

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
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In Three Sections—Sec. 1

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Crime—and Starving Children

Roosevelt Rallies Police While Causes Remain

By Benjamin Meiman

Our Washington Correspondent

IT'S just a coincidence that the big talk against crime came just as the income tax report saw daylight. Nobody in power meant to point even remotely to any connection between the two. The fact that 91% of the taxpayers earn less than \$5,000 a year (remember 91% of the taxpayers, not of the entire population,) while some "earn" more than a million a year, may have a hell-of-a-lot to do with that crime wave. A system that brings to some individuals incomes of 3, 4, and 5 millions a year, while 23 millions are subjected to relief is bound to have crime and criminals.

Let the crime conference in Washington put that in its pipe and smoke it.

The Crime Conference

President Roosevelt called for "the backing of every man, every woman and every adolescent child" for a never-ending campaign against "crime as a whole," and upon persons in positions of authority he pressed the task of welding all crime-preventing and law-enforcement agencies into one invincible machine, running on a cooperative basis.

The President made his appeal (Continued on Page Six)

Big Business Would Strangle All Thought

"MAKE the United States a cattle stockade guarded by police and spies." This might well be the slogan of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. Its board of directors has sent legislative proposals to local chambers to consider before the next annual meeting in May. Two of the proposals follow:

"That a sedition law be enacted, prohibiting advocacy of violent overthrow of the Federal Government or of all forms of law, or advocacy of injury to Federal officers because of their official character.

"That use of the mails be denied to matter which advocates or which is published or distributed by an organization which advocates subversive doctrines."

These are two basic ideas which are followed by proposals directed against aliens whose social philosophy does not conform to the U. S. Chamber's. They would be denied citizenship or be deported.

The proposals for a sedition law and denial of mailing rights to publications which advocate "subversive doctrines" are drastic and little short of masked dictatorship. In practice it means that the ideas of the capitalist class shall be the supreme law of the land.

Lord of Motors Kingdom Sends a Message to His Subjects

ALFRED P. SLOAN, JR., president of the General Motors dynasty, has spoken with lordly authority. He would have his subjects and the subjects of all corporation dynasties organized as "free workers" in a "works council" system instead of in trade unions. They would then be happy. The message from the motors throne also carries this solemn opinion:

"It is axiomatic in employer-employee relationships that organized labor, as such, can never be satisfied. It is the necessity of never stopping in its demands that forces leaders of organized labor to exert an unsound and uneconomic influence on our whole national economy."

His lordship is right. The working masses, organized and unorganized, can never "be satisfied" under the capitalist system. They are under the "necessity of never stopping" in their de-

mands. These demands will continue until corporation dynasties and their ruling lords will no longer dominate the lives of those who toil.

His Lordship speaks of "OUR whole national economy." That's true. It is all yours and YOUR economy has brought the whole world of industry down in ruin. When you speak of the "uneconomic influence" of the workers' demands upon YOUR economy, you mean that their demands conflict with the interests of your class. That's all. Our class also believes that YOUR demands are uneconomic from OUR point of view.

For these reasons we will never "be satisfied" until lords and princes of capital and finance no longer dominate our lives. We will be satisfied only when a Socialist order swallows up the vast enterprises which you hold and which you are unable to keep in operation.

APRA, South American Socialist Party, Sweeps a Continent

By Ben Lichtenberg

TEN years ago there was founded in Peru by Victor Haya de la Torre a political party known as the APRA (*Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana*), which has not only had a phenomenal growth in that country but has spread to Mexico, Argentina, Bolivia, Central America, and the Antilles. Its members call themselves "Economic Marxists," employ the Hegelian or dialectic method in the investigation of the peculiar historical phenomena of Hispano-America, and have a five-point maximum program representing their primary objective, to wit:

1. Against Imperialism.
2. For the Political Unity of Latin-America.
3. For the Nationalization of the Land and Industries.
4. For the Internationalization of the Panama Canal.
5. For solidarity of all the oppressed peoples and classes of the world.

Their "minimum" program has not yet been formulated, but is to be adopted, in the words of their founder "at a Great Economic Congress of representatives of all the producing forces of the country through elected delegates from among the Aprista organisms and advised by technicians." Pending the holding of such a Congress the party "strives for the realization of the postulates indicated by its completely defined ideological doctrine, based on Marxism," and, among other things, calls for the "nationalization of public service utilities and of the land," as well as the progressive nationalization of all industries "oriented toward State Capitalism," encouraging the industrialization of the country, "thus accelerating the arrival at the stage of Socialism."

The New Leader office received a visit last week from Senor Vic-

tor Berger Salazar, a young Peruvian, who is the Secretary-General of the APRA in New York, and to whom the writer is indebted for the data regarding this party.

In Peru, which has a population of 6,000,000, there are 750,000 dues-paying Apristas, who maintain numerous Aprista Houses, cooperative groceries, bookstores, restaurants, etc. They have a cooperative press which publishes 14 dailies and several reviews. They have a youth movement known as FAJ (*Federacion Aprista Juvenil*) and an organization corresponding to our Socialist Guards known as the Legion of Buffaloes, so called after one of their young members, a martyr in their first revolution, who earned the sobriquet of "Buffalo" because of his prodigious strength and valor.

Kingfish, Clown or American Hitler?

HUEY LONG—is he a joke or a danger? Is he just another cheap American politician, or are his antics in Louisiana the beginnings of an American brand of Hitlerism? Next week's New Leader will have an authoritative article about Huey Long—What and Why? by Aaron Levenstein.

In the same issue: A great Christmas poem by Eliot White, with a beautiful drawing by Arthur Fassberg.

In future issues: Articles by Professor Vida D. Scudder of Wellesley College, Gerhart Seger, August Tyler, August Claessens, Adrien Gambet, and many others.

Watch for an article on World Peace by Arthur Henderson, Nobel Peace Prize winner.

YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO MISS THE NEW LEADER!

Despite the fact that a voter must qualify as literate and that there is a very high percentage of illiteracy in Peru (about 50%), the Aprista Party polled a majority in the 1932 elections but was defrauded of its victory by the Peruvian equivalent of Tammany methods, the so-called *Civilistas*. Col. Luis Sanchez Cerro, ruler of the military clique which overthrew President-Dictator Leguia, was declared elected President of the Republic. The Apristas elected 23 deputies to the National Congress, who on taking their seats demanded the restoration of civil rights and a peaceful settlement of the Leticia question with Colombia. Sanchez Cerro thereupon insisted on either getting Leticia or war. Congress then passed an Emergency Act under which these 23 deputies were expelled from the Chamber and deported from the country. This act brought about the Aprista revolution in July 1932, resulting in 6,000 Aprista casualties, wholesale arrests and deportations, and the imprisonment of Haya de la Torre.

After eleven months in office Sanchez Cerro was killed, and Congress, in violation of the constitution, instead of calling for new elections named as president another member of the military coterie and of the *Civilista* party, Senor Benavides. On his accession he issued a decree granting amnesty to all political prisoners as a gesture of friendship and peace. As a result the Aprista party was revived and made tremendous progress. The expelled deputies then appealed to Benavides for reinstatement, but this was denied them by Congress under the pretext that new elections would shortly be held. A date for such elections was fixed by Congress which thrice prorogued. Noting the development

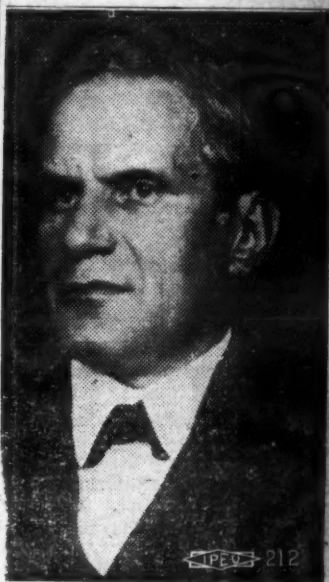
(Continued on Page Two)

Panken Ascends Domestic Court Bench in N.Y.

JACOB PANKEN, one of the most devoted and best-loved of the Socialists of the United States, has been appointed Justice of the Domestic Relations Court of New York City, his service to begin January 1st.

The appointment was made by Mayor LaGuardia upon the recommendation of the Bar Association, and it was accepted by Comrade Panken after he had been granted permission to accept the post by the State Executive Committee, before whom he appeared and presented the facts of the case as soon as the offer had been made.

The judgeship is strictly non-political, and there are no strings to the appointment. Judge Panken will remain free to be active po-



litically in the Socialist Party, answerable in his judicial duties solely to his conscience and his Socialist ideals, and to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court for the legal integrity of his actions.

It was characteristic of the fine spirit of Socialist integrity of Comrade Panken that he insisted upon receiving the permission of the responsible party committee in charge of such matters before agreeing to serve. The party's state constitution provides that no party member may accept a non-civil service position in the state or city government without the consent of the State Executive Committee, the latter to be guided by the nature of the position to be filled. Upon Comrade Panken's assurance that no political obligation was involved, and upon his explanation of the nature of the work of the court, the committee voted to grant him permission to accept the post, with an expression of ap-

(Continued on Page Seven)

Soviet Secret Trials and Executions Not the Justice of a Socialist Order

ON December 1, Sergei Kiroff, aide to Joseph Stalin, was murdered by Leonid Nikolaev in Leningrad. Four days later 66 of 71 persons accused of connection with terrorist plots were ordered shot in secret sessions of circuit courts, of military tribunals and of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union in Moscow and Leningrad. The condemned persons were immediately executed.

Neither the defendants nor the prosecution were represented by counsel. What evidence was presented is not known. The trials and punishment were carried out in one day. They were accused of "preparing and organizing terroristic acts against officials of the Soviet Union."

On December 10, 37 more persons were arrested, this time in the Ukraine, on charges of being connected with White Guard terrorists. At Omsk in Siberia 19 railway officials and workers were taken in on charges of sabotaging transport and causing wrecks, some with counter-

revolutionary intentions. By all accounts transport has for years been the weakest link in Soviet planning. The total number arrested is now 127 and it is likely that more will be arrested. Nine more were shot on Tuesday, making the terror toll 75.

Whatever may be said of the need of any regime protecting itself, the proceedings in Russia have been revolting. Accused persons disappear under arrest. A few days later they are "tried" as a group in one day and 66 are shot without delay. What occurred in the secret proceedings is not known outside. The accused had no counsel and no witnesses were heard or cross examined. Their accusers were their judges and executioners.

If the accused persons were guilty and the government had evidence of it a presentation of the evidence in an open trial would have been convincing. Why withhold damning facts against the accused if such facts are available? Why be content to merely say that the executed persons came to Russia through Latvia and Finland and dismiss the verdict by declaring that they were "White Guard terrorists"? They may be, but what is the evidence to prove that they were? And if it is true, would not the disclosure in an open trial before the whole world have vindicated the prosecution?

In 1923 the trial of 37 Social Revolutionaries was of such a character as to provoke protests all over the world. Even the Socialist lawyers provided in agreement with the Communists withdrew from the trial and left Russia and one Russian lawyer was punished. Judges made speeches in the court room and outside at demonstrations against the 37 accused. However revolting this procedure was, it was at least staged in the open. The recent "trial" was shrouded in the blackest secrecy and 66 persons were ordered shot within a few hours.

If this is "proletarian justice" as Communists claim, we answer, in the name of the working class, that we are not barbarians and that the secret military tribunal cannot be reconciled with the equity of Socialist ideals. Our class may well be stern in the hour of its victory against any conspiracy of reaction and yet retain a high regard for human life; we should be as anxious to vindicate the innocent as to convict the guilty and in so acting give all who are accused the benefit of counsel, submitting testimony, and conducting trials in the open before the whole world. This is proletarian justice, not the star chamber of secret proceedings where evidence and counsel are barred and accusers serve as judges, prosecutors and executioners.

Way Down South

By August Claessens

I am just finishing the third of my four weeks New Leader speaking and organization tour in the Southlands. Spoke in Richmond, Charleston and Savannah on the way down to Florida and since then I have worked in fifteen cities and towns down here on the chin whiskers of the U.S.A.

I am extremely happy to report splendid growth, progress and increase in membership and activity in the Socialist



Party of Florida. As this is my third visit here during the last five years I can testify more accurately as to progress in his unbelievably difficult territory for Socialism. On my first visit in 1929 there were only two small locals in the state and our total membership in Florida was not more than a dozen good locals and members-at-large in practically every county. You cannot come into any fair-sized town without finding some Socialists and thanks to them, find an audience to speak to.

No, this splendid growth is not

Troops called out in Harlan, Kentucky, to protect United Mine Workers officials from armed "deputy sheriffs" of mine owners. The same owners are the sort who howl that the NRA violates the constitution!

MONDAY. — During 1933, 26 more Americans had incomes of over a million than in preceding year, and number and total of incomes under \$25,000 decreased. Total of incomes above a million rose from \$35,239,556 to \$81,558,532. This is Roosevelt's redistribution of wealth. Oh, yes, the NRA is tough on big business. . . . Father Coughlin admits his views are based on papal encyclicals on labor and economics which form basis of Austrian fascist government. . . . Sloan, notorious head of Cotton Textile Institute, asks continuation of NRA with present provisions about child labor. He knows that while they mean practically nothing, they give state legislatures excuse for not passing real child labor legislation.

TUESDAY. — Roosevelt says recapturing foreign markets is necessary for recovery. But nothing has done so much to make this impossible as his own policies of economic nationalism. . . . Soviet government arrests 37 more for "plots" against "workers" government. The workers won't be safe until they're all jailed to keep them from plotting against themselves. British Conservatives claim in Parliament that new plan for government of India protects both self-government of Indians and interests of British capitalists there. Reconciling the irreconcilable. . . . Comrade Seitz, mayor of Vienna, followed everywhere by detectives, who constantly surround his house: he can see only closest relatives and his mail is censored. In other words, he's "free" now. . . .

