

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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In Three Sections—Sec. 1

PRICE FIVE CENTS

Badger Farmers Line Up for Socialism

**Big Conference at
Wausau Enthusias-
tic for Party Pro-
gram.**

By Andrew J. Biemiller

WAUSAU, Wis.—Wisconsin farmers have taken to the farm program drafted by the national convention of the Socialist Party like a duck takes to water. Four hundred farmers from more than forty counties hailed it as "the finest farm program ever drafted by an American political party" at the farm conference held by the Wisconsin Socialist Party in Wausau last week-end. [The program is printed on another page in this issue.]

Grizzled veterans of every farm struggle since the early Populist days rubbed elbows with young farmers whose first taste of the hardships of capitalism has been the present depression. All of them were veterans of the recent milk strikes in Wisconsin and are thoroughly disillusioned of any hope coming from state or national Democratic administrations.

Every farmer present pledged himself to go back to his home district and help strengthen the Socialist organization. They enthusiastically hailed the new Socialist weekly, the Wisconsin Leader, and promised to use every possible effort to roll up a big circulation for the paper.

Eight hundred attended the mass meeting which opened the conference, addressed by Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, Al Benson, state secretary of the Socialist Party; Alex Shauflberger, militant Socialist farm leader from northern Wisconsin; Carl Minkley, veteran Socialist campaigner, and Maynard Krueger, member of the Socialist National Executive Committee.

Hoan was the principal speaker. "We're not going to waste any time with the LaFollettes," Hoan said to great cheering. "They have their new Progressive Party now, and when they get themselves nominated they'll go down to Madison and hand down a platform."

"Up to this time the Socialists have been unsuccessful in the districts because you farmers have looked upon yourselves as capitalists and you have accepted the quack remedies offered you by the Progressives and the other parties. You have been fooled by the LaFollette Punch and Judy show. What have you got from these other parties? A good many farmers didn't even have the money to buy gasoline to come here today."

"We're not going to wait for the LaFollettes any longer. They started out trying to patch up the capitalist system which is bringing us to ruin. All they did was to try to allow a little less profits for all the big monkeys. You farmers are showing that you finally realize this system is breaking down."

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Drought in Farm Area Knocks Out the Brain Trust

**Planners Baffled by Mother Nature and Congress Faces
Adjournment With No Basic Problems of Depression Solved.**

FOR more than a year the great minds at Washington have been trying to plan capitalism, to regulate it, to revive it, to iron out its contradictions and make it work. Farmers were to reduce acreage because too much was being produced for the markets, but the planners did not consider one thing, the forces of nature.

Farmers restricted their planting, and this cost the government tens of millions of dollars. Then the forces of nature intervened with a drought and there is a food shortage of large proportions. It will now cost about a half-billion dollars to prevent the victims of the drought from starving. This also upsets all budget calculations.

As a result there is now talk of no more restriction of planting or of output of factories, a return to the anarchy in production and distribution that produced the economic collapse! The NRA officials oppose this and will probably have their way. In the meantime, planned capitalism is staggering under the shock administered by Mother Nature.

But the impact of the intervention of natural forces upon the system has other results. We quote the United States News:

"Farmers will think that they would have been better off without restriction and will blame the Federal Government. City people will face a higher cost of living, owing to smaller supplies largely caused by Nature, and will blame the AAA. Already milk prices are beginning to move higher, with resentment shown in the cities."

That is not all. With the cost of living going

up the workers are striking for increased wages and the strikes give the NRA officials the jitters. There is little change in the number of the jobless, which exceeds ten millions, and Congress is approaching adjournment.

The Washington correspondent of the New York Sun tries to sum up the work of Congress in a story the headlines of which read: "All Issues Met but Main Ones." The major problems are how to get the jobless back to work, how to feed them while out of work, and "how public confidence can be restored so that capital can be re-employed in private enterprise."

Of course, these are the problems as the Brain Trust sees them. The Sun writer continues: "Stripped of all superficialities, the fact stands out at the end of the session that the two vital issues have not been met. All the law-making, the debating and bolstering of the Brain Trust has not changed the fundamental situation."

And then what? There will be Congressional elections and we may expect the Grand Old Party to make gains against the Roosevelt Democracy. The Republican National Committee last week adopted a cautious statement which, in substance, declares that something must be done but does not say what must be done.

So the ruling police of capitalism are paralyzed by the stupendous problems they face. Out of the wreckage, the misery and uncertainty of a dying civilization must come the call to the working masses for Socialist organization and education to take over the wreck and build a Socialist temple in which all humanity will be housed in security and enjoyment.

Take Profit Out of War, Says Veterans' Organ

**Those Who Fought
See Clearly Why
They Were Sent to
Fight.**

By a Veteran

IN reading the issue of the National Tribune of June 7, I am again reminded of the great change that has taken place during the last few years in the minds of the editors of that semi-official organ of the veterans of all wars. For instance, in a leading article entitled, "Take the Profit Out of War," the National Tribune says:

"There was a time, many years ago, when wars were won by armed forces alone. Those days are gone. Then the youth of the country bore the brunt of the burden while the men with the doughbags sat at home and reaped a harvest of riches. That condition must be ended."

"If the Army and Navy are to win a war, they must have the backing of the entire country and the government must be in a position to take over industry and finance just as it has taken over man power in the past. In the past the manufacturer and financier have dictated to Uncle Sam when the country was at war."

"Such a law would serve a double purpose. It would put the government in a far better position to defend the country and at the same time would serve as a medium for the maintenance of peace."

"History shows that the instigators of war, in many cases, are those who profit. With the profit taken out of war these interests will be less prone to send the flower of our youth into battle to be killed or maimed."

"Knowing they would be unable to garner enormous wealth by the sale of their wares, munitions makers and the rich bankers who finance them would ponder a long time before trying to get this country involved in another war. It is now common knowledge that the international bankers who had lent millions abroad and who controlled the munitions industry in this country were largely responsible for the United States entering the World War. The loss of lives and great expense to the taxpayers meant nothing to them so long as they could add to their huge fortunes. By preventing such malodorous practices we can take a long step toward preventing war."

After making due allowance for the emphasis placed upon the necessity of "adequate preparedness" in other parts of the above article, the fact remains that the publications of this, and many similar editorials in the leading ex-servicemen's paper of the United States shows that many of the veterans now occupy nearly the same position as the Socialists regarding the cause of modern

I advise every one of our air speakers to send five cent stamps to The National Tribune, 44 G St., NE, Washington, D. C. for a copy of the issue of June

Behind the Scenes in Washington

The President's Message—Dr. Tugwell on the Rack

By Benjamin Meiman

Special Correspondence

SINCE our last peep behind the scenes, a number of things have happened in Washington worthy of consideration. Of first importance is the President's message on Social Reconstruction. This message is the very newest of the "New Deal," a long-range legislative program supposed to do away with poverty, or at least with insecurity.

Before the next Congress the President lays "three great objectives": Security of home, of job or livelihood, of social insurance. Can you imagine anything more important to the welfare of the American people?

President Roosevelt's "welfare" message starts off with an anticlimax. After certain gestures in the direction of Congress, he launches into a discussion of "security" in the home, which is a phrase of high-sounding importance, pointing to the fact that we have crossed the last frontier, and we have now to devise new ways to attain and preserve security.

But when his program is examined it boils down to glum clear-

ance and a bill to enable owners to borrow money for painting and repairing residential property. The reality is out of all proportion to his expansive phraseology. And the reality itself is more or less inadequate even for the limited purpose to which it is directed.

For a second point, the President turns to a discussion of the "necessary readjustment of the population." This seems to be another name for what the President sometimes calls "planning," which, as he defines it, is really the old matter of national conservatism in a new dress, with an added program for colonizing the populations of one part of the country in another part. There is no doubt a place for Federal assistance in conservation or "planning" of this sort, although the possibilities of colonization are

probably exaggerated. The trouble is that it is not only the frontier which has disappeared, but opportunities as well. When you live in a chance-world, and what you catch you can keep, you eventually reach a stage when there is nothing more to catch. Unless—shall I say it?—unless the government actually takes away the things that were caught by the biggest "catchers" and gives to those who absolutely need it for their "life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness." But surely this can not be expected of a Democratic or Republican President.

When he comes to his third point, the President really begins to talk sense. He addresses himself here to the long-standing problem of social insurance, which he lists as one of the big items for the consideration of the next Congress. It may be questioned whether any system of old age and unemployment insurance will ever be adequate to meet a critical situation such as we have had during this depression. But it may be possible to devise a system that will soften the impact of disasters such as

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 22, from 4:30 to 4:45 p. m. Samuel H. Friedman, labor editor of The New Leader, speaks Friday, June 22, at the same hour.

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NEW LEADER

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JAMES ONEAL, Editor

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THE EUROPEAN CHESSBOARD

WATCH the manouvers in Europe. Hitler is arming his cannon fodder and there is little doubt that he wants a fight. The economic condition of Germany continues bad and a war, he thinks, may divert attention from internal discontent.

The menace of an armed Reich has also caused some queer alignments that no one would have predicted a year or two ago. The French imperialists for years maintained an alliance of little vassal states against Russia. With the rise of Hitler, France considers Germany the most dangerous menace, so France and the Little Entente make peace with Russia. Instead of Russia being isolated, it is now Germany. The peace arrangement with Russia followed a ten-year non-aggression treaty by Germany with Poland.

This week Hitler conferred with Mussolini, probably about arms and an "understanding" if Hitler gets into a fight, but Mussolini is also the ally of Austrian Fascism, and the Dollfuss gang is militant against Hitler. With the growing isolation of Germany there are also hints of "friendly cooperation" between Germany and Japan. If this is true, what an anticlimax it is for Hitler's pure "Nordics" lining up with the old bogey, the "yellow peril!"

Are the silk hats now ruling the powers on the road to padded cells? We wonder.

JITTERS DIPLOMACY

ALTHOUGH the disarmament conference is to continue, the only agreement is the solid opinion that the delegates disagree. The world drifts to a tragedy parallel to that of 1914. The statesmen are caught in the grip of contradictions growing out of the world depression and the aims each one seeks.

A Geneva correspondent of the New York Times cables the following: "The majority is so very disunited both in aims and methods, so lacking in determination to come to grips with realities, so prone to catch at straws and temporary expedients, so certain that verbal formulate will bridge factual chasms instead of merely concealing them until the wayfarer falls through."

The imperialist statesmen have the jitters, all moving to a precipice, yet not wanting to fall into the abyss.

THE NAVAL DISPLAY

FOR those who may think that the masses are looking for Socialist leadership or any other leadership against war today, the appearance of the fleet in New York waters will sober them. As many as 150,000 people have visited the fleet in a single day and thousands have been turned away each day. The interest in the navy after the experience of the imperialist war and the agitation against war indicates that Socialist education for years is before us before even a sober minority of the masses can be mobilized against another war.

Too often we are influenced by a romantic wish-fulfillment by assuming that what we want actually is. We are opposed to war, we agitate against it and hold demonstrations in protest against it, and yet there are vast numbers who as yet have not been influenced by our agitation. Mass psychology in favor of patriotic banners, slogans and ceremonials continues on a vast scale and he who does not realize it is living in a dream world.

CAPONE POLITICS

CAPITALIST politics in Chicago has entered a new phase with votes stabilized at a price satisfactory to the new brokers. It is reported that gangsters and racketeers have entered the game. A member of the legislature seeking another nomination is told by a gunman to withdraw. He refuses and is told that his little daughter will be kidnapped. He surrenders and a Capone hoodlum gets the nomination by a large majority.

In another district a nomination is taken away from a sitting member by a man whose residence is not even known and who could not be found the day after his nomination. More astonishing, this candidate received every vote cast in three precincts and in one he received nine more votes than there are voters! Here is an evolution of capitalist politics that we commend to the "best minds" in other cities and states.

PLAY-BOY POLITICS

ANOTHER phase of our ruling politics is described in the New York Times Magazine. This refers to Congressmen who seek re-election. One Negro Congressman from the North keeps track of birth records in his district and a card goes to each voter on his birthday. Even children of less than ten years old receive a card. One statesman won an election by promising to cut down funeral expenses of dead Congressmen, and another won by delivering one speech throughout his district on the beauties of the city of Washington.

More of this play-boy stuff is placed before the reader. With this infantile game played by Congressmen at the top and Capone vandals swarming at the bottom of capitalist politics, one wonders if there is any lower level to which it can sink.

The dry spell among the farmers of the Middle West promises them nothing but as they have often voted for promises that have brought them nothing this will be no unusual experience for them.

What has become of the political economists who held that capital takes special risks and is entitled to big rewards? Perhaps they are consoling the working masses who produced the big rewards and have nothing themselves to show for a lifetime of labor.

We don't know who the taxpayer is, but if he is the poor little timid shrimp pictured by the cartoonists he gets all that is coming to him.

Wisconsin Farmers for Socialism

(Continued from Page One)

The Mayor bitterly attacked Governor Schmedeman for his actions during the milk strike, saying: "If you elect a Socialist governor, you can be sure he will not send thugs and deputies to your fields, as Governor Schmedeman did, to throw tear-gas bombs at you and to club you. In Denmark, where the Socialists control the government and the marketing agencies, a farmer can live like a gentleman on ten acres. You can't keep the wolf away from your door with 160 acres. The Morgans and the Rockefellers and the big profiteers who contribute to the other parties have bought those parties and their office-holders fiddle for the big boys. We Socialist office-holders fiddle for you working people who elect us."

Krueger launched an attack on the federal farm program.

Schauffelberger is a militant farm leader from Lincoln County, where ten years ago it wasn't safe for anyone to admit he was a Socialist. "These messiahs who set up this new third party are a bunch of opportunists and petty office-seekers," he said. "The profit system is the evil at the root of our difficulties, and we farmers

have finally learned our lesson. We pay twenty cents a pound for pork chops and get two cents a pound for our hogs. To correct that we've got to take action ourselves, through the Socialist Party. No one man is going to solve our problems. Walter Singler can't do it and Milo Reno can't do it."

Benson announced that Socialist organizations had been established in twenty counties never organized before, since the first of the year. He predicted that complete Socialist tickets will be filed in fifty of the state's seventy counties this year.

Krueger told the farmers there is no hope for them in the New Deal policies. "By now it has become apparent to everyone that it is the processing companies, the milk trust, and the middlemen who are gaining from the policies of Wallace and Tugwell."

"The interests of the workers and farmers are inextricably bound together. Only by joint action through their own political party, the Socialist Party, can they gain true prosperity. There will be no real market for farm produce until the workers are able to buy, and the workers will not be able to buy as long as capitalism lasts."

Minkley and Benson acted as chairmen of the sessions. Full freedom of discussion prevailed, and farmer after farmer took the floor. Only minor points of difference appeared and they were ironed out with little difficulty.

By popular demand, Krueger explained in detail the Socialist farm program. His explanation made a big hit with the assembled group, and he received many requests to address meetings throughout the

state.

The farmers were particularly pleased with the Socialist plank which recognizes the one-family farm as the unit of production.

A few Communists were present, as usual, but the crowd forced them to keep silent.

The conference showed that the Socialist Party has made great progress in the farm areas. Wisconsin farmers are thoroughly disgusted with old party politicians and particularly with those whose chief stock in trade is an illustrious name. They are out to build a new social order and are out to build it working with the worker in the city.

The conference will be followed up with a series of farm picnics throughout the state, at which the Socialist farm program will be developed. Speakers and organizers will tour the state and there is every reason to expect a great increase in the Socialist vote this fall and a large growth in the Socialist organization.

A farm program was approved by the conference and recommended by it to the Platform Committee of the state convention of the Wisconsin Socialist Party, meeting in Milwaukee June 16-17.

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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Behind the Scenes in Washington

(Continued from Page One)

this, and it is assuredly possible to devise one that will guard against the distresses of normal or nearly normal times.

I am informed from fairly reliable sources that the President's social insurance plan was at least partially inspired by a book, "Insecurity—A Challenge to America," by Abraham Epstein, executive secretary of the American Association for Social Security. Epstein's work has a foreword by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins.

The Socialist Party has long been a pioneer in demanding old age pensions, unemployment insurance and other social legislation.

DR. REXFORD B. TUGWELL put it all over the Senators. The hearing was staged by the Senate Agriculture Committee to show up the over-publicized "brain trust" of the Roosevelt administration. Our "great Solons" thought they would prove the professor to be a red Bolshevik, against the Constitution of the United States, for "regimentation" of everybody and everything, and for the dictatorship of something or somebody.

Ostensibly the hearing was to investigate the fitness or unfitness of Professor Tugwell's nomination as Under-Secretary of Agriculture. In reality it was a *heresy trial*. And not only of Tugwell himself, but of the entire so-called "brain trust," or the "young liberals" who have the President's ear. Senators "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina, Byrd of Virginia, and Bailey of North Carolina became the inquisitors. But "Rex" turned tables on them. He came out of the in-

quisition fires not only untouched but robed in ermine. The facts brought out are known to readers of the daily press.

Most of Professor Tugwell's examination revolved about a speech he delivered three years ago to the American Economic Association which the Senators interpreted entirely different than did the Professor. After a lot of wrangling over the meaning of some technical economic terminology, Tugwell said to Senator Bailey: "The Senator apparently doesn't understand the difference between a scientist who tries to explain something and a politician who tries to advocate something." That did seem to be the trouble.

Of course, there are much deeper causes for the entire persecution of the "highbrow brigade" and the "liberals." Real causes. Strong political and economic causes. But that's too long a story to go into. It's too hot in Washington now, in more than one sense.

As far as the hearing is concerned, instead of showing Tugwell's unfitness, it actually strengthened him. As a result of that the Agriculture Committee, by a vote of 16 to 2, reported favorably the Tugwell nomination.

Petz M. Melsitoff Dies

Soc. Vestnik, bi-monthly of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, announces in its last issue the death of one of its oldest members, Petz M. Melsitoff, an active and devoted Socialist, who died in Semipalatinsk, Soviet Siberia, after 12 years of Communist prison and exile—without trial or charges. A Socialist member of the Rostov Don Soviet, he was arrested in

Socialism, the NRA and the Farmers

Socialist Party Attacks NRA as Foe of Workers

The following resolution on NRA and Labor was adopted unanimously by the Socialist Party convention at Detroit, after certain sections reported by the Resolutions Committee had been deleted by the convention:

THE NRA constitutes a recognition by the representatives of the ruling class that capitalism has broken down, and that drastic measures are required to repair and preserve it. Every aspect of this attempt must be considered in the light of its sole purpose—the maintenance of capitalism. This purpose reveals the class character of the NRA and its entire machinery.

The NRA is not a step towards Socialism. Socialism aims to abolish the profit system. The NRA aims to stabilize and maintain it. Two aspects of the NRA create the wrong belief among workers that it constitutes a step toward Socialism and that its purpose is to aid the working class.

First of all, the state machinery is being utilized a set up codes. It is state intervention in economic affairs, but not every form of state intervention is Socialism. That depends entirely on who controls the state and the purpose of the intervention. The present state is in effect the executive committee of the ruling class. It has "intervened" through the NRA only because the members of the capitalist class have been unable to solve their problems separately and without some higher authority to enforce their decisions.

Secondly, the NRA has, in order to achieve its objective of serving capitalism, supposedly granted workers certain rights. The actual

administration of the law has in fact robbed labor of most of the privileges theoretically granted. The chief benefit was the impetus it gave to labor organization. This assistance was psychological. It gave organizers the opportunity to claim that the government favored the organization of unions. The colossal failure of the government to enforce the law is creating a constantly growing disillusionment in the ranks of the workers.

Employers have with impunity defied the law. Codes are unenforced. The right of the closed shop has been denied. The machinery of the NRA has been used to break strikes. It has produced very few new jobs. Low minimum wages, combined with shorter hours, and an increased cost of living, have operated, in fact, wherever new jobs have been given out as a share-the-work scheme. The wage rates established have thrown out of employment thousands of Negro workers, adding to the hardships of this most oppressed section of the American working class. The courts, the police and the militia are increasingly being used to interfere with the attempts of workers to organize.

The internal contradictions of capitalism are too far-reaching to be removed by any method other than the destruction of capitalism. Even if the NRA were perfectly administered, it could not abolish unemployment because the private profit system must inevitably cause unemployment.

It must be borne in mind that the NRA has brought certain disadvantages which did not exist before. It has definitely organized capitalists into trade associations and thus increased their power to fight labor unions. It has established code authorities with vast power for the conduct of business. It has concentrated into the hands of the government powers which every fascist state reaches for.

The NRA is not fascism. It is rather a beginning of state capitalism. But it has potentialities of fascism which the working class can only forestall by rising to its obligations. In the first place, no limitations of any kind must be permitted on the right to strike. This is already being attempted. The strike is the basic weapon of the labor conflict—any attempt to whittle it down must be met with the widest and most far-reaching use of the weapon—the general strike. Compulsory arbitration is only a disguise for restrictions on the right to strike and must be fought bitterly. A relentless struggle must be waged against all forms of company unions. Workers must put up a militant fight for a shorter work week, and a higher wage scale, for unemployment, old age and other forms of social insurance. But they will succeed in these efforts only in proportion to their own organized strength and fighting ability.

