

# NEW LEADER

With Which  
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by  
Eugene V. Debs

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## The Check That Came Back in 1928 Is the Same Check Returned in 1934

WHEN the polls close next November it will be two years since the New Deal of Roosevelt was given the contract to govern. The working masses drove the New Liberalism of Hoover out of power. Before the New Deal and the New Liberalism, there was the Square Deal of Teddy and the New Freedom of Wilson.

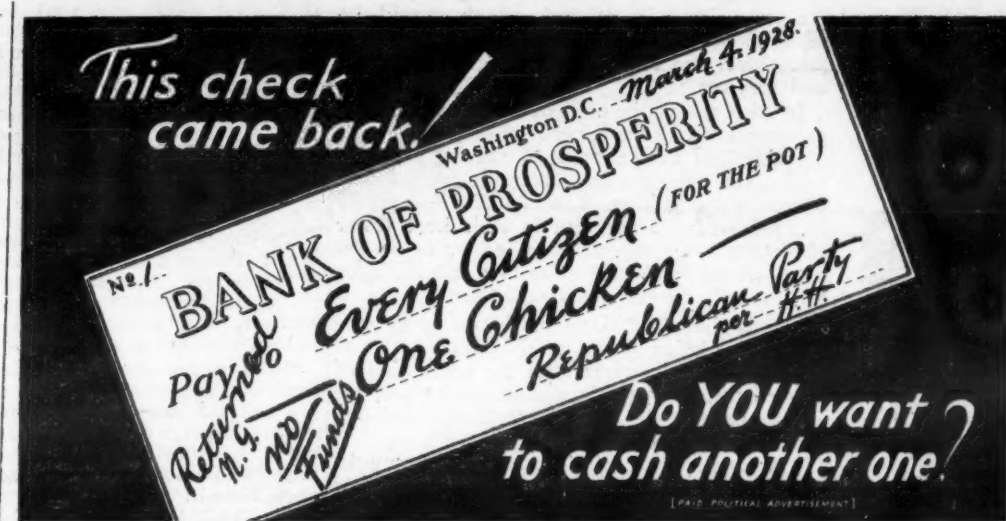
The politicians of capitalism always offer old stuff in the guise of something "new". Whether new or old, Ike and Mike look alike and act alike. They act as agents of capitalism. Even their platforms are the same.

In July, 1932, The New Leader quoted a summary of 21 sections of the Republican and Democratic platforms in parallel columns without indicating which section was Republican or Democratic. We offered prizes to readers who could tell which was which. Not one reader was able to tell the difference between them.

During the campaign of 1932 the Democrats used a poster that was displayed throughout the nation. It appears on this page. Study it. It was an effective attack by Ike Roosevelt on Mike Hoover. Millions of workers fell for it by hearing Mike out and boosting Ike in.

Mike had boasted in 1928 of placing a "chicken in every pot." Mike did not deliver the chickens. Instead, millions were jobless and in the breadlines. Millions of farmers had lost everything but a ragged shirt. Ike had a fine case against Mike.

The result was the display of the



Democratic poster which appears on this page. It was a Republican check on the "BANK OF PROSPERITY." It was signed by the "Republican Party per H. H." by Herbert Hoover. It was issued as good for "One Chicken."

But the check proved to be a fraud. It was returned to the Republican Party with the inscription, "Returned. N. G. No Funds."

Ike proved Mike to be a swindler and the swindler was advertised for what he was. The check was deadly evidence of the swindle. To be sure that we would not miss the lesson, Ike called our attention to the fact

that "This Check Came Back." He asked the millions who had been swindled, "Do YOU want to cash another one?"

Of course, the millions did not want another phoney check from Mike Hoover so they voted for a sound check to be issued by Ike. Now Ike Roosevelt has had a year and six months in which to redeem the check that he issued.

That brings us to a very important question. Have you cashed yours?

More than ten million of you have been standing in line to get your Democratic check in 1932 cashed in 1934. You have been

standing in line 18 agonized months. You did not get the Republican chicken; have you received the Democratic chicken?

Now face the issue frankly and fearlessly: Were you swindled in 1932 as you were in 1928? Can you honestly tell the difference between Republican Mike and Democratic Ike?

You know the answer. Every one of the major purposes of the New Deal has proven to be a ghastly failure. More than ten million workers are still unemployed and the promise last year was that all but 400,000 would have jobs by the end of that year!

The cost of living is rising, the working farmers still face the old miseries, the number of workers on strike has reached the highest peak in American history, the cost of keeping millions from starving is mounting, and hundreds of cities are facing bankruptcy.

All this means that your Democratic check has proven to be worthless. It is the old swindle again.

The Democrats asked you on that poster two years ago whether you wanted to cash another check. We now put their question to you: "Do You Want to Cash Another One?" It is for you to answer in November.

The Socialist Party believes that many of you want no more of New Deals, Square Deals, New Freedoms, New Liberalisms and Raw Deals. You want no more fraudulent checks.

Very well. The laboring millions deprived of access to employment, robbed, swindled and deceived should hurl the political quacks out of their seats of power.

You do not have a good check but you have a good ballot. It is all that many of us have left. Use it. Cast it for the Socialist Party and its program. Cast it for yourselves and your class. A Socialist vote means POWER for YOU, not for those who issue bogus checks.

YOU AND YOU ALONE MUST FIGHT YOUR WAY OUT OF THE DEPRESSION. YOU CAN RULE THE NATION WHEN YOU WILL TO RULE IT!

### Frances Perkins Expected to Offer Textile Mediation

By Benjamin Meiman  
Special Correspondence

THE Washington viewpoint brings forth the following major developments in the textile strike:

1. Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, expected, on Wednesday, to get the report of the President's Special Mediation Board. Before passing that report on to President Roosevelt, Miss Perkins may attempt to effect a peaceful settlement of the strike and save the President the possible embarrassment of having to force a show-down either with labor or employers.

2. An announcement that the Senate Munitions Investigation Committee will seek the source of the munitions and tear-gas bombs being used by guards in strike areas.

3. Harry L. Hopkins, Federal Emergency Relief Administrator, said that the FERA's policy on relief for textile strikers would not be affected by General Hugh S. Johnson's recent assertion that the strike is unwarranted; such a finding must come from the Labor

Department or from the NLRB to alter the FERA's stand, he pointed out.

4. The Labor Department sent about thirty investigators into the mill areas to investigate wages, hours and other working conditions and, while union officials linked this action with the strike situation, announced that it was part of a routine procedure every two years.

5. Possibility of effecting a settlement through NRA agencies faded as Francis J. Gorman, national strike director, announced that he will ask the American Federation of Labor at its convention in San Francisco to demand Johnson's resignation or discharge, because of the Recovery Administrator's attack on the strikers.

#### A Typical Politician

UNION officials telephoned to Representative Doughton (Dem., N. C.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, a request that he convene his committee for an investigation of the use of Federal equipment by National Guardsmen on strike duty, and here is part of the answer made by that great statesman:

"It is regrettable if the troops

### NEXT WEEK

NEXT week The New Leader will carry three contributions worth special mention because of their propaganda value in the Socialist campaign.

Prof. Mercer G. Evans of Emory College, Georgia, presents a stirring review of the Southern States, the textile strike and the economic conditions facing the mass of black and white workers. It is an informing article that readers will appreciate.

James H. Maurer, former Socialist candidate for Vice-President, writes an article on what he thinks that the next convention of the American Federation of Labor should do to meet the crisis affecting the organized workers. It is one of the best jobs Jim has ever done.

A. N. Kruger will give a close-up view of the du Ponts, the munitions magnates, their relations with the armament crowd, with sidelight on the disclosures made by the Senate investigation at Washington.

Next week! Order a bundle of this fine propaganda number!

are using equipment supplied by the Federal Government through the War Department in an improper or illegal way. This, of

(Continued on Page Eight)

### Tear Gas and Bayonets Fail To Halt Textile Strike

Special Correspondence

WASHINGTON. — Military forces cooperating with the nation's bosses to smash the gigantic textile strike chalked up their 13th casualty as plans were laid by the United Textile Workers to call out additional tens of thousands of workers. With strike lines holding firm despite tear gas and bayonets, murder by militia and concentration camps in the South, the union's general strike headquarters report that the manufacturers' lines are cracking.

Spokesmen for mill interests, following their strategy of trying to break the morale of striking men, women and children, are declaring that more mills are re-opening. There is no doubt that in isolated sections of the South and in other areas where obliging governors, subservient mayors and eager police chiefs are supplying thugs to herd scabs and hold back workers, a number of plants have re-opened. Returning workers, however, have been conspicuous by their absence, and mill-owners are learning once again the industrial lesson that bayonets and injunc-

tions can't operate looms or spindles, and that newspaper statements won't set machinery going.

#### To Stage Huge Meeting

A huge demonstration within a few days in New York City's largest meeting place, to be followed by similar meetings in other cities, is planned by the national strike committee to protest against the Hitlerite internment of strikers in Georgia and the use of state troops against strikers in Southern states and elsewhere. Yankee Stadium or the Polo Grounds may be hired for an outdoor meeting, Mecca Temple or Carnegie Hall for an indoor gathering, as Madison Square Garden is not available for some time.

From North to South, as strike lines draw tauter and industrial leaders wax desperate in their endeavor to quell America's greatest industrial uprising, news comes to national strike headquarters here of renewed violence by town and village constables, mill thugs, city police and county sheriffs, and state militia at the beck and call of textile manufacturers. In Waterville, Maine, the usual "rioting" of mill thugs took place, national

(Cont. on Page 1, Labor Section)



## Secret Programs of Barons Would Make Workers Serfs of Capital's Oligarchy

THE managers of the NRA propose to reorganize it into three parts—executive, legislative and judicial—a government within a government. Last week about 150 big kings of industry secretly met to consider reorganization of the NRA to make it more completely serve their interests. They look forward to corporation zones ruled by their class with workers as mudsills so worked that they will just manage to survive and produce children to replace the human merchandise as it is worn out.

In the first place, the big barons of industry want monopolistic control of certain industries with some "government supervision" while other industries should be "liberalized" under the anti-trust laws. These would enjoy a maximum of self-regulation without government supervision.

That is to say, the big key industries would tower above the whole capitalist system as oligarchies "supervised" by friendly government agents. In the next range below the big industries, the industries not of a key variety would

be self-regulating with the anti-trust laws used as a cushion, not a club. Having provided secure fortresses for big business on the two highest levels of the capitalist system, the big barons were kind enough to look down into the labor market where their human merchandise is bought.

They must do something for the wage slaves—and do them plenty. So they decide that there must be no federal unemployment insurance and old age pensions. Sweet charity should take care of the human waste of the factories and mills. Then wages are too high in many lines and where this is found to be the case the big barons should reduce wages and pocket the surplus. Here is how the exploiters put it:

**"A minimum wage might be continued during the remainder of the depression, but low enough not to interfere with or control the wage level in general, which should be allowed to respond naturally to the general price level and the relative demand for goods and services."**

In other words, the price of labor power should be determined by the impersonal economic forces of capitalism as the price of cheese, pig iron, bricks, coal and ore are under the normal conditions of competition. The capitalist class would be organized 100 per cent in their huge tower of dollars while the working masses in the pit below would crush each other to obtain the slave wage the big barons would ration out.

Nor is this all. "Maximum hours by governmental regulation should be eliminated or set so high as not to interfere with the restoration of parity between wages in manufacturing and the general price level." That is, the short work-day should be made longer!

The keen eyes of the big barons also locate the farmers down in the labor pit, so they favor "Correction of the disparity in prices between agricultural and manufactured products." That is to say, the farm toilers are in the pit and are to remain there while farm and commodity prices are to be in some way "corrected." We may be sure that the big barons will not favor "correction" of prices against themselves.

**Workers of the nation! You and your fathers and your fathers' fathers have toiled and sweated and died over two centuries to build the vast productive system of today. A handful of big barons possess it; they rule it and rule you. It has become half paralyzed in their hands. You and your families suffer torments because of this paralysis.**

Now the big barons would foist a hateful regime of feudalism on your backs. You have a vote. Use it as a Socialist hammer against the class that would goosetstep us into servitude!

## And What Do You Think?

By Gertrude Weil Klein

THE business manager has been quarrelling with me. "What good are you?" he moans. "You're no help to me."

I feel sorry for him. I always feel sorry for business managers. I know he's having a tough time trying to keep the paper afloat, and so I tell him how sorry I feel and how I appreciate what a thankless job he has. But that only makes him madder—so mad that he tries to bite my ear off.



G. W. Klein

"If this keeps up," he says (meaning the hard times, lack of money, increasing bills, etc.) we won't be able to pay your salary." (This is just a little joke between us. I don't get any salary.)

But the poor man is really seriously worried.

So I say: "Sol, darling [his face lights up], what do you want me to do? I'm no good at gathering in the shekels. If I were, maybe my whole life would have been different. Who knows? Maybe I wouldn't be here at all."

"Well, you're always bragging about all the readers who write to you and tell you how wonderful you are," he says (this is a slander, but I let it pass). "But does that help The Leader?" "No," he answers himself.

"So what?" I beg.

"So, why don't you sit down and write a nice letter that we can send out to people, especially to the women who are anxious to do something constructive. Tell them we're up against it. Tell them The Leader wants to have a regular Women's Section. Tell them we want to increase our splendid Labor Section. Tell them there are a good many features we'd like to

add, but they all cost money. Paper and print cost money." [So do wages. Ed.]

"I'll tell them," I say, by this time thoroughly cowed. And so I'm telling you.

Of course, if we doubled our circulation the advertising department would make a better showing, and if the advertising department made a better showing we'd never have to appeal for funds. Doubling our circulation should not be a difficult job. (No wise-cracks, please.) With subscriptions only \$1 a year and with this trial sub plan of 25 cents for three months, we should be swamped with orders.

Now I know that The Leader does not satisfy everybody, not by a long shot. I also know, alas, that it never will. You can't get out a paper that is going to meet with everybody's idea of what the paper ought to be. In the case of The Leader, it must, to a certain extent, be a newspaper. It must be a propaganda organ. It must be a party bulletin. It must reflect the political and industrial movements of the workers. It must be educational. It should be a medium to help build up special groups in the party, like the Women's Section, the Y.P.S.L., and so on. I think you will admit that that makes the job not so easy.

Just the same, we would like to get an expression of opinion as to what you would like to see in The Leader. I was discussing what the make-up of the women's page should be with the Executive Committee of the Women's Section in New York, and just tentatively I suggested home hints, recipes, etc., and they nearly stoned me. So there you are. I didn't know. I read home hints and recipes myself.

Now I ought to have a good smashing finish for this, but I haven't. I know what would be a good finish, though—the best in the world—and that is a substantial response from our readers with subs and promises of more subs.

## Cheers and Tears in 1917; Concentration Camp, 1934!

IT is the year 1917. Bands are playing, crowds cheering, flags everywhere. Roars of enthusiasm ascend from the streets. "The boys are coming!"

The boys in khaki uniform turn the corner, march down the street through the cheering throngs to the railway depot. They board the cars. More cheers and many tears, tears shed by women as they bid farewell to sons, husbands or brothers on their way to France to make the world safe for democracy.

It is the year 1934. A few who had marched in 1917 and the sons and daughters of some who had marched are citizens of Georgia, a state made safe for democracy. They are textile strikers. They seek to make mill employment safe for themselves and families.

The Governor gives orders to the militia and 126 strikers, men and women, are picked up and lodged in a concentration camp, to remain there to the end of the strike. NEARBY, GERMANS HAD BEEN INTERNED DURING THE WORLD WAR!

Democracy has been made safe behind barbed wire. The Georgia government interns the opponents of the mill exploiters. To complete the picture, the militia officers should entertain the prisoners with moving pictures of "the boys" going to the front in 1917!

## A Code That Will Destroy the Capitalist System

The National Council of the Automobile Workers is so sick and disgusted with the NRA code for the automobile industry that the workers demand that it be scrapped. Hours and wages are violated, the "merit" clause is a snare, wages are low and profits are high.

A Socialist code would be a

fine thing, but that requires working class power. It would code the owners out of owning, code the workless into work, code the idle rich into useful workers, code depressions into history, and code happiness for all.

Not NRA but SCA should be our aim, a Socialist Code Administration representing the toilers, the masters of the world when they know their power.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22nd, 1934

Vol. XVII No. 38

## 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.



## Sinclair Surrenders; the Movement Goes Forward

RARELY has there been such a striking contrast as that between an editorial in The Christian Century and the action of Upton Sinclair in California. The New York Times on Sept. 16 carried a story about Sinclair's platform, and the Christian Century carried its editorial in the issue of Sept. 19.

Consider the editorial first. "Do Socialists Want Socialism?" it asks. It concludes that we are practically hopeless because we do not favor Sinclair as the Democratic candidate for Governor of California. He "had given his life to the cause of Socialism." In many other nations he is regarded as "this nation's one important interpreter of Socialist thought." Despite this, he is opposed by Socialists. "If the fact were not so tragic, it would be laughable," says the Century.

About the same time that these views were being set in type in Chicago, a San Francisco correspondent of the New York Times was writing a story about Sinclair's change of front regarding his platform. In conference with George Creel, his opponent for the nomination for Governor in the recent primary, Sinclair tossed

overboard practically all of those "radical" items in his Epic Plan which the Century considers Socialism! Sinclair emerged from the conference just an ordinary Democrat, like thousands of others in the 48 states.

Yes, "if the fact were not so tragic, it would be laughable!"

We Socialists are berated because we do not follow Sinclair into one of the parties of capitalism.

The Century asks regarding Sinclair: "Does he recant his Socialism?" And answers: "No, he avows and glories in it."

It asks: "Does he conceal his desire for the coming of a social

commonwealth?" It answers: "No, he declares that everything he attempts now is a step toward that goal."

It asks: "Does he pussyfoot on vital issues?" It answers: "No, he goes out of his way to make his position and his program as clear as human speech can make them."

Every answer to every question was wrong when it was being set in type.

The Century declared that before the end of the campaign Sinclair's platform "will have become a text for passionate discussion in every part of the nation. Sinclair himself has buried his platform!"

The Century is peeved that the Socialists of California and the National Executive Committee of the party have repudiated Sinclair, and wonders by "what species of deception" Socialists can so act. It now has its answer in the fact that it was deceived, not us.

Why were we right and the Century wrong? Because we rely on Socialist philosophy and Socialist experience, not upon sentimental regard for individuals. The movement is everything, and the individual who tries to capture a capitalist organization will become its prisoner, not its conqueror.

Sinclair has surrendered. The movement will go on.

THE NEW LEADER, a Socialist Party publication, supports 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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## Oregon Workers Strongly Favor Labor Party Policy

## What Karl Kautsky Thinks of Upton Sinclair

From a letter to the Editor of The New Leader

I DO not get The New Leader here in Vienna any more. I miss it sorely, especially now in these stirring days of the American labor movement. I hope its revival will give an effective impetus to the circulation of The New Leader, in spite of the differences of opinion in our ranks.



Karl Kautsky

My last contribution to The New Leader was my polemic with Upton Sinclair over Soviet Russia. I see that he has now sold his communistic dromedary and bought a Democratic donkey. (I think that is the symbol of the Democratic Party in America.)

Upton Sinclair is a queer sort of political poet. Realistic and sober in his writings; fantastic and visionary in his politics. Perhaps he may show new qualities in becoming governor of California. After all, he may be a shrewd business man.

You see great days now, and have heavy work in the movement. Things seem rather chaotic. But perhaps the outcome will be real progress, the building up of a new Labor Party, independent of the two old parties. That will be a consolation to us in our sad times here.

