

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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800,000 Strikers Face Labor Day

General Strike Called by United Textile Workers Against Stretch-Out and Starvation Wages; Nation's Looms to Be Stilled

By Special Correspondent

WASHINGTON.—Calling upon the 800,000 textile workers affected to close ranks, maintain discipline and stand firm, the special strike committee of the United Textile Workers of America has sent out a general strike call to over 500 of its local unions throughout the United States. The gigantic mass uprising of workers on textiles—the first general strike in American history—will probably start Friday at midnight.

If the hopes of the union leaders, based upon reports of discontent and actual strike votes in every textile center, are realized, the mills of the nation will cease operating almost completely. Labor Day, 1934, second since the New Deal, will see hundreds of thousands of toilers in a basic industry battling once more for a decent life, without benefit of NRA or other governmental agency. The fundamental rights of workers will again be guaranteed by the strength and devotion of the workers themselves.

"When we go into strike, we go into an industrial battle not with weapons of war but with the folded arms of peaceful warriors in the cause of industrial justice," the strike bulletin reads. Then follow in detail the steps to be taken in order to make sure that the conflict will be vigorously waged. "Discipline and loyalty are as necessary as on the battlefields of war. There must be no break in the line. We must win on the courage and determination of our membership and of the workers who meet the supreme test by joining with us."

Labor Day will see woolen and worsted workers in New England, silk operatives in New Jersey and rayon and cotton textile "hands" in the South combined in a stalwart army of workers striking together and fighting together for union and for bread.

Acting under instructions from the National Executive Committee, the national labor committee

of the Socialist Party, through Clarence Senior and Leo Krzycki, at once wired an offer of complete cooperation. At the same, the labor committee of Local New York of the party, through Julius Gerber and Jack Altman, and The New Leader also volunteered their unstinted aid in time and money and service to the strikers. President Green and the entire executive council of the A. F. of L. are backing up the walkout to the full extent of the membership and facilities of organized labor.

Convention Voted Strike

The strike, forced upon the union by the refusal of the Cotton Textile Institute in New York to confer with the National Labor Relations Board and the union, was authorized by the recent huge convention of the UTW. Because of the momentous task involved in setting up general strike machinery—and especially because of the gigantic financial burden entailed—leaders of the union and of the A. F. of L. have been willing to negotiate in order to see what substantial concessions could be won without recourse to strike. But cognizant of the mandate of the convention, and aware of the vibrant strike spirit as manifested among the delegates in the al-

most unanimous vote, the union's negotiators have not been willing to take any backward step.

"Strike by September First unless they give in!" was the order of the convention. The strike com-

mittee, backed by the full power of the A. F. of L. and affiliated internationals, went ahead with strike preparations, appointing committees, establishing headquarters, gathering funds, setting up

machinery for prompt obedience to the strike call once it went forth.

Why They Strike

And now the call has gone forth, and will undoubtedly be obeyed by (Continued on Page Three)



By Arthur Fashberg of Rebel Arts

American Labor Takes Stock of New Deal's Blessings as Tremendous Stoppages Mark NRA Failure; Three Unions to Confer

By Samuel H. Friedman

Labor Editor, The New Leader

FACING the second Labor Day since the New Deal, American labor pauses for a moment and takes stock. Labor Day is a peculiarly American holiday, as opposed to the international and revolutionary spirit of labor's May Day. And the "new deal" is supposed to be a peculiarly American way of meeting the problems of a rotting industrial system and a moribund social system.

Labor looks back on a great general strike in San Francisco, valiantly waged by the workers and frittered away for want of purpose and direction. An uprising in Toledo that almost became another general strike; a magnificent battle in Toledo; a twice-waged drivers' strike in Minneapolis; a revolt in Kohler's widely advertised model town; rebellion in Portland and Seattle, in Birmingham and Chicago, in large cities and in hamlets, all signaled the stark failure of NRA to achieve anything worthwhile for the workers except as they had organized during NRA's "honeymoon period" and gotten ready for battle. And all were punctuated by "disorder" and "rioting" and the raising of the red bogey; all were scarred with the marks of conflict between strikers on the one hand and police and company thugs on the other. And the toll of the dead in America's class-war mounted steadily upward.

Workers learned that they must depend upon mass-organization and mass-struggle, ably, courageously and conscientiously led, in order to win unionization and better conditions. Workers learned that governmental agencies and administrative intervention might sometimes lighten the burdens heaped upon them—and even then the reduction was usually more apparent than real—but only self-organization could obtain real and permanent results for their class. In many sections, workers learned, too, how

important the conquest of political power is—since time and again they found themselves confronted, misled and bedeviled by their political "friends" in the old parties of capitalism.

Pause Only Momentary

Labor pauses to take stock, but it can't pause long. Directly ahead is the general textile strike, reported in adjoining columns. Next week should see hundreds of thousands of workers under the banners of the UTW battling the greedy textile barons—infamous for their despotism and cruelty since the dawn of the industrial revolution.

At the same time, the refusal of the cotton garment manufacturers to accede to the President's reasonable order reducing hours and raising wages has called to the colors three other great unions, combined in an insistent demand that the industry abide by the decision—and like it! David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union; Vice-President Jacob Potofsky of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, and Thomas A. Rickert, President of the United Garment Workers' Union—all unions closely involved in the various branches of cotton

(Continued on Page Four)

Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman
Special Correspondent

THE NRA story of General Johnson's out-again-in-again; of the domineering general's fight with Donald Richberg and Miss Perkins; of his bursting through a White House conference room door as if bitten by a snake; of his written resignation and its withdrawal—all this seems more interesting to the public than the details of the latest developments in the threatened textile strike. But the strike is vastly more important. It's class war! At the time of this writing, the latest developments are:

1. Lloyd Garrison, chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, invited leaders of the Cotton Textile Institute and the United Textile Workers of America to a

conference to make one more attempt to adjust differences between employers and employees.

2. Relief Administrator Hopkins said that Secretary of Labor, Perkins, or the National Labor Board, must rule upon the strike's justification before the strikers and their families are entitled to receive relief from federal funds. Here it seems safe to assume that the strike will be considered justifiable and that hungry strikers will be put on relief list.

WEVD New Leader Speaker

William M. Feigenbaum, Associate Editor of The New Leader, will be the speaker of The New Leader period of Station WEVD (1360 Kc.) Friday, September 7, from 5:30 to 5:45 p.m. Benjamin Blumenberg of The New Leader staff speaks Friday, August 31, at the same hour.

3. Francis J. Gorman, chairman of special strike committee, said: The union has already indicated willingness to attend such a conference and to have the N.L.R.B. serve as mediator. Whether the strike, which union officials said today will be called on or before Saturday, will be averted rests, therefore, with the manufacturers at this time. The invitation sent to George A. Sloan, president of the Cotton Textile Institute, by Board Chairman Garrison said in part: "We have no desire to do more than bring together a representative group of the employers and the Cotton-Textile Board and the members of the union committee in the hope that a beginning may be made toward the settlement of the strike."

(Continued on Page Four)

Old Order Is Ready for Burial and New One Is Awaiting Deliverance

ONE day in the year is officially dedicated to Labor in this country. Then the rest of the year we labor—if the masters of the country can use our labor power. If they have no use for it—we rest and starve. We are idlers within the shadow of great machines and industries, the jobless and the outcasts of capitalist "civilization."

Why not look forward to a Labor Century when human beings will not be divided between those who labor and those who do not? A century where an owning class with power to ex-

clude us from employment will no longer exist? A century when the only currency that will be accepted in society is evidence that one has done some useful work and ownership of things will be based upon that evidence?

That is the future for which the workers of all types, skilled and unskilled, native and foreign born, black and white, should plan and work. Power is not ours, but power we can have. Power today is practically the monopoly of those who own the industries. Part of the incomes from this ownership is used to finance party organizations that will serve the owners. The road of this minority to power is through industry, through politics and into control of the governing powers.

One thing the minority lacks but which the majority has—is votes. Workers are the majority, but they pass their votes into the keeping of the parties financed by the owning minority. The net result is victory for the minority and defeat for the majority. Labor destroys its mighty power in elections and then begs in legislative halls from the enemies who sit there with the consent of Labor itself!

That is folly. A giant humbled before a pygmy! Centuries will come and centuries will go but the giant will always be prostrate before this pygmy by such action.

Close up ranks! Break down the old barriers to solidarity in industry and in the political struggle. The working class can have power if it cultivates the will to power. The working masses can rule their own life and civilization itself; they can be the masters of industry and the machine and make these serve them. They can restore industry to life; call the workmen of the nation to joyous labor for themselves and their families, and work with the knowledge that no idler can take what labor makes.

The old order dies and the new one is struggling to be born. The workers have the power to bury the old and deliver the new. The old is ripe for burial and the new is ready for deliverance.

Forward to the Century of Labor, the Workers' Republic of social, political, industrial and cultural democracy, a world emancipated from the robber barons who have wrecked the civilization they rule!

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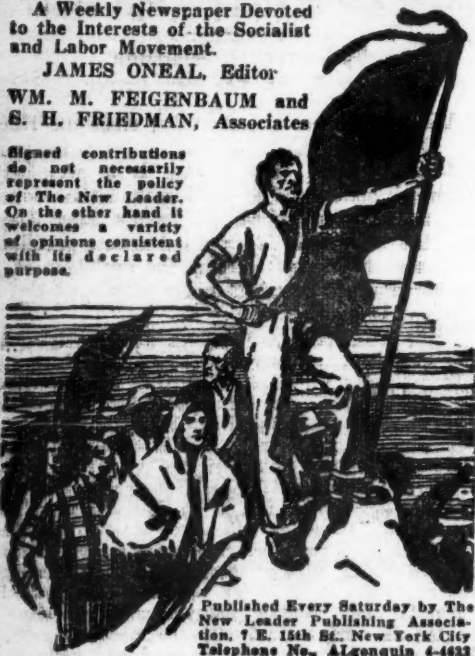
NEW LEADER

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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Look for These Forthcoming Issues

THE NEW LEADER has already met with an inspiring response to its last two issues. Enough has been said on declarations, principles and tactics in the last two months to satisfy all. The Socialist educational campaign is now on and the last two issues have been completely sold out! We shall do this again with coming issues.

We are engaged in a campaign throughout the country not only in Socialist education and increasing the party vote, but using the campaign to build a more effective Socialist Party. The working class must be awakened to a sense of its power and how to use this power. The vote is all that many workers have left. Capitalism has deprived them of everything else. The Socialist crusaders must show the masses how to use this vote more effectively.

With this issue we publish our anniversary Labor Day number.

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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See that it is widely distributed and especially among union men.

A Hillquit Edition

On October 7th we can assure our readers an extra eight-page supplement to the regular edition devoted to the life and work of our late Comrade Morris Hillquit. This will be in addition to the regular propaganda and educational features. Material is already being assembled for this number and it will be one of the best we have issued.

We are also negotiating for a number of special articles on the trade unions by competent writers in anticipation of the A. F. of L. convention. The organized working class is facing very grave problems with the continuance of the depression, the fate of unionism under the NRA, and the need of more effective political action. These problems will be given attention. More later.

The Big Campaign Number

Near the end of the campaign The New Leader will issue a final campaign number that will be invaluable for propaganda purposes. It will be illustrated with smashing cartoons and illustrations that will bring the Socialist argument to the masses in every state, and we expect to print the largest edition we have ever published.

Special Issues

Before this final shot is fired in the campaign, The New Leader will run special campaign issues for a number of states and local organizations. All who are interested in a special issue with material re-

garding their local campaigns and candidates, should write the business manager without delay.

Capitalism will not just drift into a Socialist society. The Socialist plum is ripe for picking, but there are not enough pickers organized and informed regarding their job. Energetic work with a will to power are essential if the Socialist ideal is ever realized.

Trial Subscriptions

Use The New Leader for your educational campaign. See the full page announcement elsewhere in this issue for trial subscriptions for those who do not have a dollar just now. Get the quarters and let The New Leader talk to prospects for three months. Do it, and do it now!

JUGOSLAV SOCIALISTS MEET IN CLEVELAND

By Charles Pogorelec

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—The annual convention of the Yugoslav Socialist Federation will meet in this city September 1 and will remain in session for three days. The convention will be held at the Slovene Workers' Home, and 80 delegates are expected to be in attendance.

The Yugoslav Socialist Federation is one of the best organized of the foreign language subdivisions of the party, and it carried on educational work constantly. With it is affiliated a fraternal benefit organization that works in the closest cooperation with it.

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

Dangerous Tactics

By Eugene V. Debs

In the year 1912 syndicalist thought gained some foothold in some trade unions and in the Socialist Party and there was much discussion regarding it and ideas of physical force that had emerged with it. Eugene V. Debs participated in the controversy and the following consists of excerpts from an article he wrote that year.

If I believed in the doctrine of violence and destruction as party policy; if I regarded the class struggle as guerilla warfare, I would join the anarchists and practice as well as preach such tactics.



It is not because these tactics involve the use of force that I am opposed to them, but because they do not. The physical forerunner is the victim of his own boomerang. The blow he strikes reacts upon himself and his followers. The force that implies power is utterly lacking, and it can never be developed by such tactics.

The foolish and misguided, zealots and fanatics, are quick to applaud and eager to employ such tactics, and the result is usually hurtful to themselves and to the cause they seek to advance.

There may be acute situations arise and grave emergencies occur, with perhaps life at stake, when recourse to violence might be justified, but a great body of organized workers, such as the Socialist movement, cannot be developed by such tactics.

But my chief objection to all these measures is that they do violence to the class psychology of the workers and cannot be successfully inculcated as mass doctrine. Such warfare, in this country at least, plays directly into the hands of the enemy.

The work of the Socialist movement must all be done out in the broad open light of day. Nothing can be done by stealth that can be of any advantage to it in this country.

They're Waiting for Us

By Jasper McLevy
Mayor Bridgeport

LABOR DAY, 1934, finds the American workers in a mood receptive to the message of the Socialist movement. Organized or not, they are ready to listen to what we have to say, because they are becoming increasingly convinced that the so-called New Deal is a new deal only for the capitalist system and not for the workers.

It may be that the NRA and the various plans of the Roosevelt administration may stabilize capitalism to a certain extent; that remains to be seen. But it is more plain every day that if the workers are to make any gains they must win them by their own efforts.

With all his expressed concern for the welfare of the masses, President Roosevelt is plainly seeking to bolster up the profit system, to make it possible for the exploiters of the workers again to coin the needs of the millions into gold. Giving him the fullest credit for the best intentions in the world, it is obvious that in his mind and in the minds of his principal advisors the workers are expected to benefit only after profits have started rolling in again, and only as a by-product of such a hoped-for stabilization of the profit system.

No one cares about the welfare of the working people, except the workers themselves. That has been the Socialist message since our movement was founded; that is our message today, and today millions of workers are beginning to realize its truth.

Never before have Socialists been given the cordial reception they are now receiving from the workers, organized and unorganized. When we stand with them in their organizing campaigns and in their bitter struggles, we do it because, being Socialists, we can do nothing else and remain true

to our ideals, and increasingly the workers are appreciating the fact that as Socialists we are so bound.

When we urge the workers to use their united might in politics, as they are beginning to use it on the industrial battlefield, we are received more warmly than ever before. Millions of workers, from coast to coast, are eager for our message.

If we fail them we will commit a crime against the workers and against our cause. But we will not fail them, because we cannot!

MILLIONS OF 'TRAITORS'

COMPLETE and corrected figures of the results of the German "election of August 19th," as tabulated and reported by Gobbels, have arrived from abroad, and it appears that the number of "traitors" is greater by half a million than at first reported.

Jeder ein Verräter am deutschen Vaterland, der nicht wählt ("Whoever fails to cast his vote is a traitor to the German fatherland"), shouted the precious Gobbels in the terroristic drive to get out every man and woman on the lists to vote, and to vote YES. And then, having suppressed all opposition, having an absolute monopoly on every conceivable form of propaganda, having made it clear that everyone who failed to vote and who failed to vote JA would be known by name and would be dealt with, and then having complete control of the "election" machinery and counting, tabulating and announcing the returns, Gobbels was compelled to report 7,589,239 "traitors" were recorded according to his own figures! The number of non-voters, originally announced as 1,943,925, appears to have been 2,530,375—TRAITORS TO HITLER'S REICH.

The "election" was a plebiscite, and it did reveal the German state of mind. But not what Hitler, Gobbels, and their associate criminals and the

Textile Union Head Sees Embattled Workers Winning Real New Deal for Themselves

U.T.W. Calls Out 800,000 Workers in General Strike

By Thomas F. McMahon

President, United Textile Workers of America

Labor Weighs Blessings of New Deal As Strikes Grow

(Continued from Page One)

garment manufacturing—have announced their intention of seeing to it that the big bosses toe the mark. A conference of the three unions is in the offing, and it is not altogether unlikely that a joint strike may be determined upon unless the industry sees the light. Reduction of hours from 40 to 36, a 10% raise in wages, don't mean so vast an improvement in working conditions, especially when compared with what these unions have been able to obtain in other lines without presidential intervention.

"If the government won't accept the challenge of the manufacturers," said Dubinsky, "the workers and their union will. The cotton garment men appear, in their fight with the President, to have forgotten that there is another party in the industry, the workers, who are neither cattle nor chattel slaves. We will call a general strike to enforce the 36-hour week in all cotton garment factories."

In New York, a strategic strike which may endanger the city's food supply threatens as the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs is taking a strike vote to back up its demand for restoration of paycuts. Ten thousand truck drivers in 17 locals may be involved. Local 138 has already voted to go out, tying up flour deliveries (except to hospitals and

other such institutions) and Locals 807, 282, and 816 are planning to follow suit.

The streets of the metropolis resound to the tread of pickets laying siege to manufacturing of all kinds. Radio workers and brush makers, movie operators (faced with two company unions) and peddlers, butchers and bakers are out on strike. Outside, the Kohler strike and the aluminum revolt are being mediated; the onion strike is at a stalemate, and violence flares anew in the Chicago bus fight.

One bright spot in the industrial scene is the recent victory of the painters, led by District Council No. 9 and sabotaged by the Communists, in their brotherhood's battle against the master painters' attempt to cut wages and increase hours. The nine-dollar wage for the seven-hour day stands, thanks to the solidarity of the 8,000 painters who struck and picketed and refused to compromise.

Labor takes stock and takes steps to consolidate its gains and make new advances. The next annual convention of the A. F. of L. meets in San Francisco on October 1st. Whether organized labor has fully learned the lessons of the past year will be discovered there. The state convention, just adjourned in Buffalo, came out for the 30-hour week, unemployment insurance, Lehman and Roosevelt. By October the last two may not be so satisfactory to organized labor nationally.

SUIT CASE WORKERS WIN WAGE INCREASE

A collective agreement has been signed between the Suit Case, Bag and Portfolio Makers' Union and the Luggage and Leather Goods Mfrs. Association. The agreement, for one year, grants increases of 7½ per cent to the piece workers and \$1 to the week workers. The minimum scales were raised to \$26 for mechanics; \$19 for helpers; \$14 for apprentices. The agreement is retroactive to August 20. Over 1,000 workers in the industry are members of the union. The committee consisted of Elias Lieberman, attorney; Murray Baron, general manager—Eastern Manager; Max Wiesen, local organizer, and Charles Blank, local secretary-treasurer.