The Socialist Party holds it to be contrary to the interests of our movement for members of the party to serve on administrative, compliance and labor boards of the NRA, unless expressly chosen by the workers and designated to represent them.

The Socialist party must point out to the workers of this country that the NRA is no solution of their problems, that it cannot eliminate unemployment or lessen class conflict. The only way for the workers is to organize politically into the Socialist Party and economically into powerful industrial unions

Minnesota Party Urged to Expel F. H. Shoemaker

DETROIT.—Immediately after the adjournment of the national convention the Socialist Party's newly elected National Executive Committee set up a number of important committees to begin functioning at once.

The N.E.C. took up a curious situation that exists in Minnesota. The erratic Farmer-Labor Congressman F. H. Shoemaker still holds a membership card in the Socialist Party, much to the embarrassment of party members in that state. The N.E.C., therefore, voted that any party member seeking office in Minnesota through the Farmer-Labor Party must first have the sanction of the party organization. It was also voted that the state organization in Minnesota should take steps to end Shoemaker's membership in the party.

The committees elected by the N.E.C. follow:

Farm work—Al Benson, state secretary of the Wisconsin party, chairman; Robert Miller, president of the Minnesota Farmers' Union; Dr. M. Shadid, N.E.C. member and active leader in the Oklahoma Farmers' Union; Harold Hatcher, secretary of the Illinois Farmers' Union; Chester Graham, director of the Ashland People's College in Michigan; H. O. Phillips, master of the Missouri State Grange; Elmer Sprinkel, dirt farmer, who is chairman of the Socialist Party in Iowa.

This committee will present full plans for farm organization work to the next meeting of the national committee which will be held on Labor Day.

The labor committee is headed by National Chairman Leo Krzycki. Other members are: Louis Hendin, chairman of the labor committee of the New York party; George Rhodes, president of the Federated Trades Council, Reading, Pa.; James D. Graham, N.E.C. member and president of the Montana State Federation of Labor; Franz Daniel of Philadelphia, N.E.C. member and general organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Murray Baron, manager of the Luggage Workers' Union, New York; Powers Hagood of Indiana, N.E.C. member, now organizing shoe workers in New England. Hagood will serve as secretary for the committee.

Organization—Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee, N.E.C. member, chairman; Al Benson, George Hampel and National Chairman Leo Krzycki, all of Milwaukee, and Maynard Krueger of Chicago, N.E.C. member.

Education and research—Andrew J. Biemiller of Milwaukee, chairman, and Jack Sullivan, Katherine Pollak, Maynard C. Krueger and Roy Burt, all of Chicago.

Public affairs—Norman Thomas of New York, chairman; James O'Neal, New York, vice-chairman, both N.E.C. members; Louis Waldman and Max Delson of New York, and David Felix of Philadelphia.

The Share-Croppers

The ignorance of city dwellers, back-to-the-land enthusiasts included, in everything pertaining to farming borders on the sublime. Those who still believe in the independent life of the farmer should turn to "The Plight of the Share-Cropper," a pamphlet by Norman Thomas. The booklet includes a report of the survey made by the Memphis chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy and the Tyronza Socialist Party under the direction of W. R. Amberson. The survey shows the results of the cotton acreage reduction program that failed to give the widely promised relief.

Without organization, disfranchised, victims of every ill that accompanies malnutrition, the share-croppers, more than a million and a half of them in ten cotton-growing states, are more deeply submerged than the slum dwellers of the cities. Capitalism has not rescued them from the "idiocy of rural life." The same may be said of many other sections of the United States.

The "Plight of the Share-Cropper" should be widely circulated in farming communities.

B. B.

and cooperative organizations, and to use these working-class organizations to abolish capitalism, and create Socialism.

The Socialist Party and The Farmers' Problem

The following resolution on the problems of the American farmers was adopted by the Detroit convention, after certain sections, proposed by the Platform Committee, were deleted by the delegates.

THE farmer realizes that his problem cannot be solved merely as a farm problem. Like the industrial worker in the city, his life is controlled by the same economic laws of the social system, and only as this system is changed from the present basis of production for profit to a system of production for use, wherein the producer shall receive the full social value of the product of his labor, only thus can the farm problem be solved.

The millions of farmers, now crucified under capitalism, must quickly realize that there can never be an abundant market for farm products until society sincerely proposes that the worker shall consume abundantly and also guarantees to all the workers incomes sufficient to purchase abundantly.

We advocate public ownership not only of the banks, utilities and natural resources but also of the farm implement factories and the so-called middleman instrumentalities, that is, those industries engaged in a processing and distribution of farm products which under private ownership rob the farmer by buying his crops at less than the cost of production and selling them to the consumer at prices several times as high.

The one-family farm is both the home and the job of the farmer. Both home and job can be made safer and more remunerative when farmers, through their own organizations, plan for agriculture instead of submitting to the present chaos.

The farmer desires security in the tenure of his farm, which serves as both his home and the means of his livelihood.

To accomplish this end we propose USE as the sole title to land. This will not affect the title of farmers who now farm their own land.

Those farmers who wish to transfer title of their lands to the government may obtain leases for land rent free on the basis of occupancy and use. They shall not be liable for any taxes except the crop tax to support the government. This tax shall be collected in kind and never in cash. The requirement of occupancy under this provision shall not be applied to bona fide cooperatives or farmers who reside in communities.

Plantations worked by share-croppers and day laborers should be taken over by the public and farmed by individual farmers who have use leases or by cooperatives of working farmers.

Immediate Relief Measures

As immediate relief measures we propose:

1. That the burden of taxes be shifted from farms and homes to income, inheritances, non-resident, excess profits, etc., such taxes to be collected by the federal government and distributed for school and other purposes.

2. That the federal government take over all debts on farms, operated by working owners, and reduce the interest rates to be actual carrying charges.

3. That existing bona fide co-operative and federal and state marketing agencies be created and farmers and consumers and cooperative societies be encouraged by government finance to take over the processing and distribution of farm products with the view of eliminating the exploitation of the farmer.

4. We propose that the farm prices be stabilized in proportion to the products of industry by representatives of agriculture and consumer. In all cases, farm representatives should be selected by the working farmer.

5. That insurance against adverse conditions and catastrophes be provided.

6. That national, regional and state land utilization boards on which working farmers have representation be formed for the purpose of discovering the best uses of the farming land of the country in view of the joint needs of agriculture, industry, recreation, water supply, reforestation, and so forth, and to prepare the way for agricultural planning on a national and ultimately on a world scale.

Subsistence Farming

After a thorough discussion the following resolution was adopted unanimously:

Whereas the present capitalist administration proposes a program of subsistence farming as a means of eliminating the unemployed from the industrial areas, and

Whereas this program embodies one of the most vicious underhanded plans for scattering the workers and destroying the possibility of industrial organization by a proposal of small factory and home piece work.

Therefore, be it resolved: That we are unalterably opposed to and do hereby condemn the entire program of subsistence farming.

A sub-committee consisting of Robert Miller of Minnesota, Andrew J. Biemiller of Wisconsin, and Maynard Krueger of Illinois was elected to gather data and to communicate with farmer and labor organizations to work up opposition to subsistence farming and to provide a leaflet to furnish information about the details of the subsistence farming plan.

Even Under the New Deal



By Mark Khinoy

PREMIER JOHAN L. MOWINCKEL of Norway is now due for a fall. The Farmers' Party, holding 23 seats in the Storting, is ready to put the skids under the cabinet in retaliation for the insufficiency of its measures favoring the farmers. The 69 Socialist members are willing to help the farmers accomplish the task. According to one report, the Socialists have agreed even to join a Farmer-Labor coalition government with the farm leader Hundsheid as Premier.

This news, if confirmed, may mean that Norway's silent political drama is approaching its climax. The first act was played in the parliamentary election of last fall, when the Labor Party secured 46% of the total vote and elected 69 deputies out of a total of 150, against 47 in the previous House. Since the Socialists increased their representation by 22 deputies and the ruling capitalist parties recorded a corresponding loss, the rules of the game demanded the resignation of the cabinet and an invitation to the labor leader Halvard Olsen to organize a new cabinet. This did not happen. Premier Mowinckel's government refused to resign before the opening of the new Storting in January and continued his refusal even after the new Parliament met and elected a Socialist as its president. The thirty-one Conservative deputies, the twenty-three Farmer deputies, the one Radical, and the twenty-seven deputies of Mowinckel's own party—all of them supported the Premier in this breach of parliamentary ethics. . . . For the victorious Labor Party made no secret of its intention to inaugurate a drastic redistribution of wealth and thus lay the foundation for a new Socialist society. And this meant that the fate of Norwegian capitalism was at stake. Under such a condition the contradiction of economic interests of farmers on the one hand and the bankers and industrialists on the other was temporarily ironed out, and the capitalist coalition continued to rule over Norway. The Labor Party was six votes short for its task of conquering power for Socialism by parliamentary means of education and organization. It was necessary, under present conditions, to win over part, or all, of the Farm deputies. However, all previous efforts in this direction failed. If the Farmers' Party should now change its position, then this would signify that Norway is on the eve of a "Workers' and Farmers' dictatorship" gained through democratic, parliamentary, means. There are, nevertheless, many unknown quantities in this announced union. We will have to reserve judgment until the union is officially consummated.

SOME of our Communist brethren reported lately that two Socialist leaders of the Norwegian Labor Party, Colbjørnsen and Tranmael, are turning fascist, for they advocate a "fascist Action Program." This is pure bunk. Their "Action Program" or "Depression Plan" is much further from fascism than the Planned Economy of the Soviet Union, for it is based on political and industrial democracy, no trace of which could be found in the theories or practice of the Stalin Communists. Furthermore, neither Tranmael or Colbjørnsen could be classified as Social-Democratic leaders of the Labor Party. Both are former Communist leaders, high in Moscow councils. One—Colbjørnsen—left Moscow and joined the Labor Party only in 1931.

LAST week, when commenting on the municipal elections in Poland of May 27, I stressed the important victory of the fascist *Narwa* party in the largest and most important industrial center, Lodz, where this violently anti-Semitic, anti-Socialist and anti-Pilsudski National-Democratic Party won 72 seats to the Socialist 11 and Pilsudski-ite 7. Since this town of German manufacturers and Polish workers was previously considered a "red" city and had even a workers' majority in its municipal council, the fascist victory did not augur well for Socialism or democracy in Poland. It seemed that in the race between Socialism and fascism in semi-fascist Pilsudski Poland, all the odds are for fascism, with its triumph only weeks or at best months off. . . .

My pessimism was fortunately not entirely justified. The Socialist defeat and the victory of the ultra-black fascists was not repeated in any of the other cities of Poland.

Moreover, in a number of cities and towns the Socialists scored remarkable victories. They captured the important industrial center Piotrkow, where they elected 22 aldermen out of a total of 40—a clear majority. They did almost as well in Bialystok—a city of over 100,000 people—and Radom (65,000), where the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) has an absolute majority, independent of its fusion partner, the Jewish Socialist Party "Bund."

Remarkable Socialist victories were also recorded in

such cities as Kalisz (80,000), Lublin (120,000), Tomaszow, Tarnow (17 aldermen), Konin, Konska, Nowidwor, Kaluszyn, and more than a score of other cities and towns. All in all, between 500 and 600 Socialist aldermen have been elected. Over 100 of them are members of the Jewish Socialist "Bund" and the remainder are representatives of the Polish Socialist Party. Ten more cities are still to be heard from.

Since all these victories were achieved under conditions of "legal" and illegal terror and intimidation, with the most prominent leaders in exile, with a press appearing almost daily with white spaces, "censored" columns with actual street battles and fascist pogroms supplementing election meetings—the importance of these victories cannot be overestimated.

But it would be a mistake to think that the race with fascism is finally won in Poland. Far from it. The *Nara* party is making great strides among the unemployed and hungry masses and is feeding on the deep-rooted anti-Semitism and anti-Communism of the middle class and the restlessness of the "futureless" youth. Daily terrorist raids on Socialists and pogroms on Jews are part of the fascist campaign of intimidation. The armed Socialist guard of Polish and Jewish Socialists is therefore continually on guard and almost permanently in "action."

The forward march of fascism could be stopped in Poland only if real unity of organized labor could be achieved. But this is still an impossibility. The official Communist Party, for many years an important factor in the local labor movement, is still opposed to a real united front of workers. Following the Stalin line of "unity from below" they are still rendering help to the fascist hordes by all their political, "educational" and organization activity. In this election, for instance, only in one city (out of 341!)—Tomaszów—was there realized a real united front of labor, a Socialist-Communist fusion ticket "from above," which won 15 seats. In the others the "Left" (Communist) Party went separately and although they scarcely elected more than twelve councilmen they helped to victory a number of fascist candidates.

But more important would be an agreement for united anti-fascist action in the shops, factories and streets. The Socialist leaders appear to be in favor of it, the Moscow-dominated Communist leaders are, however, against it. Moscow may change its mind. But the change will probably come too late, when both Socialist and Communist parties will be already destroyed and annihilated by a triumphant Nazism.

PIERRE RENAUEDEL, chairman of the Neo-Socialist deputies in the French Parliament, has just resigned from his post as a protest against the action of the majority of the group in voting against the election bill of the Socialist Party. The incomprehensible and reactionary action of the Neo group in Parliament came two days after their national convention decided to support this particular motion of the Socialist Party. The former head of the Communist Party, Frossard, was the author and only spokesman of the Socialist Party motion to revise immediately the election law on the basis of proportional representation and immediate dissolution of the Parliament. It was lost only because the majority of the 35 Neo-Socialist deputies voted against it. 277 voted for the Socialist motion and 288 against.

The Communist Party of the United States had a "turn-over" of 36,000 members between January, 1930, and the latter part of 1932 (Party Organizer, Vol. 5, No. 11-12 quoted from the Workers Age, issue of June 1, 1934).

Pittsburgh.

THE most frequently asked question in steel districts today is, "Will there be a strike?" And no one quite knows the answer. Among those close to the scene there is unanimous agreement that a strike is inevitable, it is merely a question of how soon it will break and what will be its scope. Whether the strike comes this June or a year from now is neither as definite nor important as the fact that come it must.

The steel industry is preparing for war. The steel workers are neither solidly organized nor adequately prepared to wage that war. There is, however, a vast store of accumulated grievances that, if unleashed, might result in a far stronger uprising than even the most enthusiastic of the leaders dare prophesy at the moment.

The delegates who met in the April convention of the Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin Workers at which time action to seek union recognition was taken, will reconvene in Pittsburgh Thursday, June 14, to consider the Johnson peace plan and the likelihood of a walkout. It is a foregone conclusion that the Johnson plan will be rejected. This plan, which practically nullifies Section 7a of the NRA and sets up the company union as the chief instrument of workers' representation for purposes of collective bargaining, is unpalatable even to the older and more conservative leaders. The rank and file leaders have frankly denounced the plan as "an insult to every American worker" and an effort "to tighten the company union chains that bind workers in the steel industry." It is equally certain that the strike will not be called for June 16, the date originally set for the walkout. Beyond these two points every inch of the way will have to be fought.

The sole purpose of a deferment is to build up the organization and that will make it necessary to send many organizers into the field, which in turn will require large expenditures. Will the international office of the Amalgamated be ready to bear that expenditure and will some of the other unions be willing to help in the work? Upon the answer to these questions depends largely the outcome of the entire undertaking. It is hard to conceive that the Amalgamated and the AFL are so short-sighted as not to see the importance of coping real soon with the steel situation. Admittedly the steel industry is the hardest to organize and to combat.

The 1919 defeat is still remarkably fresh in the memory of many of the workers and these are not very eager to face another defeat of equal or greater proportion. The steel industry, on the other hand, is even better prepared and more firmly determined now than it was fifteen years ago, to fight unionization. Many of the plants are prepared to house large numbers of workers inside the mills. Carloads of cots and bedding have been brought in where there were none before or taken out of storage where such supplies were available. Cafeterias, thrown into disuse since the steel code has done away with the lunch hour for steel workers, are being cleaned up and made ready for use.

The Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation has put up in its Pittsburgh plant a barbed wire fence that is being electrified. Bunks used during the 1919 strike to house scabs have been rebuilt and are ready for occupancy. New squads of deputies have been brought in and these

**Masters Use Every Vile Ru
Workers---Employers S
War---Barbed W**

are practicing in the art of firing tear-gas and dispersing pickets.

Mill officials have been given orders to "talk down" the Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin Workers as a "Hunky Union" that no red-blooded American or "self-respecting foreigner" would have anything to do with. The older men have been given to understand that if they go out on strike they will be fired and lose their

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British Labor The Socialist

By F

THE story which any correspondent has to tell of what is happening with the labor and Socialist movement in Great Britain is becoming almost monotonous: a record of the capture of parliamentary seats from the government whenever and wherever a bye-election gives us the opportunity of pressing the attack.

Since I wrote last there have been two more seats captured; and if that were the whole story I should be content simply to record Hammersmith and the Upton division of West Ham as fresh examples of that steady march to power which has been manifest here for the past year.

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LABOR SECTION

THE EDITOR COMMENTS

CURTAILMENT ONLY TEMPORARY!

THE need for more space this week for discussion of the declaration submitted by the Socialist convention to referendum curtails the number of columns devoted to labor news. Comrades will note that industrial work—all the work of the party—must go on even though the Declaration of Principles is being vigorously debated and even though the proponents and opponents of the declaration are preparing for battle.

MORE POWER TO THE STEEL WORKERS!

AS The New Leader goes to press, a special meeting of instructed delegates is assembling in Pittsburgh, America's steel center, to decide on a nation-wide steel strike. President Roosevelt is rushing another of his many-pointed plans a la auto industry to prevent a strike, to appease both men and "masters," to gain credit for the administration and to squelch unionization of the industry. Mike Tighe, 72-year-old president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, awaits the gathering of representatives of 400,000 steel workers, who will confer and then decide on whether the workers will again engage the lords of steel and finance in spectacular battle. We publish in both the Labor Section and the regular section accounts from observers on the ground of the situation in the steel district.

Again, as in 1919, the masters and their organs are beginning to lay down a heavy smoke screen. The union is being called a "hunky," a foreigners' union; the rank and file workers and their spokesmen are heralded as Communists getting their orders from New York revolutionary moguls. (We're never sure whether a paper like the New York Mirror is more anxious to discredit the strike or help build up the Communists as a "menace" and a newspaper asset: "STEEL UNION 'REDS' TO SEIZE UNION AND CALL STRIKES!")

It is not the function of The New Leader to "hope" that a general strike will be called regardless of conditions or hope of success. Only the convention can decide that, on the basis of reports from the delegates and instructions voted by the workers back home. But the temper of the workers is fiery, the spirit of the unions—especially the recently acquired members—is combative. If a strike is called, The New Leader and the Socialist movement stand ready to throw all their resources behind the strikers and to help unstintedly in every way.

HOSIERY WORKERS TO DECIDE

THE American Federation of Hosiery Workers closed its fruitful annual convention at Reading this week with the decision to submit one of the most important projects to a referendum of the membership. The rank and file of the membership will determine whether the national executive board will be empowered to negotiate with the manufacturers for the 30-hour week. Thus the workers themselves will pass on what the workers will be called upon to do.

For ten days the delegates have been threshing out the problems of the union in a forward-looking and militant way. They're going back home now ready to take up anew the problems of organization and consolidation—holding what they have gained and pushing the fight in new fields.

LAWYERS ASTOUND STRIKE LEADER

THE meat companies are hiring scabs and thugs to intimidate the strikers; the union is disgusted with the regional board's tactics of delay and confusion; the bosses are trying to minimize the walk-out, at the same time that they are spending lots of money to smash it; the Big Four in the packing industry is planning to house and feed scabs—and men and women continue to augment the strikers' ranks.

Meanwhile, George W. Shepard, vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America (A. F. of L.) and organizer of the strike, got the surprise of his non-radical life the other day when a delegation of self-confessed lawyers walked into his office. The delegation wanted to help the strikers and offered its services—free.

"Free?" Shepard echoed. "Free? Say, what's the racket? Who are you, anyway?"

"Socialists," the lawyers replied. "And lawyers. Members of the Socialist Lawyers' Association. We're defending one arrested strike picket and we're ready to get on the job for the union."

The magic word "Socialist" explained it all. The strike leader understood how it happened that legal services were offered free.

Incidentally, the case of the six Socialists arrested for defying notorious Judge Faber's anti-everything injunction against the bakers' union has been postponed. Charles Solomon and the Socialist Lawyers' Association are defending them. (This corrects last week's caption.)

SOLONS SHIVER AT SANITY

BLOOD ran cold in Washington this week. The seats of the mighty trembled. News had come that the Federal Emergency Relief Administration was planning to use federal funds to aid the jobless by HAVING THE UNEMPLOYED OPERATE IDLE FACTORIES.

Congressmen were stirred to the depths of their hearts and pockets at the rumors that something so sensible, so logical, so "radical" was going to be done. They scurried hither and thither for confirmation or denial. They got the denial—and breathed easier.

But the winds blew chill for a while. And the storm is near. It won't come as a gracious grant from the administration. It will come from an organized movement of workers and farmers and professionals. It may be in the distance. But the zephyr that blew over Washington and then subsided was a faint premonition of the gale to come.