WEDNESDAY. — Soviet executes nine more in terror campaign. What I want to know: Which side are the terrorists? . . . British chemist defends poison gas warfare on grounds of economy. Economy in money, not in human life and suffering. . . . Göring declines to discuss charges that Nazis set Reichstag fire, calling them filth. It was the Nazis who befouled their own nest.

just due to hard times. The South has always had hard times. Folks here as elsewhere do not think just because their bellies are pinched. They think when they are stimulated to think, when some one opens their eyes, when they are shown the light and when some one gives them credit for some brains and inspires them to intelligent revolt. The fine growth of the Socialist Party here is quite recent. For years a few grand pioneers like M. E. Edson, our State Secretary, Comrade Lindgren of Jacksonville, now State Chairman, Leon and Mrs. Elkins of Miami and F. S. Porter of Jacksonville have carried on alone. Theirs was a hard, thankless and fruitless task. But they carried on.

I first visited them in 1929 and again in 1931. Since then many Socialist propagandists and organizers have worked across this large state, some 500 miles long and at the north some 500 miles wide. Among these comrades were Clarence Senior, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, Covington Hall, Sam Seidman, Frank Manning, Edward and Martha Johnson and an excellent volunteer organizer, H. P. Matteson of Springfield, Ill. These comrades kicked up considerable Florida sand and put life and hope into our original small band. Their meetings and contacts brought in many new members. The seed planted has grown and is spreading. Let me briefly tell what I found in these last three weeks. In this and other articles I will write (one on reaching the Southern people and another on the Negro problem) I hope to impress my comrades that the same good progress made in Florida can be duplicated in the Carolinas, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and other Southern states if we go at the job with will, energy and work.

I found a fine local in Jacksonville and had four meetings with them, the last two very successful. "Poor as snakes," these comrades are to be congratulated for their plugging in the face of great odds. We also had a good little meeting in a fishing village at Mayport on the St. Johns River. I am going back for two more lectures and I am sure a county organization will soon be formed with branches in and around Jacksonville. Along with Porter and Lindgren are several other excellent and devoted workers including a remarkable old comrade, Victor Lieberman, one of the few surviving fighters of the Paris Commune. Comrade Lieberman was also intimate with Karl Marx, Paul Lafarquet and Benjamin Feigenbaum and it was a rare treat for me to listen to his recollections and experiences with the great founders of our philosophy and movement.

I also had a grand meeting in Daytona Beach. Here is a small local and a few good comrades. Our beloved S. P. Kramer, former City Editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, is also here but he is as yet too much of an invalid to be of service. I went on to Orlando but failed to speak there. A Communist blight settled upon the local and it is just convalescing. I was supposed to visit Winter Park, a town close by, but the local refused to accept me; they got news from Northern underground channels that I was "too conservative" to be useful. Well, this was my only nasty experience and turn-down, but these "ardent revolutionists" have pretty well destroyed our locals here and unless all predictions fail, they will soon be back in the Democratic Party.

Thanks to Comrade Edson I hurried on to Lakeland and spoke to some 500 youngsters and teachers at the assembly of the Southern (Methodist) College. Dr. Spivey, the dean, had recently made a fine anti-war speech over the radio. Edson wrote and thanked him and (Continued on Page Eight)

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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.



THE COCK-EYED WEEK

By Adrien Gambet

THURSDAY, Dec. 6. — Krupp munition profits so big, employees get bonus. And if war comes, they may be allowed to stop some of the shells they made, fired from enemy guns. . . . Soviet executes 66 after drum-head court-martial because of Kiroff assassination. It is rumored New York Communists will [not] picket Soviet consulate after they finish demonstrating at German consulate. . . . Senate armament investigation finds munition makers were "forces even more powerful than governments," and that they nullified disarmament clauses of Versailles treaty. What did I tell

you last week? . . . Austrian fascist government frees Comrade Seitz, Mayor of Vienna, after 10 months in prison without charge or trial, but he can't use phone or auto, communicate with any comrade or leave Vienna, and he must report to police twice a week. "Freedom," fascist style. . . . Spain moves towards corporate state. A corporate state is one owned by big corporations.

FRIDAY. — Government's emergency expenditures, July 1-December 4, were \$1,568,620,403, over twice those for same period in 1933. What's become of all the pep-talks about decrease in unemployment? . . . Files of British War Office, showing dealings with munition makers, have disappeared. British Conservatives did not want armament investigation. . . . National Association of Manufacturers adopts fine tory "recovery" platform, calling for a minimum of unemployment relief, lower wages on relief jobs than in "private" industry, no aid to strikers, and unemployment insurance only on local scale (a complete denial of the scientific basis of insurance). This plan would bring the country up to date—about 1850.

SATURDAY. — Secretary of Agriculture Wallace urges 36,000 richest families of nation to adopt new social policy, not to be reactionary Bourbons. Now if he would only urge fish to fly, birds to swim and the Irish to make gefüllte fish the national dish. . . . Ward line made money on "Morro Castle" disaster, newspapers now discover. I told you that six weeks ago. . . . New Jersey farm striker, railroaded to 6 months' term, freed after hunger strike and protests of organized labor. . . . Scientists make "financiers" out of apes with only part of a brain. Hm, what I always suspected. . . . Big powers force their Central European errand boys, Yugoslavia and Hungary, to behave. They'll tell them when to begin the fight.

SUNDAY. — Mussolini seizes all foreign credits held by Italians as gold exports menace lira. Fascism tottering on its economic basis as a result of war preparations. . . . New York's winter epidemic of fire mortality in "old law" tenements begins with four deaths in Bronx. A large part of the New York State Chamber of Commerce wants alum clearance postponed for further study while scores will continue to die this way. . . .

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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Socialists Now Have Overwhelming Majority of Bridgeport Aldermen

By Abraham Knepler

BRIDGEPORT.—When the Board of Aldermen met on Monday evening for the first time since election, the Socialist Party was in complete control. A charter change provided that those Aldermen whose terms expired in November were to drop out of the board and no new Aldermen were to be elected to replace them.

Therefore the sixteen Aldermen elected a year ago will continue in office until November, 1935, and a complete slate of Aldermen will henceforth be elected every two years.

Eleven Socialists, four Democrats and one Independent will constitute the Board of Aldermen for the coming year. For the first time the Republican Party will have no representation.

The eleven Socialist Aldermen are Henry A. Costello, James Kane, William S. Neil, Harry A. Williamson, Angelo J. Canevari, Clifford A. Thompson, John M. Taft (who is also one of the newly elected State Senators), Everett N. Perry, Charles A. Mottram, William Hutton, Andrew K. Auth. The last named is President of the Board and in Mayor McLevy's absence acting Mayor.

Socialists will have equal representation with the Democrats on the various other boards and commissions on January 1st, when Mayor McLevy can appoint one additional Socialist and one Democrat to each commission, with the exception of the Board of Apportionment and Taxation, over which the Socialists have no control, and the Board of Education, whose members are elected by the people. With two Socialists and two Democrats on most of these boards, the Socialists will have practical control, since the Mayor has the power to break a tie vote. The most important board, however, the Board of Apportionment and Taxation, which has control over financial matters, is not controlled by Socialists, since the members of that board remain in office until December, 1937, their term of office having been fixed by the last state legislature.

Last week Governor Cross called Mayor McLevy into conference to discuss the Socialist legislative program. This "epoch-making con-

The Basic Principles of the Modern Socialist Movement

By James Oneal

American Economic History

THE old family production in the home carried within it the infant industries that were to develop to vast proportions later. They had to escape from the home before they could grow up. Of the modern industries then located in those simple family cells we may include the following: textile and shoes; baking and clothing; butchering and packing meat; making of soap and dyes; canning and preserving; making hats, furniture, carpets, gloves, upholstering and many other things. The old family democracy was the mother of these modern industries. Each one of her brood finally left the home, developed to maturity, and ventured upon a capitalistic career.

Let us look at this home production a little closer. The members of the family also followed many skilled trades. They were bakers and butchers; shoemakers and nailmakers; garment workers and hatters; carpenters and furnituremakers; packers, chandlers, tanners, and so on. In the later capitalistic period of production, each of these skills was divided and sub-divided. In making a shoe in the home, only four processes were necessary; today, more than a hundred operations are necessary.

In this family democracy, what the members produced they consumed; what they consumed they produced. They produced use values, not exchange values. Utility was the motive of production, not sale, or market, or price. So long as the industries remained in the home they served human beings. They did not afflict society with economic disaster. When they escaped from the home the earliest symptoms of the depression disease appeared. How and why did these industries escape from home control?

Their flight was aided by a number of influences. Increasing population brought increasing demand that could not be satisfied by home production. By the side of home production some occupations appeared in which workers specialized. The wandering shoemaker invaded the family and part of the shoemaker's skill passed into his hands. He carried a kit of tools and a cobbler's bench, going from home to home making shoes. He either acquired his skill in the home or by working for a shop

master in a larger town. By specializing he became more efficient than the home worker who was a jack-of-all-trades. The family supplied him with the leather, so that the family parted with the skill but retained control of the raw material. The invasion of home production was only partial.

But as demands increased, the larger output required by tanneries resulted in workers specializing in this occupation also. Tanning was then separated from home production and the family lost control of this raw material. It became a private enterprise. Tanning hides for use was transformed into tanning hides for sale.

Home-made clothing was also invaded by wandering weavers, who specialized in this occupation and became more efficient than home workers. Spinning and weaving had been woman's occupation for generations and they gradually yielded to the men. The weaver went from house to house, generally receiving 50 cents a week for board and wages. Here the wage system gets its first foothold.

The more skilled weaver often produced in excess of the needs of the family and the surplus was either bartered or sold in the nearest town. Thus a marked feature of capitalist enterprise appears—production for sale. However, it is only an incidental by-product of home manufacture by outside skilled workers; the main feature of home production is still production for use.

Eventually the wandering workers, because of increasing population and demand for articles, began to set up small shops of their own. They ceased to be wanderers. Instead of seeking the customer, the customer sought them where they produced for the "custom" trade. Home production lost workers as members of the family deserted the home to establish little shops of their own. Each shop now specialized in producing one article for sale. A revolution in the primary motive of production was taking place.

In this transition period, more and more shop work in weaving was appearing. There was no change in weaving instruments, but many skilled weavers established looms in their front rooms and advertised for customers. The wandering weaver became a shop proprietor. The old family production was facing new forces that were to destroy it.

(To be continued)

ference," as it was called by the Connecticut newspapers, had important political significance; the Socialist Senators hold the balance of power between the two old parties, and the latter are beginning to worry about their stand.

The Governor found himself in agreement with a good deal of the Socialist program on social legislation—old age pensions, unemployment relief, etc.—but there was considerable difference of opinion over unemployment insurance, utilities legislation, etc. McLevy stressed the party's in-

sistence upon public ownership of utilities.

Because of the strategic position of the Socialist legislators, Republican and Democratic leaders have sought to make deals with the Socialists. But the Socialist legislators, the Socialist state executive committee, and Mayor McLevy have all turned cold shoulders. A program of social legislation to relieve the distress of the workers of Connecticut is the main objective of the Socialist legislators, and any deflection from that goal through acceptance of

tempting offers from old partyites will not be countenanced. While patronage is uppermost in the minds of the old party leaders, it has no place in the program of Bridgeport's State Senators and two State Representatives.

Bridgeport's Socialist legislators are going to demand the repeal of the "ripper act" granting this board extraordinary powers, and will seek to have the members of the board appointed by the Mayor for short terms, and make them directly responsible to the elected officials for their acts. At present

APRA Sweeping All South America with Socialist Program

(Continued from Page One)

and phenomenal growth of the Apristas the Civilistas inaugurated a series of oppressive and repressive measures, closing the Aprista schools, meeting places and restaurants, and suppressing their press.

As a result of these acts the Apristas rose in revolt on November 25 last. The uprising started in the capital, Lima, with an attempt by 300 party members to seize the principal barracks. They were repulsed because a spy in their ranks had communicated their plans to the authorities which necessitated their acting sooner than they had planned. There was a heavy fusillade resulting in many wounded and a number of prisoners. The authorities, really fearful of an Aprista uprising and desirous of keeping the people in ignorance of the true situation, spread the report that it was merely an uprising of the Leguistas, and it was so described in the American press. The revolutionary movement, however, has not been suppressed but has, on the contrary, spread to other cities and towns throughout the country, but because of lack of news and a strict government censorship, the party leaders in Lima are not well posted on just what is happening in the rest of the country. It is known, however, that a regiment of the Presidential Guard which was sent to Huancavelica went over to the revolutionists. Fearing lest the masses learn the true nature of the uprising, the Government has refrained from reprisals, court martials, etc., and are even treating with decency the leaders who have been taken prisoners. According to an official communication received lately by Señor Berger Salazar, the position of the Government is insecure, the revolution is still in progress and good news is expected from the interior. Despite the arrest of many leaders, Haya de la Torre has not been apprehended, and he with others are in control of and giving direction to the revolutionary movement.

the board members are responsible for their acts to no one.

Bridgeport's five Socialist legislators are quietly going about their work of drafting bills for social legislation which they will introduce into the Connecticut General Assembly when it convenes in January.

FOR OUR PARTY AND OUR PAPER!

A Letter of the Editor to Our New Leader Sub Getters To Serve Labor and Socialism

Dear Comrade:

This is the holiday season, the season when we remember friends with gifts. Too often Socialists have not utilized this sentiment to serve the movement. Christmas and New Year are ahead. WHY NOT MAKE THE OLD CUSTOM OF GIVING SERVE OUR SOCIALIST IDEALS?

Consider The New Leader. For more than ten years the full burden of supplying the Socialist Party with a party weekly has fallen upon a few comrades and sympathetic organizations. The paper has never been self-sustaining. In recent years wages of all employed by The New Leader have been cut. This enabled us to cut the subscription rate of the national edition in two.

In spite of all economies The New Leader STILL FACES ACUTE FINANCIAL PROBLEMS. Only once in its history did we ever send a distress call to our readers and ask for contributions.

Now we are appealing direct to you. NOT FOR ANY CONTRIBUTIONS. We ask you to utilize this gift season to help The New Leader. Help it financially and also increase its circulation. Pick out the names and addresses of friends who should have The New Leader.

Make This Gift Season a Means of Helping Socialist Education of Working Masses

MAKE THEM THE GIFT OF A SUBSCRIPTION FOR SIX MONTHS OR A YEAR.