(Continued from Page One) from one-half to three-quarter million workers. Broadcasting over an NBC network Wednesday night, Vice-President Francis J. Gorman, chairman of the special strike committee, explained to his union's fellow-workers throughout the country why the UTW called the general strike:

"We face a strike that will involve a million Americans. They make the textiles with which all of us are clothed. When they win, we may all wear our clothes with a little more satisfaction, knowing that the cloth has not run through the hands of men whose living standard is fixed by a wage that today averages somewhere between \$7 and \$9 a week.

"There is the question of working hours. Textile mill workers believe that there can be no more than a 30-hour work-week at any time. The code permits an 80-hour week for machines and a 40-hour week for workers, but the mills have not found it possible to operate that much time.

"Second, the stretch-out system

has been carried to such lengths that it has gone beyond endurance.

"Third, though our organization has grown greatly, in mill after mill workers have been discharged for joining the union, despite Section 7A.

"Fourth, but by no means less important than the first three, there is the question of wages. The code minimum per week is \$12. By a combination of circumstances we find that the average actual wage paid to textile workers today is about \$10 per week, and I think that is a generous figure. This is because so few are able to get a full week of work. Out of a half-million cotton textile workers as many as 200,000, or two-fifths, are unemployed.

"This is a strike against the mismanagement of the industry. It is a strike, too, against the abject failure of machinery set up under the code to end the stretch-out. That machinery has so completely failed that we have more than 2,000 complaints absolutely unanswered by correction."

THE greatest convention in the history of the United Textile Workers of America ended on August 18, 1934. It was a constructive convention. Delegates to the number of 499 answered our roll call. Every delegate seemed to be animated with the thought that he or she was there to act for ALL and not for any one locality. This, indeed, was encouraging. It indicated the dawn of a new day for our people in the mills and factories.

None were more pronounced in their statements on this subject than were our Southern delegates. "There is no North, there is no South," they would cry out, "the employers have created the mythical Mason and Dixon line." These expressions of heartfelt application of universal policy for the International Union to pursue gave me, indeed, great encouragement and hope. All who attended, I believe, felt the same way. Town Hall, New York, had not had in years, I think, within its confines a more enthusiastic and constructive group than the delegates to our convention from all parts of our country.

Our workers realize full well what is ahead, and their practically universal decision to declare a strike was not due to heated argument or the playing of any one to the galleries. It was the consensus cool, calm judgment on the part of the delegates that brought about this far-reaching decision.

None realized more than did these delegates who came out of the very heart of the textile industry from their various communities what suffering, sacrifice and hardships will be entailed in issuing such a declaration, if allowed to go through by the authorities at Washington; yet they faltered not but with heads erect and courage unquestioned they decided that the only way that justice could be secured was to demonstrate to the employers that the textile workers of the United States are back of the United Textile Workers of America in its plans and policies. Their loyalty to our International Union is unquestioned. The letters coming in since the convention are indeed encouraging. There is no pitiful appeal to call off the strike order, if such becomes necessary. On the contrary, the letters are cheering

THE EDITOR COMMENTS

A DANGEROUS POLICY

ONE item in the A. F. of L. program against Communists is especially dangerous to the unions themselves. In the reaction against years of intrigue, there is danger of going to extremes that will hurt rather than help.

Communists have helped to weaken unions, they have nearly wrecked some and they have plundered union treasuries. All political, cultural and economic organizations of the workers have had bitter experience with the Communists. But the proposal to enlist government aid in deporting aliens in the United States because they "are out of sympathy with our form of government" is no way to serve the unions. There are aliens who are not Communists and certainly many who are native born who are by no means satisfied with our form of government and desire to change it. Even the form of government makes provision for exercising the right to change it.

But the deportation policy is the worst feature of this program. Fostering a government policy of this sort may well turn against the workers themselves. Even in A. F. of L. strikes we have had numerous instances of strikers being deported from one state to another. For organized workers who have bitterly protested against this to ask for a national policy of this sort is not only to be contradictory but to approve a course that they will some day regret in sackcloth and ashes.

BEHIND THE FACADE

By Abraham Miller

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

HERE is my thought for Labor Day:

The workers have been shown a vision of the Promised Land in which there is no poverty and no economic insecurity, and that vision has been snatched from them.

The workers have heard the speeches of the President and of General Johnson; they have been told by Mr. Richberg that the "rugged individualism" of capitalism is nothing but "gold-plated anarchy"; and they have seen the exploiters dig in behind the facade of NRA and within the very sound of the President's pleasant voice in their endeavor to re-establish the profit system in working order and in all its hideousness.

And they have been touched by the grandeur of the vision of a better and a finer world, and they are increasingly determined to win for themselves the reality of the glittering words they have heard from the lips of those most exalted.

The New Deal has been compounded of beautiful words and treacherous deeds. And the workers have determined to make the golden words a reality by smash-

ing the treacherous deeds.

And there is but one way to do that; that way is by the united might of the workers themselves.

TEXTILE WORKERS' BOARD OF STRATEGY



The National Strike Committee of the United Textile Workers, who will conduct the country-wide textile strike. Left to right: Emil Rieve of Philadelphia; Abraham Binns of New Bedford, Mass.; Francis J. Gorman, chairman of the strike committee, Washington; W. B. Watson of Salisbury, N. C., and C. M. Cox of Shelby, N. C.

Onion Weeder's Chief Beaten, Kidnapped, Defies 'Vigilantes'

By R. G. Oxford

McGUFFEY, Ohio.—An almost warlike atmosphere permeated the onion fields here following the kidnapping and clubbing by vigilantes of Okey O'Dell, leader of the three month onion workers' strike, last Saturday and O'Dell's defiant return in the face of threats on his life and those of his family. Control of the town alternates between the vigilante group—made up of scabs and others—and the 50 deputy sheriffs on duty here. O'Dell's home is barricaded and strikers and their wives armed with guns keep the 24-hour guard necessary to prevent a second kidnapping. Further outbreaks with possible bloodshed seem almost certain to occur.

The kidnapping of O'Dell, who is president of the Agricultural Workers' Union, occurred following an explosion which did about \$25.00 damage to the home of Mayor Godfrey J. Otts. O'Dell was taken immediately from his home to the deputies' barracks for questioning. There he was seized by the vigilantes. Despite the fact that the 50 deputies were armed with pairs of guns, blackjacks and nightsticks, no serious effort was

made by them to prevent the kidnapping. O'Dell was taken to the county line and, after clubbing and kicking him, his captors threw him from their truck. O'Dell then hitch-hiked back to McGuffey and defied his foes to repeat their attack.

To the vigilantes' demand that he and his brother leave, O'Dell replied, "The only way we will leave is to go as corpses." An equally defiant spirit was voiced by O'Dell's wife and other strikers to your correspondent.

All strangers are closely scrutinized by the deputies. Your correspondent was given a lengthy examination, had his baggage searched and was kept in the deputies' barracks over night. O'Dell's guards are equally particular and only through the display of a Socialist Party card was your correspondent able to enter O'Dell's home.

Socialist Party members and organizers have been particularly active in this strike. Previous issues of The New Leader have told of the beating and imprisonment of Socialists who have been aiding the desperately battling strikers.

Doll Workers Fight Company Union; Organization Growing

THE fight of the Doll Workers' Union against the miserable conditions and company union slavery in the Ideal Doll and Toy Co. shop is being vigorously pushed, with strong picket lines besieging the plant and that of its subsidiary, the Admar Rubber Co. The firm employs 300 workers. In an effort to forestall the organization drive launched by the newly elected progressive administration of the union, "The Ideal Employees' Association," a company union, was started by firm officials. It was initiated by the contractors in the shop, who monopolize most of the available work, and put across by promises and bribery.

As a result, most of the workers were dropped and called in only at the height of the busy season. For the learners and semi-skilled—the majority of the workers in the shop—conditions were miserable.

In the unionization drive, the Y.P.S.L. and other organizations

have given aid. All members of the Young People's Socialist League are urged to help by reporting every morning at headquarters of the Doll and Toy Workers' Union (Local 18230, A. F. of L.), 429 Broome Street.

The union has checked up on every shop under union agreement and forced strict adherence to contract. All grievances brought to union headquarters receive immediate attention.

The new administration, determined to build a powerful militant union, has inaugurated a "real new deal," according to Secretary-Treasurer Ravitch. It is making plans to establish an educational department to train the membership in progressive trade unionism. "The gains in working conditions and wages obtained solely through the Doll Workers' Union are recognized by all in the trade," Ravitch declares. "It was the union that smashed the mushroom

CITRINE TO ATTEND A. F. of L. CONVENTION

INTERNATIONAL LABOR will be represented at the coming annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in San Francisco, California, by Walter M. Citrine, president of the International Federation of Trade Unions. Mr. Citrine, who is also the chairman of the British Trades Union Congress, has already accepted the invitation and he will arrive late in September. The main object of Citrine's visit to America is to present to the American working masses a picture of labor conditions in Europe, and to rally their support against the forces aiming at the destruction of organized labor everywhere.

The A. F. of L. voted to devote a session of the coming convention to a symposium on fascism. The speakers will be President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Citrine, and B. Charney Vladeck, chairman of the Jewish Labor Committee, which has a membership of more than 600,000 Jewish trade unionists affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Added significance is thrown on Citrine's visit by the recent decision of the American government to become a member of the International Labor Office at Geneva. Informed circles believe that Mr. Citrine's visit will result in a closer relationship between the A. F. of L. and the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The Basic Principles of the Modern Socialist Movement

Due to the pressure upon our space of special Labor Day articles and other features, the second of August Tyler's articles on Socialist Economics in the series on the Basic Principles of the Modern Socialist Movement is omitted from this issue. The series will be resumed next week and will continue thereafter as scheduled.

Other articles intended for the Labor Day issue have been crowded out because of lack of space and they will appear in forthcoming issues.

growth of sweatshops several years ago, and scrapped sweatshops where workers toiled unlimited hours for a weekly wage often as low as \$9.00 per week. Unionism is forging ahead in the doll and toy industry. Our slogan is, "every shop a union shop, and conditions enforced in every union shop."

Victory Has Been Won Only When Workers Are Organized

By David Dubinsky

President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

THE organized workers have moved forward during the past year. Hundreds of thousands of new recruits have been gained for the labor movement; hundreds of thousands more have gained improved conditions in the shape of better wages, shorter hours and union recognition.

In this great advance the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union stands in the vanguard. We have organized hitherto unorganized trades; we have increased the membership of our locals by tens of thousands; we have won important strikes and made substantial improvements in the lot of our workers; we have won union conditions and union recognition everywhere, and we have worked with the cordial cooperation of brother-unions in related sections of the apparel industry.

The labor movement, and specifically the I.L.G.W.U., has moved forward. And most significant of all its gains is this:

The workers know that what they have gained they have won by their own united might. In trades where workers are unorganized they are struggling bitterly for the mere right to organize and to present a common front for human living conditions. In trades where the workers have been organized not as strongly as they should have been they have had fierce labor struggles, meeting the embattled opposition of the employers, and often of the courts, the police, the military, and always of large sections of the press.

Victory has been won without bitter struggle and without encountering the fierce opposition that has faced the steel workers, for example, only in those trades that like ours have been solidly organized.

There is a lesson in this, a lesson that the workers are rapidly learning.

The emancipation of the workers must be won by the workers themselves. They have no friends—only "friends." Only the workers themselves, by their united might, can win the battles of Labor.

Behind the Scenes

(Continued from Page One)

The industry's code authority of employers already was scheduled to hold a conference of its own here Wednesday. The Cotton Textile Industrial Relations Board (set up under the code authority) also was invited to the joint conference.

One Offer Spurned by Union

Last week the textile board, of which Robert W. Bruere is chairman, offered its services as a mediator, but the offer promptly was rejected by the union, which insisted that any mediation be undertaken by the National Labor Relations Board, an independent body financed by the government. The cotton manufacturers opposed the NLRB as mediator, asking that it confer upon the Bruere board powers which only the NLRB possesses.

The NLRB can't for the time being project itself directly into the textile labor dispute because, in the absence of an actual strike, it cannot intervene unless both sides invite such action. It intervened in the aluminum industry's labor dispute only after a strike actually was under way.

Johnson Out and In Again

General Johnson's tactical victory over Donald Richberg and Miss Perkins and his remaining in the NRA as undisputed overlord is no surprise to persons admitted every now and then to peep behind the scenes. Every advisor of President Roosevelt is of the opinion that getting rid of Johnson is an urgent necessity; that to allow Johnson to remain in a key position is like dynamite left lying around loose; that real reorganization of the NRA is impossible as long as Johnson's domineering personality remains in the picture; but the President won't let him go.

Johnson is well aware of the sentiments against him and resents it bitterly. He is nobody's fool. He knows that he would be healthier and wealthier if he'd leave the NRA. But his feeling of "loyalty to the President" makes him hang on as long as Roosevelt wants him. Last Monday the blustery general stormed out of a White House conference charging efforts to oust him. He later resigned in writing, only to reconsider at Roosevelt's earnest persuasion.

As the situation shapes up today, the following results predominate:

Johnson will remain as National

Recovery Administrator and very likely will head the board which later is to take charge of NRA.

Richberg will continue, for the time being at least, as NRA counsel, with an understanding that Johnson is the chief of the agency. Later he probably will be given a key post in the recovery campaign, perhaps that of head of the National Emergency Council.

Realignment of Codes

A new plan, recommended by a specially created economic unit, would make classifications based on recognition of four basic groups of enterprises:

1. Production of basic materials from the soil.
2. Fabrication of what emerges from the first group into finished products.
3. Service—industries which do not produce or fabricate definite products, but which render service—ranging from transportation through finance to amusements, professions and such service-trades as laundries, restaurants, etc.
4. Distribution of goods, wholesale and retail.

The 22 sections and the fundamental groups to which they belong are:

Producing industries: food, textiles, leather and fur, ferrous metals, non-ferrous metals, non-metallic products, fuel, lumber, chemicals, paints and drugs, paper and rubber.

Fabricating industries: Equipment manufacturing, graphic arts, construction.

Service industries: Public utilities, transportation, communication, finance and amusements.

Distributing trades: Professions and services, wholesale and retail trades.

A Washington weekly review really should not pass unnoticed the roseate Richberg report of the progress of the New Deal, where he describes everything as perfectly lovely in the land of the "abundant life." Nor should be overlooked the funny pussyfooting of the newly organized Liberty League, the Anti-Roosevelt organization afraid to say a word against Roosevelt. But, alas, the necessity of furnishing important information crowds out the entertaining and interesting sidelights. Let's hope for times when we can afford to give more space to lighter stuff.

The Rand School of Social Science

at 7 East 15th Street, New York.

CONGRATULATES The New Leader on its great

Labor Day Edition of 1934 and wishes the paper the ever growing circulation it deserves. The New Leader is doing an essentially educational work. The Rand School is doing a similar work, for the same purpose, in other forms. It takes this occasion to make a few brief announcements and to invite every reader of this paper, from the East Coast to the West, to send in a postcard giving his name and address and asking for more detailed information.

On Tuesday, September 4, the Rand School in conjunction with The New Leader starts a regular weekly broadcast over WEVD. Tune in from 10 to 9:45 p.m.

On Friday evening and Saturday, September 14 and 15, the Rand School, in conjunction with the Young People's Socialist League and the Young Circle League of America, conducts a week-end Institute on Youth Activities.

On Monday, September 24, the Rand School begins its twenty-ninth school year, with a program of some thirty afternoon and evening classes, some meeting twice a week, others weekly, in such varied

and vital subjects as Introduction to Socialism, History of Socialism, Trade Unionism in Theory and Practice, Organization Work (both economic and political), Industrial History, Economics, Sociology, Philosophy, Psychology, Literature, and Music, besides English and Russian.

The Saturday Afternoon Discussion Luncheons, so successful last year, will be resumed on October 13.

Groups are being formed, all over the United States and Canada, for the study of one or the other of the two Rand School Correspondence Courses—one in Introduction to Scientific Socialism, the other in Theory and Practice of Trade Unionism.

Several party locals in neighboring parts of the states of New York and New Jersey are preparing to launch Rand School Extension Courses, some late in September, others right after Election.

Finally, the Rand Book Store welcomes visitors, and invites inquiries from out-of-town, concerning the books and pamphlets, especially on Social and Labor subjects which it is prepared to supply. Literature agents of party organizations should use this service.

While Millions Are Starving

By James H. Maurer

LABOR DAY finds the multitude divided; one group optimistic and hopeful that the New Deal will prove a panacea for our industrial and social ills, while a pessimistic group sees no hope in it. The optimistic Labor Day orators will stress the fact that during the past eighteen months jobs have been created for over three million jobless, that Section 7a of the NRA grants Labor its God-given right to organize and bargain collectively, that President Roosevelt is the hope of the nation, and that his policies are restoring prosperity.

The other group, inclined to be not only pessimistic but actually hostile, will orate about the eleven million still suffering from enforced idleness and that Section 7a of the NRA gives Labor nothing more than what it always did have, and that the standard of living for the average worker has actually declined.

Profits Increase

They will show that the profits of corporations increased, that the earnings of the workers increased only 7½ per cent while the cost of living at the same time increased over 23 per cent, and prove thereby that the New Deal means that the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer. In further proof that this is true, and that so far as the toilers are concerned the NRA is a humbug, one need only point to labor disturbances and unrest. Strikes and lockouts grip the nation from coast to coast. The NRA machinery is becoming increasingly a strike-breaking agency. Their long suit as representatives of the New Deal is to persuade the strikers to call off the strike first and arbitrate differences afterwards.

Wherever substantial gains have been made under the NRA, these have been due solely to genuine labor unions; not on account of the NRA but in spite of it, and in this manner Labor Day orators will give vent to their opinions.

Just which group is right the reader will know if he will. But ask himself a few questions and answer them according to the facts as he finds them. Has the reader got a job? If not, is he receiving sufficient relief? If he has a job, have his wages kept pace with the increased cost of living? Has the reader been on strike or locked out? If so, why? Have the governmental authorities—municipal, judicial, state or national—been sympathetic toward the strikers or have they been hostile? In other words, have public officials ever to your knowledge helped strikers to win, or have they gone hand in hand with the employers and helped them break the strike?

Two Sides

In all strike situations there are two sides to the controversy, employers and employees. Have you ever heard of the police raiding the office or headquarters of employers, cracking their skulls and confiscating their books, or imprisoning them? No, you never heard of any such thing happening; but you do know that labor unions and strike headquarters have been raided by not only police but the military, their property confiscated, heads cracked, labor officials kidnapped and others murdered and strikers imprisoned. Have you ever heard of imported strikebreakers being arrested or had their heads cracked by the police for scabbing? Is it not a fact that the only time you ever heard about man's "God-given" right to work is when public officials protect the scab? Not a

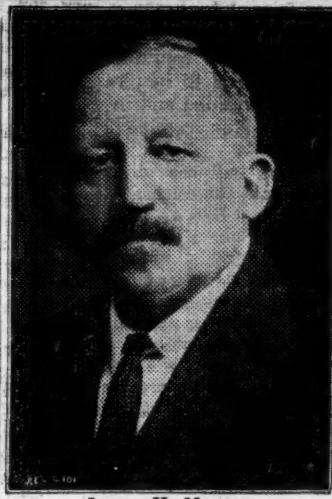
word does one hear now about man's "God-given" right to work for more than eleven million jobless, a condition that the employing interests are responsible for.