Delegates Back From ILGWU Convention

By Delegate-Observer

THE I. L. G. W. U. convention, just held in Chicago, was at once a celebration of victories as well as an anniversary. It was the 35th year of the existence of the International, and the reports presented to this convention covered a vast field of activities, reporting an increase in membership of from 40,000 two years ago to 200,000 at the present date, with organizational activities on the up-grade.

The impression one got at this convention was one of many-sided activities and enterprises. The celebrations were well interspersed with serious activities. The convention authorized the General Executive Board to proceed with a range of strikes covering many parts of the country and seriously challenging the open-shoppers in the cotton and garment industries, knitted garments, underwear, etc., in the entire United States and Canada.

A very important feature of the convention was the fight against race discrimination. The International probably has the distinction of being the only union which has in such forceful way demonstrated its readiness to fight against its discriminations against race, color or any other prejudices which permeate the American scene, being equalled in this respect only by the Continental Congress and Socialist Party conventions.

Object Lesson

The convention's original headquarters was in the aristocratic Medinah Athletic Club on North Michigan Avenue. Restrictions had been placed on the Negro delegates, segregating them into separate apartments, using special elevators, etc. The delegation of Local 22 vigorously protested and moved out in protest. As a result, the entire convention was forced to move out. Needless to say, credit is due in this case to the prompt action of the entire General Executive Board, with President Dubinsky at the head, for grasping this opportunity to give the labor movement an object lesson in working class behavior.

Other features good and not so good at the convention were the flirtatious attitude shown to all shades of opinion. At the convention there were such paradoxes presented on the floor of the convention as to have speakers like General Hugh Johnson, Regional Director of the NRA Rosenblatt, Governor Horner of Illinois, Mayor Kelly of Chicago on the one hand, and Frank Crosswaith, Norman Thomas, B. C. Vladeck (with Jay Lovestone on the side) getting ovations from the delegates. The (Cont. on Page 2, Labor Section)

TO WELCOME DELEGATES

Delegates of Dressmakers' Union Local 22 returning from the recent I.L.G.W.U. convention in Chicago will be welcomed at Amalgamated Temple, 21 Arion Place, Brooklyn. The affair, arranged by the Union Social and Educational Club of Williamsburg, will be a solidarity dance and entertainment. In addition to dancing, there will be a program by the Union Mandolin Orchestra. Free refreshments will be served.

Prepare Relief Machinery for Steel Strike

PITTSBURGH. — Relief and defense for striking steel workers in the walkout which threatens is being set up from central offices here by the Socialist Party, with Sarah Limbach, secretary of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania, as secretary-treasurer, and Leo Krzycki, national chairman of the party and head of its labor committee, as chairman of the relief and defense committee. Activities will follow the lines taken in the coal strike two years ago, when the Pennsylvania Socialists collected and distributed tons of clothing and provisions and thousands of dollars in cash through commissaries of the unions themselves.

Civil War Seen As Steel Strike Call Nears

By Jack Schuller

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Like the shroud of coal dust that blankets this city night and day, the threat of a major steel strike appears imminent as both sides in the class war gird for battle. Militia, privately armed police and the local constabulary patrol the surrounding counties of Avondale and Bessemer, locations of some of the richest iron ore mines in the world.

From their squalid hovels studying the black hills, Negro and white workers are at last emerging to demand an unheard of request here—recognition of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. In Bessemer, there are 8,000 miners who have been out on strike for five weeks demanding wage increases from \$1.00 to \$2.84 a week.

Most of the mines here are not owned by coal companies but by steel companies which use them in their massive refineries. The principal companies involved are the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Co., with about eight plants, the Connors Steel Co. in Woodlawn, the Gulf States Steel Co. at Godsdan and the Republic Steel Co. at Bessemer.

Birmingham steel workers themselves could not predict today whether the threatened nationwide strike will extend into this deep Southern territory. Workers in Godsdan and Birmingham steel plants maintained an attitude of silence which will enable them to swing into the walkout movement or detach themselves from it—much to the bewilderment of the bosses.

Gulf States company officials passed petitions among their employees. (Cont. on Page 2, Labor Section)

Strike Ties Up Hat Shops in East

Determined to secure for themselves a wage in excess of the minimum provided in their code, over 4,000 hatters, members of the Men's Hat Department of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, have walked out on strike. Practically all of the union shops in the Eastern area are completely tied up, Martin Lawlor, national secretary of the department, announced this week.

On June 1, he declared, the annual agreement between the union and the employers expired, and the workers demanded that the new agreement provide for increases which he said would amount to about 30 per cent above the wages they were receiving. The refusal of the employers to concede the demands of the union was met by the calling of a strike.

In Danbury, where about 2,000 of the 4,000 hatters are employed, the strike occurred in May, when the workers presented their demands. The strikers of the Danbury shops called off the strike when the employers agreed to submit the points in dispute to a Board of Arbitration, consisting of three, one to be named by the employers and another by the union, the two to select the third. The decision of the board was to be final, and would be accepted by both sides, according to the settlement.

The third member of the board agreed upon was the Secretary of Labor of Connecticut. The workers returned to their shops. The board decided to grant increases to the workers averaging about 20 per cent. The employers, in violation of the agreement, refused to abide by the decision, and the workers left the shops again.

The only employers in Danbury who have accepted the arbitration decision are the makers of Mal-lory and Emerson hats, Mr. Lawlor declared. He explained that in Danbury the hats are made in the rough, and are completed in the New York factories.

The strike also affects shops in New York City, Yonkers, and Newark, N. J. In some cases, the strike has been called against manufacturers having no agreement with the workers, to compel union recognition and the adoption of union standards.

Mr. Lawlor expressed confidence in the outcome of the struggle. There is no work being done in the shops at this time, he declared. Michael F. Greene, president of the Men's Hat Department, and also of the International Union, is actively engaged in making plans for a vigorous prosecution of the strike.

Teachers to Consider Schools' Plight at National Convention

CHICAGO. — The 18th annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers will be held at the Medinah Michigan Ave. Club, here, the week of June 25th. The theme of the sessions will be "Educational Recovery," with particular stress on the responsibility of the teachers in the plight of

the schools. Sound organization of the teachers to meet their responsibility and federal aid for relief in the present emergency will occupy a major part of the program. Tax systems will be discussed and an education program developed. Prominent (Cont. on Page 2, Labor Section)

ILGWU Delegates Return; Vigorous Drives Mapped Out

(Cont. from Page 1, Labor Section) spectacle presented was as though the International is still in a sort of infant position, trying to make up its mind to whom it should pay allegiance.

Differ on NRA

In the debate on the officers' and committees' reports, a great many uncertainties were revealed and diverse opinions expressed when the question of the NRA came up on the floor.

Majority and minority reports were presented. The main differences between the two reports seemed to be whether Labor should participate and seek representation from the code authority, and the general tone to be given to the labor movement by way of the appraisal of the NRA.

The minority report, presented by Charles Zimmerman, manager of Local 22, while agreeing that Labor should take advantage of all opportunities offered by the NRA, placed main emphasis on Labor achieving results through its own efforts and organization, rather than depending on outside or governmental agencies. The minority also insisted that Labor should present its demands to the code authorities, but under no circumstances should be represented on those bodies.

Helped Union Grow

President Dubinsky defended the majority report. He did not deny that Labor must organize to gain any advantages under the NRA, but he stressed the fact that the NRA has by itself helped Labor a lot. He cited the textile codes as an example. Though they are the weakest in all the codes, still they have given Labor a 40-hour week and a minimum wage of \$12 to \$13 to compare with the 55-hour

week and a much smaller minimum prior to the code. He also indicated that the union, with all its efforts, could not have succeeded without NRA in becoming the strong union that it is today.

Interesting debates took place also on the reports of the resolutions committee, on the question of week work or piece work for the garment industry, and on the question of a Labor Party. The convention went on record favoring a Labor Party by an almost unanimous vote. Also, week work was adopted as the basis of operation and principle, leaving it to the General Executive Board to decide when and where and in what industry the fight for it should be waged.

To Fight Fascism

Other resolutions that were adopted without debate were an anti-war resolution, one defending free speech, one protesting the breaking up of Socialist meetings in Illinois, and one calling upon the officials of the A. F. of L. not to be in any way associated with the National Civic Federation, and a host of other resolutions progressive in character.

The convention also demonstrated its readiness to fight fascism the world over by starting out to raise a fund of \$50,000 for anti-fascist activities and setting the example by giving the initial contribution of \$6,000 towards this fund, which aids the anti-fascist movement in Italy, Germany and Austria, and particularly the underground trade union movement in Germany.

In addition, delegates raised among themselves over \$1,100 as a contribution to the Austrian refugees, following a speech by Dr. Max Winter, former vice-mayor of Vienna and a prominent Socialist.

RADIO TECHNICIANS OBTAIN FAVORABLE COLUMBIA CONTRACT

The newly organized Association of Columbia Broadcasting Technicians, taking in all engineering employees of the Columbia Broadcasting System, has signed an agreement with the company establishing better working conditions. The contract provides for a minimum wage that is an increase over the old wage rates, and pay for overtime and legal holidays.

The national organization that negotiated the contract was formed last month at a convention held in New York under the chairmanship of L. N. Hatfield. The national officers are Harry Spears, of WABC in New York, president; John Palmquist, of WCCO in Minneapolis, vice-president, and Harold Forry, of WJSV in Washington, D. C., secretary-treasurer. The national executive committee consists of Spears, G. Godfrey, of WPG in Atlantic City, and Forry. The national board consists of one representative of each station chapter.

As a result of the contract, the out-of-town CBS stations have already increased their technical staffs, the local stations having augmented their staffs last September when the local association chapter was formed.

Iron and Bronze Workers to Meet

A mass meeting of iron and bronze workers has been called for 8 p. m. Friday, June 15, in Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street, by the International Association of Bridge Structural Ornamental, Iron and Bronze Workers' Union, Local No. 455.

The purpose of the meeting is

MEETING CALLED TO FORM LABORATORY TECHNICIANS' BODY

To the Labor Editor:

Very little attention has been focused on the vicious working conditions and poor standard of living under which laboratory workers are compelled to exist. After years of academic training, we find ourselves faced with the oppressive system of volunteering (working without pay for an indefinite period of time) or so low a salary that it is an insult to refer to it as such.

We urge all chemists, laboratory technicians, bacteriologists and students who intend to enter this field to join with us in united action against these conditions. Attend the mass meeting Friday, June 15, at 8:30 p. m., at Manhattan Industrial High School, 129 East 22nd St., corner of Lexington Ave. Prominent speakers representing various fields will address the audience. A statement of our program and report of our activities thus far will be given. No self-respecting laboratory worker should fail to attend.

Joint Committee of Laboratory Technicians:
Edw. Rankin, Jr., Sec'y.

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

Camden Cannery Workers Get Post-Strike Gains

By Noah C. Walters

CAMDEN, N. J.—The victory of the workers in the Campbell soup cannery plant here, following the settlement of the strike led by the Cannery Canners' Industrial Union, continues to broaden as uninterrupted organizational work brings new gains. When the workers went back some weeks ago, they were not, of course, satisfied with what they had won, but they were resolved to take advantage of the opportunity to dig in in the plant, to organize in season and out, and to take every opportunity that presented itself to strengthen the union so as to be in a more powerful position to negotiate and, if necessary, to battle for further concessions.

The union settled with the object of gaining a foothold in hitherto impregnable territory: of securing a favorable position with prospect of future struggle and as an encouragement to the labor movement in this too-long held stronghold of scab labor. The first results gained for the workers a seven per cent wage increase, seniority rights for the workers employed before the strike, and no discrimination against any employee for union membership and activity. Although the union failed to win full recognition, in the poll conducted by the Regional Labor Board the majority of the workers supported the industrial union as opposed to the company's fake employees' association.

Since the strike ended, there has been another wage increase of eight per cent for the staunchest supporters of the union—the workers in the mechanical departments. There has been a stirring spirit of unrest among the workers through the plant. Many who were intimidated during the strike are joining the union by the score today. Company officials are afraid to try to curb the increased activities of union members, since they fear the outbreak of another and even more effective strike which would be disastrous to the company at this time, with the busiest season close at hand. In a covert attempt to put a quietus on union activity, the company handed out the eight per cent raise.

At a recent meeting of the so-called joint workers' plant committee, in which there are representatives of the industrial union and the company's fake association, the union, having the majority of representatives, forced the company's puppets to agree to make new demands upon the firm for an additional 15% increase for all workers.

Match Workers Striking at Lion Plant, Long Island

Although the National Labor Board has decided in favor of the workers, the strike still continues against the Lion match factory in Long Island, pending some method of enforcing the decision. Since last fall, they have been organized in the Match Workers' Union, affiliated with the A. F. of L.

At their meetings they have been addressed by representatives of various labor organizations, including the Socialist Party. Since there are a number of Russian-speaking workers William J. Villatier, of the Russian branch of the party, has also spoken at strike meetings in the language.

The regional labor board suggested that the strikers return to work pending decision in Washington, provided no reprisals against strikers were taken, but the management refused. The strikers are in good fighting spirit.

Workers' Unemployed Union Fights for Milk for Jobless

By Saul Parker

SINCE the rise in price of milk which affects all workers in the city, particularly the unemployed, the Workers' Unemployed Union is taking action to make sure that the starving workers of the city are not to be denied milk for their children. Mayor LaGuardia, with his characteristic "liberalism," has announced that due to his efforts milk will be available for workers' families at 8 cents a quart. He said there would be 50,000 quarts a day to be sold to the workers.

We call your attention to the fact that there are over 250,000 families on relief in New York, in addition to the millions of employed workers who are supporting families on starvation wages. Fifty thousand quarts is a drop in the bucket of the needs of the city's workers.

To cap it all, however, the city has been selling only some 10,000 quarts a day, not 50,000. The locals of the Workers' Unemployed Union have been distributing leaflets in the neighborhoods to call the workers together in the locals to arrange demonstrations at the milk distribution stations and the relief stations to demand 8-cent milk for all who need it. In addition, some of the locals are sending delegations to their aldermen to press on the officials their demand for cheap milk so that workers' children may be kept alive.

The past couple of weeks have seen also the starting of two new locals of the Workers' Unemployed Union, 65 workers being present at the first meeting of Local 34 on the West Side of Manhattan.

All the locals of the Workers' Unemployed Union are meeting regularly and receiving regular reports from their hard-working grievance committees, which are kept busy by the delays, red tape, and injustice of the relief system. They are recruiting new members and actively organizing the unemployed for their fight for adequate living standards, which are no better under the liberal LaGuardia

administration than they were under Tammany's O'Brien. LaGuardia appears to be almost ready to advocate legislation to provide relief for the unemployed through an increased subway fare which will, of course, fall heavily on the mass of the workers of the city. The Workers' Unemployed Union will oppose such a way out for Mr. LaGuardia. The unemployed in the W.U.U. are beginning to realize that only a new social order can solve the problems of the workers, employed and unemployed.

One of the recent actions of the Central Committee of the Workers' Unemployed Union was the consideration and complete refutation of another slanderous charge of the Communists. Comrade Becker, member of the East Bronx local and of the Socialist Party, and member of the Executive Board of Local 9 of the I.L.G.W.U., was charged in the Communists' daily sheet with having sabotaged a rent strike conducted by the Communists in the building in which Becker lived. Upon investigation, it was found that when Becker had tried to start a rent strike in the building, the Communists who lived there refused to cooperate. Later they started a rent strike of their own and asked Becker to cooperate. He offered a united front with the Workers' Unemployed Union, and was told first that they had never heard of that organization and then that it was a scab organization. These Communists refused the united front that had been offered.

Becker thereupon refused to take any active part in the strike, although he refrained from paying his rent. When the strike was over, practically nothing was gained by the strikers. It was shown that some of the people who continued to pay the rent were themselves Communists who kept strike signs in their windows. Becker, who did not pay rent, refused to display a strike sign because the signs did not bear the union label. Yet the Communists claimed that the strike had been won despite the opposition of Comrade Becker!

WAGNER LABOR BILL SCORED AS WEAPON AGAINST WORKERS

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Defeat of the amended Wagner labor bill on the grounds that "it will inevitably serve as a weapon in the hands of employers to crush organized labor" was urged on all members of the United States Senate in a letter sent by the American Civil Liberties Union and signed by Harry F. Ward, chairman, and Arthur Garfield Hays, general counsel.

The union attacked the amended bill as weakening established rights of labor and lacking three vital guarantees to workers found in the original draft: 1. "The act will be used to impose compulsory arbitration, for it does not affirm labor's right to strike." 2. "It does not outlaw company controlled unions." 3. "It does not require employers to recognize and deal with representatives of the workers."

TEACHERS' UNION CONVENTION JUNE 25

(Cont. from Page 1, Labor Section) educators and labor leaders will attend.

This convention will be the largest in the history of the American Federation of Teachers, since the membership has tripled this past year and 80 new locals have been chartered. The last local to be chartered is Bremerton, Washington, Local 335.

Professor Maynard C. Krueger, department of economics, University of Chicago and member of the Socialist Party N. E. C., will deliver the keynote speech.

CIVIL WAR SEEN AS CALL FOR GENERAL STEEL STRIKE NEARS

(Cont. from Page 1, Labor Section) ployees in an effort to ascertain those against the strike, which has been tentatively set for June 16th. Although clerical and shipping department employees almost unanimously signed the petition, few signatures were gotten from the plant workers. Union officials, most of whom are young men, claimed that in some plants no worker would agree to even carry the petition around. There are 3,000 workers alone in the Gadsden plants.

Birmingham lodges of the Amalgamated have not been informed from their national headquarters as yet whether or not they will be expected to join without submitting the question to a vote of the membership, but with wages and standards of employment as they are, it is hardly probable that they will not walk out.

If the plants intend to continue operations during the walkout, a miniature civil war can be expected to be brought in. These miners use large quantities of ammunition in the course of their work in the mines and certainly not all of it has been used in drilling holes in the rock.

Local meat cutters are also out on strike and many A. & P. grocery and meat stores are feeling the effects. The majority of small stores have signed up, but the larger chains persist in holding out.

The New Leader

New York City Section

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Sec. 3

Socialists Prepare for Controllership Battle

THE New York Supreme Court has ruled that the vacancy in the office of Controller must be filled at the November elections, and that Controller Joseph D. McGoldrick, appointed when Major Cunningham died last month, remains in office only until January 1. An appeal now will go to the Court of Appeals.

Significant in the suit was the intervention by the Socialist Party through Matthew M. Levy, who presented a brief emphasizing that to postpone the election of a new Controller would be a violation of democratic rights. Levy made clear the Socialist principle that "if democratic government is to have any meaning at all, it is that the voters should not be prevented from expressing themselves at an election in order that they may choose their own officials."

The Fusion Party and the Citizens' Union, who had brought the suit to hold Mr. McGoldrick in office for an additional year, were flayed by Levy, who charged that if they were correct, then the voters "would be compelled to content themselves with the controller whom chance and appointive political expediency had foisted upon them."

Justice Walsh's decision marks a victory for Levy and the Socialist Party in their fight for democracy in the city. But in addition there is another high point for the Socialist Party.

A municipal election campaign for controller this year provides a fine opportunity for Socialists to make a clear-cut campaign on the promises and the tragic failures of the LaGuardia administration in its year of office. Mayor LaGuardia rode into office on the pledge that salaries of city employees would not be cut, that no furloughs would be introduced, that the only slashes in personnel would be directed at useless office-holders. But the bankers proved too strong for him. LaGuardia admits that he is held in a straitjacket by the Bankers' Agreement. So city workers suffer, schools are crippled, playgrounds are shut down, libraries are closed or curtailed, the social services and the health services of the city must all suffer.

The trouble goes back to a heritage of the corrupt Tammany rule, when the staggering sum of about \$2,250,000,000 was run up as the city's debt. Pyramiding real estate valuations, Tammany administrations borrowed money with a carefree hand, floating bond issues (through private bond houses) until that vast debt was fastened upon the city.

Today LaGuardia bemoans that he can do nothing because his hands are tied, that he cannot reduce the debt service of close to \$225,000,000 a year.

Socialists maintain that the contract with the bankers, when they came to the rescue of the city—at a big profit—is not the sacred piece that LaGuardia claims it is. Debts between nations have been scaled downward or wiped out altogether; mortgage rates have been lowered; everywhere there has been a general agreement that changed circumstances can cause contracts to be modified. The Supreme Court of the United States upheld this doctrine in the Minnesota Mortgage case. The bankers' agreement need be no exception and would not be if Socialists ruled. Through the revision of interest rates and the scaling down of the principal, wage cuts can be restored, furloughs repaid, the relief services of the city maintained and increased, and the city steered away from the brink of bankruptcy.

Socialists push four main planks in a campaign for controller this fall:

1. Drastic downward revision of the Bankers' Agreement.

2. Steeply graduated income taxes to hit the bankers and the wealthy who have held on to their money through the depression. Workers should not bear the burden of the recklessness of others.

3. Establishment of a municipal bank for the threefold purpose of taking away from the bankers the juicy profits of the marketing of city bonds, providing an institution where the people of this city may maintain accounts without paying exorbitant sums to bankers for the privilege, and furnishing a concrete example of municipal socialism in practice.

