved sociability and conversation, both serious and light. He was an excellent companion and a much sought after guest. At gatherings he was the life of the party.

He was an idealist, not so much from conviction as from an inner compulsion. He hated injustice and evil not in the abstract but in the concrete. He often regretted his study and practice of law because of the sins of the weaker brethren in the profession. The transgressions of his colleagues would plague him. They made him doubt his own integrity. He would ask himself: "Am I really better than they? Am I sufficiently careful of the truth, sufficiently scrupulous? Aren't my fees excessive? Am I doing as much as I should for the people who entrust their fortunes or their person to my hands?"

These traits of character—sincerity, humaneness, love of truth, love of life and men—won for him the devotion, the admiration and the trust of many thousands.

In his younger days he was one of the most popular soap-box speakers in his party. Those were the days when every radical educator on the East Side enjoyed the limelight in the manner of a theatrical celebrity. Every prominent speaker had his worshippers who praised his name above all others. London drew his followers from among the old and the young, the American born and bred and the immigrant from abroad. His oratory was of the kind that warms the heart and makes it glow. He never made his appeal to the baser instincts, never sought to inflame, to incite, never libeled or defamed. Some of his idolizers spoke of him as a prophet. He was not, how-

ever, the prophet who denounces and curses, but the prophet who edifies and uplifts. He struck the prophetic not in his perorations, which were fervent prayers for justice and happiness for all mankind.

His intellectual interests were surprisingly wide. He knew a number of languages. His native tongues were Russian and Jewish, and later in life he mastered German, and after making America his home he adopted English as his language. He had a reading knowledge of French and could converse and even address an audience in Italian. His ability as a linguist was remarkable. Charles Solomon,

he absorbed from history and economics. His colleagues in the House of Representatives considered him an authority on the history of American development, political, economic, and social. His speeches on the floor of Congress were replete with historic facts and their interpretations, evincing scholarly zeal in collecting and scholarly skill in handling. He was probably the best-read man in the House.

Though a leader in a political organization founded on fixed principles and bound by traditions, there was not a trace of the partisan in London. His loyalty to Socialism was in effect his loyalty to the downtrodden and to the enslaved. He did many things that the orthodox party member frowned upon, and he chafed at many things that the party expected him to do. Yet nobody, excepting the most fanatically blind, doubted his loyalty and sincerity as a Socialist.

to recede, while at other times he was immovable as a rock, deaf to all pleas of moderation. His attitude of weakness or firmness was determined by what he considered to be the ultimate aim, the higher good. He did not play up to the galleries; did not think of the immediate effect his action would produce.

London's relation to the masses was unique. He never resorted to demagogic methods to win their confidence, he never declared his love for them, never coddled them, never gushed over them. He was more apt to chastise them for their failings. But between him and the masses he taught and led was never a barrier of intellectual superiority or of social remoteness. He loved to meet the people at all hours of the day or night, mingle with them and exchange views with them. After meetings and conferences he would descend from the platform or issue from the council room and

in them a sense of dignity and personal worth. In fact, he was much more concerned with the soul of a man than with his material welfare, and this, too, because he put a similar valuation upon his own character. Material welfare was nothing to him in comparison with spiritual and moral dignity.

This deep sense of pride did not interfere with his inordinate modesty. To the end of his days he retained a bashful smile and a child-like chuckle which bespoke youthful genuineness. He once told a friend: "I dislike to be praised to my face. I am glad I won't be able to hear the eulogies over my bier."

When London's fiftieth birthday approached, towards the end of December, 1921, the Socialists and the unions, together with the hosts of his personal friends, organized a fitting celebration. A great mass meeting was held in Lexington Opera House in March, 1922. The Opera House was jammed to the rafters with a vast throng. A long list of speakers representing every phase of the labor and Socialist movement paid their tribute to him. And while the laudatory speeches were being made, London was in the wings back stage, pacing up and down, muttering to himself: "What damn fools, making such a fuss over nothing at all!"

A Socialist editor who had known him a score of years said that he was one of the most deadly earnest men that ever lived. And he added: "Those who observed him on the platform in a strike, in a political campaign, or protesting against some injustice, marveled at his tremendous earnestness. His soul was on his lips, his eyes afire, his body quivering with anger that such things should be among civilized beings."

How the Memorial Fund Was Raised

(Continued from Page One)

Jewish trade unions—the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America—the Workmen's Circle, and the Forward Association.

The Workmen's Circle many years ago placed a tax on its membership for this purpose, the sum now totalling \$15,000. A similar amount was contributed by the Jewish Daily Forward, and this, together with the money donated by the unions, will constitute a reserve fund whose interest will be utilized for the maintenance of that part of the library dedicated to the memory of Meyer London.

It is sometimes said that the workers are a thankless lot; they soon forget the very leaders who gave so much of themselves for their interests. We don't know how much of that accusation is true, but we are justly proud that in Meyer London's case, at any rate, it has been disproved. Meyer London's name can not and will not be forgotten by the workers. This monument that they are today erecting to his memory is incontestable proof of their high regard and wholehearted devotion for this remarkable, courageous, uncompromising fighter.

The library that will henceforth bear his name will be a source of inspiration, of inexhaustible enthusiasm to all those radical fighters who come to refresh their spirit and raise high their hopes in the struggle for which Meyer London gave his life.



At the White House



Meyer London and Morris Hillquit upon the occasion of their historic visit to President Wilson at the White House early in 1916, when the great Socialists urged upon the President a peace program.

one of his early Congressional secretaries says that during one of his summer vacations in Congress, London learned French, developing a high degree of proficiency in the language. He read French classics in the original for diversion and he also read Italian literature in the original.

His chief mental food, however,

Some called him capricious, others thought him imprudent. The true explanation, however, lay in his instinctive honesty, his ever-ready impulse to act according to his conviction.

This explains also a seeming contradiction in London's political activities. He was at times ready to yield and compromise, even glad

enter into long discussions or conversation with any one who cared to join him. His home and business office were always wide open for the more active workers of the union or the party, to come and go as they pleased.

London put a high value on personal pride. In many of his talks to the workers he sought to foster

A Beautiful and a Lofty Memory

By Eugene V. Debs

The following is the message sent by Eugene V. Debs upon receipt of the news of Meyer London's tragic death. Himself an old man, broken by ailments resulting from long imprisonment and decades of incessant work for his great Cause, with less than six months of life still before him, the fires still burned brightly in the soul of 'Gene Debs and his heart went out to the soul of Meyer London in these eloquent words:

THE tragic and premature death of Meyer London is a great loss to the Socialist and labor movement, robbing us forever of one of the most brilliant minds, one of the truest hearts, and one of the finest and noblest souls that have ever devoted themselves to the cause of the poor and needy, the oppressed and exploited, in their struggles to climb out of darkness into daylight.

More than thirty years have I known, highly regarded and respected, and deeply loved this brave and noble comrade who has fallen in the very midst of his noble life.

Meyer London was in the truest sense of the term a man possessed of self-respect. He was endowed with all the qualities which make for a noble and worthy character, and at the

same time he had as soft a heart as ever, devoted sympathy, and the loving tenderness of a mother.

With the utmost courage, with the most absolute devotion and loyalty, he carried out all his duties to the Socialist Party and to the labor movement. In the history of the labor movement London's name will be written in letters of gold and will be read for many, many years after to come.

To his widow and family I extend the deepest sympathy in this hour of bereavement. Let them find consolation in the lofty example set by this noble man, this dear comrade, this true friend. Let them find consolation in the beautiful and lofty memory which he has left as a heritage for the coming generations.

NRA 'Honeymoon' Is Over, Clothing Union Delegates Are Told

By Gertrude Weil Klein

HEAVEN knows, I hate to sound sloppy and sentimental, but even a hardened cynic would have been thrilled by the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America which took place in Rochester last week. Not that any actual business was transacted; but I doubt whether any important business is ever carried on at conventions. There was only one discussion of a major problem—that on the demand for week-work introduced by the New York delegation, which was defeated. The convention was a parade, a parade of achievements—and who can resist the excitement of a parade? This one was doubly impressive because the achievements were carried through during four years of extreme poverty, both inside the union and among the workers generally. New territories—previously anti-union bulwarks—and new members by the thousands were added to the amalgamated domain: Buffalo, Utica, Syracuse, Poughkeepsie, the Keller Heumann Thompson Co. of Rochester with 1,200 workers; Joseph & Feiss of Cleveland with 600 workers; 30,000 shirt workers scattered all over the East; the single pants industry; the wash suit trade. And the organizing job, undertaken during a time when economic conditions had reached a new low, is still going on.