Is it not a fact that the NRA is making determined efforts to increase prices and guarantee profits on the one hand, and on the other sanctions codes which place the workers on wages of \$14 per week, and downward, for full-time service?

So, my dear reader, I might continue to enumerate glaring violations of human rights, and offer many more subjects for you to think about, and the more you think of them the more convinced you will be that property rights are held more sacred than human rights.

What Can You Do?

You may ask, What can I do about it? May I ask, What have you ever tried to do about it? The chances are that you, a victim of the system that exploits labor, are as guilty as those who profit by the exploitation of labor. The chances are that you belong either to a company union, controlled



James H. Maurer

body and soul by your employers, or do not belong to any labor organization; that you lack either the courage or wisdom to join hands with your fellow-toilers for your own mutual protection and advancement. Besides, the chances are ten to one that you vote one

of the old-line party tickets without even knowing why, other than perhaps you vote as your father and grandfather does or did.

Have you ever stopped to think why the politicians whose ticket you supported use their official positions to legislate in the interest of the rich to the detriment of the poor? Their every official action in a contest between labor and capital is always on the side of capital. If they do at times, after years of effort on the part of organized labor, hand a bone to labor in the form of workmen's compensation laws, child labor legislation, or old age pensions, then you surely must know how difficult it is to have such laws enforced. Employers are able to have the courts, controlled by Democrats and Republicans, declare such laws unconstitutional, and if the courts fail to annul them, then the employers seldom hesitate to violate them.

In Pennsylvania the legislature after eight years of hard work was finally persuaded to enact an old age pension law. The State Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers' Association rushed to the courts and asked them to have

the law set aside on constitutional grounds, and the courts did exactly what big business asked them to do; this in the face of the fact that the judges themselves are pensioned after twenty years' service. State employees are also pensioned with state funds. Pensions, the court and big business believe, are all right and constitutional for well-paid state officials and judges, but not for the toilers.

And this is the kind of an outfit, my dear reader, that you have been supporting with your ballot. Don't you think that it's about time you considered your conduct and quit betraying yourself? You surely must know by this time that both old parties are alike, that both uphold and defend the capitalists and their system called capitalism, the system that the New Deal is trying to save for the capitalists.

A New Leaf

Why not turn over a new leaf, join a genuine labor organization, and quit helping to vote our political enemies into power? In the future, vote for the party that in season and out fights your battles and wherever in power always defends the interests of the masses.

The Socialist Party, of, by and for the working class, the one party in the United States not dictated to or influenced by any foreign or set of foreign nations or by the exploiters of labor at home. The one party and the only party in the United States controlled entirely by the toilers on farms, in mines and factories—such is the Socialist Party.

Look us up, dear reader, and be convinced that you as a worker have no moral right to vote for the betrayers and oppressors of labor.

sober self-discipline which these masses, in such large measure very newly organized, have been showing in the great labor struggles of the last few months. The general sympathetic strike in San Francisco is not an isolated event, but it is the outstanding example of what I have in mind. I have, indeed, heard some so-called intellectuals lamenting the "failure" of the San Francisco strike, and even darkly hinting that it was "betrayed". I can understand these fault-finders only by supposing that they get a vicarious thrill out of seeing other people go on strike, and that they so much enjoyed the San Francisco conflict as a dramatic spectacle that they felt cheated when the strikers, having won what they set out to win, quietly went back to work. The ending of that strike was, as a demonstration of labor's capacity to act both bravely and wisely, quite as fine as was its beginning. It took courage for those men to quit their jobs as they did. It took good sense for them to carry on the strike with a minimum of inconvenience to the bulk of the population. It took both good sense and moral courage for them to stop at the right moment.

The masses of the American wage workers are not quite sure that they know what we mean when we talk of class-consciousness. But they are at the present time giving us a very good example of what we ought to mean when we use that phrase. Whether they "have a word for it" does not so much matter as that they have the thing itself.

Pointing with Pride

On the whole, "pointing with pride" is a more wholesome performance than "viewing with alarm." If we Socialists, one and all, will regain a little more of our old-fashioned, whole-hearted, proud and confident comradeship with organized labor, we shall have a good deal less occasion to shiver before the bogey of fascism.

A Future Full of Hope

By Algernon Lee

AT no time within the last ten years, and perhaps I might safely say at no time within the last twenty years, has American trade unionism borne an aspect so full of encouragement to Socialists as it bears today. I mean, of course, to Socialists who care more for facts than for phrases, more for tendencies than for programs, who think of the movement of organized labor as a movement of our class, and therefore as an object of sympathetic understanding, not of pontifical praise or blame.

A New Spirit

No one who in this spirit has followed the proceedings of the last five annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the utterances of its executive council and officers, as well as the acts and utterances of various international unions and local central bodies, can have failed to observe a broadening views as to the scope and policies of the labor movement. The progress has been slow, but it has been steady, and perhaps its not being sudden, makes it all the more likely to prove solid and lasting. It constitutes a somewhat reluctant step-by-step abandonment of the organized workers' traditional ways of thinking, which corresponded to the "rugged individualism" of America's past. This has not resulted from any considerable change in the personnel of the conventions and executive bodies. It is in the main the same men who are coming to think in somewhat new ways. And, since union leaders as a rule are not given to running very far ahead of their rank and file, it is safe to infer that a great deal of hard thinking is being done by hundreds of thousands of union members.

But that is only one of the hopeful features of the labor situation. Another, whose importance is not to be underestimated, is the enormous increase in the numerical strength of organized labor which has taken place within a little more than a year. No doubt, this has been greatly promoted by NRA. But NRA in particular, and the administration's New Deal in general, might conceivably have had just the opposite effect—and

just at the start there seemed to be reason for fearing that such would be the case. The National Industrial Recovery Act does it, as some suppose, require the workers to join unions, nor give them any legal right of organization which they did not already have before it was passed. From the point of view of the labor movement, it was as full of dangers as of opportunities. That a million or two of men and women are now in genuine trade unions who never were organized before, is due to the fact that they have known

enough to seize the opportunities and avoid the dangers that NRA contains—that the unions pretty clearly, and great masses of hitherto unorganized workers almost instinctively, realized that they could not afford to "let George (or Franklin) do it," but must themselves act, and act together, for their common good.

San Francisco

And the third thing, which goes along with these two to make up a condition full of promise as well as of achievement, is the combination of self-reliant courage with

For Peace and Security

By Daniel W. Hoan

Mayor of Milwaukee, Wis.

IT is idle to talk about recovery while from ten to eleven million workers remain unemployed, and while those who are employed find that even where wages have been increased they have not kept up with the increase in prices of everyday commodities. Meanwhile, as before, profits go right on piling up, banks are glutted with idle money and surpluses are accumulating in storehouses.

It is such a simple thing, and yet so many people fail or refuse to understand it, that there can be no permanent recovery until the worker receives the full product of his toil. In spite of the NRA, the average factory worker is producing about one-fifth more per hour than he did in 1929, but his wages, instead of being higher, are in fact proportionately lower.

This simply means that employers are still speeding up labor are seeking and using more labor-displacing machinery than ever. In doing this they are merely living up to the principles of the capitalist system, which is based on exploitation of the masses.

A drastic reduction in hours and a sharp increase in wages would help to a great extent, at least as a temporary measure, but such a solution would strike at the very root of the capitalist system, for it would cut the employers' profits, and this the owning class will fight with every weapon at their command.

Abraham Lincoln in a memorable

address said that "Inasmuch as most good things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened, in all ages of the world, that some have labored and others have, without labor, enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong, and should not continue. To secure each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any good government."

This is, in brief, the essence of the Socialist program. It embodies the main objectives which the Socialists aim to achieve. It cannot be achieved under capitalism without destroying profits, and profits are essential to capitalism. The only alternative is Socialism—a system under which the people of the United States, through their government and their respective unions, would own and operate the means of production and distribution, provide employment for all who are willing to work, give the workers a just share of the abundance which modern machinery makes possible, and insure peace and security for all.

The Socialist Party offers the struggling and desperate masses of workers a vision of hope while all about us there is confusion, conflict and chaos: hope for a new social order, founded on brotherhood, equality of opportunity and social justice. This vision can and ultimately will be made a reality if we will but join together, as workers in a common cause, and use the lawful means at our disposal to determine our own destiny.

The Workers Abroad

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

By William M. Feigenbaum
(Batting for Mark Khinoy)

Dutch Socialist Jubilee

ON August 26th the Dutch Social Democracy celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the Social Democratic Labor Party with a jubilee demonstration in the Concert House in Amsterdam. W. H. Vliegen, Nestor of the Dutch Socialists, and J. W. Albarda, parliamentary chairman of the party, were the principal speakers.

Prior to 1894 there were many Socialists in the Netherlands, but no organized party. The Socialist groups had carried on considerable educational work but had not been able to organize the working masses.

In those early days much of the Socialism of the Netherlands was anti-democratic and anti-parliamentarian and was under the leadership of the celebrated anarchist Domela Nieuwenhuys; at that time the line between the two philosophies was rather vague. In that year, under the leadership of Pieter Jelles Troelstra, one of the greatest figures in the history of the international Socialist movement, a sharp line between the two schools was drawn and Socialism definitely separated itself from anarchism, which entered into a decline from that time on. Troelstra organized the *Sociaal Democratische Bond*, through which genuine Socialist propaganda was carried on.

Because there were divisions within that organization, a dozen of its active workers, including Troelstra, Vliegen, H. H. Van Kol and Henri Polak, met July 4, 1894, and decided to form a party following Social Democratic policies and affiliated with the Socialist International.

The meeting at which the party was launched was held at Zwolle, August 26, 1894, and 54 persons signed as foundation members. And it was from that small beginning that the mighty Social Democracy of Holland began its great and fruitful work, led during most of the ensuing years by the great men who founded it forty years ago. The whole Socialist International sent greetings to their Dutch comrades upon the completion of four decades of magnificent work for the cause of humanity.

Swedish Party Growing Fast

THE Swedish Social Democratic Labor Party continues to grow in membership and in the number of affiliated sub-divisions. The annual report just made public shows a gain of 13,800 new members and 155 locals since the beginning of the year over the 2,112 locals and 325,734 members at the close of 1933. The most satisfactory gains were in the northern section of the country. In Norrbotten, formerly a Communist stronghold, the party gained 15 new branches with 842 new members. Stockholm, long a solid Socialist city, gained 1,779 new members.

There will be elections for county councils throughout Sweden in September, and the Socialists are making strong efforts to make big gains.

The Guardian Canard

THE Manchester (England) Guardian, one of the leading liberal newspapers of the world, so far forgot its fine traditions as to lend itself to a peculiarly vicious Nazi "maneuver" (referred to two weeks ago in another section of this paper, and again this week); it was the story that certain German Socialists and trade unionists were cooperating in negotiations with the Nazis for the formation of "neutral" trade unions.

We now have the official text of a statement of the German Socialists in exile in Czechoslovakia stigmatizing the Guardian story as the fable it was, concluding with these words: "THE LEADERS OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAVE NO INTENTION OF AIMING AT AN UNDERSTANDING WITH THE GANGSTER BAND IN BERLIN. THEY RECOGNIZE NO OTHER AIM THAN THAT OF THE COMPLETE ANNIHILATION OF THAT CRIMINAL SYSTEM."

We also have the text of the manifesto "To the German People" by the German Social Democratic Party, secretly circulated by the millions during the campaign that preceded the fake plebiscite of August 19. It begins: "Hitler desires your votes. You are to become co-guilty with him. You are to provide him with a justification for his past and future crimes. By giving him your votes you would make the whole nation appear as one vast horde of criminals."

It goes on: "His referendum is a lie, the mere pretense of a verdict of the nation, a swindle. Those who vote for him will only document their own miserable servility, their complete mental subjugation, will sign their own death warrants."

The document concludes: "There is only one answer to give—NO! NO! NO! NEVER! Away with the criminal! FREIHEIT!"

That millions of these manifestoes were circulated in Germany and that seven and one half million voters WERE COUNTED either as casting negative ballots, as handing in "defective" ballots, or as resisting the massed terror of the Nazis and remaining away from the polls is a

For Workers' Unity

By Frank R. Crosswaith

LABOR DAY should serve primarily to focus labor's attention upon the seriousness of the times through which capitalist society is passing and to inspire the masses to determined and intelligent struggle for economic freedom.

In spite of the ballyhoo about the New Deal, about the celebrated



F. R. Crosswaith

clause 7-A about the Forgotten Man, the fact remains that labor is still the underdog in a world where labor creates all. This truth should serve to quicken the thought of all who work for their living and force upon them the long over-due recognition that if labor is ever

to secure its rightful place in society the workers must organize and educate themselves for action on both the industrial and the political fields.

Figuratively speaking, man can with satisfaction gaze upon his triumph over nature's hostile forces. As a result of centuries of social and economic pain, discomfort, insecurity and hardship, we can now produce in almost unbelievable abundance all the essentials to a happy, free and contented existence. Nevertheless, millions of men, women and children of the working class are still the dispossessed, poverty-ridden and social pariahs in a world their own labor has created. Unemployment, barbaric low levels of life, haunting economic and social insecurity still plague the nation's toiling masses because a minority of society own for personal profit the agencies of wealth production and distribution.

Fed by the propaganda of this ruling minority, black and white workers face each other in hostile attitudes. Lynching, disfranchisement and newer forms of terrorism are added to the poverty which has long overwhelmed the Negro masses. Clerical trade unions, vigilantes, Silver Shirts and other organizations are appearing further to divide the ranks of the toilers. This would make them impotent in the face of a united master-class. It would prolong the economic sys-

tribute to the glorious courage and discipline of the German Socialists. Austrian Socialists and the Putsch

DESPITE all provocation to participate in one way or another in the bloody events of mid-July, the Austrian Socialists, organized underground, held their ranks. The Nazis sought to capitalize their natural hatred for the miserable Dollfuss and win them over; and the Heimwehr sought to bribe them with vague offers of amnesty to fight on their side. They refused both offers and remained strictly neutral, happy to see the two gangs of assassins butcher each other.

After the murder of Dollfuss the Socialists distributed many thousands of copies of a manifesto in Vienna and throughout Austria. It began: "Dollfuss is gone; his government must go after him." And further on it declares: "Here, as in Germany, fascists have murdered fascists. Here, as there, it means the beginning of the end of the fascist tyranny. Its fall cannot be secured by alliances with the Nazis, who are fascist murderers themselves. The working class has therefore only to look on unperturbed while the fascists slaughter each other. OUR TIME IS COMING!"

tem that spawns poverty and misery for the masses and colossal wealth and comfort for the idle, property-owning, exploiting few. All the machinery of Federal, state and municipal governments continue to function in the interest of the rich and against the working class.

On this Labor Day let us resolve to leave no stone unturned to effect the unity of the working class, to the end that we shall possess the power to free ourselves, to establish a well-ordered world in which those who usefully serve society, whether by hand or by brain and regardless of race, creed or color shall receive the full social value of their labor.

A world from which will be banished poverty, unemployment, race, national and religious antagonisms, war and human exploitation for personal gain. Such a world will be Socialism's gift to humanity, and will mark the beginning of real life for the peoples of all races, creeds and colors. LONG LIVE SOCIALISM!

WHO ARE THE RATS?

On Wednesday a booklet was passed out by the Austrian Consulate charging the Austrian Socialists with being "rats" and accusing them of graft. Julius Patzelt is the author of the pamphlet in which former Socialist Mayor of Vienna, Karl Seitz, is named as one of those who "extorted profitable existences from the rapid decay of socialistic enterprises."

This booklet repeats the old lie that the famous Vienna municipal dwellings erected by the Socialist administration were "fortresses" built at the expense of the population in preparation for the fighting that occurred last February. Before the fighting the fascist leaders had declared that these dwellings were shoddy, built of poor material and that Socialist officials pocketed graft that was available because of this poor material.

The appearance of the booklet has aroused the Socialists of New York. The fascist murderers of men, women and children of Austria add to their crime an insult to the dead. They declare that "rat" leaders deserted the party, when it is known that the leaders fought by the side of their comrades to the last moment while others were caught and executed by the fascist hangmen.

The *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, now published in Brno and circulated by the hundreds of thousands secretly in Austria, likewise carries a blast against the Schuschnigg government, concluding: "Hold yourselves in readiness, workers!"

THE British I.L.P. has instructed its executive to communicate with the French Socialist and Communist parties, and the Austrian Socialists and Communists, looking toward a world congress that they believe may lead toward world unity.

At the same time, a group of so-called independent parties, including the Norwegian Labor Party, the Swedish Socialist Party, the Independent Socialist Party of Holland, the German Socialist Workers' Party, and the I.L.P., are preparing to call a world congress. All are "splinters," minority parties opposed to the Socialist parties of their countries, but not yet ready to join the Communists, except the Norwegians, who are the only great Socialist party outside the International.

The National Council of the I.L.P. has asked its Inner Executive to examine the whole position and to report at an early date to the council.

All Right! Pi

Associated Press despatch from Greenville, August 13: "Rather than plow up three acres cotton he had cultivated, B. B. Medlock, 48 old, tenant-farmer, killed himself today. F. inspectors found he had three acres more than was allowed under a reduction contract he with the government. They ordered him to do the cotton on the extra acreage. The farmer behind the barn and shot himself through the Another tenant will plow up to cotton."

B. B. MEDLOCK was "sentimental." He loved the cotton he had toiled to plow. Loved the look and feel and smell of it over his cultivated farm. Forgot that by being too diligent with his crowned crop he became a contract-breaker a culprit! And Medlock was a "visionary."



Drawn for The New I

A Crusade

By Dr. Harry W. Laidler

THE New Deal has at least accomplished one good thing: It has taught tens of thousands of workers that any deal that retains the system of private ownership provides no way out for the masses to economic security, social justice or human liberty.

We have labored under the New Deal for over a year and have found it waiting. It was inaugurated to provide work for the unemployed. During its operation many have been absorbed in private and public industry, but still a vast army of over ten million men and women—an army nearly twice as great as during the peak of the 1921 depression—are still vainly hunting jobs. In New York, the richest city in the world, nearly 400,000 families are in desperate straits and dependent for their very existence on private or public charity.

Nor has the situation improved during the last few months. The Secretary of Labor reports that from June to July, unemployment increased by over 3 per cent, while wages decreased per cent. Industrial production fell from 83 level to 76 has again President declares: doesn't see less the control of and see to tion's resour common, go Industry since showing jobs in the bo there was employed 000 to 4,20 so-called p tisticians v no guaran hard time ghastly on ops; as i falls into monopoly tained at growth of and more unsettled shrink; as markets b mass prod after a de market ag speed, ins ment und increase



H. W. Laidler

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Plows With the Mules

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He beheld with his inner eyes what the three acres he was ordered to destroy, might do—

Saw a throng of little girls, now ashamed of their rags, happy again in trim and prettily-patterned dresses that his cotton would make;

Saw invalids in miners' hovels and backwoods shacks, now loathing the naked bedding on which they must lie, comforted by clean smooth sheets and pillow-slips magically loomed from his crop;

And saw the wives of toilers in country and city, now humiliated by want, smiling once more at the fresh white garments on their household shelves—from his fertile acres.

