

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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A Nation of Bluffed Slaves

Kohler of Kohler

WALTER J. KOHLER of Kohler, Wis., one of the world's most eminent manufacturers of toilet seats, is a sadly disillusioned man. He can't understand why "his" men insist upon striking against his benevolent rule.

Kohler, who once interrupted his illustrious bathroom career to serve for a while as governor of his state, established a "model" village for "his" men. He gave them model houses and athletic fields, he played baseball with them and he asked them how the missus was. He let them garden in their spare time and he paid them what he thought was good wages.

Only it happens that the workers don't think the wages are quite as good as Kohler thinks they are. And in matters of that kind it happens that there is no way of coming to an agreement unless there is some way of talking for all the workers at once—that is, trade unionism. And that is something Kohler just won't stand for. Aren't the ungrateful whelps satisfied with sanitary wash-basins and steam-heated tulip beds?

The rich, said Tolstoy, will do anything for the poor except get off their backs. And Kohler will give the workers in his toilet factories everything he thinks they need; but he will not give them the right to talk to him in a body, nor self-respect, nor will he give up his "right" to exploit them.

An article by Andrew J. Bie-miller with full details of the sensational Kohler strike will be printed next week.

The same scrap was fought out in Dayton, Ohio, against (Continued on Page Eight)

SOLDIERS RULE IN KOHLER, WIS.



The "model" village in the hands of the Wisconsin militia, who are protecting the interests of the exploiters of labor there.

Commissioner O'Ryan Must Go!

Fiorello H. La Guardia,
Mayor of New York City.
Sir:

Remove John F. O'Ryan as Police Commissioner of New York!

New York City needs no militarist in charge of the police. New York needs no reactionary labor hater IN WHOSE SHORT ADMINISTRATION MORE PICKETS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED AND MORE STRIKERS PERSECUTED THAN UNDER ANY PREVIOUS POLICE COMMISSIONER in a similar length of time.

O'Ryan's "Rifle Regiment" was not organized to adorn parades by their perfect marching; that can be left to the Knickerbocker Grays. O'Ryan admits the regiment is to "protect" the city against strikes.

O'Ryan's outrageous order that all union officials be identified by police passports and their photographs filed with his department was a grave blow at the labor movement, and at the liberties of all the people.

O'Ryan's militarism is a menace to all the millions of the city. The people of New York are not interested in any political debt that you may owe to John F. O'Ryan. THEY DEMAND THAT O'RYAN BE DISMISSED AT ONCE.

Let the people make their protest heard.
O'RYAN MUST GO!

Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman
Special Correspondent

OPINIONS among the diplomats on the Austrian situation are that it will not lead to a European war. Of course, all admit the possibility of a major struggle but greatly discount its probability.

In some diplomatic quarters the view is expressed that the present European situation may portend not the coming of a great war but of a number of revolutions, economic and political. Old and experienced diplomats liken the present time not to 1914 but rather to 1848, when revolutions broke out in many countries.

The struggle in Austria is taken as proof that the clash in the future will be not among nations but among different political schools, whether in their own countries or other countries. The dividing lines will not be geographical boundaries but different conceptions.

Last February, Austria went through a war between Socialists and conservatives; now it has a war between fascists and Nazis. And the Austrian Nazis are backed by their brother-Nazis across the German border; and the Austrian fascists are encouraged by their brother-fascists from Italy. And it is pointed out that if Russia were ruled by Social Democrats, the Soviet government would probably also mobilize on the Austrian border to help the Socialists. Everywhere the lines of cleavage seem to run between political parties and social classes rather than between nations.

One old-line diplomat (whose name I am not permitted to mention) is of the opinion that war may arise out of this revolutionary ferment; that one or more nations may resort to war in order to forestall revolution. Another diplomat points out that while Hitler is scared stiff by the hostility of the world, domestically he may be helped by it. The fear of war may strengthen his position at home.

THE European situation has entered into an acute phase, according to reports received in Washington. The salient point appears to be the fact that the Austrian government was incapable of crushing the rebellion which broke out after Dollfuss' assassination, and Italian intervention appears (Continued on Page Eight)

WEVD New Leader Speaker

Samuel H. Friedman, Labor Editor of The New Leader, will be the speaker of The New Leader period of Station WEVD (1395 Kc.) Friday, August 10, from 5:30 to 5:45 p. m. Ben Blumenberg, of The New Leader staff, speaks Friday, August 10, at the same hour.

By George R. Kirkpatrick

THIS is the hottest question that ever scorched a slave's soul. And this question is absolutely new in the history of mankind—new because it is now 12 o'clock noon in industry—that is, it is now—at last!—easily practicable to produce plenty for all our people—yes, all of them.

The meek, timid, bluffed slave will answer, "Yes, plenty is too much." The proud, roused slave will hotly answer, "No! Plenty is not too much."

The hour has arrived for a national answer to this new national question: Is plenty too much?—and here is the reason that the question is new and the answer must be made and made now—made by a multitude bluffed into meekness, or made by a multitude awake, proud and defiant—yes, reader, here is the reason:

In one recent year our total national income was almost 90 billion dollars, and this income was larger than the grand total incomes of the following countries: England, Wales, Germany, France, Austria, Italy, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Holland, Poland, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Czechoslovakia, Japan, India, China, Brazil, Mexico, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa.

For 50,000 years mankind has struggled, sweat and longed for plenty; but never before could any people anywhere on earth produce plenty for all the people. And today only one country on earth is actually able to produce bounteous plenty for all its people, and that is our country, the United States.

Yet 100 million American people are living far below the level of plenty. And want and the fear of want haunts 15 million homes.

We are a nation of bluffed slaves—starving or half-starving, in shoddy clothes, in mean shelter—whimpering and whining about the depression.

Bluffed!

The mills, mines, machinery, tools, forests, and so forth, are all ready. The technological knowledge is all ready. The skill and labor are all ready. Ready—as ready as ever—to produce plenty for all.

Well, then, why not produce plenty for all?

Today one man can weave 500 square yards of cloth; another can spin 1,600 pounds of yarn; another can make 350,000 capscrews in a single day. This sort of machinery is everywhere—multiplying the workers' power to produce plenty—plenty for everybody.

The workers stand ready and able to produce plenty for everybody. But the masters brutally declare: **Plenty is too much—"quite unnecessary"—for working people. They shall not produce plenty for everybody.**

This puts it up to the workers—to decide: Shall the nation's industries be manned and managed to produce profits for a minority, or to produce plenty for all the people?

It's noon—12 o'clock—dinner time—in American industrial development—the time for plenty for all the people.

But the stunned, bluffed workers can't hear the bell.

Bluffed by the politicians; bluffed by the courts; bluffed by the militia and the army; bluffed by the private owners of the nation's strategic industries—bluffed to a standstill, they are—and they will continue to be—helpless, hungry, seedy, afraid, timidly whimpering for "aid"—until they learn the industrial time of day—and get together, stand together—and, unbluffed, demand the right to produce plenty for all, and demand the right of the worker to have and enjoy plenty—always plenty.

Farmers of America—with a 71 per cent mortgage on all your productive property; what's your answer? Is plenty for everybody too much? How can the multitudes in the towns and cities buy abundant food and clothing while unemployed are forced to work for far less than sufficient to buy plenty—of your products? What's your answer?

You whipped multitude in the mills and mines—forced to live far below the level of plenty—what's your answer? Is plenty too much?

Why should the bluffed multitude, toiling on the farms and in the mills, expect respect as long as their answer plainly is **Yes, plenty is too much—for working people!**

NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM and S. H. FRIEDMAN, Associates

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



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SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1934

HOW THE STRIKE WAS BROKEN

NOW it can be told; at least, now it is told.

Who broke the San Francisco strike? Who created the public opinion that made it appear that the gallant battle of the workers for human living conditions was a "revolution," to be smashed by force?

We Did It, boasts the capitalist press. Not just one labor-hating newspaper, but all the papers, acting in concert.

It was a definite, deliberate plant.

Editor and Publisher, the trade paper of the newspaper business, tells the story in its issue of July 28. Under a San Francisco date line we read: "Now that the tumult and shouting of the general strike is dying away, it is time to tell something of the inside story—how a Newspaper Publishers' Council came to the rescue of a besieged general public and broke a 'revolution' [quotes in original] without bloodshed by backing constituted authority and awakening public opinion."

The story gives a detailed account of how the news-

paper publishers of the San Francisco Bay region met just before the strike, selected a Hearst executive as commander-in-chief, and prepared to create public opinion. Hearst himself telephoned from England that a cabled account was coming of the wickedness and failure of the British general strike in 1926; that story, in one form or another, was printed in almost every newspaper in the country.

It is interesting that General Johnson, according to the account, was prepared to grant the demand that the longshoremen's just grievances be settled before the general strike was called off; he was told that that "would be a compromise with revolution." Then came a session between the publishers and the General at which there was much hollering and table-banging, and the General was shouted down.

The general strike was called off without settlement of the longshoremen's grievances. The general public, by deliberate action of all the newspapers, were led to forget the basis of the strike in the longshoremen's grievances. They were given a garbled account of the meaning of it all.

As he left San Francisco the General said that was the first time he had "ever been up against a newspaper oligarchy."

There's the story. No comment is needed.

"HELLO, MINNIE!"

THERE were big doings in Tammany Hall the other night when the "Big Three"—Al Smith, Jim Foley and Bob Wagner—came back into the fold. For a few years there had been something of a coolness between the "big" men and the Hall. Al did not like Jimmie Walker and his works, and he made his absence from the Hall quite conspicuous, as well as his hostility to Jawn Curry and Jimmie's other sponsors.

Not, we hasten to say, that Al made any public protest against the things to escape the consequences of which Jimmie made his hasty getaway to Europe; Al just didn't think Jimmie's personal conduct, what with his wife and his Broadway and Park Avenue friends and all, comported with his own idea of proper demeanor for a shining light of Tammany Hall. And a lot of Tammany people disapproved of Jawn Curry because his policies led to defeat, with consequent lack of nourishment to the Faithful.

But all that is over now. There's a New Deal, with Jimmie idling around as an English country gentleman (God forbid!); and Jawn Curry is out of the picture. There's a new Boss at Tammany Hall, and the blunders and stupidities of the past few years that led to lost elections are expected to be avoided (but nothing is said about avoiding the Grand Old Thievery.)

So Al came back to Tammany Hall and sat down in his long-neglected chair. Then he looked over to

one side and saw the wife of a Tammany judge, an old Oliver Street neighbor. He walked up to her, said "Hello, Minnie!" and kissed her, while all the Faithful cheered.

Yes, indeed; it was a nice home-coming for Al and Jim and Bob. No more jazzy Jimmies, no more blundering Jawns. The New Deal will concentrate upon selecting solid, virtuous men who stick to their own wives, and prefer the simple pleasures of clubhouse pinocle (where the votes are) to night clubs and Broadway hot-spots; it will concentrate upon winning election victories that will bring plenty of jobs to the Faithful.

So Al and Jim and Bob are back in Tammany Hall and they will wear the Sachem's scarves they put away in the mothballs in the now forgotten days, and Al will make speeches again, and Tammany will be back at the same old stand.

Which gives a pretty good picture of what the exploited masses can expect from "reforms," when the reforms come from the old gangs.

WHO WILL TELL THEM?

IT is reported in news despatches that after the funeral Frau Dollfuss took herself to Italy to break the news to her children, being cared for by Signora Rachele Mussolini, that their father is dead. The news of his murder was too terrible to impart to them at once, and the broken widow had to be very gentle and tender in her sad duty.

It's an awful thing to be compelled to tell two little children that their father had been murdered. And so we wonder who had the duty of telling the children of Vienna workingmen last February that their fathers had been slaughtered by big guns and by the hangmen's noose at the order of Dollfuss himself; and we wonder whether Frau Dollfuss thought about that at the time her husband was waging war upon women and children.

And we wonder who will have the sad duty of sometimes telling Rudi and Evi that their father had ordered the slaughter of men and women and children in their own homes.

The difference between owning what others produce and producing what others own is the difference between the capitalist and the worker.

The long industrial depression really means a long lockout of the workers. Why not lock out the ruling class? See the Socialist program for particulars.

Union leaders at Washington have declared that they will punish members of Congress next November for defeating certain labor legislation. The policy will be "reward friends and punish enemies." And this is the 28th year of punishing and rewarding!

Dear Mister President

DEAR Mister President:

You may be surprised to receive this letter. For a moment it may be hard to recall who I am, but not long ago you seemed much concerned about me. You've guessed it. I am the Forgotten Man.

While on your vacation possibly you are out of touch with events back here in God's country. I don't mean to say that the Brain Trust boys aren't putting you wise to some things, such as gold reserves, trade balances, the whereabouts of the Vice-President and the fence-fixing activities of the Postmaster General. By the way, nothing can stop Jim. Truly like the sign on our postoffice says of him, "Neither rain or hail, sleet or snow, slush or mush," I've just forgotten the exact words, can make him slow up his public services—for the Democratic Party.

But I am hep to some things that the Brain Trust boys do not see. If I am mistaken, Mister President, correct me when you reply, but the boys in Washington are the victims of college courses in economics. They seem to be unable to plow under their combined misinformation. I, on the other hand, have put in almost five years of intensive study of our economic system (if any). In fact so intensive has been this study that my swollen feet are matched by my shrunken hopes. In other words, the confidence held during the years preceding the year 1929

has sort of been walked off.

There are ten to twelve millions of forgotten men and women jobless. Millions of others are working part time. Of those working, the average wage is less than \$20 per week, according to estimates of the Federal Labor Dept. Just how endless combinations of the letters of the alphabet is going to change this condition is not clear. Destroying foodstuffs, cattle and cotton has not helped, not, if I may use a strong expression, a gosh darned bit. In fact the drought has done a more complete job than all the huddles of the Brain Trust boys. I am going to ask our preacher about it as he is always able to find plan and design in everything.

But to get back to the Forgotten Man. His confidence in NRA is oozing rapidly. His bank savings have disappeared along with home ownership. No longer does he look for help from relatives. All are in the same boat. We don't seem to be getting anywhere with statistics, boards and commissions. The masses are drifting into the mire of pauperism, hopelessness and despair.

The other day a fellow gave me a third hand copy of The New Leader. This paper seems to have the low-down on what's going on and there was lots of stuff in it just the opposite to what the other papers say about the farmers and the city workers. It was filled with articles about the cause of the depression and it said that



until the workers and farmers unite their power and vote together for their own interests instead of the interests of the capitalists, conditions wouldn't get any better and would probably grow worse.

It's an everyday scrap between the wealth producers and the wealth takers, and it's the wealth takers or capitalists who own the Democratic and Republican parties and so the laws are made to protect property instead of human life. That's what The New Leader paper said, you understand, Mister President.

Well, even today some folks are making money. The "earnings" of the DuPonts and the Atlas Powder boys have gone up. Firearms, gas, tear and stench bombs used in Toledo, Minneapolis, New Jersey, Ohio, Wisconsin, Alabama, San Francisco, etc., seem to help dividends. Looks like the foreign business in this line will improve soon.

By the way, I noted your expression of sorrow following the putting on the spot of Dollfuss by

Youth International

YOUNG Socialists from the world over will demonstrate their strength and solidarity at a three day rally of the International of Socialist Youth in Liege, Belgium, today, August 4th, tomorrow and Monday. A meeting of the Executive of the Socialist Youth International will be held on August 6th.

Youthful workers representing most of the countries of the world will assemble late today (Saturday) to parade in groups before the co-operative building of the Socialist newspaper, *Le Populaire*. Later there is to be an evening program in the courtyard of the Palais Provincial. After the dancing a torchlight parade through the town is planned.

the mobsters of a rival gang. Let's see, isn't he the one who ordered the slaughtering of men, women and children in their Vienna homes last February?

The weather is awfully hot but the society notes in the papers say it's cool at the mountain and seaside resorts. The missus says that the nearest that she and the kids will get to a watering place is the kitchen sink. I told her not to lose hope. Oh, we'll be in speaking terms in a couple of days.

I am sure that you are enjoying your vacation and that you find the ship as restful as you did Vincent Astor's yacht.

Mention me to all the folks, As ever,
The Forgotten Man.