NRA Gets Credit

Of course, the NRA and the New Deal received a great deal of credit for the success of the union's organization work and for whatever betterment of conditions has been brought about. Miss Frances Perkins made a speech which might serve as a renomination speech for President Roosevelt. Its keynote, frequently repeated, was as follows: "It is to the workers' pocketbook that we (business) must look for a market for our mass production, and the New Deal is the instrument which is changing the worker from a commodity into a market." President Hillman's support of the NRA is also well known. He gave his usual able, well-thought-out address in his usual deliberate way, sans fireworks and sans oratory. Of course it was a 100% NRA talk; it could hardly have been any thing else, since Hillman, a member of the National Labor Board, is part of the administration, with all the responsibility and obligation that that implies. He expressed his impatience with those who minimize the gains of labor through the NRA. "We are here to pledge our support to the purpose and aims of the NRA to make every sacrifice necessary for its success," said President Hillman.

Learns About Strike—Won't Deliver Goods!

MILWAUKEE.—A fine example of working class solidarity was shown here this week in the general strike of glove makers. A truck carrying raw materials from Chicago drew up in front of the Ness Mitten Co. The driver jumped out, saw the picket line, and asked the picket captain about the strike. He drew out his own union card in the truck drivers' union and said: "I certainly won't leave any material for scabs to work on." He returned to his truck, started it, and drove the material sent to Chicago.

"FIGHT FOR IT!"

Demand 40 hours' pay for the 30-hour week which will be imposed on industry starting June 4, Thomas F. McMahon, president of the United Textile Workers, urged upon cotton textile workers, and fight for it if necessary. The 25 percent machine curtailment program should not be effected at the expense of labor, and the present wage minimum of \$13 a week is entirely too low to admit of any reduction, he added.



NATIONAL LABOR BOARD
WASHINGTON, D.C.

NEW YORK REGIONAL LABOR BOARD
IN SESSION
NEW YORK CITY

May 7, 1934.

Mr. Charles Herman,
Independent Building Service Employees Union,
156 West 44th Street,
New York City.

Dear Sir:

The Regional Labor Board has no jurisdiction in cases where an employer has not signed the P.R.A. and is not operating under a code.

It is our understanding that the Building Maintenance Industry's code is pending now. There have been hearings and are to be more.

In my judgment it would be wise for you to refrain from antagonizing employers by unionization activities in cases where the employer has not signed the P.R.A. until such time as the code goes through.

Very truly yours,

REGIONAL LABOR BOARD

Marion Tanner Pearson
Executive Officer

MTP:JS

NAIEVETE—OR NRAZZBERRIES?

The letter of Mrs. Pearson, Regional Labor Board Executive, almost shrieks for itself. "Don't antagonize employers by unionizing activities" till code is signed, she suggests. But the building employers have waited months for that lagging code, they assert; now they're organizing. Federated Press says, Mrs. Pearson recently cancelled a hearing on a complaint lodged by the same union because the employer told her there was no cause for complaint!

of the Socialist Party—as well as on the part of many of the delegates and officers.

Honeymoon Is Over

Mr. Dubinsky in the course of his talk said that the first three months of NRA were the "honeymoon" period in the partnership between industry and labor. Now labor is being politely listened to but its demands are ignored, while the demands of the industrialists are being heard, he concluded.

Mr. Spector spoke along the same lines and expressed the conviction that only a powerful, gigantic labor movement will force reforms not only on the statute books but in the actual operation of industry.

Judge Panken in a speech which brought the convention to its feet again and again, challenged those who try to serve the interests of capital and labor both. (It was impossible to get a copy of his speech before NEW LEADER press time, but we hope to print it next week.)

There was much to rejoice at, much to be hopeful about, from the labor and Socialist viewpoint. Here is an army on the march. For the most part it knows where it wants to go. Occasionally, the body of the procession gets a little ahead of its grand marshals, once in a while it may seem as though the parade is galloping swiftly away in several directions at once, but underneath is a pretty steady cohesiveness and unanimity of interest, particularly among the old-timers who have been through the mill, and who have seen the many webs spun by each new messiah fade like a mirage.

Education Needed

Yes, there were people who remembered Teddy Roosevelt and the Big Stick of the trust-busting era, Woodrow Wilson and the New

Freedom, Al Smith, the "great humanitarian" and the New Tammany—and there were many who had voted for Lehman and LaGuardia. They are not going to be carried off their feet so easily in the future. With the newcomers in the ranks of organized labor, it's a different story. Here a big job of education must be done. A lot depends on how it will be done.

To me, the highlight of the whole convention was the Rochester membership. The Rochester membership was the first to suffer from the depression. Rochester makes the best clothes in the country and there has been no demand for the "best" clothes. In spite of the fact that the Rochester membership has not been making a living for years, there was a spirit of devotion and loyalty, a spirit

Central Labor Body Joins Conference On Public Housing

The following article is an impressionistic study of an incident at a recent meeting of organized labor's central council in New York City. We present it to our readers as such—EDITOR, LABOR SECTION.

By Louis Schaffer

THOSE interested in the progress of the American labor movement who did not attend the last meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Council—central labor body of New York City—missed a genuinely historic event. Two forces—the conservative and the progressive—met there. Unless I am a poor observer, each side agreed inwardly that the other was not as black as usually painted.

The occasion for the encounter was the movement for public housing and slum clearance started by the Housing Committee of the Socialist Party. B. C. Vladek, business manager of the Forward and former Socialist alderman—one of a delegation at City Hall which in its time was acutely aware of the housing problem and presented plans which would have solved it—addressed the delegates at the invitation of the executive council.

Vladek is not a stranger to the struggles of organized labor, and the delegates realized that fact. As President Ryan correctly said when introducing him, Vladek is now a member of the City Housing Authority in New York, but the main reason for inviting him to the council was his close connection with and his services to the labor movement. While the Socialist former alderman was listening to the reports of the various labor union representatives, he heard frequent statements which must have seemed

more like those expected at a party central committee meeting than at a rally of conservative A.F.O.L. organizations.

Complaints About NRA

It is nothing new to hear Socialists or other radicals complain about the woes and sufferings of the workers. Often it has been charged that these complaints are exaggerated. But few have heard such bitter complaints about the present conditions of the workers and about the practical application of the NRA, as were presented by the various delegates at the last meeting—only the delegates were taking up vital questions that touch the very life of their members, rather than academic theories.

Among the reports of the various unions, for instance, there was one of the longshoremen's strike given by J. P. Ryan, who is also international president of the longshoremen's union. He did not make a fuss over his report. As a matter of fact, I do not think he expected to make a report. He spoke without oratorical flourishes. But what a picture of a real class struggle he unwittingly painted!

Machine guns; stockades; spies; the conniving of the ship owners; their methods of exploiting the Negro worker both to get the work done cheaply and to create race hatred. And then this significant phrase from Ryan's lips: "IT SEEMS THAT SO FAR ONLY LABOR IS MADE TO OBSERVE THE NRA AGREEMENTS."

Perhaps Ryan's narrative of the longshoremen's struggle made such a profound impression on me because the previous evening I attended the party's benefit performance of "Stevedore," where this very struggle of the dock-worker is so powerfully dramatized, as it applies to the Negro and white workers in the South. But there were others at the press table who did not see the play and they were impressed by Ryan's talk as much as I was.

Approach, Plus Facts

Comrade Vladek made a distinct hit with the delegates of the Council. There was mild applause when he was introduced, but when he finished there was a great ovation. And when Vice-President Mulholland moved to thank him by a rising vote, the entire assembly rose and again cheered.

I am not interested, at this moment, in giving the readers of The New Leader the various excellent arguments backed by facts and statistics that he gave for the participation of organized labor in a movement for public housing. I am interested just now in his approach:

Council Joins Conference

Vladek spoke to the trade unionists like one of their own number. He made no attempt to appear as the "wise" one or to smuggle in criticism of the trade union movement for its past mistakes. The main effort he made was in emphasizing the importance of organized labor's doing something now. Therefore, when after his speech he made an appeal to the body to join the Conference on Housing that the Socialist Party and several progressive unions are calling for June 28, Abraham Lefkowitz's motion to endorse it was carried with enthusiasm. This is the way Meyer London used to speak to the trade unionist, and it is the only way to succeed.

History and time are the greatest stage masters. For years I have hoped to witness a meeting such as this one held on this evening of May 17th, but I never pictured in my mind such a selection of prin-

(Continued on Page Four)

Convention Cheers Cahan's Plea for Link With Socialism

IN Europe the economic phase of labor goes hand in hand with the political end of the same movement—in other words, the Socialist movement...

Let us hope that conditions are shaping themselves so that American labor will take the same point of view as European labor does—that it will fight for the improvement of the condition of the working class generally, for the betterment of the conditions of humanity—for a change in the entire system under which we live... It is not right that some people should make millions without any work at all, while others are starving because they work too hard. It isn't right. Things must be changed AND THEY WILL BE CHANGED.

"We are taking a step in the right direction. I see American and European labor shaking hands on the platform here in the person of Comrade Plettl [German Socialist refugee, president of the International Federation of Clothing Workers]. The day is not far distant when labor all over the world will fight for the emancipation of labor and humanity at large.

"Down with capitalism—Democracy must reign supreme! We must have real labor thinking and real democracy such as I understand your union is fighting for." (The convention arose and applauded and cheered.) —From speech of Abraham Cahan, editor of Jewish Daily Forward, at Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Convention.