WHY, even Medlock's mules had refused to pull the plow through the growing plants, but persistently stepped aside between the rows as they had always been trained to do.

trample what God made grow for folks to use!" he have pondered;

—poor little jackasses, like Balaam's donkey long ago, clearer than humans what's right!"

eral inspectors told Medlock he had helped God too in His big job of clothing the needy, and would have troy the cotton,

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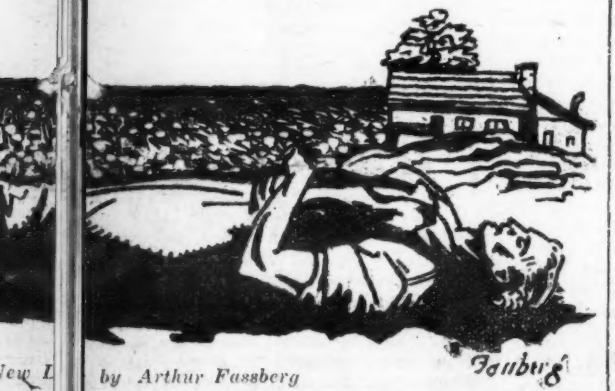
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by Arthur Fassberg

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Poverty Amidst Plenty

By George Q. Lynch
General President-elect, Pattern
Makers' League of North America

LABOR DAY is a national holiday, observed in every state and territory of the United States except the Philippines. Arising as it did out of an Act of Congress, it is exclusively an American holiday.

In the past this holiday has been accepted by the politicians and propagandists representing the status quo as an opportunity to point with pride to the possibilities of success for working people possessed of a desire to advance themselves through their individual efforts under American institutions.

Their theme song has been "individualism," and they have astutely but unmistakably let it be known that while they accept the first Monday in September as Labor Day, it is not to be assumed that they view this to mean Organized Labor Day.

The pressure of recent events, however, is teaching the need of labor organization more eloquently than can be offset by the glib orators defending the principle of operating American industry on the basis of organized capital and unorganized labor.

That their conception of organization has been profitable to them is amply demonstrated by the fact that between the years 1923 and 1929 organized capital increased its earnings eighteen times as rapidly as did unorganized labor.

This unfair and unsound distribution of the increased national wealth during that period brought about the crisis in 1929 which ushered in America's greatest industrial depression. The failure of American capitalism to operate the wheels of industry has kept millions out of employment. This unemployment has caused the loss of homes and has brought actual hunger into the lives of equal millions. The anomaly of poverty in the face of plenty places capitalism on trial.

Therefore, on Labor Day this year America finds itself nearing the cross-roads. Perhaps before another anniversary rolls around we may be forced to make a choice of directions. Recent history has clearly painted the signboards. There can be no mistaking the routes left to our selection. Our

choice is between the road that leads to dictatorship and American fascism or the route to industrial democracy through the public ownership and management of the



George Q. Lynch

things necessary to life.

If labor is to be a determining factor in the choice of roads it must be organized labor. By precedent, if for no other reason, the American Federation of Labor is considered the representative voice of labor on the economic field. While much merited criticism may have been directed against its policies, we must keep in mind that the means for change has always existed within its organic law.

My message to progressive working men and women, who believe in the principle of democracy in human relations, is to join the union of their occupation. Bring to that union a clean, clear and constructive viewpoint. Concentrate upon building a union which expresses your economic and political desires. Such a union will select enlightened and progressive leadership as a matter of course.

It must be remembered that the philosophy of local unions goes to build the composite picture of American unionism represented by the American Federation of Labor. Progressive trade unionists, therefore, are charged with the responsibility of making organized labor truly representative of the best interest of those who do the world's useful work.

They Can't Afford to Eat

By John W. Piercey

ON a recent visit to a farm home the farmer told me, "the farmers around here aren't eating enough—they cannot afford to eat three meals a day any more. Due to the drought they have received very little cash from their crops and they have been unable to raise a garden this year. Most farmers have little or no credit in town so they actually face hunger."

A few years ago anyone would have been considered crazy if they had predicted such a plight for the "prosperous" farmers of Kansas. It is true that they haven't really been prosperous since the war, but until the last few years they have not faced actual scarcity of food for their families. But the plague of a capricious nature combined with the ravages of our capitalist system of exploitation has, in spite of the efforts of a paternalistic government, driven the farmers to even deeper miseries.

Pastures have dried up and even the cattle must be sacrificed at ridiculously low prices. The government has launched a gigantic stock-buying program to purchase the stock which is to be processed for food for the unemployed. This program helps the farmer as some of the other Roosevelt plans do—it gives him some badly needed im-

mediate aid but it is no solution.

The farmers are growing increasingly skeptical of the benefits of the AAA. The subsidies and credits have been temporary life-savers for most of them but they know that real farm income has not increased appreciably under the regulation of production of the AAA. Questions for which they are seeking answers are arising in the minds of the farmers. They want to know why meat is still selling at 25 cents a pound in the market while cattle are being sacrificed at a dollar a head. They are questioning the plan of curtailing production while millions are in dire need of those products. They cannot see why they should be enslaved for years to pay off debts which were incurred through no fault of their own. Only Socialism can answer these questions.

The government has hastened to assure us that in spite of the drought there is still plenty of food for all. No longer need we fear even the worst droughts which nature may send. The farmers like the workers need only fear an economic system that permits an owning class to rob them of what they produce. The way out for the farmer as well as the worker is to establish the cooperative economic system of Socialism.

Editor's Corner

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

Labor Day

LABOR DAY is a time for taking stock, of surveying the past, considering the present and planning for the future. In all countries the working class has a history of its own, but the life and struggles of the workers have been largely ignored by the historians. Not till the working class began to emerge with powerful organizations in the nineteenth century did the historian begin to consider the history of the workers.

But even the accepted historians who turned to this phase of history never did a thorough job. They could not because of the weight of conservative tradition, because the capitalist class and their politicians, their literary police, their statesmen, generals and retainers had already been written large in the history of the nation. To delve beneath them and to bring the wage worker and farmer, the slave and indentured servant, out of the obscurity to which they had been consigned, was a difficult task.

Workers themselves turned to this job in all countries where their movement became strong and slowly the working class began to emerge from old musty records. It was a rich mine that was plundered by working class writers, and today no worker can be considered informed unless he knows something of the history of his class, of the struggles by which the working class broke down old barriers against economic, political and cultural organization and destroyed old privileges that restricted the suffrage and office holding and which consigned labor to the position of "mudsills" in capitalist society.

Out of the Past

THE modern labor movement in all its phases—economic, political and cultural—is based upon the sacrifices and struggles of our ancestors. To organize was itself a conspiracy a hundred years ago even in this country. Workers broke down this old common law doctrine, but even today the trade union is by no means safe before the courts of capitalism. Workers are compelled to bare their breasts to judicial blows directed against them in strikes and lockouts. Too often the executive powers of a city, a state, and even the nation are against them. Legislative bodies are ranged against them with the result that workers have to go before these bodies as petitioners when they ought to occupy the seats inside and enact their own interests into law.

The organized workers of this country are the only organizations left in the world that select candidates of the ruling parties for support and then appear as petitioners for relief before these candidates when they become office-holders. The candidates beg us before election and we beg them after election! They are successful in their begging but we are a failure in ours.

It is true that over a long period some measures have been enacted that are of interest to the working masses, but when one remembers the time and the funds spent to obtain these measures and the fact that the organizations of the workers still occupy a precarious position in capitalist society, it is evident that the price paid is excessive. It is like paying five dollars for some desirable thing when it can be obtained for one dollar, leaving a good surplus for the purchase of other things of even more value to us.

The working masses must learn what the workers in all other countries have learned, that they have special interests as a class to advance and that these can only be cared for by a party of their class.

The Future

EVEN the politicians of capitalism know this and fear it. The greatest political general in the United States was Thurlow Weed, the Whig dictator of New York State for many years. In old age he confided his views to the reporters in 1881. Of the workers he said that "regular political parties, managed by talented, educated men, have always used these ignorant classes.... The ignorant and poor never have united so far as to be able to accomplish anything by themselves; they are always in the hands of intelligent men; demagogues and scoundrels, it may be, but still intelligent."

Weed was out of politics and could speak candidly. He had no candidates to put over and no bankers and capitalists to satisfy. He regarded workers as voting cattle, and his view does not differ from that of the professionals today.

Dissatisfaction with the present form of political action is growing among the members of the unions and this is likely to increase in the coming years. When the organized working class issues its own declaration of independence, calls the whole working class to rally to an independent labor party standard, and goes into the field to battle for its own claims and interests, it will mark an epoch in the labor struggle of this country.

The destiny of the whole of American life and its prostrate industries are in the hands of the giant, Labor. Unless it acts within the next few years, despotism may get such a foothold that decades of terrible struggle will be required to overthrow it.

A Crusade Against Chaos To Rescue Humanity

(Continued from Page Seven)

product per unit of labor.

Let labor celebrate Labor Day of 1934 by beginning a powerful campaign for a six-hour day and a five-day week, with no reduction of wages, as a means of increased employment and a chance genuinely to live.

The New Deal prescribed certain minimum wage scales. They were far too low, and in many cases, especially among the Negroes of the South, they are violated by the wholesale. The codes make no provision for an automatic increase of minimum wages with the increase in the cost of living. In many cases the minimum have tended to become maximum wages; in many instances they have led to a speeding-up of labor and to one person doing the work of two.

Recently I was speaking to a manager of a chain store. "How is the NRA affecting you?" I asked. "Well," he replied, "the codes forbid the ordinary worker in our stores to work more than 40 hours a week. They say, however, nothing about executives. Executives can work an unlimited number of hours. So they proceed to raise an employee who is getting around \$35 a week to a little above \$35 and put him in the ranks of executive. I am one of these, and now I do the work of manager, assistant manager and porter. I get on the job at 7 o'clock in the morning—sometimes earlier—and work until closing up time. We have had to give a high minimum wage to some of our employees for a full week. As a result we employ them fewer hours, so that the actual wage bill is less than it was before the NRA. Minimum wages must be given that provide a decent and self-respecting standard of living to all."

The New Deal promised the abolition of child labor. In many industries fortunately children are no longer employed, at least to the extent they were a few years ago. But still in industrialized agriculture, in the personal service, newspapers and other industries, hundreds of thousands are working for a miserable pittance.

On this Labor Day, the American labor movement should pledge itself anew to the enact-

ment of a Federal Child Labor Amendment; and not only to that, but to the Workers' Rights Amendment to the Constitution, giving Congress full affirmative power to pass federal unemployment, health and accident insurance legislation and legislation for the socialization of the nation's industries.

Much of this legislation is, under a liberal interpretation of the Constitution, already legal, but no one can be assured how the Supreme Court, as presently constituted, will decide what the Constitution really means.

The New Deal promised a new era of collective bargaining. In the decade from 1920 to 1930 the number of workers organized in trade unions decreased from 12 per cent to 8 per cent of the total, a decrease due partly to the increased power of the great combine and monopoly in business and politics and its ruthless opposition to organized labor; partly to the sweeping away of old craft lines through the installation of new machines; partly to the failure of the trade union movement to adjust its tactics and its structure to changing industrial techniques, and partly to the fact that the workers were bamboozled into the belief that the "new capitalism" could be depended upon to bring them high wages, short hours and industrial security—not forgetting a few Wall Street melons—without any necessity on their part for trade union or political organization.

The depression came, followed by the New Deal and Section 7A. The unions in many industries put on a vigorous campaign, netting trade unionism hundreds of thousands of members. On the other hand, it has given a status to company-controlled unions which they never before possessed; and has meant the bitterest sort of battle between the forces of labor and the combined forces of capital on many an industrial battle front.

On this Labor Day, organized labor, skilled and unskilled, should resolve to put its own house in order; to adjust its activities to the needs of the times; to take advantage of every opportunity

for organization; to support its fellows with might and main in all struggles for bona fide trade union organization; to elect to office the party that is dedicated to the rights of labor, and to continue its fight until the vast majority of workers, skilled and unskilled, are part and parcel of the organized labor movement. Labor cannot depend upon the New Deal for such a result; it must depend upon its own right arm.

The New Deal promised to bring about a balance between production and consumption. It has brought about an organization of capital under the NRA such as few big business men dared to hope for a few years ago. The codes have virtually suspended the anti-trust laws and given power to many trade associations to fix prices for the whole industry. Prices have risen. The wholesale price level is now, we are told by the Commissioner of Labor Statistics, the highest in three years, and nearly 9 per cent higher than a year ago. Farm products show a rise of 71 per cent, textile products of 40 per cent, and foods of nearly 40 per cent above the low point reached in 1933. Wages have not similarly advanced. Purchasing power of the masses of wage-earners who had jobs before the New Deal and who still have jobs, has declined, with the exception of that of the lowest paid workers. Consumption power and production power has become increasingly unbalanced. Some 1,485 corporations which had a deficit of 97 million dollars in 1932 reported, it is true, a profit of 661 millions in 1933, but labor didn't get that profit.

No balance is possible without the abolition of the profit system.

It is time for labor to dedicate itself to a cooperative system of industry where work and plenty and freedom will be the heritage of all, and to ally itself with the Socialist party, the party of labor, dedicated to this ideal.

Finally, with the war clouds again becoming ever more threatening, labor, on this day, should pledge itself to oppose all international war; to fight the great economic and social causes of war, and to work, in season and out of season, for a warless world. In doing this it should join its brothers across the waters in their struggle against another world holocaust. If war is to be abolished, the workers of the world must unite.

An Eventful Year Closes With This Labor Day

By M. Zaritsky

President, Cap and Millinery Department, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union

LABOR DAY brings to a close an eventful year in the history of the American labor movement, and opens another which may be even more eventful. The year since we last commemorated Labor Day has not been characterized by any profound or fundamental changes, either in the structure or the philosophy of organized labor. No one identified with it, or familiar with its composition and viewpoint, anticipated such changes. Even those who would prefer changes in policies will not regard their failure to come suddenly as a weakness or as being discouraging.

On the contrary, the fact that whatever changes organized labor may have to make to adapt itself to changing economic conditions are likely to be the result of an evolutionary instead of a cataclysmic process is a source of hope, rather than of despair.

What has made the year eventful, and has furnished encouragement, is that notwithstanding the continued havoc of the depression, only partially mitigated by administration measures, and in the face of intensified effort by American plutocracy to halt the onward march of labor, the trade unions have held fast to their gains, increased their numerical strength, chartered many hundreds of new organizations and, above all, resisted the attempt of the ruling class to destroy their power.

The numerous strikes, the vigor with which they were led, the solidarity of the rank and file, are but a few of the many evidences showing how, after four years of agony and suffering, the workers had not been cowed into submission but have, instead, fought a formidable and arrogant industrial tyranny.

Of even greater consequences is the fact that in the more important labor disputes the primary issue between workers and employers was not the question of hours or wages, but union recognition. It disclosed that the lesson of the depression had not been lost on the workers, the majority of whom had come to realize that no immediate gains in hours and wages they may achieve could endure without an organization capable of defending and protecting them. The subordination of all other demands to union recognition marks a vital step forward.

Possibly as a result there has been a growing realization that the interests of the different crafts are intimately bound up with each other, and that a defeat of one cannot leave others uninjured. It

was reflected, to some extent, in the San Francisco general strike, in Minneapolis, in Portland, and in Seattle, in the movement for the organization of the automobile and steel workers, in the consideration given by the A. F. of L. to a plan whereby national departments may act for a group of unions in the same industry, thereby obtaining some advantages which will come from an industrial form of organization.

There are other encouraging events. Labor's position is immeasurably stronger than it was a year ago. Whatever one's reaction to the NRA may be, it is conceded by those who represent labor's interests that it has been a helpful factor, and that labor has more to gain by an extension and improvement of the NRA than by scrapping it.

We have labored under no illusion as to the NRA. We know that there are fundamental defects in our industrial system with which it does not deal. We suspected that to the extent its objects would benefit organized labor it would be emasculated by the enforcement agencies. We knew—and our knowledge was amply confirmed by experience—that labor would get not more from it than its organized strength would enable it to insist upon. With all of this, labor has found the NRA to be an asset rather than a liability.

It will not do, however, either to overlook or minimize the dangers that lurk, and against which labor must ever be on guard. With the growth of trade unionism has grown the resistance and arrogance of the ruling powers. Capital has not only violated the law but frequently challenged the supremacy of the law and the government. Under a dozen disguises it has sought to undermine the recovery program. The more powerful groups have breathed open defiance. The smaller groups have sought to accomplish the same purposes by less open means, such as chiseling, company unions, etc. While piling up profits once more, they have sought to destroy, through exorbitant increases in living costs, what little benefits labor may have obtained.

There is a danger that this tendency will grow, and that the ruling powers will revive the campaign to "deflate" labor. Whatever may be the wishes of the Administration, those controlling the economic life will decide its fate.

In the coming year fateful decision will have to be made. The struggle for power will enter a more acute stage. Workers made desperate by continued suffering, chagrined and resentful, may strike out blindly against oppression. What will be required if labor is not to endanger the outcome of the struggle is a disciplined, loyal and united movement, conscious of its power and of the issues involved.

Years of intense suffering have placed the workers in a position to face the future with fortitude and courage. They have been hardened by oppression, and can the better endure the rigors of the contest. Out of the slums into which they have been driven, from the breadlines into which they have been forced, they will come to take their position on the picket lines, to fight for the right to enjoy the blessings that progress and civilization have brought within their reach, but of which they are being deprived by a ruthless oligarchy that knows no law save the law of force. If they fight as a united and disciplined army they cannot lose. To give them that discipline and unity, to inspire them with the vision of the kind of a world this can be, and to lead them towards the goal will be the task of the leadership.

Ohl Again Leads Wisconsin Labor

RACINE, Wis.—Henry Ohl, Jr., veteran Socialist and fighter for labor, was elected president of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor for the 17th consecutive term at the recent convention here. J. J. Handley was re-elected secretary-treasurer for the 23rd time.

The convention refused to send out copies of a speech by President Green urging the re-election of Senator LaFollette. The plea was made from the floor that James P. Sheehan, Socialist candidate, has fought for 40 years in the union struggle and should receive support of the labor movement.

Telegrams were sent to the Farmer-Labor governor of Minnesota and the mayor of Minneapolis protesting against police brutality.

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"POLITICAL PROBLEMS"

Talk by Chas. Solomon

"NEWS OF THE WEEK"

Review by Frank Crosswaith

"SOCIALIST THEORY"

Part I, discussion by James O Neal

TUESDAY, SEPT. 11, at 10 P.M.

"POLITICAL PROBLEMS"

Talk by Harry W. Laidler

"NEWS OF THE WEEK"

Review by Jacob Panken

"SOCIALIST THEORY"

Part II, by James O Neal

TUESDAY, SEPT. 18, at 10 P.M.

"A Housing Program for N.Y."

Talk by B. C. Vladeck

"NEWS OF THE WEEK"

Review by August Claessens

"SOCIALIST THEORY"

Part III, discussion, Algernon Lee

TUESDAY, SEPT. 25, at 10 P.M.

"PUBLIC AFFAIRS"

Talk by Louis Waldman

"NEWS OF THE WEEK"

Review by Gertrude We'l Klein

"SOCIALIST THEORY"

Part IV, by Algernon Lee

How Lies and Slanders Spread

TWO weeks ago we carried an emphatic denial of a story that was making the rounds to the effect that Otto Wels, German Socialist leader in the pre-Hitler days, now in exile in Czechoslovakia, was negotiating with Hitler for the establishment of "neutral" unions to supplant the so-called "Labor Front."