Do this and do it without delay. If several thousand readers do this it will be of immense help to The New Leader and to Socialist educational work in your locality.

SEND IN YOUR GIFT SUBS NOW! LET US HEAR FROM YOU IMMEDIATELY!

Fraternally yours,

JAME ONEAL, Editor.

FILL OUT THE SUB BLANK BELOW

JAMES ONEAL, Editor,
7 East 15th St., New York City.

Dear Comrade:

Enclosed you will find.....dollars for subscriptions to be sent to the addresses below.

Name..... Address..... City..... \$...

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the following provisions:

The Workers Abroad

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

By William M. Feigenbaum

This Makes It Official

IS the present drive of the Communists for a united front with the Socialists a sincere bid for united action or is it a "maneuver"? Are the Communists acting in good faith when they say they will respect those whom they seek as partners, or are they merely seeking to demoralize the Socialist forces in what is in effect a recruiting campaign?

To Socialists and to the general public they say they are acting in good faith; among themselves they tell the truth.

In an official statement, "Appeal of the Communist International on the Seventeenth Anniversary of the October Revolution" the all-powerful Executive Committee of the Communist International says:

"The Communist International hereby sets forth its policies of the United Front—

"Social Democratic Workers! Workers of all political opinions! Unite under the banner of the Communist International! Advance on the revolutionary road by which the Russian proletariat won its October revolution, the only road for victory for the working class. Long live the united front of the working class!" [on our terms—only they don't say so. Ed.]

In a long and dreary article in the same publication in which the above-mentioned document was printed, Bela Kun, authoritative Bolshevik spokesman, explains why he wants a united front. After thousands of words of vilification of Socialists and their leaders, he says: "The united front of the Communists and Social Democrats in the struggle against fascism and war is the path to the winning of the majority of the working class to the banner of consistent class struggle, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the banner of Communism."

This gives a rough idea of Bolshevik good faith.

United Front in Argentina

THE Mendocina Socialist Federation, reports my friend Ben Lichtenberg, has unqualifiedly rejected an official proposal for a united front by the Communist-sponsored League Against War and Fascism, declaring, among other things, that they are solely motivated by a desire to capture the Socialist Party; that being an integral part of an organic party, the Mendoza Local (a state organization) cannot of their own accord participate in isolated activities such as this so-called united front; that according to instructions of the Communist International these united front efforts are designed only to capture the rank and file and to discredit the Socialist leaders; and that their constant campaign of vilification and defamation precludes any such united action.

The Socialist refusal includes a statement that the Communist policy of alleged reconciliation and united action is exposed in its true light when one asks oneself, "How is it possible to propose united action to the leaders whom they have accused for so long a time of being traitors?" The document winds up with an analysis of the strength of the Communists, its decomposition and disorganization, and adds that such a united front would be a unique association wherein the Socialists would supply all the necessary funds while the Communists the most revolutionary speeches and gestures.

Fascist Terror in Argentina

FASCIST outrages and acts of terrorism continue in Buenos Aires. Last month, in the space of five days, bombs were set off at three Socialist meetings by these gangsters, resulting in property damage, injuries and the death of one worker. The leader of one of these bands publicly confessed, but no steps were taken by the police to arrest him, whereas they have forcibly dissolved Socialist meetings at which these outrages occurred and even arrested several workers in the audience. These fascists parade under the name of "nationalists" or "legionnaires" and go about provoking disorders and attacking workers' meetings.

Another British Gain

THE British Labor Party continues its triumphant onward march. There is scarcely a constituency in Great Britain that is safe from the menace of Labor Party victory in the next elections.

The latest Labor Party gain was in the Putney Division in London. Dr. Edith Summerskill, a brilliant young physician, carried the Labor standard in a bye-election against the Conservative candidate, the contest being a straight fight between Socialism and capitalism. The constituency has always been a capitalist stronghold, and at the last election the Tories had a majority of 2,146. After three years of "National" government that majority has shrunk to 2,663! Even in 1929, hitherto Labor's most successful year, the Tory majority was 8,521. The Labor vote is double the 1931 vote, and is considerably greater—in a smaller total—than the 1929 vote; the Tory vote is 11,719 lower than 1931, and is even 4,058 lower than 1929. Straws in the wind!

Socialism in the House of Commons

WHILE the Socialist tide is rising in the country, the devoted band of Labor members of the House of Commons continue to strike hammer blows at the capi-

talist system. They may not convert many M.P.'s (they have won a few, by the way), but the speeches have an enormous effect in the country at large.

Major Clement R. Attlee, Deputy Leader of the Labor Party, had some fighting words in the debate on the King's Speech:

"Labor challenges the Government's idea that it is possible, under a capitalist competitive system of anarchy, to attain peace and prosperity."

Major Attlee ridiculed the policy by which the Government had made "a frantic endeavor to check the production of wealth and not to utilize it."

"It is a damning indictment of the capitalist system that the only way in which it attempts to increase purchasing power is by having a war."

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To Clear London's Slums

AT the first conference of the London Labor Party following the capture of the London County Council and 15 of the 28 London boroughs, Herbert Morrison, "Prime Minister of London," declared: "We promised to clear London of slums within seven years of taking office. We are going ahead with that, and we may possibly do it within five years." Harold Clay, Chairman of the London Labor Party, said: "The Labor majorities are utilizing municipal powers to serve social ends and not private interests."

One very important action that was taken related to the text books used in the London schools. The conference—which is now, in effect, the Government of London—voted to replace old, conservative and biased text books with up-to-date, accurate and impartial text books.

The conference also voted unanimously denying the use of the schools for the use of Officers' Training Corps and Cadet Corps, and refusing those organizations permission to take school children to see military displays.

Solomon Vote 126,580;
Thomas 194,952

THE total vote for Charles Solomon, Socialist candidate for Governor of New York at the November election, was 126,580, according to the official count just made public.

This vote was—with one exception—the largest gubernatorial vote ever cast for a Socialist candidate in the United States. It exceeded the vote for Louis Waldman in 1932 by 23,621 despite a total poll well over a million less than cast in that year.

The vote for Norman Thomas, candidate for United States Senator, was 194,952 as compared with his vote of 177,397 in the state as candidate for President in 1932, a gain of 17,555 in a poll about one million smaller than in the Presidential year. The vote for United States Senator in the last three elections follows:

1928 (McAlister Coleman).....111,208
1932 (Charles Solomon).....143,282
1934 (Norman Thomas).....194,952

The strength of the Socialist Party in New York is indicated by a study of the vote for Governor in the past decade and a half. In 1916, the last year in which women did not vote, Comrade Algernon Lee polled 52,650 votes. In 1918, with women voting, Charles W. Ervin received 121,705. In 1920, in the year of the 203,201 votes for Debs for President, Joseph D. Cannon polled 159,804 for Governor.

Since then the gubernatorial vote has been:

1922 (Edward F. Cassidy).....99,954
1924 (Norman Thomas).....99,854
1926 (Jacob Panken).....83,481
1928 (Louis Waldman).....100,859
1930 (Louis Waldman).....120,444
1932 (Louis Waldman).....102,959
1934 (Charles Solomon).....126,580

The other state candidates polled the following vote in last month's election:

Lieut.-Gov. (Herman Kobbe).....133,387
State Controller (Fred Sander).....137,483
Attorney-General (Wm. Karlin).....137,483

A BRAIN TRUST

Phi Beta Kappas In The Hobo Jungle

By William E. Bohn

THE alumni association met around the remains of a mulligan stew. It was a very special occasion. Professor Binet of Teachers College was the guest of honor. For a generation he had been in charge of the Vocational Adjustment Department at the college. He was a practical man, made polite fun of Greek and other impractical subjects and of old-fashioned, unscientific ways of selecting vocations. He knew his stuff, had published more graphs than anyone else showing just what the income expectancy of college graduates is at five years, ten years, any number of years. He was modern. He knew that education is for life. And life begins at forty thousand.

The professor's address was pleasant enough. One of his graphs was caught by the wind and carried across the track, and Randolph Chadwick, the President of the Association, went through contortions which may, or may not, have been caused by the great educationist's remarks. But there was applause, and while the house committee put more wood on the fire, sending a shower of sparks over the speaker's neat tuxedo, the assembled graduates settled down for the heart-to-heart talk which they knew was coming. This man believed in taking back to alma mater the wisdom that had been wrung from life by practical men. His college was no cloister. It was a place where young Americans can learn the secret of success. After every trip into the world where knowledge is tested he returned to the campus with one or two bright ideas about improving the course of study.

His first question was, naturally, on the value of classical studies. His expectations were more than met, for one of the Phi Beta Kappa men promptly assured him that his Greek studies had proved utterly useless in contacts with the proprietors of Greek restaurants. The Greeks bearing gifts had not been encountered. The modern languages, on the other hand, had fully proved their utility. German in Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, French in Louisiana and upper Michigan, Spanish along the Mexican border. The professor's smile grew more and more bland as various graduates proceeded to enlighten him on the uses of the techniques learned in college athletics. Both football and baseball had taught useful methods of boarding and leaving trains, dealing with dicks and unfriendly animals.

At this point an innocent rabbit cut short the symposium by the simple process of appearing and rousing in the academic mind visions of rabbit stew. A sprinter whose name had flared in many headlines proved the utility of his training by leading in a chase after the agile tidbit. The professor looked at the dying fire, gazed a little pensively at the litter of newspapers and bundles, smoothed a few wrinkles out of his trousers and the smile out of his face, and started toward his hotel. His theories had been confirmed, and he was content.

DOWN in Texas a high school principal came near heart-failure. For years he had been teaching boys and girls. He knew just what to teach them. The members of the Chamber of Commerce had told him. There was no foolishness about it. There were such things as jobs. To get jobs boys and girls needed grammar, type-writing, chemistry, manual training and a few other things. You taught these things. Boys and girls got jobs. That was education.

Of course moral education was important. There was such a thing as character - development. Pep talks would develop it. The Mayor

would come, or the Secretary of the Rotary Club, or the Pastor of the Methodist church. They put over ideas of Loyalty, Perseverance, Thrift, Enterprise. Each pupil must beat all the others. There was Edison—and Henry Ford—and John D. Rockefeller. They had been poor, they had worked and saved, now look at them. That very morning he had had a bright idea. He would deliver a talk "The Moral Lessons of the Depression."

In fact he had just started to make some notes for this homily when he happened to glance

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The Supreme Learned Ju

THE United States Supreme Court has decided, in an opinion written by Mr. Justice Pierce Butler, most reactionary member of that court, that the University of California has a right to compel students to take military training.

Two students had refused to take the prescribed military courses on religious grounds; they are the sons of Methodist ministers who happen to take the religion of their fathers seriously. The university, one of the so-called Land Grant colleges, receives the income from 50,000 acres of public lands, a gift of the Federal government, in return for which courses in forestry and agriculture must be given without tuition charges, and military training be offered to the students.

For a long time the latter provision was interpreted as meaning that military training was compulsory. Later, however, it has been maintained that colleges and universities receiving the benefits of the Morrill Act, under which these Land grants were made—one institution in each state—are required to offer military training,

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LABOR SECTION

As the Paper Goes to Press: Latest Labor Developments

As The New Leader goes to press, word comes from Washington of a labor program drafted by the American Federation of Labor, to be presented to Congress as soon as it convenes. The program includes enactment of a thirty-hour work-week bill, an Industrial Disputes Act that would outlaw company unions, extension of the National Recovery Administration with equal representation for labor and industry on all boards and code authorities from top to bottom, unemployment insurance and old-age pensions, and restoration of Federal wage cuts.

Also from Washington comes the flash that the National Labor Relations Board reaffirmed its decision that it could take original jurisdiction in newspaper labor disputes. Hearst's San Francisco Call-Bulletin is ordered to reinstate its discharged rewrite man, and Don Richberg is given a slap in the face.

In New York action was again deferred on the strike call by employees of the James Butler Company, big chain store grocers, while officials and attorneys conferred. The Retail Clerks' International Protective Association is backing up its affiliate, the Grocery Chain Stores Executive and Employees Association, in the fight. The Regional Labor Board is sitting in and the A. F. of L. is standing by, waiting to help.

The Schulte chain, operating 325 cigar stores, is wiser than Butler's. It has just signed a contract with the Cigar Salesmen's Union, Local 906 (A. F. of L.), also affiliated with the retail clerks' union. A new wage scale calls for \$22.50 to \$48 weekly, instead of \$16 to \$40. . . . The National Dry Goods Association executive board voted that inflexible legislation on labor conditions is bad for labor and trade alike. We know the kind of flexible labor laws they'd like—capable of being bent way down!

In Milwaukee, the clerks, the truck drivers' and the maintenance workers' unions continue to picket the Boston Store. Conferences are going on daily to end the strike, and the A. F. of L. is rushing in aid. Incidentally, the international issued 15 new charters in November.

In Long Island, a Catholic priest took a leaf from labor's book and picketed a Sayville movie house to make sure his young parishioners didn't go in to enjoy Mae West play the belle of the 90's. After seeing picketing to save souls, some of these outlying places ought to have more sympathy for those who picket to keep bodies and souls together.

Cotton garment manufacturers are continuing their fight against the federal order for the 36-hour week and 10% wage increase. The ladies' garment and men's clothing workers' unions will just as vigorously oppose any exemptions, chiseling or legal evasions, warned David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U., and Alex Cohen, manager of the Shirtmakers' Joint Board in New York.

The company union's election "victories" in the Weirton Steel Co.'s three plants mean nothing at all, says the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. It was the companies that ran the election. . . . The three big rubber companies—Firestone, Goodrich and Goodyear—are pushing further legal action to prevent an election. Some of the firms' dummy "employee representation plans" are joining in. Very suspicious how they represent the workers, but won't stand the test of an election. . . . The government is finally investigating the wages and working conditions of the Morro Castle crew. . . . The excuse of those Canadian chain store firms for paying such abominably low wages is that pay is worse in independent stores. The revelations regarding Woolworth's have shocked even newspaper-hardened consumers. . . .

The International Glove Workers' Union, cutters branch, has unanimously rejected wage cut proposals by Gloversville manufacturers. . . . Deputy sheriffs in Harlan, Kentucky, coal fields are again constituting themselves the shock troops of the mine operators. Militia rescued U.M.W. organizers, then escorted them out of town. But they'll come back and organize, they say.