4. Complete elimination of graft and corruption from city affairs and elimination of useless offices.

Under these four plans for a municipal financial platform, Socialists will make an intensive drive to rally the people behind them and to follow the victorious example of Labor and Socialists in London and Glasgow.

The fight is on!

MIDWOOD BRANCH WILL MAKE A TREE ITS HEADQUARTERS

THE Midwood Branch, out in Flatbush, is preparing to make its headquarters at a tree Saturday, July 28, at Ulmer Park, Brooklyn. Bill Feigenbaum, one of the active members of this branch, is threatening, with the aid of Ben Lichtenberg, Sam Baron, Dr. Louis Sabloff and a host of other members of their branch, to hang their branch banner on a tree at the Socialist picnic on that day.

This will be their rallying point where they will gather to renew old acquaintances and meet friends for an enjoyable day at the greatest annual gathering of the year of New York's Socialist and labor movement.

A good number of other branches have already indicated that they will not be outdone by the Midwood Branch. Among others the following branches have already secured their blocks of tickets: the Upper West Side Branch, the 8th A. D., the Amalgamated Co-operative Branch, the 8th A. D., Bronx; the 21st A. D., Kings, and the Sunnyside Branch, Queens.

The Polish Socialist Alliance and the Spanish branch as well as Westchester County have also acted already. The City Committee of the Jewish Socialist Verband, headed by a committee of Joseph Leventhal and Philip Klukovsky, have undertaken to see to it that all of their seventeen branches in New York will participate. And

Students from 11 States at Rand School Institute

By Nathan Fine

FROM Downers Grove, Illinois, comes the following postcard to the Rand School Institute: "I am sending some of my clothes on ahead to the school. Please take care of them for me until I get there. Early tomorrow I start the hike to New York City and unless I have very bad luck I should be there in plenty of time for the banquet."

They are coming in this and other inexpensive ways from eleven states—young men and women, all awarded scholarships for their activity in and loyalty to the Socialist and labor movement. The Rand School is giving them free tuition, full maintenance and entertainment for eight days, June 17-24, inclusive.

New York and Pennsylvania

of course the YPSL is now carrying on a contest to see which circle can sell most tickets, and are they on the job!

Socialist Party branches that have as yet not acted should do so at once. This affair is the biggest affair our party runs every year, and requires the fullest co-operation of every branch in order to insure its success. According to present indications, A. N. Weinberg, executive secretary of the arrangements committee, we are getting a very favorable response from the various friendly trade unions, Workmen's Circle branches and other organizations.

each send ten students; Massachusetts, Michigan and New Jersey, three each; Illinois and Ohio send two each; Connecticut, Indiana, New Mexico and Virginia each add one. The Young Circle League of America, the youth organization of the Workmen's Circle, is responsible for nine students. The Socialist Party and the Young People's Socialist League supply the rest.

The program is packed with interesting, entertaining and educational projects. It begins with the official welcoming banquet Sunday, June 17, at 6 p. m. in the Debs Auditorium. Reservations can be made to the Rand School Institute, 7 East 15th Street. The subject for discussion is, "Socialism and the American Working Class." Different points of view will be presented by Algernon Lee, toastmaster; Frank Crosswaith, Harry W. Laidler and Louis Waldman. In addition, August Claessens, Larry Davidow of Detroit and Mrs. Bertha H. Mailly will greet the students.

Starting Monday morning at 9:30 there will be the first class on the topic: "Our Message to the American People." President Algernon Lee and Associate Directors William E. Bohn and Nathan Fine are in charge. The first session will be devoted to the question of *what is practical and what is revolutionary?* The second day in this hour will consider the *significance of political action for a Socialist party*. The third day Norman Thomas will discuss the problems of the movement in the light of a decaying capitalism, the danger of war and the menace of fascism. The fourth day's topic will be on unionism and the last will be a consideration of the *role of the middle classes and the meaning of democracy*.

At 10:45 a. m. similarly, from Monday to Friday inclusive, the second class will be held on *Problems of Propaganda*, with August Claessens and Larry Davidow of Detroit as discussion leaders. George H. Goebel and Bela Low will be outside speakers in this class, discussing the technique of meetings and literature distribution, and the whole question of educating the party membership and the public.

The third and last class on *Problems of Organization* will start at 12 noon under the guidance of Julius Gerber and Marx Lewis. Comrade Gerber will begin by giving the structure and functions of (Continued on Page Two)

Chas. Solomon's Daughter Wins High College Honors

Mildred Solomon, second daughter of Charles Solomon, is one of the honor graduates of Brooklyn College this month. In the rating of students by their classmates, Mildred is listed as "Did Most for Brooklyn College," "Most Popular," and "Best Orator." Mildred is also president of the senior class.

The girl rated by her classmates as "Best Actress" is Dorothy V. Cerino, a niece of the late A. I. Shipiloff.

Last year Isabel Solomon, Mildred's older sister, graduated from Brooklyn College with honors similar to those won by Mildred.

For Proportional Representation

By William M. Feigenbaum

THE Socialist Party is in a position for the first time to win for itself a voice in the affairs of New York City commensurate with its voting strength. Norman Thomas, sitting on the Charter Revision Committee by designation of the Socialist Party as its official representative, is chairman of the committee on proportional representation that began its hearings this week.

The party has its position on the matter of proportional representation, and through representations before that committee it will be able to argue more effectively than ever before for its position.

On the evils that proportional representation is designed to cure there is little or no disagreement. On the means of curing those evils—on the specific plan of proportional representation—there is disagreement, and our party is anxious to have the public understand just what it is we stand for—and why.

To understand the problem it is necessary merely to look at a few figures. For example, here are the election figures for 1931, the last year in which a municipal election was held without "fusion" to blur party lines. Taking the vote for county offices we find the following:

	Vote	%	Alder-men	% of Alder-men
Democratic	975,469	70.3	61	98.5
Republican	325,167	20.5	1	1.5
Socialist	127,260	9.2	0	0.0

With the continued disfranchisement of hundreds of thousands of voters political cynicism tended to prevail, more and more voters remained away from the polls, and to a very considerable extent the city government became a one-party dictatorship with the real power in the hands of a camarilla of ignorant, vulgar and thieving district leaders.

What is going to be the remedy, now that a series of political circumstances made proportional representation a possibility. There are various plans for proportional representation, most of which are unsatisfactory to Socialists. There is, for example, the so-called Preferential or Hare system. Under that plan names are printed on a ballot, and voters express their preference in order, with one, two, three, four and five votes for each candidate. Thus, the nominee receiving the lowest number of votes is the first elected. This plan does not leave room for party organizations, for under the system citizens craving office may secure the necessary number of signatures, and their names will appear on the ballot.

Some would modify the Hare system by permitting party designations to appear beside the names of candidates. But even in that event elections would emphasize personal ambitions rather than party policies, for there would be no way to make a party respon-

sible for what an elected official would do.

The Socialist Party believes that all men and women holding certain principles should unite to promote those principles; that the men and women elected on its ticket should be responsible TO THE PARTY for carrying out those principles.

The party's plan for city government is to organize a city legislative body to have real legislative functions. The sub-committees of that body would be charged with administrative functions, and the executives who run the city would be responsible to that legislative body.

The city, consisting of five boroughs, would be sub-divided into large districts, each electing a number of Aldermen—ten, twelve or fifteen—the number to be settled later.

Each party to nominate a slate of candidates, in order of the party's own preference. Voters in each district would cast ballots for party lists rather than for individuals. The election returns would indicate the strength of the parties and seats in the legislative body would be assigned to the parties in proportion to the votes cast, and the legislators would be responsible to their parties.

The legislative body could then go to work, and the people will know that they are governed by a legislature that exactly reflects their political convictions.

It is for a plan of that kind that the Socialist Party is working.

The Rand School Institute

(Continued from Page One) will talk on the activities of the women's committee. The second day Marx Lewis will take up the matter of building and maintaining the party locally, in a comprehensive survey. On the third day, G. August Gerber and Leonard Bright will be introduced to consider election campaigns nationally and locally and developing the party in communities of from 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants. On Thursday Jack Altman and David Lasser will lead the discussion on work among the trade unions and the unemployed, with Julius Gerber summarizing.

The last session, with Marx Lewis in charge, will deal with the party, while Esther Friedman party publicity and press, with William M. Feigenbaum and Philip Hochstein as outside speakers.

Afternoons each day will be spent visiting the sights of the city and the labor movement. Wednesday there will be a trip to the Amalgamated Apartments, and the women there, with Mrs. Sarah Volovick and others as hostesses, will give a reception to the students. Tuesday there will be free tickets to "Stevedore" at the Workers' Theatre Union.

The evenings will be devoted to meeting the local comrades Monday night, attending a show presented by Rebel Arts on Tuesday, listening to a symposium on Wednesday night on the question of Youth and Socialism. Ben Fischer of the YPSL, Phil Heller of the Young Falcons, Jack Afros of the Young Circle League and Joseph Lash of the LID or student group will be the speakers. Thursday night is graduation for the regular students

of the Rand School, with Prof. Jesse Holmes, candidate for governor in Pennsylvania, as guest orator.

And then on Friday at 2 p. m. the out-of-town students will be taken to Camp Tamiment, to stay until Sunday afternoon. There will be a conference on the general subject of "Labor—One Year After NRA." The speakers are Francis J. Gorman of the United Textile Workers, Andrew J. Kennedy of the Amalgamated Lithographers, Julius Hochman of the Ladies' Garment Workers, Abraham Miller of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and Charles Solomon and William Karlin, noted Socialist leaders and lawyers, who have been following the NRA and the labor movement intimately. The students will, of course, be the guests of Camp Tamiment. Should there be any who wish to come to Camp Tamiment for this weekend, which, besides the discussion, will include a fine theatrical, musical and social entertainment, the regular rates will have to apply to them, which are reasonable enough. Inquiry should be made at once to Camp Tamiment, 7 East 15th Street, Algonquin 4-3094.

Altogether, these eight days should be a milestone in the lives of the young men and women who will come to the Rand School Institute. Secretaries and organizers of the party and the Yipsels, fighters for the cause on the trade union, fraternal, and political fronts, inspired idealists and inquiring minds, above all, young men and women with energy fire and hope, all are beginning the trek to the great metropolis and to the Rand School.

PROF. JESSE HOLMES TO SPEAK AT THE RAND COMMENCEMENT

The twenty-eighth year of the Rand School will come to a close Thursday night, June 21. All students, former students, and friends of the school are invited to participate in the commencement exercises at 8:30 on that evening. The chief speaker will be Dr. Jesse Holmes, a professor in Swarthmore College and Socialist candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania. This will be his first appearance before a Socialist audience in New York.

Members of the Workers' Training Class who have done two years of faithful work will be given certificates attesting the training they have received. Short addresses will be made by students chosen by their classmates to represent them.

In issuing the invitation to attend this meeting Algernon Lee, President of the school, lays stress on the fact that this will not be at all like the formal and conventional commencements of other schools. It will be an occasion when young Socialists who have

been trained in a Socialist school meet to consider their work and dedicate themselves to the movement which embodies the ideals of their lives.

All comrades are cordially invited to attend.

STREET MEETINGS

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

FRIDAY, JUNE 15

Eastern Parkway and Utica Avenue, Brooklyn. Speakers: Ben Wyle, Charles Sunarsky, Simon Sarasohn, J. N. Cohen, Jacob Axelrad, Eleanor Schachner, Sigmund Goldstein.

Saratoga and Dumont Aves., Brooklyn. Speakers: Wm. Feigenbaum, Al Meyer, Jesse Manus, Wurm, Hamburger.

Pittkin Ave. and Amboy St., Brooklyn. Speakers to be announced.

MONDAY, JUNE 18

Rutland Road and Rockaway Parkway, Brooklyn. Speakers: Charles Sunarsky, Simon Susanson, J. N. Cohen, Sigmund Goldstein.

TUESDAY, JUNE 19

139th St. and Cypress Ave., Bronx. Speakers: Rosenblatt, Gollub and others.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 20

Bay Parkway and 68th St., Brooklyn. Speakers: Hyman Nemser, Julia Primoff, Harold Siegel.

THURSDAY, JUNE 21

Allerton and Crugers Aves., Bronx. Speakers: Walter Dearing and others.

Ave. X and E. 22nd St., Brooklyn. Speakers: Jesse Manus and others.

141st St. and St. Ann Ave., Bronx. Speakers: Rosenblatt, Gollub and others.

Main Street and Northern Boulevard, Flushing, L. I. Speakers: Sam DeWitt, Pliskin.

RIDGEWOOD ANTI-NAZI CONFERENCE

A conference of anti-Nazi organizations was held Tuesday, June 12, at the Amalgamated Temple in Brooklyn. Among those who participated were the German and English Socialist Party branches of Ridgewood, Valley Stream Socialist Party, League to Combat Hitlerism, branches of Kings County included 4th-14th A. D., 6th A. D., 5th-17th A. D., 19th-20th A. D., and Circles 8, 10 and 18 Srs. of the Young People's Socialist League.

The conference got down to business by electing an executive committee composed of Weiner, Cosgrove, Creutzmann, Flox and Moscowitz. It was decided to call this conference the Labor Conference to Combat Hitlerism, Ridgewood Section. The executive committee was requested to arrange for a series of weekly outdoor meetings in the Nazi district. A campaign to cover the district with anti-Nazi literature will soon be inaugurated. An indoor mass meeting will be held in the very near future.

Anti-Nazi organizations in and around Ridgewood who have as yet not joined the conference are requested to do so. The next meeting of the conference will be held on Tuesday, June 26, 8:30 p. m., at 167 Tompkins Ave., near Hart Street. An outdoor meeting will be held this Friday, June 15, at 8:30 p. m., at the corner of Myrtle and Onderdonk Avenues. Comrades are requested to attend.

SOCIALIST GUARD

Teams and classes have already been started in the following: Baseball under V. Riesel; Boxing under I. Cohen; Fencing under P. Linson; Football under H. Margulies; Gymnastics under an instructor from the German Sports Alliance; Jiu Jitsu under F. Eisner; Soccer under M. Zamparo; Swimming under M. Eisenberg.

Registration in these groups and classes will be held open for only two more weeks. Time and place for practice and instruction will be announced next week. Socialist Guard members must register now if they intend to participate.

Sunday, June 17—General membership hike to Clove Lake. Meet at Aquarium at 8:30 sharp. Full uniform. Attendance compulsory.

A Hand Across the Sea

A number of New York Yipsels are forming an informal correspondence group to communicate with comrades living in various cities in England. It is their intention to learn what is going on in Great Britain and to bind with stronger personal ties of sympathy and international understanding young comrades of both countries.

This will be an excellent way to clarify our ideals and to seek the information which will enlighten us as well as our English comrades.

Those who wish to participate in the correspondence may send their names and addresses to Ben Fischer, Y.P.S.L., 7 East 15th St.

Just What They Needed!

What has come true in the Hitler Third Reich of all the fine Nazi promises was summed up in a striking sentence by Robert Ley, held of the Nazi "labor" front, at its recent second congress. After enumerating all the services that had been rendered to the employers, he said that in visits to the factories and works, "I shook hands with over 70,000 people, which was all I had to offer them."

Party Notes

NEW YORK CITY

Warning to Comrades

A person by the name of Eric Chapman, who at one time was a member of the party, is panhandling among comrades. He shows a party card several years old. He usually asks for the fare to Philadelphia where he claims his home is. He has collected several times during the last year for that purpose. If he shows up anywhere, comrades should refuse to give him money.

MANHATTAN

11th A. D. Branch meeting Tuesday, June 19, at home of Comrade Eichandler, 310 West 100th St. Further voting on delegates for state convention will be followed by a discussion of the national convention led by Comrade Wm. Edlin who covered the convention for one of the metropolitan newspapers.

Upper West Side (100 West 72nd St.). Very important executive committee meeting Monday, June 18. The branch has adopted a resolution protesting against the action of the Director of the Parnassus Club who expelled Dorothy Pfaff, member of the branch, apparently for expressing views at variance with those of the Director.

Morningside Heights (600 West 125th St., Room 7). Regular business meeting Tuesday, June 19.

Village (201 Sullivan St.). Saturday, June 16th, 8:30 p. m., poetry recital. Samuel DeWitt and others.

6th A. D. (95 Avenue B). Branch outing to Tibbets Brook this Sunday, June 17th. Directions: take White Plains train to 238th Street, then take bus to Tibbets Brook, Field 5A.

Jewish Labor to Hold Conference June 25

The Jewish Labor Committee, organized a few months ago, will hold a conference in Town Hall Monday, June 25th, at 7 P. M. More than 1,000 delegates are expected to attend, representing the Workmen's Circle, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, United Hebrew Trades, Jewish Socialist Verband and other affiliated Jewish labor organizations.

The following matters will be taken up at the conference: 1) to intensify the boycott against German-made goods and machinery in the shops; 2) to launch a campaign with the purpose of combatting and counter-attacking the spread of Nazi and fascist propaganda in the United States; 3) to intensify and make more effective the carrying-out of the boycott resolution adopted by the American Federation of Labor; 4) to raise a fund, for the purpose of helping the victims of Nazism and fascism in Germany and in Austria, as well as to help the underground movement of the Trade Unions and Socialists in Germany and in Austria.

The conference will be addressed by prominent representatives of the American and Jewish Labor Movement.

The delegates to the conference will have to take up and act upon all the above mentioned questions.

Many of the Jewish labor organizations have already sent in the names of their delegates to the conference.

Those Jewish labor organizations which have not as yet sent in the names of their delegates are urged to do so as soon as possible. The office of the Jewish Labor Committee is located at 175 East Broadway, New York, Room 401.

Socialist Forum Calendar

(All meetings begin at 8:30 p. m.)

FRIDAY, JUNE 15

Herman Saltzman: "Lessons to be Learned from the European Situation"—8th A. D. Branch, 226 East 10th St.

TUESDAY, JUNE 19

James O'neal: Topic to be announced—16th A. D. Branch, 6618 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn.

WE ACKNOWLEDGE WITH THANKS THE RECEIPT OF A BANK OF ENGLAND NOTE AS A CONTRIBUTION FROM A FRIEND IN LONDON.

SOCIALIST PARTY
NEW YORK.

BRONX

Lower 6th A. D. Branch meeting Tuesday, June 19th, at headquarters, 1137 Ward Ave.

BROOKLYN

Brighton Beach (1113 Brighton Beach Ave.). The branch is making last preparations for supper and entertainment at headquarters Saturday, June 16th. Sam Friedman, Director of Rebel Arts, is acting as toastmaster. Many union officials and delegates from other branches are expected to attend. Monday, June 18th, special meeting call to hear David P. Berenberg discuss the Declaration of Principles, to be followed by discussion. Beginning Thursday, June 21, outdoor campaign meetings will be held.

18th A. D. Branch 2 (844 Utica Ave.). Business meeting Tuesday, June 19th, 8:30 p. m. Voting for delegates to State Convention.

6th Congressional District (844 Utica Ave.). All members of 17th, 18th and 21st A. D.'s invited to attend joint congressional meeting to nominate candidates, Monday, June 18th.

2nd A. D. (Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St.). A spirited branch meeting was held June 12th, with almost the entire membership present. Elections for organizer and recording secretary were made. A resolution to remain loyal to the National and State organizations irrespective of the outcome of the National referendum was passed. A full report of and discussion of Detroit convention will take place at next meeting, Tuesday, June 19th, at the Lyceum.

2nd A. D. (579 Dumont Ave.). Enrolled voters' meeting at branch headquarters Tuesday evening, June 26th. August Claessens will be the principal speaker. The members of the branch are canvassing the enrolled voters.

18th A. D. Branch 1 (269 Utica Ave.). Card party Wednesday evening, June 27th. Boat ride Sunday, July 8th, to Bear Mountain.

Midwood (Room 54, 1401 Kings Highway). Branch voted at its last meeting to appoint a committee to investigate matter of headquarters for summer months. Committee will report at a special meeting to be called by the organizer. Members voted Monday on State Convention delegates, and at a well attended special meeting Tuesday heard report of Comrade Feigenbaum from Detroit convention followed by interesting discussion. Branch planning automobile outing to one of the Long Island parks in August.

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SUMMER CONFERENCE • LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Subject: "Fascism and War"

Place:
NORTHOVER CAMP
Bound Brook
New Jersey

Time:
June 21-24

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
112 East 19th Street, New York City

Speakers include: Norman Thomas, Reinhold Niebuhr, Jay Lovestone, Rabbi Israel, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Nathaniel Pfeiffer, Leo Kerszevki, Dr. Eroadus Mitchell, Sigfried Lipschitz, J. B. Matthews, Clotson Warn, Dr. Arthur Feiler, Bruce Bliven, Dorothy Delzer, Maxwell Stewart, Frederick Field, Franz Daniels, Roger Baldwin, Haim Kontorovitch.

There will be full Round Table Discussions. Conference fee \$2 for members, \$3 for non-members. Rates: \$2 per day for entire conference. Daily rate for less than the period of conference, \$2.50.

For reservations write to the

Don't Forget the Picnic July 28th

New Stage-Screen Face Starts Summer Policy at Roxy

Promotion Department Notes of Local N. Y.