The story was, of course, a lie out of whole cloth invented in the diseased mind of the devilishly ingenious and unspeakable Gobbels, and handed out to the foreign correspondents in Germany by his corrupt propaganda department. Those men have, of course, no way of checking up news in the "coordinated" Reich, but common sense would have told them that the story was idiotic on its very face.

Still, a gullible correspondent of the usually reliable Manchester (England) Guardian picked it up; and from that time it has been appearing regularly in the Communist press.

On the very day we printed the categorical denial from official Socialist sources in Czechoslovakia that neither Wels nor any other German Socialist either in exile or in suffering Germany had any object except the overthrow as soon as possible of the accursed Hitler regime, and that no such negotia-

tions had been entered into or would even be considered, the "liberal" New York Post carried a column by ex-Socialist, ex-Communist Ludwig Lore—who certainly is in a position to know better—reciting the entire story exactly as the Nazi propaganda machine wanted him and other American journalists to believe it. He did not wait to check up; he did not comment that the story looked fishy on its face; he did not write that the story appeared to fit in with the propaganda plans of Gobbels' department. He took the story and printed it, with a sneer at Wels as his only comment.

It took him a week to get around to a repudiation of and apology for a story that he would have known were he not blinded by prejudice against the Socialist movement was a clumsy lie.

But the Communist press is still peddling the lie, and presumably many Communists really have got themselves into a state of mind actually to believe it.

It is curious how blind hatred of the Socialist movement will bring Communists and others virtually into the Nazi camp; for the sole purpose of sending out that story was to get it believed and thus to sow confusion in the ranks of those supposed to be united in their hostility toward and determined opposition to fascism and Nazism.

Now They've Got Religion

By Harold Flinker

Our Communist friends, it seems, have gone from bad to worse. First they were impossibilists of a most extreme type, condemning every form of political action and preferring to play hide and seek in a so-called underground organization rather than to face practical problems. Now, it seems, they have swung to the other extreme. The "leaders" of the r-r-revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, the ultra-Marxists (self-styled) have become converts to "Father" Devine's congregation! In other words, they have "got" religion.

On August 4th they staged a parade against war and fascism in which they estimated 25,000 took part. In the parade marched 4,000 Negro followers of the Harlem Messiah "Father" Devine. This group carried banners and signs with such slogans as "God Is Peace; Father Devine Is God." "Father Devine Represents True Democracy, Justice, Freedom, Equality, Love."

But that was not all, for shortly afterward the Daily Worker carried an editorial that sought to justify the participation of "Father" Devine's followers because they "represented thousands of Negroes who were demonstrating for the first time." It mattered not that there existed no common ground for the principles of "Father" Devine's religious fanatics and the materialism of Communism. That didn't count; only numbers counted. So now the impossibilists have become opportunists. Long live the "United Fronts" with everybody and anybody—except the working class!

TO THE NEW YORK PARTY MEMBERS

Socialist Party members in New York will take note of the rules adopted by the City Executive Committee for voting on the Referendum on the Declaration of Principles adopted at the Detroit Convention.

Voting will take place at only one branch meeting.

Branches must notify their members by mail and through the press when the meetings are to be held.

Members must vote at the meeting of the branch.

Members who cannot attend branch meetings because of illness or work on the night when the branch meets, or who are out of town, can procure an absentee ballot by writing to the Executive Secretary of Local New York. Requests for absentee ballots must be addressed to Julius Gerber, 7 East 15th Street, New York.

Only members of the party for at least six months (admitted April 1934 or before) and in good standing (dues paid for June, 1934) may vote, and they must present their party cards when voting. Comrades who have mislaid or lost their party cards should immediately procure duplicates through the office of Local New York. Branch secretaries who receive requests for absentee ballots should turn them over to the Executive Secretary of Local New York who alone has the authority to send out absentee ballots.

Branches must decide when and where they will hold the meeting at which they will vote on the Declaration of Principles and must notify the office of Local New York at least 10 days before the meeting.

Branches wishing speakers outside of their own membership to discuss the Declaration should get them through the party office, but in all cases there must be a speaker for and one against. In the discussion of the Declaration only members of the branch, and speakers procured through the local office can participate, and all participants in the discussion must be party members in good standing.

(Signed) Julius Gerber, Executive Secretary.

An Acknowledged Expert Speaks

By Beebe

JUST what does the man in the street think about the way the world is wagging was the assignment given to the Enquiring Reporter of The New Leader.

The E.R. demurred. "In the first place," said he lapsing into his mother tongue learned in Bucks County, Pennsylvania: "Est gebt nict so an ennimel ess die mann in der shreet. That expression is bourgeois claptrap and has as much meaning as expressions such as 'man about town,' 'the average man,' and the 'toast of the city.' In the next place, it's awfully hot today and—"

"And heat it or else—"

"Or else, what?"

"Or else you'll have to cover Ham Fish's address at the Snootyville Ladies' Literary and Cocktail Improvement Club."

Visibly shaken, the E.R. left. The first person he encountered was busily engaged in extracting his day's literary fare from a garbage can.

"I beg your pardon," said the reporter.

"It's an outrage, sir, a damn outrage. Here I've been perusing the public prints of the day and all are barren of the cherubic, smiling lineaments of President and Mrs. Roosevelt. Where, where, I ask, are the pictures of Buzzie and Sistine? To what depths of lethargy has the press sunk! In me you behold a convert to our President's program to make us dam-minded."

The reporter made known his mission.

"Fire away. I, too, was once a journalist. I was the staff of the Rebel Worker of Milltown, Alabama. It was a splendid paper. With the publication of the first, and need it be said the last, issue stars fell in Alabama. I still can see them."

"Well, to begin, what will be the effects of the drought?"

"Will be? Ah, my boy, the gods are on the side of NRA. Drought does not lessen the desire for commodities," said the ex-journalist coming to a sudden stop before a shrine of libation known as a gin-mill in the days of the noble experiment.

"But surely you wouldn't speak of beer as a commodity?"

"Ah, my boy, if you recall the Marxian definition of a commodity,

ARISE!

THE first number of ARISE, the monthly magazine to be published by Rebel Arts, will appear within a week. It will contain short stories by McAlister Coleman, Jay Greulich and Bruno Fischer; articles by Siegfried Lipschitz, George Streator, William E. Bohn, James Oneal, Aaron Levenstein and Joseph G. Kresch; poems by John Brooks Wheelwright and Kenneth Porter, and cartoons by John Rogers, Fairfield Porter, David Atkins, Bernard Feinstein and Arthur Fassberg.

On the editorial board of the new magazine are Bruno Fischer, short-story writer and essayist; Samuel H. Friedman, labor editor of The New Leader and editor of the Workers' Song Book; Gertrude Weil Klein, labor columnist and organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Ben Belsky, artist and advertising man; John Brooks Wheelwright, poet; Harry Herzog, who devised the posters for the gigantic labor May Day parade, and John Rogers and Fairfield Porter, artists.

The magazine is non-controversial within the Socialist movement but supports organized labor and the effort to organize the unorganized. It runs sketches of industrial activity, stories of the class struggle, political and industrial cartoons, and verse and reviews of social significance.

it is something that satisfies a human need. At the moment I am sorely in need of drought relief. I am as dry as a Walter Lippmann essay and my consumer-resistance has broken down along with my credit structure."

"And so?"

"And so I will avail myself of your hospitality. Come, shall we join the ladies?" chirruped the former staff of the Rebel Worker as he elbowed two of them from the end of the bar.

"An interview, yes; but it's off the record when I say that I do not believe that all the oratorical promises peppered with if, when and how will put a patch on anybody's pants. Postmaster-General Farley gets better results in a slightly more restricted field by ministering to the needs of deserving Democrats. True, he does not put them to work, but he does get them on the payroll."

"The labor market will improve if consumer acceptance is encouraged," continued the former journalist, holding up two fingers to the bartender. "All our resources and talents must be devoted to that end. 'I will share' was a laudable slogan," said he beaming on the reporter, "the trouble was that the workers went broke too soon. Nor does the solution lie with a program of bigger and better wars. Governments are too broke to afford such luxuries."

"Perhaps," ventured the reporter, "the remedy for the slightly unsettled conditions would be a wider dissemination of the new Republican party platform of Indiana. That document states that the organization has always been the champion of free labor."

"Excellent, excellent. That expression, 'unsettled conditions,' will be used in my forthcoming book, 'Forgetting the Forgotten Man.' You don't mind," in syrupy voice, giving another high sign to the bartender. "By the way, speaking of the Republican party, I've been reading about the fossil remains discovered in the Southwest. This discovery has made me impatient to read Herbert Hoover's new book. However, the important thing at this time is to destroy faith in the theory of the economics of scarcity. I am more than willing to do my part. As for the drought—"

"It will continue," asserted the Enquiring Reporter, as he ran for a street car.

Educational Series On the Air Begins

THE Rand School starts this season's activities by launching a Social Problems Round Table series over Station WEVD on Tuesday, Sept. 4, from 10 to 10:45 p.m., and weekly thereafter. During each broadcast prominent leaders and instructors of the school will take up public affairs, political problems, a review of the week's news of social and economic import, and the study of Socialist economics.

Louis Waldman, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, B. Charney Vlodeck, Chas. Solomon and Norman Thomas are scheduled for the discussion of political problems and public affairs. Frank Crosswaith, Jacob Panken, August Claessens and Gertrude Weil Klein will review the news of the week. Algernon Lee and James Oneal will discuss economics.

This round table series is a forerunner of the Rand School's activities over WEVD, which will later include the broadcasting of a Saturday afternoon luncheon-symposium series and talks by lecturers direct from the classrooms or the main auditorium of the Rand School at 7 East 15th Street, New York City. These programs are made possible through the generosity of Camp Tamiment.

Cleveland Workers Win

By Hy. Fish

CLEVELAND, O.—Abraham W. Katovsky, I.L.G.W.U. vice-president and manager of the Cleveland office, has officially taken charge of the campaign to organize the knit goods workers of Cleveland. The 8,000 workers will be reached by the distribution of leaflets and a weekly paper called "The Voice of the Knit Goods Workers." Committees will visit workers' homes. The knit goods workers union was formerly connected with the U.T.W., but the A. F. of L. gave jurisdiction over this field to the I.L.G.W.U.

The strike at the Cleveland File Co. is over with a victory for the workers. The work of the Socialist Party was a vital factor in keeping up the courage of the strikers. Daily lunches were served the strikers and many Socialists helped the union picket. A letter of appreciation was sent to the Socialist Party by the strikers.

The dry cleaning bosses of Ohio are fighting against a tentative 35 cents an hour wage for a 40-hour week adopted by the minimum wage board. At a hearing in Columbus the employers were well organized and read prepared speeches saying they would lose money if they paid this excessive wage because of cut-throat competition. There was no one to represent the employees until a Socialist spoke asking why the workers should be penalized for the sins of the employers and then quoted statistics of the Department of Labor to show how the cost of living was rising.

The employers have accused Miss Louis Stitt of the board of being "socialistic," and Max Reed, an employer from Akron who is willing to pay a minimum of 35 cents, of being a member of the Socialist Party. There is no basis for these accusations. Mr. Edmondson, a former employer, has the final word on deciding what the minimum wage shall be. In a previous decision for the laundry workers, the minimum was set at 27½ cents an hour.

Osborne Cement Co. workers who are on strike are assisted in their efforts for higher wages and better working conditions by the Dayton

YPSL. Comrades especially active are Joe Sharts III, Charles Lynn and Vic Macon. Jerry Raymond, active in many strikes in Dayton, is serving a 60-day sentence in Hardin County for aiding the onion growers in their fight against a 9 cents an hour wage for seasonal work.

Newsboys in Cleveland now proudly wear a large yellow button reading "Union Newsboy." As a result of a strike a few months ago they are now receiving more profits on their papers and succeeded in forcing other concessions from the three newspapers. Their leaders say that they are biding their time until next year and will then demand a closed shop. Meanwhile they are trying to organize the home delivery boys. The union was refused a charter by the A. F. of L. because many of their members were too young.

The Cleveland Newspaper Guild—chapter number one of the national guild—is organized 100% on the Cleveland Press and News and has made inroads in the Plain Dealer, which has a company union. A short time ago the guild won restoration of the best part of wage cuts. Pay is now almost up to 1929 level.

The Laundry Workers Union of Cleveland, according to its business agent, Jess Gallagher, is contemplating various strikes unless certain employers are willing to bargain collectively with employees. The first of these threatened strikes is against the Cleveland Laundry Co.

Funds are still needed by the striking onion weeders who are in desperate need of the bare necessities of life. Funds should be sent to Elmer Ledford, Socialist Party, 314 Michigan Avenue, Toledo, O.

Blaufarb Under the Knife

Comrade Jack Blaufarb, member of the party and active supporter of the Rand School, has been operated upon. All his comrades wish him a speedy recovery and his continued activity in our movement.

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

"Life Begins At 8:40" Opens the Shubert's Fall Season

Life Begins at Eight-Forty

'At the Winter Garden. Presented by Lee and J. J. Shubert.

Something very much like life began at Eight-Forty—Or Thereabouts—when the new Shubert revue got under way in the redecorated Winter Garden. There were activity and life and pep on view for the cash customers, and they all had a grand good time at one of the most delightful revues this veteran and slightly jaded playgoer has ever seen.

Yes, indeed; the speaking (and singing) stage has by no means lost its battle with the screen if it can put out a show like this. It may not be a great production as measured by the rigid standards of purists, but "Life Begins at Eight-Forty" is a gorgeous show, literally throbbing with life and humor, and the audience felt an excitement in the atmosphere that has been so noticeably lacking in the theatre in recent years.

Produced by J. Murray Anderson, the revue is a good show, and a civilized and literate one. Remarkably clean in that there is little dependence upon off-color situations for its laughs, the producer pays the audience the compliment of assuming that it can read and write, that it knows what is going on in the world, that it can laugh at the human comedy, and that it is satisfied to enjoy beauty, lovely dancing, good voices and humor that is humorous.

The bright particular star of the revue is, of course, the inimitable Bert Lahr, funnier than ever, but he has to step fast to keep ahead of Ray Bolger, Luella Gaer and the lovely Weidman dancers. Earl Oxford has a splendid singing voice, as has Adrienne Matzenauer, daughter of the great Wagnerian soprano, Margarete Matzenauer; and a delicious chit of a gel from the South named Dixie Dunbar, reputed to be all of 17 years old, has become the momentary enthusiasm of this correspondent for her gay and lightsome and wholly delightful dancing.

Bert Lahr is at his very best in skit after skit. Whether he is an English gentleman or a French roue; Il Duce Fiorello or a yearner after the charms of Mae West; a stock speculator or a dancer he is quite himself, and what more does one want? Mr. Bolger dances in a manner reminiscent of Fred Astaire, and this is meant to be no

Grace Moore and Tullio Carminati



In a scene from Columbia's much heralded musical film "One Night of Love" which has its Eastern premiere at Radio City Music Hall September 6.

faint praise, while Miss Gaer is funnier than we thought any woman could be. Many of the songs are grand, and the settings are beautiful.

The skits are funny, they are mainly in good taste, and they are well executed. When Bert Lahr confronts a picket in front of a theatre in which Madame West is displaying her opulent charms and his proletarian class consciousness gets the upper hand it was difficult to keep from an attack of acute hysterics. And when the same Bert acts like a Britisher in the best Clive Brook tradition one wonders if the fellow will permit one to survive the evening, what with the laughter.

And one must not fail to mention the learned lecture by a university professor on the subject of snores, for there is wisdom in the show as well as beauty and humor. Does one gather the impression that one had a hell of a good time at "Life Begins at Eight-Forty"? Then one does not err!

W. M. F.

The Theatre and Labor Day

In any time of social stress there develops a sharp division in the theatre. On the one hand, a great increase may be noted in the number of "escape" plays, farces and melodramas which by their direct presentation or their implications lead the theatregoer to forget his troubles for the while, and thus the longer to endure the burdens that the time lays upon him. A minor out-cropping of this phase of our amusement life is the increase of burlesque houses and penny arcade museums. Here and there, on the other hand, may be seen dramas that seek directly to probe the sores that fester on the land to find their hidden core. A few of these usually dealing with some single aspect of our problems or with a particular region of the country—like "Tobacco Road," sole serious survivor of last season on Broadway—are brought to production in a venturesome moment of a commercial producer's life; most of them stumble into being across the faulty boards of amateur performance. The Theatre Guild occasionally holds out a hand to the proletariat, as more frequently the younger Group Theatre; the Theatre Union alone of permanent professional organizations has devoted itself to searching dramatic studies of the basic problems of American life.

To such groups, to the professional theatre at large, and to the great and growing body of workers' theatres throughout the land, Labor Day—coming as it does at the season's start—points an arrow in the direction in which significant social drama must move. The New Leader, in its annual record of things theatrical, is alert for every sign and promise, beyond

Stars in "Crime Without Passion"



Claude Rains, Theatre Guild star, remembered for his work in "The Invisible Man," has the leading role in the Hecht-MacArthur film which opens today at Arthur Mayer's Rialto Theatre.

mere entertainment, of valid presentation in dramatic terms, of significant struggles and basic conflicts in our life. It endeavors to emphasize these in its reviews of plays and pictures along Broadway. It is glad, also, to record performances of such plays when they are brought to its attention, among professional or amateur groups off

the beaten track. It welcomes especially reports of significant activity among workers' theatres, and looks forward to the day when these shall be so numerous as to demand a department to themselves. In the meantime, The New Leader calls the attention of the producers of the Gay White Way to the fact that there is not only a coincidence, but also a significance and a symbol, in the fact that the theatrical season begins with Labor Day.

J. T. S.

ON THE CAPITOL SCREEN

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer presents

Joan

CRAWFORD

Clark **GABLE**

in **CHAINED**

with Otto KRUGER - Stuart ERWIN

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PHIL SPITALNY

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Eleanor POWELL - Lucille PAGE
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SINCE "I AM A FUGITIVE"



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MATCH to the POWDER-
KEG OF EUROPE Now In-
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"DAMES"

RUBY KEELER - DICK POWELL - JOAN BLONDELL

Dwight Deere Wiman & Tom Weatherly
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**SHE LOVES
ME NOT**

Dramatists' Guild Prize Comedy for 1934
By HOWARD LINDSAY
Adapted from Edward Hope's novel
"Full of merriment... It is
spontaneous, guileless and tu-
multuous. It is pure comedy."
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"Cox and Box," followed by "The

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A Paramount Picture with

CLAUDE RAINS

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RIALTO Broadway at 42nd St.

ALL THIS WEEK

— On Screen —

HAROLD LLOYD

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**LILLIAN SHADE
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Mells, Kirk & Howard
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20th Century Picture

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California Party Warns Against Sinclair's "Epic" Plan

By Marjorie Kipp
State Secretary

The following is the official report of Socialist activities in California, printed for the benefit of party members in that state in The New Leader, official party organ in that state.