Sunday and Monday will be occupied with tremendous mass demonstrations which will be addressed by several international Socialist leaders including Emile Vandervelde, chairman of the Labor and Socialist International. A tremendous camp is being pitched to accommodate all the delegates.

An interesting sidelight was the report that the British League of Youth has increased its membership more than 150 per cent in the last eight months. Maurice Webb, leader of the English youth movement, attributed this growth to a realization on the part of the young people that only by the establishment of a Socialist commonwealth will they finally rid themselves of the menace of bloody fascism and annihilating war.

P.S.—Don't hesitate to ask any questions about the depression and how we can get out of it, when you write.

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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NEW LEADER LABOR SECTION

As the Paper Goes to Press: Late Labor Developments

IN SAN FRANCISCO, the dock workers are returning, but not without hesitation and renewals of local walkouts as the shipping bosses show a desire to hedge on the arbitration agreement.

IN MINNEAPOLIS, Farmer-Labor Governor Olsen's declaration of martial law—ostensibly against capital and labor alike—reaped a natural harvest in the death of two strikers, the raiding of strike headquarters and the arrest of strike leaders.

IN THE GREAT LAKES AREA, five local unions have voted to end the strike of dredge and tow tugmen. But in Buffalo, firemen refused to return despite orders from the International through President Ryan, who wanted the strike ended so that negotiations with the employers could start.

IN ALABAMA, a number of attempts are being made to settle the general walkout of cotton mill operatives, now in its third week. Twelve thousand workers are out. A general council of the Alabama State Textile Council is being called. In Bridgeport, Ala., the sheriff asked the Governor for troops in a stove foundry strike.

IN NEW YORK, the International Seamen's Union is considering calling a strike of seamen on American ships operating from Atlantic, Pacific and Gulf ports. Differences between the kosher poultry dealers and the chicken killers' union are being settled. The joint labor committee of the heavy construction and railroad workers' unions postponed the taking of a strike vote for a few days. One hundred bus drivers of the State Island Coach Company went back to work under an arbitration agreement. Police are arresting Caldwell pickets who look as though they're going to holler "scab!"

IN YORK, PA., 40 girl workers—members of the Amalgamated—on strike against a shirt factory were attacked and gassed by the police when they tried to stop a scab truck. (I wish I could print Louis Yagoda's graphic and inspiring story of the York situation.) Striking cigarmakers are clashing with deputy sheriffs doing the bosses' dirty work; but scab work isn't being shipped from factories that look like outhouses. Sixty-eight strikers are under arrest, with more coming.

IN CHICAGO, 400 butchers went on strike for seniority rights and also in sympathy with the stock handlers' union, which has tied up the world's biggest live stock market. Everybody is wondering what General Johnson, due to speak on the wonders of the NRA at the fair, will do in the next day or so.

IN WARREN, OHIO, 500 strikers returned to work at the sheet mills of the Republic Steel Corporation under a tentative agreement with the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

IN LYNN, MASS., a learned judge fined three former officials of the National Shoe Workers' Union (now merged into the United Shoe and Leather Workers' Union) \$1,300 for contempt of court in connection with strike demonstrations in February, 1933. The contempt persists, only it's worse.

IN PHILADELPHIA, the Suitcase, Bag and Portfolio Makers' Union will call a general strike at the expiration of agreements to enforce union demands of the 35-hour week and \$30 minimum for mechanics. Seventeen shops with 450 workers will be affected.

IN WASHINGTON, Baltimore and Knoxville, Tenn., NRA officials are still shadow-boxing with the Harriman hosiery owners and the Greif clothing concern. Now you got the Blue Eagle, now you haven't; with the workers holding the tarred end of the bird.

THE EDITOR COMMENTS

UNION IDENTIFICATION CARDS "OUT"; LABOR FIGHTS O'RYAN'S RIFLEMEN

POLICE COMMISSIONER O'RYAN, who has been so anxious to make a really efficient MILITARY organization out of the police force, has been facing the fire of labor on a double front.

First his proposal to make union representatives register and obtain identification cards met such a withering barrage from the workers' organizations that Mayor LaGuardia was finally compelled to drop the whole idea.

Now the military gentleman's previously announced formation of a Police Rifle Regiment to quell riots—usually another name for labor activity in strikes or for a radical demonstration—has encountered severe bombardment from the workers of the city.

In the case of the identification cards, the opposition came from as widely separated labor spokesmen as Joseph P. Ryan, chairman of the Central Trades and Labor Council, and Louis Waldman and Norman Thomas, of the Socialist Party. Representatives of union after union protested; and no union delegate complied with O'Ryan's order, either before or after he made it voluntary. (See Gertrude Weil Klein's article.) The Mayor's withdrawal order came just in time—on the eve of the special meeting called by the Central Trades and Labor Council to consider action against the plan.

In the case of the redoubtable rifle brigade, attacks have been made by Socialists and by conservative unionists—for instance, the suit case makers' union and by a joint labor committee representing 21 local heavy construction and railroad work unions, which are planning a general strike on all PWA construction work.

Commissioner O'Ryan had better stop, look and listen, with his ear to the ground and his eye on the horizon all at the same time. That's what the more politic mayor is doing. Labor is on guard.

ON NATIONAL LABOR COMMITTEE

CHICAGO. — Jack Altman, secretary of the Labor Committee of Local New York, has been named to the party's National Labor Committee. The other members are Leo Krzycki, of the A.C.W.A., chairman; Powers Haggood, organizer for a number of unions and veteran miners' union organizer, secretary; James D. Graham, president of the Montana State Federation of Labor; Franz Daniel, of the A.C.W.A., and Murray Baron, manager of the suit case workers' union.

International Takes Control Of Movie Local

MEETING at the Central Opera House at midnight Tuesday, the members of Local 306, Moving Picture Operators' Union, heard from the representatives of the International union a report of a recently concluded investigation. The report backed up to the hilt the charges made by the Progressive Group Committee and printed from time to time in these columns.

But the report also showed that one objective of the committee had been attained. Harry Sherman, czaristic successor to Czar Kaplan, had resigned, together with all the other officers of the local. Reorganization is under way.

George E. Brown, international president of the alliance, presided at the meeting, and Vice-President Holmden made the report. It was revealed that assets of over a million dollars had been dissipated during the past year, and that the union had been losing ground steadily.

It will be recalled that Kaplan was forced out following attacks upon him by Norman Thomas and the labor committee of the Socialist Party. The administration of Sherman and his henchman, which paralleled his predecessor's, was also under fire by the labor committee, which seconded the efforts of the union's own Progressive Group Committee to make the union a clean, progressive, fighting workers' organization. The battle was being won when all kinds of political tricks were resorted to by the administration. Then the International Alliance stepped in and took over the local's affairs. The progressives urged the members to cooperate with the International toward the rehabilitation of the union instead of resorting to court action, as Sherman's followers had threatened.

In recent months, the progressives were also instrumental in carrying on a vigorous organization and unionization campaign among movie theatres. Party members and Yipsels have been of considerable help.

BON VOYAGE DINNER TO JULIUS HOCHMAN AUG. 14

A bon voyage dinner will be tendered to Julius Hochman, general manager of the New York JJoint Board, Dress and Waist-makers' Union, on Tuesday, Aug. 14, at 6:30, at Webster Hall, prior to his leaving for Europe to attend the congress of the International Clothing Workers' Federation. Hochman will be a delegate from the I.L.G.W.U.

Phillip Kapp is secretary of the dinner committee and Luigi Antonini chairman.

Illinois Jobless Convention Pushes Fighting Program

By Paul Rasmussen

STAUNTON, Ill. — Meeting in what is believed to be one of the most significant conventions in the history of mid-west labor, the Illinois Workers' Alliance held its first annual convention here. With one hundred delegates present, representing approximately 89,000 unemployed and part-time workers in 47 counties, a tremendous drive was launched for the establishment of real relief standards. Coming as the climax of eight months' intense organizational efforts, the convention clearly demonstrates the advancing march of America's unemployed.

The convention vigorously condemned the failure of the Roosevelt administration to supply "even the most meager standards of subsistence relief or to supply a permanent solution for our troubles." The AAA was attacked for its "program of disguised subsidies to large banks, corporations, loan and mortgage companies, for its ruthless policy of large-scale destruction of food and crops," and for its failure to help the working farmer. The delegates envisaged a "clear trend toward a peculiar American brand of fascism" or a new and more devastating world war in the Vinson bill, its appropriation of a billion dollars for battleships, and its gift of 75,000 rifles to the American Legion. The semi-military training of hundreds of thousands of American youngsters in the CCC camps was vigorously protested, and a special resolution condemned the Federal Homestead Subsidence Act for its open endorsement of scabbing on both farmer and industrial worker.

On the immediate program of

relief demands are cash relief, work for all at union wages, unemployment insurance and representation of I.W.A. members on all relief boards.

Demanding the abolition of the capitalist system, the convention unanimously called for the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth, and urged its members to support the candidates of working class parties pledged to end the private profit system.

The new declaration of principles calls for support by the I.W.A. of bona fide labor and farmer unions and for international solidarity of all workers in their common struggle for emancipation.

The new state executive board is composed of militant and active leaders of the struggles of the Illinois unemployed. Katherine De Roré, fighting leader of southern Illinois coal miners' wives, was elected, as were Oscar Sturm of Staunton, secretary; Ed Morgan of Staunton, chairman; Simon Trojar, Chicago; Paul Rasmussen, Springfield; Jerry Johnson, Farmington; Archie Crabtree, Roodhouse; Ralph Cox, Taylorville; Glen Bullock, Kewanee; R. M. Hendrickson, Sandoval; Harold Kennedy, Streator, and Jim Shipley of Carlinville.

The executive board at once appointed six field organizers who will carry the militant and common sense program of the I.W.A. into scores of new and unorganized communities. The program calls for mass demonstrations and strikes where necessary on work relief projects by this rapidly growing organization, which now boasts a chartered and affiliated strength of more than 138 groups.

Membership Raps Malpractices of Union Officials

A meeting of the membership of the retail grocery clerks union Tuesday night followed with absorbed interest the report of the investigating committee appointed some time ago to probe charges against officials of the union. When the smoke cleared away, it was revealed that the committee had found three men guilty of malpractices and had recommended that Sam Heller, Willie Hochman and Charles Weisberg be not permitted to hold office or speak at union meetings for a term of years.

When first put to vote, the complete report was accepted without change. After many of the members had gone home, the report was resubmitted and the individual penalties revoked upon and altered.

As a result, the penalty put on Weisberg—not to accept office for two years and not to appear at union meetings for one year—was removed. In the case of Hochman, for whom the same punishment had been voted, the provision forbidding his attendance at meetings was dropped. Heller, whose punishment was five years without office and two years' abstention from meetings, was allowed to attend meetings.

The Socialist League in the union, aided by the Labor Committee, had pushed the charges, which included financial malpractices.

Knit Goods and Shipping Clerk Strikes Voted

Over 18,000 knit goods workers will be affected by the overwhelming vote just polled for a general strike in the knit goods industry. Returns have been announced from Manhattan, Brooklyn, Newark and Union City, N. J., shops, where balloting went on under the auspices of the Knit Goods Joint Council of the I.L.G.W.U. and the United Textile Workers.

The vote for a general strike followed the refusal by the three bosses' organizations to accede to the demand of the unions for wage increases, reduction in hours and reclassification of workers. Spokesmen for the negligible Communist union distributed leaflets outside the polling places urging support of the strike but attacking the unions which must conduct it.

When the walkout takes place, thousands of shipping clerks, order clerks, packers, errand boys and other workers recently organized in the Ladies' Garment Shipping Clerks' Union will also go out, for the first time. At a meeting of delegates from seven youth organizations, including the Y.P.S.L., the Student L.I.D., the Young Circle League, and Rebel Arts, as well as others outside the movement, a strike committee and a finance committee were elected to aid in organization and strike work.

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

Socialist Lawyers Win Right To Picket Despite Injunction

IN two recent cases successfully contested by the Socialist Lawyers' Association, the right of members of the Young People's Socialist League to picket even where injunctions had been granted against the unions' pickets was established in New York. This right was maintained by the vigorous action of the association, which has won a proud place for itself as a voluntary labor defense organization, and by the willingness of Yipsels to brave arrest and bodily harm in defiance of injunctions.

One such injunction had been granted to the Hygrade Food Products Corporation against the Butchers Union (Local 211, A. F. of L.) on July 5th by Justice Brennan in the Supreme Court, Kings County. Officers, members, employees, agents and attorneys of the local and of Local 3174, and all other persons acting under their control, were restrained from doing certain acts in carrying out the present strike.

Two Yipsels—Ezra Cohen and Helen Rosenberg—volunteered to picket in front of the Grant Grill, 42nd Street near 7th Avenue, a customer of the Hygrade, on July 12. They marched up and down carrying placards inscribed "This Store Sells Non-Union Provisions. Buy Only Union Products. Young People's Socialist League." A representative of Hygrade had the pickets arrested, charged with criminal contempt for the alleged willful violation of an order of the court prohibiting picketing of the provision firm's customers.

At the trial before Magistrate Alexander Brough, in the Second District Court, Irwin Nussbaum of the Socialist Lawyers' Association contended that the injunction was not binding on third parties not acting under control of the unions. His argument was sustained, and the complaint was dismissed and the defendants discharged.

Four days later, on July 16, Elsie Auerbach and Mildred Lietzin, two more Yipsels, were peacefully picketing in front of the same store with the same signs, when they were also arrested and charged with "criminal contempt." Harry Kavesh, of the Socialist Lawyers' Association, appeared before Magistrate Van Amringe, and presented the same defense as in the former cases. The magistrate seemed exceedingly impressed with the seriousness of the charge and the importance of handing down a correct decision. On three different occasions the case was adjourned for the purpose of supplying him with memoranda of law, so that he "could look further into the question." He took the materialistic position that in these changing times even our legal conceptions change, and he wanted to see how far people could go in their right of free speech and assembly. Three memos were prepared; Abraham C. Weinfeld, also of the S.L.A., was of counsel on the brief.

Finally, on July 30, the magistrate held that the provisions of the injunction order must be "strictly construed," and since the defendants were not named therein

Party Organizers Slugged, Arrested, in Union Strike

TOLEDO, Ohio.—Ohio is still in the United States and the town of McGuffey is still in Ohio. The name of the sheriff patrolling the county where the union strike is going on isn't Hitler, but in all other respects he seems to be a worthy competitor of the Nazi degenerate.

The sheriff owns the law and the land companies own the sheriff. The strikers are nothing but dirt; the pickets are public enemies, and the Socialist organizers who are helping in the strike are meant to be slugged and arrested and then charged with felonious assault and "assault with intent to kill" because they get in the way of the deputies' clubs. Bail is jacked up and legal property collateral is refused. Truck loads of deputies roam the countryside and slug strikers. Company officials prosecute for the state. The governor and the attorney-general (one a Republican, one a Democrat) murmur sympathy and refuse to interfere.

Among those slugged and imprisoned are Karl Pauli, state organizer of the Socialist Party; Jerry Raymond, another party organizer, and at least thirteen strikers.

But the strikers are solid, and public opinion is veering in their direction. The harvest must be blocked, and help is needed at once.

or acting under the control of the defendants in the Supreme Court action, they could not be held for criminal contempt. He discharged them, adding that they could not be prevented from picketing under the terms of the order. He did intimate, however, that there might be some other way of stopping them.

These recent cases are only a few of those handled by the association in its work of handling the legal end of labor's struggles. These cases are particularly important in that they establish the right of third parties to carry on independently the struggle of the workers where they may be barred themselves. The same question will be raised in the case of Henry Fruchter, Morris Salkind, Albert Herling, William Farrell, Harold Luxenberg and Irving Mitchell, charged with violating the injunction granted against Local 505 of the Bakers' Union by notorious Justice Faber.

Notorious Court Order Reversed

The Appellate Division, Brooklyn, has handed down a decision of importance to organized labor in the case of the Laundry Drivers' Union against the Kleen Laundry Service, Inc., a Brooklyn laundry. A judgment in favor of the firm was handed down last April by Justice Leander B. Faber. Judge Faber held that the contract between the union and the laundry corporation was obtained through duress and coercion, was "harsh, unfair and impossible of performance," and that a contract entered into between the employer and the drivers—independent of its express terms—was valid.