Joins Housing Conference

(Continued from Page Three)

principal performers as the trend of events had innocently cast.

The conservative trade union element was represented by the laconic, sharpwitted president of the Central Trades, Ryan. The progressive element was represented by the versatile Vladeck. Ryan is an outspoken and active worker in the Tammany ranks. Vladeck is a Socialist leader who has always excoriated Tammany and the Tammany system. Ryan's parents came from the green hills of Ireland, and Vladeck's from Russia. Even their English immediately emphasizes the different sections from where they come. Yet, if an instrument could register the thoughts of these two men during the hour or so that they sat together on the platform at Beethoven Hall, I wonder whether among other transcripts we would find the following records:

What They Thought—Maybe

Ryan (while listening to Vladeck's excellent presentation of the importance of the housing program for labor)—"This Socialist certainly has the right dope. Maybe organized labor could travel along with him."

Vladeck (while listening to

Ryan's report of the valiant struggle of the longshoremen)—"There's something about this simple report on the longshoremen's strike that gets to the bottom of the class struggle. Some of us talk about revolution and militant class struggle while sitting comfortably in offices miles away from labor battlefields. Here is a man who is no radical, yet carries out the real struggle. If only he could see the light, and turn loose from his political ties—what an asset he would be to the labor movement!"

There was one regrettable feature about the meeting—the almost solid absence of the delegates of the so-called progressive unions. With the exception of Morris Finestone, secretary of the U.H.T., who together with Zausner was instrumental in obtaining the invitation for Vladeck, one delegate of Local 22 Dressmakers, one delegate of the Cloakmakers' Local 9, and the old reliable Fred Gaa of the Painters' Union made up the entire roll call.

It seems that it is much easier to get some of our people out to a parade, a banquet or a funeral. As for me, I would rather see them at the meetings of the Council.

Pocketbook Union Adopts Demands

At a stormy membership meeting of the International Pocketbook Workers' Union at Stuyvesant High School, the previously announced intention to give Ossip Walinsky dictatorial powers and to expel members criticizing him or the administration had to be relinquished. For a group of members, vigorous though in the minority, refused to have anything to do with the former union manager who had turned coat and had gone with the bosses, and the Joint Council feared to press the point.

Walinsky got the floor once, managed to quiet the boos and epithets from the floor, and uttered promises galore to bring back the factories which had fled New York and to give jobs to thousands of unemployed handbag workers. But when he tried to speak a second time, a large portion of the membership would have none of his

Building Help Organizing

In a determined drive to end intolerably degrading conditions among building employees, the union called a mass meeting of all superintendents, janitors, starters, elevator operators, porters, maintenance men and general apartment house office and loft building help recently at the Labor Lyceum, 247 East 84th Street. There are some 300,000 such workers in the city, with only a few thousand organized; but, officials pointed out, since the campaign started hundreds have registered at the general offices of the Building Service Employees International Union, Local 32B, in the Chanin Building, Room 573. Organizer McLeod, in charge of the Harlem district, reports hundreds of applications every week of workers eager to improve their condition, which is admittedly one of abject slavery.

The organization is determined to establish a 40-hour week and a scale ranging from \$65 a week for chief starters to \$35 weekly for operators, instead of the conditions like the following gleaned from recent membership enrollments of superintendents: 77 hours per week for \$10 a month; 90 hours weekly at \$70 a month, and 276 hours monthly at \$55.

Party members are asked to urge all building employees with whom they come into contact to join.

oratory and for half an hour pandemonium reigned before he could be heard.

Eighteen demands to be presented to the Industrial Council of Leather Goods Manufacturers for inclusion in a new collective agreement June 1 were adopted by a voice vote from the floor. Chairman Charles Kleinman deciding how the vote "sounded" to him and announcing the results that way.

Before the meeting, members of the Socialist League gave out leaflets mimeographed in English and in Yiddish urging their fellow-members to keep up the fight for clean and aggressive unionism.

Militia Ready to Help Cops Crush Truck Drivers

(Continued from Page One)

in tackling and throwing for a loss. Bond salesmen have been glad to seek new fields to gyp in.

Behind the strikers have been the moral and financial support of the Central Labor Council and the vote of the Minneapolis Building Trades Council to call a sympathetic strike of its 25,000 members.

The militia are all ready to come in and take control if the huge protest mass-meeting of truck drivers on the parade grounds doesn't turn out as the bosses want it to. A temporary truce has prevented more casualties than the one hundred already reported. During the truce, the employers are debating whether they have to comply with the decision of the Regional Labor Board that they must deal with the unions as collective bargaining units—considered a victory for the strikers. If the bosses can get the militia in, they feel they can defy board and strikers and get the scabs to move the trucks out.

We print below an eye witness account of previous developments in the strike.

By Audrey Maye

MINNEAPOLIS, Min. — This city is the scene of one of the most momentous labor events in these parts. Three thousand truckers went on strike Tuesday night, May 15th, primarily for recognition of the newly-formed Drivers and Helpers Union. Three days later two thousand cab drivers joined them.

The event is causing a furore

Grocery Clerks Push Organizing Drive in Brooklyn and Uptown

Oscar Hochman was elected vice-president of Local 338, Retail Grocery, Dairy, Fruit and Vegetable Clerks Union, at a regular membership meeting this week. Comrade Hochman succeeds Albert Sidofsky, who was named business agent for Long Island.

The personnel of the committee of the labor movement which will hear the charges against Samuel Heller, former finance committee chairman, and other recommendations was announced by Morris Finestone, secretary of the United Hebrew Trades.

It was announced that the intensive organization campaigns will continue in Brooklyn, Bronx and Washington Heights. Retail store clerks are urged to come to union headquarters in room 735, 22 East 17th Street, and join during the campaign at a reduced fee.

The following strikes and settlements are reported by Business Agents Charles Weisberg, Brooklyn, and William Hochman, Bronx:

Brooklyn: Elman, 1310 Avenue J; A. Zion, 810 Washington Avenue; Dairy Store, 44 Lee Avenue; Chopevetsky, 34 Delmonico Place; Feldman's, 365 East 98th Street; Eddie's Food Market, 337 East 98th Street; Seville Food Store, 247 East 98th Street; Weinstein, 31 Belmont Avenue; Store at 4109 13th Avenue. A campaign is being waged to organize the six Epstein's Pure Food Stores, which firm twice applied for an injunction against pickets. In the case of Dickers, signed up at 1401 Coney Island Avenue and 2221 65th Street, the Communist Food Workers Union has started picketing the 65th Street store on the ground that some of its men had once worked for a former owner of the store on the same site.

Uptown: In the strike being conducted against Mayers Dairy Stores at 3805 and 3862 Broadway, the owner has closed down one profitable store in order not to have to recognize the union. Clerks and de-

The Editor Comments

(Continued from Page One)

battles of the workers. For the most part, the A. F. of L. is where the organized workers are. And we belong with them wherever possible, to help them to try to guide and inspire them, unless conditions become too impossible.

Anybody who's followed our columns knows how often we've criticized the A. F. of L.—and not always, alas, constructively. And anybody who knows anything about labor history knows how often insurgent unions—"revolutionary" unions, too—have scorned, condemned, then embraced certain tactics and policies.

The answer to (2) is another matter. There are dozens of strike situations developing throughout the country. We'd like to handle them all—they're all important. But we have to worry about time and space, and we prefer where

livery boys are picketing Kamien's Dairy at 605 West 158th Street. At the Municipal Food Markets (Metropolitan Food Exchange) 25 arrests of pickets have already been made, and an injunction against picketing has been sought. Union meat workers are also on strike, and a dual picketing demonstration takes place daily.

Agreements, calling usually for cuts in hours and wage raises, to the union scale of \$37, have been effected with White Star Markets, new store at 161st Street and Amsterdam Avenue (nine workers sent by union); Lincoln Food Exchange and Sam Huer & Son at 73 Featherbed Lane; with Morris Sackman, president of the Food Merchants Association, 102 Westchester Avenue, and with one hundred more members of the association who have signed individual contracts.

SHEBOYGAN, Wis.—When the Sheboygan Shoe Co. refused to negotiate with a committee from the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, over 100 workers walked out on strike.

Bosses Defend "Public"

Socialists have been seen on the firing lines, unofficially assisting the workers. The Communist leader in Minneapolis was voted out of the strike by the union. A very effective strike-breaking organization, the Citizens' Alliance, employing the great business acumen and individual initiative their members are famous for, have gone in for another kind of club, the kind that cracks workers' heads, and are conducting terrorist meetings against the strikers for—guess what!—for the public, of course—the "starving women and children."