REACHING to the northern-most boundary of California, the State Executive Committee, meeting in Los Angeles Aug. 11 and 12, granted a charter to Local 22

Union Directory

BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS, TUCKERS, STITCHERS and PLEATERS' UNION, Local 66, I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-3657-3658. Executive Board meets every Tuesday night in the office of the Union. Z. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; I. A. Barklins, Sec'y-Treas.

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

CAP MAKERS UNION, Local No. 1, Tel., Orchard 4-9866. 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; B. Biegel, Chairman.

CORSET and BRASSIERE WORKERS' UNION, Local 32, 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 W. 109th Ave., Brooklyn; Saggs 2-0798. Reg. meeting 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.; Phillip Kapp, Sec'y-Treas.

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, I.L.G.W.U. Office, 60 West 35th St.; Phone, Wis. 7-9011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union. Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmund Perlmutter, Mgr.-Sec'y; Louis Stolberg, Asst. Mgr.; Maurice W. Jacobs, Sec'y to Exec. Board; Nathan Saperstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.

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

AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1, Offices, Amalithone Bldg., 205 West 14th St., Phone, WAtkins 9-7764. Regular meetings every second and fourth Tuesday at Arlington Hall, 10 St. Mark's Place. Albert E. Castro, President; Patrick J. Hanlon, Vice-President; Frank Sekol, Fin. Secretary; Emil Theisen, Rec. Secretary; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union. Downtown office, 640 Broadway; phone, Spring 7-4548; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St.; phone, 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 Hodon.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11616, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone, Algonquin 4-7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

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

WAITERS and WAITRESSES' UNION, Local No. 1, A. F. of L. and U.L.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.

Norte County. This local, organized by Leslie E. Aller, once state organizer in Washington and Oregon, is a mining camp where there are 17 registered voters and every one a registered Socialist.

Reporting on the southern Socialist Workers' Summer School held near Los Angeles Aug. 4-10, Everett L. O'Connor, organizer for Los Angeles County, announced that students attending from his county are starting on detailed organization work necessary for the formation of several new branches and revival of old ones. The Workmen's Circle was thanked for their cooperation in loaning the facilities of their camp for the school.

Workers School

Plans were announced by M. J. Shannon, chairman, State Organization Committee, for a state-wide winter Socialist Workers' School, Dec. 28 to Jan. 1, near Fresno. Tentative plans were laid for securing Fred Henderson, noted British economist, who is to be in California at that time, to teach a course in Fundamentals of Socialism at the school. Final arrangements for the school are to be made by the Organization Committee, Local Fresno, and the State Office.

Approval of a pamphlet on repressive ordinances to be drawn up by John L. Packard was passed by the committee, the pamphlet to be multigraphed by Local San Francisco and to be sold to locals for 2½ cents apiece through the State Literature Department.

A Strike Relief Committee to pass on funds to be used in industrial struggles was appointed by the S.E.C. Samuel S. White, member of the S.E.C. and manager of the Cloak Makers' Union of the I.L.G.W.U. in San Francisco, was made chairman. W. K. Russell, Wesley Jones, Cameron H. King and Julius Menco, all members of organized labor, are the other members.

Chicago Organizes Workers' School

By Meyer Halushka

Delegates representing over thirty trade union locals and branches of the Socialist Party that have already affiliated with the Chicago Labor College met in conference at the Amalgamated Center August 20 to adopt by-laws and elect a Board of Directors for the coming school year. Samuel Laderman of the International Pocketbook Makers' Union was chosen chairman, and H. J. Gibbons, secretary.

"The present wave against radicals is in reality a drive against unions," said Laderman. "We must counteract the poisonous propaganda with an extensive and intensive program of workers' education."

Miss Lillian Herstein, member of the executive committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and member of the Federation of Women's High School Teachers, who is director of the College, reported of the school's activity during the summer. Classes in Current Labor Problems and Public Speaking were held for an eight-week term. About seventy-five students were registered. In addition, public lectures were held on Thursday evenings.

"Workers' education differs from adult education in the evening schools. We are not concerned in trying to convert a tailor into a doctor or lawyer. The public schools serve that purpose very adequately. But we strive to make our students of the Labor College apostles of a better social order. Our students are interested not in how to use a soup spoon but how to get the soup," Miss Herstein said.

"Furthermore," she concluded, "there is added significance to workers' education at the present time. The FERA is going to open classes in Workers' Education, and we must be prepared to decide who shall do the teaching and what shall be taught."

The Utopians

Criticizing the Utopian movement, the committee passed the following resolution: "Whereas: A certain organization known as the Utopian Society, Inc., has been appealing for membership to the members of the Socialist Party, and Whereas: It is advisable for this committee to make a statement on its attitude toward that society, we point out that the theories of the Utopian Society as we understand them are essentially defective in practically ignoring the class struggle; that the teachings of such a society lead people to overlook the necessity for constructive economic and political action, and that the teachings of such a society do have certain tendencies toward starting some people to thinking along economic lines; but that as a constructive social force such a society has nothing to offer to workers; and that the secret and hierarchical form of this society tend to work toward a dictatorship and thereby to break down and subvert the principles of democracy; and furthermore that constituted locals and branches be advised of this matter."

Local Charters

Milen Dempster was appointed official representative of the party to the Workmen's Circle Convention in Berkeley early in September.

The proposed constitution was put into final form and after a final check by committee members will be submitted to referendum.

The Campaign Committee reported that an article on "Instructions to Candidates" is to be drawn up and sent with the manual on organization "Build for Socialism" to every candidate and secretary in California.

The charter for the University of California branch was revoked for inactivity. The State Secretary was instructed to write inactive locals stating that if a report is not received from them in a month, the S.E.C. will take steps to revoke their charters.

In order that the State Executive Committee may keep in close touch with the condition of the party all over the state a report from each member concerning the situation in his part of the state will be required each month.

Sinclair's Epic Plan

A statement on Upton Sinclair's candidacy for governor was adopted by the State Committee:

"Citizens of California looking for relief from the insecurity and chaos of the present situation were warned not to trust the partial reforms and impractical political methods of Upton Sinclair.

"To trust the Epic Plan would be a major tragedy for the people," states the committee. "It is the despair that follows hopes falsely raised by plans like 'Epicism' that makes the people ready to follow a demagogue like Hitler, who promises to achieve by dictatorship what Mr. Sinclair promises wildly to achieve peacefully.

"Mr. Sinclair's theory of getting power is essentially the old theory of electing good men to office on a program of reform that has been tried by the Non-Partisan League, LaGuardia, the LaFollettes and others for the last one hundred years. That method has failed and always will fail to achieve important fundamental changes."

The S.E.C. will again meet in Kingsburg on Sept. 15 and 16.

Dempster to the Legion

Milen Dempster, candidate for governor, sent a letter congratulating the California Legion for their stand for shorter hours, unemployed insurance and the like, pointing out "that even these steps in the right direction will accomplish little in the great task of recovering America for the American people, unless united we press on to correct the trouble that besets us; namely, the private ownership of nearly all of America by a few wealthy persons, who under the present economic system deprive those of us who do the work of hand and brain with half of what we produce.

"This is the only effective an-

Nervous and Irritable?

It's a warning . . .

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

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

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WORKERS! PROTECT YOURSELVES!

In Case of Sickness, Accident, or Death!

Death Benefit according to age at time of initiation in one or both classes:
Class A: 40 cents per month—Death Benefit \$395 at the age of 18 to \$170 at the age of 44.
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Parents may insure their children in case of death up to the age of 18. Death Benefit according to age \$20 to \$200.

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Boost
THE NEW LEADER!

There's No Sympathy for the Workers in the Old Parties

By John Haynes Holmes

FOR one thing, if for nothing else, is labor immeasurably indebted to Franklin D. Roosevelt, and that is for the full and final revelation of the fact—at last!—that American workers can expect nothing of sympathy and help, or even of true understanding, from the two old-time political parties.

It would seem, in the light of the history of the last two generations, that labor might have learned this lesson long ago. Perhaps it has learned it in the case of the Republicans! President Hoover certainly taught it, line by line, precept by precept, in a way never to be forgotten by either hand-workers or brain-workers. If there is any citizen anywhere in this wretched land who thinks that labor can expect from the Republicans even so much as "the crumbs from the master's table," he is either an ignoramus or, more likely, an embeccle.

But the laboring people of America, especially organized labor, have persistently clung to the superstition of Democracy. It is the name that has bewitched them? Or the popular nature of that party in the great cities and industrial centers? Or the "blarney" of the Irish leaders of the party in the East? Whatever it is, working people have believed, in the face of every disillusionment and despair, that the Democrats were their friends. But now President Roosevelt has "shown them"!

A Silly Symphony

At the opening of the present administration—nay, earlier, in the hectic days of the 1932 campaign—the American Federation of Labor and other representative organizations of the working-classes swallowed not only the Democratic bait, but hook, line and sinker as well. Perhaps this was inevitable in view of the desperate nature of the times, which offered no immediately effective alternative to Republican rule except the Roosevelt ticket. It would at least be excusable, were it not for the "silly symphony" which labor has played in tune with the Democratic Party for so many years. But the alliance was joined, as it had been joined so many times before; and labor rolled up a bigger vote for Mr. Roosevelt, I suppose, than for any previous presidential candidate in the country's history. If ever a man entered the White House with a mandate from labor it was Jim Farley's protege.

In the early days of the new administration it seemed as though the President were going to head the mandate. He was fulsome, of course, with promises. His heart was beating for "the forgotten man," who must be the working man. But his deeds seemed strangely and admirably to match his words! Thus, Mr. Roosevelt appointed to the headship of the Department of Labor Miss Frances Perkins, for years a staunch friend of the workers. By her side, as Assistant Secretary, he placed a leader long established in the tradition of the organized movement. He recognized the American Federation of Labor as a kind of unofficial department of the government, and its chief, Mr. Green. With the effulgent dawn of the NRA, came the climax of all good signs, the famous Paragraph 7a in the Code agreements.

It seemed as though, after all the weary years, labor's day had at last come. The right of the workers to organize, to bargain for their terms of employment, and thus to determine their welfare as men and citizens, was made a part of the new government of industry. This was the Emancipation Pro-

clamation for labor.

Then came "the cold, gray dawn of the morning after." Or rather the brutal, bloody tomorrow! Where is labor today?

Seven-A

When the workers undertook to act under Paragraph 7a, they found it didn't mean what it said. When they undertook to enforce the plain meaning of plain words, they discovered the whole mass of American industry, dowered by gift of government with supreme power over its own affairs, arrayed in solid phalanx against them. When they turned to Washington for support and help, they met the benign countenance of General Johnson, grimly happy in his task of "cracking down" on anybody and everybody who questioned orders from headquarters. When, as self-respecting and outraged American citizens, they began battling openly for their rights under the codes, they found themselves fighting police, militia, federal troops, court injunctions, martial law, the "red" scare, tear gas, machine guns, tanks, and bullets.

But what did labor expect? A fair deal under the New Deal? By what right, on what evidence, did they cherish any such absurd illusion? Must we have another century of history to teach the workers of this country that the two old political parties, Republican and Democratic alike, exist for the purpose of serving the interests of an industrial system which itself exists for the purpose of serving the interests of those who own and operate the system? There are historical differences between these two parties. There are differences of quality, temper, spirit. There are, or rather were, some differences of philosophical doctrine and opinion. But in essence they are both the same—two useful means for the service of ends well understood by the property-owning and profit-making classes of the country. They are the right and left hands, so to speak, of a single social organism which needs political fingers to seize and manipulate the economic forces of the time. Republican and Democratic representatives, senators, national committeemen, financial contributors and party patrons, are as indistinguishable and therefore as interchangeable as convicts in a prison. Their purpose is the same—to maintain, to restore when shaken, the capitalistic system of industry. Yet labor, for decades past, has been willing to traffic with these parties, and to believe that they would serve the workers in anything that vitally concerned their interests as opposed to the employers and investors!

A Sense of Futility

Perhaps it has been some subconscious sense of futility, some half-confessed inferiority complex, which has taught labor through all these years to demand nothing more than some little share in the spoils of capitalism, in the form of higher wages and shorter hours. Ready always to support the system which exploited them, if it would only hand out to them the miserable dole of a standard of living not altogether that of the serf or bondman! But already the hour of disillusion has come. At last the workers know the best, or rather the worst, that the powers-that-be will do for them. They are outside the New Deal today, just as they were outside the Square Deal yesterday. Democrats, like Republicans, will do nothing for the workers except subdue them to obedience, and beat them into submission if they rebel.

After a year and a half of such labor history as the country has known since March, 1933,

By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

Militant Labor on the March

LABOR DAY 1934 will come after an exciting summer with militant labor on the march. The wave of strikes is not over. Unless the President himself intervenes or brings great pressure upon the National Labor Board it is likely that there will be a gigantic strike in the textile industry. We must get behind it. The forthcoming convention of the A. F. of L. in San Francisco in October will be of enormous importance.

One of the very gratifying things is the report that reaches me that the convention will devote special attention to fascism and the war against fascism. That war cannot be successfully waged abroad unless it is waged here.



Norman Thomas

War Against Fascism

WHAT does the war against fascism mean?

It means the most determined opposition to the beginnings of fascism. The A. F. of L. will be meeting in San Francisco. The Vigilantes and the law alike in that state are being used ruthlessly to crush labor. I have recently seen terrible reports of the ruthless way in which the law and Vigilantes have been used in Montgomery County, Illinois, to crush unemployed workers who are guilty of no crime but organizing. They are being held under the criminal syndicalist act. Some of them are Communists; some of them are not. The chief crime of all of them is that they are unemployed and want to do something about it.

The Real Menace Is Fascism

IT is very disquieting that at a time when the fight against fascism is on, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. should take occasion to issue a statement which leads the American people to understand that the chief menace is Communism. It is as dangerous in tactics as it is wrong in principle for the A. F. of L. Executive Council to demand the deportation of alien Communists. Once a new wave of anti-Red hysteria gets started it will never stop at true Communists. Any aggressive leader of labor will be counted as a Communist for purposes of deportation if he was born in a foreign country. Moreover, to urge deportation of Communists is to surrender to the principle of ruthless denial of liberty, not to defend it. The A. F. of L. will do its best job in defeating wrong-headed Communist tactics by making them wholly and obviously unnecessary in the fight against fascism. I say this with full recognition of the destructive tactics Communists have often employed in the labor movement. We cannot afford to be stampeded by those tactics to the hurt of the whole labor movement and to every vital principle of liberty.

Richberg and NRA

JUST how much has the New Deal done? The debate is on. Donald Richberg's own statement is not reassuring. His figures are arranged to make the maximum possible impression of progress. Nevertheless they justify the statement of the A. F. of L. that more than 10 million people are unemployed and they do not contradict the statement that more are now unemployed than were last October.

On the very day that the Richberg statement

this Labor Day should be for American workers one grand, triumphant day of revolt. It should be marked by a proclamation echoing from coast to coast that the workers are free forever from the shackles of the existing political machines—Republican and Democratic alike. It should be the hour when labor takes at last its destinies into its own hands, and seeks by its own efforts its own emancipation. Labor has today but a single choice before it in its quest of liberty. It must abandon capitalism and all reliance upon the instruments of agencies of this contemporary industrial system, and seek a new and better social order. This it can do in either one of two ways:

On the one hand, it can follow the path marked out by Communism. It can organize its forces for the violent defiance of government and society. It can seek by

direct action the overthrow of the whole existing structure of society, and the reestablishment of order by the imposition of dictatorship. This way lies revolution, civil war, social chaos, the loss of every institution and tradition of liberty, and the hazard of all the civilization and culture that man has ever won from barbarism.

The Socialist Road

On the other hand, labor can follow the path marked out by Socialism. It can organize its forces for the peaceful capture of government and society. It can seek by the legal and constitutional methods of democratic procedure the rebuilding of the social structure in the interest of the workers. By agitation, education, and the ballot, it can abolish the profit system, and therewith transform the existing capitalistic state into a universal commonwealth. This way lies orderly and constructive social progress, the use of politi-

came out, the Commissioner of Public Welfare here in New York announced that 400,000 families were on relief and that the number would rise. It appears that something like one-fourth of the entire population of the city are getting some relief—and God knows that's little enough.

Richberg's own figures admit that the man who was actually employed in June, 1933, got more than he gets today because his wages have risen more slowly than the rise in the cost of living. The additional jobs are almost all the result of sharing work and the result of shorter hours. There is no recovery in business except in the automobile business that is at all obvious. The farmer's dollar, in spite of the beginning of rising prices due to the drought, will still buy less than it did at one time a year ago. This is not a good showing. The fault is not with the New Deal but with the capitalist system.

The LaGuardia Taxes

AS I write these words it would appear that the Mayor of New York and the Board of Aldermen have compromised on the tax for the benefit of the unemployed. The little man is to escape the tax on gross income of his business. That is something. It is, of course, emphatically necessary that at any cost the unemployed must be cared for.

The trouble with the LaGuardia proposal is that it did not provide a tax big enough properly to take care of the unemployed. Another trouble was that LaGuardia ignored the vital matter of compelling better terms from the bankers. If it were not for the millions of dollars which the bankers' agreement requires the city to hold in reserve, these particular taxes, or at least such heavy taxes, might not be necessary.

The LaGuardia tax on gross income, however, is a wholly unscientific tax. It is the kind of tax that will be passed on to the little man, to the ultimate consumer, to the worker, yes, to the unemployed itself who have to buy anything. Take the case, for instance, of clothing. If there is a textile factory in New York, it pays a tax on its gross income. Of course, it will pass it on to the wholesaler in textiles. He will pass his tax on gross and figure it in when he fixes the price for which he sells the cloth to a jobber or perhaps to a clothing manufacturer. Then comes another tax passed on to the wholesaler of clothing. He, in turn, passes it on to the retail store. The retail store adds up all these taxes and passes them on to the ultimate consumer. "Yes," but someone will say, "if that's so, why are the merchants fighting the tax so hard?" Simply because the merchants never like to think of taxes, because it will be something of a bother to manage the tax and because they are a little scared of the effect of the tax on business. It is the ultimate consumer, however, who will be the goat.

The Socialist proposal for taxing bank profits and public utilities and the net income of the rich never received decent consideration. These taxes cannot be passed on. If the Legislature did not give the city power to levy them—and I am inclined to think it did—, then it was up to the Mayor to say so loud and clear while the Legislature was still in session. It's bad taxation. It will tend to perpetuate economic difficulties. It is a case of the poor, as usual, supporting the poorer.

The Senatorial Campaign

I SHALL be away for some ten days at the N.E.C. and doing speaking for the party, mostly in Wisconsin. After that I will be back and ready to begin the campaign. I hope requests for my services upstate are pouring in. I want to make an automobile campaign that will take in the country in this race, not so much for the United States Senate as to build up the Socialist Party.

ical democracy for the larger gains and fuller rights of industrial democracy, the attainment of new goals of civilization and culture without the loss of goals already won. For a country like Russia, there may have been no other way than that of Lenin; for a country like America, such way would be as inexcusable as it is wasteful and terrible.

Unless the workers of this country are utterly stupid and servile, we must believe that they have been betrayed for the last time by the Republican-Democratic conspiracy for the preservation of capitalism. Acting now in their own right and for their own sake, to say nothing of the larger interests of mankind, hand-workers and brain-workers alike must now turn to Socialism, and thus by the support of a genuine workers' party, achieve a genuine workers' republic.