## Morro Castle Dead Slain By Profitmakers' Greed

By Able Seaman

BY this time it is quite clear that the "blunders" that caused the horrible Morro Castle disaster were crimes. But it will not be enough just to investigate and issue a report. There must be action to make such murderous crimes impossible in the future.

It is reported that President Roosevelt is going to demand legislation for the absolute fire-proofing of ships, and that is quite all right. It is shocking to realize that the liner carried large quantities of forbidden but bootleg inflammable benzine for polishing the brass rails because it was cheaper than to use non-inflammable polishing paste, and that the ship blazed up like a mass of celluloid to save the company the wages of a few additional men to apply that paste.

But more rigid inspection does not even touch the heart of the matter.

What must be changed at once is the maritime law that deals with salvage. Even when human beings are being slowly roasted to death, a rescuing ship is entitled to heavy sums of money for salvage. And since the captain of a ship in distress is in constant wireless communication with his home office it is plain that the blame for disaster lies not with the captain, not even with the home office, but with the system under which the very men who would have to pay out large sums are left to decide when it is time to call for help.

Ship companies are in business for profits, AND FOR NO OTHER

PURPOSE. The glamor of the moonlit sea, the romance of tropic climes, the beauty of waving palms, the charm of exotic populations are but selling points for steamship tickets that turn in profits to the companies. And the profit motive is at the heart of everything.

When a ship is in distress, the one who decides when to call for help—THAT IS, THE ONE TO DECIDE WHEN TO ASSUME AN OBLIGATION FOR HEAVY SALVAGE CHARGES—is the very agency that must meet those heavy salvage costs. Remember that.

The Morro Castle horror recalls the long fight of the late Samuel Plimsoll for safety at sea. A British landed gentleman, he read somewhere that ship owners were sending old and decaying ships to sea overloaded and heavily over-insured, expecting them to sink (and carry their crews with them) in order to collect insurance. He did not believe the story of these "floating coffins," as they were called, but he investigated.

He found the story was true, and he thereupon gave up all his interests to devote all his time and energies to fight for the safety of the seamen. He thought it would be easy, once the public knew the facts, to win needed reforms, but he reckoned without the heavily entrenched material interests of the shipping men. They were Big Business.

The fight of Plimsoll is one of the most magnificent stories in recent history, and one of the most shameful for the opposition he encountered. He found that when material interests are involved, everything else went by the board—human life, human decency, even the honor of Englishmen!

He won his fight, and there is a monument to him in London; and today every ship carries the "Plimsoll mark" on its hull, which indicates how heavily it may be loaded. But it took pressure from the outside to force that legislation through. Ship owners themselves, their profits being involved, would do nothing themselves, even when it was plain hundreds of human lives were at stake.

And in the case of the Morro Castle, as was true in the case of the Vestris, it is a fact that not a single life need have been lost. But it is true that in both cases the companies deliberately gambled with the lives of hundreds of people that they could get by without calling for help (and incurring heavy salvage charges); and in both cases they lost.

Mr. Plimsoll learned that where material interests were involved, nothing mattered but profits. The families of those roasted to death in the Morro Castle know that saving money on cleaning paste, and in salvage charges, were dominant in the Ward Line.

You can't make the seas safe—or factories or mines or railroads safe—so long as you allow the profit system full play.

Pending the overthrow of the accursed profit system that has such hideous by-products there is only one way to act:

Impose a new set of rules FROM THE OUTSIDE that takes the decision of when to call for help OUT OF THE HANDS OF THOSE MATERIALLY INTERESTED. Make it OBLIGATORY for lives to be safeguarded REGARDLESS OF WHETHER IT COSTS MONEY, TO THE STEAMSHIP COMPANIES OR NOT.

This is not a crime of the Ward Line; it is the crime of Capitalism. And it must be so treated.

## Newsreel Used to Slander Striking Textile Workers

By W. M. F.

It was a good picture that I saw the other day, and a very interesting newsreel went with it. Never mind about the picture; that belongs on another page. But the newsreel was about the most vicious I have seen in a long time.

This time the news pictures dealt with a recent prison riot, and the commentator permitted himself choice remarks about the treatment of prisoners. "This is what comes of coddling prisoners," he said, presumably longing for the days of torture. The editorial speaker repeatedly denounced humane treatment of men confined in jail, asserted that they were sent to jail to be punished, not to have a picnic, and showing a scene of destruction made the assertion that that was the result of "coddling" criminals.

Last week came the textile strike with a newsreel of the southern strike area with the announcer telling the audience of the "enormous" loss of wages in strikes. Two textile workers are introduced to tell why they are not striking. Ignorant of their real interests, they unwittingly sabotage the strike by their statements and the newsreel did no present a single spokesman in favor of the strike!

Millions of people have no way of forming opinions except through the news reels, and the commentator is a creator of public opinion of greater importance than all the editors in the country added together. And when the commentator permits himself viciously reactionary remarks, anti-labor sentiments and militarist propaganda a screen is being prostituted to serve reactionary and anti-social ends.

Readers are urged to copy down the exact text of such remarks and mail them in, and at the same time file vehement protest with their local theatre managers.

## The Basic Principles of the Modern Socialist Movement

By August Tyler

### Changes in Value

IN the previous article we pointed out how supply and demand caused continual but temporary fluctuations on the market. But in addition to these temporary changes there are certain more or less permanent changes in the value of a commodity. How do we account for this?

Labor carries on its production under various conditions, with varying skills and techniques. New ways, new sources, new energy for the production of various commodities are discovered. Old sources of raw material, of energy, and even old methods of production may be destroyed. These cause permanent changes in the number of socially necessary hours of labor time embodied in the various commodities.

A change in average skill or productivity causes a fairly permanent change, depending upon the permanence in the change of productivity, in the value of a commodity. This does not invalidate the labor theory of value; it confirms it. EVERY CHANGE IN VALUE CAN BE TRACED TO A CHANGE IN THE AMOUNT OF LABOR NECESSARY TO PRODUCE THE COMMODITY.

### The Fetishism of Commodities

IT often happens that symbols obscure the thing they are meant to represent. This is especially true of the commodity.

It is clear from the labor theory of value that a commodity is merely a symbol, a representation of a certain number of hours of labor. A single commodity represents the contribution of a producer or group of producers to the collective wealth of a society. Commodity production is a form of social production and the commodity is merely a symbolic representation of the part played by an individual or group of individuals in this collective process.

At first this is not at all obvious. It might be obvious in a primitive form of society, but it is not in our present system. Let us compare the two.

"Let us take a potter and a cultivator, considering them first as members of an Indian communistic village community, and secondly as commodity producers. In the first case, they both work in the same manner for the community; one hands over his pots, the other the fruits of his labor in the fields; one receives his share of the fruits of the field, the other his share of the pots. In the second case, each carries on private work independently for himself, but each works not only for himself

but also for others. Then they exchange their products, and it is probable that one receives the same quantity of cereals and the other as many pots as formerly. It seems that nothing has been altered in essentials, and yet the two processes are fundamentally different.

"In the first case it is obvious that society is the force which brings the various types of labor into connection, which causes one to work for the other, and directly assigns to each his share in the product of the labor of others. In the second case each person apparently works for himself, and the manner in which he obtains the products of others does not seem to be attributable to the social character of their labor, but to the peculiarities of the product itself. It does not now seem that the potter and the cultivator work for each other, and that consequently pottery work and cultivation are necessary for civilization, but that certain mystical qualities inhere in the pots and the field produce which bring about their exchange in certain proportions. The relation between persons, which determines the social character of labor, assumes the appearance of a relation between things, viz.: products, under the system of commodity production. So long as the production was directly socialized, it was subject to the decisions and directions of society, and the relations of producers to each other were manifest.

"As soon, however, as various kinds of work were carried on by individuals independently of each other; as soon, therefore, as production became planless, the relations of producers to each other appeared as the relations of products."

The power of one commodity to command another in exchange no longer appeared as an outgrowth of the fact that the commodity merely represented a certain portion of the total system of production in a commodity, but as some mystical quality inherent in the commodity, similar to its weight, or color, though somewhat less substantial.

Just as the early primitive men set up little fetishes and ascribed powers to them which they never possessed, so many bourgeois economists have made a fetish of the commodity. They search its soul to find what it is that gives it its power of exchange value. They will never learn. The secret lies in an investigation of the total system of social production, of which each commodity is merely a symbolic portion.

(Continued next week)



## The Workers Abroad

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

By William M. Feigenbaum  
(Batting for Mark Khinoy)

#### Fifty Years of Vooruit

THESE are days of anniversary celebrations in the older Socialist movements of Europe. Vooruit ("Forward"), the great Socialist daily published in Ghent in the Flemish language, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary September 2.

The Brussels *Le Peuple*, principal Socialist daily of Belgium, writes that the story of Vooruit is, in effect, the story of the Socialist movement in Flanders and among the Flemish-speaking workers of Belgium. The paper was founded by Edouard Anseele, one of the greatest of the Socialist pioneers, who was also the founder of the great cooperative Vooruit, one of the most notable organizations of the kind in the world.

*Le Peuple* tells a fascinating story of the founding of Vooruit—which is virtually the same story as that of every other Socialist publication, with, of course, differences in detail. Today, after fifty years, the Belgian comrades can look back with pride at the work the pioneers of their Old Guard did so unselfishly, so wisely and so nobly.

#### United Front in Italy

A UNITED anti-fascist front of the Socialist and Communist parties has at last emerged out of the underground revolutionary movement of Italy. Delegations representing the Italian Socialist and Communist parties held meetings July 27th and 31st and August 6th and 17th, out of which came a pact for united action against fascism.

The Socialist spokesmen frankly state that the one obstacle to united action hitherto was "The Communist theory of 'Social Fascism' [that is denouncing all Socialists as allies of fascism], and their tactics of 'United Front' as a cover for a maneuver directed against the Socialist parties." The Socialist spokesmen then make the highly significant statement:

"The Italian Socialist Party notes that the Communist Party of Italy has broken with the theory of 'Social Fascism' by the very fact that it has addressed to the Socialist Party proposals for an agreement."

At the same time, the Socialist Party notes that in Austria, in Germany and in Russia itself the intense Communist antagonism to the Socialists continues unabated. However, unwilling to contribute to the continuance of the fratricidal struggle the Italian comrades were willing to sign a pact for united action and faithfully to keep their bargain.

The two parties agree to maintain their separate integrity of organization and their own discipline; but they pledge themselves to cease attacking each other and to work together toward the overthrow of fascism.

While the Socialist and Communist parties continue to work underground in Italy, there is a Socialist Concentration in Paris, a party in exile. Pietro Nenni, one of the leaders of the Concentration, writes explaining that with the signing of the pact the whole face of the Italian anti-fascist struggle changes. Hitherto, with the bitter hostility of the Communists facing them, the Concentration tended to seek its allies among liberals and those to whom democracy is an end in itself. With the new pact the balance shifts to the working class, and on that basis the war will be waged from now on.

#### Northern Socialism Holds Congress

REPRESENTATIVES of the political and industrial central Labor organizations in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden met in conference at Stockholm, August 17th and 18th. The conference received reports on the political and industrial conditions and on the prospects in the various countries.

In the unanimous opinion of the conference it appears that the Socialist and Labor parties and the trade unions in all the countries concerned follow completely parallel lines in regard to the important questions of internal politics, as, for example, the method used in the struggle against unemployment, extraordinary measures against the agricultural crisis and the endeavor to arrange constitutional life and conditions of life in a way leading to greater security for the working masses.

It was also clearly demonstrated that all the parties are on the same line in the struggle for the maintenance of democracy, popular government and popular liberties. Accordingly, the basis is provided for collaboration embracing the labor movements of all these countries. This collaboration cannot as yet be expressed in a joint Northern committee of collaboration, because the Norwegian Labor Party and the Norwegian Trade Union Center do not belong to the respective international organizations to which the political and industrial Labor organizations of the other countries are affiliated. They must in consequence continue by means of conferences on social, economic and political questions of particular interest to the Northern countries.

After the conclusion of the conference with the Nor-

(Continued on Page Seven)

# A WORLD REELING

IT is near the end of the fifth year of the depression and the middle of the second year of the New Deal. For eighteen months statesmen, economists, politicians, lawyers, bankers, capitalists and journalists have wrestled with the terrific problems bequeathed them by the blunderers and muddlers who went before. For eighteen months they have tried everything . . . to no avail.

Under the leadership of President Roosevelt they have been willing to take a chance with any plan, any new set-up, any blueprint if only they could get the wheels of industry turning again, restore employment, get money back into circulation and thus get the tottering system back on its feet.

Only one thing they would not do; only one thing did they balk at. They would make any changes except one; they would not disturb the profit system. Their aim was to bolster up and strengthen the price and profit system. They were even willing to allow workers to organize and fight for better wages, but their one great aim was to stabilize the system.

And now, after eighteen months, after passionate hopes had flamed in the hearts of millions and masses had begun to look up again, what do we see?

THERE are ten millions or more without jobs. That great fact sticks out like a sore thumb.

The great hopes of NRA have not been fulfilled. Millions are still jobless and millions more find their wages reduced, their hope for a decent life thwarted and frustrated.

There are PWA projects, and TVA projects, and RFC financing, and AAA aid; there are CCC camps and millions today have little jobs and some subsistence where only recently they had nothing at all but promises that turned to dust and ashes at their lips. But these jobs and allotments and aid are but temporary, and when they end the hopes of the millions temporarily saved from absolute starvation will end. And the work they secure is at miserable pay, upon which men cannot maintain themselves with respect.

Today millions are rapidly descending into a pauper class. Today millions have nothing but artificial government aid that in its very nature must be temporary.

THE Blue Eagle screams. General Johnson blusters and pounds the table and shouts swear words. He threatens to "crack down" . . . but as days and weeks and months pass his "cracking down" is more and more upon the organized workers. He leaped into the San Francisco strike area and shouted that a general strike is an "insurrection." He threw himself—uninvited—into the textile strike situation and told the workers that they had no right to strike—against intolerable conditions, such conditions as he himself had so often in his spread-eagle speeches denounced.

The Blue Eagle's scream is dying down to a thin whine. It does not protect the masses; it is rapidly becoming a shield for those who would press down the masses into the mire.

BREAD lines lengthen. More and more people depend upon relief, and the relief is becoming more and more attenuated. In city after city the funds available for the job of keeping workers from literally starving to death are drying up.

In New York, because the city is tied and hamstrung by an agreement with bankers to pay hundreds of millions of dollars in interest on



indebtedness (largely on swollen and fraudulent valuations) there are hundreds of thousands of people who do not know where their next meal is coming from. The bankers get their interest; but the three hundred thousand families who have no means to live except the pitiful relief they have been getting are tossed out to starve. And who cares?

MEN and women and children starve in the cities when on the land the crops are plentiful and

the generous acres smile with golden grain.

Farmers and their wives and their children starve and their cattle die when the rain ceases and there is drought and the streams dry up and there is bitter lamentation in the land.

BANKS burst with money and gamblers struggle on the floors of the stock exchanges; money is made by the tens of millions of dollars, dividends rise, profits are

piled mount and gladness there are no profits, even Working jobs must be bitter that tions of a to be able And wh struggles right by Johnson



# LABOR SECTION

## Millions of Unemployed to Demonstrate October 24 for National Relief Program

By M. V. Holushka

CHICAGO.—Millions of unemployed throughout the nation are expected to take part in simultaneous demonstrations before city and county relief boards on Saturday, November 24, to demand immediate action on a national program for the unemployed, according to the plans of the National Committee of Action composed of representatives of unemployed organizations of 15 states, which closed a two day conference at Chicago on Sunday.

The organizations participating in the conference were the National Unemployed League, Illinois Workers Alliance, Eastern Federation of Unemployed and Emergency Workers, American Workers Union, Wisconsin Federation of Workers Committees, Florida Federation of Unemployed Leagues, and Fort Wayne (Ind.) Unemployed League. These represent a total membership of more than 750,000 unemployed.

At the time of the local and state demonstrations, a committee representing the nation's unemployed will present demands to the administration in Washington.

The demands include:

### Demand of Jobless

1. That the government undertake an extensive system of public works to provide work for the unemployed upon the basis of \$30 per week for a 30-hour week, with the payment of skilled or trade union rates where such are higher.
2. That the Lundeen Unemployment Insurance Bill be enacted.
3. That, pending the passage of unemployment insurance legislation, direct cash relief at the rate of \$10 a week for a single person, \$15 a week for a family of two, and \$4 a week for each additional person be paid.
4. That the right of all workers on public projects to organize and engage in collective bargaining be granted.
5. That representatives of organized unemployed before relief administrators be recognized.
6. That Federal adequate disability compensation be paid on all public works; also to and from the jobs be provided.
7. That all war funds be turned over for unemployment relief.

### Can't Exist on Promises

In a statement issued by the National Action Committee at its conference, its spokesman said:

"The unemployed can not and will not continue to exist on promises and to be fed on starvation relief. We have waited patiently through five bitter years of unemployment and one and a half years of the new deal, for jobs or a decent standard of relief. Both have been denied us. We well know that a wave of reaction is sweeping the country aiming to cut down even the miserable standards upon which we live, and to deprive the unemployed of their citizenship by taking away their vote.

"We will not endure these things. Instead we demand that we be provided with jobs at living wages, unemployment insurance, or cash relief upon which we can live in decency and respect. A new Congress will meet in January which will determine in a great measure the fate of the unemployed for the next few years. We are calling upon all unemployed throughout

the nation to demonstrate on Saturday, Nov. 24, for our demands; and to make that day a display of the determination of the unemployed to secure jobs and stop starvation."

The conference also pledged solidarity and complete support to the striking textile workers.

### Unemployed Won't Scab

"The unemployed will not scab, but will fight with the strikers to win their demands," the conference declared in its motion.

The organizations included the unemployed of the following states: Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, West Virginia, New York, Maryland, Indiana, Connecticut, North Carolina, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Florida, and Kansas.

David Lasser of New York, chairman of the Workers Unemployed Union, was elected provisional chairman and Paul Rassmussen of Illinois, provisional secretary.

Following the demonstrations on Nov. 24, a call will be issued for a congress of representatives of

### QUINLAN CLUBBED AND HELD; BOYS AND GIRLS BEATEN BY DEPUTIES

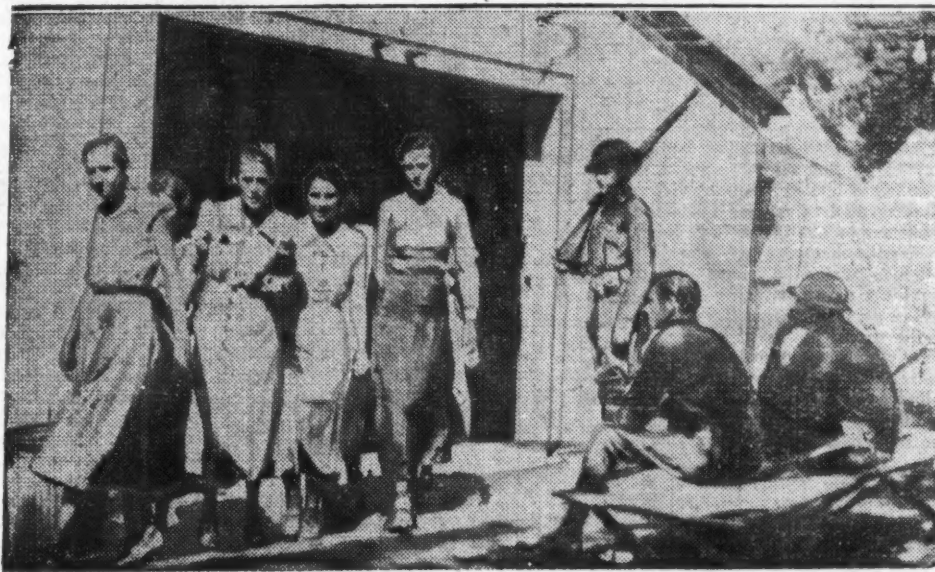
LANCASTER, Pa.—State troopers and Lancaster police and deputy sheriffs concentrated at Manheim Township for the second time Tuesday to block picketing by textile workers of the Stehli Silk Mills. Twenty-two pickets were arrested after being brutally beaten. They were held in \$1,000 bail each.