The contract with the Kleen laundry was one of a number obtained by the union in a drive launched towards the close of last year to organize drivers throughout the city. Shortly after the contract was signed, the employer disavowed it.

The union, represented by Goldberg and Solomon, appealed from the Faber decision to the Appellate Division, which reversed Faber.

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

Painters in General Strike To Maintain Union Conditions

By Isidor Polstein

FACED with the ultimatum of master painters that they would impose a dollar cut in daily wages and an hour increase in the workday, between ten and twelve thousands painters have gone out in a general strike to preserve union conditions and a chance to live a decent life. Their pickets are thronging the streets and all painting work has ceased. The master painters, in planning their coup, forgot about collective bargaining and "recovery"; they thought this was a good time for a showdown. But the painters and decorators belonging to the Brotherhood are showing them up instead!

"United, orderly and disciplined, the painters of New York will march on to victory for the preservation of the seven-hour-day and the nine dollar wage and for a strong painters' union," the strike call reads. And that's just what the painters are doing.

The main issue involved is that of stabilizing the painting industry by having incorporated in the New York City Regional Painting Code the nine dollar wage for a seven-hour-day. Although these conditions have not been fully lived up to, the employers nevertheless have declared a lockout unless the union agrees to their demands of an eight dollar wage for an eight-hour-day.

At a conference called by the NRA Regional Labor Board, the employers argued that due to the severe competition of the unorganized shops, their survival demands a reduction for labor expenses. The union representatives, after showing the need for shorter hours and a living, sought to have the union scale incorporated in the code. Other vitally important issues include that of discrimination by employers against union activity of Brotherhood painters; also that of eliminating from the present code the clause favoring the banks and other property owners which gives them cheap maintenance painters hired by the year.

In the meantime the Painters Union is signing up hundreds of

"Adviser" Losing Out In Pocketbook Union

A crowded and riotous membership meeting of the International Pocketbook Workers' Union Tuesday night saw and heard what is probably the last stand of the cohorts of Ossip Walinsky, recently elected "legal adviser" to the union against the warnings and pleas of the Socialist and other progressive elements in and out of the union.

With the hall of the Stuyvesant High School in continuous uproar—what with the shouts and chants of the pro- and anti-Walinsky adherents; with Walinsky offering to resign and then refusing; with the administration officials, who had first opposed Walinsky and then had been instrumental in foisting him upon the union, again turning against their "adviser"—the meeting was marked by fist-cuffs and adjourned finally without any action being taken. The adjournment was forced by the refusal of the pro-Walinsky forces to allow the meeting to continue, since, in view of the change of sentiment among the membership, they realized that defeat stared them in the face and that their discredited leader would be compelled to withdraw.

Ever since Walinsky's return to the union which he had betrayed, a united front of his opponents, including the Socialist League, has been functioning. The reversal of union sentiment resulted from their activity, plus the resentment of the members at the surrender of union demands by Walinsky.

independent employers and union men are returning under the previous working conditions.

Due to the promise of Ben Golden, chairman of the Regional Labor Board, that he will endeavor to have an early inclusion of the union scale and conditions in the Area Code Agreement, the master painters may withdraw their lock-out and again employ union painters under the conditions prior to the strike. Meanwhile the district council is arranging huge demonstrations from the nine strike halls and is vigorously protesting police attempts to disperse the parades.

Union Directory

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

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

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

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

CORSET AND BRASSIERE WORKERS' UNION, Local 42, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Abraham Snyder, Manager.

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

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

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

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

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

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, Downtown office, 640 Broadway; phone, SPring 7-4548; uptown office, 36 W. 37th St.; phone, WISconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 o'clock. Manager, N. Spector; Secretary-Treas., Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodas.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone, ALgonquin 4-7082. 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 TYPGRAPHICAL 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 J. McGrath, Vice-President; Samuel J. O'Brien, James P. Redmond and James J. Buckley, Organizers.

WAITERS' AND 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. Telephone, CHelsea 3-5756-5757. A. Snyder, Manager. S. Shore, Executive Supervisor.

BUTCHER UNION NO. 174

informs the public that the following stores are strictly union and deserve the full support of the buying public:

STRICTLY KOSHER PROVISION HOUSES

BRONX NATIONAL, 1353 Boston Road, City
EUROPEAN PROVISION CO., 130 Attorney Street, City
GELLIS, ISAAC, 37 Essex Street, City
GITLIN'S KOSHER PROV. CO., 134 Rivington Street, City
HEBREW NATIONAL, 155 East Broadway, City
LEBANON KOSHER PROV., 222 East 6th Street, City
Volk & Sussman, 88 Attorney Street, City
ZION NATIONAL, 486 Austin Place, Bronx
NATIONAL KOSHER MEAT CORP., 1560 Boone Avenue

KOSHER STYLE

ANDERSON & TARLOW, 482 Austin Place, Bronx
CROTONA PROV. CO., 1353 Boston Road, Bronx
GREENBAUM & CO., 328 East 103rd Street, City
MANHATTAN PROV. CO., 224 East 6th Street, City
MAKOVSKY PROV. CO., 246 Eldridge Street, City
MAJESTIC PROV. CO., 209 Lewis Street, City
PREMIER PROV. CO., 15 Rivington Street, City
ROTHMANN, A., 159 East 4th Street, City
METROPOLITAN PROV., 15 Rivington Street, City

PORK AND PRODUCTS MANUFACTURERS

ERNST & SON, 660 Morris Park Avenue, City
FISCHER & CO., 2291 Second Avenue, City
KAST, HENRY, 227 Greenwich Street, City
MAUTHE BROS., 577 Tenth Avenue, City
MERKEL, AUGUST, 1958 Amsterdam Avenue, City
MYRTLE, JOE, 1508 Second Avenue, City
PAULUS, JOHN, 886 East 169th Street, City
TILP, RUDOLF, 811 East 180th Street, City
YORKVILLE PACKING HOUSE, 1530 Second Ave., City
PLYMOUTH ROCK PROV. CO., 167th St. and Third Ave.
KORDINO PORK CO., 660 Jackson Avenue
E. KEGLER PORK STORE, 1979 Third Avenue
PFEIFER & STOFFERS, 1711 Second Avenue
M. HUBER, 1758 Second Avenue
BAUMAN BROS., 1592 Second Avenue
WM. SCHIERLITZ, 1825 Second Avenue

WHOLESALE HAM CONCERNS

HOLSCHUH, WM., 686 East 134th Street, Bronx
FISCHER & CO., 2291 Second Avenue, City
HUGO & WIEBKE, 477 Willis Avenue, Bronx
KAST, HENRY, 227 Greenwich Street, City
TILP, RUDOLF, 811 East 180th Street, City

FRANKFURTER COMPANIES

ELLA'S FRANKFURTER, 452 East 174th Street
OLYMPIA FRANKFURTER, 339 East 115th Street
STAR FRANKFURTER, 90 East 3rd Street

The following firms are still on strike:

STAHL-MEYER, Third Ave. and 127th Street, New York
Brooklyn Shop, Wyckoff Avenue, Brooklyn
HYGRADE FOOD PROD. CORP., 152 Broadway, Brooklyn
New York Shop, 143rd Street and Third Avenue
CARMEL SHOPS, 74 and 112 East 4th Street
LIBERTY PROV. CO., 151 East 4th Street
FRANK FIOROR, Inc., 33rd St. and First Ave., N. Y. City
FINK & SONS, Newark, N. J.

State Campaign Planned by Committee

PLANS for a vigorous state campaign, as well as a drive for party organization in the state, were made at a lengthy session of the New York State Executive Committee held at The New Leader office Monday night. A campaign committee was elected, a state committee on activity among women was provided for, and plans made for state-wide campaign tours by the principal candidates on the state ticket.

It was the opinion of the committee that the main part of the up-state campaign, outside of a limited number of big hall meetings, be conducted in August and September. In October big meetings and radio broadcasts, as well as publicity, will be counted upon to carry on the propaganda up-state.

Norman Thomas, candidate for United States Senator, will begin an automobile tour up-state about the middle of September, covering towns and villages where there has been no Socialist propaganda in many years. William Karlin, candidate for Attorney-General, will tour the state in September, and August Claessens, nominee for Congressman-at-Large, will likewise make an intensive tour of the state, looking toward organization rather than votes. Herman Kobbe, candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, and Charles W. Noonan, candidate for Congressional-at-Large, will likewise make extensive speaking trips up-state.

The campaign committee elected consists, to start with, of Frank Hill, G. A. Gerber, Julius Gerber, William M. Feigenbaum, Harry Kritzer, Emil Bromberg, U. Solomon, Esther Friedman and Meyer Gillis. They will add to their numbers, select a campaign manager and publicity staff and have direct charge of the campaign. The committee will hold its first meeting Monday at 6:30.

Other speakers to be toured through the state will include George R. Kirkpatrick, William E. Duffy and Lena Morrow Lewis.

Gertrude Weil Klein was entrusted with the task of building up a Committee on Propaganda among women, and to get the work of that body under way.

The finance committee of the campaign will consist of Frank Hill, George I. Steinhart, Meyer Gillis, Morris Berman and G. A. Gerber. State Chairman Waldman, Charles Solomon and William Karlin were elected State Committee on Public Affairs, with Harry W. Laidler, chairman of the New York City committee, as ex-officio member. U. Solomon was elected chairman of the standing sub-committee on Budget, and G. A. Gerber of the standing sub-committee on Organization and Propaganda. These committees will add to their numbers as their work develops.

Comrade Marquer, Head of Insurance Co., Dies

Newman Marquer, executive secretary for the past eight years of the Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, passed away last Tuesday. Ever since the formation of the Socialist Party Comrade Marquer was a member in good standing and for several years was a member of the City Executive Committee of Local New York and was active in the German Branch.

Comrade Marquer had hosts of friends in the radical movement throughout the country who were inspired by his ability and steadfastness. For many years he was active in the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, the Workmen's Educational Association, the Volkszeitung Publishing Ass'n and the Cooperative League of America, serving over a long period as

The Basic Principles of the Modern Socialist Movement

By James O'neal

The Materialistic Conception of History

CONTINUING our discussion of the material factors at the basis of historical evolution, let us further consider the influence of the changing frontier in shaping ideas and institutions in the United States.

If the state-kept Congregational church provided worship for the merchant ruling class in New England and the Episcopal church provided it for the landed aristocracy of the South, the democracy of the frontier supported the Methodist and Baptist forms of worship. These sects, unlike Congregationalism and Episcopalianism, provided no stately or impressive services. The services were simple and democratic and thus appealed to farmer, hunter, trapper and mechanic. Thus religious ideas were influenced by the environment in each case.

The more raw society of the frontier had a marked influence upon the language used. Polished English was unknown and the crude speech reflected the influence of frontier life. William Henry Milburn, a pioneer preacher, published a book in 1860 which presents some remarkable interpretations of the effect of frontier conditions on the life of frontier people. "Men must have bread before books," he wrote. "Men must build barns before they establish colleges. Men must learn the language of the rifle, the axe, and the plough, before they learn the lessons of Grecian and Roman philosophy and history. . . . The early settlers had to solve the imperative instant question of present want."

Milburn observed "traits and tendencies" in the language of the frontier. "There is, so to speak, a western Anglo-American language," he wrote, "corresponding singularly and strictly with the western style of thought, and the character of western men. The language is thickly studded with rude proverbial forms, all redundant with wild untrained metaphors, some of which, if you please, we will call cant and slang."

Isolated from the centers of education and in constant communication with the Indians, the language of the frontier was transformed and a frontier slang emerged of which some survivals may still be observed in the West and Middle West. Thus "cantankerous," "rampagious," "rambunctious" and "hifalutin" come down from the days when Lincoln was splitting rails in Illinois. It is also a commonplace of history that in the isolated sections of the mountains of some southern states

many people still speak the rough English of our colonial ancestors and that the spinning wheel and hand loom still survive. They are instances of development arrested at the colonial stage.

As the frontier gave way to towns and then cities, the frontier people resented the invasion. The well-dressed eastern preacher sustained by eastern contributions was a suspected aristocrat. The uneducated frontier preachers and their followers believed that the invader was solely interested in lucre. Why pay a "dude" for polished sermons when the "real gospel" could be obtained for nothing from circuit riders who traveled the wilderness, swam rivers, slept in the woods and often endured hunger?

So the human product of one environment came into conflict with the human product of another. When Peter Cartwright, a famous Illinois circuit rider, visited Boston he was appalled at the salaries paid organists, the pomp and display of the churches, which give "precedence to the rich, the proud, and fashionable part of our hearers, and unavoidably blocks up the way of the poor." He resented the large funds spent in building "ornamental churches, to make a vain show and gratify pampered pride." "The bourgeois East was making his church respectable and he could no more accept it than the polished preachers from the East could tolerate the raw 'heathens' of the West."

This invasion of one environment by people from another one was also resented on other grounds. The new clothes and shoes produced by eastern manufacturers were accepted by the younger generation of the West but the older people disliked the invasion. Of this Thomas Ford, an early Illinois historian, wrote that "the older people resented the change. They would have been better contented to live in their old log cabins, go bare-footed, and eat hog and hominy. From such were heard complaints that the spinning wheel and the loom were neglected, and that all the earnings of the young people were expended in the purchase of finery."

What are all of these human reactions if not the result of views fixed by environment and suspecting views and ways of living by people living in another environment? Beliefs become rooted in a given society and then react upon that society, tending to perpetuate it even after it has begun to decay. This tendency of beliefs to survive long after the basis out of which they emerged has decayed is one of the main obstacles to social change.

(Continued next week)

While Armed Men March

By William M. Feigenbaum

HITLER crushes the labor movement, enslaves the masses, and fastens chains on the limbs of millions of workers, making of a once great country a madhouse and a torture chamber.

Mussolini destroys the labor movement, grinds the toiling masses into the dust and destroys all human liberties.

Dollfuss trained big guns on the homes of working people, slaughtering men, women and children in the name of the "patriotic front."

Drought spreads over the West, drying up tens of millions of acres, destroying crops and causing the death of millions of head of cattle.

Armed men march; the earth shakes with the tramp of countless legions; the world's peace trembles in the balance.

Poor, tortured human beings! What a world for them and the generations to come!

But wait a moment. It appears that we're all wrong.

Here are some headlines from a single issue of the New York Times (Monday, July 30):

"PREDICT WHEAT CUT



Notenkraaker, Amsterdam.

Arms Magazine: "Long live all Fatherlands! May they fight to the bitter end!"

DOWN TO NEW LOW. . . . Expect Farm Price Rise."

"FINANCIAL MARKETS. . . Reflections Upon New York Market's Response to News of Political Disturbances in Europe."

"Activity Increases in German Industry. Up to 59.6% of Capacity from 57.7% in May."

"Vienna markets are undisturbed. Outlook called bright."

"Stocks in Paris rebound in buying wave after short sales caused by war rumor."

"Berlin Stocks Recover. Close Steady After Sharp Fall Due to Vienna Revolt."

"LONDON'S ATTITUDE ON AUSTRIA CALM. Markets React Widely."

"Anxiety Ends in Holland. . . Stock Exchange in Amsterdam optimistic on Austria."

We thought wars were terrible because they killed millions of human beings and destroyed the best in humanity; we used to think drought and devastation were bad because they brought suffering to human beings. But we were wrong.

It's all a matter of markets and dividends, prices and profits. . . .

That is, so long as capitalism rules!

Socialists Will Wipe Out Slums Of London

By Victor Riesel

IN five years the decrepit and dangerous slum areas of London will be a thing of the past. Socialist-controlled London is now reaping the benefits of the recent election that put the control of the city in the hands of the Labor Party. This majority, under the powerful leadership of Herbert Morrison, put a plan through the council for the greatest municipal improvement ever attempted, that will wipe out all known slums in the city and provide the workers with more than 16,000 modern apartment houses.

The Socialists, knowing that they have the confidence of the masses, are planning long beyond the term of office of the present council. Lewis Silkin, Socialist chairman of the Committee on Housing and Public Health, summed up the party's attitude as follows:

"We were given a majority by the people of London to clear away the slums of London, and we intend to do it. Neither money nor any other reason shall stop us until the last slum dwelling has disappeared."