New Inspiration for Labor

Workers' Organization The One Thing Most Needed

By William Green
President, American Federation of Labor
(Written especially for The New Leader)

LABOR DAY finds our country midway in perhaps the most important economic undertakings of our existence—a realignment of forces of industrial control under federal supervision. It is a time when we are making decisions which will determine this issue: Shall we plan for future production of abundance for all, or shall we try to curb mass production into scarcity channels with luxury for the few and poverty for the many?

The technical information handed on to us by past generations and inventive power of present-day workers have completely revolutionized work. The work limit is no longer human endurance but the installation of machines, organization of work force and orders. Orders for products and services depend upon incomes of buyers. Over 80 per cent of the buyers in retail markets are wage earners and small salaried persons. This is the reason why prices correspond to the rise and fall in pay envelopes.

Many of our economic troubles have grown out of failure to see that electric power production heralded a new age—the age of plenty for all. In the days of handicraft and production limited by human endurance, we could not produce enough or at such low prices as to make possible comfort standards of living for all. There were well-to-do people and a few wealthy. The million dollar yearly incomes came with power production.

From 1923 to 1929, each industrial worker increased the amount he turned out each hour 4 per cent every year. During the past depression (1929-1934) the increase in hourly output has been slightly more than 4 per cent per year. In this period of rapid increase in productivity, the incomes going to owners of property increased 66

per cent—over two-thirds. The incomes of factory employees—those who did the actual work in turning out the increased product—rose 5 per cent.

During the depression years, while output still increased per man hour, factory incomes declined 58 per cent (1929-1932) while the incomes of those owning property fell 30 per cent.

Why this difference? Because the rules of distribution were made at a time when the producer owned what he made, and have not been brought up to date to provide equitably for the producer who is hired to work for a management that sells the product and determines what part shall be paid the worker-producer.

Because workers have not shared proportionately in their increased productivity, buying power in the retail markets has not been adequate to sustain the large amounts which owners of capital have invested. Even in peak years no industry operated at capacity. This means, producing investments had to pay for idle investments.

In an economic structure built on specialization and inter-relation, inequities in distribution of incomes brings unbalance in production and distribution of products and services that wrecks the whole structure. This unbalance was one of the basic causes of the collapse of 1929. Too much of our national income had gone into speculation in securities on the Stock Exchange and speculative investments generally, and not enough into the pockets of those who bought the output of industries.

Two things are needed: To increase the amount of national income going into wages and small salaries so as to maintain a balance between production and consumption that will use products and services for higher standards of living; and legal and economic institutions that recognize and protect the interests of producing

WILLIAM GREEN



workers equally with the interests of the owners of these products and other property.

To accomplish these two purposes, organization of wage earners in independent unions is essential for the promotion and protection of wage earners' interests. In the present age, under the National Recovery Act as well as in all other periods, the union is the beginning and continuing agency indispensable for wage earners' progress. It is most fitting then that Labor Day should be dedicated to plans for the promotion and extension of the trade union movement.

Although the figures for Canada are not available, the continuity of industrial organization from the Mexican border northward makes the principles equally applicable. During the past four years United States industries have set up approximately 200 branches in Canada. Canadians have an established habit of investing generously in United States undertakings. The workers of the two countries have long known they must unite in establishing standards when employers readily set up branches on either side of the boundary.

May every union and every central labor body in the United States and Canada find in the day new inspiration for work and new plans to be executed. When every wage earner is a union member, disciplined in working together

A Labor Movement That Is Recovering and Reviving

By Abraham Lefkowitz
of the American Federation of Teachers

LABOR DAY dawns in 1934 with dark clouds on every horizon. In Europe, despotism and intolerance flaunt their defiance under Hitlerism, fascism and Communism, the latter the least objectionable in that it has a social goal. They triumph with the crumbling of capitalism and its basic philosophy—individualism, which is now recognized, even by the man in the street, as outgrown and inapplicable to our technological civilization with its surplus productivity and huge unemployment problem.

Democracy still prevails in our own land though the forces of fascism gather strength. Despite the NRA, the PWA and the AAA and other alphabetical panaceas, poverty stalks through the land. Hence labor complacency is being slowly but surely undermined and its place taken by a slow but steadily rising militancy. Under these conditions those who vision a new social order operating without the undermining profit system, ought to be reaping a harvest. Why aren't we?

Labor alone can pave the way to a co-operative society. Unfortunately, labor is torn asunder by conflicting philosophies and a confusion of tactics. On the one hand, those who dominate the destinies of the organized labor movement are still upholders of capitalism and the futile political policy of

with fellow-workers in making effective the principles of the union movement and accustomed to work as a soldier in the ranks of Labor, then our national labor movement will be able to negotiate work agreements that fully protect the interests of those who work for wages and to assure public institutions that will safeguard Labor's rights.

I urge all unions and all Labor to dedicate Labor Day to the advancement of these purposes, by planning union-forward campaigns.

reward your friends and punish your enemies. The radicals within the labor movement—far too small a group—are at loggerheads and generally impotent to reap the harvest. This is not due to the fact that some of the leaders prevent unity because they are suffering from a Jehovah complex, but rather to the infantile tactics of the varieties of Communists who seem to have dedicated themselves not to the common task—the destruction of capitalism—but to the policy of discrediting existing radical leadership by misrepresentation and character assassination. As a result the most radical unions are being undermined and their strength frittered away not in winning converts but in fighting the Communists to preserve the unions built up by so much effort, thought and sacrifice.

Radical labor faces its greatest opportunity and its greatest test. This opportunity can only be realized by working with and through the recognized labor movement—the American Federation of Labor which is responsible for whatever gains have thus far been made by American labor.

Labor Day dawns upon a slowly recovering and revising labor movement, but Labor Day is not LABOR'S DAY because radical leadership is not functioning actively and effectively (with a few notable exceptions) within the field of organized labor. Socialists, who should be in the forefront of every activity of local unions—whether radical or conservative—of central bodies and state federations of labor, were, until recently, generally conspicuous by their absence. Their activity is largely confined to socialistic unions and the Socialist political activity where their influence and idealism are not so greatly needed. Inbreeding seems to be its weakness.

Labor Day in 1934 should be a new day for labor if radicals meet the test. It can only become so if the radicals unite for the attainment of common ends. Let us, where possible, progressive and radical, seek to co-operate in every undertaking leading to our common goal—a classless society. Let us continue to ignore or boycott those who seek unity and co-operation implies sportsmanship. Co-operation that leads to understanding and is not used as a cloak for partisan advantage is our goal. By their deeds we shall know them. My hope is, before another Labor Day dawns, radical co-operation will be realized.

Labor Day cannot become Labor's Day until the forces of radicalism pool their resources; until they are intimately tied up, with the daily activities of organized labor as NOW constituted as change will come from within. When the radicals of the country have learned to unite for a common purpose without rancor and without violation of agreements or understandings reached, then will we have a Labor Day and not a Madison Square Fiasco. Will American radicals hear this call of Labor Day?



The NRA is working overtime, General Johnson is banging his fist on the table, the President is making optimistic speeches — — AND YET there are over TEN MILLION men out of work.



For a New Social Order

By Louis Waldman

New York State Chairman,
Socialist Party

After Fifteen Months of the New Deal the Socialist Message Is More Needed Than Ever

TODAY we pause to pay tribute to the forces of organized labor. Despite the many obstacles they have had to overcome and the combined resistance of the employers, they have increased their membership by 1,500,000 in a comparatively short time. They have given hope and encouragement and cheer to the men and women who have fashioned for themselves a weapon of self-defense and of advancement. We rejoice in their gains. As far as lies in our power we shall assist them in the great struggles they shall have occasion to wage for the advancement of the working people of our nation.

A year and a half ago the American people turned away from the reactionary Republican administration, which had demonstrated its utter incapacity to serve the interests of the people, and placed in office an administration which promised them a New Deal.

The administration went into office with the overwhelming support of the electorate, hopeful that the vaguely expressed and never clearly defined New Deal would turn the tide of a depression which had brought many millions of people, practically the major portion of the entire population, to the verge of destruction. Both

Houses of Congress were of the same political complexion as the executive branch of the government. There was nothing in the way of the incoming administration to prevent it from going the full length of any program it may have had to alleviate the acute distress in which the nation found itself.

Many statutes have been enacted. We can judge them only by their effect, their cost, and by the inadequate manner in which they have men the problems that so vitally concern the American people — particularly the plain people, who looked to President Roosevelt for a thorough-going program.

The recent meeting of the General Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor have given frank expression to labor's disappointment. There are now over ten million jobless in the country. There are millions of men, women and children on the relief rolls. The millions of idle workers demand employment, so that as self-respecting citizens they may be able to earn their livelihood without resorting to charity.

The national administration has attempted to lead us out of the depression through the unsound economic policies of raising prices through the creation of artificial



Louis Waldman

scarcity. Industrial progress, mechanical improvements and the advent and widespread use of power energy require a national economy based on abundant production and abundant use. The great army of the unemployed cannot be put back to work under the economic policies followed by the administration.

Assured first by statements of administration leaders and then by the provisions of the National In-

dustrial Recovery Act that it would be given the right to organize and to bargain collectively, to the same extent and with the same effect that employers have possessed and exercised that right, labor has discovered that economic power under the Roosevelt administration resides in exactly the same place that it did under the Hoover administration.

Organized labor has fought but vainly for the establishment of a 30-hour week in industry, believing that in no other way would it be possible to make a substantial inroad on the unemployment problem. They were assured after that bill had passed the Senate that the entire matter would be handled satisfactorily through the codes that were to be established for various industries, where limitations on the work hours would be imposed. In spite of the recent most commendable order of President Roosevelt cutting the weekly hours of labor in the cotton garment industry from 40 to 36 and increasing wages 10%, in most of the codes the forty-hour week has been officially recognized, and in many of them the number of hours exceed forty. Such increased wages as they have been able to obtain through the minima provided by the codes have been nullified by the efforts employers have made to bring down to these minima wages that were in excess of those provided in the codes, and by an increase in cost of living. The enforcement of the codes, from which workers were deliberately excluded, has been rendered difficult, and in most places even the poor standards have not been observed.

In reviewing the events of the year, it is only fair to state that progress has been made and gains have been recorded. But they have barely touched a problem that goes to the very root of the life of our people.

It has been evident from the beginning that unless labor were given a voice in the regulation of industry through representation on code authorities, the NIRA would gradually be nullified, and the codes would merely become the means by which monopolies would be able to achieve their purposes without the restraints, however inadequate, that prevailed under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law.

In the various attempts that have been made to adjust industrial disputes, organized labor frequently met with defeat. Company unions, organized and sponsored by the industrialists for the purpose of breaking down the one method which their employees have of defending themselves against intolerable economic conditions, have been permitted to develop with great rapidity. Refusals of large corporations to abide by decisions of administrative agencies set up to insure the enforcement of the law were not met either vigorously or promptly, with the result that the industrialists have been able to get the benefits of the law without permitting those who create their wealth for them adequately to share those benefits.

In the last Congress the measures for which organized labor pleaded, such as unemployment insurance, the industrial disputes bill which was intended to secure to labor rights which they thought they had won when the Recovery Act was passed, and other legislation labor was vitally interested in, went down to defeat.

The fundamental weakness of the policies of industry and government lies in the refusal

to recognize or to admit that the profit motive is no longer sufficient to keep our industrial and economic life going. Collective ownership of the economic institutions now owned by a handful, will bring fundamental changes and secure for our people decent standards of life, security and social justice.

The millions of workers, particularly those in the organized labor movement, disheartened by the failure of private industry to function in a way that would provide even a minimum of human wants, and disillusioned by the New Deal, finding it in the final analysis not much better than the old deal, must realize that now is the time to organize a labor party dedicated to the principles of reshaping our social and industrial life designed to banish poverty, insecurity and war.

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A Day for Labor ~ Labor's Day for Celebration

By Louis Hollander

Co-Manager, New York Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

THE New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America will join other labor unions in celebrating Labor Day September 3rd. The existence of two labor holidays in the United States sometimes leads to confusion as to which should be celebrated—May 1st or the first Monday in September. The Amalgamated observes both.

The legal proclamation of Labor Day in 1887 came as a recognition of the growing significance of labor in the social and political life of the country. Labor Day was given us by legislation. It has been used since its establishment as a day for politicians of all ilk to make a bid for labor support in elections that fall due soon after. Trade unionists have accepted it as a holiday easily secured and appropriate for basket picnics in the fresh cool weather of early fall. But it can be made to serve a bigger purpose.

May Day was established as a labor holiday by the International Congress of Trade Unionists and Socialists in 1889. The day was selected because the American Federation of Labor had set May 1st as the launching date of a nation-wide campaign for the eight-hour day. May Day was selected and established by labor itself as its own holiday. Labor has fought for and earned the right to celebrate it. It is a day of mighty protest demonstrations and manifestations of labor solidarity, by laying tools down by the command of labor as a symbol of labor's power and force in the world.

At one with the progressive forces of labor in the United States and elsewhere, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has traditionally observed May Day as its holiday. But the Amalgamated has also the tradition of sharing in all joint ventures with its fellow workers. In line with that tradition the Amalgamated will join other unions in the American Federation of Labor in the celebration of Labor Day. We do not regard Labor Day as in any sense a substitute for May Day. We take it as an extension of our chances of participating in the labor movement and we wish to carry the spirit of May Day militancy into the formal observance

of Labor Day by organized labor as a whole.

True enough, a particular day in a calendar has little advantage to offer over another similar day following several months later. May Day might conceivably become a day of passive picknicking; Labor Day might serve as the occasion for heroic demonstrations. It is the solid substance within the shell of any holiday that is significant.

Hitler "coordinated" May Day by making it the occasion for demonstrations in approval of his savage and reactionary labor policy. The militant holiday was stolen from the German workers. American labor had Labor Day presented to it on the tin platter of political maneuvering. Leaving it the talking peg for aspiring politicians robs all significance of the event. It begins to resemble a company union picnic.

The important thing must be for labor to take its holiday on whatever day it falls as a day of tallying up its gains, fixing its eyes firmly on larger goals, measuring and demonstrating strength, and planning militant and glorious progress ahead.

American labor, organized and unorganized, has much to think about on this Labor Day of 1934. The old days, the old ways seem to have gone. A new alignment of social and economic forces has emerged from sweeping national legislation. As a result of the shake-up we have discovered new friends and new enemies, new strengths and new weaknesses.

We have met with new successes and have met also with new difficulties. We have been challenged sweepingly—coldly, sometimes bloodily—and at times we have found the challenge beyond our ability to meet it. These days need courageous thinking and bold action.

It is in the hope of making the most of our opportunities that we of the Amalgamated join with other labor groups on Labor Day. Not to listen to vote-for-me speeches, not to bask in flattery concerning the "dignity of labor," not to reflect smugly on gains here and there, but to face big issues, to map large policies, and to gird our loins for great battles. Let Labor Day become Labor's Day!

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BRANCH 400 meets the first Tuesday of the month at 809 Westchester Ave., Bronx, N. Y. Address of Secretary, William Bobit, 3957 Gouverneur Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.

BRANCH 455 meets the first and third Fridays of the month at 809 Westchester Ave., Bronx, N. Y. Address of Secretary, Adolph Sonen, 1472 Montgomery Ave., Bronx, N. Y.

BRANCH 655 meets the second and fourth Fridays of the month at 140 Second Ave., New York. Address of Secretary, Morris Extract, 1495 Montgomery Ave., Bronx, N. Y.

BRANCH 650 meets the first and third Friday of the month at 937 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y. Address of Secretary, Frank Rosenfarb, 1516 Union St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

BRANCH 1001 meets on Fridays at 7 East 15th Street, New York. Address of Secretary, B. G. Plavin, 2064 Creston Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.

BRANCH 267 meets the second and fourth Saturdays of the month at 44 East 12th St., New York. Address of Secretary, Isaac Levy, 74 Van Cortlandt Park South, Bronx, N. Y.

For a Better World!

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS of AMERICA
Syracuse, N. Y.

Let us resolve to work unceasingly to promote unity and enlightenment in the ranks of those who march under Labor's banner.

Sheepskin & Leather Coat Overall Workers' Union
LOCAL 178—A. W. C.
MAX ALBERT, President
MAX ABRAMOVITCH, Sec'y

WE EXTEND OUR LABOR DAY GREETINGS TO THE WORKERS.

Ladies' Tailors, Custom Dressmakers, Theatrical Costume and Alteration Workers' Union
Local 38—I.L.G.W.U.
J. L. Banach, Mgr. Luic Rea, Bus. Agt.

Button and Novelty Workers' Union
LOCAL 132, I.L.G.W.U.

calls upon all their members not to work Labor Day, Sept. 3, and they are to receive pay in full for that day. All complaints are to be filed at the office of the Union, 133 West 33rd Street.

MORRIS GREENGLASS, Mgr.

GREETINGS from

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

SIDNEY HILLMAN General President
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG General Sec'y-Treasurer

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Greetings of the

PHILADELPHIA JOINT BOARD AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

CHARLES WEINSTEIN, Manager
NICK SICILIANI, President
SAM LYONS, Secretary

We greet The New Leader and its loyal supporters!
Salesman's and Poultry Workers' Union
Affiliated with the A.F. of L.
Samuel Aronow, Pres. J. Rand, Sec'y
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TO THE LABOR AND FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS OF AMERICA—OUR GREETINGS!
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for the part it is playing in the struggle of the oppressed. We are confident that its power to enlighten the workers will increase until the industrial and political emancipation of all the toilers is accomplished.



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WE extend the hand of solidarity to all workers. The dawn of another Labor Day finds the labor movement with renewed determination to advance the interests of the men and women of labor.

INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK MAKERS' UNIONS

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*May our combined efforts
realize
for the working class
that economic security
for which
we are all striving.*

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President

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Be certain that the theatres you and your family attend employ members of Local 306—for your own enjoyment and safety and as an aid to the growth of organized labor in Greater New York.

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On Labor Day we salute the workers who are striving to build up their unions. Only through organization can a world be made that will reflect the interests of the toilers.

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LOCAL 1—NEW YORK CITY

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GREETINGS from

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HENRY J. MOYNIHAN, Gen. Pres.
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can the welfare and the
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be realized.

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For a Workers' World

By Henry Ohl, Jr.

President, Wis. State Federation of Labor

LABOR DAY, 1934, in some communities, particularly where the labor movement is not alert to its interests, will no doubt witness the usual fervent appeal by self-constituted spokesmen who know little of labor's problems and industrial relations. Workers will be exhorted to become adherents to this, that or the other philosophy, on the assurance that a magical change in the conditions of the people shall be effected without exertion on the part of the workers who constitute the people.

In most centers of population, however, Labor Day this year, where labor and farmers will observe the day jointly and where bona fide representatives of labor and farmers appear on the program, the discussion will, as it properly should, revolve around the question of the widest uses of our opportunities. These opportunities are present today perhaps more than at any time in the past. Neglect to make use of the means at hand must inevitably result in labor being given a more inferior place in the social scale.

No one should be unfamiliar with the great need for unity to accomplish desired mutual ends. The great financial and industrial interests show plainly the effectiveness of associated power. This power has enabled them to fleece labor of the proceeds of its toil and has aided exploiters through legislative and judicial manipulation to maintain their position of dominance over labor. Of course, labor has made advances in the way of social legislation, liberalization of the courts, etc. This has been accomplished through the intelligent functioning, but the more thorough association of the profit interests often nullifies these achievements of labor.