Organizer Patrick Quinlan, for twenty years a union organizer and strike leader, was dragged into the mill by the deputies, clubbed, and then held in \$10,000 bail. "We'll give this guy a ride," county police officials declared.

Among the others viciously clubbed and suffering fractured heads are two boys, 19 years old, and one girl, 17. City police are acting as deputy sheriffs, assisting town constables, deputies and state cossacks in attempting to smash the picket lines and break the strike.

unemployed organizations to be held in Washington in January 1935 for the purpose of consolidating all existing unemployed groups into a strong national organization.

Below we see a picture of Hitlerism Americanized: A Georgia concentration camp where strikers are to be interned for the "duration of war." Only the swastika is missing; the goose step is understood.



## Tear Gas Plants on War Time Basis

By Hy Fish

CLEVELAND.—The general textile strike has its good points—even for some of the industrialists.

The Lake Erie Chemical Co. of this city claims that near "war time" activities were resumed at the plant, one of the largest private tear gas manufacturing companies in the nation, as a result of the textile strike.

A. S. Ailes, sales manager for the company, disclosed that the company, already working day and night shifts of 40 men each, had added another 80 men to its payroll. He revealed also that his company had supplied practically all the tear gas used against striking automobile parts workers in Toledo and in the San Francisco longshoremen's strike.

### Tear Gas Costs Money

Declining to give the exact figures, Ailes said: "Tear gas is very expensive. The demand for it has been unusually heavy all summer because of strike troubles and

threatened walkouts."

"Do you recall the threatened steel strike?" he asked. "Well, many of the large steel companies laid in heavy stocks of tear gas at that time."

Ailes disclosed that he had sent two salesmen into New England and others in the South in anti-

### Socialists to Hail World Labor Head Tuesday in N. Y.

WALTER M. CITRINE, secretary of the British Trade Union Congress, and president of the International Federation of Trade Unions, is coming to America at the invitation of William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, to address the convention of the American A. F. of L., which opens in San Francisco October 1, 1934.

Representatives of the American (Continued on page 2-L)

## Textile Strikers Firm; Troops Mass North and South to Fight Workers

(Continued from Page One)

guardsmen using tear gas to disperse strikers and arresting six of 200 pickets at the Lockwood Manufacturing Co. One striker, Fred Rickard, was sentenced to six months in jail for being around when the militia started ganging up on the strikers.

### Militia on Guard

Over 800 guardsmen are on duty in Maine helping the textile bosses. In August "everything is quiet" as the Edwards Manufacturing Co. strikers attended the mass funeral of Jose Nodeck, 21-year-old striker "accidentally" killed by a high tension wire stretched where it didn't belong. The Manville Jenkes Corporation, scene of the death of another striker a week ago, will attempt to re-open today. At Saylesville, Rhode Island, where bloody fighting took place recently, the finishing company re-opened its plant under militia protection, but few workers took advantage of the well-guarded opportunity to return to work.

Nine more mills were reported re-opening in the South, a few thousand employees returning to the smaller plants, especially in Georgia, where martial law has been declared. With the death in Charlotte, N. C., of Ernest E. Riley, striker bayoneted by militia at Belmont, the Southern situation has become extremely tense. Martial law may be declared in other states. Strikers maintain their picket lines, despite intimidation, and flying squadrons continue to shut down mills and keep them shut.

### Interned for "Duration"

The total of men and women strikers "interned" in concentration camps has increased to 140, it is reported, and the nation-wide tide of resentment against these fascist tactics continues to mount as guard officers declare they will keep their prisoners interned for "the duration of the war." What makes the situation even more ominous is the formation of vigilante "committees of citizens" similar to the Ku Klux Klan anti-labor groups of former years. They will "assist the police and militia in maintaining order and resisting strikers' attempts to injure the mills or create disorder," is the way the vigilantes' leaders explained their purpose. But anybody with strike experience knows what the real function of vigilantes is.

At a number of towns, like Spartanburg, S. C., and other centers, tear gas and fire hose supplemented the clubs of deputies in "maintaining order." But everywhere the strikers are advancing or holding their lines intact. If this is war—as the presence of strikers, the use of barbed wire and the latest tear gas and the institution of internment camps seem to indicate—strikers are determined that they will keep up their end of it.

### "Just Military Prisoners,"

#### That's All

"We are holding these strikers simply as military prisoners under military law until the strike emergency is over," National Guard General Camp told reporters. "No formal charges have been preferred against them, but they may be held on complaints ranging from insurrection to resisting military authorities."

Another factor that swells the wave of workers' animosity against the mill bosses and stiffens their resistance is the fact that evictions have already started in mill villages, workers and their families being thrown on the street.

Gorman's telegram to Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia follows:

"From your conduct I am convinced you do not understand the issues in the strike, or your duties and obligations toward the people of your State.

### Flays Governor

"I ask you to remember that workers also have rights. You have proven yourself an arch enemy of labor using the armed forces of your State to drive men back into starvation conditions and absolute subservience to mill owners. Your troops have destroyed civil rights and make a mockery of your State laws.

"You do not seem to even be aware that the United States Constitution exists or that there are (Continued on Page 3-L)



## LABOR QUIZZES CANDIDATES ON THEIR POLICIES

CANDIDATES of all parties for the United States are in receipt of letters from the American Federation of Labor asking their stand on various industrial questions. A questionnaire is enclosed in each letter. The letters are sent pursuant to the federation's "elect your friends, defeat your enemies" "non-partisan" policy, which has met with so much criticism from workers alive to their political interests. At the forthcoming A. F. of L. convention it is expected that the question of launching an independent political party of labor, favored by a number of recent union conventions, will be raised. Meanwhile the matter is of interest as showing that labor is at least aware of the importance of political action and knows how representatives should vote when they get to Congress.

The letter sent by President Green to candidates for the 435 House and 35 Senatorial posts follows:

"We are receiving requests from every Congressional district in the United States for legislative records of candidates for the United States Senate and House of Representatives on measures of interest to labor. The American Federation of Labor, therefore, has prepared a number of questions which are being submitted to all candidates.

### Cites Need for Program

"Then there will be a social justice legislative program presented to Congress which will provide for old age pensions, unemployment insurance, work security and health insurance. There is pressing necessity for further appropriations for public works. The horrors of previous Winters should not be permitted to continue. Such appropriations will be a partial remedy at least for unemployment and for the relief of the independent unemployed workers and their families.

"In order that we can give the 108 national and international unions, forty-eight State Federations of Labor, 900 city central bodies and 30,000 local unions the necessary information I am herewith submitting to you six questions which I hope you will answer and return to me as soon as possible.

"Very truly yours,

"WILLIAM GREEN,

"President, American Federation of Labor."

### Questions Posed

Candidates are asked to answer the following questions:

"Will you vote for the extension of the National Recovery Act and retain therein Section 7A, providing for the right to organize and bargain collectively; the prohibition of child labor and the elimination of unfair trade practices?"

"Will you support social justice legislation providing for old age pensions, unemployment insurance, work security and health protection?"

"Will you vote for a measure providing that all codes under the National Recovery Act should contain a thirty-hour week and six-hour day?"

"Will you support legislation similar to the Wagner-Lewis bill introduced in the last session of Congress providing for unemployment insurance?"

"Will you support legislation similar to the Wagner-Connery Labor Dispute bill with amendments drafted and supported by the American Federation of Labor?"

"Will you support legislation providing appropriations necessary for a public works program as a partial remedy for unemployment and for independent unemployed workers and their families?"

## Lessons of 'Frisco General Strike

*Resurgence of Life in Coast Labor Movement Seen as One Result Of Great Stoppage—Value of Political Action and Need For Workers' Own Press Emphasized*

By Samuel S. White

[Comrade White is manager of Cloakmakers' Union, Local No. 8, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. He was a delegate from that union to the San Francisco General Strike Committee, and sat on the executive committee of the strike committee. He is a member of the California State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and Socialist congressional candidate in the fourth district, San Francisco.]

SAN FRANCISCO.—It is becoming increasingly evident that the San Francisco general strike marks a gigantic step forward for the labor movement of that area and the entire Pacific coast. The general strike was the first effective challenge to the Industrial Association, the organized tool of anti-union, predatory capital in the Bay area, since the close of the World War.

Labor can truly claim that it won the general strike, for it came out of that magnificent demonstration of solidarity much stronger than it entered. It reestablished itself as a force to be reckoned with in the industrial life of the communities that surround San Francisco bay. No more will the Industrial Association have things its own way, as was generally true prior to the general strike.

Organized labor, it has been unfortunately too true, has been lethargic in this area for more than a decade, ever since the building trades unions were defeated by the industrialists in the post-war "open shop" drive. Now organized labor has returned to the struggle with renewed vigor.

It has regained a vitality, a militancy, a feeling of strength and power it has lacked for many years. It has seemed to me, as I see the resurgence of life in the local labor movement, that a giant has just awakened from a long sleep, stretching and exercising his benumbed muscles preparatory to doing the work that must be done.

The most important gain of the general strike, and one that cannot easily be evaluated, is the restoration to labor of its self-respect. The downtrodden workers, kicked around for these past years by the organized industrialists, found that they still possessed manhood enough to dump their oppressors off their backs. They will never again be in San Francisco and neighboring cities the same docile wage slaves that they were.

### Showed Labor's Might

The great united stoppage which turned a teeming metropolitan area overnight into a group of overgrown villages bereft of traffic, whirling mills and busy stores and offices, gave the workers a taste of the power that can easily be theirs, if they will but consciously organize to obtain it. And thus while the strike, a magnificent example of working class solidarity, served notice on the nation's exploiters that labor can and will fight back when it is pushed to the wall; it also demonstrated to the workers themselves their potential might and gave them a brief, passing vision of what the working class can do when it organizes fully, on the political as well as the industrial field.

The general strike itself was indicative of a new spirit among the workers, for it welled up from the very depths of the rank and file. This was no strike engineered by the leadership above or stirred up by a handful of "agitators." It came in spite of the traditions, the history, the organization, the very

constitution, of the American Federation of Labor. The mass of workers wanted a general strike, and they called it. The sentiment for a general strike was in the air for several weeks prior to its calling. There was no stopping that sentiment.

### Revolt Against Finance

The strike itself was a disciplined orderly uprising against the financial influences that control every phase of our present day society. There was practically no violence on the part of the 100,000 men and women who laid down their tools. What violence there was came as the result of the raids of police and vigilantes on working class headquarters. The general strike committee of 500 or more laboring men and women, gathering on overnight notice, deliberated in a fashion and spirit that left no doubt in the mind of any believer in a workers' world as to the ability of

the working class to govern itself and the nation.

The general strike, moreover, was a school in labor policies and tactics for those who participated in the deliberations of the general strike committee and the activities of the component unions. It was a testing ground for the old and the new in labor philosophies.

Practically every unionist who spoke on the floor of the general committee agreed that the day of craft strikes is at an end. They foresaw the dawning day of the industrial and even of the general strike. The general strike threw the class struggle into such naked form that even the most ignorant or conservative trades unionist could clearly see it, and with the realization of the never-ending struggle between organized capital and organized labor, the exploiter and the exploited, came the consciousness that labor must fight its enemy not in small craft groups, but in large industrial units. Carried to its logical conclusion, the increasing belief that industrial must replace craft unionism may remake the American labor movement. It is therefore particularly significant that the American Federation of Labor meets this year in San Francisco, the city of the general strike.

### Importance of Labor Press

The San Francisco working class movement has had burned into its consciousness the importance of a labor press. The capitalist papers, with their headlines designed to stir up strife among the unionists and to inflame public opinion against the strikers, were damned on every side as the lying tool of the ruling class. It was not strange, therefore, that on the very day after the strike was called off a representative of the Longshoremen's Association should introduce a resolution in San Francisco Labor Council, which met with a great deal of approval, calling for establishment of a labor daily in the city.

### Value of Political Action

And finally, labor learned the value of political action. It learned that gigantic economic efforts like the general strike, if not doomed to failure are at least faced with almost unsurmountable obstacles when the political power is in the control of the employing class. There would have been a different story to tell had labor controlled the city government and the state government. Even the Public Utilities Commission, which governs the unionized Municipal Railway, which organized labor itself established a quarter of a century ago and which it has staunchly defended against the attacks of bankers and utility interests down to this day, was found at the time of crisis to be in the hands of its enemy. The Industrial Association used the Commission as a club to drive the unionized municipal street car workers back to their jobs, the first break in the solid ranks of the strikers.

If labor takes the lessons of the general strike to heart it will begin at once to build for the final conflict between capital and labor which is inevitable. The workers will begin at once to organize themselves industrially into strong, solid unions. Workers will support to the full extent of their means the labor press, including the Socialist Press. And most of all, workers will begin at once to build their own political party, the Socialist Party, pledged to the emancipation of the working class from the chains which bind it to the grindstone of the exploiters.

## Kohler Defies Labor Board

KOHLER, Wis. — Walter J. Kohler, former Republican governor, founder of this "model" town, member of the NRA code compliance authority for heavy industries and president of the strike-locked Kohler bath fixtures company, whose thugs killed one striker and wounded others, now denies the authority of the national labor relations board to award collective bargaining rights to the majority group of his employees. He will demand a court test on whether the majority group shall act as bargaining agent for all employees or whether the Kohler company can deal with two or more groups, including the company-organized Kohler Workers' Association.

The labor relations board had ruled that a secret election be held after the failure of federal mediators to settle the differences between the management and members of Federal Labor Union No. 18545 of the A. F. of L.

The labor board held that the Kohler company had violated section 7A of the national industrial recovery act in interfering with the "free and unhampered" organization of workers.

The firm's activity in organizing the company union immediately after employees evidenced a desire to form a regular labor union constituted a violation of the NRA, the board found.

The board gave Walter Kohler five days in which to agree to comply with its ruling. What it will do in event of continued defiance is problematic, but based on past experience, workers expect only that the Blue Eagle will be withdrawn.

### SOCIALISTS TO GREET CITRINE

(Continued from Page 1-L)

Federation of Labor will extend an official welcome to Mr. Citrine when he arrives at New York on September 25, on his way to San Francisco. Spokesmen for the Socialist Party will also be on hand, since Comrade Citrine is a member of the British Labor Party and an outspoken Socialist.

As president of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Mr. Citrine represents 17,000,000 trade unionists. Because of the international character of many labor problems, his address will carry a special interest for the forthcoming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

## STEVEDORES STAND PAT ON WAGE AND HOUR DEMANDS

A DECISION to stand pat on their demands for higher wages and a shorter work-week was made by a committee of delegates of the International Longshoremen's Association (A. F. of L. union) meeting in New York Wednesday after having presented these demands to representatives of the New York Shipping Association for inclusion in a new labor agreement. The present pact expires October 1. The workers' delegates represent 40,000 stevedores in ports extending from Hampton Roads, Virginia, to Portland, Me. Deep sea and inter-coastal ship lines are affected.

President Ryan of the I.L.A. declared that the international union would go to bat with employers at a meeting Wednesday at 2 p. m. The other delegates are on their way back to their cities to consult with the membership of their local unions and will return by Wednesday. The shipping magnates refused to accede to demands for \$1 an hour straight time and \$1.50 overtime instead of 85 cents and \$1.20, respectively, and a thirty-hour week instead of a forty-four-hour week.

Cooperating with the longshoremen has been the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs and Helpers in efforts to consolidate all transportation workers along the waterfronts.

Mr. Ryan is now in Washington to confer on codes affecting harbor services, such as towing and tug operations.

In an endeavor to break the hold of the Truckmen's Union on freight at the city piers, the Newark and Brooklyn Chambers of Commerce are planning to institute legal action. An injunction first in the state and then in the federal courts will be sought to compel freight checkers working for the ship lines on the piers to serve all shippers, regardless of whether the men employed on the trucks are affiliated with the union or not.

Ten commercial organizations in the port district complained recently to Dock Commissioner John McKenzie that the checkers, affiliated with the International Longshoremen's Association, had held up the freight of scores of shippers when truckmen were unable to prove they were paid-up members of the Inter'l Brotherhood of Teamsters. This union has an agreement with the longshoremen's association under which an attempt is being made to unionize all employees in the freight-handling business on the waterfront.

Ryan declared that the I.L.A. will continue to stand by the Teamster's Union.

### PROGRESSIVES IN KNIT UNION WIN

A clean sweep for the "progressives" was the result of the elections held by the two knitgoods locals affiliated with the Knitgoods Workers' Joint Council of the A. F. of L., Local 155, of the I.L.G. W.U., and Local 155, of the U.T.W., including about 7,000 workers in the knitting and the manufacturing of knitted outerwear garments.

Louis Nelson, the progressive group candidate for manager of the Joint Council, defeated Shapiro, candidate of the so-called "left opposition group," which works hand in hand with the Communists' dual "Knitgoods Industrial Union." Nelson, hitherto chairman of Dr. makers' Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., received 75% of the vote.

In both locals the entire "progressive" slate was elected. The new administration pledges itself to fight to "enforce the gains of the last general strike, to strengthen the union and to drive ahead for the improvement of the condition of the workers."



# Why Not a City Lottery?

## If the Bankers Must Have Their Money and There's No Other Way

**W**ELL, why shouldn't New York run a lottery to make a little money? Why shouldn't the greatest city in the world peddle lottery tickets and hold out the hope of \$25,000 prizes on investments of \$2.50 so that \$15,000,000 or so might be raised to apply on the city's deficit?

And while they are about it, why not start a dog track—with pari-mutual embellishments—to help out? The city might also run a gambling joint with the conventional equipment of *rouge et noir*, croupiers, ladies and gentlemen in evening attire trying to work out a system to break the bank and everything the movies have familiarized us with; and a nice place to shoot crap, with an illuminated motto on the wall: "Come on, Baby, Teacher Needs New Step-ins."

Why not? The city needs money, and it must be raised somehow. The city's business must be carried on, the police force must be paid, the water system must be maintained, the schools must be kept up, and the city officials must get their salaries.

Of course, there are other things that have got to be taken care of, too. For example, there is the city's little outstanding debt of \$2,185,887,261, mainly owed to the bankers, upon which there is an annual interest charge of \$93,799,132, and over \$100,000,000 in sinking fund or amortization charges. That money must be raised somehow, and paid. For under the Bankers' Agreement it is a first charge upon the city, to be met even before the Mayor and the street-cleaners get their pay. It was only upon such an understanding that the bankers were willing to continue to finance the city upon the beginning of the LaGuardia administration—at a heavy profit to themselves.

Of course, there are other ways the city might finance itself.

It might levy a heavy tax on all stock transactions and upon the big profits of the utilities—but the bankers wouldn't like that.

It might ask the Legislature to levy a steeply graduated income tax—but the bankers would not like that, either.