Recognition of Local 584, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and abolition of the company union prevented a strike of Borden's Milk milkdrivers in New York. . . . 1,600 trainmen of the Pacific Electric Railway won't strike just yet. . . . But the Los Angeles car strike goes on. The bosses are trying the old dynamite scare game.

Why Code Violations Increase

WASHINGTON. — American Federation of Labor organizers, reporting an increase in NRA code violations, summed up the reasons for the rise in the "American Federationist" as follows:

"(1) The fact that the code authorities themselves are not in favor of the codes and hence do not bother to see them enforced.

"(2) Employees, particularly in unorganized plants, are afraid of losing their jobs for reporting any infractions of the codes.

"(3) Failure of the administration itself to command the respect of business, i.e., restoring the Blue Eagle to companies who have violated the codes without prosecuting the cases."

Out of 71 organizers in 29 states, 48 reported increasing or widespread code violations, only 23 decrease.

Robins-Gras Win New Trial

A unanimous decision of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court granted a new trial to Harold Robins and Andre Gras, strikers convicted last April for alleged assault upon a scab chef during the hotel workers' strike. The appeal was argued and won by Abraham Abramowitz, chief of the volunteer counsel supplied by the Socialist Lawyers Association, which has been energetically pushing the battle for a new trial for the framed workers.

The court criticized the trial judge, Joseph E. Corrigan of General Sessions, for "sarcastic characterization of the defendants," "impugning of the defendants' alibis and failure to discuss discrepancies in testimony. A fight for the release of Robins and Gras has been carried on since their conviction by a special committee created by the provisional committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

A. F. of L. Starts Drive for Unemployment Insurance

WASHINGTON. — A six-point program for unemployment insurance in a contemplated nationwide system of laws was presented this week by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, for the guidance of the national organization and its state affiliates. Although the A.F. of L. has favored unemployment insurance in general since its convention of two years ago, no specific plan has previously been approved. State bodies of the A.F. of L. have favored plans of their own from time to time.

The plan proposed by Green, who is also a member of the Advisory Committee on Economic Security which is soon to make recommendations for legislation to Roosevelt, calls for benefits of at least 50 per cent of the normal

weekly wage, the sum to be not less than \$15 weekly.

Warns Arrogant Bosses

In the statement suggesting the unemployment insurance plan Green urged also higher standards and greater uniformity in old age and mothers' pensions. He also served labor's "grave warning" on employers of the "consequences of their arrogant proposals" to cooperate with the government in recovery if labor surrenders its 30-hour demands. These attacks, in the "guise of cooperation proffered on conditions inimical to labor," will be answered by the Federation, Green insisted.

"The growing list of countries that have given up democratic practices as the price of achieving recovery should make the government question the spirit and the purpose of this program," he continued. "We are not yet so desperately bankrupt that we are forced to hand over our public responsibility to this small industrial group."

"The United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers are examples of the groups who would lose special privilege if balanced economic progress remains our goal. Obviously they believe there is an advantage to them in proposing cooperation in order to gain control."

Six-Point Program

The six-point program follows:

1—Unemployment insurance should be compulsory.

2—The measure should be as wide as possible, including all industrial and manufacturing establishments hiring three or more persons. The coverage should include mines, wholesale and retail trade, all transportation, communication, forestry, fisheries and should exclude domestic workers, laborers engaged in agriculture, professional persons, government employees.

3—A sum equal to 5 per cent of the payroll should be paid into an unemployment reserve fund by employing concerns, to be administered by public agencies. Employees shall make no additional contributions. Benefits should be a specific amount over a definite period of time—that is on a contractual basis, as a right inherent in employment. The amount should be upon a basis of 50 per cent of the normal weekly wage but not less than \$15. Payments shall begin with the second week of unemployment and continue for twenty-six weeks in any year. Part-time unemployment to be compensated by partial benefits.

4—Labor and management should be represented in the management of unemployment benefits through joint advisory committees with equal representation for the two interests.

Public Exchanges

5—Public employment exchanges are essential in the administration of unemployment benefits. They should be expanded as an integral part of such administration.

6—Unemployment means inability of a person capable of and willing to work to find and obtain employment at his regular work, or other work for which he is reasonably fitted. No person should be required to accept work under the following provisions:

Auto Workers' Unions Reject Election Plans

DETROIT. — Announcement by the Automobile Labor Board that it will conduct factory elections to determine which organization shall represent the auto workers brought vigorous protests from the A. F. of L. officials in charge of the organization of the workers in the industry. The A. F. of L. unions here, backed nationally by President Green, will refuse to take part in the elections. This month.

The board's plan is based upon "proportional representation," with every employee upon the company's payroll given the opportunity to cast a ballot. Each employee will be asked to nominate a representative of his own choosing, and may, if he so desires, specify with which group his candidate is affiliated. Those who do not specify a group or organization will be treated as a group. The final set-up at the completion of the election may see representatives of the A. F. of L., MESA, company union and any of the other unions active in the auto field, supposedly united together for the purpose of "bargaining collectively" in the interests of the auto worker. How such a wide difference of opinion as these groups represent can be brought together the board does not explain.

board last spring in holding an immediately the plans of the

board were disclosed, Organizer F. J. Dillon replied in vigorous terms. He pointed out that the A.F. of L. was willing to cooperate with the election to determine whether or not the A.F. of L. should represent the auto workers, but the board refused. "The A.F. of L. is beaten in this set-up even if it wins," Dillon protested. "The issue is plain and well understood by the automobile workers: Shall the A.F. of L. constitute the bargaining agency for the workers in the automobile industry or should the company-controlled and dominated unions act in the capacity?"

The board has not made clear what plans it has in mind for the representation of the thousands of worker who may not be on the payroll of any company at the time of the election, but who yearly in the rush periods find employment in many of the large factories. These workers, it appears, will be denied representation.

Although secrecy of ballot is assured the worker by the board—the government printing the ballots and the election being supervised by agents appointed by the board—the election will be held on the company's property.

This type of election is nothing new to the auto workers. Excepting the election supervision by the

(Continued on Page 4L)

Why Code Violations BITTER LOT OF THE JOBLESS—IN WORLD'S RICHEST CITY



Crudely built shacks which "house" unemployed men, five of whom froze to death in the first cold spell of winter. When the weather gets really cold, scrap iron, packing cases and other odds and ends don't furnish much protection. (Federation)

Radio Union Calls Strike

Workers of the Empire Radio Co., 102 Wooster Street, New York City, are on strike to enforce demands for union recognition and a 10% increase in wages. The Regional Labor Board has offered to mediate the dispute. The firm has been cited by the Radio Factory Workers' Union, an A. F. of L. affiliate, to the Board for refusing to bargain collectively and for interference with employees' rights to unionize and intimidation. A hearing is scheduled.

Meanwhile strike headquarters have been set up at 201 Sullivan Street, Greenwich Village, and mass picketing is taking place at 8 p. m. and from 4:30 p. m. on. Party members and Yipsels are urged to rally to the picket line, and to send funds and donations for the food kitchen to the union at 22 East 22nd Street.

President William Green of the A. F. of L. recently sent the following letter to William Beedie, union organizer:

"I have just received your letter reporting that twenty-three former employees of the Emerson Radio Corporation are to be re-instated on November 19th through the efforts of Radio Factory Workers' Union 18609 and the New York Regional Board. It is, indeed, gratifying to know that this readjustment has been made and that the rights of these men under Section 7a are to be protected.

"In Greater New York, where wages in the radio industry have been extremely low, the need for organization is of special significance. It is essential that workers in this industry throughout the New York area join together in a strong union which will enable them to secure the conditions of work to which they are entitled.

"Union 18609 is to be congratulated on the re-instatement of these employees of the Emerson Radio Corporation which will mean much toward the development of an organization of radio workers in New York City as an essential part of a nation-wide organization."

HELP OFFERED TO

KOHLER STRIKERS

MILWAUKEE. — The Y.P.S.L. of this state have adopted a resolution offering full sympathy and support to the Kohler strikers "who have put up a valiant fight for justice in the village widely known as a model village." The strike, against the firm owned by former Governor Kohler, well-known "benevolent" employer, resulted in the murder of strikers by forces set in motion by Kohler.

Calling attention to what had been done to imported strikebreakers in Milwaukee, a real model town insofar as labor organization is concerned, the Y.P.S.L. denounced the shipping of so-called detectives who are really scabs into Kohler and urged the solidarity of workers industrially and politically as an answer to the employers and their hired murderers. In Milwaukee, Mayor Hoan had the thugs, sent in by airplane, arrested and ousted from the city.

The Yipsels also urged workers to buy union-made products only.

TO APPEAL CONVICTION

PLAINFIELD, N. J.—The conviction of William Geneva, organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, found guilty of peaceful picketing, is to be appealed by the union. Geneva is held on \$100 bail.

Four pickets were arrested for "carrying a sign in violation of a city ordinance," a law designed to apply to the wearing of sandwich signs. Thirty were arrested under an 1874 city law prohibiting interference with "persons attending, going to or from a religious service." What religious services are being held at the Polskin shop were

XMAS DINNER TEXT: "TO HIM THAT HATH —"



F. P. Cartoon by Jerger

S.P. 'Blamed' for New Rochelle Pay Boost

NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.—A five per cent increase in pay is the Christmas gift of the City Council to all city employees. Credit for this, however, is freely awarded to the Socialist Party and not to the Republican Council, for the newly elected Mayor, Paul M. Crandell, joined his fellow councilmen in declaring his opposition to any restoration of former pay cuts in his first speech.

The American Federation of Teachers local, the only teachers' union in Westchester County, joined forces with the New Rochelle Teachers' Club in fighting against the so-called "contribution"

or salary cut of last year. Following a budget hearing at which Leonard Bright, chairman of the Socialist Party's public affairs committee, spoke in behalf of the teachers, the Board of Education reversed its previous stand, voting seven to two for a 10 per cent restoration. The City Council rejected the educational budget, insisting that no increase be made. Nevertheless, responding to public opinion as expressed at the budget hearing, the Board of Education by the same vote arrived at the compromise of five per cent.

As it had been agreed that if the teachers wave an increase, all

city employees were to receive the same percentage, the City Council yielded grudgingly and included a five per cent raise in salaries to all rank-and-file city workers in the general budget.

This paves the way for further restorations next year, and is a smashing defeat to the local Chamber of Commerce which opposed the party's stand.

The Teachers' Club wrote a letter of thanks to Bright for his speech at the educational budget hearing. While numerically smaller, the Teachers' Union is preparing to carry on an active fight for justice to the children's educators.

READING LABOR COLLEGE EXPANDS ITS PROGRAM

READING, Pa.—Supported by the labor unions in Berks County, the Reading Labor College is carrying out its most extensive workers' education program in seven years. The start of the school year was delayed by the obstructionist tactics of a reactionary minority of the Reading School Board, but the college is now in full swing, with four evening classes, at Southern Junior High School, 10th and Chestnut Streets, and a Tuesday morning class at Hosiery Workers' Hall, 10th and Penn Streets. "Organization Problems" is given Tuesdays, "Principles of Unionism" Wednesdays, "Social Science" and "Current Events" are presented Monday nights, "Labor and Government" Thursdays.

All hosiery union members and members of their families can attend the classes free of charge, because of the support given the college by the union. Other unions

RAYON UNION RUNS 3-DAY CHAUTAUQUA

CHESTER.—The Rayon Textile Workers' Union of Marcus Hook held a three-day Chautauqua meeting recently at which Norman Thomas, national Socialist leader; Francis Gorman, textile strike leader; Paul Fuller, of the American Federation of Labor's Educational Department; Adolph Hirschberg, president of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union, and Lewis Hines, regional representative of the American Federation of Labor, spoke.

The oil workers and other unions in Delaware County gave their full support and cooperation. Legislative as well as union matters and organizational problems were discussed.

typographical, printing pressmen, brewers, jersey cloth workers, wool hatters, fur hatters, rope and cordage workers, moving picture operators, musicians, pretzel workers, barbers, plasterers, window cleaners, hardware workers and ladies' garment workers.

GOLD MINERS HOLDING FIRM IN COAST LOCKOUT

JACKSON, CALIF.—Locked out by "Gold Trust" mines since the first of October, members of Mother Lode Miners' Union No. 48, of Jackson, are holding firm and over 100 new members have been added. While the union is manning pumps to prevent permanent damage, not a production wheel has turned and not a man has deserted the ranks of the union, over 600 men being out.

John Thomas Smith, vice-president and chief of the legal counsel of the General Motors Company, dictates the policies of the Amador mines.

Figures released through the San Francisco Stock Market show the Argonaut Mining Company, Ltd., to be in a flourishing condition. Their profits for the first nine months of 1934 were \$1.67 on each \$5 share, compared with 16 cents per share net for the same period in 1933. Yet this concern persistently refused to pass on a small share of increased earnings

Organizing Negro Dyers

Frank R. Crosswaith, chairman of the Harlem Labor Committee, announced that plans have been completed in behalf of Negroes employed in the chain cleaning and dyeing plants in New York City, New Jersey and Long Island, following a conference of representatives of the committee and the A. F. of L. Cleaners' and Dyers Union.

In recent months large cleaning and dyeing plants, employing almost exclusively Negro labor, have engaged in the most ruthless methods to make profits. They have taken advantage of the scarcity of employment opportunities among Negroes to slash the wages and to lengthen the work-day. In many cases the Negro must pay for employment by working additional hours without pay.

The organized Negro and white workers belonging to the A.F. of L. Cleaners' and Dyers Union receive from \$6 to \$8 for an 8-hour day's work, while the unorganized Negroes employed in the recently established large cleaning and dyeing plants receive from \$6 to \$15 for a week of 52 hours! The committee in cooperation with the union is launching an intensive campaign to rescue the Negro workers in this industry from their plight by organizing them in a union.