This unequal combat because of disproportionate organization on the part of labor is being remedied rapidly. In Wisconsin alone in the last twelve months probably considerably more than fifty thousand wage workers have chosen to desert the Hooverian policy of rugged individualism and have organized into labor unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor and the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor. This more thorough solidarity will give labor the opportunity to speak and act in unison. Organization merely affords the chance to plan for and carry out effective action. It is not an automatic device. Power of unity lies not merely in the physical strength

of numbers, but in the force of pooled intelligence, united determination and collective, fraternal consideration.

Politically as well as economically labor is not yet adequately unified. Suffrage is still bestowed in a more or less confusing fashion. Individuals still embrace or reject politics not on the intrinsic merits of the tenets they represent, or are supposed to represent, but because of ungrounded prejudices aroused by political opposites. Without realizing the meaning of real Socialism, progressivism or liberalism, many permit themselves to be biased to the point of accepting conservatism or reactionism and thus help to perpetuate their exploiters in their entrenched position. Solidarity on the economic field is essential to political enlightenment.

Labor Day this year should typify every other day from now on in promoting the ascendancy of labor. Bargaining with employers; compelling recalcitrant owners of industry to give consideration to the newer ideas of industrial relations, preferentially through conciliatory conferences; through strikes, if necessary; through the ballot; in our legislative halls; farmer-labor co-operation, are means which must be employed with understanding. Failing in these, labor still has recourse to prevent industrial dictatorship by private ownership of the wealth created by the workers.

The alternative can only be the absolute ownership by its creators of all capital. There can be no other ultimate result.

A continuance of the wide conspiracy of financiers and industrialists to control the lives of workers by a bold attitude of defiance toward government and refusal to concede to labor any degree of self-determination as contemplated by the national recovery plan can only spell suicide for the self-constituted masters of men. Whatever methods labor may be forced to employ, they must be methods applied by a solidified labor movement.

May each succeeding Labor Day find the workers more determined and better equipped to advance through industrial organization.

Joint Board SHIRT and WAIST MAKERS' UNION

Affiliated with the
Amalgamated Clothing Workers
of America

ALEX COHEN, Manager

*The workers can only advance
through organization.*

*On Labor Day and all other days
let us show
what solidarity can accomplish.*

United Textile Workers of America

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

THOMAS F. McMAHON

International President

JAMES STARR

International Secretary-Treasurer

We extend our greetings to the toilers of America and hope that all will pledge themselves anew to a spirit of co-operation that will make for the advancement of all workers

**Joint Board Dressmakers' Union**

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PHILIPP KAPP, *Secretary*

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May Day and Labor Day

By Phillip Kapp

Secretary-Treasurer of the Dress and Waistmakers' Joint Board, I.L.G.W.U.

UNLIKE May Day, a workers' holiday celebrated internationally, Labor Day is strictly a product of the American labor movement. In 1884, the Knights of Labor first paraded on the streets of New York in the name of Labor. Colorado, in 1887, made the day a legal holiday. Since then every state in the Union has dedicated the first Monday in September to the glorification of Labor. Even on Labor Sunday the churches sermonize about the dignity and beauty of Labor. Both, then, in law and in religion, the man of labor is revered, yet the lives of the men of labor are anything but beautiful and dignified, for beauty and dignity cannot dwell under one roof with squalor and poverty.

The millions who on this Labor Day are without jobs, and the more millions who have to depend upon charity, must be puzzled when they hear the politician and clergyman pay tribute to the workers. If only the unemployed could feed their children on oratory!

The workers have little to celebrate. For during the year scores

of strikers have been killed on picket lines; 200 have been wounded and hundreds prosecuted! On this Labor Day workers of America cannot help but remember that during the past year their legal rights to organize, as guaranteed by Section 7a, was most ruthlessly suppressed. Every device was employed to render their efforts fruitless: the employer made use of the strikebreaker and the gunman, and the State aided the employer by issuing injunctions and by the reckless use of the policeman's club.

However, the workers have become hardened to wounds. Gangsters' methods cannot stop the working class in the achievement of its objective to throw off the yoke of capitalism. Despite all hardships, Labor is forging ahead. The working class is becoming conscious of its power and is beginning to recognize that the right to strike is their only effective weapon against the ruling class, as witness Minneapolis, Toledo, Detroit and San Francisco.

Even in the case of San Francisco, admittedly a lost strike, we find a sign of hope. In a crucial moment the workers on the Coast marshalled their forces into one huge fighting army. Can there be the least doubt what the outcome of that strike would have been

were it not for gas bombs and machine-guns?

That the workers are learning the value of organized mass action is best illustrated by the victorious strike in Milwaukee. There the workers of the Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Company made their demands clear and emphatic; in addition to higher wages and shorter hours they insisted upon their right to belong to a union of their own choosing and the right of collective bargaining. Within 24 hours not a wheel turned in the Socialist city; industry came to a standstill. And capitalism had to yield; they knew better than to oppose the thoroughly united and organized forces of the working class.

The growth of class-consciousness in this country is particularly encouraging because of the new problems created by the National Recovery Act and specifically by Section 7a. Although this clause, now a part of the law, guarantees to the workers the right to organize and to bargain collectively, it has failed completely in its purpose. Since its enactment, company unions have grown 180%, while labor unions have increased by only 75%. If at the beginning there seemed some slight possibility that Section 7a would in a measure be instrumental in alleviating the hardships of the workers, it is now clear that it is not a

panacea.

President Sloan of General Motors, spokesman for capitalism, hurled defiance at the government when he declared before the Boston Chamber of Commerce: "We will never recognize the closed shop, if that is what the A. F. of L. is thinking of." The utter helplessness of the government to cope with the situation is clearly shown in the automobile industry, where the most elementary rights have been denied the workers.

It is well on this Labor Day for the working class to remember that their strength lies in solidarity and organization. It must be sharply impressed that Labor's representation on the Code Authorities is negligible; there is little the workers may expect from the Code Authorities, who, in the words of Clarence Darrow, "are nothing more or less than executive committees of powerful trade associations of employers, concerned pri-

marily with promoting their business interests."

The working class of America may on this Labor Day turn to the I.L.G.W.U. for its moral—it still holds true that in numbers lies the strength of the working class. Capitalism may evade the letter of the law; capitalism may even control the law, but capitalism cannot for a long time oppose the united will of a loyal and organized working class.

Long live the working masses of America!

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

Long live the Socialist Party of America!

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On Labor Day, 1934

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United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union

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The Clarion Call to the Workers.
Our press is needed to build the political, economic and cultural organizations of the workers.

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GREETINGS

to the Socialists of America

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Let this Labor Day be the forerunner of a year of triumph for the workers.

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LABOR DAY GREETINGS

to The New Leader and to all who are working for the emancipation of the working class.

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The United Hebrew Trades

sends its greetings to millions of American Workers,
and pledges to continue the struggle for a better world

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M. FEINSTONE, *Secretary*

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Affiliated with A. F. of L. M. ROSEN, Sec'y

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Forward to a Workers World

Organized Labor a Bulwark Against Brutal Fascism

By Morris C. Feinstone
Secretary, United Hebrew Trades

THE significance of Labor Day as an official holiday is sometimes forgotten in the general rush of vacationists and week-enders. But Labor Day is more than a time for autumnal relaxation, more than a mere reminder of sympathy for the humble laborer.

Official Labor Day signifies the inevitable growth of organized labor to that point where its role in the future of the world cannot longer be ignored. Official Labor Day means that labor is a crucial factor in the line-up of events that will soon determine the outcome of our complicated civilization.

Forty years ago Labor Day was a concession to a class. Now it is the recognition of humanity. For in organized labor lies the vital answer to the many perplexing problems that disturb the contemporary world. Forty years ago Labor Day stood for simple and hard-won rights for the laborer. Now Labor Day stands for a whole new code of equality and justice that applies to all people and not only to those whose future happiness and stability depend upon the triumphant efforts of organized labor.

Since the first Labor Day was established the workers have played a varying but dynamic part in world events. They were used during the World War as cannon-fodder; but they went bravely, hoping and believing that through their sacrifices Democracy would be established as a world reality. That illusion quickly vanished; but after the war it was labor that struggled to build up the hard-won fraction of democracy that distinguished Europe and America

in the past decade. There were rights gained, a liberalism of sorts established; not a great one viewed in terms of labor's ultimate dreams, but still infinite gains over the past.

And at the summit of these efforts betrayal again overtook labor. Fascism, personified by ungovernable tyrants and unrestrained individuals, wielded the club over labor and socialism so destructively that its betrayal of the hopes of the masses surpasses almost any in history. Hitler alone represents a menace to the aims and aspirations of labor that will call for the most complete courage and mobilization of forces on the part of the workers of the world. And everywhere there are Hitlers springing up, ready to betray still more of the fundamental privileges of the people. The time for trust is past. The political weapon must now be seized by organized labor, along with the economic weapon.

For our traditional enemies, the political and the industrial tyrants, no longer threaten only the men who work directly under them; they threaten the equilibrium of the entire civilized world. There is only one group capable of leading the world out of chaos and slavery—that group is organized labor. Any other element that makes the attempt must eventually fail. For the fascist element stakes only personal power, the capitalist stakes only a greed for millions and more millions, but labor stakes its very life. It must find the best way out, and that means the way that will preserve life and insure peace and safety and happiness to all human beings. It means that labor is interested not in a mad victory at any cost, as are the fascists and capitalists, but in the victory of productiveness and justice, in the establishment of a



Morris C. Feinstone

social order wherein all people are equal, wherein economic and political security will guarantee the physical and social necessities to every member as an inalienable right.

Today more than ever the symbol of Labor Day stands clear for all to read. There is work to be done, more far-reaching than all the work of the past—work of salvation. It cannot be done by hysterical and disorganized Quixotic schemes. Romantic individualized gestures will not rehabilitate the economic mechanism of a shattered world. They will not promote the good will of suspicious nations, nor give security to the great groups of workers dependent upon the rehabilitation of that mechanism.

It is necessary to stand together in an organization that is both militant and constructive. The picket line is the front of militancy, labor's great weapon against the destructive forces capitalism has brought down upon the world. The picket line is the means through which labor can effectively proclaim not only its own grievances but also the injustice done to countless individuals in a long series of social struggles.

The other great need is reasonableness. Labor must stand with both feet firmly on the ground and safeguard the hard-earned positions already won by the workers. It is not wisdom to destroy or endanger these positions, however much they may fall short of the ultimate goal. Many well-meaning friends of labor are ready to risk everything, even human lives, for an idea, usually foggy, in the far-off future. No mature person can sincerely take upon himself the authority to decree that this generation shall be wholly sacrificed for the next, however tempting may be the vision of the future liberation in comparison with the slower progress of today. It is impossible to build a classless society by the terrorist technique of capitalism and fascism. It is necessary to preserve the life and economic security of today's generation while preparing the exaltation of tomorrow's children. There are times when the idea must be modified to man, not man to the idea. A fanatic labor can be as destructive as the most heartless and calculating capitalism.

Enforced heroism for all workers, as prescribed by Communists and other fanatics, is a deadly practice. It is the task of organized labor in America to protect the worker against senseless sacrifice, to guarantee him a chance to live and enjoy a fraction, at least, of what his children will enjoy more fully in the future. This is the reasonableness, the constructiveness that underlie the policy of organized labor.

Its task is the more difficult since it requires a vital militancy combined with a sense of social

How Labor Day Was Started; Some Forgotten History

By Julius Gerber

THE first Monday in September was set aside as Labor Day to glorify labor on the instigation of the Central Labor Union of New York and District Assembly 49 of the Knights of Labor.

Originally the labor unions used this day to demonstrate their strength and make known their demands for better conditions. Labor Day was born in the heroic days of the New York labor movement in the middle '80's, which culminated in the United Labor Party and the Henry George campaign of 1886.

The labor unions of New York took this day as their own holiday without the sanction of either the employers or the state.

Following 1886 Tammany Hall, eager to lead organized labor back into the fold, made the first Monday in September a legal holiday, and from that time on the day lost its fervor. It no longer was a day when labor, depending on its own strength, took a holiday. It became everybody's holiday—for the banker and the ditch digger, the employer as well as the employee. While the Old Guard of the trade union movement still lived, they managed to keep the fires burning; but with their disappearance Labor Day, at least as far as New York City was concerned, lost its character as a day for labor.

The parades and demonstrations disappeared and even attempts to get the workers together at a picnic failed.

In the glorious days of 1886, and for a few years thereafter, the Socialists were active and in the forefront of the organized labor movement. The German workers coming in masses to these shores to escape the Bismarck anti-Socialist laws, gave it a soul and an outspoken class character. Then came DeLeon with his open antagonism to the trade unions, creating hostility between the labor unions and the Socialist Labor Party, making the Socialists impotent in their unions.

There followed the split in the S.L.P., and when we were just recovering from the effects of the

responsibility. It is much easier to be extremely reactionary or extremely anarchical. To strike the shrewd and practicable medium is a far harder task.

Labor Day is our annual dedication to that task. We must remember that work in itself has a tremendous value. This value render its movements highly important to the economic changes of the coming year. We can make use of this knowledge either constructively or destructively.

Organized labor in America is definitely committed to a constructive policy. It is our job to stand back of that program, to support it with out most urgent fighting spirit on the picket line, and with our most willing cooperation in the complex aspects of organization. From economic strength to political strength is but a step—a long step, it is true, but an inevitable one; for the two forms of control must be combined if labor is to perform its historic task.

With such a policy, labor will build securely for the coming generation. To this program we dedicate the present and future, and celebrate anew the old holiday of Labor Day.

S.L.P. policies, some prominent members of the Socialist Party helped to organize the I.W.W. When we were about overcoming that phase, came the left wing with its aftermath, the Communist Party with its dualism in the trade union field. All of these developments weakened the Socialist influence in the trade unions.

Now that the trade unions are again on the upgrade, both numerically and spiritually, it should be the mission of the Socialists to belong to their respective labor organizations, to be active in them, help to build them, strengthen them not as benevolent fault-finders, but as active cooperators.

The N.I.R.A. gives the workers a chance to organize. It should be the duty of the Socialists in the unions to inspire their organizations to make use of that legal instrument to organize those outside their organizations.

The attempts of the employers and the administrators of N.R.A. to weaken, to take the teeth out of the N.I.R.A., will force the organized workers to seek their remedy in political action. It should be the duty of the Socialists to direct the need for political action into proper channels for independent political action of the working class.

To accomplish this we must not assume that the Socialists are anointed leaders, nor must the party assume to dictate to the labor movement. But we must instill into the membership of the party the spirit of working class solidarity. Our party is part and parcel of the organized labor movement. Their victory is our victory, and their weakness is our weakness. Our aim must be to cooperate, to help in every way, without expecting reward. Only by cooperation with the organized labor movement will we be able to demonstrate that their aim is our aim and that we have no interest apart from that of the working class.

In the words of our immortal Ben Hanford: "The working class—may it always be right—but right or wrong, the working class."

With this as our slogan we will not fail. We must not lose patience with the working class. We must not lose faith in the working class. While Socialism will benefit the whole human race, it is labor that has most to gain, and only labor can and will solve their problems. Humanitarians and philanthropists will not solve the problems of the working class. The workers themselves, conscious of their power, will solve it. To awaken their class-consciousness is our job. To this the members of the Socialist Party must dedicate themselves. A world of labor is our aim. A classless society is our goal. In this spirit let us greet Labor Day of 1934, and we will succeed.

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The Second Labor Day of The New Deal

By James D. Graham
President, Montana State
Federation of Labor

THE second Labor Day of the New Deal sees labor in the front line trenches of the economic front. The past year has been a strenuous one for labor. Organization of the unorganized has advanced rapidly in the past fifteen months and more and more strikes are taking place and more are in the offing. Indeed, greater additions to the membership of the unions have taken place in the last year than in any other year this century, and far more strikes have been waged than in any other year in American history.

During the depression years preceding the New Deal the economic masters reduced wages, took from the workers hard-won improved working conditions, and speeded up the workers to produce more and more for a diminishing market.

The productive power of labor per worker in the construction industry has increased 22 1/4 per cent since 1929; that is, the average worker in the factory is now doing as much work in eight hours as he used to do in ten and one-quarter hours; or, in a 40-hour week the worker produces as much as he did in 52 1/2 hours in 1929, all of which tends to increase unemployment and the profits of the masters. Exploitation of the worker has increased since the inauguration of the New Deal. This increased exploitation has created a spirit of rebellion; hence the great unrest and discontent and strikes throughout the land.

With the increase in the productive power of the workers unemployment is steadily increasing. To take care of the unemployed through the administration of relief and to supervise the administration of the New Deal the government has suddenly become the greatest employer in the land. It is estimated that this vast army employed to supervise NRA, unemployment relief, the CCC and the AAA with those employed on PWA work amounts to nearly three million people, more men than were sent overseas in 1917 and 1918.

Should industry recover or the administration of the New Deal cease, over three million people now on Uncle Sam's payroll would be discharged; this would be the same as the demobilization that took place at the end of the war and would give unemployment another spurt upwards.

All that is now being done by the New Deal is to hold the line for capitalism in order that the exploitation of man by man may be continued, and invested capital take its toll.

This era of strikes will continue for at least another year. The class struggle will be intensified considerably within the next two years.

For the time and energy expended on the economic field by organized labor the net gain will be small. With the exploiters in control of government, and placed there by the ballots of the workers, organized labor will find it hard to

cope with the economic masters, either in winning strikes or in getting any satisfactory relief through legislation.

Within the next two years the era of strikes will have run its course, the various state legislatures will have adjourned after their regular session, the workers will find that the gains they have made through strikes, or election of capitalist candidates to office, will be insuffi-

cient to take care of the rapid increase in improved machinery and the readjustments which capital is making to overcome international competition.

When the present era of strikes draws to a close the workers organized on the economic field will focus their attention on political action. A great political movement of the workers is near at hand in this country, when the workers will organize into a political movement of their own, which, sweeping the land, will place representatives of the workers into office and put into effect a program calling for the nationalization of all industry to end the capitalist exploitation of the masses.

We greet the workers who have been loyal
to the ideals of unionism

CLOTHING CUTTERS' UNION
A. C. W. of A.

MURRAY WEINSTEIN, Manager

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

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LOCAL 11016—A. F. of L.

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19 WEST 38th STREET NEW YORK CITY

Max Goldman, Manager I. Hammer, Fred Carrano, Organizers

On this Labor Day let us rededicate ourselves to the
cause of unionism and the international
solidarity of all workers.

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

Saul Metz, Manager	Murry Savitt, Pres.
Sam Berger, Asst. Manager	Mac Shatunoff, Vice-Pres.
David Karpf, Asst. Mgr. Dress Dept.	Nat Wallace, Sec'y

We greet The New Leader and its friends this Labor Day.
Our hope is that the workers will resolve to strengthen
the bonds of solidarity and increase the effective-
ness of our unions and our press.

WAIST & BLOUSE WORKERS' UNION
LOCAL 25—I. L. G. W. U.

Max Moskowitz, Manager Alex Horowitz, Chairman Exec. Board

Let the Workers of America Rededicate Themselves to Labor's
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Where the Toilers Will Receive the Full Fruit of Their Labor.

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LOCAL 66—I. L. G. W. U.

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