It might break the bankers' hold-up agreement and reduce the interest rate, or declare a moratorium on paying interest on the colossal city debt and thus save hundreds of millions of dollars. Everybody else has had to take a big cut. Now it's the bankers' turn. Such a step would have a fighting chance in the courts, especially since the recent Minnesota decision of the Supreme Court. Further, a fight on the bankers to break the grip they have on the city would be a highly popular proceeding—with the tortured masses. But the bankers would dislike that very cordially.

The city might establish a municipal bank to do its own banking, through which to market its own securities and to handle the banking business of its 150,000 employees. But that would give the bankers a case of acute apoplexy.

All these things—and many more—might be done by the city to solve its financial problems, but they have one terrible defect. They would remove the burden from the overtaxed, overworked, underpaid and exploited masses and make the bankers and the exploiters disgorge some of their ill-gotten loot for the benefit of the masses.

The LaGuardia administration knows all these things, and there are plenty of men in that administration who know that the only real way to meet the city's financial problems is to follow a program approximately as indicated here.

But it happens that LaGuardia was elected on a There-Are-No-Economic-Issues-in-This-Campaign program, and bankers and brokers, real estate speculators and utility magnates, exploiters and landlords rallied to his support. And they paid the bills of his campaign. And they supplied the votes. And they contributed their organizations.

And so they are collecting. The city cannot permit itself to go broke. And the bankers and exploiters will not allow it to follow the only plan that will save it without adding burdens to the masses.

There is an election in November, and by the election of Harry W. Laidler, Socialist candidate for Controller, a tremendous impetus will be given that program.

Indeed, even if Laidler is not elected but if a great vote is cast for the ticket that he heads, there will be enormous impetus for that program.

Otherwise, the city might as well start a lottery. Or even send unemployed onto the streets with tin cans to collect money to pay the bankers their interest on the two billion dollar debt.

## Y.P.S.L. Asks for Joint War On Fascist Students

The Young People's Socialist League, with authority from both national and city bodies, sent out a call to the five other radical youth organizations of New York City for a united front demonstration Oct. 12 in protest against the Yankee Stadium pageant and field day of some 300 Italian fascist students sent over from Italy on a "good will tour."

In sending out proposed conditions for united action, the Yipsels are making an effort to rally the Young Communist League, the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the National Student League, the Spartacus Youth League (Trotskyite), and the Communist Youth Opposition (Lovestonite) together.

## Dr. Sadoff on Russia Today

Dr. Louis Sadoff, who has just returned from an extensive trip through Soviet Russia, will lecture Friday night, September 21, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St. Comrade Sadoff made a similar trip three years ago, and found to his dismay that much has changed for the worse in this short period of time.

His subject will be: "Soviet Russia, After Three Years."

## Big West Side Rally at Pythian Temple Oct. 2

One of the biggest rallies of the campaign will be held under the auspices of the West Side Branch at the Pythian Temple, 135 West 70th Street, on Tuesday, October 2nd, at 8:15 P. M. A large audience is expected to hear Norman Thomas, Charles Solomon, Harry W. Laidler, William Karlin, Frank Crosswaith, and Henry Fruchter. August Claessens will be the chairman.

For reserved or general free tickets apply to Room 504, 100 West 72nd Street, or at the Pythian Temple.

## HUNDREDS HONOR ALBERT HALPERN

**S**EVERAL hundred comrades and friends of the late Albert Halpern, who died last Thursday morning, paid honor to his memory at an impressive funeral service Friday noon at the Workmen's Circle mortuary on Grand Street.

The large parlor was jammed with men and women from every section of the Socialist movement, large delegations being present from the party, the Jewish Daily Forward, the Workmen's Circle and the Rand School, with all of which institutions Halpern had been connected.



There were brief but heartfelt speeches by Morris Berman and Algernon Lee, after which the body was taken for burial to Mount Carmel Cemetery in Queens, where lie many of the heroes of the Socialist and Labor movement.

With Comrade Halpern there passed one of the few survivors of the old William Morris Educational Society which thirty-three years ago carried on Socialist educational work in Brownsville. That organization became the powerful Socialist Party of Brownsville in later years. Of the original members only two are still alive and active in the party.

The following is a letter sent by The New Leader staff to Henry Halpern, son of the late comrade, himself an active Socialist and member of The New Leader Board of Management:

Dear Comrade Henry:

Of all the hardships that we of The New Leader staff have had to face none equals that of the death of your father and our comrade, Albert Halpern. Through years of association with him we learned to appreciate his jovial nature and to acquire a deep affection for him. Generous to a fault, he gave of himself and of his resources to the cause he loved to the very end.

His tragic end came as a shock to all of us. He was one of the most devoted workers for The New Leader and always took a keen interest in its problems. On every occasion when the outlook was gloomy, it was Comrade Halpern's genial influence that helped us to face difficulties and to overcome them. We do not recall a single remark ever uttered by him that ever discouraged us in our work.

This is signed with a genuine sense of deep grief over the loss of one whom we could ill-afford to lose. We shall always cherish his memory and recall with satisfaction that Comrade Halpern contributed his share to the building of a new civilization, one in which this chance-world of capitalism will only survive in the memory of the living as a hateful thing. If he grew weary in the struggle and desired to rest, we regret his choice

## REFERENDUM VOTING

### By the Office of Local New York

**W**E are listing the branches that will meet this week to vote on the Declaration of Principles. A very small number of branches have not as yet communicated with the City Office regarding notification to members for special meetings on the referendum balloting.

Branch officers are reminded that form letters are available at the City Office for use in mailing to members, and only such form letters are to be used. We will mimeograph such notices for each branch, with the fullest instructions covering the entire procedure of the referendum voting.

The voting must take place at only ONE MEETING. Members of the branches listed below, who for some reason may not actually receive a notice through the mails, are urged to attend the meetings anyway because the meetings listed below are officially held.

Those unable to attend the meetings because of illness, night work, etc., may receive absentee ballots by writing to Julius Gerber, 7 East 15th Street, New York. In writing for such absentee ballot, please enclose your party card.

All meetings are scheduled for 8 p. m. unless otherwise noted.

### FRIDAY, SEPT. 21

Manhattan  
Finnish Branch, 2056 5th Ave.  
8th A. D., 226 East 10th St.

Bronx  
1st A. D., 262 Cypress Ave.

### SATURDAY, SEPT. 22

Manhattan  
Russian Branch, 7 East 15th St.  
Cloakmakers' Branch, 1 p. m., at 131 W. 33th St., New York office of Joint Board Cloakmakers.

Queens  
5th A. D., 2803 Edgemere Ave., Far Rockaway.

### MONDAY, SEPT. 24

Manhattan  
Chelsea Branch, 433 W. 21st St.  
Village Branch, 201 Sullivan St.  
6th A. D., 95 Ave. B.  
Upper West Side, 100 W. 72nd St.  
23rd A. D., at Paramount Mansion, 183rd St. and St. Nicholas Ave.

Bronx  
6th A. D., at Pel Park Palace, 708 Lydig Ave.  
Jewish Branch 2, 809 Westchester Ave.

Brooklyn  
2nd-3rd-7th A. D., 614 Fourth Ave.  
11th A. D., at home of Kaplan, 1185 President St.  
21st A. D., 2307 Snyder Ave.

### TUESDAY, SEPT. 25

Manhattan  
4th A. D., 95 Ave. B.  
Morningside Heights Branch, 600 West 125th St.  
19th-21st A. D., 2005 Seventh Ave.  
11th A. D., at home of Fichandler, 301 West 106th St.

Bronx  
2nd A. D., 1 East 167th St.  
3rd A. D., 809 Westchester Ave.  
4th A. D., 809 Westchester Ave.  
5th A. D., 809 Westchester Ave.  
6th A. D. (Lower), 1137 Ward Ave.  
7th A. D., 769 Elmsere Place.

Brooklyn  
2nd A. D., Jewish, 579 Dumont Ave.  
Borough Park, 1377 42nd St.  
13th-19th A. D., 11 Arion Place.  
16th A. D., 6618 Bay Parkway.  
18th A. D., Branch 1, 1127 Eastern Parkway.  
18th A. D., Br. 2, 844 Utica Ave.  
22nd A. D., Br. 1, 864 Sutter Ave.  
23rd A. D., 219 Sackman St.  
Bay Ridge, at home of Karl M.

for we suffer a loss that cannot be replaced.

Accept from us the tender of our deep sorrow for the loss you and other members of the family, the Socialist movement and The New Leader have sustained.

Herstein, 121 70th St.  
Williamsburg, Jewish, 167 Tompkins Ave.

Queens  
Sunnyside, 4915 43rd St., Woodside.  
Flushing, Bus Terminal Building, Room 221.  
Ridgewood, 785 Forest Ave.

### WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 26

Bronx  
Jewish Branch 3, 3451 Giles Place.  
Brooklyn  
19th-20th A. D., at home of J. A. Weil, 88 Harmon St.  
Italian Branch, 21 Arion Place.

Queens  
Woodside, 49-15 43rd Ave.

### THURSDAY, SEPT. 27

Brooklyn  
Downtown Br., 157 Montague St.  
6th A. D., 167 Tompkins Ave.  
18th A. D., Jewish, 226 E. 39th St.  
22nd A. D., Br. 2, 639 Hendrix St.  
Amalgamated Clothing Workers, 5 p. m., at 25 Arison Place.

Queens  
Jackson Heights, 37-41 82nd St.

### FRIDAY, SEPT. 28

Manhattan  
German Branch, Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St.

Brooklyn  
12th A. D., at Ethical Culture School, 500 1st St.

Boro Park, Jewish, 1377 42nd St.

### MONDAY, OCTOBER 1

Queens  
Astoria, 3032 Steinway Ave.

## Vladeck Campaign Opens At Friday Meeting

The campaign in the Eighth Congressional District, where B. C. Vladeck is candidate for Congress and William M. Feigenbaum is candidate for the State Senate, will be formally launched Friday night, September 21st, at a campaign rally of party members and workers at the Savoy Mansion, 322 20th Avenue, Brooklyn.

In addition to Vladeck and Feigenbaum, there will be short talks by the local Assembly candidates, and by campaign manager Harry Kritzer.

The local ticket, headed by Vladeck, polled the largest Socialist vote in the East in that district in the election of 1930 and 1932. With an energetic campaign planned to begin at once and to continue without interruption until election time, the campaign committee asserts that victory is in sight.

## Musteites and Trotskyites In Merger

Steps were taken last week by the National Committee of the Communist League (Trotskyites) and the Provisional Organization Committee of the American Workers' Party (Musteites) for the fusion of the two organizations and the launching of a new radical party. The membership of the two groups approved the steps taken at two separate meetings.

**New York State**  
State Executive Committee. The committee met Tuesday evening to consider the action of the N.E.C. in connection with the Communist request for a "united front." Wednesday evening it gave a hearing on matters in Westchester County. It was the sense of the meeting Tuesday that there was no mandate either from the 1934 National Convention or the party membership which would permit the request of Communists for a "united front" on any issue to be entertained by the N.E.C.

**New York in Lead.** Membership figures compiled from National Office data show that New York State leads among states of large population in percentage of membership gained during the first seven months of 1934. This gain amounts to over 31 per cent as compared with the average for the year 1933. The percentage for New Jersey is 25, Pennsylvania 23, Connecticut 16, Massachusetts 9, Illinois 4, Ohio 2. A decline of 5 per cent is indicated for Wisconsin and 30 per cent for California.



# All Out for Town Hall Meeting

## Campaign Opens Sept. 30th with Star Cast

THE opening gun of the Socialist campaign will be fired on the evening of Sunday, September 30, when all our major candidates will speak at the annual Town Hall rally.

For the past five years the Socialist campaign in New York has been launched at a Town Hall meeting, the success of which has been a barometer of the intensity of the fight that follows. During the past three years the Town Hall meetings have been amazing successes, vast overflows unable to get into the hall being addressed from the marquee outside, the thousands singing and cheering for hours while the fine speeches were made within the hall.

The speakers list will be headed by Charles Solomon and Norman Thomas, candidates for Governor and United States Senator. They will be supported by William Karlin, candidate for Attorney General; Harry W. Laidler, candidate for Controller; Charles W. Noonan and August Claessens, candidates for Congressmen-at-Large, and Rachel Panken, Samuel Orr and B. C. Vladeck, candidates for Congress. State Chairman Louis Waldman will be chairman.

Tickets for the meeting are available at the party office, the office of The New Leader and all branch headquarters. Readers should mail in names and addresses of sympathizers who might desire tickets to the meeting.

## MORRIS HILLQUIT MEMORIAL MEETING



Morris Hillquit

ON Sunday afternoon, October 7th, at Town Hall, there will be held a memorial meeting for our late Comrade Morris Hillquit. Many labor unions and fraternal organizations are cooperating in making this meeting a worthy expression of the love and reverence in which Morris Hillquit has been held by all of us. Socialists, trade unionists and others are requested to make no other engagements for that afternoon and to join in honoring the memory of the late beloved leader of American Socialism.

## KARLIN WILL START SOAPBOX CAMPAIGN

William Karlin, candidate for Attorney General, will start his open-air campaign next Tuesday night, Sept. 25, with a meeting at 97th Street and Broadway. This meeting is being arranged as one of a series for this candidate by the Upper West Side Branch.

These open-air meetings will be Karlin's preliminary appearances in the Manhattan campaign, which culminate with a monster rally at Pythian Temple, 135 West 70th St., on Oct. 2, at which he will be one of the featured speakers. After this rally Comrade Karlin will take his campaign into other parts of the state.

The Upper West Side Branch is now conducting four street meetings per week—Tuesdays at 97th St. and Broadway, Wednesdays at 86th St. and Broadway, Thursdays at 79th St. and Broadway, and Fridays at 72nd St. and Broadway. The number of meetings will be doubled when the campaign gets into full swing in October.

## Rand School Opening to Be Broadcast Sunday Night

Workers' education over the radio will become a reality this fall through the cooperation between the Rand School and Station WEVD. A direct wire from the studios of the station has been installed in the various classrooms of the school at 7 East 15th Street, from which educational events will be broadcast throughout the year. The expense involved is being paid by Camp Tamiment.

The school's 29th year opens Monday, Sept. 23. The night before, an opening celebration will be held in the Debs Auditorium. The program will be broadcast over Station WEVD between 10 and 11 p. m.

The speakers will include Dr. Hendrik Willem Van Loon; Prof. Ned Dearborn, Director of Adult Education at New York University; Elmer Davis, famous journalist; Michael Strange, poet; Louis Waldman and Dr. Ernest Sutherland Bates. Algernon Lee, president of the school, will preside. Adele T. Katz will be in charge of a musical program.

Beginning Oct. 20, the Saturday luncheon-discussions of the Rand School will also be broadcast regularly. The school, in cooperation with The New Leader, is already broadcasting a series of programs every Tuesday night on the Socialist interpretation of current events.

## Alertness Credit for Rand School Courses

Teachers in the New York public school system who take "alertness courses" offered in the Rand School will receive full credit for them, according to Algernon Lee, president of the school, who announced last week that he had received official information to this effect from the State Department of Education at Albany.

The "alertness courses" will begin on Sept. 24. Five such courses are being offered. They are given in the afternoon from four to six o'clock.

## New Locals, Branches and Circles

COLORADO, Falcon; ILLINOIS, Chicago (YPSL 6 St.); Christopher, Decatur (YPSL); Zeigler; IOWA, Des Moines (2 new branches); KANSAS, Lawrence (YPSL); MARYLAND, Bloomington; MASSACHUSETTS, Ashburnham (YPSL); MICHIGAN, Frederic, Nashville; TOWER; MONTANA, Cartersville, Circle, Nashua, Rosebud, Thumow, Wolf Point; NEW YORK, Bronx (YPSL 14 Jr.), Brooklyn (South Brooklyn Br.); OHIO, East Akron, Fairfield, King's Mine; OKLAHOMA, Sefting, Stroud; OREGON, St. John; PENNSYLVANIA, Arnold (YPSL), Ashland (YPSL Jr.), Jeanette (YPSL Jr.), Luzerne (YPSL), Soney Creek Mills, Uniontown (YPSL), Wilkes-Barre (Br. 2).

Flurrie that everything would be O.K. if—

And everything was: for Flurrie a new motor-hearse, for the Mayor the district by a huge majority, and for the fifty-six overzealous Democrats each and every one a nice funeral.

## Civil Right of Teachers Unimpaired by Ives Law

MANY public school teachers have inquired whether or not the Ives law passed by the recent special session of the Legislature and signed by the "liberal" Governor Lehman requiring a "loyalty" pledge of all school teachers will have any effect upon their civil rights.

Indeed, it has come to our attention that some teachers are seriously in doubt whether or not they can vote the Socialist ticket now that this law is on the statute books. They realize the ballot is secret, but fear that the "loyalty" pledge which they must take to hold their jobs is inconsistent with Socialist votes.

We are in a position to state positively that the Ives law, silly and idiotic as it is, does not in the slightest degree impair the civil rights of teachers, nor does it make it impossible for them to cast Socialist votes.

Furthermore, no Socialist need have the slightest hesitancy in signing the pledge. Silly as it is, DANGEROUS AS IS THE PRINCIPLE BACK OF IT, the pledge as it now comes before all teachers is something that no Socialist or other non-conformist need have any compunction in signing.

The Ives law is the result of hysteria, and in a rational atmosphere would never have been able to pass even a state legislature. But IN THE FORM THAT IT PASSED it imposes nothing upon teachers that they need hesitate to subscribe to. Teachers are required to sign their names to a pledge that they are "loyal" to the government of the nation and the state. "Loyalty" is not defined, and Socialists who believe in employing the civil and political rights guar-

anteed under our form of government in working for a better world are wholly loyal—far more so than reactionaries who approve of sending militiamen to shoot down strikers, or supporters of thieving political machines.

Further, there is nothing in the law to curtail the civil and political rights of teachers and other civil servants. Under our laws, no city or state employe can be forced to make political contributions or perform political services by a superior officer. That law has been properly interpreted as meaning that every teacher and other civil employe of the city and state is a free citizen, and outside of school or office hours is entitled to precisely as much civil liberty in expressing and promoting ideas of any kind as any other citizen.

The Ives law, REGARDLESS OF WHAT WAS IN ASSEMBLYMAN IVES' MIND WHEN HE PROPOSED IT, does not curtail those rights.

The law may easily become an entering wedge for persecution of radicals, and for regimentation of thoughts, but as it stands today, SILLY AS IT IS, it does not impair any rights of citizens who happen to earn their living as employes of the city and state.

Socialists must lead the fight to remove this ridiculous legislation from the statute books; but while it stands, they must make it perfectly clear to everyone of their colleagues that they have not lost anything of their civil rights.

And the way to get the imbecilities of that sort of legislation off the books is for teachers—among all other workers—to employ their civil rights, to vote and to join their party and to be active politically in their own interest.

## Band Meets Sunday

Socialists and Yipsels and sympathizers who wish to join the Rebel Arts band and orchestra are urged to meet this Sunday morning at 11 o'clock at headquarters, 22 East 22nd St., to discuss plans. Jack Cohen, leader, will be present.

The dance group starts functioning this week. Sessions are Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday at 6:30 and 7:30.

## Amalgamated Branch Will Hold Sixth Anniversary

In celebration of the 6th anniversary of the founding of the Amalgamated Branch in the Bronx, a mass meeting will be held Saturday, Sept. 29, in the Auditorium at 74 Van Cortlandt Park South. Several prominent Socialist speakers are slated to be present; a moving picture of the late Morris Hillquit will be shown, and refreshments will be served. Comrades and friends of the party have been given a blanket invitation to attend; admission will be 50 cents.