The truckers, who always like excitement, thought the strike was quite a picnic when they began it, but a little experience with the police have made them take a more serious viewpoint. Over a hundred of them have been arrested and herded into confinement under the conditions peculiarly reserved for all labor agitators. Most of these were released on bond, but they came away with good ideas. The police, aided by hundreds of newly-deputized strike breakers, have been most incalculable and domineering, ordering pickets off the highways and forcing them to drive away their parked cars. They are providing special escorts armed with night sticks to get trucks through to the city. At a spasmodic series of rioting in the market place Saturday, over twenty strikers were injured in clashes with the police. But cops are learning what clubs feel like, too, and often it's their own clubs they feel.

possible to get stories from people on the spot. We're likely time and again to miss something vital, but we try not to. We ask correspondents to help us by calling our attention to omissions and errors. Furthermore, we ask the few who write that way not to believe that our failure now and then is part of a deep, dark conspiracy of silence. (Remember, too, that when the Communists have squeezed the last bit of publicity and dramatization out of a given situation, they toss it aside and plunge on to the next, as they've often done in the past. There will be silence enough then.)

Union Directory

BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS' UNION, LOCAL 66, I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-3467. 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 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn; Stagg 2-0794. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President Robert Glass; Vice Pres., Stephen Tobasko; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Heib.

JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAIST-MAKERS' UNION.—Offices: 232 West 40th St., N.Y.C. Tel. Longacre 5-5199. Board of Directors 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. Office, 60 W. 35th St.; Phone Wis. 7-8011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union. Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmond Perlmutter, 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, Office, 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. Hanlon, Vice-President; Frank Sokol, 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. 34th St., phone Wisconsin 1-1270. 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 Rodos.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-7084. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

NEW YORK TYPEGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6, Office and headquarters, 24 West 16th St., N. Y. Meets every 3rd Sunday of month at Stuyvesant High School, 15th St. East of 2nd Ave. Phone Tompkins Sq. 6-7479. Leon H. Rouse, President; James P. Redmond, Vice-President; James J. McGrath, Secretary-Treasurer; Samuel O'Brien, James P. Redmond and James J. Buckley, Organizers.

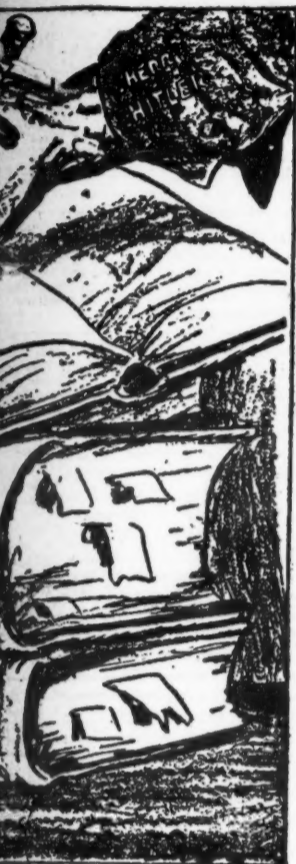
WAITERS' & WAITRESSES' UNION, Local No. 2, A. F. of L. and U. I. T., 299-7th Ave. M. Gottfried, Pres.; B. Gottesman, Secretary.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 62 of I. L. G. W. U., Broadway, New York City. Phone, Chelsea 3-5756-5757. A. Sny, Mgr.; S. SHORE, Executive S.

Numbers Fascists "Take Over"

Made Alarming Inroads in Government and in the Army

insistent, mendacious and hateful character of this mental garbage. "We are sold on this stuff here,"



By Duffy in the Baltimore Sun
Get Into the Book, Too.

my friend told me. "But that ain't all. The Army at Fort Douglas is sold on it, too."

Fort Douglas is one of the major military posts. Investigations showed that the garrison here, particularly the officers, are devouring large quantities of this poison propaganda. It is undoubtedly having a pronounced effect upon the post. Local Silver Shirts boast that the Army at Fort Douglas and throughout the nation has gone fascist and will be "on the right side" when "the crisis" comes. At the post and among the office-holding elements a belief that a revolt of the "mob"—a Communist revolt—impends amounts to an obsession, especially in view of the dissolution of the CWA.

The Army post has been worked up to such a degree of fascist enthusiasm that the officers are holding several meetings weekly in which Silver Shirt "literature" and methods of handling mob riots are studied and discussed.

The military post seems to have contracted a bad case of anti-reditis. Riot guns have been installed at the fort in case of an uprising of Communists. All reserve officers in this vicinity are required to report at the fort several times a week and are given regular instructions in handling "mobs." The city was surveyed recently for the placement of effective machine gun nests in case...

Most significant was the recent organization of an American Legion Alerte unit here under the open patronage of the local Chamber of Commerce, which circumstance unwittingly revealed the economic source of the fascist urge—a badly frightened plutocracy in the midst of the worst depression in the history of capitalism.

The American Legion Alerte unit was launched several months ago at a meeting in the Chamber of Commerce headquarters for the avowed purpose of "protecting property and government"—exactly the purpose behind the Silver Shirts, Nazis and Mussolini fascists. Like they it is anti-Socialism, democracy, labor, Jew and foreigner. It is nation-wide and represents one of the more militaristic phases of American fascism. A favorite pastime of the local unit is banqueting at the headquarters of the Chamber of Commerce under the benign patronage of its foster father, big and little business. In a few months it has acquired a local membership of 500—four companies of 125 men each. They conduct public "rescue" drill as part of a training for "emergencies." This city recently experienced a rather severe earthquake.

(Continued on Page Six)

The LaFollettes Reject Class Party Ideas

By Andrew J. Biemiller

MILWAUKEE. — The LaFollette machine has finally dropped all pretense at radicalism. It is now by its own admission simply the tail to the Roosevelt political kite.

This development took place at Fond du Lac last weekend at a conference called by "the Madison ring" (as the LaFollette brothers and their closest political advisors are called in Wisconsin) to launch a third party. Some farmers and workers were in attendance. They came innocently believing that the conference might found a real Farmer-Labor Party. Instead, they found a conference well organized in advance to simply found a new political home for the progressive leaders.

The entire conference was steam-rolled by the LaFollette machine. Only a few opposed to the plans of the Madison ring were able to get the floor to speak in opposition to pre-arranged schemes of the LaFollette brothers and their closest supporters. The few in opposition were given scant attention by the managers.

The real tenor of the conference was shown in the fight that developed over a name for the party. The LaFollettes said frankly they did not want a class party. A scattering of farmers and workers did speak for the name Farmer-Labor rather than progressive.

Senator Robert LaFollette, in a speech after the name Progressive Party was adopted, signified the new party would support President Roosevelt and his policies. He will be the new party's candidate for United States senator and will seek re-election on the basis of approval for Roosevelt views.

Many observers agreed that the farmers and workers who really want a change in the system will flock to the Socialist Party. They point out that Socialist organization has been growing like wildfire throughout the state. There are now 140 functioning branches of the Socialist Party in Wisconsin with new ones being formed every day.

Thirty-four complete Socialist county tickets are already assured and there are indications that practically every county in the state will have a full ticket in the fall election.

All opinions seem pretty well agreed that the new party will satisfy no one, save the LaFollette machine.

plete and somewhat detailed, and it should be a coherent whole. It can be stated in terms which are readily and sympathetically understood by people whose vocabulary has been vastly enlarged by the daily newspapers during the last fifteen months.

This plan as a Congressional platform should ignore the New Deal with a simplicity and a constructive character which will in itself be an answer to Roosevelt in these coming days of his declining support from workers and farmers who are realizing that they were fooled. They need not be fooled again if we will present our plan with confidence and without the defeatist psychology which has accumulated during the lean years.

Such a plan is the Commonwealth Plan which, written originally by Paul Porter and modified in detail by others, should be adopted as our 1934 Congressional platform. It will end the 57 varieties which are still the mass impression of Socialism in America, and if carried forward with determination and confidence by a unified party, it may well be the turning point toward the building of Socialism in our own time.

The Workers Abroad An International Review of the Socialist and Labor Movement of the World

By Mark Khinoy

Fascism Scores in Two More Lands

TWO more countries have joined the fascist band wagon in one short week. And in both lands the fascist revolution was realized, according to reports, in a machine-like manner, without a single shot being fired.

The two new members of the fascist family are not exceptionally big: the Balkan Kingdom Bulgaria has a population of six million, and the other—the Baltic Republic Latvia—two million. But small as they are, in comparison with the older "totalitarian" countries, Socialist thought cannot afford to ignore them. For both of these countries played an important role in the revolutionary history of post-war Europe and at one time were looked upon as the outposts of the Soviet October revolution in Western Europe.

Latvia and Bulgaria were among the very few European countries where Bolshevism, the Russian brand of Communism, was the most important political and organizational force among both workers and farmers, in the years that followed the World War and the Russian revolution.

Latvia had a Soviet Communist government which for seven months controlled all the country (with the exception of the port of Libau) and for an additional eight months the part immediately adjoining the Russian border. This Soviet Republic was born after the German army of occupation had left the country in 1919, and after a year of terror and civil war, in which the Communists received all their help from the Soviet Union and their opponents from the British and French governments.