NECKWEAR WORKERS TO VOTE

Elections for paid officers and members of the executive board will be held Tuesday, Dec. 18, from 12 to 7 p. m., by the United Neckwear Makers' Union, at headquarters in the Peoples' House, 7 East 15th Street. Balloting will be for manager, secretary, two business agents, and members of the executive conference and price boards. Only those with membership books will be allowed to vote, and no books will be issued on election day.

MARBLE WORKERS VOTE A.F.L. AFFILIATION

KNOXVILLE, Tenn. — Marble workers of Tennessee, forming an important section of the producing division of industry, are now organized into a bona-fide A. F. of L. union and have gained the right to represent all marble workers in this territory in collective bargaining with employers under the NRA code.

An incipient "company union" was decisively defeated in a vote of the workers, with 166 voting in favor of the regular A. F. of L. affiliated union and 45 for the company-fostered organization. Though threats and intimidation kept the vote down, enough workers could not be bulldozed to win the election.

ANOTHER ALUMINUM PACT

CHICAGO. — The Aluminum Products Company, one of the important manufacturers in the aluminum industry, has signed a pact with Aluminum Workers' Union No. 19604 and Aluminum Workers' Union No. 19078, covering the plants of the company in La Grange and Lemont, Ill.

Negotiations have been carried on under the supervision of President A. R. Buller, of the Aluminum Workers' Council, and have resulted in a general readjustment of wages upward of between 2 and 2½ per cent.

Progress has been reported in negotiations between the Aluminum Workers' Unions in Wisconsin and the Aluminum Goods Co.

to the men who go down into the bowels of the earth for the gold.

The San Francisco Labor Council has voted \$1,000 to aid the families of the locked-out miners, and other labor organizations are rallying to support.

Five Years of the Young Circle League

By Sidney Q. Cohen

THE Young Circle League is celebrating its fifth anniversary of active and constructive work in the Workmen's Circle. The league, composed of members from 16 to 30, has served as a link between the radically conscious Jewish immigrants and their politically backward American children. In the short span of five years close to 3,000 young men and women in 100 clubs and branches throughout the country have been given a practical insight into the labor movement and the American scene.

In its inception the organization, the youth section of the Workmen's Circle, was composed, for the most part, of the sons and daughters of the members of the great Jewish fraternal order. Six and seven years ago these young American men and women were totally devoid of any class interest or ideal. The Young Circle League decided to give them a program of activity "sympathetic to the labor movement." Many problems arose. Ours was a unique undertaking. The leaders had to experiment with different approaches. In a few years a plan was adopted, which, except for a few revisions, is still in use. Soon these members began to see the injustice of the system they lived in; they were given a concrete view of a way out; they were brought shoulder to shoulder with the radical forces in America striving for a new social order.

The league which had been regarded as a semi-social fraternal organization was soon making itself felt at various labor and radical demonstrations. In a short while the radical youth movement realized that another important link had been added to its rapidly evolving chain of solidarity. The force of this contact resounded throughout the organization. Active strike aid and labor volunteer groups were organized. The Young Circle League was on the picket line! The Socialist Party often calls upon the league for assistance at rallies and demonstrations and never finds the members lacking.

The ideals of the Jewish immigrant who founded the Workmen's Circle are graphically crystallized into an understanding and active youth section. The league today is active, with an attractive program of interesting activities for intelligent young people. Members are monthly engrossed in vital problems such as fascism, anti-semitism, the New Deal, etc.; Discussion Groups function; Debates and Lectures instruct and entertain; Dramatic Groups present social problem plays; Chorus sing labor and revolutionary songs; and periodicals such as the "Call of Youth" and "Youth Awaken" are published in a fraternal spirit toward a common goal.

The league on Sunday, December 16, is celebrating five years of work at a meeting and concert at Stuyvesant High School, at which Julius Deutsch will be the main speaker, and at which there will be attractive musical and dramatic features. It is a ray of hope—a promise—in the story of the youth movement of America. We shall continue to build so that the youth of America will understand the decay that surrounds it, discard the rotten core of capitalistic civilization and help build the cooperative commonwealth.

Dr. Wolf Adler will speak under the auspices of the Ingersoll Forum in the Temple, 135 West 70th Street, Sunday, at 8 o'clock. Subject: "The World Today as Freud Sees It." The Department of Social Philosophy of the Y. U. N. Y. has announced the following lectures: Dec. 14, Everett Ruess, "The American Business"; Dec. 16, Prof. Richard McKen, "Philosophy and Religion"; Dec. 18, Richard McKen, "Nature and Experience in Political Theory."

To Meet and Honor Julius Deutsch and Guiseppe E. Modigliani

NEW YORK Socialists and their friends have an opportunity during the forthcoming week of meeting and hearing two of the foremost spokesmen of European Socialism who have waged gallant war against capitalism and fascism, G. E. MODIGLIANI of Italy and JULIUS DEUTSCH of Austria.

Comrade Deutsch will shortly sail for Europe, and these occasions will be the last opportunity on this trip for his New York Comrades to meet and hear him; and these will be Comrade Modigliani's first appearances before strictly party gatherings.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 16, at 2.30, at the People's House, 7 East 15th Street, COMRADE DEUTSCH will be the principal speaker at a YPSL general membership meet-

ing, the beginning of the "Know your Socialism" drive.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 17, both COMRADES MODIGLIANI and DEUTSCH will speak before the membership of Greater New York at the People's House, at New York's Socialist mobilization meeting.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 18, New York's Socialists and their friends will honor COMRADE DEUTSCH at a farewell dinner at the Hotel Delano, 43rd street near Sixth avenue, and COMRADE MODIGLIANI will also speak. Reservations from the Party Office, 7 East 15th Street, or your branch.

In addition, COMRADE DEUTSCH will speak at the Young Circle Fifth Anniversary celebration Sunday night. Details elsewhere on this page.

A Socialist in the Domestic Relations Court

By Jacob Panken

THE appointment to the Domestic Relations Court opens the door of opportunity to demonstrate the conviction which I and all Socialists have always held. Criminals are not born. Criminals are often made because of economic and social conditions over which they have no control.

Those who are anti-social inherently generally are so because of a diseased condition. There is something the matter with them mentally. There is something the matter with them physically. The problem of crime must be approached in the light of the fact that it is either a private disease or a social disease. Child delinquency is a problem which must be tackled from the social point of view if rehabilitation is desired.

A misstep by a child, when raised to the point of being regarded as a criminal and so treated, inevitably results in sending the child down the path of criminality. Really to care for the delinquent children the causes for delinquency must be removed. That may sound paradoxical, but it is true. The Domestic Relations Court cannot remove the causes, but it can at least prevent the child population of our city from being sent on to the road of destruction leading to criminal careers.

This disjointed social system is responsible for much of the delinquency of our child population. It is responsible much, for what, in law, is called the neglective children. In a rational society there would be a minimum of delinquency and no neglect at all.

Of course my duties on the bench will give me another responsibility that of looking after families. And again we find that families break, families are disjointed, families go to hell because of economic pressure. The old adage that "love flies out of the window when poverty enters the door" is demonstrated most badly in our courts.

It is strange. Yet Socialists have always known it. Much that is disjointed, ugly and evil in society is directly traceable to the economic dislocation of human and economic relationship.

Harry W. Laidler, others.

Fridays, 10:15 p.m.—"Psychoanalysis Today," Dr. Sandor Lorand, Dr. A. A. Brill, others; Sundays, 10 p.m.—"University of the Air Radio Forum."

Other courses to follow: "Labor Faces the Future," William Green, Sidney Hillman, Elmer F. Andrews; "Literature and Drama," Fannie Hurst, Heywood Brown; "Studies in a Museum," Prof. Henry Fairfield Osborn.

Bensonhurst Branch

Comrades of the Bensonhurst Branch are mourning with Comrade Joseph Mendelson, active Yipsel and party member, upon the death of his father.

The Worker Pays the Sales Tax

LAST week, with a great fanfare that closely resembled the playing of the "Stars and Stripes Forever" that used to accompany the climax of the old-time movie thrillers, Mayor LaGuardia's "liberal" administration passed a sales tax. As its proceeds are to go to the relief of the unemployed, many innocent citizens have a notion that it is to be levied against the expenditures of the rich. It would be natural to support those who have nothing from the abundance of those who have too much, but let's see just how it works.

In the first place, the tax is supposed to be a 2 per cent levy. It isn't. On items selling for under 13 cents there is no tax. From 13 to 62 cents it is 1 cent. Now on a sale of 13 cents this amounts to about 8 per cent and it gets down to 2 per cent only when the price is 50 cents. This is supposed to be

evened out by keeping the tax at 1 cent on goods costing up to 62 cents. But a 1 cent tax on a 62 cents purchase is so near 2 per cent that it's hard to tell the difference. And on a 63 cents purchase it is almost 4 per cent. As only foodstuffs and medicines on prescriptions are exempted, it is easy to see that an enormously disproportionate part of the burden rests on workers. On the worker's weekly movie ticket at 15 cents (if he's lucky enough to go once a week) the tax is 7 per cent. But the tax on a diamond ring at \$1,000 is only 2 per cent. Every little luxury—or even necessity of the worker—is taxed at a variable amount usually far over 2 per cent.

But that is only half the story. The man who is rich enough to have to pay an income tax doesn't have to pay the sales tax at all since he will be able to deduct it

when paying his income tax, and his contribution to the expenses of government will remain about the same. Let us take one concrete example alone of the way the worker carries the burden of government; he buys a package of cigarettes at 13 cents (14 cents now with the sales tax). Of this amount 5 cents is Federal tax on tobacco. The retail price of the cigarettes is thus 7 cents. The Federal tax is 85 per cent and the sales tax is 15 per cent so he pays a total tax of exactly 100 per cent. The New York Power Authority recently told us that electric rates in New York City are just about twice what they ought to be. Thus his sales tax of 2 per cent on his electric light bill is really 4 per cent instead of 2 per cent. The city government connived with the utilities to swindle the workers. Have we said enough?

The Powerful Voice of Radio Education

By Prof. John Dewey

THE radio is the most powerful instrument of social education the world has ever seen. The eye is superior to the ear with respect to the understanding of physical and technical matters. But in all social matters the mass of people are guided through hearing rather than by sight. The progress of democracy has been greatly hindered by the fact that modern means of exchange of physical things has advanced far beyond the means for exchange of knowledge and ideas. The radio brings us the possibility of redressing the balance.

It is only a possibility, not as yet an accomplished fact. The radio lends itself to propaganda in behalf of special interests. It can be used to distort facts and mislead the public mind. In my opinion, the question as to whether it is to be employed for this end or for the social public interest is one of the most crucial problems of the present. Upon the way in which it is practically answered depends to a larger extent than we yet realize the formation of that enlightened and fair-minded public opinion and sentiment that are necessary for the success of democracy. The radio even when in private hands is affected with a profound public interest. For this reason every attempt at genuine education of the millions who daily listen in is of greatest concern. That is one reason, and a great one, why I welcome the endeavors of Station WEVD to conduct the University of the Air. May it succeed and may its influence spread till every

broadcasting organization follows its example.

THE third season of the remarkable University of the Air, the contribution of Station WEVD to

NEW LEADER PERIOD OVER WEVD

THE New Leader period over WEVD, every Tuesday night at 10, will be one of the most important news-interpretations in any radio program now being given when plans now under way are put into effect.

Beginning next Tuesday, a corps of four distinguished writers and commentators will alternate, each in turn interpreting the news of the week from the standpoint of the ideals of The New Leader and the Socialist movement.

The commentators will be: James O'Neal, editor of The New Leader, historian of labor and internationally known Socialist spokesman.

William E. Bohn, teacher, lecturer and writer; educational director of the Rand School.

Algernon Lee, teacher, writer, lecturer, president of the Rand School and international figure in the Socialist movement.

Gertrude Weil Klein, writer and lecturer; trade union official and organizer; poet and teacher.

WEVD is the Debs Memorial Radio Station; it is dialed at 1300 Kc.

the cultural progress of the country, opened with a brilliant program Saturday night. The program was given to an invited audience at Town Hall, and was broadcast over the station that is a memorial to Eugene V. Debs, whose initials it bears.

With Heywood Brown as master of ceremonies, there were brief speeches, a dramatic presentation by the distinguished actress Alla Nazimova, and music by the noted Municipal Sinfonietta conducted by Paul Eisler, the Milben String Quartet, the Chelsea Singers conducted by George Foster and Sigmond Spaeth, Tune Detective.

The speakers were Prof. John Dewey, Chancellor H. W. Chase of N.Y.U., Fannie Hurst, B. Charney Vladeck, Michael Strange, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Dr. Sandor Lorand and Louis Waldman.

The WEVD University of the Air courses start the week of January 7, 1935, with the following courses:

Tuesdays, 8:15 p.m.—"History," Hendrik Willem Van Loon; Wednesdays, 10:15 p.m.—"Education for a New Social Order," Prof. John Dewey, Prof. William H. Kilpatrick, others; Thursdays, 8:15 p.m.—"Economic Planning—Society in the Making," Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, John T. Flynn.

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Announce

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Bronx Labor Center to Hold New Year's Eve Dance

The Bronx Labor Center has arranged a New Year's dinner and dance for New Year's eve, Monday, December 31, at its headquarters, 800 Westchester Ave.

The program includes a complete dinner at 10 p. m., to which reservations are being accepted at \$1.50 per place. For those who do not wish to participate at the dinner an admission of 50 cents to the dance will be charged.

The comrades of the 3rd, 4th and 5th Assembly Districts are exerting their utmost to make this New Year's eve gathering an affair of outstanding interest and success. The cooperation of Socialists of other districts is being received and the outlook for a record attendance is excellent.

Party members of the Bronx and elsewhere are invited to make their reservations immediately either for the dinner or the dance. A high-class orchestra will be provided. Make reservations of David Tulchin, 809 Westchester Ave., Bronx. Tel.: LU 4-8571.

Young Circle League Protests C.C.N.Y. Expulsions

The following protest against the expulsion of 21 students from City College for participation in the anti-fascist demonstration against a visiting delegation of fascist students from Italy was sent by the National Office of the Young Circle League to President Frederick Robinson of City College; Mark Eisner, chairman of the Board of the Higher Education, and Mayor LaGuardia:

"The Young Circle League vigorously protests the expulsion of the 21 students from the College of the City of New York for their demonstration in denunciation of the propaganda mission of the 350 Italian fascist students in this country on Columbus Day.