Inculcated into these plans are projects to beautify the south side of the Thames. Attractive gardens and promenades along the river front will be laid out. Only buildings which are in keeping with the new developments on the embankment will receive license for future construction in the area. The Socialists will further propose that more than two and one-half million dollars be spent for the installation of a more efficient purification plant to deal with the garbage that is dumped into the river.

The Tories, in control of the city up to the last election, ignored the desperate conditions and the pertinent problems that the heavily congested living quarters of London presented. Except for a plan, that never passed the "paper" stage, that called for a displacement of a few tenements at a cost greatly boosted by graft and inefficiency, the situation was never mentioned at council meetings. The Labor majority will not only proceed to clear all of London slums in four or five years, but it will raise the permitted standard of housing accommodation and widen the scope of the definition of slum dwellings to include many more houses that are completely outmoded.

In order to prevent speculation and graft in the purchasing of areas, secret decisions have been made by the council as to the order in which these would be bought and the prices that would be paid.

Overcrowding, the bane of modern London, will thus be alleviated by the re-housing proposals. All new homes will be established as close to the present existing ones as possible. A time table has been established, in which it is planned to demolish 14,000 condemned houses, an area greater than New York City's East Side, before June, 1937. Efficient engineers under the supervision of the Socialists have reduced the cost to a minimum.

The Socialists are determined to do with London what their valiant comrades did in Vienna. They propose to eliminate the eyesores and the disease-infested areas and in their stead erect model homes, playgrounds, walks, parks and schools for the workers and their children. The memory of Vienna will be an ever-stimulating and inspiring incentive, a great monument dedicated to workers' rule.

advisor and delegate to conventions of the latter organization. Much of the progress of the Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society was due to his efforts.

Funeral services were held Thursday evening at 8 at Engel's funeral parlors, 315 E. 83rd St. The body

will be taken to the N. Y. and N. J. Crematorium, Hudson Blvd. and Humboldt St., North Bergen, N. J., Friday at 1:30.

The Workers Abroad

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

By Mark Khunoy

Moscow Answers Austrian Y.P.S.L.

IN this column a few weeks ago I reprinted a letter addressed by the underground Y.P.S.L. center of Austria to the Communist Youth International in Moscow. The leaders of our youth movement in Austria invited the Moscow leaders of the Communist youth to arrange for a "non-aggression treaty" and "united action" pact between the two youth organizations.

The Moscow answer came by telegraph three weeks later and could hardly be considered very satisfactory. As reprinted in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, it expresses the readiness of the Moscow leaders to discuss with the young Socialists the problem of united action against fascism. It ignores, however, the question of a non-aggression pact without which the Socialist youth of Austria considers any "united front" action as nothing but an utterly dishonest maneuver. The Moscow telegram is signed by Lacroa and Massi and includes two significant phrases. One indicates the readiness to negotiate directly with the Socialist Youth International if the latter will make such a proposal. The other informs them that the Austrian center of the Communist youth "was given permission" to deal with the local Socialist center on this subject. But again not a word about putting a stop to the criminal campaign of vituperation and vilification the local and international Communist press is still conducting against the Austrian Socialists. However, this might have been left out for "bargaining purposes" and might be conceded later when direct negotiations begin.

The telegram claims that the youth sections of Socialists and Communists are already cooperating harmoniously in France and Spain. To this statement we may take exception. In the first country the non-aggression and joint action agreement is only a few days old and it is therefore too early to judge how it will work out. As to Spain, the statement does not seem to be correct even in the autonomous republic of Catalonia, where a workers' alliance of Socialist, syndicalist and Communist organizations has been in existence for almost eight months. Even in Catalonia the official Communists keep aloof from the real united front and continue their nefarious attacks on all non-Stalinist forces of the revolution.

Workers' Unity in Spain

THE utter isolation of the official Communists in Spain was strikingly demonstrated at the regional conference of the Workers' Alliance in Barcelona on June 17. The powerful Socialist Party and all Socialist and syndicalist controlled unions with their millions of members were represented there; also the opposition Communist groups—but not a single representative of the official Communist organizations, youth or adult.

The reference therefore to Spain is a little premature. As reported by the French press, the conference of the Labor Alliance adopted a resolution stating that in the event of the establishment of an independent Catalan Republic, the Workers' Alliance would defend Catalonia against any attack of the central government and would rally the proletariat of all Spain to its defense. At the same time an effort will be made to transform the Catalan Republic into a Socialist republic.

In the realm of immediate demands, the conference agreed on a platform demanding, among other things, the arming of the workers, complete liberty of organization and propaganda for all workers' organizations, expropriation of the estates of the most active leaders of the Regionalist "LLIGA", the closing of all fascist centers, arrest of the monarchist and fascist leaders, and the 44-hour week in all branches of industry.

Unity in Action in Saar

HERE is an example of the Socialist-Communist unity in practice in the Saar Valley, of which I spoke in the last issue: "... Organize all over the district committees for the united struggle against reunion with Hitler's Germany!" says a joint appeal of the two parties. "Unite for the self-defense of all the anti-fascists! Unite for the protection of their lives, homes and property against the terror of Hitler bands! Fight for the freedom of assembly, demonstrations, organizations and press! Fight against the fascization of the administration, of the courts and the police! Fight against the intimidation of the anti-fascists and for the uprooting of all the fascist elements from these institutions!"

"Close your ranks for determined trade union action! Fight for a raise in wages, pensions and dole and for the further extension of all the precious social gains! Fight against the fascist terror in the shops and factories, and the more effective unity of all workers, professionals and office-holders in the trade unions, followed by a struggle against the yellow (clerical and fascist) unions!"

"The Social Democratic and the Communist parties declare in this connection that great as is their desire to create unity of action of Socialist and Communist workers, they remain true to their separate views on the aims and methods of the Socialist and labor move-

It's Quite Nice for the Big Dairy Executives

WHILE babies in the big cities languish for lack of wholesome milk which so many working-class and jobless families are unable to pay for; while the price of milk is jacked up one cent a quart; while dairy farmers must go out on strike from time to time in a desperate attempt to wrest from the big dairy companies a mere living; the big dairy companies are doing quite well, thank you.

For example, we learn from the Rural New Yorker that the National Dairy Products Corporation reports net sales during a single year of \$231,196,979.72, ON A WORKING CAPITAL OF \$8,891,401.53. Deducting all salaries (about which more later), expenses, taxes, DIVIDENDS ON PREFERRED STOCKS AND INTEREST ON FUNDED DEBT (all of which is really profits), there is still a profit of \$7,051,872.05 on capital.

That is, after deducting absurdly swollen salaries, and dividends and interest—which are in effect a form of profits—this company trading upon the dire need of human beings — MOSTLY BABIES — turned in a profit of 79 per cent.

The Borden company reported gross sales of \$186,301,203 in the same period. It reported a capital surplus of \$25,018,745, a profit of 18 per cent on working capital, after deducting dividends on preferred stock, salaries, interest on funded debt, etc.

And while babies were crying for milk and while dairy farmers were striking against the companies to gain a mere subsistence from the

dairy companies, the officers of the two companies were being paid as follows:

National Dairy Products Corporation:	
Thomas H. McInerney, president, director	\$168,000
J. F. Bridges, vice-president	31,611
V. P. Hovey, vice-president	55,000
Wilbur S. Scott, vice-president	46,666
G. H. Supple, vice-president	23,493
L. A. Van Bomel, vice-president	70,000
A. A. Stockler, treasurer, director	23,333
Chas. R. Bowman, director, executive com.	44,681
H. N. Browner, director, executive com.	28,250
J. L. Kraft, director, executive com.	75,000
Total	\$546,064

Borden Company:	
L. Manuel Hendler, chairman	\$ 42,600
SW district	
John Lefebvre, director, chairman	20,000
Wis. district	
Robert V. Jones, assistant to vice-president	26,000
John B. Brewster, director, vice-president	55,000
Arthur W. Milburn, director, chief exec.	108,350
Stanley M. Ross, director, chairman O-Ind. district	20,000
Wallace D. Strack, director, vice-president	46,133
Arthur G. Milbank, chairman board	23,200
Patrick D. Fox, vice-president	57,433
Merritt J. Norton, vice-president	14,400
Ralph D. Ward, vice-president	34,833
Total	\$447,949

Not bad, what, if you happen to be a vice-president or a director? (But not quite so good for the babies and their parents, and for the dairy farmers!)

Of course, we might socialize the milk supply pay the farmers decent wages, cut out the insane salaries and eliminate the swollen profits, and supply wholesome milk at low prices. But the vice-presidents and the directors wouldn't like it. And besides, it might make people think there was something to be said for Socialism. So we'll go right along in the same old way... until a lot of people who are now asleep wake up.

in the rear it will have to contend with Hitlerism. And, consequently, the instinct of self-preservation dictates the Bolsheviks a new orientation both in the field of its class, or proletarian, policies and in the realm of diplomacy and international politics. Soviet Russia has now come closer to the French government and therefore is fishing for popular support among the French masses.

For Labor Unity

But whatever the real cause that forced the Communist leaders in France to change overnight their attitude toward their "worst enemy," the Socialist Party, the rapprochement of the two movements that began with the vigorous anti-fascist fight by the Socialists on Feb. 6, last, is going on and is daily making more progress. This is at present especially noticeable on the industrial field, where negotiations go on in almost every industry to end the curse of dual unionism. One of the first large Communist unions to be thus absorbed will probably be the "Unity" (Communist) Federation of Railroad Workers. The regular federation of railroad unions, at its congress two weeks ago, agreed to the terms of a unity congress. The agreement contains a number of important points that are being repeated in the numerous drafts of other "unity" negotiations.

THIS IS ROBBERY

By William Morris

WHAT I want to point out now is the impossibility of our attaining to attractive labor under this system, and to repeat that it is this robbery (there is no other word for it) which wastes the available labor-power of the civilized world, forcing many men to do nothing, and many, very many more to do nothing useful; and forcing those who carry on really useful labor to most burdensome over-work.

How the Farmer

By Moorh

American agriculture has not been studied by Socialists as it deserves, and no more complex problem faces us in this country. The following article is not submitted as a solution of this problem but as a contribution to an understanding of some phases of it, the two suggestions of the author being solely his.

AMERICAN agriculture is suffering from the same disease that affects all our national life—the worker gets too little, the owner of capital gets too much.

This is not the whole story, but it is the main part of it.

In the case of agriculture, the worker, of course, is the farmer. He is ordinarily thought of as the owner of the land and tools with which he works. As a matter of fact, he is nothing of the sort. Just about 50 per cent of our farmers are tenants who work other men's land, largely with other men's machinery, and receive as compensation for their labors a share of the crop, of uncertain value.

The other 50 per cent of supposedly "free" farmers are little better off. They may "own" their land, but in how few cases they own it free of debt one may guess when he discovers that American farms are today carrying in all about \$16,000,000,000 of indebtedness. In addition to this only a few farmers have any control whatever over the price at which they sell their products. How "free" a manufacturer would consider himself if he had to sell his product to one of two or three possible buyers at a price fixed by them is not hard of conjecture. Yet this is exactly the plight of the farmer. Thus, the men who control the agricultural market, plus the bankers, really own the capital and the farmer just works for them producing their interest and their profits.

And while the Agricultural Adjustment Act has, by impoverishing the whole nation, put some new purchasing power into the pockets of some farmers it has left untouched the great problem of his dependence upon market conditions beyond his control. No matter what acreage they plant, so long as farmers must compete with one another in selling their crops to a few powerful buyers it is obvious that they will never receive anything like their just share of the income from agriculture. Moreover, to cut acreage and still leave agriculture on a competitive basis means that each farmer must strive harder than ever to increase the yield on each acre he does farm, and that it will cost him more—for machinery and fertilizer, and the like—to do it than it did before. This is true because farmers compete against each other for what cash market there is and each must endeavor to produce more than his neighbor and get it to market quicker. And this is even more the case in view of the fact that taxes remain ex-

HELPING OUR



mediately produce and be more able to succeed upon whether or not the arising from fact the culture alone of our g... industries, still organi... millions of producing must each case own c... expense is an amount... If it is not, a farmi... erly coordinated plan... support as indent un... present families and s... nish cheap ant food... people of them, then... out would se be as... First and essent... agricultural sing an... keting system be so... from top to... Until... done most of rice paid... consumer food will... middlemen a... processing... rations and so the... Moreover, socion of... ing is the to a na... planned agri... a system the onal ma... agency could p... mated require of the... for staple crop then... to buy allfor for... from farmers, fix... before the crop ever... In the second, taxes... should and be colle... kind rather an cash... farmers could brougt... cooperative ations fo... own benefit the simple... of having... ca, se

Farmer Is Robbed

By Moorhis

high that thou- of fa have had to on their steads because could (met), because it is a burden, be- more must be for may the farmer se fact in need than a cas ne. great ities stand out elation ne agricultural n. Fir ample that could duced, produced and the pe of the nation to r. Second, the ho cou would like to ance must not be this because of the duce, but they e rew accordingly. possiys out of the a sug themselves. The ican tradit and, is more im-

agency buy only from farmers who were members of such associations. Most farmers would like to be members of cooperative associations if only they could be sure that everyone else would do likewise and that no one would try to "beat" the organization by selling his crop outside the cooperative channels. By means of such cooperative associations it should be possible for large machines to be owned in common, thus reducing each individual farmer's overhead expense.

Finally, there is the problem of debts. Most of these can never be paid, anyway. They will result in foreclosure sooner or later. The reasonable solution would seem to be, therefore, for any farmer who desired to do so to be able to petition the government to assume his debt in return for his transferring the title to his land to the government and receiving back from it a use lease entitling him to live upon and farm the land so long as he works it himself.

By such a method, as I suggest above, perhaps the problem could be solved. But it all depends upon whether the farmer can carry on successfully on a small-scale basis and still keep the price of food down to a proper level of abundant distribution. Here is where the problem of the farmer ties into the problem of the distribution of income in the nation to the urban workers. If these workers received anything like their just due the farmer could dispose of an abundance of products — providing the market were socially controlled — and still make a good income himself.

St. Louis Star-Times



—and still make a good income himself. In any case it seems probable that if by planned production, and the socialization of marketing, the farmer could receive a large share of what now goes to processors, commission houses, packing and milling companies in profits, he would be able to make a good and secure living even though he were producing an abundance on small-scale farm units. If this plan should fail, another and somewhat more radical plan should be tried. It would consist roughly of a trade. The farm family would trade a certain amount of its supposed independence for a more enjoyable, care-free, and secure life. The subsistence homestead development now being carried on by the national government is some indication of the fact that the government can acquire land, and good land, too, very easily. But the "subsistence" idea is certainly a step backward out of the age of potential plenty in which we are supposed to live. Instead of this, I would suggest large-scale, scientifically managed farms run under competent managers by the government itself. Farmers who had been forced off their land, who preferred a more secure life, or who found that they preferred the new system, could become workers on these farms. Their wages could be based on the value of the crops they produced.

Rand School Graduate Leads Belfast Socialist Forces

By John G. Cooper

Editor's Note.—Many people are unaware of the fact that there are two Irelands. The Free State over which De Valera rules does not include six of the nine counties of Ulster, with a population of a million and a quarter, separated from the main part of Ireland by religious and historic antagonisms. When the Free State was constituted, the Ulster ("Orange") section, mainly Protestant, was taken out and constituted as Northern Ireland, with 13 members of Parliament in London, and a local parliament and other local institutions. The religious antagonism (between "Orange" and "Green") have long been counted upon to divide the Irish workers. Comrade Cooper of Olean, N. Y., after a visit to Belfast, found them rapidly forgetting the hatreds their rulers have told them to cherish, and building their own party.

BELFAST, the mad city of intolerance—where the Orange and Green meet to fight. July is the maddest month of the year, starting July 1st. to celebrate a victory by King William III over a gentleman by the name of King James II to determine which set of exploiters would continue to rob the workers in the land of the Shamrock and good whisky.