The Amalgamated Branch consists of residents of the Amalgamated Cooperative Apartments.

## CLAESSENS AT EAST BRONX RALLY

The first of a series of large outdoor rallies to be run by the East Bronx Campaign Committee of the Socialist Party will be held this Saturday evening, 8:30, at Wilkins and Intervale Aves. Herman Woskow, Solomon B. Marcus and August Claessens will be the principal speakers. All comrades are urged to turn out.

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

(Reserve Saturday evening, December 8, for the opening of the WEVD University of the Air at Town Hall.)

Sun., Sept. 23—11 a.m.—Forward Hour—music and sketches; 1 p.m.—Metropolitan String Ensemble; 8—Foreign Affairs Forum; 8:45—Helen Tris, songs; 10—Commencement of the Twentieth Annual Hand School Year, direct from the Rand School of Social Science; Speakers—Elmer Davis, Hendrik Van Loon, Michael Strange, Louis Waldman and Algernon Lee. Musical Program.

Mon., Sept. 24—8 a.m.—Psychology Clinic of the Air, Dr. Jacob List; 4:15 p.m.—Nicholas Saslavsky, baritone; Tues., Sept. 25—8 a.m.—Psychology Clinic of the Air, Dr. Jacob List; 8:15 p.m.—"Paris in New York," music; 8:45—Charlotte Tonhazy, violin; 10—"Social Problems Round Table," Charles Solomon, Jacob Panken and James Oneal; 10:45—Rosa Simon, piano.

Wed., Sept. 26—8:15 p.m.—Actors' Dinner Club, Doris Hardy; 8:30—David Magill, tenor; 8:45—"The New York City Budget," talk; 10—Helen Tris, songs; 10:30—Eugene Byron Morgan, baritone; 10:45—Irene Coley, contralto; Thurs., Sept. 27—8:45 a.m.—Folk Singers, spirituals; 8:15 p.m.—Margaret Reed Dooley, mezzo-soprano; 8:30—Simon and Arnold, piano duo; 8:45—Foreign Affairs Forum, talk; 10:15—"Newspaper Guild on the Air," talks; 10:30—Carlo Lanzilotti, bass; 10:45—Edith Friedman, piano.

Fri., Sept. 28—8 p.m.—Textile Strike, Talk; 8:30—"Three Voices," vocal trio; 8:45—Royal Dutch Travelogue, Hendrik de Leeuw; 10—Negro Welfare Council, talk; 10:15—Ann Howard, songs; 10:45—Bass and Reddall, piano duo. Sat., Sept. 29—11:30 a.m.—Mabel Horsey's "Stars of Tomorrow," juvenile program; 3:15 p.m.—Elsie Meltz, blues songs; 6:45—Betty Blue, songs; 8—Sherry and Stange, songs; 8:15—Ann Howard, blues singer; 8:45—Sheldon Smith, baritone; 10:15—Ethel Kravant, soprano; 10:30—Sol Giskin, violin; 10:45

## STREET MEETINGS

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22  
Jamaica, Red Night. Several meetings along Jamaica Ave. Speakers to be announced.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25  
128th St. and Brook Aves., Bronx.  
Gollub, Rosenblatt, Auerbach, etc.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26  
Tremont and Prospect Aves., Bronx.  
Breslaw, Woskow, Atkins, Steinsaltz.  
Kings Highway and East 17th St., Brooklyn. Feigenbaum and others.  
(Continued on Page Three)

## How the Masses Were Won

The following is from "Hizzoner the Mayor," a hilarious burlesque by Joel Sayre on American municipal politics, with special reference to New York City (thinly disguised in the book as Malta) in the gaudy days of Jimmie Walker. The political methods here described can bear study even in these degenerate days when Jimmie is a country gentleman (!) in the English countryside.

AND finally the lower orders did their share, too, although, as always, they were sublimely unaware of it. Two-thirds of Malta's citizenry lived on family incomes of less than \$2,500 a year and one-third on less than \$1,500. They were the people, the People, who genuinely enjoyed an election (but not a primary) and did most of the voting. To them an election was a wonderful free show. To them an election was a glorious finale to the quadrennial when the doctrine that all men are equal seemed to be an actual fact. There were other elections, of course; but to the good Maltese the best of all elections was the battle of the home champions, the fine, bloody, no-holds-barred, six-weeks' battle.

During these six weeks they were feted, they were entertained, they were appealed to as superior beings. They did not realize, of course, that after the smoke had lifted it was all to be charged up to them in increased cost of food and rent and clothing. The following summer, when milk went up

another cent a quart and dungarees were half a buck more and dwelling in a slum came higher, they were angry; but they did not know enough to suspect that the men they had so ecstatically chosen to govern them had contributed to their trouble.

The connection between business and politics they had heard shouted at them countless times; but it had always meant "Sock the Rich." Robin Hood stuff, which they admired wholeheartedly. Besides, they knew their politicians at close hand and admired them.

Take Flurrie Feely, Commissioner of Docks (and an undertaker by profession) and Democratic leader of the Nineteenth Assembly District. Flurrie in the eyes of the Nineteenth was probably the greatest man in the world. Look at the way he cared for his people—always giving out coal and baskets of food in the winter, ice and skipping ropes and marbles in the summer, and funerals whenever they are needed. (The funerals were paid for direct by the Democratic Club at \$200 a funeral and cost Flurrie \$75. Whatever Flurrie could get out of the family of the loved one was just like finding it.)

The people were so devoted to Flurrie that some of them even gave their lives for the Malta Democracy. That September a huge fire broke out in a block of tenements in the heart of the district, and fifty-six of Flurrie's constituents were fried alive. Nearly two years previously these tenements had been found totally lacking in safety appliances; but the owner saw Flurrie and Flurrie saw the Tenement House Commissioner and the Tenement House Commissioner saw the Mayor and the Mayor sent back word to

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 26th, 6 P.M.  
**New Russian Class**  
and Russian Conversational Circle starts.  
\$1.50 Monthly Private Lessons  
7-10 Full Hour  
Same Fee for French, Spanish, Italian,  
German and English Classes.  
**Language Exchange Center**  
156 West 45th Street (Times Square)  
LOngacre 5-8310



(Continued from Page Two)  
**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 21**  
 Graham Ave. and Varet St., Brooklyn.  
 Greutzman, Cosgrove, Rutenoff, Malamed.

### YPSL NOTES

In accordance with the decision of the International Socialist Youth Congress held in August in Liege, the Greater New York Federation of the YPSL will hold many International Solidarity meetings during International Youth Week, October 1 to 7.

"This week must be used to rally our forces against war and fascism; to rededicate ourselves to the principles of International Socialism; and above all, to redouble our activity in organizing and educating the Youth of America into a fighting body that shall yet win for the workers and farmers of America, for the toilers of all countries, Socialism in Our Time," stated the City Executive Committee of the YPSL.

Local meetings will be held throughout the city during International Youth Week. Arrangements in Bronx, Queens and Manhattan will be handled by the borough council, while Brooklyn arrangements are being made by the District Councils. In addition there will be held a large General Membership Meeting

### LECTURES AND FORUMS

## War Clouds Far East

**SUNDAY, SEPT. 23, 8.30 P.M.**  
**CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE,**  
 205 East 67th Street.

#### Speakers:

#### General

**VICTORIA YAKHONTOFF**  
 former General in Czarist Army  
 Author of 'The Chinese Soviets'

**CORLISS LAMONT**

Member Nat. Comm. F. S. U.

**DR. HANSU HAN**

Editor of "China Today"

**FRANK PALMER, Chairman**

—Admission 25 cents—

#### Auspices

Friends of the Soviet Union

and Rally Saturday afternoon, October 6, at the Rand School.  
 The Williamsburg District Council, in cooperation with the YPSL office, is running a IYW parade Friday, October 5, at 7:30 p.m. All Young Socialists will assemble at Tompkins Avenue and Hart Street and will then march to Bridge Plaza. Full Ypsel uniforms are to be worn for all the aforementioned meetings.

### New York City

Owing to the fact that the Rand School classes are beginning, the Organization and Propaganda meetings will continue on Monday evening, between 6 and 7, instead of Wednesday when classes occupy the rooms. Organizers are urged to make no other appointments for each Monday at 6 p.m.

#### Manhattan

17th-18th-20th A. D., 1538 Madison Ave. Grand opening of new headquarters will be marked by a celebration on Saturday evening, September 29. Large mass meeting of Socialists and friends of the district. Among the speakers will be Charles Solomon, Norman Thomas, William Karlén, August Claessens and others. A special musical program will be presented under the direction of Sylvia Klieger.

Village Branch. Social every Saturday night at headquarters, 201 Sullivan St. Public speaking class Friday nights for beginners, 17 to 27 years of age.

#### Bronx

To raise funds for the campaign, which is being planned on a large scale, an interesting affair is being arranged for October 20, Saturday evening, at the Bronx Labor Center, 809 Westchester Ave., Bronx. It will include a barn dance, entertainment, refreshments, etc. The proceeds will be used to cover expenses of the campaign. Irving M. Knobloch, campaign manager, has arranged for four large rallies so far.

#### Queens

The Jamaica Party Branch and YPSL circle are cooperating in a Red Night Saturday evening, September 22. We will have at least a dozen speaking stands along Jamaica Avenue and will endeavor to bring the message of Socialism to the entire district.

#### Kings

The 18th A. D. Branch 1, will hold its fall dance Tuesday, October 2, at headquarters, 269 Utica Ave. With a high class band of music, entertainment and refreshments we hope to attract a very large attendance.

Midwood Branch. At the last meeting, at which members voted on the Declaration, action was taken to secure permanent headquarters. Over \$25 a month was pledged for rent, and members long inactive pledged renewed activity. New headquarters will open Monday, October 1, with a mass meeting and entertainment.

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**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.

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# Sam Jaffe and Jean Arthur Charm in Gentle Comedy

### In Nat Dorman's New Comedy



Leona Power has the leading role in "Errant Lady" at the Fulton.

### Mme. Emilia Vergeri to Appear with B'klyn Civic Opera

The Brooklyn Civic Opera Association, which is sponsoring a two-weeks' season of grand opera at popular prices at the Academy of Music, beginning Saturday evening, Sept. 29, has just completed arrangements insuring the appearances of that fine dramatic soprano Mme. Emilia Vergeri in several of its impending offerings.

Mme. Vergeri's first appearance will take place in an all-star performance of Mascagni's "Cavalleria Rusticana," in which she will sing the role of the neglected "Santuzza," a part in which it is said she ranks with the foremost divas of this and past eras. Other operas in which Mme. Vergeri will be heard include Verdi's "La Forza del Destino" and Bellini's "Norma."

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### What Price Religion?

"THE BRIDE OF TOROUKO."  
 By Otto Indig; adapted by Ruth Langner. At Henry Miller's.

The colorful characterization of Sam Jaffe, and the straight forward, unaffected work of Jean Arthur, give keen delight to the direct and unpretentious movement of this little drama of the heart. In a small Roumanian town, which after the war has drawn into its sweep—especially as regards military service—a large proportion of Hungarians, the marriage of Klari is deferred until her birth papers arrive; and these indicate that she is really an orphan—and a Jew. We do not think that Andreas deserves her, though he seems to reform at the close; but the interest of the play centers upon Klari's adjustment to the new situation, her going to work for Herschkowitz, the one Jew in the town, and his efforts to make her life easy for her. In these moments the subtle effects secured by the intelligent performance of Sam Jaffe are a constant delightful foil to the forthright playing of charming Jean Arthur. Ruth Langner has given both of them effective dialogue, though the best of it—wisdom detachable from the play—goes to Jaffe, who utters his shrewd comments on life, and the relation of a Jew to the rest of the world, with a shrug of resigned but intelligent observation. "Everyone should be a Jew for four weeks... Speaking for myself, two weeks would be enough." Yet one feels that neither wealth nor freedom from petty persecution, nor from graver ill, would lead him to change his faith... and it would wake a deal of dormant understanding of our neighbors, if every man could be "a Jew for four weeks." Or even two! An unaffected but quite winning play.

### King Vidor



Who, some years back, produced that powerful film, "The Crowd," has but recently completed what is said to be his ablest and finest film work, "Our Daily Bread," which opens soon at Arthur Mayer's Rialto Theatre.

### "Mass Struggle," Soviet Film, Continues at the Acme

In the new Soviet talking film "Mass Struggle" which continues at the Acme Theatre, V. Kavaleridze, well known Ukrainian sculptor-artist, has dramatically presented the story of how the great peasant rebellions of the 18th Century were betrayed by the false leaders the peasants followed.

The characters in this picture actually speak the language of their nationalities—Jewish, Russian, Ukrainian and Polish. The picture has English titles and a special musical score consisting of Ukrainian folk melodies.

### Jack Carter



Who has one of the leading roles in "Stevodore," which the Theatre Union will reopen Oct. 1 at the Civic Repertory.

### "Chu Chin Chow" Has American Premiere at the Roxy

The long awaited screen production of "Chu Chin Chow," based on the world famous stage spectacle, is the current film attraction at the Roxy Theatre. A new variety revue headed by Zella Santley, comedienne, supplements this screen spectacle.

Set against the colorful background of Bagdad with its fabulous banquets, its slave markets and its mammoth temples, "Chu Chin Chow" is a story of the slave girl, Zahrat, and of her treachery against Abu Hasan, the desert brigand. Ali Baba and the celebrated forty thieves also have an important bearing in the exciting developments of the plot.

Headed by such international favorites as George Robey, Anna May Wong, Fritz Kortner, John Garrick and Pearl Argyle, "Chu Chin Chow" is said to have one of the largest casts in the history of motion pictures. The film was directed by Walter Forde from the screen play by Edward Knoblock, Sidney Gilliat and L. du Garde Peach.

### Dostoyevski's "Petersburg Nights" Stays at Cameo

"Petersburg Nights," the new Soviet talkie based on Dostoyevski's well-known novel, "White Night," is being held over for a third week by the new management of the Cameo Theatre.

"Petersburg Nights" was well received by the public and press. The New York Times in its review stated: "This gripping picturization of Russia century ago is presented in the best Soviet film tradition by a cast of first-class actors ably directed and reinforced by excellent direction."

### "Romance in the Rain" at Fox Brooklyn — Betty Barthell Heads New Stage Show

The film attraction at the Fox Brooklyn for the week beginning today is "Romance in the Rain" with a cast that includes Roger Pryor, Heather Angel, Victor Moore and Esther Ralston.

Zac Freedman, new managing director of the Fox Brooklyn, who was formerly assistant to Leonidoff at the Radio City Music Hall, offers as his second stage production a creative presentation of rhythm called "Southern Ballyhoo."

Betty Barthell, well-known radio star; Cecil Mack and his thirty Southern voices, and Charles Stein are featured in the stage revue.



# Rice's New Drama "Judgment Day": Powerful! Prophetic?

## The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

### How Tyrants Fall

"JUDGMENT DAY." Written and Staged by Elmer Rice. At the Belasco.

"A protest that is also prophecy"—Edwin Markham wrote of "The Man with the Hoe." But while these words come to mind at thought of "Judgment Day," Rice gives us no passive figures, bent beneath his woes; and he is far too good a playwright to protest—save by presenting his story. And in truth his story comes close enough to conditions in Europe—in Germany—to be at once drama and indication of grim facts in life. The play may seem a bit overdrawn, melodramatic, to those who dwell comfortably in America, with no tense realization of conditions abroad—just as the judge in the play smiles at disorder in Chicago and New York; but to any one who has followed with more than passing concern the development of recent European conditions, the excitement of the drama is modestly short of the truth.

The entire play is set in a court room, where five high justices are trying two leaders of the Peoples'

Party (the third is already condemned to die) on charges of attempted assassination of the National Leader, mention of whose name brings instant "Attention" and formal salute. We grow to see that the whole trial is framed, the charges being trumped up to get rid of the dangerous enemies of the Leader; and we watch the undercurrent of protest against the tyrant rise, until—just when he seems most to triumph—the sweep of uprising against his unlimited and usurped power comes to its crest, and (from the hands of one of the oldest and truest patriots, no new-born radical) retribution falls upon the man who in his blind vainglory and quest of personal power has betrayed his land.

The various characters in the play are brought forward with wise observation. Among the witnesses who help the government by false testimony are a wide range, from obsequious café waiter and wife of a petty official to the brazenly lying Minister of Culture and Enlightenment and the overbearing Minister-President himself. The five judges show us the bon vivant, the wit, and the soldier, all subservient in

Jacob Ben Ami



Has the leading role in "A Ship Comes In," a new play by Joseph Anthony, which opened last Wednesday at the Morosco.

their ways to the Leader; the perplexed presiding justice, torn between conscience and "duty" to the State—which means, obedience to the Leader's will; and the patriot whose family for years has upheld the honor of the land, who as the trial proceeds learns how fully his country is besmirched by its new rulers, and who rises (like Vir-

ginius of old, at another betrayal) to bring the proper end. *Sic semper tyrannis!*

Despite its grim and powerful story, the play has colorful moments; a lurid light flows from the drugged German, dragged in by the Minister of Culture to fire the shot in the pretended murder attempt; a more sparkling one when the Italian opera singer, her testimony against the State challenged, stands boldly forth and defies them: "My husband is a cousin of Il Duce!" Fania Marinoff livens that role, and the large cast (when the Prosecutor learns all his lines) uniformly works with the play and bears it to a climax that won the longest applause at final curtain. I have recently heard in the theatre. I expect to have more to write of

"Roll, Sweet Chariot" to Open at the Cort Oct. 2

"Roll, Sweet Chariot," a symphonic drama of the Negro people by Paul Green, will open at the Cort Theatre on Tuesday evening, October 2, according to Margaret Hewes, producer, who had recently scheduled the premiere for Sept. 19. A Negro company of eighty people will be involved in the production, which was given its initial showing in Boston last spring under the title of "Potter's Field."

"Judgment Day"; in the meantime, go see it. (And maybe you'll write the rest for me; I'll be glad to have comments from our readers.) And perhaps for tyrants now abroad there is gathering the cloud of a Judgment Day.

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## BAYONETS, TEAR GAS FAIL TO HALT STRIKE

(Continued from Page 1-L)

Federal laws which guarantee to workers of your State and all States the right to organize into unions and to bargain collectively through those unions with mill management. The first violence in this strike occurred in your State because it was in your State that armed and irresponsible agents of mill ownership opened fire on defenseless and law-abiding workers."

A mass meeting of strikers in Paterson yesterday also sent a telegram to Governor Talmadge protesting against troops and martial law and demanding the release of strikers from concentration camps. "Your emulation of Hitlerism will not halt our onward march to victory," declared the Paterson strikers, who are preparing to march to Passaic in force soon to establish the right of picketing there following the slugging of pickets and the arrest of Union Organizer Keller and Samuel H. Friedman, picket leaders.

### Federal Troops Ready

A report has reached strike headquarters that federal troops are being mobilized on Governors Island, New York, for strike "emergencies." It is said that the 16th Infantry, commanded by General Dennis E. Nolan, has been engaged in intensive bayonet practice for the past two weeks, and that even the auto mechanics have been ordered to shed their work clothes and don uniforms for strike practice. No way has yet been found to check up on this report.