The Bulgarian Communists, on the other hand, cannot boast of having ever exercised absolute control over the government, but they have another, not less significant, claim. Bulgaria is the only European country, where Communism, and not Socialism, dominates even now the thought of the majority of class-conscious workers. This Communist influence is so deep-rooted that at the last parliamentary elections, June 1931, there were elected 31 Communist deputies out of a total of 274, and only five Socialists. In the municipal elections that followed the relative superior strength of the Communists was brought out even more strongly.

Peasants in the Russian Border States

IT would, nevertheless, be a mistake to assume that the "danger of Communism" was the cause, or even the excuse, of the latest victories of fascism. In neither of the two countries was there any danger of a Communist insurrection or a Socialist attempt to realize immediately the full program of collective ownership and democratic management.

In Bulgaria this "danger" was, probably, not real even at the time of the counter-revolutionary coup d'état of June 1923, when the dictatorship of the semi-bolshevik "peasant leader" Stambulsky was overthrown and its followers decimated by the thousands. Since then, the Communists, in league with the very radical, at that time, Peasant Party, made two desperate attempts to overthrow the new clique of personnel dictators—Liaptcher, Tsankov and Co.—and failed both times. This happened first in September 1923 and then in April 1925. Since that time, however, the Communist influence has been on the wane. And so in the radicalism of the Bulgarian peasants. The farmer may vote for Tsankov against Liaptcher. He may even vote, as he did in 1931, to displace both dictators and give the power to a "Democrat" Malinoff and his allies, the "Moderate" peasants and liberals, Mouchanoff and Co. But he trembles at the mention of the "Russian experiment" that captured his imagination in 1922-1923.

And it is Stalin that deserves credit for this change. For the Bulgarian, like the Russian, a Slav. He follows very closely everything concerning the life of his "big brother," the Russian peasant. The years of relative prosperity of the Soviet peasant, the years of "NEP" (1921-1928) were just the years when pro-bolshevik sympathies were on the up-grade among the Bulgarian peasants. Stalin's policy of forced collectivization, his confiscation of the individual property of the farmers—their land, horses, cows, sheep and farm implements—brought a marked change in the attitude of the Bulgarian peasant. The more Stalin spoke of "destroying the individual farmer as a class" the less did the Bulgarian farmer like the idea of a "proletarian dictatorship" in his own land.

The Balkan peasant is unfortunately not the only one on whom the present trend of the Russian Revolution is having such a disastrous effect. The formerly very radical farmers of all the border lands of Russia—those of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, Serbia (Yugoslavia) and Bulgaria—all of them now turn their backs to Communism and the social revolution! They seem to feel that Socialism of even the Social Democratic brand may bring a privileged position to the working class and the white collar intelligentsia, but for the farmers it holds the promise of annihilation—social and economic—and of the destruction of the individual

(Continued on Page Six)

of Great Things

out a correct and present, dictation of the and write it in permanent capitalism falls all look back in raries and say: prophets. We leaders."

at organization y true that oning organ- Socialist press. ation paper erna the party ow what the hout a propa- to hundreds of is and sympa- never know ing. We need, of papers with n. The one is ype, must be al Office, and from dues so member. The paganda type, rely the popu- side its own

at present by Office or the icate with the is by mail. cerning many be use the erial sent to

branch secretaries is already too bulky. A National Office bulletin of the house organ type, financed from dues, should be authorized by this convention.

The problem of the propaganda paper is somewhat complicated by the fact that there already exist two such papers, both attempting to get a national circulation, and neither directly under the control of the party. One is published by an association of party members almost entirely from one locality, and has a board of directors which meets only in the city in which the paper is published. The other is owned and controlled by a few individuals who are party members. In both cases the papers are controlled by the Socialist Party of America only through the power of the N.E.C. to publish a list of recommended or approved papers. Neither has taken that vague control very seriously, as the experience of the N.E.C. in dealing with them has indicated. This should not be surprising to Socialists who believe that regulation of industry is a failure and that only ownership gives real control.

There can be no disputing the fact that we must have at least one paper, and preferably more than one, which presents the official Socialism instead of just one of the 57 varieties. This is the only kind of paper which every branch

in the country can be expected to push heartily. It must be a responsible paper, and "responsible" in this connection can mean only one thing: responsible to the Socialist Party of America. The convention should instruct the N.E.C. either to get effective control over one or more of the existing propaganda papers or to revive America for All for that purpose.

The Congressional Platform

Our platforms have not been very effective. We have never succeeded in making a Socialist program sound real to the workers and farmers and disinherited middle-class citizens of this country. We have never set down on paper a sketch of what a Socialist government would do. Several years ago it would have been too early. Now with the New Deal mirage dissolving—now is the time for us to cease picayune criticisms of New Deal plans and policies and personnel, and present our own plan for building a workers' world.

Our Congressional platform in 1934 should consist of such a plan. It should show step by step how a Socialist Congress and a Socialist President in 1936 would proceed, and it should appeal for a beginning on the Socialist Congressional delegation in 1934. It should show how the revolutionary result of these steps would be a Socialist system. It should be fairly com-

The Workers Abroad

(Continued from Page Five)
farmer, artisan and small trader
"as a class." . . .

Thus we reached a point when the great Russian Revolution, whose historical mission was to have been a stimulation of the revolutionary forces in the capitalist countries, is, in its present phase, undermining the very same forces.

Radical Farmers as Fascists

PRESIDENT KVIESIS of Latvia, in whose name and under whose leadership the fascist "revolution" was accomplished, was for years—and still is—the leader of the farmers' party. The very same formerly landless farmers that made such a thorough job in liquidating the land-owning barons; in building a free and democratic country with excellent social and labor legislation, an almost ideal system of protection for national minorities, accompanied by a high degree of national and cultural autonomy.

The working class is numerically very small in Latvia. The Social Democratic Party is therefore also a small, minority, party—out of 100 deputies only 21 are Socialists—but this small party succeeded in the years past, thanks to the support of the Peasant Party, in exercising a great and truly revolutionary influence on the young Republic.

And now, if we believe the short cable messages from Riga, it was precisely the Peasant Party that made the fascist coup d'état, arrested all Socialist, liberal and democratic leaders, dissolved their parties, abolished the parliament and is establishing a "totalitarian" dictatorship.

In justice to Comrade Stalin it should be said that he alone cannot be blamed for the tragic event in Riga. The Peasant Party of Latvia is violently anti-Hitlerite. It fears Nazism not less than Stalinism, and on purely economic grounds, too. Latvia, prior to the war, revolution and national independence, consisted, I may say, of two nations—of landless and propertyless Letts and land-owning, rich German barons and nobles. The Democratic republic took away the land from the German barons and gave it to the Lettish peasants. A Nazi victory in Latvia would mean the return of the land to the German barons. And since Hitler's spokesman on foreign affairs, the former Latvian nobleman Rosenberg, is openly planning the annexation of the Baltic republics, the Peasant Party is up in arms against the local Nazis. Their leaders were arrested a few weeks ago and their organization suppressed.

Fearing Hitlerism and considering a new war inevitable, the Peasant Party and its leaders in the government and army evidently decided that a "totalitarian" "strong" government is in a better position to defend the state than a "weak" democratic, coalition government.

The same "war complex" seems to be the real cause of the sudden flare up of "totalitarian" fascism in Bulgaria.

79 Socialist Deputies Were Elected in State Elections in Berne

THE Cantonal, or state, election of May 5 and 6, in Berne, Switzerland, brought the Socialists a brilliant victory. There were elected 79 Socialist deputies, a gain of 10. The Communists did not elect a single representative nor did the fascist "national front." Another semi-fascist "patriotic front" succeeded in electing 3 deputies. Of the other parties the Farmers' Party remains the strongest with 101 seats. Its allies in the Canton government, the

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.

5. Inevitability

EVERY so often efforts are made to reconcile capital and labor. Well-meaning people argue (and people not so well-meaning echo the arguments) that workers and employers have more in common than they imagine; that it is a mistake to think that their interests are opposed. We are told on such occasions that when business is good the worker is well-paid; that the true enemy of the worker therefore is anything, or anyone, who hurts business. Included among these enemies are "outside agitators" who incite the honest workers against their true friends, the capitalists.

Such arguments deceive the middle-class and those workers who think they are members of the middle-class. The workers know that even when times are good, wages are low unless a strong union forces them up. The workers know that no "outside agitator" can ever incite any of them to anything, if wages and hours are good. The "labor agitator" can succeed in winning a hearing from the workers only when they feel that they are being badly treated. Enlightened workers know that no amount of sweetness and light can bring capital and labor together.

Any number of efforts have been made to have capital and labor sit down at a table and to iron out their differences. President Wilson tried it and met with pitiful failure. As this is being written the General Motors Corporation, Henry Ford and Weir are doing their best to prove that there is a class struggle by refusing to deal with the free unions of their workers, and by insisting on dealing with company unions they own and control. President Roosevelt, by surrendering to the motor industry on the company union issue, and Senator Wagner, by altering his bill in such a manner as to legalize the company union, merely register another failure to compromise the class struggle. The whole labor experience of the NRA proves—if it proves nothing else—that capital and labor cannot agree to settle their differences. Neither side will yield to anything but force. If in the present struggle in the motor industry one side or the other yields, force will have settled the issue.