"On behalf of our thousands of members in New York City and throughout the country, many of whom are themselves college students, and some City College students, we demand their immediate reinstatement. We further demand a guarantee that such outrageous action will not be repeated in the College of the City of New York, which as a public institution is maintained by the people's money."

Three Famous Psycho-Analysts at Rand School Luncheon

The Rand School luncheon discussion this Saturday will be the last of the series and is likely to prove the most popular. "Psychoanalysis Today" will be discussed by Dr. A. A. Brill, president of the American Psychoanalytic Institute; Dr. Sander Lorand, Chief of the Mental Health Clinic at Mount Sinai Hospital, and Dr. Smith Ely Jelliffe, world-renowned neurologist.

Students of human behavior will be especially interested in this luncheon which starts at 1:30 p. m. Admission for the entire program is 65 cents; discussion only at 2:30 p. m. is 25 cents. Reservations must be made in advance at the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street.

Italian Branch Holds Dinner

In the headquarters of the Greenwich Village Branch, 201 Sullivan Street, the Italian Downtown Section will hold a proletarian entertainment with spaghetti dinner, dance, songs and speeches Saturday night.

The spaghetti dinner will be wet with red Italian stuff. All for 50 cents admission.

Costly Fabrics in Crawford Clothes

No matter how the market fluctuates, certain woollens never come down in price. There is only one clothing house in the East now using such fine fabrics in clothes selling at a low price—Crawford Clothing Company, New York's largest clothing chain. This means, a man can enter any one of the 23 Crawford stores in New York and select for \$18.75 garments which embody fabrics not available elsewhere for less than \$40, in some cases \$50.

Crawford makes every garment in Crawford owned-and-operated union shops. Here the highest standards of workmanship are adhered to and, at the same time, production costs are scientifically reduced to the indivisible minimum.

Crawford has 23 stores in New York City and a number of others in other eastern locations. They are all open evenings. For the address of the Crawford store nearest you, simply refer to the telephone directory.

Men will be glad to learn that Crawford continues to offer altera-

Mark Khinoy on Russia

Mark Khinoy of the editorial staff of the Jewish Daily Forward, who has recently returned from a trip to Russia, will lecture Friday evening, Dec. 14, at 8:30 p. m., in the People's House on the subject, "Russia as a Socialist Sees it."

This lecture is for party members and is given under the auspices of the Education Committee of the Socialist Party and is of vital interest to all party members.

Socialist Guards Dance

Free beer will be the reward of those who bring packages to the Package Party and Dance Saturday, December 15, by the Socialist Guard at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn.

A committee for the reorganization of the Socialist Guard has been elected and its program of reorganization will go into effect immediately following the dance. A uniform consisting of a red tie, blue shirt and black breeches has been decided upon. Money raised at the dance will go to the purchase of these uniforms which will be given free to SG members.

Coffee Pots, the Cocktail Shaker and Propaganda

By Gertrude Weil Klein

THE coffee-pot rather than the cocktail shaker, and lessons in household management rather than card parties, are the aids which our Swedish women comrades use in their campaign to enlist the young women in the Socialist movement. So said Comrade Martä Nordin, a young Swedish comrade who looks like someone out of a Norse legend and who is in this country studying personnel management in various large cities. Comrade Nordin is personnel director in the postal service in Sweden.

I think the women who attended the reception given by the Women's Committee of the party to Comrade Nordin were rather pleased than otherwise to learn that the seemingly insoluble problem of interesting the average young woman in a political movement is not confined to the borders of our own country. Girls, it seems, are girls pretty much the world over.

Even in England the question of what the character of propaganda should be in order to meet with the response of the younger people, is a matter of grave concern. At the recent meeting of the British League of Youth, Secretary August Maurice Webb appealed to the Socialist women of England to help win over the young people. It still happened continually, he stated, that children of members of the party did not know that there was an active branch of the League of Youth in their own home districts.

Now, courses in household arts may draw the young women of Sweden, but I doubt whether they would go over in these United States. Comrade Nordin said that the young women felt that even if the Socialist philosophy did not appeal to them, they would learn something which would help them to become better wives. Well, the only girls who have much chance of becoming any sort of wives in this country are those who have jobs. It might be an idea to give courses in household management to young men.

By the time this goes to press the debate between Mary Hillyer and myself on the "Lessons of the Textile Strike" will be a matter of the past. I want to take this opportunity to say that I have received a letter from Comrade Paul Porter, in which he makes it very plain that the sentiments of the National Labor Secretary of the party are at utter variance with the views as expressed in Comrade Hillyer's letter in The New Leader. To the out-of-town comrades who have been sending me inquiries about the debate, I want to say that I except The New Leader will carry a story of it.

When I notified Comrade Hillyer last week that the date had been changed again and to Dec. 13, she chuckled and said: "The 13th? That means bad luck for somebody." I chuckled, too.



G. W. Klein

Rebel Arts

Edward Dahlberg, author of "Bottom Dogs," "From Flushing to Calvary," and other works, will speak to the Rebel Arts Writers' Group at 22 East 22nd Street, Friday, Dec. 14, 8:30 p. m., on "Culture, War and Fascism."

Modern School Dance

The Stetson Modern School will give a "Daybreak Costume Ball" at Webster Manor, 119 East 11th Street, Friday, December 21.

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Workmen's Educational Association
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Education Committee at Work

The Education Committee of the Socialist Party met December 11 at the People's House and continued its work of organizing the educational work in New York. The committee recently held a general meeting of educational directors which was fairly well attended and at which problems of branches of the party in education were discussed. The committee is preparing and will shortly send out plans for systematizing this work in party branches. In the meantime the committee desires to procure information from all education directors as to their needs. All directors are urged to pay close attention to any notices received from the committee.

Plans for several forum circuits are being worked out and requests from branches will be taken care of. The committee also decided to recommend to the City Executive that studies in Socialism be obligatory upon all party members. All educational directors are asked to join the course which begins at the Rand School on Thursday, Jan. 10, at 8:30 p. m., on "Methods in Socialist Education." Branches will be asked to pay the modest fee of \$1 to the Rand School for this service. Plans will be made for an educational meeting of new party members in the near future, details of which will be given later.

TO PROTEST MOSCOW MASS KILLINGS

A meeting to protest the recent "purge" in Soviet Russia, when 66 men were "tried" and shot within a few hours, will be held Friday, Dec. 14, at the People's House, 7 East 15th Street.

The meeting will be held by the Russian Branch of the Socialist Party. James Oneal, William Gomborg and prominent Russian Social Democrats and Social Revolutionaries will speak.

JOHN STRACHEY

"DOES FASCISM BREED WAR?" Questions & Discussion
FRIDAY DEC. 28
EVE. at 8:30
MECCA TEMPLE 15th St., bet. 6th & 7th Av.

ADM.: .30, .50, .75, 1.00, 1.50
Tickets at: N. Y. Office, 213 4th Ave.; Rand School Bookshop, 7 E. 15th St.; Dauber & Pine Bookshop, 66 5th Ave.; Mayfair Bookshop, 1 E. 47th St.; Workers' Bookshops, 639 Prospect Ave., Bronx; 269 Sutter Ave., Brooklyn; 50 East 13th St., N. Y. City.
Ausp.: AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

MAJOR-GENERAL SMEDLEY D. BUTLER

will lecture on
America's Super Rackets—WAR and FASCISM
at MECCA TEMPLE
55th Street, bet. 6th and 7th Aves.
Friday, Dec. 14th, 8 P. M.
All tickets 50 cents.

INGERSOLL FORUM

SUNDAYS 8 P. M.—Admission 25 cents
PYTHIAN TEMPLE, 135 W. 70th Street
DEC. 16th—

DR. WOLF ADLER
"The World Today as Freud Sees It"

Questions and Discussion

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

The Department of Social Philosophy of Cooper Union

(Formerly People's Institute)
IN THE GREAT HALL
8th Street and Astor Place
At 8 o'clock Admission free

Friday, Dec. 14th—
EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
"The American Business Man"

Sunday, Dec. 16th—
Professor RICHARD McKEON
"Psychology and Religion"

Tuesday, Dec. 18th—
Professor RICHARD McKEON
"Nature and Experience in Political Theory"

PROTEST MEETING Against Mass Executions in Russia

to be held at COOPER UNION
Sunday, Dec. 16th, 2 P. M.
Speakers: ALGERNON LEE, ALEXANDRA TOLSTOI, ISAAC DON LEVINE & others
Chairman, DR. SERGIUS INGERMAN

Town Hall: Thursday evening,

Dec. 20th, 8:30
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6 Course CHICKEN DINNER 50c
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PARTY NOTES

Women's Committee Notes

Midwood-Brighton Unit meets Wednesday, December 19, 2 p.m., at the home of Mrs. Summer, 2425 Kings Highway. All party women free in the afternoon are urged to come to this first organization meeting and bring a friend or two. Esther Friedman, Chairman of the Women's Committee, will speak on "Woman's Place in the New Social Order."

Afternoon classes for women in "Socialism," "Public Speaking," "The Tragedy of Waste," "Political and Social Revolutions" are in full swing, but more can be accommodated. Those joining now will receive outlines of the three foregoing sessions.

The classes meet Monday, 1:30 p.m., at the Rand School; Monday, 3 p.m., at the Rand School; Tuesday, 1:30 p.m., at the Rand School; Tuesday, 3 p.m., at the Amalgamated Houses, 74 Van Cortlandt Park South; Wednesday, 1:30 p.m., at 6618 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn; Thursday, 1:30 p.m., at 92 Lavinia Ave., Brownsville.

The Big Debate

Thursday, December 13, 8 p.m., at the Rand School, Mary Hillier and Gertrude Weil Klein—Lessons From the Textile Strike.

The Big Night in the New Year
Friday, January 11, "The Social Drama of Today." Speaker: Sylvia Fennington of the Theatre Union.

Manhattan

11th A.D. Instead of the regular meeting Tuesday night the branch will take a table at the Deutsch-Modigliani dinner, Communicate with C. Fichandler, 310 West 106th St.

Upper West Side. At a branch meeting Dec. 10 the following were elected for 1935: Organizer, Paul Linsin; Assistant Organizer, Philip S. Maene; Treasurer, Abraham Presser; Financial Secretary, Vera Rantane; Recording Secretary, Fannie Lipshitz; Members-at-large of Executive Committee, Herman Adler, Frank Chaikin, Selma Dekroft, Henry Exstein, David Fenwick, Bella Fruchter, Leon Gilson, Meyer Gillis, William Halpern, Alexander Kuhn, Dr. Siegfried Lipshitz, Bruno Rantane, Andrew Regaldi, Jay Siskin. We are planning another hall for the latter part of February. More definite announcement later.

State Referendum. A state referendum on amendments to the Party State Constitution is now before the membership. They were reported by the constitution committee of the State Convention, and since the report of this committee was not acted on by the convention, we ordered submitted to referendum by the State Committee.

Bronx

Lower 6th A.D. At next meeting Tuesday, Dec. 18, at 1137 Ward Ave.

8th A.D. forming a dramatic group auxiliary. The first organization meeting Thursday, Dec. 13, at 1834 Phelan Place, home of Emanuel Schrader.

Kings

16th A.D. At its last meeting branch passed the following resolution:
"Resolved that the Bensonhurst Branch of the Socialist Party expresses its deep sorrow at the loss of Mrs. Sultan, one of its most devoted members. Further resolved that we extend to Dr. Sultan and family our deepest sympathies in their bereavement."

The branch will hold a New Year's Eve Supper, Entertainment and Dance Monday evening, December 31.

18th A.D. Branch 2. Dance and Beer Party Saturday, Dec. 15, at 844 Ulca Ave. A New Year's Eve party at headquarters planned by the branch and Women's Circle.

Brighton Beach. Branch has decided to postpone its affair "In the Gay Nineties" to Saturday, January 13. Plans being made for a New Leader and American Socialist Quarterly drive. Also drive for new members.

Queens

Jamaica. A Bunco Party will be held Saturday night, December 15, at party headquarters, 92-18 New York Blvd. On Tuesday night, December 18, special business meeting for action on the Bee Line Bus Strike.

Y.P.S.L. Notes

Several Young Socialists are opening a cooperative house with ten rooms and a restaurant for Yipsels and party comrades on 10th St., near Hudson, Manhattan. Comrades who are interested in supporting it by repairs and donations, and those interested in living in the new "coop" are urged to get in touch with Rose Friedman at the YPSL office, 7 East 15th St., personally or by calling ALgonquin 4-9815.

Sunday evening the third of the Yip-sel Forums will take place at 22 East 22nd St. at 8 p.m. The topic is "International Affiliations" with Dave Atkins, Phil Heller and Bob Tyler as speakers. Only Yipsels and party members admitted.

The New York Yipsels are making extensive preparations for the New York conference of the American Youth Congress December 21, 22 and 23. The opening session December 21 will be a mass meeting at the Central Opera House, 3rd Ave. and 67th St. The Saturday and Sunday sessions will take place at the Union M.E. Church, 229 West 48th St.

The Yip-sel Dance was a grand success. The 22nd Annual YPSL Journal will be issued at the end of the month on the occasion of another big Yip-sel affair. Ads and booster greetings are awaited by the Young Socialists. Send donations and ads to the YPSL office.

All Bronx educational directors will meet Wednesday, December 26, at the Bronx Labor Center, 809 Westchester Ave., to discuss educational programs, circle libraries and other important projects.

LECTURE CALENDAR

(All lectures begin at 8:30 P.M. unless otherwise stated)

FRIDAY, DEC. 14th

Manhattan

Mark Khinoy—"Russia as a Socialist Sees It." Auspices, Socialist Party Education Committee, 7 E. 15th St.

Joseph Shapley—"Detroit, Boston, and What Next?" 8th A.D., 226 E. 10th St.

Bronx

Wm. M. Feigenbaum—"Is a United Front Possible?" 3rd, 4th and 5th A.D., Bronx Labor Center, 809 Westchester Ave.

Brooklyn

Dr. Siegfried Lipschitz—"Fascism—What It Means to the Working Class." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St.