The aforesaid gentlemen with their contending armies did grievous battle for twelve days ending July 12th in the year 1688. King Billy was supposed to have won that battle, being the victor. Since that time the Orange Irish have wildly celebrated, to the discomfort and much sone-throwing by the Irishers, and it seems that every successive celebration has been hotter than the previous one. But from about 1923, the excitement has cooled off considerably. Thousands of the workers who wore the Orange and the Green with great glee decided (and more are deciding each year) to stop fighting each other like Killkenny cats and start doing something for one another in a co-operative way. So within the past few years they have been voting the Labor (Socialist) ticket in Northern Ireland and so far have elected two comrades, Harry Midgeley and Jack Beattie, to the Northern Irish parliament, winning by comfortable majorities. They have also elected members of the City Council and other officials not only in Belfast but in other parts of the six coun-



John G. Cooper

The aim of such a system would naturally be the production of abundance, and the more production increased the greater the wages of the working farmers could be. Model communities could be erected for the housing of families making these government farms and all manner of cultural advantages provided. Thus directly and deliberately the two great aims of agriculture would be served.

Undoubtedly the second method here suggested would arouse the antagonism of some rural people. But if it were tried first as a measure of unemployment relief, providing well-paid work for the unemployed, and if it worked well it might, without being forced upon the farmer, be deliberately chosen by him as a means of deliverance from the utter insecurity of his present condition.

tries, representing the interests of the workers.

Comrade Midgeley, by the way, lived in New York City a few years before the war and was a member of the Socialist Party there, belonging to Branch Eight. [Branch Eight was the sub-division of the party in the lower Bronx prior to 1913.] I spent a very delightful afternoon with him. He is the leading spirit in the Northern Ireland and Socialist and Labor movement, is secretary of the Bakers' Union, a good speaker and a fine propagandist with both voice and pen, and gives great credit to the Rand School which equipped him so well with knowledge and inspiration to devote his life to the emancipation of the working class.

He sends comradely greetings to the members of the Socialist Party in the United States and to the Rand School and especially to his former comrades in Branch Eight, and bids them watch Northern Ireland, as the comrades there are working hard for victory. The Socialist Party and the labor unions are one at election time and co-operate in every way to elect their chosen representatives. They also keep in close touch with the Socialist and Labor Party in the Free State, who are going forward in that part of Ireland with great strides. General O'Duffy and his blue shirts are slipping, as the Free State workers realize that he represents capitalism in the raw.

I had wondered for some time if the Irish Socialists were wise to Roosevelt's New Deal but after meeting with them I discovered that they were onto it and had sized it up correctly. Like us they are still trying to understand his destruction of cotton, hogs, etc., when millions were and still in sore need of the destroyed products. They think he and his advisers are stark madmen. The British and Irish press gave a great deal of publicity to the San Francisco strike, and as usual the Socialist press is the only one telling the truth about that conflict from the working class point of view. Everybody it seems was talking about it. I heard it discussed on the streets, in stores, street cars and other places, and the general opinion, as far as I could gather, was favorable to the strikers.

After the war the labor movement in Belfast was reconstructed under the name of the Belfast Labor Party. This was an organization which provided for representation from Socialist branches, and delegates from Trade Unions on the basis of a Labor Alliance. Harry Midgeley acted as secretary for several years at this time. Unfortunately, the work was intensified by two years of bloodshed arising from sectarian strife, from 1920 to 1922; but beginning with 1923 when a general election took place and in which Midgeley contested West Belfast for the Parliament at London a revival took place in Socialist and Labor affairs.

The working class movement in Belfast is now made up of one Socialist local called the Northern Ireland Socialist Party with an individual membership of about 300, and individual branches of the Northern Ireland Labor Party. The North of Ireland Labor Party is constituted in much the same way as the British Labor Party. Trade Union branches and organizations are eligible for affiliation and it is estimated that the affiliated strength in Belfast is about 20,000. It should be clearly stated that the policy of the Labor Party is definitely Socialist in character.

There are now two representatives in the North of Ireland Par-

Editor's Corner

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

The Kantorovitch Pamphlet

BEFORE us lies a pamphlet by Comrade Kantorovitch on the "Socialist Party at the Crossroads." We cannot consider it in detail, but Socialist integrity requires consideration of his approach to the problem. He quotes from my article in The New Leader of June 23, where I say, "Why tell the working class that this democracy is 'bogus' and then recommend a bogus instrument for their purpose?" He comments: "According to Oneal, one must admit that capitalist democracy is genuine and therefore an instrument to be utilized, (and no Socialist with the exception of the old guard ever admitted it was genuine) or bogus, and not to be utilized because it is bogus. It is difficult to imagine a more non-Marxian manner of thinking."

I am literally amazed at his comment that "one must admit that capitalist democracy is genuine" for immediately following the passage he quotes from me I added that this democracy "is limited and not satisfactory and must ever remain so under capitalism." I italicized this in the original so that no one could misunderstand or misinterpret me. Kantorovitch quotes one sentence and omits the other and completely reverses the plain meaning of two sentences contained in one paragraph! He coolly adds that I am guilty of "non-Marxian thinking"! You should not place your baby on my doorstep, Comrade Kantorovitch.

I have been fighting for a high type of Socialist ethics on all sides in this party discussion, and this is certainly not what Socialists want. In my article, I quoted Comrade Kantorovitch himself who had written that the "militants" in taking the view they did of democracy make themselves "unconscious and unwilling helpers of the capitalist class in the latter's fight against democracy." I quoted the Kantorovitch of 1932 against the Kantorovitch of 1934. The two are different men and yet the same person.

Some Party History

HE goes back into history to cite two comrades during the war who are not now on his side. I am not able to check these quotations but if such data are in order a few items against his present side are also in order. There are the "militants" who signed their program of 1932, Blanshard and Sinclair, who turned renegades. There is the New England "militant" who urged subsidies by the Federal Government for the capitalist class; Coleman whom Kantorovitch himself scored in the first number of the American Socialist Quarterly for rejecting the concept of the class struggle, and five of the signers of the 1932 document who are signers of the R. P. C.—Lovestone document this year.

The two Kantorovitch's also appear in the matter of Russia. He signed a resolution on this subject at Detroit that is in complete contradiction with what he has written in the Wecker. Translations from the Yiddish of what he has written would bring out this glaring contrast.

He raises the issue of "reformism," but if he will consult the party record in New York City he will find that his side sponsored it. When it emerged in the city convention in 1929, the "old guard" fought it and defeated it by the adoption of a resolution against seeking allies in "progressive" groups and against vague suggestions of changing the party name in order to get such support. Morris Hillquit led the fight against these proposed changes and the writer took the same position, but that was not the end of our fight with reformism.

Reform and Revolution

BUT what is meant by "reformism"? Kantorovitch does not define it and thus leaves it up in the air. My conception of it is precisely what we faced and defeated in the city convention of 1929. To fight day by day and inch by inch for the interests of the working class on the industrial field and in legislative bodies is to win reforms for the workers. No Socialist will reject the fight for such concessions and yet each one won does not bring Socialism. This struggle is not inconsistent with the struggle for the complete abolition of capitalism itself.

Reform and social revolution are not conflicting concepts. On the contrary, they correlate with each other. The day by day struggle provides experience, training, discipline and solidarity which are essential to win the final aim. If, however, we turn from this struggle to woo the "liberals" and the "progressives" we desert both real reform and social revolution.

There are other aspects of this pamphlet that we would like to consider but space will not permit, but we observe a reference to "unethical means" in the discussion which Comrade Kantorovitch rejects. He does not set an example himself in this document and his distortion of what I wrote is deplorable to say the least. I regret to have to write thus of a comrade who is ill and who on that score is entitled to the sympathy of all.

Behind the Scenes

(Continued from Page One)

more probable than at any time since the outbreak.

The second dangerous point is the move of the principal European powers to block the acceptance of Vice-Chancellor von Papen as German Minister to Vienna. Diplomats are divided in their opinion as to what the effect of this slur on the German government will be.

Dispatches from Vienna indicate that, in spite of the substitution for the inexperienced Prince von Starhemberg of the slightly more experienced Dr. Kurt Schuschnigg, there is practically no chance of the Austrian government being able to put down the Nazi rebellion or of disbanding the Nazi organizations. Consequently, Italian intervention appears more than a probability.

While Great Britain and France agree that Italy should be permitted to send all the troops required to cope with the Austrian situation, such an action will involve Italy in guerilla warfare, which will keep her busy for many months if not years, with the attitude of the Yugoslav government still lacking clarity.

For the time being Belgrade has not made any bellicose move, but troops are being kept in readiness to be rushed to the Austrian frontier at a moment's notice. The excuse for such preparation is that there is fighting between Austrian government troops and Nazi rebels close to the Yugoslav border; hence the necessity of having an adequate force to intern fugitives from Austria who may enter Yugoslavia. The pretext is plausible, but diplomats here are shaking their heads and believe only half of the Belgrade story. The strained relations between Yugoslavia and Italy are too well known.

It is feared that should the Italian troops enter Austria, a similar move will be made by the Yugoslavs, and the consequences of the two armies meeting on "neutral" territory lend themselves to the most gloomy speculations.

Strange Action Toward Russia

GEORGE N. PEEK, president of the Second Export-Import Bank, a government institution, has decided to invite all of the nations of the world but one to avail themselves of the bank's facilities to stimulate trade with the United States. The single exception, for some curious reason, is the Soviet Union.

Why Russia is to be omitted has not been explained. The omission appears all the stranger in light of the fact that the idea of an export-import bank originated as the result of efforts by the Roosevelt administration to devise a practical means of promoting and financing trade with the Soviet Union. It was only later that the plan was enlarged to facilitate trade with Cuba, for which purpose the second bank was created, and still later was expanded to include other countries. The supposition that an invitation to the Soviet Union is being withheld solely because that country has defaulted on old Russian obligations does not seem to hold water. In any case, invitations are to go forward to other defaulters. Inquirers pointed out this inconsistency to Mr. Peek, but he refused to offer a satisfactory or logical explanation, contenting himself instead with the supercilious remark that "the world is full of inconsistencies."

To add to the mystery, the Second Export-Import Bank is excluded by statute from the provisions of the Johnson act. In other words, the officials of the bank

A Sound Declaration

By Daniel W. Hoan

Some opponents have been unethical enough to go to the capitalist press. We in Milwaukee have shown plainly our opinion of such actions in expelling a prominent public official who took his disagreement with party policies to the press.

An argument from comrades in localities where the party has made little headway in elections is that the Declaration will seriously injure our chances in future elections. One comrade writes, "In future campaigns in which Socialists have a chance of election, the charges will be made that, if the Socialists are elected they will destroy the American traditions of freedom and democracy, they will give aid and comfort to people who blow up ammunition factories, etc., and what chance will a Socialist have against such a campaign?"

I know of no local Socialist campaign worthy of the name that has ever been made in this country where such arguments have not been used. In Milwaukee it was alleged that if the Socialists were elected, the red flag would fly over City Hall; that revolution would be fomented; that blood would flow like water; that the American constitution would be destroyed, factories driven from the city, and free love reign supreme. Whatever our speeches, such arguments will be made by our enemies. They are not worth considering.

Some eastern comrades have said that the "sewer Socialists" of Milwaukee were so cautious that they would sacrifice all Socialist principles to reformism and the chance of being elected. I know of no part of the movement that is more cautious in swinging too far to the right or left than the movement in Milwaukee. We at least have as much to lose as any other locality. Yet I know of no one in Milwaukee so politically opportunistic as to oppose the Declaration for fear of injuring our chances of election.

One correspondent writes me: "The adoption of the majority resolution, even though we may regard it as a noble gesture, will

may extend credit to help defaulting nations, including Russia, make purchases in this market if they so desire. The decision to omit Russia was, therefore, purely a matter of discretion. This decision and the ruling on the Johnson act, both of which fly in the face of the policy the President adopted in recognizing the Soviet Union last November, suggest that either there are subordinate officials who are given to caprice, or that there may be some influential person or group working behind the scenes in Washington to sabotage the President's policy and prevent any improvement in our relations with the Soviet Union.

Perhaps, since the first bank was organized especially for Russia's benefit, it may be intended to revive that institution as soon as a settlement of the Russian debt question makes that feasible. But even this explanation is open to question. Why could not Russia be temporarily accommodated by the second bank? Whatever the true explanation may be, Mr. Peek's decision will certainly not make the present debt negotiations with Russia any less difficult.

KOHLER OF KOHLER

(Continued from Page One)

Patterson of National Cash Register; and it has been fought out in countless other places.

"Welfare" work, gym siums, lecture halls, hospitals, visits by social workers to the kids, and all the rest, are no more nor less than "yellow dog" unionism in disguise. It is a tribute to the manliness and the self-respect of the Kohler

soon reduce the party to a politically impotent sect."

Have we been much more than an impotent sect up to now? Is it not a fact that twenty or thirty cities that we once carried for Socialism are now a matter of memory? Those cities were lost much like the Socialist movement in Germany was lost, because they would not look ahead. They made no attempt to foresee the troubles they would have to meet after they attained power, and so they lost in a very short time. They could not see that by ignoring a merit system and adopting a spoils system under which only Socialists could have jobs, they were simply initiating a Tammany Hall. What happened to the Socialist Party in Germany? A crisis came. The party made no pronouncement to tag in case such crisis occurred, guide the members of the Reichstag, and the result was they drifted aimlessly into fascism without even knowing how to concentrate their energy. I hold no ill will against the German comrades. The most charitable thing to say is that they could not foresee the crisis.

That is not the case with us. We now know what the Socialist parties in Europe were up against, and the sole question is whether to follow in their footsteps, elect Congressmen and then be doomed to dismal failure when a crisis occurs, or to point out that danger by inserting in our platforms exactly what we propose to do, so that there can be no failure when the time comes.

Everybody has to learn by experience, but only a fool has to learn by his own experience. This fits our case. Are we to close our eyes to all that lies ahead and continue working as if nothing had changed since 1848, or are we to study and adapt our methods to the circumstances and learn from each other's mistakes? If it is the purpose of the Socialist Party to build a pink-tea affair of a goody-goody variety that will elect a few Congressmen and then meet its Waterloo because of lack of preparation and foresight, I doubt whether I want to waste any time in attempting to build such a movement.

RAND SCHOOL GRADUATE

(Continued from Page Seven)

liament elected from Belfast. In addition, the party has five Labor members in the Belfast City Council; also five Labor members in the Newing town council, a nearby town, four in Newtownards; also some representatives on Boards of Guardians throughout the North of Ireland. Midgely was elected by 5,000 to 3,800 for the Tory; Beattie by 5,000 to 4,300 to the Tory; another Labor candidate was defeated by about 2,000 after making a splendid fight in a very up-hill district.

It would be true to say that this is a solid, substantial vote in every constituency in Northern Ireland, and all it needs is further organization to achieve its full expression.

workers that they see through the fraud and fight for something bigger than their immediate comfort. What the Socialists call the class struggle is working overtime here, just as it is everywhere else.

It is a battle that will never be settled until it is settled for all time by the elimination of all exploitation of labor.

Ithaca. Tompkins County Local has selected Wesley C. Eastman of Brooktondale for Assembly, Gutave Lokken of Enfield for Coroner, and Trevor Teele of Ithaca for Commissioner of Public Welfare. The local is to meet Aug. 2 at the Lokken Farm, Enfield, when a chairman will be elected to fill the vacancy created by Isidor B. Hoffman, who is joining the faculty of Columbia University. The local has put G. H. Waring, 708 E. Seneca St., Ithaca, in charge of the sale of books and pamphlets.

I should be much interested to see a statement from the Committee for the Preservation of Socialist Policies on what they propose to do in the contingencies mentioned in the Declaration. If war comes, and some of our comrades are imprisoned for refusal to serve in the army, or protesting against the war, do they propose that we shall not loyally defend them? Do they mean that we should not "refuse collectively to sanction or support any international war," that we should not "by agitation and opposition do their best not to be broken up by the war, but to break up the war"? Would they seriously oppose massed war resistance represented, if practicable, in a general strike to avert war? The general strike is already a weapon of truly progressive local labor assemblies. Would the comrades opposed to the Declaration seriously defend a policy of individual surrender to the forces bent on destroying all that we believe in, rather than announcing our willingness to withstand these forces in a group? And if, as we pray it may, power comes to us through parliamentary methods, and is threatened by a fascist dictatorship cruel as it was in Germany and Austria, are we to let such liberty as we have slip through our fingers rather than hold it with the weapons at hand?