In Italy the struggle between capital and labor is supposed to have been overcome. There the

government says it stands above all classes—and that labor and capital must submit all their disputes to it. That means, in plain English, that the government has become the open agent of capital in crushing labor. This is the "great achievement" of Mussolini, for which our Wall Street barons praise him. This is what our capitalists mean when they say, "What we need is a Mussolini!"

If Germany the class struggle is even more one-sided. There the workers have been delivered, tied hand and foot, to their employers. The employer is the "leader," and the workers the "retainers." "Master" and "slave" would describe the situation better. The workers in Germany are told to rely upon the honor of their leaders. (The honor of thieves and assassins!)

Such slavery as is the lot of the workers in Germany, in Austria and in Italy must never be our lot. We will have such slavery here if we surrender to the illusion that capital and labor can sit down and talk the class struggle out of existence. That cannot be done. The class struggle is inevitable so long as classes exist. Classes will exist so long as one man may exploit another. And exploitation of men will go on so long as private property exists.

Inevitable as the class struggle is, there are many among the workers who do not realize its existence. There are many more who realize it but do not see in what direction it is tending. It is easy to thrill to the great struggles for freedom in the past. We are justly proud of the great battle for independence from England, and of the greater fight for the abolition of Negro slavery. But we have a still greater struggle ahead of us—the conflict for the abolition of wage slavery. Just as the country could not exist "half slave and half free," so can there be no stopping place between the wage-slavery that exists and the freedom of labor that is to come.

Until now it has been possible for some of the workers to evade the consequences of the class struggle for themselves by moving into the class next above, the middle class. This they could do by going into business for themselves or by entering a profession. This has until now been easier in America than in Europe because our country was less thickly populated, and also because the rapid growth of the population created business and professional opportunities. This easy escape into the middle class is gone forever. Gone, too, is the easy road to the West. There are no free lands calling to the discontented Eastern worker.

While the door is closing in on the worker, the members of the middle class are being wiped out by department stores and chain stores, by the banks, by hospitals, clinics, bonanza farms and other capitalist devices. Their struggle to escape from their enemies intensifies the class struggle. The class struggle is reaching a climax. It is fiercer today than ever before. It cannot be dodged. It cannot be denied. It can only be fought to its logical conclusion.

The Silver Shirts

(Continued from Page Five)

quake. Shortly after this the Legion Alerte conducted an imaginary "rescue" of earthquake victims at the County and City Building and dined later at the Chamber of Commerce headquarters. It is widely known that they had in mind the expected social earthquake. Conversations with members disclosed that there are two classes of Alertes—one that is not so alert and looks upon membership and drills as a sort of boyish lark and exhibition of heroes to the public and another class that lives up to the name and knows what it is all about. Two of the latter class told the writer that the Alerte is training "to take over the government" in case of emergency.

These local developments and others are going on in many localities on a nation-wide scale. They are directed now largely toward the "capture" of the office-holding elements, the police and the army—the decisive mechanism of armed power. In its essence American fascism constitutes a revolutionary movement toward the possession of the arms of the nation. If successful it will completely annul majority rule, voting and democracy. The alarming thing is that it has already gone a considerable distance in this direction without arousing any adequate popular understanding of its sinister purpose and without encountering any serious

Willow Brook School

The Willow Brook Summer School announces the opening of its second season at Stanfordville, N. Y., July 5th. It was organized last year as a demonstration school where the daily farm life is utilized as an education experience. Special considerations will be offered to the children of those active in the trade union and labor movements.

The summer school will be personally directed by Nellie M. Seeds, Ph.D., formerly Assistant Director of the Rand School and Director of Manumit School, at Pawling.

Radicals secured 33 seats and the Conservative Catholics 10.

The Socialist vote now represents 40% of the total instead of the 33% in the previous election.

Two Thirds of German Labor Votes Against Hitler

A NUMBER of German correspondents mention the astounding results of the shop elections the Nazi government called last month. The elections were secret, although only a Nazi ticket of shop trustees was permitted. It was stated that a great percentage of the workers defied the government, scratched out the official candidates and turned in "void" ballots. It seems, however, that the result was even more amazing. The *Prager Tagblatt* after analyzing the election returns in almost every district of Germany, states that no more than one-third of the German workers voted for the Nazi candidates and the other two-thirds turned in "void" ballots!

The *Neuer Vorwärts* of Karlsruhe makes the same report.

French Communist Party Loses Battle With Doriot

DORIoT, parliamentary leader of the Communist Party in France and Mayor of Saint-Denis, the largest and most industrial suburban city of Paris, won his second round with the official leadership of his party. Because the

Bridgeport Plans Battle Against Utilities

By Abraham Knepler

BRIDGEPORT.—A fight against two Bridgeport utility companies is in prospect if the demand of the Socialist administration for an appropriation of \$15,000 to finance the rate case is granted by the Board of Apportionment and Taxation. If the board agrees, Bridgeport will seek the cooperation of other towns served by the United Illuminating Co. and the Bridgeport Hydraulic Co. to wage a joint fight.

To date the board has turned a deaf ear to the Socialist mayor's demand for a rate case appropriation, although the Board of Aldermen, through a resolution introduced by Alderman William S. Neil, Socialist, unanimously endorsed the initiation of a rate fight.

Several members of the Board of Apportionment are either officers or large stockholders in the two utility companies. No Socialist is on the board, the members of which had their terms extended until 1937 by the legislature in order to prevent the appointment of a Socialist.

The city is in the throes of a series of investigations and audits into the affairs of various municipal departments as managed by past Democrat and Republican regimes. Some of the departments are still under the control of old party politicians, but the Socialist administration is seeking to investigate their departments through the power granted the aldermanic investigation committee to probe into the affairs of any municipal department. The aldermanic committee of five includes three Socialists.

At Monday's meeting of the Board of Aldermen, John M. Taft, Socialist, introduced a resolution placing the aldermen on record as favoring immediate passage by Congress of the Lundeen Unemployment Insurance Bill, H.R. 7598. The resolution will probably be passed unanimously at the next meeting of the board.

Friends of Mayor Jasper McLevy received a pleasant surprise early this week when they learned that the mayor had been secretly married for the past four years, while even his closest friends have been under the impression that he was single. Mayor McLevy's wife is the former Miss Vida Stearns, long an active worker in the Socialist movement. Her father, Edwin Stearns, is believed to be the oldest Socialist in America, he having joined the movement in Germany around 1870.

Unity House Weekend Over Decoration Day

While the official opening of Unity House will not take place until June 3rd, arrangements have been made to accommodate a group of 150 guests for Decoration Day weekend, beginning Friday, May 25th. Entertainment will be provided for all tastes, including dancing, chamber music and a program by featured artists. The limited reservations will be strictly adhered to and accommodations will be made for those who first apply. A special rate has been made for five days.

In Detroit

Wayne County.—The free speech fight waged by all radical groups has borne fruit. Pressure has been brought to bear upon several Councilmen, and it is expected that park meetings will be allowed as in former years. Branch activities have for the present been suspended to allow the work of the national convention to go forward.

challenge from our decadent democracy and amorphous working class. Only rapid popular enlightenment and unity on this issue will save us.

The Socialist Guards in the No-More-War Parade



N. Y. Thrilled by Great Anti-War Demonstration

MORE than 10,000 men and women marched last Saturday in an amazing No More War Parade through the streets of downtown New York, ending with a magnificent demonstration at the Eternal Night at Madison Square Park.

It was a genuine United Front of man elements opposed to war, labor organizations, many churches and religious organizations, schools and colleges, Socialist organizations and their allies, even some Boy Scouts and Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. organizations joining with Yipsels, Socialist Vanguards and Poale Zionists in a thunderous demand for No More War.

The parade, which took over an

hour to pass a given point, was one of the most colorful ever seen in the city. Pacifist organizations of all kind, many of them in uniform and costume, made the streets attractive, and the banners carried stirring anti-war slogans.

The Green International contributed a uniform new to the city, while Quaker organizations and others were in quaint garments. Many ministers were in cap and gown, and there were whole choirs in choiristers' costume.

The largest and most attractive section, however, was the Socialist delegation, with vast numbers of red flags, and pepped up by the Socialist Guards that attracted favorable comments from participants and spectators alike. It was a stirring sight to see the Socialist boys and girls in blue blouses and red ties, in perfect alignment and bearing red flags marching up the avenue.

At Madison Square there was a magnificent demonstration of solidarity, with eloquent speeches by James O'Neal, John Haynes Holmes, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Bill Gombberg, Dr. Henry Neuman, Rabbi Goldstein, and many others.

Comrade O'Neal said in his speech:

"The laboring masses throughout all history have left their bones upon battlefields fighting for their ruling classes. The slave

and captive of the ancient world, the serf and bondman of the Middle Ages, the wage worker and farmer's son of this imperialist era, have fought in wars to extend the trade and rule of our masters throughout the world.