David P. Berenberg—"What Has Fusion Done for the People of New York?" Brighton Beach Branch, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave.

August Tyler—"The American Proletariat." Williamsburg Open Forum, 241 South 4th Street.

TUESDAY, DEC. 18th

Bronx

Julius Bertman—"International Socialism." Bronx Tower 6th A.D., 1137 Ward Avenue.

Brooklyn

Wm. M. Feigenbaum—"Can There Be a United Front?" 4th, 14th A.D., 241 So. 4th St., Williamsburg Open Forum.

FRIDAY, DEC. 21st

Manhattan

Dr. Louis Sadoff—"Soviet Russia Today." 8th A.D., 226 E. 10th St.

Brooklyn

Dr. Sander Lorand—"Psychology in Our Every Day Lives." Brighton Beach Branch, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave.

William Duffy—"Socialism or Communism, Which?" Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St.

Gertrude Weil Klein—"Revolutionary Poems." 22nd A.D., 864 Sutter Ave.

August Tyler—"The Class Struggle." Williamsburg Open Forum, 241 So. 4th St.

MEETING ON SUNDAY TO PROTEST KILLINGS

A public mass meeting of protest against the ruthless killings in Moscow and Leningrad by Soviet authorities has been called to meet in Cooper Union Sunday afternoon at 2.

The meeting has been called by a group of Russian Socialists and others who have been outraged by Soviet "justice" as demonstrated by the recent "purge," and all lovers of liberty are invited to attend.

Dr. Sergius Ingerman, veteran Russian Socialist, will preside, and the speakers will include Algernon Lee, Alexandra Tolstoy, Professor M. Karopovich of Harvard, Isaac Don Levine, and others.

The committee in charge of the meeting, with Dr. Ingerman as chairman, M. Kalashnikov as secretary and A. Brailovsky of the Russian Branch of Local New York as treasurer, has sent the following wire to President Roosevelt:

"We implore you to use your influence to bring about the cessation of mass executions in Soviet Russia."

Julien Bryan in Premiere This Sunday at New School

Sunday at 8:30, Julien Bryan will give the first public performance of his newest motion picture, "Soviet Russia and Siberia," at the New School for Social Research under the auspices of the American Russian Institute. This most recent collection of films taken this summer presents the human story of present-day Russian life as well as a comprehensive survey of current developments under the second five-year plan. Marriage and divorce courts, Czarist prisons in Siberia, Novgorod and its churches, the new experimental theatres, the children's theatre, Lama temples and strange religious rites in Buryat Mongolia, Siberian gold mining.

Feuerring in Recital

Jacob Feuerring, 22-year-old American pianist, will be heard in a recital at Town Hall, Thursday evening, December 20.

Mr. Feuerring has appeared in major recitals here since 1931, and following his engagement Dec. 20, leaves to fulfill his out-of-town engagements which will take him

SEEDS OF REVOLUTION

"SAILORS OF CATTARO." From the German of Friedrich Wolf by Keene Wallis and Michael Blankfort. A Theatre Union production at the Civic Repertory.

This sincere and stirring picture of the Austrian sailors' revolt shows us that revolution is not easy. By now there is little strangeness among thinking folk, in arguments for peace; but the attitudes and actions of these sailors have the gripping quality of life itself, as through the first act their disaffection, working through a sense of unity with the workers ashore, drives them to the successful mutiny.

The ship once theirs, and other ships held by their crews—as they were in the Bay of Cattaro, in February 1918—the revolutionary problems grow. Inaction is dangerous; decisions to be effective should be prompt, and swiftly carried into action; but Franz Rasch, the leader, is an idealist; he knows that the fight is against dictatorship of any sort, and he refuses to exercise absolute command, even when it seems the one way to safety. He insists that power, final word, must reside in the sailors' council; he waits the council's word, he argues his points with the council; and that body—like most groups of men, like the Continental Congress of 1775-81, for example—is weak, undecided, vacillating, open to specious argument and personal appeal. The suave and wily captain of the ship is able to stir doubts that bring delays—that usher in disaster. The red flag is lowered, the national standard rises again, and the martyrs of Cattaro are led to die, prophesying, summoning, the successful revolution still to come.

Before an effective setting—crew's quarters or deck—of Mordecai Gorelik, a vigorous cast builds up this play to a sound and moving drama. Tom Powers, who was brought in at the last moment for the main role, had still (when I saw the play) to work into a pattern with his fellow-actors; but "Sailors of Cattaro," without the truculence of the Theatre Union's earlier "Stevedore," is fairly free from the stigma of partial or biased presentation, or propaganda, but is a truly dramatic unfolding of a sound point of view illumined by vivid historical illustration.

to Juanita College at Huntington, Pa.; New Bedford, Mass.; Leonia, N. J.; in May, where he will be the solo artist at the first music festival, and other cities soon to be announced.

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MOZART: Piano Concerto in D minor

BRUNO WALTER at the piano

MAHLER: "Das Lied von der Erde"

Soloists: OLSZEWSKA and JAGEL

Arthur Judson, Mgr. (Steinway)

Philip Barry



Author of "Bright Star," the new play which Arthur Hopkins will present next Wednesday evening at the Plymouth Theatre. In it, Hope Williams makes her return to Broadway.

Katherine Cornell Opens Her Season with "Romeo and Juliet" Dec. 20

Katherine Cornell will present William Shakespeare's tragedy, "Romeo and Juliet," in the Martin Beck Theatre for four and a half weeks only, beginning on Thursday evening, December 20, at 8:20 o'clock sharp. Basil Rathbone will be seen as Romeo, Edith Evans as the nurse, Brian Aherne as Mercutio, Charles Waldron as Friar Laurence, and Miss Cornell as Juliet. Guthrie McClintic staged the drama, Jo Mielziner designed the costumes and scenery, Martha Graham arranged the dances, Paul Nordoff composed the music, and Georges Santelli directed the fencing.

The tragedy is given in twenty-three scenes with only one intermission.

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The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

COMPOSITE BEAUTY

"PAGE MISS GLORY." By Joseph Schrank and Ph. Dunning. At the Mansfield.

This head-over heels romping tumble-fast comedy starts with a neat idea, and punts and passes it around like the Colgate Varsity working out against some scrubs.

Charles D. Brown, veteran tom-fooler, finds himself cast as a promoter with nothing to promote—when, Lo! a long-distance beauty contest! By composite photography—you know: the arms of Venus de Milo; the nose of Cyrano-Durante; the legs of the centipede; the horns of the dilemma—no, no, you

are right: the smile of Mona Lisa, the lips of Greta, the legs of Marlene—they send a fabulous face and win the \$2,500 beauty prize.

Then the fun begins. Radio bids; screen offers; will Miss Dawn Glory accept our check for endorsing our fake beauty products, our give-you-a-rise cigarettes? Of course, the promoter has to get his share of all this; and the charming Dorothy Hall does her best to substitute for the morning glory, the false dawn. Like the prize-winning picture, it's a composite play; but the situations follow fast and the dialogue keeps pace, and we're all swept along for a rollicking evening.

Carole Lombard and Chester Morris at Fox Brooklyn

"The Gay Bride," new Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer comedy, has its eastern premiere at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre today.

Carole Lombard and Chester Morris are co-featured in leading roles, and the supporting players include Nat Pendleton, Leo Carrillo, Zasu Pitts and Sam Hardy.

where Broadway angels fear to tread, and demonstrated that not all of the smart people in the theatre have been born and bred in the traditions of the Kleig lights.

Film Version of "Wednesday's Child" at Roxy

RKO-Radio's cinema version of the Broadway hit play of last year, "Wednesday's Child," with Frankie Thomas, who created the title role on the stage, and has the same part in the screen version, is at the Roxy Theatre.

"Imitation of Life" Opens at Albee—New Stage Show

"Imitation of Life," Fannie Hurst's best-selling novel of last year, comes to the RKO-Albee Theatre today with Claudette Colbert and Warren William

The Star in Gilbert Miller's New Production, "Ode to Liberty"



Ina Claire, beautiful and talented, will open in "Ode to Liberty," Sidney Howard's new comedy from the French of Michel Duran's "Liberte Provisoire," at the Lyceum Theatre, Friday evening, Dec. 21.

Bushar—Tuerk Offer "Mother Lode" Dec. 22 at the Cort

George Bushar and John Tuerk announce the completed cast of Dan Totheroh's and Geo. O'Neil's American romance, "Mother Lode," in which Helen Gahagan and Melvyn Douglas will star, and Beulah Bondi and Heler Freeman be featured. The supporting cast includes Thomas Chalmers, Robert Shayne, Gertrude Flynn, Frank Camp, Roland Bottomley, Lester Lonergan, Lydia Kane, Einar Svalbe, Arvid Paulson, Clifford Dempsey, Lillian Gahagan, Louise

Beaudet, Edith Elliott, Russell Sage, John Troughton, William Franklin, Ivan Arbuckle, Robert Thorne, Orrin Burke, Tex Ritter, Barbara O'Neil, Kate Perry, Ralph Kellard, George Lemar, Lester Lonergan, Jr., Lenora Lonergan, and twenty others.

Melvyn Douglas is staging the play, Leigh Allen has designed the settings, Kate Morrison has designed the costumes, and the Alexander Haas Ensemble will furnish the incidental music. "Mother Lode" will open at the Cort Theatre on Saturday, evening, December 22.

Robert Schirmer—Impresario—His Animated Comic Theatre a Success

Wake me up in time for Mickey Mouse. That was a big timer's request when he used to sit in a Broadway movie. That clue led to a decision. One day Robert Schirmer was wandering along the streets of Paris and saw the sign, "L'Heure Joyeuse de Mickey Mouse." Then and there he determined to give to New York a theatre devoted to animated comic cartoons, and it came into being at the Bijou Theatre, West 45th Street. Mr. Schirmer, a tyro in the show game, has stepped in

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GUY KIBBEE
—RKO VAUDEVILLE—
VIC OLIVER
KELLER SISTERS & LYNCH
and other RKO Acts
PALACE B'way & 47th St.

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CLAUDETTE COLBERT
in Fannie Hurst's
"IMITATION OF LIFE"
with WARREN WILLIAM
—ON STAGE—
A Musical Comedy Cocktail
"SIDEWALK CAFE"
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CAPITOL Broadway at 50th St.

Labor Learning to Use Its Power

Workers Beginning to Realize They Must Have Organization, Discipline and Full Utilization of Their Strength On All Fronts, Vladeck Points Out

By B. C. Vladeck

FOR two generations the most famous American answer to the labor question were the "Full Dinner Pail" and the "American Standard of Living"—not that the dinner pail was always full, nor that the American standard of living was always lived. But as a matter of fact, the American worker in comparison with the European worker did receive higher pay and did live on a higher plan. This is one of the reasons why workers in American industry never succeeded in organizing as effectively, as militant and as extensively as they did in the other industrial countries of the world.

However, there was another reason—the determined opposition of American employers to labor organization. This opposition did not come necessarily as the result of personal greed or lack of sympathy with his fellow men on the part of the industrial organizer and promoter. In fact, it is a matter of record that rich men of the United States have turned over more and greater funds for the use of the community than the rich men in any other country.

The liberal American industrialist faces the problem of education, of medical research, of social study and of social welfare. In many cases he faces these problems intelligently and efficiently, but he never faces labor in the same spirit and with the same approach. Every attempt of labor to organize was considered by American capital as inimical to the interests of the industry as a whole and the country at large. Often the industrialist was personally sincere and "patriotic" about it; so much so that he sometimes sacrificed the interests of his own industry in order to satisfy what he considered his "patriotic" enmity towards organized labor.

Seven-A A Milestone

Nearly every case of industrial dispute in the economic history of the United States is a case of violence, bloodshed, armed guards and the usurpation of the civil rights of the workers. Whenever the government took a hand in these disputes, it was always on the side of capital. Only with the coming of the so-called new deal and the passage of the National Recovery Act has an attempt been made by the government to take cognizance of the rights and needs and claims of labor. Although the right of organization is implicit in the nation's constitution, it was found necessary to insert a provision in the National Industrial Recovery Act to guarantee the workers the right to organize and bargain collectively.

There is no question but that Section 7-A will remain in the history of America as a milestone in the tortuous and discouraging road of labor toward progress and achievement. Labor heralded the National Recovery Act and Section 7-A as a great benefit and a great possibility and proceeded immediately to organize in accordance with the letter and spirit of the law. Before very long, however, labor found that Section 7-A did not and could not carry out its original professed intention.

Let us enumerate a few of the reasons. First of all, the workers found themselves in a different position than the employers in their relations to the New Deal legislation. Under the codes of fair competition, the employers were ac-

tually compelled to organize. Even without such mandate from the government, American industry has been organizing and strengthening itself for 70 years. It has practically succeeded in ruling both industry and politics.

Employers Strengthened

The provision of the codes making industrial organization compulsory only succeeded in increasing the strength of the employer class to an extent unheard of before in the history of our country or for that matter any other country in the world. As it was to be expected, such rejuvenated and sanctioned organization of industrialists and business men is in no mood to permit a strong and efficient organization of workers. Thus the very act which was supposed to confer upon the workers the same benefits given to all other classes of our population put the industrial class in a stronger position to oppose labor than ever before.

Section 7-A says: "The workers gave a right to organize and to treat with their employers as an organized body." The code authorities and manufacturers' organizations created or strengthened by the same National Recovery Act say, in effect, "Yes, the workers may organize, but only if they organize for purposes which we approve!" Hence the defiance of what was considered the very essence of the National Recovery Act by practically every one of our basic industries—whether it be steel or textiles or automobiles. Only the needle trades and the mine workers succeeded in obtaining substantial benefits from Section 7-A, but even their gains are jeopardized by the uncertainty and turmoil prevailing in the industrial life of the country. Even in the industries where labor was given recognition under codes, the composition of the code authorities precludes administration favorable to labor, for the reason that labor is not directly



COMRADE B. CHARNEY VLADECK, manager of the Forwards, specially invited guest at the A. F. of L. convention at San Francisco (where he and Comrade Walter Citrine addressed the delegates on the world anti-fascist front) and head of the Labor Chest to Combat Fascism, which has been rousing workers, especially organized labor, to the necessity for scotching the menace of Hitlerism and Mussolini-ism. Comrade Vladeck, together with Max Dan-

represented as a rule on the code authorities.