The big bad wolf paraded by Comrade Waldman is that this Declaration may put some comrades in jail. Good God, were not thousands of Socialists, including Debs and many others to the right and left of him, jailed without any Declaration of Principles? Are not Socialists persecuted right now in some places for the terrible crime of fighting to maintain our constitutional right of free speech?

Alas, says Comrade Waldman, we are to help defend all anti-war acts of Socialists, and some one might blow up a munition factory. Socialists might be compelled to defend a series of asinine acts by maniacs during a war. What of the St. Louis anti-war platform? Where was Comrade Waldman when the famous declaration was adopted, pledging every single party member "to continuous active and public opposition to war, through demonstrations, mass petitions, and all other means within our power"? If he is afraid to go to jail for what we know to be right, what of the hundreds who did so cting under the St. Louis platform?

Comrades, millions of workers have given their lives for the progress thus far made. If we are so cowardly as to secrete our real opinions for fear of jail then I confess fascism will have no trouble in bluffing us out of power if ever we gain it. Let's stop quibbling over a few hair-splitting interpretations of words and get down to business and organize a practical movement to accomplish Socialism with the least possible pain!

Disputes Hoan

By James Oneal

DAN HOAN presents some interesting views on this page. First, let us say, that both sides to the discussion have sent material to the non-Socialist press so it is useless to discuss this. It is also true that our enemies have charged us with desiring to break up the family, that blood will flow in the streets if we are victorious and so on. But we are not discussing the false accusations our enemies make against us but the proper or improper language we may use in stating our own views. Our records of national conventions are littered with discussion as to the proper way of stating our views on many questions.

Comrade Hoan reveals an astounding lack of information regarding Germany when he says that the party there did not "guide the members of the Reichstag" and that they "drifted aimlessly into fascism without even knowing how to concentrate their energy." This sweeps a whole series of impor-

tant factors aside and substitutes the old dogma of free will. It is alleged that the party was free to act and it did not. How simple!

The main problem was outside the Reichstag with the working class divided into Socialists and Communists who were at each others' throats. Even large numbers of workers were following Hitler's banner. The attempt of the Socialists to get united action with the Communists not only failed but the latter even cooperated with fascists in a number of diets. The will of the whole German working class was paralyzed because of this situation. If the workers of this country ever face similar circumstances it is practically certain that every political and economic organization of the workers will "follow in their (the German's) footsteps," that is, go down in defeat.

Of course, we should "learn by experience," but will Comrade Hoan guarantee that a Communist movement will not follow the course of the German Communists, split the working class of this country into warring factions, and thus make the road easy for some fascist band? That was the German experience. Duplicate it here and no document we may adopt will avail us to avert the fate that came to the Germans. It is not we who "close our eyes" but Dan Hoan who refuses to see important facts, and only remembers that the German working class was defeated.

I think I speak for every intelligent Socialist opposed to the Detroit Declaration when I answer his questions as follows: We favor protecting every party member in a war crisis if he acts in accord with party principles and decisions but we do not favor support of irresponsible acts; we do not favor support of any imperialist wars; we shall not permit ourselves to be broken up by any war if we can prevent it; but we think it is to play Little Rollo to assert that we will "break up the war" when we know that this is sheer heroics. We cannot mobilize a dozen cap pistols today against the giant war machine we may face, and it will be years before we can even hope to have large masses of the organized workers and farmers with us in resisting war, to say nothing of breaking it up when it comes.

We favor mass resistance against war if it is defined as Dan defines it in his quotations from the St. Louis resolution but the Detroit document does not so define it. Is it important to be clear on this? It is. Without defining it some ill-informed members may take the course that some party members did in Oklahoma in 1917 when they organized secretly for an armed march on Washington, made fools of us, and delivered the splendid state organization of the party in that state into the hands of the enemy. It was wrecked, and has not yet recovered. They did not act in accord with the forms of action Dan Hoan quotes from the St. Louis resolution.

Recently I debated the Detroit Declaration with a "militant" who declared that soon we may have to organize an "armed guard." Two years ago in a western state some party members were in a secret military organization with generals, corporals and other officers preparing for the "great day." I hope that Dan understands what such things mean for a working class movement that must preserve its freedom of action if it is to grow. We want a revolutionary party, but not one filled with irresponsible persons.

We favor crushing reaction if after receiving a mandate from the masses this reaction threatens to repudiate the decision and we approve and will cooperate with the general strike which, however, only the organized masses can carry out, and this requires educational preparation.

We were not afraid of jail in 1917 and we are not now, but we want a clear Socialist document on which to stand, not one that is vague and subject to various interpretations. We are not cowards; neither are we fools. We are Socialists, and should know how to formulate our views without them being interpreted a hundred ways.

Mail Orders for Our Special Labor Day Issue

Mayor Is Asked To Dismiss O'Ryan

HARRY W. LAIDLER, chairman of the Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party and candidate for Controller, has written the following letter to Mayor LaGuardia:

In behalf of the Socialist Party of the City of New York and many thousands of organized workers, I urge the immediate removal of General John F. O'Ryan as Police Commissioner of this city.

From the time that General O'Ryan assumed charge of the Police Department, he has shown an attitude of bitter opposition to organized labor in their struggle for better living standards. During the last few months, thousands of our people have been shocked at the treatment accorded to the unemployed, and to organized labor engaged in peacefully picketing shops out on strike, by the police under General O'Ryan. Large numbers of workers have been arrested of late for exercising their legal right to picket. The charges have been so flimsy that the courts discharged them, but their arrest has seriously injured the cause of labor and intimidated those engaged in rightful activity in behalf of labor with which the police must not interfere.

More recently, General O'Ryan revealed his attitude toward the organization of workers by asking that all labor leaders register and have their photographs taken. While this matter seems to have been dropped and an attempt has been made to explain it away following a public outcry, it shows an attitude toward the labor movement utterly at variance with the boasted attitude of the present administration and in line with militaristic and fascist trends abhorrent to the democratic spirit. Most ominous is the pronouncement since the San Francisco strike that the police through their rifle regiment, and their military equipment of tear gas, machine guns, etc., are preparing against a possible general strike in this city.

The workers of the city have an undeniable right to strike, and to participate in a sympathetic strike. The publicity which has gone out in connection with these military arrangements of the police is a definite threat against labor if it should see fit to exercise its right to fight for an American standard of living. General O'Ryan, as police commissioner of the City of New York, tends to create an atmosphere of terrorism which is likely to mean such trouble in the days ahead.

The continuance of General O'Ryan in office is a menace to the welfare of the great mass of men and women in our city. General O'Ryan must be removed.

Party Notes

City Executive Committee meets on Wednesday, August 8th.
Organization and Propaganda Meeting will not be held on Monday, Aug. 6th. The meeting has been postponed to the following Monday, August 13th.

MANHATTAN

Wash. Heights Branch. At meeting Monday, Aug. 6, Comrade Alexoff of the Russian Branch will speak on "The Collapse of German Social Democratic Party."

Yorkville Branch. Yorkville Socialists will play hosts to comrades of entire city at outing and summer night's festival Sunday, Aug. 19, at Sokol Hall Gardens, 220 Yorkers Ave., few steps from Tibbets Brook. Games, refreshments and ice cold beer. Swimming, too. Tickets to be obtained from John Lewine, 325 West End Ave., or from Joseph Sugar, 225 E. 79th St.

11th A. D. Branch. Tuesday, Aug. 7, at home of Carl Eichandler, 510 W. 106th St.

Village Branch. Meets at the Village Hofbrau, Saturday eve., Aug. 11.

BRONX

Lower 6th A. D. Branch meeting Tuesday, August 7, at 1137.

Amalgamated Cooperative Branch. Meets Monday at Assembly, Room Bldg. 7, 3-4-5th A. D. A meeting will be held

Why Is General O'Ryan?

AND why do you suppose Major-General O'Ryan is New York's Police Commissioner? Why did a "liberal" Mayor, who is constantly professing his devotion to the labor movement, appoint the cheap little tin-pot militarist to head New York's police at this critical time?

The answer is found in inside politics, and if you'll pardon us, we'll tell the story, because there's a neat little moral in it.

A year ago the Fusion movement was taking form. Hoping to be named for Mayor, Fiorello H. LaGuardia—who knew better—said that there were no economic issues in the municipal situation. What he meant was that since the elements he sought to lead were so diverse it would be dangerous to raise any economic issues for fear of shattering the fragile structure that was slowly emerging. Those elements consisted of disgruntled Democrats, the reactionary big-business Republican party, anti-Tammany business men and "liberals" who saw defeat of Tam-

many as the end and aim of all political activities. There were also some half-Socialists who had been led to misunderstand what Socialists stood for and had worked themselves into the state of mind of believing that the Socialist Party had as its only object the defeat of Tammany Hall.

The committee looking for a mayoralty candidate finally decided upon General O'Ryan, a prosperous lawyer with a war record and definite capitalist interests. Certain members of the Fusion crowd knew that in the temper of the people then prevailing O'Ryan would be a bum candidate, and they insisted upon pushing him aside in favor of Major LaGuardia, who had built up a reputation as a fighter and a "liberal."

O'Ryan stepped aside and the Major was nominated and elected. But O'Ryan represented substantial interests that had contributed heavily in every way to the defeat of Tammany. It is fair to assume that LaGuardia felt it necessary to pay his debt to O'Ryan and the interests that supported him in the first place by making him Police Commissioner.

In his present post O'Ryan has made an ass of himself with his tin-soldier rifle regiment, with his crazy orders as to policemen's heavy coats in hot weather, and in many other ways. He has also shown his teeth in his bitter anti-labor attitude.

Why does LaGuardia keep him?

It is not an unfair assumption that the debt is still being paid. There were "no economic issues" in the campaign; hence the "friend" of labor, LaGuardia, retains O'Ryan and must stand sponsor for all his anti-labor acts.

Socialists insisted there were and are economic issues in last year's campaign, and in every campaign. Socialists insist that a Socialist Mayor would have considered those economic interests in the appointment of a police commissioner, that a Socialist and trade unionist in General O'Ryan's office would have made a world of difference.

The Socialists were right then; the Socialists are right today. There is a municipal election in 1934; the Socialists are still right.

Will the people, amused or outraged—or both—by O'Ryan, see the point in 1934?

HELP THE AUSTRIAN COMRADES

The misery of the Austrian Socialists who are fighting fascism has been intensified during the past few weeks, according to word received here by Comrade Max Winter, who is on tour in California.

More than 7,000 families are actually starving. Those who fought against Dollfuss in February have received jail terms totalling 900 years. They are gallantly holding out against all provocation, and the attempts to trap them into support either of the murderous Nazis or the equally murderous Heimwehr regime. They need our help!

Contributions for Austrian relief must not cease! Money should be sent to the Max Winter committee, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

Jewish Daily Forward Opens Its Columns to a Discussion of the Declaration

The Jewish Daily Forward has opened its columns to all its readers for a discussion of the declaration of principles. Forward will print letters from both sides—pro and con. Knowing that a large number of readers are anxious to participate in this debate, Forward asks all participants to be short and to the point.

Tues., Aug. 7, of all comrades of the 3rd, 4th and 5th; Jewish Branches 1 and 2, as well as Circles 1 and 12 Sr. and Circles 3 and 11 Jr. to discuss campaign plans.

BROOKLYN

Bensonhurst Branch. Dr. Siegfried Lipschitz will speak Tuesday, Aug. 7, "Recent Developments in Germany," at 6618 Bay Parkway.

18th A. D. Branch 1. Branch meets every Tuesday evening, with special educational program.

2nd A. D. Kings. The active support of the Workers' Circle has enabled the branch to start active campaign. All comrades are urged to attend open air meeting Friday, at Sutter and Miller Aves., and Monday, Wyona and New Lots Aves. Arrangements for an open air demonstration to protest against war maneuvers being planned with Solomon and Thomas.

22nd A. D. Will hold raffle and dance Saturday eve., Aug. 4, 361 Sutter Ave.

21st A. D. Branch meetings every Monday eve. at Colby Academy, Bedford and Snyder Aves. program for next three Mondays: Aug. 6, Dr. Jos. Cohen on "Coming Campaign"; Aug. 13, Harold Drayson on "Socialist Party"; Aug. 20, David Ashe on "Labor Injunctions."

Downtown Branch. Regular business meeting held Thursday, July 26, at 157 Montague St. Street meetings being arranged to each Wednesday in 8th A. D. YPSL holding meetings each Friday eve. at Court and Pacific Sts. Business meeting and lecture on August 9th.

22nd A. D. Branch 1. Jack Altman will speak on "Militants' Viewpoint of the Declaration of Principles" Tuesday, 7th. 18th A. D. Branch 1. Members of the 18th Assembly District, together with the Ypsel organizations fathered by the branch, have been helping Local 306, Motion Picture Operators, in its efforts to bring to terms the Utica Theatre and the Rugby Theatre, both in the 18th Assembly Districts. Comrades have been out nightly on the streets, helping in picketing, doing considerable outdoor

Young Socialists to Honor Josef Gerl

A memorial meeting for Josef Gerl, heroic young Socialist murdered by the Austrian Fascists, will be held Monday, August 6, at 5 p. m. at Columbus Circle, 58th St. and Broadway.

Joseph Gerl died a martyr for freedom. His crime consisted in protesting against the Austrian fascist terror and for the rights of the working class. Condemned to die by the fascist court, and rushed to the gallows a scant few hours later, he died with the words, "My ideals are higher than my head" on his lips. He offered a fitting sequel to the heroic deaths of Kolman Wallisch and Weisl.

The Young workers and Socialists are holding this meeting as a protest against dictatorship and fascist terrorism everywhere.

Organizations participating are, among others, The Young People's Socialist League, The Student League for Industrial Democracy, and The Young Circle League of America.

Gerl Memorial Meeting

Circle 14 Sr. will hold a Gerl memorial meeting on Tuesday, Aug. 7, at 8:30 p. m. at Sedgwick and Van Cortlandt Aves. in the Bronx. Speakers include Samuel H. Friedman and Albert Herling, chairman.

speaking in front of the theatres and helping distribute circulars, urging the workers and sympathizers to keep away from these theatres. Plans are being made now to help Local 509, Bakers' Union, to picket stores on strike and address street meetings in front of them. For several months the weekly Friday night meetings on Eastern Parkway and Utica Ave. have been held and are very well attended.

QUEENS

County Picnic. Edgemere, L. I., Sun., Aug. 12. Comrades will meet at branch nearest their homes 10 a. m. sharp. Special arrangements for auto transportation at nominal cost. Bathing from home of David Trevas, 460 Beach 38th St., Edgemere. Buffet service. Proceeds to Queens County. Tickets from Anna Bercowitz, Organizer, Room 816, 41 Union Square, New York City.

A speakers' bureau has been organized. All speakers in Queens must attend meeting Wednesday, Aug. 8, at 8:30 p. m. at Sunnyside headquarters, 4915 43rd Ave., to lay plans.

Y.P.S.L. Notes

All cultural directors will meet Tuesday, Aug. 7, at 8 p. m. in the City Office.

The biggest social event of the YPSL during the summer months will be held Saturday, Aug. 4, at Coney Island and Brighton Beach. A beach party in the afternoon at the foot of 25th St. will be followed by a dance and entertainment in the evening at the Brighton Beach Socialist Headquarters, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave. Locker facilities will be provided at the Royal Baths, W. 25th St., a block and a half from the beach, through the cooperation of the proprietor, and all payments for lockers will be turned over to the YPSL. The funds obtained from the beach party and dance will help the finances of the city office.

EDMUND SEIDEL

EDMUND SEIDEL, first Socialist to serve in the New York State senate, died Tuesday at the Fordham hospital at the age of 56. Seidel had been inactive in the party for several years, although in the last years of his life he was an active labor official. Last year he withdrew from the Socialist party to support the candidacy of Joseph V. McKee for Mayor.