The report of President Roosevelt's textile mediation board is expected to be made any day now. Strikers don't expect much from it, and the executive council of the United Textile Workers, meeting here, authorized its strike committee to continue and extend the strike to miscellaneous divisions of the textile industry containing about 110,000 more workers. These groups, including the dye workers and the rayon plant operatives, will probably be called out Monday. Prior to disbanding to take their posts as leaders of the strike in various fields, members of the council also empowered the strike committee to arrange for a settlement if suitable concessions are offered.

Strike General Gorman also sent a telegram to Governor Cross of Connecticut calling his attention to a contingent of 150 armed scabs and thugs passing through Washington on their way to that state. "Armed with sub-machine guns and other murderous weapons and boasting of their exploits in Georgia, they are aiming to repeat in Connecticut," Gorman told Cross suggesting that a peace-loving and law-abiding governor would order their arrest upon arrival.

Workers here point out that when an airplane load of gangsters and scab-herders arrived in Milwaukee from New York and Chicago detective agencies in a recent strike, the thugs were arrested and ousted by the chief of police there, following the protest of Milwaukee's Socialist mayor.

### Union Wins Pay Boost For Sheet-Tin Workers

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers has won from the Western Sheet and Tin Plate Manufacturers Association new contracts carrying higher wage scales and concessions to union labor. The conferences lasted four days, and an immediate advance of 3½ per cent in wages was announced. Leading manufacturers in the association are the Granite City Steel Co., Granite City, Ill.; Standard Tine Plate, Canonsburg, Pa.; a subsidiary of the Continental Can Co., and the Mahoning Valley Steel Co. of Niles, O.

## Two Slashed by Bayonets; One Killed



Start of a charge by national guardsmen, bosses' best friends, against strikers at the Hatch Hosiery Mills, Charlotte, N. C. The result you see headlined above: "Two Slashed by Bayonets; One Dead!"

## 'Glory, Glory' to the Strikers' Greets Mill Village Parade; 'Fight' Message Hailed

By Martha B. Johnson

National Organizer, Socialist Party  
GREER, S. C.—The awakening of Southern textile workers to the need for trade union organization is a joy to behold.

Last night Victor mill held a rousing meeting with a parade through the mill villages of Victor, Greer and Franklin mills. Franklin, which had been running at 7 p. m., shut down before the long lines of singing, shouting workers wound around the mill.

In the union hall, packed to the doors and windows, Victor union members heard Friman Rogers, Edward and Martha Johnson, and President Brookshire of the South Carolina Federation of Labor. The hall rang with the strains of "Solidarity Forever" and "On the Picket Line." A worker shouted, "Let's parade and sing 'em out!"

Lines formed, two by two, and started first for Victor village. The sound of singing brought people to the street where they were greeted with shouts of "Come on," "Victor's on strike," and the lines lengthened. As they rounded a corner, the front ranks turned to see the long procession. "All Victor's here," "Look at them." And someone started "Glory, glory to the strikers, as they go marching on."

### Time Out for Prayer

Into Greer village they marched, where the whole population seemed to be lining the sidewalks and filling the street corners. Now the shouts were "Come on Greer," "This is Victor, come on out." Word was passed down, "There's worship being held here. Quiet while you pass the church tent." The songs stopped but among the marchers remarks were passed fast. "My Sunday School teacher won't speak to me since I joined the union." "The preacher's been tellin' us we shouldn't join the union." Once past the tent, singing and shouting were redoubled.

They marched around Franklin mill, now dark and lonely, into the business district of Greer and then back to Victor village. A union man came up with the news that the bosses had been getting the deputies at Victor "likkered up," so the crowd halted just short of the mill for an open air meeting.

### Proud to Be an Agitator

Standing in the rumble seat of a car, "Big John" Peel, a vice-presi-

dent of the U.T.W.A., spoke to the strikers. "The bosses tell you we are foreign labor agitators. Well, our faces are white, so I reckon we're all foreigners, for the only native Americans I ever heard of are the red Indians. I am proud to be a labor agitator. I think George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and all our revolutionary heroes won us the right to be free to agitate for the freedom of the workers from the intolerable conditions that are oppressing the textile workers in this country."

He explained the NRA and pointed out that Section 7A of the Recovery Act was Section 8 of the Textile Code, but that it had been violated by the bosses again and again. "As for the 'stretch out,'" he said, "the textile code says no workers should be made to tend any more machines than he did on July 15, 1933. That, too, has been violated," and he gave examples. Murmurs in the crowd, "That's right, they did that to me," "I'm so tired I cry every night," "We're so tired we can't sleep for hours," "They are killing us." "Big John" ended by warning the strikers that the bosses would get out rumors calculated to deceive them and that they should communicate with the union to get the truth.

At the union hall directions for the next day's picket line were given, and Victor's night of celebration was over. "I've lived here thirty-nine years," said one union woman, "and this is the first time we ever got together like this."

Y.P.S.L. Secretary.

Dear Brother Fischer:

On behalf of the District Council I want to thank you and the league for the splendid cooperation you gave us in our struggle.

I know that our members are not alone grateful but thrilled with the wonderful spirit you have shown by offering and giving us your help without any solicitation on our part.

It is deeds like yours that are bound to bring the unions ever closer together with the heart and soul of the movement.

More power to the Yipsels!

Fraternally yours,

Brotherhood of Painters,  
Decorators and Paperhangers  
District Council No. 9 of N.Y.C.

By Edward L. Johnson

Southeastern District Organizer,  
Socialist Party.

GREENVILLE, S. C.—While "Twelve Dollar" George A. Sloan issues statements to the effect that the textile strike is broken, while the capitalist newspapers all over the South print stories of how many cotton mills are reopening, the numbers out on strike continue to increase, as mill after mill, listening to the inspiring messages of the organizers and speakers, sees its workers stand outside the gates and refuse to go into their machines.

As mill owners redouble their efforts to break the morale of the strikers over this week-end, more and more troops pour in, and thugs and gunmen are deputized by the hundreds. In every one of the 20 mill villages in this area, strikers and union men and women are holding meetings, where the officers of the locals are reading the inspiring message, contained in Instruction No. 8 from Strike Headquarters, Washington, D. C., signed by Francis J. Gorman, national strike leader, which reads in part:

"Here is our definition of a scab: 'A scab is the congealed pus, oozing from the cancerous surface of capitalism. He is the reincarnation of a buzzard and a skunk, combining the attributes of a bedbug with the dignity of a sewer rat and the virtue of a louse.'"

George Smith of the U.T.W. staff of organizers here, and the writer spoke yesterday to an overflow crowd at the Union Hall in the mill village of Honea Path, where on September 6 six strikers were shot down in cold blood and killed by deputized thugs, and a seventh was mortally wounded. Many of the bereaved families were in the crowd who listened to Smith and Johnson deliver a message of "fight," and all to the last man and woman present pledged themselves anew to the union and to the strike.

### PICKET PRIMROSE LAUNDRY.

The Brownsville and East New York circles of the YPSL and locals of the Workers' Unemployed Union conducted a mass picket line in front of the Primrose Laundry, Williams and Belmont Aves., where the Inside Laundry Workers Union has been waging a strike for several months. A large number of Negro and white workers are out.

## TEXTILE UNION HEAD FLAYS GEN. JOHNSON

President Thomas F. McMahon of the United Textile Workers issued the following statement from Pawtucket on General Johnson's speech in Carnegie Hall last Friday attacking the U.T.W. and condemning the general strike:

"General Johnson went a long ways to demonstrate his sympathy for the cotton textile manufacturers at the expense of the United Textile Workers of America, of which I am president.

"When General Johnson, if reports are true, weeps for George Sloan, chairman of the Cotton-Textile Institute, there is very little hope that the workers of the mills will secure any semblance of justice or fair treatment in the future from any board or Code Authority with which Mr. Sloan is connected, because of this attitude on the part of the general.

"When I think of George Sloan, my heart weeps. I know what kind of opposition he went up against." —From General Johnson's speech at Carnegie Hall, Sept. 15.]

"Let us go back to the records of the public hearing held in Washington in June, 1933, on the textile code, and say that from March, 1933, until the opening of the code hearings I was in full accord with the understanding that the 40-hour week, two shifts, would help materially to stabilize the industry.

"I was also in accord with the minimum wage adopted for unskilled workers in the industry. This word, 'unskilled,' was contained in all the printed matter before the committee of employers and myself until the evening preceding the opening of the public hearings. It was taken out, thus allowing the minimum established to become as it has the maximum in all too many instances.

"He did say that the present strike was uncalled for, because he felt, I believe, he must come to the aid of the textile manufacturers because the textile workers demonstrated their resentment of the treatment accorded their representatives in Washington. This demonstration became so great that the general is now flabbergasted, and apparently is looking for a way out at the expense of the organized labor movement.

"General Johnson is trying to draw a red herring across the trail when he states that this strike is political. He knows better, because if it was, he would have been able to show at least one of our many organizers in the South or elsewhere who had used their power in any way to make an attack on the dominant party that controls most of the States where the textile strikes are nearly 100 per cent perfect.

"General Johnson is endeavoring again to make it appear that this is a strike against the Government. This textile strike is for the purpose of elevating the men and women who work in the textile mills from their present state of peonage to one of independence and freedom.

"It is for the purpose of driving poverty out of the homes, and to bring back the America standard of living, lost to them because textile employers took advantage of the opportunity during the depression to exploit humans for profit."

### NEW I.T.F. PUBLICATION

AMSTERDAM, Holland.—The International Transportworkers Federation has just started a new fortnightly publication. It is entitled "Fascism" and takes the place of "Germany Under the Swastika." Appearing in English, French, German, Spanish and Swedish, it proposes to deal with the situation, more particularly from the social and economic points of view, in countries where Fascism has risen to power.



## STRIKE KITCHEN RUN BY PHILA. SOCIALISTS

ON this page appear several only of the instances of the whole-hearted cooperation given the textile strikers by labor in general and by the Socialist movement and affiliated organizations. We have already mentioned in previous issues the work done by Socialist national organizers and volunteer strike leaders, pickets, publicity men, speakers and other aides, and especially by the New York Yipsels.

Philadelphia. — The entire machinery of Local Philadelphia Socialist Party's Women's Committee has been turned over to the strike committee of textile workers in Philadelphia.

### Socialist Kitchen Feeds Pickets

Under the chairmanship of Conrade Jennie Libros and her able assistants, Rose Krouse, Leah Neutra, Matilda Zuckerman, Rosa Margolin, Alice Hanson, Marie Elliott and Dora Roberts, a kitchen and commissary has been set up to feed thousands of pickets daily. Each morning the Socialist women prepare thousands of sandwiches and gallons of coffee. After each meal the dishes are washed and everything is set for the next day's meal. Along with the actual feeding of the strikers, a committee of Socialist women is continuously on the go, soliciting funds and collecting food.

The party's labor committee has assigned every available party speaker to address strike meetings, and dozens of speakers are making nightly rounds of the trade unions calling for financial and moral support of the strike.

### Union Thanks Party

A number of the outstanding leaders in the strike are members of the Socialist Party Local Philadelphia. In response to the co-operation and support the local has been giving to the strike, William F. Kelly, vice-president of the U.T.W. and leader of the strike in Pennsylvania and vicinity, has sent the following letter:

"Mr. Abe Belsky,  
Socialist Party Headquarters,  
810 Locust St., Philadelphia.

"Dear Sir:

"I want to express the deep appreciation of the textile workers for the splendid cooperation which the Socialist Party has evinced in this great struggle for our right to live and to work. You have not only assisted financially, but you have supplied us with some of our most active workers, who are giving us invaluable aid.

"With your support, we have renewed courage to continue our fight for not only textile workers, but all workers.

"Very sincerely yours,  
William Kelly."

### N. J. Y.P.S.L. Joins UP

The Young People's Socialist League of New Jersey also offered its aid in any way that the union requires. "To the speedy conclusion of a decisive and victorious strike," says the letter, in part, "I and my organization pledge our utmost in every way." The letter was signed by the state secretary of the organization.

Instructions sent to all locals of the League in New Jersey called attention to the strike and its causes. League members were urged to raise funds for strike relief, and to volunteer services where possible. "Help the textile workers put an end to unbearable conditions. Together we shall bring the strike to a victorious conclusion."

Sympathetic individuals and organizations are asked to send contributions to the Textile Strike Relief Committee, 1065 Broad St., Newark, N. J.

## TROOPERS AT THEIR BLOODY JOB IN SAYLESVILLE, R. I. DRESSMAKERS



## AID STRIKERS; RAP JOHNSON

The Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union of Greater New York has come to the support of the textile strikers with a contribution of \$10,000, Julius Hochman, general manager, announces. A check for that sum has been sent to the I.L.G.W.U., which is raising a fund among its affiliated organizations to aid the strikers.

Strong protest against General Hugh S. Johnson's criticism of the textile strike in his speech at Carnegie Hall was voiced by Hochman in a telegram sent to the NRA Administrator on behalf of the Joint Board. The telegram follows:

"In the name of the Joint Board of Dress and Waistmakers' Union of Greater New York, an organization of 80,000 workers, I protest against your utterly unjustified attack upon the general textile strike in your speech at Carnegie Hall on September 14.

### '7-A Worse Than Meaningless'

"This strike is a protest against the prejudiced manner in which the NRA is being administered. Because of many conflicting and damaging interpretations and because of disregard of its repeated violation, Section 7A has become worse than meaningless today. In those industries where labor is not represented on the code authorities, and this is the case with practically all code authorities, codes are being flagrantly violated without government enforcement.

"The textile workers are fighting for collective bargaining, living wages and decent conditions. The provisions of the cotton textile code are notoriously inadequate to give full employment to the workers in the industry or to provide them with even subsistence wages. The great textile strike, which aims to remove these glaring abuses, should have received your sympathy and support. Through the NRA the employers are today organized more strongly than ever. Yet, now, when the employers are attempting to deprive the workers of their guaranteed right of union organization and collective bargaining, you come to their aid with attacks upon labor.

"Your unjustified denunciation of the general textile strike completely destroys the faith of labor in you as NRA Administrator.

Julius Hochman, Gen'l Mgr."

### Local 22 Protests

Dressmakers' Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., one of the largest local unions in the world, has made public a sharp telegram of protest sent to General Johnson in connection with his denunciation. This telegram, speaking in the name of 30,000 members of the union, emphasizes that the textile workers are "courageously fighting for a living wage, decent conditions and collective bargaining, as guaranteed by Section 7A," and assails Johnson's "misuse of official position as NRA Administrator to attack labor and champion the employers' cause."

The protest also calls attention to General Johnson's past attacks on labor, citing his speech in San Francisco during the general strike and his radio address at the recent convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in Chicago. It was in the course of the latter that the NRA Administrator took occasion to launch a savage denunciation against the steel workers' union, which was then contemplating a strike.

a decent minimum. They do not average more than from \$10 to \$12 a week over a period of a year." All of the workers "have three and more dependents to support on these earnings. The demands for pay increases and reduced hours is absolutely essential for the maintenance of decent standards among the workers' families."

## YOUNG CIRCLE LEAGUE JOINS STRIKE FRONT

The Young Circle League of the metropolitan area has joined the textile workers' fight and is giving aid in the form of money, food, clothing and man-power.

"Blood and bullets are being fed the workers instead of bread!"

So ran the text of the Y.C.L. Strike Bulletin No. 1 which called the conference of all Young Circleites at the Rand School. A strike committee of two from each branch was chosen, pickets were assigned posts of duty, and a strike fund was inaugurated by a collection. The executive strike committee includes Selma Sachs (1002), Bessie Berlin (1040), Nettie Jacobsen (1001), Murray Chefetz (1034), Marvin Stelman (1030), Al Bassin (1040), and Geore Cohen (1088). The speakers included Philip Geliebter, Y. Murray Goldman, Eleanor Schanner and Leo Walt.

Jerry Coleman (Y.P.S.L.), in charge of strike operations in New York and vicinity, addressed the meeting and outlined the needs of the strikers. Fifteen volunteers responded next morning to picketing duty.

Already money is coming in, approximately \$30 having been collected. Clubs are planning individual affairs, at which the price of admission will be clothes and food. In addition, there will be a main New York League affair to be held at the Y.C.L.A. Center at 3 West 16th St. this Sunday evening. On that date the Intermediates of New York are calling a special membership rally to work with the strike committee.

The strike aid committee issued the first copy of the "Striker," a weekly publication containing the latest League strike developments. The work in New York is being

carried on under the auspices of the City Youth Committee.

From Atlanta comes the news that Circleites have mobilized for the strike and active work has begun. Branch 1008 of the Y.C.L.A. and the W.C. branches of the vicinity have joined forces. Although gunmen and deputies have abounded, members of the League participated in a series of meetings on Sept. 5 which pulled the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills. Over 1,400 joined the strike through these efforts. On Sept. 12, Branch 1008 elected a strike committee (Edith Merlin, Adele Russ, Sidney Silver, Beckey Kingloff, Lillie Kingloff, Evelyn Becker, Alex and Joseph Jacobs) to furnish speakers, raise money and relief, distribute literature and help at the Atlanta strike headquarters.

A similar activity is being inaugurated in Philadelphia, Chicago and elsewhere.

## BOSSSES AND ADMINISTRATORS FLOUT "SPIRIT OF NRA"

"THE spirit of the famous Section 7a of the NRA has been violated many times not only by the employers but also by NRA administrators," Professor Carroll R. Dougherty of the University of Pittsburgh told the annual conference of engineers in Johnsonburg, N. J., recently. Professor Dougherty is author of many books on economic and labor problems. "Most of the codes have been worked out and approved without adequate labor representation and sponsorship and are being administered by Code Authorities on very few of which labor has been given any voice.

"Because of the emphasis on industrial recovery and the 'prime

necessity of securing employer's cooperation toward that end,' most new deal administrators have made decisions more favorable to employers than to labor. The interpretation of the collective bargaining section has been legalistic and concessions have been made to almost every powerful employer or group of employers that show any disposition to make a court issue of the workers' freedom to organize for real collective bargaining.

"NRA has for the most part failed to live up to the hopes of the unorganized workers because it has not provided nearly as many jobs as it promised, nor has it made for any significant increase in real weekly earnings per worker.

"The government has been in the position of encouraging labor to organize and then trying to get it not to use its chief organizing weapon, the strike, because strikes temporarily impede recovery and inconvenience the public.

"On the other hand the attitudes and tactics of a great many union leaders have been very dishearten-

### "Judgment Day" Benefit for Mutual Aid League

The League for Mutual Aid, which has been for years aiding laborites in trouble because of radical activities, has taken the Belasco Theatre for Thursday evening, Sept. 27, for a benefit performance of "Judgment Day," Elmer Rice's hotly debated, vivid and stimulating anti-fascist drama.

New Leader readers will want to see this play and help the organization's work. Tickets should be ordered from the League office, 104 Fifth Ave., New York.

ing to those New Deal officials who would be willing to give organized labor at least an even chance.

"Most of them have failed to realize that, in order to achieve the original New Deal program of balanced organization between employers and labors, they must abandon in many industries the antiquated craft form or organization. Too many labor leaders have been content to denounce company unions rather than risk their position in intensive organizing campaigns which might bring into the fold a host of 'uneducated members.'"

### PHILADELPHIA TIE WORKERS MAY JOIN IN GENERAL STRIKE

PHILADELPHIA.—Tie workers here are expected to join the general textile and knitgoods strike, should the manufacturers refuse to grant wage increases, shorter hours, and union recognition. About 500 people, mostly women, will be effected. Five thousand knitgoods workers are already on strike, and police have been vicious in breaking picket lines.