"We, the laboring millions, do not have to cross the Atlantic to find the enemy. The enemy is within our frontiers. Follow Broadway down to Wall Street and there we will find our enemy. Go to Delaware and the enemy will be found in the munitions manufacturers and in Pennsylvania he will be located in the iron and steel oligarchy. The enemy is to be found at home in the exploiters of the laboring masses and if we ever have to fight, let us fight for our liberation here at home. Let us resolve that as long as time lasts and we live we shall never again fight the battles of the ruling classes but will fight for our emancipation. Once we have freed our class, we will destroy warships and bombing planes, poison gas and other instruments of death, and live in a free and peaceful world that we will build."

The Communist contribution to the united front against war was characteristic. Denied the opportunity to "capture" the conferences out of which the demonstration grew and to convert it into a Communist demonstration, they passed out leaflets headed: "BUILD UNITY AGAINST WAR! BOYCOTT SATURDAY'S PARADE."

A group stood at 15th Street and 5th Avenue jeering at the parade and shouting to the marchers to drop out of line!

The Party Progresses

Convention Mass Meeting Will Feature Debs' Film

CHICAGO.—A motion picture of Eugene V. Debs in action will be shown at the mass meeting on Thursday evening, May 31, in connection with the Socialist national convention in Detroit, which meets June 1-3.

The convention banquet, to be held Saturday night, will feature another motion picture, a sound film of the party's convention held in 1932 at Milwaukee. This is one of the last pictures ever taken of Morris Hillquit, another pioneer of American Socialism. Reservations for the banquet must be sent in by delegates and visitors at once, addressed to Local Detroit, Socialist Party, 225 E. Forest Ave., Detroit, Mich. The charge is \$1.25 a plate.

Massachusetts

The nine delegates elected to represent Massachusetts at the national convention are: George E. Roewer of Boston, Enoch Doble of Quincy; William Reivo and George Makela of Fitchburg, Glen Trimble of New Bedford, M. Bicknell of Amherst, W. King of Springfield, Thomas McGinnis of Amesbury, and Daniel E. Downey of Methuen. Sam Shaver of New Bedford is alternate-at-large.

The annual state convention will be held June 16-17 at New Bedford to nominate candidates for the state election, and is expected to be the largest in many years.

A summer school for Socialist workers and speakers will be held June 1 to 16

at the Chelsea Labor Lyceum by the Metropolitan Federation of Socialist Locals. Courses will be given in History of Socialism and Socialist Tactics; History of the Trade Union Movement; Organization, Propaganda, Parliamentary Procedure; Economics—Capitalist and Socialist; Public Meetings and Public Speaking; Current Events, and Objections to Socialism. The staff of the school will consist of Alfred Baker Lewis, Joseph Bearak, George E. Roewer, Kenneth Porter, Harry Maltzman, John Brooks Wheelwright, and Leo Meltzer.

Most of the classes will be in the evening, from 4:15 to 5:45. Further information can be had by writing to Secretary, Metropolitan Federation of Socialist Locals, 3 Joy St., Boston, or calling Capitol 8024.

Municipal Leaflet

The statement on municipal problems, passed by the National Executive Committee last summer, has been reprinted by national headquarters for distribution to convention delegates and for mailing to party officials and locals and branches. This leaflet, issued for inner-party discussion, may be obtained by party members who send in a stamped, self-addressed envelope and a statement giving the branch where they hold membership.

WYOMING

Sunday, May 27, is the date for the party's state convention at Cheyenne in the court rooms of the City and County Building, starting at 10 a. m.

MICHIGAN

State Secretary Francis King reports the recent tour of Norman Thomas a tremendous success. Splendid crowds attended with enthusiasm. He spoke before groups of workers, farmers and college students throughout the state, speaking in some instances three times a day. He made the tour by auto.

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Branch 5.—Meta Riseman will speak at branch headquarters, 9105 Hamilton Ave., Saturday evening, May 26, on "Women Under Socialism."

NEW JERSEY

Passaic.—Branch 1 and the Yipsels join with the Jewish Verband in celebrating another anniversary of the "Wecker," official organ of the Jewish comrades, on May 25, at 8:30 p. m., at 50 Howe Ave.

Plans for a city picnic the latter part of June are being completed. Open-air meeting Saturday evenings, commencing in June, will be held by branches throughout the summer.

Next business meeting Friday evening, June 1, at 583 Main Ave. Yipsels plan Decoration Day hike to Nature Friends' camp.

Paterson.—May 26, a social will be held at 66 Washington St.

Essex County.—The local has closed the United Socialist Drive in its branches with \$558.25, or 68 per cent of its quota, raised. Branches raising 100 per cent or more of their quotas are Oranges, 13th Ward, No. 3 of Newark, and Bloomfield; those raising 75 to 100 per cent are Central, Newark, and Montclair; between 50 and 75 per cent, Polish Branch.

M. Hart Walker, local drive director, through the columns of New Leader, wishes to thank all drive directors, canvassers and contributors for their fine cooperation.

NEW YORK STATE

State Executive Committee.—The committee held a deferred meeting at People's House, New York, last Friday evening. In the absence of State Chairman Waldman, Morris Berman presided. The committee voted to hold the state convention in Debs' Auditorium, People's House, and to have a convention banquet, preferable at the Labor Temple, East 84th St., on the evening of the first day of the convention, June 30. U. Solomon, Henry Fruchter and the State Secretary were constituted a special committee on convention arrangements. A complaint filed by the 6th A. D. Branch, Brooklyn, against the Central Committee of Local New York for failure to submit a proposed referendum was dismissed on the ground that in the absence of any provision on time for voting in local by-laws, the time limit for referendums in the Party

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State Constitution might be applied in local referendums. Charters were granted to Kingston, Ulster County, and Huntington, Suffolk County, and to the Inwood Italian Federation Branch as a branch of Local Nassau.

State Organizers.—August Claessens will speak at Niagara Falls Monday evening and again in Buffalo on May 29. He is scheduled for Rochester on June 45. Wm. E. Duffy is to proceed to Troy to organize a local.

Cohoes.—Local Cohoes has elected Nelson Belanger as delegate, Frank Andrae as alternate to the state convention.

Rockland County.—Meeting at Comrade Taylor's home, Birchwood Ave., Upper Nyack, May 25, at 8 p. m.

Third annual dinner at Villa Lafayette, S. Main St., Spring Valley, Tuesday, May 29, at 8 p. m. Jules Umansky will speak on "What Socialism Has to Offer the Youth of America."

Rand School Notes

The Rand School Institute, whose aim is to offer to a number of out-of-town students a week's study and discussion of Socialist and Labor problems and policies, will hold its classes from the 17th to the 23rd of June in New York City. After that it will transfer it to Camp Tamiment and spend there two days. It will have the opportunity to spend its final sessions in the beautiful surroundings of the camp.

The People's Institute of Newark, N. J., will hold its annual outing at Camp Tamiment on the week-end of June 23 and 24th.

The camp opens for the season of 1934 on Tuesday, May 29th, with a five-day weekend.

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Freedom Is Won For Two Wronged Men

TWO remarkable cases were decided during the past week, in both of which prominent Socialist attorneys figured prominently.

In New York Charles Solomon won acquittal for a Negro taxicab driver who had struck an intoxicated Southern "gentleman" in self-defense, the assailant subsequently dying. In Panama Louis Waldman won acquittal for a young Jewish non-commissioned officer court-martialed on the charge of sending secret plans of fortifications, presumably to the Soviet government.

In both cases race prejudice was an important factor. The taxicab driver had been vilely insulted by the Southern "gentleman," and had struck only when the latter moved upon him brandishing a gin bottle. In Panama there is no doubt that Corporal Osman's race was the basis of the unfounded suspicions against him. And that is why the Jewish Daily Forward took up the case and aroused the Jewish people to the defense of the victim of race prejudice; and that is why Waldman made the long, tedious trip to Panama to defend the man without a fee.

If the former incident had occurred in the South there is no doubt what the outcome would have been. Any Negro who raised a hand against a white man, no matter what the provocation, would have been lynched; and even in New York things might have been made hot for him. But by careful and intelligent preparation the facts of the insults heaped upon him by the Southern "gentleman" were determined and corroborated by the dead man's brother, who testified that the cabman had done exactly right in defending himself. The whole defense was based upon the facts, nothing else.

In Panama there were all the ingredients of a possible Dreyfus case—military plans, national jitters, a Jewish officer who had radical friends at home. And there, too, by emphasizing the facts and only the facts Waldman won Osman's freedom.

Now, there are two ways of handling such incidents. In the one case a great agitation might have been staged, much money raised, demonstrations held, and there would have been another *cause celebre*; at the end, in the one case a lynching or an execution, at the very best, a long jail sentence; in the other, a martyr in jail for 20 years. In either case angry factional quarrels between different points of view as to how the defense should be run, with the lives of two men almost totally forgotten.