By Henry Fruchter

UNITED SOCIALIST DRIVE

It is with disappointment that I must announce that several branches have failed even to approximate the quota with which they were charged. The Drive, as far as Local New York was concerned, was to end May 15th. It was later extended to June 1st, and still the response is deplorably low in several branches. Appreciation of the urgency of the Drive should make branch officers exert themselves to the utmost in at least meeting a portion of the quota.

AUSTRIAN RELIEF STAMPS

During the past week a substantial income was credited to Workmen's Circles over the country. It is a source of deep satisfaction to find these Workmen's Circle branches responding so splendidly to our call for relief. I hope party members will heed the call to settle for the stamps promptly.

STATE CONVENTION DINNER

Preparations have been completed for a dinner to the state convention delegates, to be held on Saturday evening, June 30, in the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St. The prices are very low.

CAMP EDEN

The response to our announcement that the party will have a financial as well as social interest in the camp at Cold Springs has been gratifying. Inquiries have come in from all parts of the city and the prospect is good for a fine summer attendance of many party members. The official opening of the camp is set for June 23. The program of social and intellectual life is elaborate, and we are confident all our guests will be fully satisfied. Further details can be had at the Party Office, 7 East 15th St. Prices are low.

THE "STEVEDORE" BENEFIT

Roger Cornell, who handled the financial arrangements of the last theatre party, informs me that several comrades have as yet not settled for their tickets; unless settlement is forthcoming within

a few days we will be compelled to publish their names. Settle up!

UNITED CONSUMERS' LEAGUE

At last we are ready to start our consumers' organization about which I addressed several branches on various occasions. I am compiling a list of manufacturers and dealers with a view of establishing a connecting link between them and the large body of consumers in our movement. I have already been able to refer many of our comrades in the purchases of men's suits, ladies' dresses, and a variety of other articles. I am inviting all comrades in the movement, who have specialized and intimate connection with manufacturers and dealers, to communicate with me and permit me to catalogue them among our "favored" merchants. At the same time I am urging our comrades to apply to my office for guidance in their purchases. This field of cooperation offers us a tremendous opportunity to serve our comrades and at the same time establish a means of substantial financial gain to our party organization. A special leaflet is being prepared and copies will be mailed to all comrades interested in building up a consumers' cooperative agency. The recent successful bazaar was evidence of the fact that not only do we enjoy excellent contacts for securing merchandise, but that we have at our disposal a very substantial market as an outlet for such merchandise.

We are seriously planning to establish a central commissary at a convenient location near Union Square, which commissary will handle drug sundries, mens' and ladies' neckwear, pocketbooks, cosmetics, perfumeries, shaving utensils, office supplies, etc. We also propose to act as a clearing house of information for purchasers of goods too bulky for us to handle in our own supply store. All those interested, either as suppliers of various types of merchandise or as prospective customers, are urged to communicate with me at the Party Office.

L.I.D. Conference on Fascism June 21-24

What promises to be a noteworthy conference will be the one to be held under the auspices of the League for Industrial Democracy at Northover Camp, Bound Brook, N. J., June 21st-24th, inclusive.

The subject that will be discussed from every angle is "Fascism and War" by a noteworthy array of speakers including Norman Thomas, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Leo Krzycki, J. B. Matthews, Dr. Broadus Mitchell, Bruce Bliven, Dorothy Detzer, Roger Baldwin, Dr. Arthur Feiler, Haim Kantorovitch, and others.

There will be full round table discussions after each session. The importance of the subject, the ability of the speakers and the ideal arrangements that have been made at Northover Camp should attract a big crowd.

Reservations should be made to the L.I.D., 112 E. 19th Street.

Bronx Hike

The Bronx Labor Centre Hiking Group will hold its second hike to the Palisades Sunday, June 17. Meet at Bronx Labor Centre, 809 Westchester Ave., 9.15 A. M. sharp, or at Dykeman St. Ferry at 10 A. M. sharp.

Features of the Week on WEVD (1310 Mc.)

Sun., June 17—11 a.m.—Forward Hour—music and sketches; 8:15 p.m.—Hippodrome Grand Opera; 10—Symposium: 10:45—Bill Bowers, Negro baritone.
Mon., June 18—4:30 p.m.—Actors' Dinner Club, direction of Doris Hardy; 4:45—Helen Webber, soprano; 5—Clementi Giglio, drama and music; 5:30—Conrad & Tremont, two piano duo; 5:45—"The Virginians," male quartet.
Tues., June 19—5:30 p.m.—CCNY Dramatic Group; 8—"Plans for a New City Charter," talk; 8:15—"A Night in Vienna," music; 10—Frances Jenkins, soprano; 10:15—"Religion and Our Changing Times," talk; 10:30—Hippodrome Grand Opera.
Wed., June 20—4:45 p.m.—Harriet Ayes, songs; 5:30—Thelma Cohen, pianist; 5:45—Elizabeth Andres, contralto; 8—Radiotorial Board, talk; 8:45—"The Dance and Our Changing Times," talks by outstanding dancers; 10—North Queens in "The Heart of New York," poetry, music, talk; 10:15—"The Union Assembly."
Thurs., June 21—4:30 p.m.—"Mildred's Style Review," Helen Bishop, soprano; Helene Lanvin, contralto; Eugene Byron Morgan, baritone; 10:30—Hippodrome Grand Opera.
Fri., June 22—4:30 p.m.—Ben Blumenberg, The New Leader Review; 8—Metropolitan String Quartet; 8:15—"My Boy," sketch, starring Jennie Moscovitz; 8:30—Jamaica Night in "The Heart of New York," poetry, music, talk; 10:15—"The Union Assembly."
Sat., June 23—11:30 a.m.—Mabel Horsey's "Stars of Tomorrow," juvenile program; 4:15 p.m.—Kitty Conroy, blues singer; 5:30—"Labor Marches On," dramatic sketch; 8:15—Mario Ovidio, baritone; 8:30—"Half-Hours with Shakespeare," Edward Dolze and associate players; 10—Hippodrome Grand Opera.

YPSL Notes

Final plans for the Third Annual Eastern District Jamboree of the YPSL, being completed. It will be held at Pipersville, Pa., July 13, 14 and 15. Reservations must be made immediately at the city office. Camp fire supper, entertainment and discussions will occupy the two and a half days at Camp Hoffnung.

The strike of the Amalgamated Butchers is being helped by the Yipsels throughout the city by the means of street meetings. Yipsels are also active in supporting the bakery strike in which Judge Faber issued his drastic injunction by canvassing store keepers selling Standard products.

Organization work in outlying sections of the Greater New York Federation's territory being pushed with Sam Collins in charge of Westchester County, Julie Bertman in Nassau County and Arnold Gismet in Staten Island. The names and addresses of possible members in these sections should be sent to the city office.

Important street meeting Friday, June 15, at Myrtle and Onderdonk Avenues, Brooklyn.

Circle 2 Sr., Manhattan, will hold an Anti-Eviction Dance at its headquarters, 1130 St. Nicholas Avenue, Saturday, June 23. Positively not a radio dance—the radio was stolen.

Circle 6 Sr., Kings, will hold a Save-the-Building Dance Saturday, June 23, at 167 Tompkins Avenue, Brooklyn.

An "Underground Candlelight" first anniversary dance will be held by Circle 15 Sr., Kings, at 844 Utica Avenue, Brooklyn, Saturday, June 23.

The "Road to Live" will be presented by Circle 2 Sr., Queens, Thursday, June 21, at 92-18 New York Avenue, Queens, at 8:30 p. m.

An evening hike will be held by Circle 6 Sr., Kings, Sunday, June 17, leaving Nevins Street subway station at 5:15 for the Palisades.

A Bronx hike will be held this Sunday, June 17. Yipsels will meet at the Dyckman Street ferry at 10 a. m.

FALCON BUILDERS

A successful conference of delegates from party branches to organize the Falcon Builders, a permanent organization "to support and extend the organization of workers' children into a movement which will surround them with a working class culture and instill in them the traditions of their class," was held June 6, at the Rand School.

Committees on Organization, Finance, and Camp were elected. The Finance Committee pledged itself to raise \$1,000 to help carry out an ambitious program. The Organization Committee decided to form an individual membership organization, with 1,000 members in N. Y. C. this year as its goal. The Camp Committee is making every effort to give all Falcons an opportunity to go to camp this summer for two weeks. Among other plans are the establishment of permanent Falcon headquarters, the founding of a printed Falcon Call, and in general broadening the scope and extent of the work of the Red Falcon movement.

Comrades—you are all asked to cooperate in this work of winning the youth, the workers of tomorrow, for our movement. Join the Falcon Builders. Send contributions to the Camp Fund to Mrs. Rutes, Chairman, Finance Committee, Falcon Builders, 7 East 15th St.

Author of "Stevedore" Has Had Broad Background of Experience in American Life

As near the real thing as the art of the stage can present, are the dock scenes of "Stevedore" which the Theatre Union is sponsoring at the Civic Repertory Theatre. Paul Peters, who wrote the play with George Sklar, spent a year working on the Stuyvesant wharf in New Orleans. The docks, the little rickety Negro lunchroom known as "Binney's Place," the Negro home, and the alley down which white men do not pass have been recreated out of his vivid memories.

Paul Peters had a broad background of experience in American life. He was a child worker, then a university man, a teacher, a newspaper reporter. In his late twenties he threw his literary prospects overboard and plunged back into the life of a common laborer. For nearly five years he worked in heavy industry, hitchhiking and bumming his way from one section of the country to another; deliberately starting in each new plant—not in the inside jobs his training qualified him for, but on the pick and shovel crew. He was a deck hand on an oil tanker and jumped boat at San Pedro to work on a Los Angeles power project. The day after he got the job the dam burst and five hundred laborers and settlers were drowned. Fifty men in the crew happened to be working above the dam.

A new low scale of admission prices for all seats, ranging from 25 cents to 2 p. m., 35 cents to 7 p. m., and 55 cents to closing, for every day in the week, including Saturday, Sunday and holidays, will go into effect at the Roxy Theatre starting today. These new prices represent a considerable reduction from the previous week-end admission scale and also represents a small saving in the week-day prices.

In announcing these price reductions, Howard S. Cullman stressed the fact that these new low admission will prevail on any day during the week.

Simultaneous with this reduction in prices, Mr. Cullman also announced that he has completed negotiations for the showing of a number of new pictures during the coming weeks. Starting today, the Roxy will present the new Universal comedy, "Let's Talk It Over," with Chester Morris and Mae Clarke. Subsequent films include "Affairs of a Gentleman," with Paul Lukas, Patricia Ellis and Leila Hyams; Shirley Temple in her newest starring picture, "Baby, Take a Bow," with James Dunn and Claire Trevor; Warner Oland in "Charlie Chan's Courage," latest in the series of Charlie Chan pictures; and Will Rogers in his newest comedy, "Handy Andy" with Peggy Wood.

Pauline Frederick



Who returns to Broadway at the Ritz Theatre Monday evening in "Her Majesty, the Widow," a comedy by John Charles Brownell, in which the star has been touring from coast to coast for the past year.

Warner Baxter on Screen of Fox Brooklyn Theatre

Three leading ladies support Warner Baxter in "Such Women Are Dangerous," the comedy drama which opens at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre today.

One of the ladies is Rosemary Ames, the charming girl who crashed into pictures in "I Believed in You." The cast includes Rochelle Hudson, Mona Barrie, Herbert Mundin and Henrietta Crosman.

At Brooklyn Strand

Continuing its showing of double feature programs the Brooklyn Strand Theatre is offering as its first feature William Powell in "The Key" with Edna Best and Colin Clive in the featured roles.

Rothstein Story at Albee—Art Jarrett on Stage

"Now I'll Tell by Mrs. Arnold Rothstein" is at the RKO Albee with Spencer Tracy in the leading role and Helen Twelvetrees sharing the feminine honors with Alice Faye. The vaudeville show is headed by Art Jarrett, star of stage are Artie Lewis and Peggy Ames; and Louise Gay with the Reiss Brothers in a dance presentation called "Mystic Adagio."

"Fog Over Frisco" Stays On

The Strand Theatre is holding over for a second week its current attraction, "Fog Over Frisco."

"Are We Civilized" at Rivoli—Reviews March of Time

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

To the General

"CAVIAR." A Musical Romance by Hardon Church and Leo Rando. Lyrics by Edward Heyman. Settings and Costumes by Steel Savage. At the Forrest.

Summer is a-comin' in; the sailors go row row row in the park lakes; and at the Forrest it's a fish roe gives title to the new merry musical. And the Russians can do a rushin' business, apparently, in Venice or Constantinople as in the U. S. A., selling titles to wealthy women who want a noble background for their trifling. The merriest trifling in the play, however, comes from Violet Carson as the famous singer's maid; Miss Carson is a wild, frisky creature with mockery in her eyes; she alone can live an evening.

Buying an impecunious prince's title, the singer Elena—need I say—finds he is the romantic beggar who's been serenading outside her window, and after much the usual complications all is as well as musical comedy permits. More important, because more entertaining, than the plot are the surging dances, not merely of the topsyturvy Miss Carson and her several partners, but of the effectively costumed chorus, in a succession of swift numbers to the tuneful rhythms. George Houston makes a gallant prince for Nannette Guilford's romantic urgings; and altogether, for a summer's eve, we can recommend this "Caviar" to the general public.

"World in Revolt" Held Over at Rialto Theatre

"World in Revolt," dramatic film record, depicting the struggles of two continents for peace and freedom, is said to be attracting patrons of all nationalities to the Rialto Theatre. The picture, actually caught by cameras in almost every country on the two continents, will be held for a second week's run.

Katharine Cornell



Who will appear at the Brooklyn Academy of Music in "The Barretts of Wimpole Street" on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday nights, June 18-19-20, with Basil Rathbone in the leading male role.

Katharine Cornell at the Brooklyn Academy of Music

Katharine Cornell in her production of Rudolf Besier's "The Barretts of Wimpole Street," which she acted for a year in the Empire Theatre in New York City, will be seen in the Brooklyn Academy of Music on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday nights, June 18-19-20, and Tuesday and Wednesday matinees, the Tuesday matinee being for the benefit of the Actors' Fund of America. Basil Rathbone, well-known English star of the stage and screen, acts the role of Robert Browning.

Edwin Carewe's New Film Offering—Plea for Peace

The screen version of Harold Sherman's Story, "Are We Civilized," had its world premiere at the Rivoli Theatre last Wednesday. It marked the return of Edwin Carewe to a directorial role which called for the varied experiences he had had in depicting the various periods in which human conflicts have diverted the even paces of civilization.

As the title implies, "Are We Civilized?" magnifies the question as it unfolds the major upheavals of history in an indictment of the blundering policies of our governments of today. The maelstrom of realities finds two romantic youngsters confronted by the dire spectre of their beloved families being the outstanding representatives of two conflicting schools of thought. The Utopia which seemed just around the corner, blasted by the swirling of opposing military and pacifist forces, becomes a prison of desolation and intrigue that for a time stills romance and threatens the happiness and safety

of their families and themselves. The question, "Are We Civilized?", takes form when the father of one, in a declaration of his pacifist ideals, reviews the march of time from the era of the cave man, depicting all the great catastrophes of history, up to and including the World War.

As a story, it is said to be as absorbing as the startling headlines of the daily newspapers with its news items of wars, economic strife, strikes, riots, breadlines, forgotten heroes, and youth at the

Capitol Holds Over

The screen adaptation of the Pulitzer Prize Play — "Men in White" — starring Clark Gable and Myrna Loy, and featuring Jean Hersholt, Elizabeth Allan and Otto Kruger will be held over for another week.

cross-roads. It raises not one question but a hundred questions. It causes one to wonder, in the light of today's events, whether primitive man was so bad after all.

**Edwin Carewe's
DRAMATIC ROMANCE!!!**

ARE WE CIVILIZED?

An Original Screen Drama by Harold Sherman

See love's valiant battle for happiness in a world torn by greed and hate!

See yourself as others see you in a dramatic revelation that will exhaust your emotions!

with
**WILLIAM FARNUM
ANITA LOUISE
FRANK MCGLYNN
LEROY MASON
STUART HOLMES**

New Mickey Mouse, "Steam Roller"

UNITED ARTISTS RIVOLI B'WAY & 49th ST.

"Little Man, What Now?"

with
MARGARET SULLAVAN
plus RKO Vaudeville

Earl Carroll's "Vanities" on Screen
PALACE B'way & 47th St.
CAREFULLY COOLED

RADIO CITY

MUSIC HALL
SHOW PLACE of the NATION

ANN HARDING
in
"The Life of Vergie Winters"

Popular Prices
First Max. Reserved
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A GREAT STAGE SHOW

• 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

LAST 3 WEEKS

AN EVENING OF UNQUENCHABLE EXCITEMENT AWAITS YOU AT

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"A HELL OF A GOOD SHOW"—Benchley, New Yorker

CIVIC REPERTORY THEATRE 14th St. & 6th Ave. Eves. 8:45
Matinees Tues. & Sat. 2:45

PRICES: 30c, 45c, 60c, 75c, \$1.00 and \$1.50 (NO TAX)
For information on benefits TELEPHONE WA 9-2451

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

HENRY HULL
in **"TOBACCO ROAD"**

by JACK KIRKLAND Based on Erskine Caldwell's Novel

48th ST. THEATRE—E. of B'way Pop. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40
Bryant 9-0178. Eves. 8:40

FOX B'WAY

WARNER BAXTER in
"SUCH WOMEN ARE DANGEROUS"
"Smart comedy, very worthwhile picture"—AMER.

ON THE **BERT FROHMAN**
STAGE

MAURICE COLLEANO & FAMILY
Barbara & Frederico — Catch & Satchell
Revue with Fox Sugar Babies & Orchestra

25c
10:50 PM
WEEKDAYS

Dwight Deere Wiman & Tom Weatherly
presents

SHE LOVES ME NOT

Dramatists' Guild Prize Comedy for 1934
By **HOWARD LINDSAY**
Adapted from Edward Hope's novel.
"Full of merriment... It is spontaneous, guileless and tumultuous. It is pure comedy."
—Brooks Atkinson, Times

46th ST. THEA. W. of B'way
Evs. 8:10 to 2:50 Mats. Wed. 5:00 to 8:20
& Sat., 2:40

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.

MUSIC BOX THEA. 45th St.
West of B'way
Eves. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

HELD OVER SECOND WEEK!

CLARK GABLE
MYRNA LOY in
"MEN IN WHITE"

—IN PERSON—
ABE LYMAN AND HIS
And Other Headliners
Extra! **LEO CARRILLO**

Coming Friday
MARION DAVIES
in "OPERATOR 13"

CAPITOL Broadway
at 51st St

LAST WEEK!

★★★★—Daily News
GEORGE ARLISS in
"THE HOUSE OF ROTHSCHILD"

A Darryl F. Zanuck Production
Presented by **JOSEPH M. SCHENCK**

ASTOR Broadway
at 45th Street

Twice daily: 2:50; 8:50—4 times Sat.
2:50; 5:50; 8:50; 11:50—3 times Sun.
and Hols. 2:50; 5:50; 8:50—Mats.
(except Sat. & Hols.) 50c to \$1.
Evenings 50c to \$2.

SPENCER TRACY
in
"NOW I'LL TELL"
by MRS.

ARNOLD ROTHSTEIN
with **ALICE FAYE**

—RKO Vaudeville—
ART JARRETT & ELEANOR HOLM
EXTRA!
CARNERA vs BAER Fight Pictures
ALBEE Albee Square
BROOKLYN

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.

Party Members on Detroit Declaration

Hendin Writes Open Letter To the Party's N. E. C.

National Executive Committee
Socialist Party of the United States
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrades:

I received your letter dated June 7, 1934, in which you inform me that I have been designated to the National Labor Committee of the party. You have not asked me whether or not I accept your appointment.

I confess that I am not a bit touched by your magnanimity in bestowing upon me the honor of your appointment. It would be much more consistent on your part to proceed with the line you started at the Detroit convention by ruthlessly eliminating from party influence and control all those that stand for democratic Socialism as opposed to pseudo-communism.

It seems to me that on the road to power—not to "capture" the capitalist state but to capture the control of the party—you have already proven to be good disciples of Communist method: that all means justify the end. The tragedy of it is that some of you may realize too late that by ruthlessly eliminating all the forces that built the party and carried it through the darkest period of its existence, you will have destroyed the very movement you have set out to capture.

Reasons for Declining

There is a more important principle reason why we cannot accept as a member of the National Labor Committee. My membership on the Labor Committee would obligate me to give time, energy and service to the labor movement and urge labor to join our party. However, you have committed us to a policy temporarily, which encourages violence by promising in advance loyal support to those who come in conflict with the law. How else could one interpret your commitment, "they (the Socialists) would loyally support in the tragic event of war any of the comrades who for anti-war activities or refusal to perform war service come into conflict with public opinion or the law?"

It is true that the Socialist Party has always defended its members, but it has never encouraged or sanctioned its members to commit acts of violence nor promised in advance that it would give them loyal support. Even the Communists are against violence or terror committed by individuals. This is purely anarchistic doctrine, long discarded.