The United Neckwear Makers' Union, through its manager Joseph Schwartz, demands 20% pay increases for cutters, operators, pressers, turners, finishers, etc. A 30 to 44% increase is sought for handsewers, the most poorly paid of the group. Reductions in working hours from 36 to 30, and an unemployment insurance fund are included in the demands.

"The seasonal nature of the industry," Schwartz stated, "and the rising cost of living, makes it impossible for our workers to earn



# G AND IN CHAOS

## Editor's Corner

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

#### Question and Answer

Henry Flury, Washington, D. C.—You object to us running a Labor Day article by William Green and ask: "Since when has Wm. Green become a Socialist?" You add that "all his life he has tried to wreck the Socialist Party. All his life he has been a reactionary."

While conceding the sincerity of the author of these sentiments, we disagree with his reasoning. In running the Green article we did not assume that he is a Socialist. We ran the article because he represents large masses of organized workers.

It isn't true that all his life William Green has tried to wreck the Socialist Party. We have no evidence of this enmity and we have not seen any evidence that would warrant this statement.

Neither is it true that Green all his life has been a reactionary. We have disagreed and still disagree with him on many matters and he does with us, but disagreement does not necessarily mean enmity. On the contrary, disagreement is perfectly consistent with helpful cooperation with the organized workers in their struggles. If Green were a life-long enemy, there is little doubt that he would order hundreds of local and national unions cooperating with Socialists to abandon cooperation.

One of the big problems facing the unions today is structural reorganization on an industrial basis. William Green represents an industrial union, the United Mine Workers, and favors this type of organization, but he and the Executive Council have no power to change the diverse structural types affiliated with the A. F. of L. That can only be accomplished by the members and officials.

Now for some general considerations. The organizations of the workers constitute what there is of a labor movement in this country. In no other country have they so often faced such terrible battles as in the United States. American exploiters have been more ruthless here than elsewhere. Our labor history is strewn with more dead, with more frame-ups, more armed mercenaries, more brutal use of police powers than the labor movement of any other country.

Despite all this, the movement has survived. Organized workers who can go through this history are not hopeless. Neither are their officials. This long and bitter class struggle in this country by workers who have professed no definite philosophy has produced more sublime heroism than war. We remember the grim battles beginning in the railroad strike of 1877, continuing through the frightful struggles in the mining regions of the West, Upper Michigan, in West Virginia for decades, at Lawrence, and in hundreds of other struggles where members of our class made the last sacrifice.

This struggle is being repeated in the textile areas of human misery as this is written and a toll of death has already been taken of the workers in this struggle and more may be taken. It is easy enough for those of us whose welfare is not affected by the outcome to stand on the fringe of the struggle and assail leaders and rank and file because they do not as yet see as we see, but this army of organized workers is fighting in a grim class struggle while we theorize about it.

Whether progressive or conservative, whether their organizations are structurally what we want them to be, whether their political policy is ours or not, it still remains a fact that a Socialist movement that is not false to its claims, is flesh and bone, heart and soul, a part of this labor movement. With all of its limitations in outlook, it is fighting our battles as well as its own. If the working class is ever to fit itself for a Cooperative Commonwealth, it must first fight against its utter degradation. As long as the working class has the courage to fight and does fight, it bears upon the crest of its struggle our Socialist hope of final emancipation.

Ben Hanford, a union printer and a Socialist, who literally gave his life to the Socialist Party and the Typographical Union, once made a statement that should be blazoned on every Socialist banner. Here it is:

"The working class. May it always be right, but right or wrong, the working class."

When the working class in our view is wrong, we sorrow for, but do not hate it. Its defeats are our defeats; its victories our victories. Its struggles are our struggles, and its enemy is our enemy. We will help it, not hinder it. When the battle with the exploiters is on, we even stop criticism, participate in its struggles, encourage its morale, help to feed the destitute and ask no thanks for doing what is a duty, not a sacrifice. While the battle is on, we will drag no sectarian or other views into the ranks which would only divide them.

Too often the intellectual and others stand on the sidelines to offer advice when bread and help are the essentials that are needed. The working class is at the bottom of the social order and when it tries to rise to ward off a degradation that would make it hopeless for future basic changes in society, there the real Socialist will be found—there by the side of the Giant Labor that holds the fate of the world in its hands. Those who have not learned this fundamental ethic of working class solidarity have something yet to learn of the Socialist movement.

Men under subpoena in Washington tell the story of a trade in munitions of war that causes the blood to run cold in the veins of people of decent sentiment. "We certainly are in one hell of a business," writes a munitions salesman in South America. "It would be a terrible state of affairs if my conscience started to bother me now." But fifty thousand men lie dead in the steaming jungles of the Gran Chaco, shot, blasted to bits, stung by insects, bitten by hideous snakes, dead of hunger and thirst, just because American arms companies had guns to sell!

American munitions manufacturers dividing the world with foreign munitions men, and allowing the unspeakable Sir Basil Zaharoff to make a profit of two million dollars on American submarines alone; while other munitions dealers send high-salaried men with palms "greased" to wreck conferences where men are silly enough to talk of the unattainable dream of universal peace!

A POLITICAL campaign sweeps the country. "Vote for..." "We point with pride!" "We view with alarm!" "Down with!" "Hurrah for the People's Friend!"

A man takes a large part of the Socialist platform, makes a new platform for himself, and sweeps an old party primary election. And before the people can catch their breath he confers with his erstwhile opponent for the nomination, forms a pact with him and agrees to toss the decent parts of his platform overboard. "Call me Jim," he says National Democratic Chairman Farley tells him.

Everywhere men talking, thinking, listening. A little stir. A little thought. Germs of ideas.

"Down with capitalism, the cause of all the ills we suffer from." "That sounds good to me. Maybe there's something in it. Let me listen."

The feverish drive to bolster up the profit system rapidly failing—BECAUSE IT CANNOT SUCCEED WHILE CAPITALISM LASTS! Men suffer everywhere. Women starve and face the future with blanched faces. Despair for children... The system reels and totters.

"A world for the workers. A warless world. A world without exploiters. A world of peace and plenty..."

"There's the man we must listen to. He has something to say."

Everywhere ferment. Everywhere tortured souls. Everywhere Tories trying to thwart even the poor, pitiful attempts of the Brain Trusters to face the miserable conditions in which we find ourselves.

A world of plenty... rotting on the ground for want of buyers.

A world of starvation in the midst of abundance. A world of strike and agony.

Minneapolis... San Francisco... Milwaukee... Toledo... textiles... motors... garments... in the mines and the onion fields... Everywhere.

Why must some agonize for the mere means of life while others wallow in unbelievable luxury? Why may some just raise prices, while others must battle for weeks and face tear gas and clubs and guns merely to win the right to make ends meet?

CA IRA! the French sang in their great Revolution. That will go! These things will go. There will be peace and plenty. Forward to it! Forward to a world in which human beings can live, a world that can be won only by the workers who suffer today and who will enjoy what they have made... tomorrow.

FORWARD! MARCH!



By John Rogers of Rebel Arts

high, there are joy in the places where live. Every day reports of increased by bigger dividends. Every day millions of who have pitiful in struggle so takes on the proper-able civil war just ke ends meet.

y engage in such anteed as a sacred in case General rgotten—the police

are there to club them until the blood flows from bleeding heads; the judges are prepared with injunctions; editors are ready with their homilies, preachers make direct reports upon the will of God, and the governors call the militia to use bayonets, tear gas, clubbed rifles and often bullets to teach the workers the place to which their employers in their wisdom would like to consign them.

Prices rise sky-high, and there is no machinery to stop them. Profits rise, and the income of

wealthy men and women grow fast and ever faster with no effort on their part. But to win the right to live in conditions a little better than the swine who root in filth the workers must engage in battles that often become cosmic convulsions!

THE stock ticker sputters and rattles its story of profits; the tape unwinds its story that megas that millions of children will have no evening meal and can hope for no decent clothing.



# Winning and Losing Communist Revolutions

By Otto Bauer

Translated by Hersh Rosenfeld

[This is the third installment of a remarkable article by Otto Bauer, great Austrian Socialist leader, in which he discloses the sources of the barrage of Communist slanders against the heroic Austrian Socialists, and discusses Communist methods in revolutions. A fourth section will appear next week.]

**W**HAT purpose is served by the tower of lies raised by the Communists about the Austrian Socialist uprising of last February? It serves to "prove" that the working class can come out victorious in an armed insurrection only under Communist leadership, as it did in Leningrad in 1917. Under the "traitorous" leadership of the Social Democrats every uprising of the working class is lost.

Is that so? Have proletarian revolutions led by Communists never been crushed? Has Bela Kun, who now knows exactly how to lead a revolution to victory, completely forgotten the history of the Hungarian revolution of 1919 led by himself, which ended in a terrific catastrophe? Has the history of the uprising of the workers in Middle Germany been forgotten—

the history brought forth by Paul Levi in his dreadful and, even today, instructive accusation against the Communist leadership of the uprising? Has the history of that Canton uprising been forgotten, the one in which Communist leaders from Russia led the Chinese workers into a bloody catastrophe? The history of the Communist International ever since 1918 is full of bloody defeats of the proletariat under Communist leadership.

Truly, the workers in Leningrad did emerge victorious in November, 1917, and gained power under Communist leadership. But first let us enumerate the differences between the situation in Leningrad during November, 1917, and Vienna during February, 1934.

In November, 1917, war was raging. The Russian army consisted not of recruited mercenaries but of workers and peasants called to military service. It had suffered terrific defeats on the battlefield that had weakened its discipline. Already in the revolutionary fights of March, 1917, complete bodies of troops went over to the revolutionists; that is why the March revolution conquered the Czarist regime. During the following months the Russian army was disbanded. The peasant soldiers, tired of war and hungry for land, left the trenches and garrisons and ran home. The workers in soldiers' uniforms refused to obey their commanding officers. When the workers and soldiers rose under the leadership of the Bolsheviks in November, 1917, the Kerensky government did not have a single regiment at its disposal to rely upon. Only a couple hundred of Junkers from the military academy defended the government.

Can we compare this revolutionary situation to the state of affairs in Austria during February, 1934?

Another altogether different comparison forces itself upon our minds. One year before the February uprising Hitler came into power in Germany. At that time there was in Germany a mighty Communist party, a party that rallied one-half of the German working class; a party that in the decisive positions—in Berlin, in the Ruhr Basin, in the industrially developed points of Middle Germany—was stronger than the Social Democracy. What did the German Communists do then? They did not take up the strike. They did not fire a single shot. They capitulated without a fight. But after their capitulation the Executive Committee of the Communist International convened in Moscow in order to pass judgment upon the behavior of the German Communist Party.

The German delegate, Richter, stated that an uprising of the German workers against Hitler would have been hopeless and at the price of unnecessary victims. "It would have been criminal irresponsibility to issue a call for an uprising," said delegate Richter.

Manuilsky, the president of the Communist International, agreed with Richter. "The party," said Manuilsky, "relied upon one part of the proletariat, split by the Social Democracy, and isolated by the peasantry and by the city petit bourgeoisie. It had no armed forces at its disposal at all." Manuilsky draws the following conclusion: "It would have been sheer 'putschism' to take up arms against the fascist bands and against the Reichswehr." The Executive Committee of the Communist International also subscribed to the justification of the capitulation. It declared the fight less a capitulation of the great German Communist Party than a "prudent and necessary maneuver of retreat."

Besides, the capitulation of the German Communist Party without a battle has been repeated now in Bulgaria. Bulgaria is the only European country outside of the Soviet Union in which the majority of the workers follow not the Social Democracy but the Communists. The Bulgarian generals can even now set up their military dictatorship without causing the slightest resistance of the great Communist Party of Bulgaria.

The Communist International also used the moral authority of Dimitrov in order to attack the Social Democracy. We have not as yet heard Dimitrov criticize the capitulation without a battle of his nearest party comrades—the Bulgarian Communists.

The Social Democracy in Austria preferred a desperate struggle under the most unfavorable condi-

tions to a flightless capitulation. The Communist parties in Germany and in Bulgaria capitulated without a fight. But the Communist International that justified and sanctioned the flightless capitulation of the German Communists decries and slanders the desperate revolutionary struggle of the Austrian Social Democracy.

## McLevy and Vladeck At Maurer Dinner

**P**HILADELPHIA.—Jasper McLevy, Socialist Mayor of Bridgeport, Conn., and B. C. Vladeck, business manager of the Jewish Daily Forward, will be the speakers at the Testimonial Dinner arranged by local Philadelphia in honor of James H. Maurer, candidate for U. S. Senator, and Dr. Jesse H. Holmes, candidate for Governor in the State of Pennsylvania. The banquet is set for Friday, October 19, at the Broad St. Mansion. The price is \$1.00 per person and reservation can be made at the Party Headquarters, 810 Locust St., Phila., Pa.

Local Philadelphia's campaign committee has increased the edition of the second number of "The Socialist Campaigner" from 17,000 to 30,000. Six issues in all will be published of the paper during the campaign. A house-to-house distribution machinery has been set up.

Julius Deutsch, leader of the Austrian Schutzbund, has been booked for a mass meeting to be held Friday evening, November 9.

**25  
Cents**

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Dear Comrades:

Will you please credit us with the eighteen subscriptions, for we are working to obtain many, many more. We feel that we can not be without The New Leader, for it is one of the best Labor Papers today in the United States.

Yours for Socialism!

Mr. & Mrs. A. F. Zager  
North Chicago, Illinois.

We have received dozens of letters from every part of the country of the same nature.

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## The Workers Abroad

(Continued from Page 4)

wegians, the Northern committee, in which the other countries: Denmark, Iceland, Finland and Sweden, are represented, held its ordinary annual meeting. Various questions of organization were discussed and it was unanimously agreed to place the Secretariat for next year in Helsingfors. The first year it was in Copenhagen, the current year in Stockholm and now the Finns are to conduct the affairs of the Secretariat.

### I.L.P. in New Move for Unity

THE fast-dwindling Independent Labor Party of Great Britain appears still to be trying to justify its secession from the Labor Party and the Labor and Socialist International. When it made these two breaks it announced that it could serve as an agent to reunite the warring sections of the International. Its latest effort is a letter dated September 5th to the Socialist and Communist parties in Austria, in which after duly rejoicing over the United Council of Action (united front in which the tiny and insignificant Communist Party of Austria joined the mighty Austrian Social Democracy) the I.L.P. asks the Austrian comrades to see what can be done about organizing an all-inclusive international conference of all working class organizations for united action against war and fascism.

A. Fenner Brockway, Secretary of the I.L.P. who signs the letter, concludes with the information that "In this country we have reached a basis of agreement with the Communist Party for common action on this specific issue." The significance of that sentence lies in the insignificance of the Communist Party in Great Britain, and the fact that the I.L.P. left that mighty Labor Party to seek what is called these days a "new re-orientation." One footnote was not appended to Brockway's letter; he did not report that the Communist Party of Great Britain is continuing the vilification and slander against the I.L.P. that is its stock in trade against all organizations, excepting only the Stalinist Communist.

### Trotskyist Politics

I AM indebted to my friend, Meyer Raphael, for a Trotskyist document from England. The Communist League of that country ran no candidates at a recent by-election, urging its members to boycott the Communist Party candidates, and to vote for the Labor Party. Five reasons are given for the advice; the main reason appears to be that by giving Labor a chance at office the Socialists will show their treachery and by their betrayals will open up the way for real workers' rule. At least, that is all I can make of the document.

### CHICAGO RECORDS EXCELLENT PROGRESS

By G. R. Dubin

CHICAGO.—The Sixth Congressional District Branch has just completed its summer activities, including bi-weekly open-air meetings and the establishment of Unemployed Local 15, the latter received impetus from a mass meeting Sept. 20.

The Socialist Open Forum starts its second season under the sponsorship of the branch. The first meeting is Friday, Oct. 5, at 3437 Roosevelt Road, with meetings on every Friday thereafter. The following stimulating program has been announced:

Oct. 5—Symposium: "Is the United Front of all Working Class Parties in the United States Possible?" Speakers: Arthur Mc-

Dowell, Socialist Party; A. Goss, Communist Party; Lidia Beidel, Communist Opposition, and Ralph Chaplin, I.W.W.

Oct. 12—Albert Goldman, eye-witness of the Minneapolis strike, on "Lessons of the Minneapolis Strike."

Oct. 19—Clarence Senior, National Secretary of the Socialist Party, on "The Growing Influence of the Socialist Party."

Oct. 26—J. Siegel, editor of the Chicago Forward, will discuss the "Duties and Responsibilities of a Socialist Newspaper."

Arthur McDowell, the new county secretary, is being honored by the branch at a banquet Saturday, Oct. 6, at the Roosevelt Hall, 3437 Roosevelt Road.

### Farmers Build Educational Film Circuit

Arrangements for supplying sound film equipment and educational films to farmers' groups in North and South Dakota, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan have been completed between W. A. Harju and the Garrison Film Distributors. The contract provides for the supplying of films and projectors to be used on the first educational film circuit in the farming territory.

It is expected that the circuit will extend to several more northwestern states, thus bringing educational and scientific films into small villages, churches and farmsteads.

### SAN ANTONIO HOLDS FINE MEETING

By Harry Plampin

SAN ANTONIO, Tex. — Roy Burt of Chicago spoke at Woodmans Hall here on Sept. 11. In spite of bad weather there was an attendance of 250. Comrade Burt spoke for one solid hour and held his audience without the usual heckling, though there was a good turnout of our Communist friends at the meeting. The question period was then opened and Comrade Burt handled the answers like a veteran and cooled off the Stalinists. Seven dollars were taken in on the collection, and five dollars' worth of literature sold.

Before Roy Burt was introduced, Herbert M. Shelton, candidate for Congress, made an address on "Is Famine the Way Out?" Harry Plampin, literature agent, made an appeal for the reading of the Socialist press and stressed the importance of the Labor Day issue. Three persons subscribed to the special three months' offer of The New Leader.

### TO GET IDAHO TICKET ON THE BALLOT

By D. P. Donahue

State Secretary

POCATELLO, Idaho.—The Socialist Party here is tirelessly working to place its nominees' names on the state ballot this fall. Sept. 27 is the closing date for filing the names of the candidates in Boise. The filing fee is 1% of the salary paid for each office. This amounts to \$337.50 for all our candidates. The state office of the party, Pocatello, Box 182, urges readers of The New Leader to assist in the raising of these funds to place the party on the ballot.

The party held its nominating convention in compliance with the state law in Twin Falls, August 14. The Socialist candidates are: Governor, A. L. Adams; Lieut. Governor, T. J. Connors; Secretary of State, H. H. Freedheim; Treasurer, Ray Overhulse; Auditor, Dr. Geo. A. Aupperle; Supt. of Public Instruction, Geo. F. Hibner; Inspector of Mines, Geo. P. Dawson, and U. S. Congressman, D. P. Donahue.

### Party Notes

California

Cameron King, E. E. Porter and Samuel S. White of the state committee have sent a letter to all local and branches regarding Upton Sinclair which, in part, declares:

"Socialism is a national and an international problem. To free labor from the bonds of capitalism requires correspondingly a national and an international organization. This cannot be built up by supporting the Democratic Party. The Roosevelt democracy is not a Socialist organization. Roosevelt emphatically is not a Socialist. When Upton Sinclair accepts Roosevelt's New Deal as a national program, he abandons his former Socialism and agrees to support Roosevelt's proposals to maintain capitalism with its 'honest profits.'"

"It is foolish to expect that Sinclair, even if successful in November, can develop and expand his program so as to establish Socialism in California. The destruction of the Non-Partisan program in North Dakota by capitalist pressure is a slight indication of what will happen here. The primary election has shown that Sinclair will have only a small minority of the legislature and cannot put through even his EPIC program."