Edmund Seidel was a highly skilled worker on stained glass when he became a Socialist, joining the old Socialist Labor Party. For several years he was editor of the Weekly People, official organ of that party, resigning to become a member of the Socialist Party. He was employed as a reader by Macmillans when he was elected State Senator from the Bronx. In the Senate he made a fine record as a Socialist legislator.

In recent years Seidel kept much to himself, doing much of his active work in the union of his old trade. He was a great reader and a thorough Marxist scholar. He was buried in Philadelphia Friday.

Rock Rift, N. Y. The 34th Congressional District conference held here recently drew a very good attendance. Lewis B. Curtis of Oneonta spoke on "America Must Choose," Merle A. Wilson of Hamden on "Unemployment," and Jerry DeNile of Rock Rift on "Organization."

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society

We regret to announce the sudden death of our faithful Executive Secretary

Newman Marquer

Funeral services will be held Thursday, August 2nd, 8 p. m., at Engel's Funeral Parlor, 315 East 83rd Street, New York.

The body will be taken to the N. Y. and N. J. Crematorium, Hudson Boulevard and Humboldt Street, North Bergen, N. J., from the funeral parlor Friday, August 3rd, at 1:30 p. m.

Board of Directors.

STREET MEETINGS

SATURDAY, AUGUST 4th
Albemarle Road and Flatbush Ave.—Speakers from local branch.

MONDAY, AUGUST 6th
Claremont and Wash. Ave., Bronx—Ellentuch, Waller, Woskow, Levenshtein, Wyona and New Lots Aves., B'klyn—Block, Baron, Salert and Clayman.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 7th
Ditmars and Second Aves., Astoria—

Party Picnic Is Postponed to August 18

THE big picnic of the Socialist Party, labor unions and labor fraternal organizations, the event at which the Socialist campaign has been opened every year for the past seven years, will be held at Ulmer Park, Cropsey Avenue, Brooklyn, Saturday August 18.

The picnic was scheduled for last Saturday, July 28, and everything was set for the biggest success in the whole series of outings, but because of the downpour of rain the affair was called off and the date put forward three weeks.

The committee in charge of the picnic, while disappointed, as were many thousands of others, by the enforced postponement, assert that the three additional weeks will give them time to make the affair even more successful than it promised to be.

The state campaign of the Socialist Party will be formally opened with addresses by Charles Solomon, candidate for Governor; Norman Thomas, candidate for United States Senator; William Karlin, candidate for Attorney-General, and August Claessens, candidate for Congressman-at-Large.

The full program of sports and theatrical and musical events will be made public next week.

Tickets dated July 28th will be honored August 18th.

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Speakers to be announced.
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 8th
Sullivan and Fourth, Manh.—Speakers to be announced.
463rd St. and So. Blvd., Bronx—Wallbach, Levenshtein, Garfinkel, Marcus.
THURSDAY, AUGUST 9th
Longwood and Prospect, Bronx—Ellentuch, Ornstein, Wilson, Woskow.
East 22nd St. and Ave. X—W. M. Feigenbaum, August Claessens, Mary Fox, Jack Herling, Julius Wurm, Siegel.

Richard Rohman's Play Opens in Brooklyn Monday

"City Called Heaven" Has Second Avenue Locale

Richard Rohman, whose fabulous comedy, "City Called Heaven," will have its premiere Monday evening, August 6, at the Brooklyn Little Theatre prior to Broadway, is a member of the Village Branch of the Socialist Party. Comrade Rohman, who is 33, is known as a labor journalist who has seen service on the New York Call, the Leader, the New York Times, the Chicago Tribune and other newspapers. He has served as a foreign correspondent and has also directed publicity for some of the largest organizations within the American Federation of Labor. At present he is labor editor of the Fairchild Publications, Women's Wear Daily and Daily News Record.

"City Called Heaven" is Comrade Rohman's second play, though it is being produced first. His first play, "Madam Folly," a modern treatment of an historical theme, is now making the rounds of producing offices.

Earle McGill is producing and staging "City Called Heaven." Having a sociological theme, the play's locale is laid in the Cafe Royale, the continental cafe on Second Avenue. Comrade Rohman warns, however, that the play is not propagandistic in the strict sense.

"City Called Heaven" will play for a week at the Brooklyn Little Theatre, playing evenings only, including Sunday, Aug. 12. Reduced price tickets may be obtained by comrades at the People's House and other Socialist and labor institutions.

The cast includes a number of distinguished players: Jay Adler, William Bonelli, Hazel O'Connell, Adele Carples, Robert Harrison, Beth Cantreau and Richard Bonneville.

"The Girl from Missouri"

Franchot Tone, formerly with the Theatre Guild, and Jean Harlow star in "The Girl from Missouri," a new M-G-M picture on

view at the Capitol next week. The supporting cast includes Lionel Barrymore, Lewis Stone and Patsy Kelly. The story was written especially for the screen by Anita Loos and John Emerson. Miss Harlow takes the part of a lady named "Eadie" who was out to marry money.

First New Plays by American Authors at Unity House

"What's New?", a newspaper drama by a former Chicago reporter, Roy Bainter, will have its first showing at the Pine Grove Theatre of the Unity House, Forest Park, Pa., Sunday evening, July 29. Norman Lloyd, director of the Pine Grove Players, resident stock company of the Unity House, non-profit making resort of the I. L. G. W. U. in the Pocono mountains, is looking for original manuscripts by American authors. "What's New?" is the first of a series of plays by young Americans dealing with the American scene. Benson Inge's "Shape of Things" is next on the production list.

Fields at the Albee

W. C. Fields in "The Old-fashioned Way" is the screen attraction at the RKO Albee this week.



PAUL LUKAS and WYNNE GIBSON
"I GIVE MY LOVE"
UNIVERSAL

Baby Le Roy is also featured with the famous old comedian. The picture includes a complete film version of P. T. Barnum's old anti-alcohol show, "The Drunkard," which has been running in New York. Joe Morrison, who introduced "The Last Round-Up," Judith Allen and Jack Mulhall are also in the cast.

Shirley's Dad



Jimmie Dunn, who danced and sang as the daddy of Shirley Temple in "Stand Up and Cheer," repeats as the father of the adorable little imp in "Baby, Take a Bow."

Matzenauer's Daughter to Make Stage Debut Soon

Adrienne Matzenauer, daughter of the famous opera singer, will make her stage debut with the new revue, "Life Begins at 8:40," which has its premiere at the Shubert Theatre in Boston Monday evening, July 30, preparatory to its engagement at the Winter Garden. Miss Matzenauer was born in Boston in 1914. Her mother was then singing at the Boston Opera House in "Samson and Delilah," with Enrico Caruso as a member of the star company, and when the baby was baptized Caruso acted as Godfather.

Miss Matzenauer has studied singing both in this country and abroad. She has a rich contralto voice and while she may have ambitions to sing in opera like her mother, she has been specializing in blue songs.

Music at Unity

Unity House is maintaining the high standard for entertainment that vacation-goers have learned to expect from that popular resort. Saturday evening Lola Monti-Gorsey, star of the Chicago Grand Opera Co. and recently heard at the Hippodrome, is on the program. Also the famous saxophonist Cecil Leeson and the ever popular singer "The Clown."

Madame Monti-Gorsey will be heard again Sunday morning on the program with N. Lutzky who will give a poetry recital. On Sunday evening the Pine Grove Players will present the dramatic success "The Last Mile" by John Wexley.

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 Lead Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th Street, New York.

News Reels Used to Work Up Dramas, Lectures and Sports Events at Camp Tamiment

Pulse-quickening shots of the U. S. Navy plowing through heavy seas into a setting sun are a familiar and inevitable element in all news reels. But not until the recent wave of strikes has the anti-labor attitude of the kept movies crystallized itself.

The current release of Pathé News, which is shown throughout the country, contains a series of shots of strike scenes in Minneapolis, Portland and San Francisco. The title introducing this series reads: **RADICALS CANNOT RULE AMERICA!**

The rapid-fire comment while the scenes are shown consists of flag-waving remarks about "red agitators," "patriotism" and "American ideals." The San Francisco general strike is described as "a conflict between true Americanism and foreign ideas."

The sequence closes with an unintelligible rumble which turns out to be General Johnson blaring into a microphone.

Socialists and trade unionists throughout the country who find this newsreel displayed in their local theatres should protest publicly and to the management. S. H.

Baby Le Roy



Who gets in W. C. Fields' hair in "The Old-Fashioned Way" at the RKO Albee.

"Let's Try Again" at the Fox

"Let's Try Again" with Clive Brook and Diana Wynyard, the stars of "Cavalcade," will be shown at the Fox, Brooklyn next week. The picture is an adaptation of the Broadway success, "Sour Grapes," by Vincent Lawrence. Helen Vinson and Henry Kolker are also in the cast.

Fokine Ballet at Stadium

Michel Fokine and his Russian ballet will present "Scheherazade" and "Les Sylphides" at the Lewison Stadium on Monday and Tuesday evenings, August 6 and 7. A company of 75 dancers will perform.

The music to "Scheherazade" will be, of course, the great symphonic poem of Rimsky-Korsakoff. A copy of the original sets by Bakst will be used. "Les Sylphides" will be danced to the music of Chopin.

This Friday and Saturday, "Aida" will be performed with Rosa Tentoni in the title role. Kathryn Meisle, Frederick Jagel, Harold Kravitt and Claudio Frigerio are also in the cast. Alexander Smalens will conduct.

Beethoven's Symphony No. 6, the "Pastoral," will be played Sunday night. Deems Taylor's suite "Through the Looking Glass," is also on the program. Willem Van Hoogstraten is conducting the concerts and ballets, Alexander Smalens the opera.

Moving into the second half of the summer season, Camp Tamiment has enjoyed one of the most successful months in its history.

A brilliant array of lecturers will give the next four weekly sets of talks. B. Charney Vladeck, week of August 6-10, will speak on (1) Arrests and escapes in Czarist Russia. (2) What and how do you read? (3) Selling radicalism to America. (4) Can revolutions be made to order? and (5) Jews: conscious, unconscious and self-conscious.

Nathan Finé, author and editor, follows for August 13-17 on the NRA, the A. F. of L., war, fascism, and Socialism. Following him comes Dr. John T. Flynn, one of the best informed men on the topics he will cover: (1) What has happened to Wall Street? (2) Big Business and the NRA. (3) Are the banks any safer? and (4) If I was President. During the next week, August 27-31, the lecturer is the inimitable August Claessens on the general subject of Social Attitudes: Recent Trends in Social Psychology. His individual lectures will be: (1) The individual and society. (2) Primary groups and social attitudes. (3) Social attitudes in sex differences and inequalities. (4) Social attitudes in race conflicts. (5) Social attitudes towards war and peace.

Musical presentations, dramas, and the general entertainment activities, under the direction of Mac Liebman, comprise a spicy addition. The excellent players, directed by Ronald Hammond, include Broadway figures such as Emily Earle, Ann Lubowe, Sam Wren, Hal Thompson, Flora Taylor and Paul Ballantyne.

Sports activities play an important role at camp. Extending from August 5-12 there will be competition in all sports for men and women, with medals for winners in each activity, and a silver cup for the best all-around athlete. Team competition between groups from various cities will also be included, with entrées already received from New York, Philadelphia, Newark and Brooklyn. Inquiries and applications should be addressed to Sydney Apfelbaum, Athletic Director, Camp Tamiment, Tamiment, Pa.

Features of the Week on (1300 Kc.) WEVD (231 M.)

Sun., Aug. 5—11 a. m., Forward Hour, music and sketches; 8 p. m., Sol Giskin, violinist; 8:30, Minnie Sulzeder, poetry; 8:45, Sherry and Stange, melody duo; 10, Symposium.

Mon., Aug. 6—8 a. m., Dr. Jacob List, Psychology Clinic of the Air; 4 p. m., David Taras, cornetist; 5:30, James Genovese, songs; 5:45, "Three Voices."

Tues., Aug. 7—8 a. m., Dr. Jacob List, Psychology Clinic of the Air; 10:15 p. m., Ruth Langer, soprano; 10:30, Edith Friedman, pianist; 10:45, Jack Salzman, baritone.

Wed., Aug. 8—5:45 p. m., Alfred Cezare, songs; 8, The Nation Radiatorial Board; 10, Dramatic sketch, "American Revolutions"; 10:30, Eugene Byron Morgan, baritone; 10:45, House Jameson, poetry.

Thurs., Aug. 9—5:45 p. m., Marie Schneider-Stauch, concert pianist; 8:15, Margaret Reed Dooley, mezzo-soprano; 8:30, Mario Ovidio, baritone, and Gerald Mirate, pianist; 8:45, Foreign Affairs Forum; 10, Discussion; 10:45, Vocal trio, "Three Queens."

Fri., Aug. 10—5:30 p. m., Samuel H. Friedman, The New Leader Review; 8:30, "Three Voices," vocal trio; 8:45, Talk, "Germany"; 10, Hendrik de Ieuw, "The Royal Dutch Traveler"; 10:30, "Elsie Meltz, popular songs; 10:45, Bass and Randall, piano duo.

Sat., Aug. 11—5:30 p. m., Metropolitan String Quartet; 8, Ethel Kravatt, soprano, and Clara Blankman, violinist; 8:30, Nathaniel Sprinzen, tenor, and Patricia O'Connell, soprano; 10, Fine Grove Concert Series; 10:45, Carlo Lanzilotti, bass.

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W KLYN

To Norman Thomas

A Statement by the Committee for the Preservation of Socialist Policies.

To The New Leader:

It is with deep regret and astonishment that we read Norman Thomas' comment on the Socialist Voice in his Timely Topics last week. We doubt if any other party member would have been permitted to make such an attack upon reputable members of the party exercising their constitutional rights without giving those attacked opportunity to reply in the same issue.

If Comrade Thomas' purpose was to create prejudice and to close in advance the minds of some receiving the Socialist Voice, we sadly admit it is possible he met with some success, as to many in the party he can do no wrong, and they will not weigh his words or acts in the light of facts. The compensating fact is that perhaps the very bitterness of his expression will cause the more open-minded comrades to examine the Socialist Voice for themselves, which is all we asked or hoped for—as our one big purpose was, and is, to compel a full two-sided discussion of a Declaration that we sincerely believe constitutes a distinct menace to the present and future welfare of the party, with a division of our energies and forces at a time when unity is most needed.

If there has been a larger measure of this two-sided discussion and education of the party membership, it is to our committee and not to Comrade Thomas or the so-called "Militants" that the credit is due. Witness, for example, the fact that the American Guardian gives almost a page weekly FOR the Declaration and refuses to print even one letter AGAINST it. Witness also the fact that Comrade Thomas gave the impression (see The New Leader, June 23) our committee had raised \$5,000 and boasted it could raise ten times as much, and again, by indirect suggestion, that our group was seeking to cause a split, thus prejudicing the mind of the membership against hearing our side.

Now, again, in The New Leader of last week, we have Comrade Thomas in the position of diverting the readers of Socialist Voice from the purpose and subject to which the bulk of the paper was devoted: namely, WHY THE DETROIT DECLARATION SHOULD BE DEFEATED.

Let us briefly examine his statements. First, without implicitly saying so, he gives the impression we sent the Socialist Voice broadcast. We challenge him to name one non-party member to whom we gave or mailed a copy. What any individual party member did with his copy is another matter. As hundreds of New York comrades know, we have refused to give out a single copy except by mail, and then only to party members whose addresses were sent us by comrades over the country in response to a letter which any New Leader reader can have on request (Room 706, 1 Union Square, New York City). We have at least tried to confine the paper and the discussion to party members. Can

Comrade Thomas say as much? He must have known when he brought his attack on his Socialist opponents into Today, owned by Vincent Astor and edited by Raymond Moley, that he was reaching at least some non-Socialists.

As to the controversial style of the Socialist Voice being "in the best Communist manner of the Daily Worker," readers of the Socialist Voice can judge for themselves. We will place ANY PARAGRAPH in the Socialist Voice against Thomas' attack of last week in a test of tolerance and dignity, and adhering to facts rather than personalities.

In the Voice is given the address and title of the organization publishing the paper; the names of the committee that authorized it, and the name of its Executive Secretary, and yet Comrade Thomas gives the impression that it is a nameless waif with no one on whom responsibility might be placed for it.