Says Labor Won't Follow

How else can one explain your commitment, "they (the Socialists) will meet war and the detailed plans of war already mapped out by the war—making arms of the government by mass war resistance?" I don't want to commit myself to such a policy. I don't think American labor will follow me on such a program. If the leadership of the National Executive Committee, which was in control of the Detroit convention, were blessed with political realism and vision, it would have realized that in face of the American political scene where there is no single Socialist representative in Congress, where the overwhelming majority of the workers are still following one of the two major capitalist parties, such inflammatory babble will doom us to sterility and stagnation.

There is no room for two Communist parties in the United States. There is one Communist Party, and a half dozen dissident Communist groups. The American

workers are not flocking to the official party nor are they accepting its variations. The official Communist Party has Soviet Russia behind it. The political romanticist is most likely to find his place with the official party because Russia is his first love. The American workers do not go to the Communist Party. They will surely not go to a Socialist-Communist Party controlled by Kreuger. The political romanticist will not exchange his first love for a second-rate mating.

How Question Will Be Posed

The Socialist Party, that has made such remarkable strides since 1929, will become the prey of the Communist Party and its dissident groups inasmuch as the immediate recruits will be agents of the Communist factions. They will pluck its feathers and tear it apart. Leave it to the agents of the Communist groups to pose to Kreuger the problem in the same fashion as it was posed by Communist followers in the I.L.P. of England to Maxton and Fenner Brockway—"either join the Communist International or get the hell out of the way!"

Instead of the Socialist Party's taking the leadership in this most crucial period in the history of our country by calling upon the workers and farmers to organize for independent political action and start toward the broad path of a mass movement, our fly-by-night statesmen have committed the party to sterility by starting a competitive race with the Communists in revolutionary lingo.

Charges Infantile Communism

Moreover, the pseudo-revolutionists that now control the National Executive Committee have committed us towards the left of the Communist Party. Take the following pronouncements: "If the capitalist system should collapse in a general chaos and confusion which cannot permit of orderly procedure, the Socialist Party, whether or not in such case it is a majority, will not shrink from responsibility by organizing and maintaining a government under the workers' rule." Aside from the fact that this political dogmatism is a mixture of infantile Communism, it betrays a confusion of political thought. Lenin, the father of Communism, never committed himself in writing that the Communist Party should capture power whether it be a majority or not! Lenin was too shrewd a statesman for that. He claimed the capture of power for the proletarian class and contended that this class is an overwhelming majority.

There is a race now going on all over the world, particularly in the European countries, between black fascism, reaction and Socialism. The countries that are holding the fort most strongly against fascism are those where democracy has penetrated into the marrow of the bones of the population. In Norway, Sweden, Denmark, France, England and the United States—it is there that fascism may meet its Waterloo.

On one point there seems to be general agreement: that the reason for the advent of Fascism in some European countries is the hopeless division of the working class and the failure to win over the lower middle class for a constructive program.

Do the leaders of the National Executive Committee—Kreuger, Hapgood and Daniel—believe that by adopting a declaration of

principles containing the phrases about workers' rule, mass resistance and the encouragement of violence, this will serve as a "constructive program" to ward off Fascism and win the middle class for Socialism? (I am excluding Norman Thomas because he is no longer the leader of the party, but unwittingly has come under the influence of the above triumvirate.) As yet, I cannot decide for myself whether we have to deal here with political utopians or disguised Communists to destroy our party. I am certain, however, that if the Communist Party on the one hand, or capitalist reaction on the other, would decide to spend a million

(Continued on Page Ten)

The Bad and the Good in the Declaration

By James H. Maurer

I BELIEVE that the Detroit convention miss a good opportunity, and that the Declaration of Principles is bad. The action on the general strike is foolish.

Why should we declare that we resolutely read that if we had another war we would ask the unions to declare for a general strike, this would do something that we cannot do?

Had the be intelligent. I wonder if those who wrote the resolution know that even a state federation cannot order a general strike and that even the A. F. of L. cannot without the approval of the internationals?

We agree that we want a workers' democracy, but as the Declaration stands and will be submitted to the members for a vote, I cannot vote for that without also voting for "massed resistance" to war preparations, and nobody knows what that means. We had to refer this to four lawyers to tell us what it means. Now, why didn't we get some lawyers in the first place to decide things for us and save the expense of a convention?

We get this jumbled conglomeration of words and then heap insult on injury by asking members to vote on the whole thing, which means to vote "yes" or no. To vote yes, we would have to accept what is bad with some good, and to vote no, we would defeat some good with something bad.

We need a party of workers and not a party of irresponsible radicals and high hat reformers who don't know what it is all about. They are long on talk and short on constructive action. I believe that Meyer London was right when he said, we do not have to be fools to be revolutionary.

Our great danger now is that this may divide our membership and cause serious disruption, which I hope will not happen. If there was ever a time when the party should give us a constructive policy, that time is now. The only emergency we face now is the NRA and building the Socialist Party. The Detroit convention has miserably failed to give us a real constructive policy.



James H. Maurer

Waldman Sees Grave Dangers If Declaration Is Adopted

By Louis Waldman

WE repudiate the essential features of the Declaration of Principles adopted at the Socialist national convention just held in Detroit, insofar as they depart from the traditional Socialist position and commit the Socialist Party to the use of violence and extra-legal means.

Under the Constitution of the Socialist Party, the Declaration of Principles adopted at national conventions is the supreme declaration of the party, and all state and local platforms must conform thereto. The declaration that has been adopted, which was sponsored by Comrade Thomas and his allies, commits, therefore, not only the national organization, but attempts to commit also the state and local organizations to a program which runs contrary to everything for which the Socialist Party has stood, and which it regards as fundamental. I know that New York State Socialists will not permit themselves to be driven into a position which they consider indefensible and untenable, and I am confident that I express the sentiments of many other state and local organizations.

The Declaration of Principles sponsored by Thomas, and which temporarily, at least, stands as the party's program, is perhaps less frank, but not one bit less dangerous than the doctrines of the Communists. The doctrine which Thomas seeks to impose on the Socialist Party appears to me to be undistinguishable except by rare refinement or theological reasoning from the doctrines which we repudiated when we split with the Communists some years ago. We cannot accept now what we repudiated then and pretend to be true to our mission of seeking social changes by political and orderly means.

We object particularly to the following pledges and statements Thomas and his allies at the convention voted to incorporate into the Declaration of Principles:

1—The Socialist Party is pledged to give "loyal support" in the event of war "to any of their comrades who for anti-war activities or refusal to perform war service come into conflict with the law." I know of no bid to the violating of law more dangerous than the one to which this commits the Socialist Party. With a membership of tens of thousands, consisting of people of all nationalities and creeds, such pledge of "loyal support" to all who are disloyal to the government during war time is a most brazen declaration, and is as unsound as it is stupid.

2—The declaration refers to the "bogus democracy of capitalist parliamentarism" and proposes to replace such democracy by a "genuine workers' democracy." Stripped of the hypocritical concealment which is here employed, but which we know to exist, the democracy in which the left wing leaders would like us to place our faith is to be supplanted by the kind of "genuine workers' democracy" which they, including Comrade Thomas, have so frequently praised as the ideal towards which our efforts ought to be directed. With all of its defects and weaknesses, the Socialist Party believes that the democracy which the left wing leaders consider "bogus" constitutes the one orderly and peaceable weapon for the solution of our social problem.

3—The declaration further commits the Socialist Party to a pro-

gram of "massed war resistance, organized so far as practicable in a general strike of labor unions and professional groups, in a united effort to make the waging of war a practical impossibility and to convert the capitalist war crisis into a victory for Socialism." The language of this section has a familiar ring. It is found in every Communist declaration, except the Communists believe it will lead to disaster.

"Massed war resistance" will necessarily mean different things to different people and to different groups. If the left wing know what it means, why are they not explicit? If they do not know what it means—or are too cunning or too cowardly to admit it—why should they leave to every innocent and misguided enthusiast the working out of his own interpretation of it? Responsible leaders owe a greater duty to their following than the left wing leadership is willing to give. The Socialists of New York, of California, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Massachusetts, Indiana and other states, who opposed this declaration, abhor war no less than all other peace-loving people, but they feel that the war against war must be waged before the American public by an appeal to their intelligence, and not in subterranean channels into which our movement would be driven if it sought to add civil war to international war.

The declaration seeks to pledge the Socialist Party to the use of the general strike for the purpose of carrying "the revolutionary struggle into the camp of the enemy." This proposal has had its advocates in the Socialist Party in former years. They included the late William D. Haywood, who, like Thomas now, believed that the Socialist Party ought to give up its faith in orderly and peaceable means and become an insurrectionary force.

(Continued on Page Ten)

DON'T WARN CLASS ENEMY

By Harry T. Smith

Much as I like the general tone of the Declaration of Principles, I shall vote in the referendum against it as a whole, because I don't believe in telling our class enemies in advance just what we intend to do in case of a crisis.

I hope that if the referendum rejects the Declaration, our N. E. C. will present a new declaration practically identical with the present document, but omitting the some 200 words following the sentence, "They will unitedly seek to develop trustworthy working class instruments for the peaceable settlement of international disputes and conflicts," and preceding the sentence, "In its struggles for a new society the Socialist Party seeks to attain its objectives by peaceful and orderly means."

The rest of the Detroit declaration, despite its rather unnecessary length, is all right with me. I can't see any sense in making trouble for ourselves by trying to lay down a detailed program for action in the event of an international war that may never happen. Furthermore, we all know that if such a war comes along the party will then call a special convention to decide its attitude. Why antagonize millions of the potential converts we are trying to reach with our propaganda for the sake of winning, perhaps, the approval of a handful of "extremists" who will be with us anyway if things come to a showdown?

Our congressional campaign this year will be fought on the NRA, the trade union question and the agrarian problem, not on what might happen in case of war.

Differing Opinions on the Declaration

Views of Comrades Who Favor the Declaration

FAVORS DECLARATION

By Paul Porter

The new Declaration of Principles will not be, as some comrades have said, the end of the Socialist Party. On the contrary, it will be the end only of that reformist policy which led to abject surrender in Germany and to belated resistance in Austria, and to a misplaced faith in capitalist "democracy" in both countries.

No real Marxist party can trim its sails to abide wholly within the laws of a capitalist state. To do so would be to involve us in a step by step retreat, as capitalism becomes more reactionary under the pressure of its own crisis, until the logical end would be a capitulation like that of the German Social Democratic leaders, of whom Oscar Ameringer has said "might have made a revolution if they could have obtained a police permit for it."

Would the opponents of this Declaration ask us to abide by a law forbidding strikes should such be adopted by the Roosevelt Government? We have often found that the most effective answer to a strike injunction (e.g. in the Toledo Auto-Lite strike) was to defy it en masse. Our most effective answer to war will be to resist it en masse.

The new Declaration is not radical enough but it is a decisive step toward revolutionary Socialism. When it is submitted to the party membership in a referendum vote, we can give our answer to the threats of war and fascism by endorsing it by an even greater majority than it received in the convention.

Waldman Sees Dangers

(Continued from Page Nine)

tionary movement. Whenever such perversions of Socialist methods and ideals were advanced, they were immediately recognized for what they are—an adulterated form of anarchism. If the Socialist Party accepted such doctrines, it would cease to be a Socialist Party, since it is alien to everything for which the party has stood and stands. Comrade Thomas may temporarily placate some of his rebellious followers by securing the adoption of this proposal—but he will discover that it is a dangerous compromise for a responsible leader to make.

5—Finally, the declaration seeks to commit the party to the principle that "if the capitalist system should collapse in a general chaos and confusion which cannot permit of orderly procedure, the Socialist Party, whether or not in such a case it is a majority, will not shrink from the responsibility of organizing and maintaining a government under the workers' rule."

Thus, clearly and unmistakably, Thomas and his allies are willing to adopt as a Socialist Party the insurrectionary methods by which minority governments have, through force and violence, managed to impose their will on a reluctant people. Aside from the fact that it repudiates completely the basis of the Socialist movement, which has always opposed such methods of bringing about social and economic changes, the proposal has two weaknesses.

In the first place, Thomas states that he will only seize power, whether the majority is willing or not, when there has been a collapse of capitalism. Who is to decide when that collapse has

REALISTIC AND WORKABLE

By Phillip B. Freer

There are certain parts of the Declaration of Principles which seem confusing but the thing of real importance is the guide to action. As a guide at a time when capitalism is on its last legs, when dying capitalism will not hesitate to establish fascism in a last desperate effort to subjugate the workers and when international war, the direct outgrowth of capitalism, is an ever present menace to the masses, I believe the document adopted at Detroit is realistic, workable and admirable. It seeks to anticipate a situation which is bound to occur and thus prepare the members before hand in the most effective way of dealing with the situation.

The Declaration has been criticized as illegal, because it means the party may be called upon to defend individuals who blow up munitions plants during a year. What are we going to do if the U. S. is involved in another war; sit around with a copy of the Constitution of the U. S. in our hands to make sure everything we do is perfectly legal and respectable, from a bourgeois viewpoint, when the class which set up these standards of legality and respectability forget all about them in their oppression of the masses? Will this document alienate the workers and farmers of America from our party? When we remember what happened recently at Toledo, Minneapolis, and dozens of other cities; when we remember the militancy of the farmers during the holiday strike, their penny auctions, etc., one begins to wonder if this Declaration isn't a little conservative. Are we going to be the vanguard of the masses or will we follow along in the rear?

occurred? For the past four years he has maintained that capitalism has collapsed. Would he have been willing to lead such an insurrectionary movement during that period?

In the second place, if an essential element to make such seizure successful, is "confusion and chaos," it is fair to assume that it would be Thomas' task, as well as that of the Socialist Party, to help create as much chaos and confusion as possible. Nothing is further from our purpose. We are organized to convince the American people that by the use of their intelligence, and the means that have been won for them as a result of centuries of bitter struggle, they can make peace and plenty available for all. We have that opportunity; the suggestion of violence and insurrection can merely close the hearts and minds of people to our message, because it reveals our own lack of faith in its efficacy.

The left wing leadership, directed and led by Norman Thomas, have for the sake of satisfying the clamor of a group they have brought into being adopted a declaration of principles that in no vital particular differs from the program of the Communists. There is no reason why the union of the two groups, the Communist Party and the left wing, should be delayed. For a long while they have been urging—both of them—a united front. There is no reason why the organic unity should be postponed. So far as we are concerned, we did not permit the Communists to swerve us from our purpose years ago. Numerically, they were much larger than the left-wing group is today. But it is not a question of numbers, but of principles. As between the pro-

A "LIBERAL" VIEW

By Ben Blumenberg

Our venerable "liberal" contemporary, the Nation, is perturbed. It observes editorially in last week's issue: "Now that the left wing has seized the Socialist Party, what will it do with it? Who will get the party funds and the party property and how?"

May it be suggested that the funds, if any, be given to Mr. Rothschild, who wrote the article which appears in the same issue of the Nation, under the caption, "The Intelligent Traveler." Mr. Rothschild lists courses offered by German universities, including "a number of courses which are frankly summaries of the point of view of the National Socialists on politics, economics and philosophy." This article, together with recent ads in the Nation in which readers were urged to visit Germany and "see a nation in the making," merit the prize of the vari-colored shirt for the periodical that has done the most to promote "liberal" thought and "broadmindedness."

Hendin Writes An Open Letter

(Continued from Page Nine)

dollars to destroy the Socialist Party, they would not have achieved their purpose better than through Kreuger and his followers.

I need no apology for this lengthy reply. I am addressing myself through you to the entire party membership and particularly to the New York comrades of the various leagues organized by the Labor Committee in New York City, with whom I have collaborated and with whom I have succeeded in making revolutionary changes in the party without revolutionary babble. To them I certainly owe a reply telling why I cannot accept your designation to the National Labor Committee.

I have no personal axes to grind. I am not embittered. I do not know the new leadership intimately. I am appraising them politically on their face value.

Comrades, let us be frank about it. There can be no compromise between democratic Socialism and that anarcho-Communism which the declaration of principles represents. I pleaded at the convention to be permitted to amend the declaration to make it acceptable to Socialists. This was refused me. I appealed to the National Executive Committee of the party and asked that the membership be permitted to vote on the referendum paragraph by paragraph in order to defeat the communistic planks. My request was refused by the National Executive Committee. The decision by the National Executive Committee to submit these declarations to lawyers does not decide the issue on the basis of principle but on the basis of cowardice.

Through no choice of my own the issue has been drawn. The issue therefore must be met. Ordinarily I would be only too glad to accept the designation as member of the National Labor Committee. For the present I cannot serve on the committee until the infantile Communist declaration of principles is rejected.

Fraternally yours,
Louis A. Hendin.

gram of orderly, peaceable, constructive and intelligent political action, and the insurrectionary, destructive and violent methods proposed by the left wing. Socialists will have no difficulty in making their choice. In common with progressive labor and the lovers of democracy we shall go on, confident that our methods, no less than our ideals, will triumph.

Conference of Party Members to Be Held—Roewer Chairman

By Marx Lewis

Less than 48 hours after New York State delegates to the Detroit convention returned home, machinery for a nation-wide campaign to defeat the Declaration of Principles adopted at the convention and submitted for a referendum vote of the party membership, had been set in motion.

With George E. Roewer of Massachusetts as national chairman, and Mayor Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport, Conn., James H. Maurer, several times Socialist candidate for Vice-President, Emma Henry, State Secretary of Indiana, Louis Waldman, New York state chairman, Edward F. Cassidy, prominent trade unionist, and George H. Goebel of New Jersey heading the list of vice-chairmen, to be supplemented as other states are enlisted, the move of resentment which followed the adoption of what these Socialists regard as a pseudo-Communist declaration spread from state to state.

As letters poured into Socialist offices protesting against "the departure from Socialist principles," leaders of the movement set up a National Committee for the Preservation of the Socialist Party called an eastern conference of party members to meet in Philadelphia Sunday morning, June 24, engaged a national headquarters from which the drive will be directed, named Dr. Louis Hendin to be the executive director of the drive prepared for distribution in every state of the Union a leaflet setting forth the grounds on which the fight will be based.

The national office of the drive will be located at 1 Union Square, New York City. A speaker's bureau was set up to supply locals and branches with prominent speakers who will analyze the declaration, point out how it commits the Socialist Party to a non-Socialist position and to appeal to the membership to cast an overwhelming vote for the defeat of the resolution.

At the same time the New York State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, at a special meeting unanimously repudiated the Declaration of Principles, disapproved the action of the few New York delegates who voted for it and for a resolution attacking the American Federation of Labor, and appealed to the membership to rally to the support of the democratic Socialist Party is founded."

It is expected that other state committees, meeting soon, will take similar action, helping to increase the tidal wave by which it is believed by many leading Socialists the Declaration will be overwhelmed.

The demand for immediate, vigorous, and nation-wide action was initiated as soon as the last of the New York State delegates reached New York. A conference on Friday evening, June 8, brought together those who could be reached on short notice.

An executive committee of fourteen was chosen to take charge of preliminary organization work, after Louis Waldman and Dr. Hendin described the Declaration adopted at the convention as the climax of an attempt to bring the Socialist Party to the acceptance of a Communist program. After the opposition had been beaten back on two important votes, the trade union resolution and the report on international relations, the element coming from the newly organized sections united with the Wisconsin delegation to secure the passage of the Declaration of Principles.

Invitations for the Eastern Conference on June 24 are being sent to Socialists in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York,

NOTE: A number of contributions have been received from Jacob Panken and others on the Declaration of Principles which are crowded out of this issue. They will appear next week.

Pennsylvania, Maryland, Michigan, and Ohio. The meeting place will be announced next week. Other conferences for the Middle West and West will be held in the near future, Dr. Hendin announced.

Those desiring to assist the work of the committee are asked to communicate with Dr. Louis Hendin, 1 Union Square, New York City.

Union Directory

BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS' TUCKERS, STITCHERS AND PLEATERS' UNION. Local 66 I.L.G.W.U., 1 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-3657-3658. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union, 2 L. Freedman, President; Leon Hottel, 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. Catalanotti, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer

CAP MAKERS UNION. Local No. 1, Tel. Orchard 4-9850. 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 2-0798. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice Pres., Stephen Tobasko; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Held.

JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAIST-MAKERS' UNION.—Offices: 232 West 40th St., N.Y.C. Tel. Longacre 5-3100. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening; Joint Board meets every Wednesday evening in the Council Room at 218 W. 40th St. Julius Hochman, Gen. Mgr.; Phillip Kapp, Sec'y-Treas.

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION. Local No. 10, 6 W. 4th St., Office, 60 W. 35th St.; Phone Wis. 7-3011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union. Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmund Perlmutter, Mgr.; Sec'y; Louis Stolberg, Asst. Mgr.; Maurice W. Jacobs, Sec'y to Exec. Board; Nathan Saperstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.

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

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

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

UNITED NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION. Local 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 7-082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

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

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

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION. Local 62 of I. L. G. W. U. 73 Broadway, New York City. Phone, Chelsea 3-5756-5757. Snyder, M. S. Shore, Exec. Sec'y; Supervisors

Workers Face the Bosses

to Smash Solidarity of the
n to be Ready for Civil
and Guns Ready

n. Bulletins of
merely signed
Workers," call
ple to "run the
kunkies out of
ese tactics is
Undoubtedly,
dated. This
the older men
well that once
ey cannot find
On the other

hand, many of the workers here-
fore reluctant to join an A. F.
of L. union because of their dislike
for some of its leaders are be-
coming more sympathetic to a
strike move, especially if its direc-
tion is placed in the hands of the
younger and more liberal element.
The capitalist press has done
much to add to the confusion and
to "talk down" the union. Perhaps
the most vicious of the publicity is
that given to the wholly false no-

tion that company union elections
held this week repudiated the
Amalgamated.