Connecticut

By B. Bowman

Norwich. The branch has opened headquarters in the Sumner Bldg. on Franklin Square, the finest place in the city. The 2nd Congressional District campaign will be waged from here for our candidate, Arthur E. Eddie. Comrade Vanitty for Lt. Governor will speak Sunday, Sept. 30. Jacob Panken and Matthew Levy of New York, Devere Allen will speak at mass meetings. National Chairman Krzycki may also speak. We will have a great campaign, give the fat boys a run for their money, and try to send Jasper McLevy to Hartford. Strikers are receiving an education in this district which cost 15 per cent of the votes in the last election.

We will distribute The New Leader among the strikers.

Pennsylvania

Order leaflets and posters immediately. Leaflets include platform, statements by Comrades Holmes and Maurer, An Appeal from the Young to Parents, and an Appeal to Women Voters. Large posters for display at polling places, small card board posters for general display, and a last minute appeal to be distributed near polling places.

Fred Henderson will lecture in Pennsylvania in February, and Tony Sender, former Socialist member of the German Parliament, in January. Comrade Sender speaks English fluently. Branches wishing meetings with these speakers and our State candidates should write immediately.

Several branches have not as yet reported on the August Project "A" on Membership and should do so immediately.

For October, each branch must report at least two campaign meetings. The State Office is prepared to assist with speakers and announcements.

Berks County (Reading) reports that the campaign in the 13th Congressional District, entirely in Berks County, got under way last week. The Legislative Campaign in Reading will begin this week. Organizer Bigony writes: "Our members are more active than in any other campaign since 1931. Block workers are on the job. We have 41 registrars in the city. Their slogan is, 'Hoopes and Wilson must go back!'"

The party enters the campaign with a full state ticket, U. S. Senator, Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of the Commonwealth, Judge of Superior Court, 28 out of 34 Congressmen, 18 out of 25 State Senators and 135 out of 208 members of the General Assembly.

Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) reports that Walter N. Citrine, President of the International Federation of Trade Unions and Secretary of the British Trade Union Congress, will be in Pittsburgh Oct. 14; Julius Deutsch, leader of the Austrian Schutzbund, on Nov. 19; Tony Sender in January and Fred Henderson in February.

Five campaign committees, each covering a Congressional district, were organized. Chairman Edward Mueller of the 30th District reports plans to secure campaign headquarters for five weekly "house-to-house" literature distributions covering a population of 40,000 and a series of indoor meetings.

Jefferson County (Brookville). R. V. Johns reports the Socialist registration in his county rose from 12 in 1932 to 166 in 1934. The county has a full ticket and began the campaign with three meetings with Jesse H. Holmes. Lena Morrow Lewis speaks on Sept. 26 in the Court House at Brookville; Sept. 27, outdoor meeting at Sykesville; 28, outdoor meeting at Punxsutawney.

Lawrence County (New Castle) reports they will have a campaign meeting with Comrade Lewis on Sept. 24 in the Council Chambers, City Hall, New Castle.

Crawford County (Linesville) reports a meeting with Comrade Lewis on Sept. 22.

Clarion County (Rimersburg) reports meeting with Comrade Lewis on Sept. 25 at Broad and Main Sts. In the event of rain, it will be held at the Odd Fellows Hall.

Clearfield County (Curwensville) reports a meeting with Comrade Lewis on Sept. 29 which will complete more than a month of dates with Comrade Lewis, arranged by the state office. Results are more than satisfactory, with old branches reviving activities and new branches given fine cooperation of an oldtime organizer.

New Jersey

Newark. August Claessens will speak on "The New Deal and Present Day Conditions" in Liberty Hall, 16th Ave. and 18th St., Monday night, Sept. 24. Clara Handelmann of the Newark Yipsels will speak on "The Youth of Today."

This is the first of a series of meetings to be held by 13th ward branch. Herman Niessner, Socialist candidate for

Governor, will speak in the same hall on Oct. 6.

Jersey City. Street meeting at Central Ave. and Charles St. Saturday evening, Sept. 22. Speakers to be announced.

West New York. Street meeting at 17th and Bergenline Ave. with prominent speakers Saturday evening, Sept. 22. Textile strikers will attend.

Passaic. Branch 1 continues weekly outdoor meetings with Esther Friedman as speaker on Saturday, Sept. 22, at 8:30.

Important organization meeting Friday, Sept. 28, at 585 Main Ave. A program for winter activities of the branch will be mapped out.

The Rand School of Social Sciences Extension Class will begin Thursday, Nov. 15. All party members are urged to sign up.

Yipsels and party members are busily engaged in helping United Textile Workers in Passaic and vicinity.

Next business meeting Friday, September 21.

New Brunswick. Branch held a joint meeting with the Perth Amboy branch at New Brunswick on Sept. 13 to elect a new county committee. Those elected were Comrades Kohn, Schlegel, Mrs. Choffe, Perelman, Haustn and Wild.

Michigan

Extensive speaking tours are planned for Comrades Larsen and Monarch, the party's candidates for Governor and U. S. Senator. They will address meetings every day till election day. Locals throughout the state are sponsoring rallies at which all party candidates will appear.

Wayne County. Paul Hansen will be the first visiting speaker for the winter forum series. He will speak at the Danish Brotherhood Hall, Forest and 12th, Thursday evening, Sept. 27.

Campaign activity is in full swing. Funds are urgently needed to make a vigorous campaign.

Branch 1. First speaker at the regular Saturday evening will be Dr. G. A. Washington who will speak on "Epochs of American History."

Comrades are informed of the breakdown in health of Ralph Gale, member of the executive committee. He can be visited at the Herman Kiefer Hospital.

Branch 2. Business meetings Wednesday evenings.

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## Hush! Hush! Don't Let the Cat Out of the Bag! It Hurts Business!

A COMMITTEE of the United States Senate uncovers the vile details of the armament racket, showing how American munitions firms have agents in South America to induce the Republics on that continent to buy big guns and high explosives, and to nurse along any actual or threatening war in the interest of business and profits.

And herewith comes a protest from Buenos Aires.

Not a protest against the vile traffic in destruction, but a protest that the exposures are bad for American business in South America!

John W. White, New York Times correspondent in the Argentine capital, cables his paper, "Ten years of hard, patient work by United States government agencies and United States business men to regain South American good will has been deeply harmed by the sensational testimony in the United States Senate arms investigation."

"South Americans only recently have begun to feel some confidence toward North Americans as this patient, hard work gradually lifted United States prestige out of the depths into which it had sunk during the boom years following the World War."

It took ten years, says Mr. White, to persuade the Argentines "that United States business men are honest and straight dealing, but now, according to an officer of the American Chamber of Commerce here [in Buenos Aires] no Argentine government official dares to receive a United States representative in his office."

"He would immediately be branded as a

grafter," this officer said."

This incident reminds one of another episode of nearly two decades ago, when William G. McAdoo, then Secretary of the Treasury, was on a honeymoon trip around South America with his bride, daughter of President Wilson, on a United States warship.

After visiting East Coast ports, the ship proceeded up the West Coast, stopping at Valparaiso and other Chilean ports. At that time relations between Chile and Peru were strained to the breaking and near-war point over some tremendous trifle, and the business and society crowd in the Peruvian capital was preparing to outdo the Chilean welcome in Callao and Lima. But it was learned that there was bubonic plague in the port of Callao, and the American warship, after doing the honors to Chile, skipped Peru.

The result was an International Incident of almost unbelievable seriousness. The "McAdoo Snub" became a burning issue, and both Peruvian and American business people in Lima filed violent protests to Washington.

Of course, the crux of the matter was that the "Snub" called public attention to the plague in Callao harbor, and that was bad for business. Better expose the McAdoos to the plague than expose Callao to a loss of trade!

This is capitalist business. Profits before all; human lives, human decency, the very survival of civilization do not count, so long as the profits continue.

Capitalism must be destroyed before the human race can begin to live! Work for Socialism!



## The New Leader Book Corner

### Austrian Struggle Re-Lives In New Book by Deutsch

**THE CIVIL WAR IN AUSTRIA.**  
By Julius Deutsch, Commander,  
the Austrian Republican Guard.  
Translated by David P. Beren-  
berg. Published by the Socialist  
Party, 549 Randolph St., Chicago.  
80 pages, six illustrations.

"I SAW the effects of the shell fire with which Dollfuss destroyed the Socialist government of Vienna, one of the most blood-thirsty, unwarranted, inexcusable employments of armed force against helpless women and children in all history." Thus Frank Knox, publisher of the Chicago Daily News—an organ certainly not to be credited with excess of sympathy for Socialism or Socialists—describes his impression of the February, 1934, Socialist revolt in Austria.

The Socialist Party has just published the first Socialist analysis and description in English by participants and eye witnesses of the struggle against the rise to dictatorship of the Dollfuss regime. Julius Deutsch, commander of the Republican Guard (*Schutzbund*), who lost an eye in the combat, presents a stirring picture of the Socialist battle against the clerical fascists now ruling Austria.

Fighter, scholar and Socialist, Dr. Deutsch is well qualified not only to describe the military events of the February revolt, but to analyze the political and social forces behind the contest. A doctorate from the University of Zurich, experience as an artillery officer in the World War, and thirteen years' participation in the Viennese and Austrian governments as legislator and minister—all go to make his narrative profound as well as exciting.

The historian of Austrian events will be indeed handicapped if he overlooks Dr. Deutsch's first-hand account of the rise of Dollfuss. The book is source material of the first rank. The Socialist—or for that matter the conservative student of social problems—can scarcely claim to be thorough in

his study of revolutionary movements without using some of the material here presented. The book is attractively printed and stirring illustrations. By choosing to publish it in paper covers, the Socialist Party has kept the price so low as to make its possession possible to all.

### The Reichstag Hero

**DIMITROV.** By Stella D. Blagoyeva. International Publishers.

ONE of the most striking characters of recent months is, without doubt, Georgi Dimitrov, one of the three Bulgarian Communists charged by the Nazi savages with complicity in the burning of the Reichstag building. Dimitrov's magnificent behavior before the Leipzig court, his bold defiance of the blustering ruffian Göring in open court, and his final address to the court—and to the world—constitute a notable chapter in revolutionary history.

Stella D. Blagoyeva, prominent Bulgarian Communist, is author of this biography of Dimitrov, which contains a stenographic report of the prisoner's final address. The book is a fascinating one, and the story of underground revolutionary work in Bulgaria reminds one of the stories of Stepaniak about the underground revolutionary movement of Russia many years ago.

But like all Communists, the author cannot overlook an opportunity to slander and vilify the Socialists and even the non-Stalinist Communists. What set out, therefore, to be a splendid story of a brave and significant revolutionary figure degenerates to a large measure into a conventional Communist text-book of mud-slinging.

Socialists thrilled to the courage of Dimitrov and his comrades. Communists, even in the face of Dimitrov's heroism and the Socialist reaction to it, cannot forego their opportunity to slander. If they want to know why the working class is divided, maybe they can find the answer just there.

W. M. F.

## Labor Makes Big Gains In Australian Election

THE Labor Party made heavy gains in the elections for the Federal Parliament held throughout Australia Saturday. While a complete victory, carrying with it control of the government, was denied them, they succeeded in increasing their strength and depriving Premier Lyons, renegade Labor Party man, of his clear majority.

The three labor parties polled the highest vote in the Commonwealth, but because of their deviation they did not win control.

The striking feature of the election was the heavy increase scored by the so-called Lang party, denounced as Labor extremists. The Communists increased their vote but elected nobody. An interesting aspect of the election was the fact that in Melbourne and the remainder of Victoria, where former Labor Premier J. H. Scullin is in control of the Labor Party, the Communists gained substantially, but in Sydney and other sections of New South Wales, where J. T. Lang's influence is strong and controls the labor movement, they made no headway at all.

There were 3,075,303 votes altogether. Labor polled 863,628; "Extreme" Labor, the faction led by Lang, polled 483,182, while there were 41,200 Communist votes, a total of 1,394,010. Premier Lyons' "United Australia" party polled 1,120,768, and it requires the reinforcement of the 364,913 votes of

the Country party, the Australian Tories, to give that Labor renegade his mandate to form a new ministry.

The House of Representatives was reduced from 75 to 74 members. The following shows the line-up of parties:

United Australia Party.....	34
Country Party.....	14
Official Labor Party.....	18
Lang Party.....	8

In the last House the two Labor parties had 19 seats.

At the election of 1929 the Labor Party elected 46 out of 75 members and formed a government with Scullin as Premier. Disputes over fiscal matters broke out, and Premier Lang of New South Wales broke with the major portion of the party. The anti-labor press insists he stood for repudiation of the financial obligations of the government.

Elections were held in 1931, at which time due to the deepening crisis, the Lang-Scullin split and other causes the Labor Party suffered a severe defeat and J. A. Lyons, former Labor member of the House, became Premier as head of the new United Australia Party. The losses from 1929 are rapidly being regained.

Thus for the second time a renegade led the anti-labor forces in a battle against the Labor Party. And for the second time the shattered labor forces survived a terrific "patriotic" attack, and promise to come out of the struggle stronger than ever.

By Norman Thomas

## TIMELY TOPICS

### A Letter to Senator Nye

MY dear Senator Nye:

First let me congratulate you and your committee on the excellent work you are doing in connection with the munitions inquiry. Next permit me to call attention to two bits of news in the paper which I think are of concern to your committee.

The Associated Press reports this morning that an airplane crashed near Bedford, Pa., carrying 395 pounds of tear-gas from the "Federal Laboratories" in Pittsburgh to Providence. Here there seems to be a sale of munitions for sale in domestic warfare. What are the Federal Laboratories in Pittsburgh? Surely not a government enterprise. To whom were those tear-gas bombs consigned? May it not be as profitable for munition makers to stir up domestic dissension as for rivalry in arms? The matter will bear investigation.

There was also in last night's New York World-Telegram a brief and somewhat obscure reference to the fact that the sale of surplus arms by the federal government was stopped in 1933 because of possible need for their use in connection with the unemployed. Whether the unemployed were to be armed or the arms were needed against the unemployed was by no means plain. Does not this matter require further elucidation?

### And a Letter to General Johnson

IN your speech in Carnegie Hall, Sept. 14th, you made a statement and implication about the textile strike and my relation to it which are not in accordance with facts, which should not have been made without investigation, and which now requires correction from you.

The last thing in the world that I want to do is to apologize for the textile strike or my support of it. You have, however, done an injury to truth, and perhaps an injury to the strikers, by alleging that a speech which I made to the convention of the United Textile Workers made the strike political and by implying that I among others "circulated around among the delegates and told them that the government would feed the strikers."

My address to the convention was at its invitation. It would have been given regardless of any strike situation. It was a coincidence that it was given on the day when the textile strike was discussed. I expressly told the convention that not even the friendliest outsider had a right to decide the momentous question of whether or not to strike, but



Norman Thomas

that if they struck I was heart and soul with them and would do all that I could to help them as I have done before. I then went on to other matters, as the record of the convention will show.

The strike vote arose from the deep-seated determination of the delegates and those they represented. The overwhelming majority of the delegates doubtless vote the Democratic ticket, provided they earn enough to pay the poll tax which the Democratic South requires in order to disfranchise as many workers as possible. No officials of the union could have stopped the strike vote if they had so desired.

So far was I from assuring the delegates that the government would feed the strikers that, on the contrary, I said I would do what I could to help them raise relief. I knew both from logic and experience that local committees dominated by the sort of psychology which you have displayed would insist on keeping hunger as the ally of property interests in this controversy, no matter what might be Mr. Hopkin's intent.

I am on the side of the workers for the same reason that I am a Socialist; namely, that I believe that their effective and intelligent organization is our hope for winning either justice or true freedom.

The agitator who made possible this strike, as you ought to know, is resentment of the workers against unredressed wrongs; against sympathetic chiseling on the codes; against the provision in the codes for less than a living wage; against the stretch-out system which the code authorities have countenanced; against the blacklisting in mill after mill of workers active in the union. In the name of recovery of prosperity you yourself have favored a reduction in the amount of cloth made by workers whose own children cannot afford to have underclothes.

It has long been apparent that the textile industry would remain the most chaotic and miserably exploited in America unless and until the workers could enforce a general improvement in all branches North and South. Local strikes almost inevitably are doomed to failure. A nation-wide strike may get somewhere, to the help of the whole country. Surely you will not have failed to notice that the worst and most indefensible mob violence occurred in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, in connection with a mill that had previously smashed the union and thereby lessened its control over a mob of men and women embittered by long exploitation and poverty. When in the face of facts like these you make yourself, in spite of your high position, the demagogic partisan of the mill owners, you both invite and increase the suspicion that under your leadership NRA may degenerate into a quasi-fascist scheme for standardizing work and workers.

I am, of course, making this letter public and I am sending copies to the President, to the Secretary of Labor, and to various labor officials for their information.

## To Offer Strike Mediation

(Continued from Page One)

course, I would neither approve nor condemn. I trust that the strike will soon have an amicable adjustment, and that capital and labor may again work together, as it is so essential to the welfare of both as well as to the general public."

Doesn't that remind you of "trying to catch a greased pig?"

Representative Doughton is being mentioned as a candidate for Governor of North Carolina two years hence and already bears the endorsement of that state's Federation of Labor. He is one of "labor's friends" in Congress!

### Russian Debt Talk Ends in Anger

SECRETARY OF STATE HULL and Soviet Ambassador Troyanowsky showed as much anger as diplomats ever allow themselves to show when Mr. Hull turned down the Soviet's "last and best" offer for settlement of the debts. They said good-bye to each other as if they meant it for good.

The families of both, the Yankee trader and the Soviet bargainer, spend their summers in the Virginia hills, but they hold themselves aloof and make sure not to cross each others' paths. Never-

theless, rumors have it that bargaining will soon be resumed. Some in the State Department, notably Assistant Secretary R. Walton Moore, learned of a strong reaction in the press of the country against the delay in removing the last (and what really ought to be the least) barrier to American trading with Russia. They begin to hear the cry, "Don't stall; play ball!"

### Industrialists to Demand More Monopolistic Powers

A COMMITTEE of leading capitalists, headed by George Huston, president of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, is going to issue a "new policy" statement soon. Just what the new policy statement will contain is supposed to be a deep dark secret, but some of the prime movers are "confiding" to newspapermen some of the suggested plans. That good old game of "confidence" is often played by people who are not sure of reaction of the public and prefer to leave out "trial balloons" in the form of predictions made by this or that unauthorized prognosticator.

Some of these predictions have it that the new policy will de-

clare for revisions in the Recovery Act to permit monopolistic control of some industries under government supervision—a modified Cartel plan. Modification of anti-trust laws for other industries also would be envisioned in this proposal, with much greater provisions for self-government than at present under NRA.

### Professor Tugwell's Trip to Europe

IN spite of the many official denials, politicians are convinced that Dr. Rex G. Tugwell's departure for Europe last week—to attend the International Agricultural Institute in Rome—was timed to have him far from the scene of the congressional campaign. Republican anti-New Dealers are sailing violently into the Undersecretary of Agriculture as the planner-in-chief of the Roosevelt cult, and Democratic strategists apparently came to the conclusion that with Tugwell out of the country at this psychological moment there might be a little less incentive to use him as a New Deal target.

Every now and then the report crops up that Tugwell's days in the administration are numbered and that it will not be long before he becomes head of a great university, a field of activity said to represent his fondest aspirations. Democratic conservatives hope he will realize them without much delay.