Editorials were unsigned because of the belief that the introduction of names leads to personalities, and consequent obscuring of issues.

Only when incidents could not be discussed without involving names of those concerned were names used. Because Comrade Thomas has made himself such an active factor in this unfortunate controversy, we were compelled to mention his name often in our articles. We ask Voice readers carefully to examine these articles. See whether in even one case we have attacked the truthfulness or honesty or sincerity of Comrade Thomas. Or denied HIS right of expression. Whereas he has written letters to members of our committee threatening to bring charges or even to cause expulsions.

Comrade Thomas gives New Leader readers the impression we attacked the N.E.C., past or present. We ask Voice readers to see if they can find more than the passing reference to the N.E.C. (not an attack) on the front page. The Voice DID very definitely make certain suggestions as to the biased character of the National Office, its boycotting of any but its own type of speakers, organizers, etc. If quick proof were needed members have but to read the bulletins being sent to branches, etc., with personal attacks on comrades like Hendin (no opportunity of reply being given); the ukases being issued as to the English and foreign speaking party press; and the cheeky, impudent attempt of employees of the National Office to rule "out of order" (ahem, "legality") substitutes for the Detroit Declaration offered and seconded by locals embracing thousands of members, in order that the rank and file may not have a chance to register any opinion save that desired from above. "Send us your money and we will do the rest" seems to be the slogan of the National Office.

Finally, Comrade Thomas suggests that some members of our committee may not agree with the contents of the Socialist Voice. "Divide and conquer" has always been good tactics for those who like those tactics. Members of our committee may not—we hope are

not—agreed on all things at all times. They have been in many battles for Socialism, and have arrived at independent conclusions on many subjects; but there are several things on which they ARE agreed.

One of them is that the Detroit Declaration of Principles should be defeated, and what we sincerely consider the Communist tendencies it seeks to promote be eliminated. [Those who desire to know why we so feel should write for a copy of The Socialist Voice, giving the name of their party branch and the address of its secretary.]

And one final thing we are very definitely agreed on is that we consider it unfortunate that Comrade Thomas, whose position of leadership in the Socialist Party has been won for him not by one faction, but by the party as a whole, should now use that prestige to advance one faction as against another, instead of using it to build the powerful Socialist organization, without which resolutions are but the proverbial "scraps of paper."

In Honor of the Memory of Comrade R. B. Green

The Seventh Congressional District of Chicago has passed the following resolution:

On this, the first anniversary of the death of our Comrade, Dr. R. B. Green,

Be it resolved by the 7th Congressional District Branch of the Socialist Party of Cook County, Illinois, that we again express our admiration and gratitude for his devoted and untiring work for Socialism and that we declare our deep sense of sorrow and loss at his passing away.

Party Progress

Missouri

Kansas City. The Kansas City local has been very busy carrying on intensive organization and educational activities. During the winter we had as speakers here Norman Thomas, August Claessens, Roy E. Burt and many others. Now in the summer we have transferred our activities to the open air, having neighborhood meetings in all parts of the city.

Every Sunday morning we have committees out calling on all known radicals to get them into the party, securing subscriptions for The New Leader and other publications to build up a sustaining fund. Next week Missouri State Organizers Nozer and Harris will be in Kansas City and we are preparing a busy week of meetings.

Wisconsin

The Kirkpatrick meeting at Amery, Polk county, was especially successful. He was well received by several hundred farmers who had never listened to a Socialist speaker before.

Michigan

Reports from Organizer Guy Lockwood, on an organizing tour, indicate excellent prospects for the party. He has contacted a number of people in places where there are no branches and expects that before long these localities will apply for charters. He accompanied Comrade DeWitt Hamer of Kalamazoo who operates the loud speaker equipment and takes care of the signs. State Secretary Francis King announces a new local at Mt. Clemens.

Wayne County. The Labor Day Picnic will be held at Mound Park between the 18 and 19 mile road on Mound Rd. Branch 1. Fred Herman elected temporary chairman. Melvin Bishop, permanent chairman, will be unable to officiate till later in the year.

Branch 5. The branch will hold a lawn party Saturday evening, Aug. 11, at 1628 Clairmont Ave.

West Virginia

The State Executive Committee voted 7 to 1 in favor of the new Declaration of Principles, one member not voting. The consensus of opinion is that the new declaration is a forward advance of the party. They also point that the national constitution provides for the amendment of any declaration.

An active campaign is being waged by all our candidates numbering 68, including five for Congress, one for U.S. Senator, four for State Senator, 38 for State Legislature, and the balance for county officers. We must file our subscription nominating petitions not later than August 6.

Pennsylvania

Wheeling. Lena Morrow Lewis spoke to a large crowd here Tuesday. She made a remarkable impression.

Philadelphia. Local Philadelphia has seconded the proposal of Local New York initiating a national referendum for the Declaration of Principles recommended by the New York State Committee. There was but one dissenting vote in the County Committee. Aug. 3 Charles Solomon debated the Detroit Declaration with Murray Baron before a membership meeting.

New Jersey

Passaic. Enrollment for the Class in Socialism, sponsored by party branches under the leadership of the Rand School of Social Science, has begun.

Annual picnic of Local Passaic will take place Sunday, Aug. 4, at Comrade DeYoung's Farm, Freekness, N.J. August Claessens will be guest speaker.

Branch 1 continues its open air meetings each Saturday night at Hamilton Ave. and Monroe St. Yipsels hold open air meetings on the same corner every other Wednesday.

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New York State

Designation Petitions. Locals requiring more petition blanks should communicate with the State Secretary. No petitions can be filed with Election Boards or the Secretary of State before August 14, none later than August 21. Rockland County. Street meetings next week: Tuesday at the corner of Broad St. and Broadway, Haverstraw, and Thursday at Station Plaza, Spring Valley. Both meetings at 8 p.m. sharp. Speakers: Rev. A. Battin, D. Roth, and W. Davis.

Olean. The Olean, Cattaraugus County, local is continuously active. It maintains headquarters at Sheahan's Hall, 501½ Main St., and holds frequent public meetings there. A recent speaker was Ernest D. Baumann, organizer of Local Buffalo, who addressed a large gathering of the unemployed. A few nights ago Harry Fleischman and David Karmazin, national organizers for the Y.P.S.L., were the speakers, discussing "The Menace of War and Fascism" and the "Economic Depression." A Circle of the League is the result of their efforts. Olean is looking forward to the coming of Charles Solomon, Norman Thomas

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Austria Remains a Battleground

By Dr. Siegfried Lipschitz

AGAIN danger signals fly over torn and bleeding Central Europe. Again a shot is fired on Austrian soil that reverberates throughout the world. Again armies are massing at the frontiers. Again governments, stiffened by deadly fear, serve each other with solemn warnings. Again the tom-tom of cannibalistic war drums draws millions of civilized human beings under its mysterious spell.

The long raging civil war in Austria reached a climax, for the moment, in the death of Chancellor Dollfuss. So far, so good. The little man who sent thousands of Austrian workers to their deaths because they dared to voice the eternal demands of life, liberty, pursuit of happiness

Dr. S. Lipschitz and of independence, and who ordered the destruction of everything dear to workers' hearts everywhere, merits no weak-kneed pity. The reports spread over the front pages of the leading papers telling of the grief of the masses for their chancellor are shameless lies, belonging in the category of propaganda which perhaps more than anything else is responsible for the uncertainty and moral fog in which humanity finds itself.

Socialists have no reason to rejoice over violence and assassination. Dollfuss' death was brought about by the same methods which he had set up as a standard in Austria, and which quickly devoured their creator. The dictatorship, whose head fell under the shots of a Nazi assassin, is primarily responsible for this gory finale.

The new deeds of violence will only swell the terror and increase the volume of civil war. The coffin of Dollfuss rests, figuratively speaking, between the two great warring factions of the Austrian people. On one side stand the Austrian working masses, driven underground and clinging gallantly to their Socialist beliefs; on the other side stand the masses of the impoverished petty bourgeoisie who sought refuge in the Nazi movement. Both are suffering from the persecutions of Austro-fascism. The dead chancellor and today's ruling clique have never been backed by more than a handful of privileged groups and their docile servants. Behind them stand the highly paid forces of the government and the semi-military retainers of the Heimwehr, consisting of stupid peasant boys who strut around in uniforms and have become a plague to the masses.

To see in Dollfuss' death and the crushed Nazi uprising a clarification of the Austrian situation would be a great error. Nothing has been solved because nothing can be solved as long as fascist ideology and methods are permitted to rule. The Austrian events were no more and no less than a repetition of the murderous German events of June 30. The only visible difference was that the Austrian putsch was successfully waged against their own chancellor, while Chancellor Hitler in Germany destroyed and uprooted, for the time being, the rivals within the ranks of his own government. The weapons of assassination and treachery were in both cases the same.

The Austrian class struggle, seemingly suppressed by bayonets,

goes on more violently than ever before. Due to the disintegration of bourgeois and capitalist forces, conditions in Austria have reached a stage where the ruling elements are fighting each other. Personal conflicts and ambitions rule. Being unable to strengthen or even alter

the precarious structure on which their powers rest, they are turning violently against each other.

Space does not permit us to deal at length with Nazism in Austria. A great deal has been written about it and there can be no doubt that Nazism introduced from Hitler

Germany is mainly responsible for the series of bloody events sweeping that unfortunate country. But to follow in the footsteps of the yelling capitalist press and of Mussolini's retainers, and to blame the Germans for everything taking place in Austria means to give to

these events an angle which is wrong and actually tends to becloud the issue.

The overthrow of the Dollfuss government, coupled with the murder of the chancellor, was in reality a coup d'etat engineered from above and executed with Nazi help. This is the firm conviction of leading Socialist and labor circles, and borne out by reports which reached us within a few days after the Dollfuss murder.

The conflicting reports concerning Emil Fey, the Heimwehr leader and Commissioner of Public Security in the Dollfuss Cabinet, constitute convincing proof. Emil Fey negotiated as prisoner of the invaders with the besieging government troops for their safe conduct to Germany. He did so, and gave his word of honor, despite the fact that he was aware of his chief's death. The double role of Fey, one of the most ruthless Austrian fascists and mainly responsible for the sanguinary February events, was even recognized in government circles, as shown by the statement of the government speaker, Neustaedter-Stuermer, in answer to Fey's pleading: "President Miklas has issued an order stating that neither you nor any other Ministers held prisoners by the rebels have any further authority."

These and other facts brought out before the military court which sent the murderers to the scaffold prove that the era of fascist anarchy is spreading. Nothing, it must be repeated, has been solved. It might even be safely assumed that Mussolini himself is a silent partner to the re-grouping of Austria's government forces. It is an undisputed fact that the death of Dollfuss, who lately had become a liability instead of an asset, opens the way to undisguised Italian intervention in Austrian affairs and consequently to the establishment of a government 100% docile to Rome.

Austria, today as yesterday, remains the battleground between the two brands of fascism. Talk of Austrian independence is nonsense as long as the people are not permitted to express their own will and to set up their own government. The clouds of war are hanging deeper. Military intervention threatens; Yugoslavia has already warned against further consequences. But this is only one aspect of the Austrian problem. What the effect of an intervention in Austria will be on Germany and her people, whose nationalist emotions have been whipped to a frenzy by skillful Nazi propaganda, no one can even remotely foresee.

These are the intermediate stages through which every nation subject to tyrannical rule and exploitation must go. They lead to salvation, arrived at by an enormous cost of bloodshed. To believe that the German and Austrian people can remain separated is to misinterpret history and to perpetuate an immeasurable wrong committed fifteen years ago.

Neither the Germans nor the Austrians but only the allied powers bear the responsibility for the cauldron that boils anew in the heart of Central Europe. The Hitler rule in Germany for the present closed all doors to Anschluss.

But let the world understand that there can only be peace if fascism is overthrown and free determination is restored to these two peoples. As long as these fundamental rules are denied, Europe will burn. A day will and must inevitably come when one inadvertently dropped match will lead to an explosion far overshadowing the events of twenty years ago, and leaving a heap of ruins where once stood proud and civilized nations.

Hapsburg Gang Getting Ready for Fascism



Here is a remarkable picture, showing the infamous Starhemberg with a gang of his monarchist supporters meeting long before the recent crisis and plotting the enslavement of the Austrian people. Starhemberg is seated at the right between two women conspirators. The mob shown here includes one Hapsburg general, one baron, four hochwohlgeborene princesses of decayed lines, two Hapsburg archdukes, one count, two princes, one duke, one duchess and other riffraff of that type. They met to plan to take away from the Austrian workers their right to rule themselves, and for the moment they won.

Why Mary Called the Cops

By Gertrude Weil Klein

MRS. MARY CALABRESI is a "feller hand" on coats. During the boom days she worked in a shop, belonged to the union and made a comfortable living for herself and her family. That was long ago. Hard times drove her and thousands of other workers out of the industry.

The same hard times forced employers to seek all sorts of expedients for reducing production costs, and soon Mary found herself working at home. In between cooking, washing, cleaning and taking care of the children, from early in the morning until late at night, she "felled" coats. The union could not control home-workers. She was a miserably exploited slave. At best she may have managed to earn \$5 a week.

Then came the NRA, the minimum wage and the prohibition of home-work by the code authority. Mary was only vaguely aware of what was going on. She does not understand English well and does not speak it at all. Sometimes investigators came to her flat. Investigators are as common as alley-cats around the tenements, and the workers have learned to take them in their stride. But these investigators did not bring food tickets or rent checks. They said they came from the union and they would not let her work. They said it was against the law, against the "code."

The only codes Mary knew anything about were the "coats" she worked on. The only law she knew was the corner policeman, and so she called him. The policeman

knew Mary was a decent, hard-working woman. What kind of racket was this "union" fellow trying to put over? He chased the investigator, not too gently, out of the building.

When the investigator reported to his union, he found that the other investigators were having trouble, too. One of them had even been beaten. The employers had been well satisfied with the home-work system. By paying a small amount to a sub-contractor, who farmed the work out to the women's homes at a pittance, he got cheap labor and was relieved of all responsibility. Now he was being harassed to pay the minimum wage of 40¢ an hour or \$14.40 a week—in some cases an increase of 300%. He had to make room for the feller hands on his premises, which meant enlarging his plant. In some cases he had been forced to come through with hundreds of dollars in back pay which had been chiseled from the feller hands. The union was making it entirely too hot for him, and the next time the union representative came around he called the police.

But the union believed that the Mayor could do something to make the women and the bosses understand that this code enforcement was no joke. You understand, the feller hands had always been a neglected element. Inarticulate middle-aged and elderly Italian women, they themselves sometimes hindered the efforts that were being made for them. The Mayor understood and was willing to do whatever the union thought was

wise. He was willing to establish a code enforcement bureau with official status right in the city administration, if the union would cover personnel expenses. But the union said "no," they would take care of their own enforcement work, but they wanted it made plain to the police department that this work was being carried on by duly authorized agents of a regular union and that they were to cooperate, not molest them.

The Mayor said, "all right, you tell me what you want and I'll OK it." A letter was drawn up by the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, OK'd by the Mayor and countersigned by Inspector Valentine, merely stating that the bearer was a duly authorized agent of the union, enforcing the Men's Clothing Code Authority in regard to the 36-hour clause and the state mandate prohibiting tenement work.

It was this perfectly innocuous letter that Police Commissioner O'Ryan pounced upon and made the basis for his regulation requesting all labor unions to file identifications of their representatives with the Police Department.

The Amalgamated as well as other unions in the city have protested against the order requesting identification for their representatives, and the order will be withdrawn. But O'Ryan taught a political lesson to the workers that will not be forgotten.

Thomas on Coast-to-Coast Broadcast

Norman Thomas will speak over a coast-to-coast network of the Columbia Broadcasting Company Friday night, August 3rd, at 10:45, on "Civil Liberties and the California General Strike."

The Committee on Workers' Rights, organized by the American Civil Liberties Union, has selected Comrade Thomas as its spokesman.

TIMELY TOPICS

We regret that Norman Thomas, who is on a speaking tour in Pennsylvania, was unable to write his weekly article for this issue. Timely Topics will appear as usual next week.



G. W. Klein