The recently revised company
union plan provides that "there
shall be no restriction or limitation
in the choice of representatives."
Under this provision it is presu-
mably possible for workers to vote
for some official of his outside
union. If elected, such official,
however, would still be merely a
member of the company union and
would be tied and hamstrung by
all the restrictions and control of
company unions. The Amalgam-
ated Iron, Steel and Tin Workers
union was not seeking to enter the
company union and the workers,
therefore, in no way attempted to
write the names of their union offi-
cials. The press seized upon this
fact as an indication that the steel
workers repudiated the Amalgam-
ated. Incidentally, the same press
left unexplained the fact that many
ballots were cast for Mae West and
such well known comic strip heroes
as "Popeye" and "Andy Gump."

of that disruption even before
Hammersmith confirmed it. It was
no surprise to find the Communist
candidate there polling only the
most negligible vote.

But West Ham gave us the first
real test we have had with the
I.L.P. in a parliamentary fight.
And since the issue thus raised is
the one upon which I found, during
my visit to you last fall, the most
serious misunderstanding existing
in America, I beg of you to look
closely at the West Ham election
as a revelation of the British posi-
tion on this matter.

We won the seat, as you know.
The Labor vote was 11,998, against
8,534 polled by the government
candidate, and 748 by the I.L.P.
nominee.

The fight was expressly staged
by the I.L.P. for the purpose of
demonstrating, abroad as well as
at home, its repeated assertion
that the Labor Party does not
possess the confidence of the mass
of the workers. Before intervening
in a parliamentary contest the
I.L.P. waited until a vacancy arose
in a constituency where they be-
lieved they could make such a
demonstration, and they put up
one of their foremost fighters,
Fenner Brockway, with confidence
that if they could not win the seat
themselves, they could keep the
Labor candidate out and poll a suf-
ficiently strong vote to make good
their claim to represent a real
working-class dissatisfaction with
the Labor Party.

In the event, as you see, they
have done no better than various
Communist candidates have done in
previous attempts to make the
same sort of demonstration. No
great united working-class party
will, I suppose, ever be free from
attack by little fringe groups.
There will always be such tiny
disruptions, mainly indicative of
disappointed personal ambitions of
leadership, around the margin of
every big movement. And this
election definitely places the I.L.P.
in that category.

The aspect of this matter which
it is of really serious importance
that the American movement, if it
is to judge of the British move-
ment aright, should clearly under-
stand, was made clear beyond any
possible misunderstanding at this
election.

You in America know very well
what the case is which the I.L.P.
puts forward as its justification
for fighting the Labor Party. It
has been put to you eloquently and
powerfully by I.L.P. missionaries
in the States, and notably by
Fenner Brockway himself; and in
this contest the whole force of the
I.L.P. was turned on to persuade
the workers of West Ham of the
truth of the case which has been
put to you on behalf of the I.L.P.

It is just this: that when the

Do We Want to Have a War?

By John R. Clynes

in his Presidential Address open-
ing the recent Congress of the
National Union of General and
Municipal Workers of Great
Britain.

IF millions of young men in the
countries of the world allow
their elders to continue on the
ruinous road of present interna-
tional policy, these young men will
be butchered to no purpose, as
were their fathers or brothers
twenty years ago.

The next worst thing to war is
active preparation for war, with
a competition in armaments giving
work wherewith to live for the
moment, but soon spreading death
and devastation on a horrifying
scale.

In spite of all experience and
the indisputable facts of history,
we have prominent public men
who declare that armaments help
to keep the peace, and who take
such a pride in national power
that they seem to see security in
making other people feel afraid.

Fear makes them arm the more.
Armaments may delay the date of
war, but they make it certain that
that date shall arrive.

O. L. Endres, Pioneer Socialist, Dies at 63

UTICA, N. Y.—For the second
time within less than two weeks
the Socialist Party of this city has
suffered a great loss. Eleven days
after the passing of Ray New-
kirk, state committeeman, Otto L.
Endres, county chairman and for
over a quarter of a century leading
spirit in Socialist circles here,
passed away.

Comrade Endres was one of the
founders of the Socialist Party,
one of the fast-disappearing breed
of German Socialists of the old
school who came to this country
forty and more years ago with a
passion for justice and liberty.
Like so many of his comrades he
was an enthusiastic "turner"—
that is, member of the German
workers' gymnastic society—and a
member of the Socialist singing
society. He was also a member of
the Society for the Propagation of
Cremation, and an ardent Co-
operator.

Otto Endres remained in excel-
lent health until he caught the cold
that developed into pneumonia,
from which he died.

He was candidate for Mayor in
Utica last year, and often ran on
the local and state ticket. Comrade
Endres, a native of Württemberg,
was a tool and pattern maker in
various parts of Germany, and
came to Utica as a machinist in
1891. He opened a bicycle repair
shop, and later branched out into
motorcycles. He was an enthusi-
astic motorcyclist to the end of his
life.

Comrade Endres is survived by
his wife, and by two daughters and
two grandchildren.

last Labor Government was in
office, its offense was not merely
that it did not establish Socialism
in Britain. Being in a minority in
Parliament, it is admitted that it
could not have done that. The
I.L.P. case is that, in a multitude
of minor but serious and vital
matters, when the I.L.P. repre-
sentatives in the House of Com-
mons moved resolutions in favor
of action well within the avowed
purposes of the Labor Party, the
Labor Party turned them down and
ostracized the I.L.P. for support-
ing them. A long catalogue of
such occasions, described as be-
trayals of vital Labor Party
pledges, is put up in evidence of
the truth of this indictment. And
the men still leading the Labor
Party joined in that betrayal.
Therefore, the I.L.P. goes on to
argue, there must be a definitely

(Continued on Page Six)

Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

Ideology and Metaphysics

A DELIGHTFUL editorial on "The Socialist Party
Comes Alive" appears in the World Tomorrow of
June 14. It is representative of the intelligentsia now
influential in the Socialist Party. The World Tomorrow
is magisterial in its judgments, although its pages present
all the confusion that is now rampant in a movement
that should be proletarian and that should smell of the
that should be proletarian and that should smell of mines,
and factories rather than of Harvard and Yale.

It is clear to the editorial writer that "the Party was
undergoing an ideological stagnation." If it has been it
has now entered a period of ideological disintegration
with a bedlam of voices never before heard in a working
class movement. We believe that the World Tomorrow
has contributed to this bedlam. Indeed, this same issue
carries an article on "The Fellowship of Socialist Chris-
tians" that is representative of the confusion brought
into the movement by that publication.

A few samples from the bulk. They "do not regard
historical materialism (certainly not *materialistic meta-
physics*) as basic to a socialistic politics" and "they see
much in the Christian belief in the prevalence and per-
sistence of *sin and selfishness* that is fully compatible
with the Marxian emphasis." There is much more of
this in the article that parades mysticism as erudition;
and the writer is a noted "left" in the party. If this
paper were to run such stuff there would be a shower of
bricks from every quarter, but the World Tomorrow gets
away with it.

When we reach the stage that one can talk of "mate-
rialistic metaphysics" we do not know that disintegration
of Socialist thought could possibly sink lower. We may
add another quotation: "The Christian Marxian regards
it as significant that it is a *moral defect which makes
capitalism untenable*," etc. So a moral maladjustment
is one factor that makes the system of capitalism un-
tenable. We wonder whether it would be more workable
if its "moral defect" were given special treatment.

The "Revolution" Meets

WE turn to the editorial which is written as though
the author had tolerated the party long enough and
his patience had become exhausted. We suspect that
only recently our distinguished friend had sat com-
fortably in the editorial tower of the "liberal" Nation
that for years has been weighing the "moral defects" of
statesmen like Hoover and Smith and is now informing
its readers of the virtues of a nice bourgeois lady for the
proletariat to support as Governor of Colorado.

The author is "left." Here we may observe that the
historical meaning of "left" and "right" has been lost in
our party. The fact is that no group can be clearly de-
fined because of the disintegration of ideas since the
intelligentsia moved to the front with their pens and
typewriters. We have the sad example of a city where
the party local once swarmed with several hundred pro-
letarians. Its membership was depleted by the war with
the Communists and then "left" collegiates came to the
front. The dirty proletariat had been meeting in the
vulgar quarters of a central labor union, and it was
decided to meet in the most fashionable hotel in the city.
There the "revolution" gathered in swell dress as a party
branch and the workers found themselves uncomfortable in
the gilt and tinsel of the bourgeois inn.

Back to the editorial writer of the World Tomorrow.
Speaking of the Declaration of Principles now before the
party membership the editorial declares: "Its coercive
instrument is the general strike, which demonstrably in
practice has won victories *free from more than peripheral
violence*, and which offers a *realistic technique* as against
planned violence or passivity."

Said like a Harvard sophomore! For two years we
have had those who want an "American movement"
and a movement that would "talk language that the
average man can understand." We commend this sample
to the proletariat.

Locating the Peripheral Line

WE do not know what "peripheral violence" means and
no diagram accompanies the editorial to explain it,
but it has the air of profundity, of one who talks down
to workers. Just where the periphery of the class struggle
is located within the capitalist system we do not know,
but the word implies a line bounding a rounded surface
or the outward surface of a sphere. Where is that line?
We would like to find it and direct the class-conscious
proletariat to occupy it when the final conflict begins.

But we not only are provided with a peripheral line;
we also have a "realistic technique." We must all have a
"realistic technique" if we are to march out of our Egypt-
ian bondage and we are assured that we now have it.
The quotations as a whole remind us of what Disraeli
once said of Gladstone: "He is intoxicated with the
exuberance of his own verbosity."

All this academic pretense is foreign to a proletarian
movement. Can any Socialist conceive of 'Gene Debs,
Victor L. Berger, Meyer London or Ben Hanford writing
or talking in this magisterial manner?



Stands Firm for Goals of Its Party

Anderson

figures, and you
yourself how
confirm what I
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no sort of doubt as to the move-
ment of British public opinion. In
West Ham the government candi-
date polled less than half the vote
given to the successful government
candidate at the general election.
The government still has the vast
mechanical majority in the House
of Commons which the 1931 gen-
eral election gave it; but every-
body now recognizes that it no
longer represents the public opinion
of the nation.

The really interesting point in
these two bye-elections is the test
they have given us of how we
stand in relation to the efforts at
disrupting the united working-class
front of the Labor Party from
Communist and I.L.P. quarters.
We have had to face Communist
opposition in previous bye-elec-
tions, and we had got the measure

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Two Social Systems at War

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT, 1850-1865. By Arthur Charles Cole. Macmillan

THE fifteen years of American history considered in this book marked the rapid rise of the conflict between two antagonistic social systems, one based upon capital invested in factories, railroads, raw materials and machines in the North and the other on capital invested in land and Negro slaves. The book is an excellent interpretation of economic, social, educational, religious and political change in the two regions in terms of this conflict. One cannot read it without being convinced that the two social systems could not continue under the same government.

For decades the North had been advancing over the South in population and in every phase of economic life except cotton culture. However, the planters and their politicians came to believe that "Cotton is King" and that because they had a monopoly on this staple they could paralyze northern capitalism by withholding it and even bring European powers to support the Confederacy in the event of war. Events proved that wheat was king when allied with industry, railroads and extensive raw materials.

The concentration of the most fertile lands and most of the slaves into the hands of a few thousand families gave the southern ruling class a sense of satisfaction and confidence in their regime. They enlisted the services of preachers, politicians, educators, editors and others in an attack on northern "free society" and in defense of their own system. The Negro was consigned to a lower order of humanity, just as Hitler today consigns the Jews. The church of all denominations in the South stood by the ruling class, a number of them severing all connections with their northern brethren. The Catholic and Episcopal churches did not break with the northern branches, but they also entered the list in support of the ruling southern ideas.

It was not all harmony in North and South, however, when war began. Social cleavages appeared in both with discontented workers at the bottom and profiteers at the top. In the South there was antagonism between aristocratic army officers and the rank and file, class hatred of wealthy exempts and draft dodgers, while big profits in war contracts contributed to the class feeling. If in the South the old planter class glorified in an aristocracy of birth, we are also reminded that a new rich appeared in the North, and in New York an "Office of Heraldry" was opened for those who "sought to indulge the vanity of those who wished to claim a share in the aristocratic tradition."

There were numerous ties between northern capitalism and the southern oligarchy as well as economic antagonisms, and it was not easy to break these ties. Business interests of some large northern cities "were bound up with the economic life of the cotton states" and even Wall Street roared: "Without the South we are ruined." Financial houses in Boston also "set a conspicuous example of groveling servility to King Cotton." Northern merchants who had extended large credits to planters, and northern bankers who had made loans, were fearful that war would mean loss of their stakes, and so they exerted a conservative influence and turned their heavy artillery against the abolition agitation.

Southern society, organized on an agricultural basis, could not mobilize the industrial and manufacturing power required to beat northern

capitalism, and yet the old South revealed an amazing vitality in waging war. It was largely gutted of what economic resources it had, and yet when it had been reduced to a shadow it fought on like a maniac to the very end. Its agriculture was ravaged, its few railroads almost destroyed, many old homes were in ruins and many towns and villages were destroyed. The slaves were "free." An important epoch had been closed, the machine age was at hand, and the Robber Barons were already on the scene to reap the fruits of the struggle even while both sections were burying their dead. J. O.

Historians See Trend to Socialization

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON SOCIAL STUDIES. Charles Scribner's Sons.

This highly significant volume contains the conclusions and recommendations of this Commission, sponsored by the American Historical Association. The basic conclusion, arrived at "after a vast deal of deliberation and reflection" by outstanding figures in the field of the social sciences and education is that "the age of *laissez faire* in economy and government is closing and that a new age of collectivism is emerging." The Commission finds that ours is "an age of transition" "marked by numerous and severe tensions arising out of the conflict between the actual trend toward integrated economy and society, on the one side, and the traditional practices, dispositions, ideas, and institutional arrangements inherited from the passing

age of individualism, on the other."

If society is not to sink "back into a more primitive economy and life" social thought and practice must be adjusted to economic realities. President Hoover's Committee on Recent Social Trends, to which the Commission acknowledges its indebtedness, reporting about one year and a half ago indicated similar "zones of danger and points of tension" and warned that "social invention has to be stimulated to keep pace with mechanical invention."

To students of the Socialist classics all this will have a very familiar ring. They will recall Engels' "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific" with its discussion of the contradictions inhering in capitalism and their reconciliation through the establishment of Socialism. Such findings and recommendations as those of the Commission emphasize the ascendancy of Socialist thought in our cultural life. The Commission assigns to the teacher of the social sciences a strategic role in the transition period. "The critical condition of American and world society makes imperative social science instruction in the schools of the nation that is marked by scholarship, courage and vision."

The rising generation must be prepared to enter the new society. This is a supreme task of education, which the teacher must be equipped and enabled to fulfill. A general program looking toward the accomplishment of this result is offered by the Commission.

The report is signed by Prof. Charles A. Beard; Isaiah Bowman, director of the American Geographical Society; Ada Comstock, President of Radcliffe College; George S. Counts, professor of education, Teachers' College, Columbia University; Avery O. Craven, professor of history, University of Chicago; Guy Stanton Ford, dean of the Graduate School and professor of history, University of Minnesota; Carlton J. H. Hayes, professor of history, Columbia University; Henry Johnson, professor of history, Teachers' College; A. C. Krey, professor of history and professor of the history of education, University of Minnesota; Leon C. Marshall, formerly dean

British Labor Stands Firm

(Continued from Page Five)

Socialist fighting force kept in being which will not pledge itself to act unitedly with the Labor Party in Parliament, which might commit a similar betrayal in future.

I know that a good many of you in America felt that to be a plausible and a real case. I had it put up to me over and over again when I was with you. Let me try and make clear why it is that the British worker, having such a case put to him with all the eloquence and power that Fenner and his I.L.P. colleagues can put into a case, nonetheless turns it down unhesitatingly, and with such a climax of emphasis as this united working-class vote at West Ham manifests.

In its detailed statements, the I.L.P. is quite correct. These so-called "betrayal" incidents did, in fact, occur. But it is the setting in which they occurred that makes the I.L.P. conclusions about them a complete misunderstanding of the position as a whole.

Let us get that quite clear. The last Labor Government took office without having a majority of Parliament. Now, what precisely did that mean? Their choice was between taking office under that handicap or leaving the whole administration of affairs in the hands of a capitalist government. Was it worth while, for the sake of the little they could do under such a handicap, to face up to a position

of the school of commerce and administration, University of Chicago; Jesse H. Newlon, director of Lincoln School of Teacher College; Jesse F. Steiner, professor of sociology, University of Washington. C. S.

of inability to implement any of their larger purposes? The party generally decided that it was worth while saving the small things rather than hand over everything to capitalist control. And so the experiment of a Labor Government larger purposes was launched.

Without real power for its own. Now, consider the necessary consequences of that upon all matters of policy which might arise while such a government was in office on such a footing. What it meant was that whenever any such detailed matters arose as those which the I.L.P. quotes as betrayals, the real thing on which the House of Commons had to vote was not the merits of that particular question at all, but whether or not it was worth while throwing the government out of office and abandoning such opportunities as were within its power, for the sake of something which was, in fact, out of reach.

Much good work was being done. The whole international outlook, with Arthur Henderson at the Foreign office, was improved; public health administration all over the country was being developed; in a thousand ways the influence of the Labor point of view at the centres of administration was being made effective.

All this was going steadily on; and the real issue upon which the party in the House of Commons had to vote on every such occasion as the I.L.P. quotes against it was whether all this should be surrendered to the enemy by a defeat of the government. The capitalist forces in Parliament, which dare not throw the government out on its administrative work, were eagerly on the look-out for some such opportunity as these I.L.P. excursions would have given them. The result would have been, not that the particular thing ostensibly at issue would have been achieved, but that such good work as was being done would have been wiped out.

My own personal feeling, as you know—I hammered it in in these columns during all that last year of the Labor Government's existence on such sufferance—was that we should have gone out of office and gone to the country with our full Socialist purposes. And in the end, it was the revolt of the present leaders of the Labor Party against the limitations imposed upon them by such conditions of office-holding—their refusal to follow MacDonald any longer on that line—that brought about the crisis.

The men who followed this line were as good Socialists and as loyal to our full purposes as the I.L.P. They did not vote against the things set out in the I.L.P. indictment. That was never the real issue in these votes. They voted for saving what it seemed to them possible to save from a complete surrender of everything to capitalist control. The indictment of erroneous judgment in persisting on that line after its futility had been demonstrated and its limitations had become intolerable, stands against them. But to turn that into an indictment of betrayal and bad faith is mere Pharisaism and self-righteousness.

The movement here has learned the lesson of that experience; and the whole united force of working-class opinion here has, as the facts show, stood firm against the disruptive tendencies which might easily have put us out of effective action for a generation but for this saving quality of working-class unity in the re-building of our strength.

Whatever future dangers there are to be guarded against, the safeguards must be inside the united working-class movement, and not in the self-righteous isolation of a hundred and one sects claiming to be the only sanctuaries of Socialist faith.

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PARTY SCORES BIG GAIN IN NORWICH ELECTION

NORWICH, Conn.—The Socialist Party here made heavy gains at its recent municipal election receiving more than 15 per cent of the total vote cast. Out of the 6,994 ballots cast in the four election precincts, the Socialist Party polled 903 votes for Comrade Albert Boardman, candidate for mayor.

The old party politicians did not refrain from using Tammany tactics in the election. Many votes were bought with cash and cigars in order to prevent the workers from voting Socialist. It is reported that one politician alone spent as much as \$1,000 in purchasing votes.

The Socialist Party had the support of local Polish and Greek organizations. The Socialist vote would have been much larger had it not been that the party nominated only half of the ticket.

Launching an intensive drive for Socialist organization in Eastern Connecticut, the Socialist Party nominated E. Oddie of Lisbon for Congressman from the Second District at a recent district convention held at Workmen's Circle Hall here. The nomination was by unanimous vote of the convention.

Comrade Oddie is a velvet weaver. He is a keen student of economics and social problems. In 1932, he was Socialist candidate for State Senator from the 20th Senatorial District. After discussion of plans for campaign and organization work throughout the Second District, the convention delegates elected a permanent congressional campaign committee which is to meet monthly to map out the party's organization and educational program for the district.

Preceding the convention, the State Executive Committee met in Workmen's Circle Hall in the morning and considered plans for the state convention this fall. The convention will be held in Bridgeport in September. In connection with the convention plans, the committee also heard a report from the State Secretary of the party, Arnold E. Freese of Norwalk, that in every part of the state increased interest in the Socialist Party has been shown within the last few months.

In the evening, Mayor McLevy, John Shenton, Bridgeport city treasurer, and Albert Boardman were speakers at a large mass meeting and campaign rally in the Norwich Town Hall.