One cannot help but think of the Terzani case; the defense was clean, straightforward and efficient. The Communists sought to make another "agitation case" out of it, and on the very day of Terzani's acquittal their paper carried a bitter attack upon the defense for "bungling" it. (It was "bungled" so badly that Terzani is free, Art Smith and Moffer are in jail and the Khaki Shirts virtually destroyed.)

There has been an enormous amount of agitation over the Scottsboro boys. Much money has been raised, one element has damned other elements as traitors and scoundrels, while insisting upon running things its own way and having complete charge of every detail of the case. And the case has become, not a defense of cruelly wronged victims of insane prejudices but a propaganda case. The poor fellows are important figures . . . but they are still in jail. In the cab driver case and the Osman case the defense sought for

one thing only; acquittal of men in danger of cruel injustice. And by concentrating on that single objective justice was done and the men acquitted, as was Terzani. Also, the record stands for anyone to form whatever conclusions there are to be drawn.

It is impossible to give too much credit to Comrades Waldman and Solomon for their fine, brilliant and courageous work. But there is something to be said also for the point of view in approaching cases of that kind.

PROF. MITCHELL HEADS TICKET IN MARYLAND

BALTIMORE. — Prof. Broadus Mitchell of the faculty of Political Economy of Johns Hopkins University was chosen candidate for Governor at the state convention of the Socialist Party held here.

Miss Elisabeth Gilman, daughter of the late Dr. Daniel Coit Gilman, first president of Johns Hopkins and long a devoted Socialist Party worker, was chosen as candidate for United States Senator.

The remainder of the ticket includes William A. Toole, veteran Socialist propagandist, for Attorney General; L. H. Lacey of Cumberland for Controller, and Irvin Middlekauff, Hagerstown, for Clerk of the Court of Appeals.

Stirring resolutions were adopted and a fine campaign was planned. M. L. Polin of the Maryland Leader was chairman and Dr. S. M. Neistadt was secretary of the convention. Over 75 delegates attended.

Professor Mitchell is a popular teacher, and has been a lecturer at the Rand School in New York. He pledged himself to a vigorous campaign on the party's platform.

Clarence W. Whitmore, chairman of the People's Unemployment League of Baltimore, with thirty branches, brought greetings from the league. It sent 25 delegates to the convention, including both white and colored.

The following state officers were elected: William Munroe, Cumberland, chairman; Dr. Samuel M. Neistadt, Baltimore, secretary; Charles S. Bernstein, Baltimore, editor of the Maryland Leader, and Kenneth Douty, Baltimore, state organizer.

Red Flag Law

(Continued from Page 1)

The anti-red flag law reads: "A person who shall display or expose to view the red flag in any public assembly or parade as a symbol or emblem of any organization or association, or in furtherance of any political, social or economic principle, doctrine or propaganda, is guilty of a misdemeanor."

The appeal was argued in the Appellate Division on May 1st in the building of the court on Madison Square. While the argument was being made, marching tens of thousands of workers swung past the building, and the strains of revolutionary music could be heard in the dignified court room.

Upon concluding his plea, Solomon went directly to the platform across the street from the court's building and faced with a sea of tossing red flags told the vast assemblage of the argument he had just conducted.

Two veterans of international Socialism and former leaders of our movement in France died on April 1. One—Calvignac—aged 80, was the Socialist mayor of Carmaux from 1892 till 1922. The other—Due-Auercy—aged 78, was active in the Socialist movement for over 50 years. A Marxian Socialist and a friend of Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue, he was one of the organizers of the French Workers' Party till 1905, when the present United Party was created.

By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

En route Illinois.

EDITOR of The New Leader:

I shall have to omit Timely Topics this week because on the day they should be written my schedule required me to drive 275 miles and make three speeches in Illinois. All this traveling and speaking is interesting and encouraging from a Socialist standpoint. The beauty of this fertile country in springtime is dimmed by the serious drought which, if it continues much longer, will save AAA the trouble of starving us into prosperity.

I found signs of the vigorous growth of labor organization among the steel and refinery workers of the great industrial area which stretches from Gary to Chicago. AAA still tends to encourage organization, but there is a marked and steady decline in the popularity of both NRA and AAA.

In Michigan automobile production and hence employment are already over the peak and on the downward slope of the hill. Everywhere the relief problem is serious and inadequately met. Roosevelt's personal popularity continues, but there is a lot of talk and some action about the necessity of some independent political action through a new party. It will be one of the chief problems of the Socialist convention to face this situation wisely and get the best out of it.



Norman Thomas

Roosevelt Doesn't Say The Word

(Continued from Page One)

ment in the "capital" or "heavy" industries, particularly the "key" building industry, which in normal times is estimated to employ 2,500,000 persons, directly and indirectly.

Harry L. Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator, says that one-fourth of the 4,000,000 families on relief rolls is identified with the building trades. "I know of no city in the United States where there are not at least one-third of the building trades workers on the relief rolls, and a far larger number are still unemployed," he says.

Undoubtedly the heavy goods industries will be greatly benefitted if the building industry can be even partially revived. Revival will be a tough job, however. The heavy industries have been the worst sufferers, in the main, from the long depression and it will take more than optimistic words to do anything for them. It will take money, lots of money.

This money quite likely will be poured out in great volume in the immediate future, along with direct relief, payments to farmers for curtailing crops and other outlays. The proposed Government-financed home repair and modernization campaign will give some employment, but it is "small stuff," such as painting, repair and remodeling and builders do not expect a great deal from it.

Much doubt is expressed as to whether many persons will go into debt to improve their homes or build new ones while their incomes remain small and uncertain. And the Labor Housing Conference, organized by building trades unions in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, denounces the housing bill as "essentially a reactionary measure for the post-nement and prevention of real housing."

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Christian County "Justice"

I HAD a taste of what passes for justice in Christian County, Illinois—note the name! Douglas Anderson, Socialist candidate for Congress in the district, and I were making the second of a series of brief speeches, some in the open air and some in halls, in the more important towns in the district. One of them was Taylorville, scene of many labor troubles, a town and a county in the grip of the representatives of the Peabody Coal Co.

About all the law there is in the county is in the guns of the deputy sheriffs, ugly customers paid by the coal company. These gentry arbitrarily refused to permit any public meeting in Taylorville. When Anderson and I nevertheless began the meeting in front of the Court House, I was at once arrested by the most ignorant and bullying type of deputy sheriff I have met; and I have met plenty. I was held incommunicado for about an hour by men who refused to say what the charge was against me. Meanwhile, Anderson went on with the meeting, which after twenty minutes was broken up by two successive sets of tear gas bombs, thrown without warning at an orderly meeting in which were women and children. Anderson was then arrested.

Finally the State's Attorney, a man named Coale, appeared and released us—still without explanation and without getting the promise he sought from us not to hold any more meetings in the county. He did, however, lecture me on the speech I made at a meeting over a year ago in which I had said that he should be superseded in a certain murder trial in which he was clearly prejudiced. Subsequent events proved I was right when the victims of his persecution were acquitted.

Anderson and I expect to bring both criminal and civil action against one at least of the deputy sheriffs, a man named Betterton. If, as the crowd told us afterwards, we had been less well known we would have been badly beaten up. It is this sort of thing that we have got to fight throughout the country, whether in the Imperial Valley in California, or in Illinois, or anywhere else.

the report was made to the President and the President should handle the publication of it.

The result was that the NRA spent the following two weeks preparing a complete answer to his charges. Its report was sent to President Roosevelt May 14. The result is that instead of effective criticism it is a quarrel, two mortars tossing eighteen thousand words at each other.

Nevertheless, the effect of the criticism was not altogether killed. The floodgates of publicity were opened by that report and one is safe in venturing the guess that they will be kept open for some time to come.

The National Recovery Review board was appointed as a kind of a compromise when Senators Borah and Nye, progressive Republicans, started to lay down a barrage against the NRA in the Senate several months ago. The personnel of the board was, it is understood, largely picked by Nye.

The theory underlying the codes of fair competition upon which the NRA is based is declared by the Darrow board's majority report to be "merely a resounding and illusory phrase." The report adds that "one may as well dream of making war ladylike as making competition fair." In the supplementary report written by Mr. Darrow and Mr. Thompson it is declared that it is impossible to go back to unregulated competition and that therefore the alternative is to follow the NRA, which, the report maintains, leads only to "nopoly sustained by government," or to adopt the Darrow plan of socialized ownership and control.

While the hand of a Socialist may be seen in that part of the report, it is safe to assume that no Socialist is responsible for the suggestion to return to the anti-trust laws and make them part of the "new deal." Socialists are not enough economists to think very little of the anti-trust laws in the good old "Teddy" Roosevelt trust-busting days, especially in the era of real experiment and New Dealing of the C.

At any rate, no Socialist said: "Let us return to E."

The Darrow Report

(Continued from Page 1)

over on Darrow in the backstage scuffle for publicity.

Darrow made his report to the White House May 4. If he could have handed it to the newspapers the same day, his charges would have been a national sensation. Any good publicity man would have advised him to give copies of the report to the press associations, at least confidentially. He thought of that himself, but decided that