UNITY PREPARES FOR NOTABLE SEASON

The official opening of Unity House, Forest Park, Pa., will take place June 22nd. The high quality of attractions that have made Unity House popular with vacationists in past years will be maintained this season. Included in the list of artists who will appear during the coming season are Toscha Seidel, Alla Nazimova, Molly Picon, Sigmund Spaeth, Isa Kremer, and the Hall Johnson Choir.

A new fleet of boats and canoes has been added for the present season. Three more tennis courts, making nine in all, have been added, as well as two more handball courts. When guests appear at the opening of Unity House they will find that nothing has been left undone to add to their zestful and restful vacation.

N. Y. STATE CONVENTION JUNE 30

The New York State convention of the Socialist Party will be held at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street, New York City, instead of the People's House, 7 East 15th Street, as previously announced.

That was the decision of the State Executive Committee at a special meeting Tuesday night.

The committee also voted to constitute a special committee of three to give a hearing on pending appeals and to report back before the state convention. The position of New York State delegates to the national convention who opposed attacks on the American Federation of Labor and who opposed concurrence with the report of four of the American International Congress delegates was unanimously approved, as was also the position of the New York State delegates who opposed the Declaration of Principles as adopted by the Detroit convention.

The State Executive Committee will hold another meeting shortly for the purpose of hearing reports from the preliminary committees of the state convention.

Resolutions were adopted in memory of the following deceased party members: Blaine Benedict, Socialist, candidate for Mayor of Dunkirk in 1933; Ray Newkirk, member of the State Committee; and Otto L. Endres of Utica; Elizabeth M. Yokom of Buffalo.

Freese Re-elected as Conn. State Secretary

NORWALK.—The State Office of the Socialist Party has made known the results of the state-wide membership referendum for state party officers for the year beginning July 1.

For State Secretary-Treasurer Arnold E. Freese of Norwalk was re-elected to serve his third consecutive term. Carl M. Rhodin of Meriden was re-elected State Organizer and Hester Freese of Norwalk will continue to serve as Literature Agent. A new member of the State Executive Committee is Dorothy Allen of Easton, who was elected as Woman's Correspondent.

Martin F. Plunkett of Wallingford and City Treasurer John Shenton of Bridgeport were re-elected Committeemen-at-large. The new member elected to this office is Devere Allen of Wilton. Committeemen elected to represent Congressional Districts are as follows: First District, Harry Rosen of Hartford; Second District, Kenneth W. Thurlow of East Lyme; Third District, Walter E. Davis of Hamden; Fourth District, City Clerk Fred Schwarzkopf of Bridgeport; Fifth District, Paul O. Grossenbacher of New Milford who was recently nominated as the Socialist Congressional candidate from that district.

The State Auditors for the coming fiscal year are Director of Public Works Peter Brewster, of Bridgeport, and J. J. Kennedy of New Haven who were re-elected and B. Cooperman of New Haven, who will serve his first term as Auditor.

Connecticut

State Chairman Martin F. Plunkett will be actively engaged in field organization work in Middletown, Cromwell, Rocky Hill, Middlefield and Portland during the next few weeks.

Norwalk.—"Democracy vs. Democracy" was the subject for discussion at the June 13 meeting of the Socialist Discussion Group. Topics for future meetings at 606 West Ave., Norwalk, are: June 20—"The Socialist Platform"; June 27—"The Socialist Agricultural Program."

A social and dance for members and friends with old-fashioned dancing as a feature will be held at Socialist Hall, 606 West Ave., Saturday, June 16.

New Britain.—The First District Congressional Convention will be held at V. F. W. Hall, 252 Main St., New Britain, at 3 p. m., Sunday, June 17. Nomination of the district congressional candidate, discussion of campaign strategy, finance, Socialist education and organization. The State Executive committee will meet in the same hall at 10:30 o'clock in the morning.

Bridgeport.—Seven of the district branches of Local Bridgeport have completed arrangements for a big picnic to be held at Kuhn's Grove, Tunxis Hill Road, Fairfield, on June 24. Sports, music and other entertainment.

Meriden.—Local Meriden will hold its annual picnic at Rhodin's Grove, Meriden, on Sunday, June 24. A usual, a splendid program of sports, refreshments and speaking has been arranged.

G. C. Edwards Runs For Governor in Texas

SAN ANTONIO.—Geo. Clifton Edwards, old-time Socialist, was named for Governor by the Texas Socialists at a recent convention. The state platform will be published shortly.

The full ticket follows:

Governor, Geo. C. Edwards, Dallas; Liet. Governor, E. M. Lane, Sherman; U. S. Senator, W. B. Starr, Cisco; Associate Justice Supreme Court, Guy L. Smith, Port Lavaca; Judge, Court Criminal Appeals, Thomas B. Burns, Ft. Worth; Attorney General, F. W. Hubbard, San Antonio; State Treasurer, William Plampin, San Antonio; Comptroller of Accounts, J. M. Jewell, Waco; Railroad Commissioner, J. W. Hembree, Smithville; Commissioner of Agriculture, Oliver Williams, Lorena; Comm. General Land Office, R. D. Tomlinson, Gruver; Supt. Public Instruction, Mrs. Bertha Blatt, Ft. Worth.

The newly formed 20th Congressional District consisting of Bexar County (San Antonio) will have a candidate for Congress, but he has not been officially nominated yet. Dr. H. M. Shelton of San Antonio will probably be chosen.

Party Notes

Wisconsin

Kenosha.—Kenosha Socialists named a full county state ticket at a county convention. Socialists report a great deal of activity not only in the city of Kenosha but also throughout the whole county and are planning on putting up a hot campaign to elect their candidates. The ticket follows: Harry A. Mueller, assemblyman, First district; Leonard Mattson, assemblyman, Second district; Sam Elyash, county clerk; Walter Fowler, county treasurer; Gilbert Fechner, sheriff; Edward Dwyer, coroner; Arthur Wilmot, clerk of circuit court; John Kuehn, district attorney; Anton Lazerwicz, register of deeds.

Missouri

St. Louis.—New Leader readers living within driving distance, farmers, union workers, unemployed and all Socialists are cordially invited and urged to attend the picnic of the St. Louis County Socialist Party July 4 in the spacious picnic grove of the Creve Coeur Farmers' Hall on Olive Street Road, just west of Ballas Road in Creve Coeur, St. Louis County. Rev. George M. Gibson will speak at 11 a. m. A special invitation is extended to all young men and women workers to come, either singly, in couples, groups or clubs.

State convention at Jefferson City on Saturday and Sunday, June 16 and 17. State executive committee will meet at the same time.

Michigan

The state nominating convention will be held at Battle Creek Saturday afternoon, June 30, and Sunday, July 1. The convention headquarters are the local headquarters, 175 S. Capitol. A state platform is to be adopted and candidates nominated for governor, lieutenant-governor and attorney-general.

Plans are being rapidly made to have three groups of organizers tour the state in the next few months. Guy Cockwood of Kalamazoo is already busy in the field reporting excellent progress especially in the northern peninsula. Francis King, state secretary, reports that five new branches have been granted charters during the past few weeks.

Wayne County.—Monday, June 18, the nominating convention is to be held at headquarters, 225 E. Forest Ave. Candidates will be nominated for the state and federal legislature and the convention will decide whether or not to run a candidate for the vacancy in the Detroit city council.

Branch 1.—At the bi-annual election of branch officers Melvin Bishop was elected chairman, Isobel Weatherstone, secretary, and H. Anderson, treasurer.

West Virginia

Nominating petitions are being actively circulated in West Virginia for the following candidates: United States Senator, W. E. Brown, Elkins; Congress, First District, H. L. Franklin, Fairmont; Second District, John C. Chase, Ridgeley; Third District, F. E. Davis, Bristol; Fourth District, O. M. Jeffreys, Ona; Sixth District, Lee Harper, Charleston. There are also a number of county and state senatorial petitions which are increasing each day. The

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ROCKFORD COUNCIL CONDEMNS GASSING

ROCKFORD, Ill.—Realizing that the outrageous attack on a meeting of over five hundred people, including women and children, addressed by Norman Thomas, was contrary to all notions of the constitutional rights of free speech and assemblage, the City Council of this city unanimously passed a resolution denouncing the tear-gas bombing.

A bomb, thrown into Lyran Hall while Thomas was speaking, precipitated a riot in which three people were injured as the large crowd dashed out of the hall, panic-stricken by the spreading gas fumes. Thomas then continued the mass meeting on the street outside the hall, despite the efforts of the authorities to disperse the assemblage.

The throwing of the gas bombs is attributed to fascist elements in the city. It is generally known that a meeting was held in a nearby hall, where fascist manifestations were disguised under "patriotic speeches."

The police have been instructed by the Council to attempt to trace and arrest the persons responsible for the outrage.

Middlesex, N. J., Holds Party. Field Day Sunday

The Socialist Party of Middlesex County will launch its Election Campaign at a Field and Rally, to be held on Sunday, June 17th, at the Danish Home, Metuchen, N. J.

At this rally the voters of Middlesex County will have the opportunity to hear the Socialist candidate for Governor, Herman F. Niessner of Camden, and the candidate for United States Senator, John S. Martin of Newark.

The keynote speech of the campaign will be given by William M. Feigenbaum, Associate Editor of The New Leader. This day has been planned as a day of good fellowship and inspiration, in addition to fine speaking there will be dancing and games. All members and friends are invited to attend this Field Day and Rally and bring their families.

The world-famous Russian Socialist Nikolai Morosoff, who as an active member of the anti-Czarist organization of terrorists spent 28 years in the cells of the Schlüsselburg fortress, celebrated his 80th birthday on June 7.

A Vacation Message to READERS of the NEW LEADER

Many readers of The New Leader go to Unity House when they are bound for vacation land because of the superb facilities for play and relaxation and the gala programs starring such famous artists as Toscha Seidel, Alla Nazimova, Molly Picon, Sigmund Spaeth, Isa Kremer and the Hall Johnson Choir. This year the dining room, lobbies, all rooms and buildings have been repainted and new facilities added. . . . Three additional tennis courts (9 all told), two more handball courts, a fleet of new boats and canoes are on hand for the 1934 season.

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By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

Detroit in Retrospect

THAT Detroit convention deserves better words than were said of it by our friend, Jim Oneal, in last week's New Leader. It was not a disorderly body nor a body hopelessly divided into groups. It was a body of upstanding and earnest delegates, many of whom came early for pre-convention conference. They had a good idea where they were going and they were anxious to get there. They got through a great deal of business in spite of the heat. The declarations on labor, on a farm policy, on NRA, and the like, were thoroughly worth the time and attention given them. There were a few parliamentary jams that a better knowledge of parliamentary law might have avoided.

However, it was not a parliamentary jam but a motion by the opponents of the Declaration of Principles which brought it to pass that the vote was on the Declaration of Principles as a whole and not on each paragraph. One thing more. Paul Porter's Commonwealth Plan was not rejected by the delegates. What was tabled, not rejected, was a proposal to print the plan after editing and with certain explanatory notes as an official document. By vote of the N.E.C. it is going to be printed as a regular unofficial party pamphlet after the N.E.C. can approve of certain revisions and of an explanatory preface setting forth the way in which this pamphlet is to be used. It is the kind of plan that illustrates what Socialists today might do; it is not a binding declaration of what under all circumstances they will do. Meanwhile, the Declaration of Principles, the Congressional Platform, and the Agricultural Platform, together with statements on NRA and on labor, make a comprehensive program of which any Socialist may well be proud.



Norman Thomas

There Must Be No Split!

ONE of the gratifying things about the discussion of the Declaration of Principles here in New York is that already sober second thought is asserting itself and that group after group in the party is declaring itself explicitly against wild rumors of split which unfortunately were being circulated and reached the ears of capitalist reporters. I think there will be no more intemperate discussion of the declaration in the capitalist press. Whatever happens to this particular Declaration of Principles, the Socialist Party is going to stick together in order to assert leadership in a mighty movement of city workers and farmers in these critical days of struggle against fascism. We have been together too long to divide now on a question of how to say what in their hearts most Socialists agree ought to be said.

Honest Differences

DESPITE my own approval of the new Declaration of Principles, I can understand how good Socialists might wish for a different declaration or for a different way of wording it. What I find it hard to understand is the nature of some of the arguments that have been advanced against the present declaration. Without attacking anyone's subjective sincerity or courage, I do want to deal with some of the arguments that have been advanced in opposition. They seem to me to fall under certain heads.

1. Misrepresentation. This document has been called both Communist and Anarchist. Obviously it can't be both at once. How it can be either I can't understand—not if the English language means what I think it does. Nowhere does the Declaration of Principles in words or by implication support any kind of dictatorship. On the contrary, it pledges the party to true democracy. In calling our present democracy bogus, it voices the criticism that Socialists have made times without number. There is no threat that we will abandon our present tactics for sabotage. There are certain conditional declarations which I have thought were in line with historic Socialist policy. In the event of a new World War like the last, we shall offer mass resistance to it. What Socialist would say less. How can we command confidence in the sincerity of our opposition to imperialism and capitalist war unless we say what we have said? The declaration makes it clear that the nature of the resistance will depend upon our strength, that it includes fundamentally what Socialists here and abroad have long advocated; namely, a refusal of young men to be dragooned into

the support of capitalist war, and a general strike if and when labor can be organized and educated to it.

Next we say that if after Socialism captures a majority the ruling class refuses to give up power, "we shall not hesitate to crush by our labor solidarity the reckless forces of reaction and to consolidate the Socialist state." Who can say less and be anything other than a "pink tea Socialist"?

The final declaration which is attacked as "Communism" and God knows what else, simply asserts that in the event of a complete collapse which "cannot permit of orderly procedure, the Socialist Party, whether or not in such case it is a majority, will not shrink from the responsibility of organizing and maintaining a government under the workers' rule." Well, Comrades, isn't that what you would do? And if not, why not? In a collapse where you can't count noses, would you wait until you could count noses before you would try to restore order and create conditions which would make true democracy possible? Let us hear your alternatives. Does not this declaration of what Socialists would do give more vitality to its present use of democratic methods?

2. The argument of illegality. In the event of war no one who knows the history of the last war and the nature of various court decisions can doubt that the Socialist Party would become illegal or cease to be Socialist. The question simply is whether to state clearly what we would do in certain contingencies makes us illegal now. It is the opinion of the Civil Liberties Union, which has had much familiarity with criminal syndicalist cases, that it does not. If what we say is illegal, then what Harry Emerson Fosdick said he would do in the next war is illegal. In the event of a revival of persecution, almost any kind of a Socialist speech can be used against the Socialists by a prosecutor. This declaration will not make persecution more likely and it may serve as a warning to those men and forces who work for war and fascism. On this matter of illegality, I am reminded of the old story of the Boston woman who left her five children, warning them not to put beans up their noses. When she got back, all of them had beans up their noses. Some of our comrades are suggesting to prosecutors the very thing they say they want to avoid. And it is not the Declaration of Principles itself which will, perhaps, be quoted against the Socialists, but rather what some Socialists have said about the declaration, contrary to the opinion of those who proposed it.

3. The argument of expediency. This runs in general to the effect that we may have to do these things but we oughtn't to talk about them. Now, I believe as much as the next man that it is our present job to get an organization and a movement, not to decide what we are going to do by and by under conditions that we cannot anticipate. Nevertheless, I believe we are more likely to get an organization and a movement by meeting plainly questions that are asked us in almost every meeting than by trying to sidestep them. As for the special argument that this will antagonize labor, I can't see why. The leaders who will dislike the declaration aren't at all likely to be converted to the Socialist Party in a hurry, anyhow. The rank and file, on whom we must depend, are likely to be favorably impressed with the vigor of Socialist principles, and they will judge us not by this document alone but by our admirable expression on labor issues and our desire to cooperate with the A. F. of L. in organizing the unorganized. A document supported by the Wisconsin delegation and President Graham of the Montana Federation of Labor cannot be too strong for American workers.

4. The argument of Americanism. Some of our Socialist friends have discovered unexpected beauties in American democracy and even in American wars. They begin to ask: What if Japan or Hitler should invade the United States? Now, it is precisely this sort of unrealistic talk which has always been the cover and cloak for militarists. The Spanish-American War and the World War were not the result of attacks on us, but of our aggressive action. In both of them idealism was capitalized and betrayed by commercial interests and national hysteria. Our declaration deals with the kind of war that our analysis of facts leads us to expect. If by some miracle there is a wholly different type of war, there will be plenty of time in the light of Socialist principles to change our position. But to state our position now is not only in line with Socialist principles throughout the world but is likely to avoid those particular wars which may turn the world back into new Dark Ages.

Let me ask you, then, to read the Declaration of Principles calmly. Remember while you read it the First World War and all that has happened since. Remember the declaration of the German Socialists from Prague, of the Austrian Socialists through Otto Bauer, and of the New Beginning Group in Germany. Remember even what the British Labor Party's parliamentary group had to say about a

In Seeking Our Goal, Let Us Know Geography

By Gertrude Weil Klein

I WAS just a rank and file member at the party convention, representing, perhaps, the feelings of the average party member, baffled by our failure to make any appreciable headway among the workers and looking for leadership on our road to power. As the days blistered on, amidst bitter wrangles on questions of the policy to be pursued "in the event of..." I realized that we were dashing ourselves to pieces on these theoretical rocks without charting any course for people like myself who wanted to know how we must change our tactics now, today, in order to gain adherents.

Not even one session was devoted to such a discussion! I began to feel that I was trapped by a lot of mad phantoms shadow-boxing in a tortured hell!

I am quite sure that whatever it is that keeps us from being a mass movement, it has nothing to do with the questions debated at our convention. Generally speaking, the people to whom our active propagandists must direct their appeal, the workers whom we all agree we must have with us in our fight against capitalism, are not influenced by our decisions on international policy or on questions of proletarian dictatorship. Then what is it that does influence them? What do we know about this working class we talk so much about? What is the approach that will gain their understanding and support? Why is it that after all these years of unprecedented suffering, our labor movement and our revolutionary political movements are still pitifully weak?

Am I terribly naive in imagining that these questions are at least as worthy of discussion as the more abstract theories? Only the women present at the convention seemed to believe that the problems of building an organization were

equal in importance to the problem of how we shall say we are going to fight war and fascism. That's really what it pretty much boiled itself down to, for practically everyone was equally fervent—some perhaps more mellifluously vocal than others—in their protestation of revolutionary ardor and zeal.

It was the women, insignificant, tolerated and patronized, who in their round table discussion, it seemed to me, provided an interlude of reality and substance. Here women from different parts of the country reported their successes and failures in organizing unemployed workers, farm women, mothers, housewives, Sunday schools, and so on. I am having all this material sent on to me from the National Office and will give space to it from time to time. The Leader will be a clearing house for news of these activities so that we may profit by them. I only want to recount some problems presented. In Detroit some of the women had about 300 unemployed workers organized. They supplied them with food clothes and a place to stay. But as soon as they started talking Socialism, the unemployed began drifting away and the organization broke up.

Another group organized a child study club and got along swimmingly for a while doing gentle propaganda work in moderate doses. Then they ran a lecture with a prominent Socialist speaker. Seven women came, just the seven party members who had started the group. Several groups announcing themselves openly as Socialist clubs seemed to be the most successful. Alack, they were all in Milwaukee. The report in regard to the farm women was the most gripping. Can we learn anything from all this?

I say with Plechanov: "Not all those among the crusaders who shouted 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem!' reached the holy land, but those who knew geography."

Comrades and friends, I want to study geography. What do you say?

THE KANTOROVITCH ARTICLES—

The series of six articles by Haim Kantorovitch, which were to have been started in this issue, will be begun next week. Comrade Kantorovitch did not have them ready in time for this issue.

strike against war. Remember the kind of questions Socialists are asked about the road to power. In the light of all this, is not the Declaration of Principles a sound Socialist document?

The International

I WANT to offer my belated but very sincere congratulations to the I.L.G.W.U. on the marvelous spirit of their convention at Chicago. The same sort of congratulations go to the millinery workers, whose banquet at Chicago was one of the finest I ever attended. And while I am about it, congratulations are in order to some of our Socialist lawyers for the way in which they have defended labor and civil rights in recent cases.

Roosevelt on Social Insurance

ONCE more even the capitalist order through a capitalist President has to admit that Socialists were right. President Roosevelt's endorsement of social insurance is nothing more than a belated and rather vague endorsement of principles that Socialists have fought for during many years. Of course, we are not for any kind of social insurance as a final cure. In a Socialist society the young, the old, and the invalid will be

provided for regularly out of the national budget. But social insurance or social indemnification of the unemployed and of the aged is a principle that must be adopted in adequate shape.

Heretofore, whatever immediate demands of Socialism the Democratic Party has sought to use, it has adopted in shockingly inadequate form. This applies to unemployment relief, to housing, and to public works in general.

And in New York

AT least two things in New York require the vigorous attention of citizens:

1. Police Commissioner O'Ryan has given dangerous evidence both by word and deed that he intends to deal severely with police who do not use force, as he puts it, to protect person and property. On the other hand, he has not given evidence that he will deal severely with police who are brutal in dealing with strikers, the unemployed, and others.

2. The demand for a two-cent tax on subway lines is dangerous. It points to a raise in the subway fare and is in itself a bad form of sales tax bearing most on the poor. It will work real hardship, among others, upon high school boys and girls who have to travel to their classes.