Labor Suspicious

That is why leaders of the textile workers were compelled to strike. That is why the workers in the steel and automobile industries are restless and suspicious. That is why it is now universally recognized that Section 7-A has not carried out the purpose for which it was supposed to be created.

Then there is another angle. Under the National Recovery Administration, minimum scales were established for all industries for transportation and trade. These minimum scales were intended to raise the purchasing power of the least paid members of the industrial community. It was expected that wages in general would not be reduced. On the contrary, it was expected that they would be

Failure of Legislative Program Will Force Independent Political Action; Study of Article Seven-A and "New Deal" Shows How Labor Lost Out

ish, editor of Justice (I.L.G.W.U. periodical), and Paul Porter, National Labor Secretary, addressed the party membership last Friday night in a symposium on "The A. F. of L. Convention." The meeting was held under the auspices of the party's educational committee.

All three speakers agreed that great advances had been made by American labor as reflected in the reports and proceedings at the convention. Comrade Vladeck especially commented on the democratic procedure during the sessions, where all delegates had been accorded a full and free hearing and where every resolution—and there were hundreds—had to be reported out on to the floor of the convention and could be discussed at length.

In the accompanying article, Comrade Vladeck reports objectively on Labor and the NRA as one keen and competent observer views it. A speech following these lines was delivered by him over the red network of WEAFL recently during the L. I. D. series on labor.

constantly rising, the purchasing power of the American worker declined to a very great extent. In terms of humanity, this means that even the fortunate members of the American working class who have a job find themselves worse off than they were previous to the New Deal and live under a standard to which no American can "point with pride."

Old Order Not Wanted

All this does not necessarily mean that the workers would rather see a return to the old order and the old economics. Just the contrary. At no time in the history of this country were the workers as deeply convinced of the importance and constructive nature of government regulation of industry as they are today. Only they feel that, because of lack of experience and foresight, their rights have not been properly protected, a condition which they expect to be corrected in the forthcoming session of Congress.

It is becoming clearer and clearer every day that unless the entire New Deal is put on the scrap heap, additional legislation must be effectuated for the protection of the rights of the workers. This additional legislation must clarify the meaning of collective bargaining, must outlaw the company unions, must shorten working hours and must provide a system of social legislation which will obviate the possibility of transferring the whole working class of our country into a class of paupers. If this legislative program is carried out and American labor is protected in its desire and right to organize, the American labor movement will probably continue for many years to come to leave the political field to the major political parties.

If, however, this legislation should fail, either in letter or in application, labor of necessity will have to protect itself by organizing its political strength on the same basis as its economic strength. As long as the American worker could boast to himself of a better economic position than that of the worker in Europe, he looked upon the possibility of the political organization of labor with suspicion. He felt that in time of crisis either one of the old parties, in order to gain his favor, would meet his needs. But when he finds himself with his back against the wall, at the mercy of an all powerful organization of industry, he will quite naturally try to increase and consolidate his own strength on all fields of battle.

He will then proceed to follow the example of his fellow trade unionists in Great Britain, who are paying as much attention to the political arena as they do to the economic arena. American labor finds a great deal of uncertainty and much discouragement in the new economics. It is learning from experience that the most essential thing in any battle is organization, discipline and the fullest possible utilization of the combatants' strength. If something akin to a Labor Party should come to the United States, labor will no longer be satisfied with simply trying to correct the evils of the present economic order. By the very logic of history, it will strive for the source of all power and for the most complete recognition of the rights of the worker as producer, as consumer and as citizen.

Do two things, the Socialist Leader to help

Cleveland Hears Deutsch and Krzycki

By Hy Fish

CLEVELAND, O.—Metal Trades Temple was jammed Sunday afternoon by 3,000 trade unionists and Socialists who participated in an anti-fascist meeting sponsored by the Cleveland Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party with Julius Deutsch as main speaker.

Dan Moley, president of the local body, was chairman. Other speakers were Leo Krzycki, vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and national chairman of the Socialist Party; L. P. Straube, editor of the Chicago Federation News, representing William Green, and Ezra Shapiro, city law director.

Enthusiasm ran high when Dr. Deutsch shouted, "We have only lost a battle; we have not lost a war. The war continues." "The fight of the Socialists," he said, "for their homes in Vienna was one of those times in a man's life when losing honor is worse than losing life. We were fighting not only for the Austrian worker but for the working class all over the world. Americans can help by fighting their own fascism."

"Wir kommen wieder! Wir werden kämpfen!" he thundered. "We are coming again! We will fight!"

"These words are written in red on the soil of Austria in the blood of the workers," he said. "We will fight with the labor forces of the whole world through labor solidarity."

Comrade Krzycki pointed out the fascist tendencies in this country. He told of the concentration camp in Georgia during the textile strike, of martial law, of workers killed in numerous strikes.

"Labor," he said, "must have political power to avert it."

Krzycki is stationed in Cleveland aiding in the conduct of the strike against the Kaynee Corporation, makers of children's washable cotton goods.

The Chicago editor called on organized labor to step out in the vanguard against fascism "militantly and promptly."

Shapiro likened fascism to the return of feudalism with the capitalists as feudal lords and labor as serfs.

Chairman Moley promised that the Cleveland Federation would in the future call similar meetings to keep the workers posted on the war against fascism in this country and abroad.

The resolution to hold the meet-

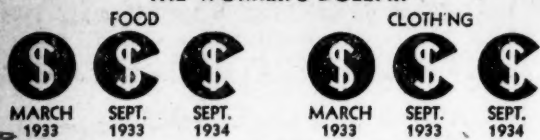
ing was drafted jointly with Henry Raisse, director of the Workers' Education Council, a Socialist. Other Socialists on the committee included Comrades Rich of the Meat Cutters' Union, Yellen of the Bakers' Union, and Weintraub of the Jewish Daily Forward. The motion to draft Krzycki was made, however, by Thomas S. Farrell, the secretary of the Federation, who was formerly Director of Public Utilities, a prominent Republican, and was adopted with unanimity and enthusiasm.

In the evening a big reception banquet was given by the Socialist Party in honor of Dr. Deutsch and Leo Krzycki. Speakers included Moley, Thomas Farrell, secretary of the Federation; Margaret Dullea, A. Horowitz, Ben Peppercorn of the Amalgamated, and Abraham W. Katovsky, vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U., through whose initiative the Federation decided to sponsor the anti-fascist meeting. Robert D. Dullea, state secretary of the party, was chairman.

The meeting and the banquet served to form a closer band between organized labor and the Socialist Party, in addition to informing the workers of Cleveland about the dangers of fascism.

THE WORKER'S DOLLAR SHRINKS

THE WORKER'S DOLLAR



Wage boosts have lagged behind price lifts, and the story of what has happened to the worker's dollar is graphically shown above. In terms of food it was worth 85c in September, 1933, and only 78c in September, 1934, as compared with March, 1933. His dollar spent for clothing and furniture fell in value from \$1 in March, 1933, to 81c in September, 1933, and to 79 1/2c in Sept., 1934. (Federated Pictures.)

Local 142 Agreement Ratified

An agreement reached between the Ladies Neckwear Union (Local 132, I.L.G.W.U.) and the bosses was approved last week by a membership meeting of the union. After conferences with the National Women's Neckwear and Scarf Association (manufacturers and jobbers), the following terms had been agreed upon:

Minimum wage—for operators, 60 cents an hour; pressers, \$17.80 a week; hemmers on scarfs, \$17.80; trimmers, \$15; hand sewers, \$16; cutters, \$40; head cutters, \$45. A work-week of 37 1/2 hours; six and a half holidays; equal distribution of work.

The union gained eight points in the agreement:

1—No work sent out by association members unless the inside factory is fully supplied with work, each outside work place to be registered with the union.

2—Garments manufactured for any member of the association must be manufactured in an outside factory which maintains the standard of wages and hours under this agreement, is registered with the union, and has a written agree-

ment with a local of the ILGWU. 3—No work shall be bought from anyone against whom the union has declared a strike until the strike is fully settled.

4—A conference board representing both the union and the association to adjust all disputes; an outside arbitrator if the conference board cannot agree.

5—Employers to open their books, showing payroll and labor cost records, to show whether agreement is fully complied with.

6—Union has the right to strike against any member who refuses to comply with decisions of conference board or impartial arbitrator.

7—Conference board to take up home work and make provisions for its further control and if possible elimination.

8—Association agrees to use its best endeavors to embody whatever recommendations conference board makes in the code.

9—If work-week is shortened or wages raised by presidential order or by Federal or State legislation, such increase of wages and shortening of the work-week automatically becomes a part of agreement.

Local 22 Runs Fine Program Of Education

An ambitious program of labor education is being conducted by the educational department of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., according to the recent report of Will Herberg, educational director of the union. A survey of Local 22's educational activities shows that 45 classes have been held weekly in eight section union schools, located in various parts of the city, and one central union school at the union headquarters. The total enrollment in these classes is more than 1,500. Classes in elementary and advanced English are most numerous, 22 in all. Then come the classes in principles of unionism, totalling 12. The other classes are distributed as follows: two history classes, two classes in the structure and functioning of the union, three in public speaking, and one each on the history of American literature, social science, and economics.

The enthusiasm of the dressmaker-students in these classes and the interest manifested by them are most encouraging.

Aiming to provide its members with union channels for the expression of their cultural, recreational and social interests, the educational department has also developed a broad program of activities on this field. A large staff of 28 teachers for the classes, two mandolin directors, three chorus leaders, four gym and swimming teachers, and a band leader, 38 in all, conduct the 60 educational groups.

Knitgoods Union Attacks Slack Season Problem

A meeting of shop chairmen of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers' Union (A. F. of L.) was held recently at union headquarters, 28 Graham Ave., Brooklyn. Louis Nelson, manager of the Joint Council, stated that the shop chairmen were called together to consider problems confronting the knitgoods workers because of the slack season. The shop chairmen formulated plans for maintaining union conditions in the mills, especially to safeguard the equal division of work and the minimum wage scales.

Mendel Bluestein, formerly manager of Dressmakers Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., spoke on "Recent Developments in the Garment Industry and Their Effects on the Unions."

Although with the slack season the knitgoods bosses are making a concerted attack on the wages of their workers, the Joint Council of the Knitgoods Workers' Union has been meeting this attack with a determined and aggressive campaign to force the bosses to live up to the agreement. The general shop chairmen's meeting was reminded that contract conditions must be maintained during the slack season just as during the busy season.

Every complaint of violation is being followed up and the workers' rights defended it was said. At the same time, a steady and energetic campaign is being conducted to organize the open shops. The successful strike at the Robinson & Press shop put an end to its company union and improved conditions for the workers. In this strike, as in its entire campaign against the open shops, the knitgoods workers had the active support and assistance of the Joint Council.

Illinois Workers Build Powerful Alliance

By Paul Rasmussen

STAUNTON, Ill.—Following a year of successful growth and advance, the Illinois Workers' Alliance executive board met here last week. Showing definitely that the Alliance is the largest and most powerful unemployed organization in America, State Secretary Oscar Sturm reported that it now has grown to 236 local units in 73 counties—132,000 members strong.

Results were apparent in the reports rendered by the seven state organizers. Board members coming from all sections of the state reported success in the form of many relief increases and gains. Indications show Perry, Henry, Cook, Marion, Macoupin and Fayette counties to be clearly in the lead. Numerous county organizations have been set up, large district conferences have been held and hundreds of demonstrations on November 24 were observed as the first National Unemployment Day.

An official state organ, "The Illinois Worker," is to be published in the very near future. Loren Norman of Marion was elected editor. To the executive board was added Roy Whitinghill, unemployed leader of Bloomington and active member of the Hod-Carriers' International for years. Ray Foster of Danville, unemployed union painter, was made district organizer. A program of action and organization campaign was drawn up which will bring the I.W.A. into hundreds of new communities, with a goal of a half million membership. A 16-page organization manual is planned as standard leaflets and pamphlets on unemployment and the cooperative commonwealth, with a summer camp to train young I.W.A. men and women for leadership. A special appeal to get women and young people was issued.

Alliance cooperation with organized labor was reaffirmed in the election to the Committee on Edu-

cation of the following men: Biz Fox of Troy (hod-carriers union), H. A. Rasmussen of Chicago (Amalgamated Steel Workers leader), and Archie Crabtree of Roodhouse (locomotive engineers). The subsistence planning of the Federal administration and the Ohio and EPIC plans were denounced as dangerous to the standards of union farmers and workers and as providing no real remedy. In regard to Father Coughlin it was insisted that the only real results for the working class would be through rank and file organizations of the people and not through the demagogic and near-fascist appeals of individuals who promise to "lead the way out."

It was reported that the newly elected organizer, Ray Foster, had succeeded in building nine locals of the Indiana Unemployed Union, a sister organization to the I.W.A. Albert Goldman of Chicago, labor lawyer, was elected legal counsel for the alliance.

A. F. of L. Starts Insurance Drive

(Continued from Page 1-L)

In a situation vacant directly in consequence of a stoppage of work due to a trade dispute;

If the wages, hours and conditions offered are less favorable to the employee than those prevailing for similar work in the locality, or are such as tend to depress wages and working conditions;

If acceptance of such employment would abridge or limit the right of the employee under Section 7-A of the National Recovery Act to refrain from joining a labor organization or association of workmen, or to retain membership in and observe the rules of any such organization or association.

Workers who quit work without good cause or who are discharged for misconduct shall not thereby forfeit benefits beyond a reasonable period.

Auto Workers Spurn Election

(Continued from Page 1-L)

board, the plan is a perfect carbon copy of the procedure used in the past in the election of the company unions. It is doubtful, as the board has been thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the auto worker, if the election will be taken seriously.

The first election is planned at the Cadillac Motor Co. some time this month.

DETROIT, Mich.—Renewal of the intensive drive for organization of the balance of workers in the automobile industry is now well under way. With over a hundred local unions already organized in the industry, complete organization is the goal of the drive, which is in charge of F. J. Dillon, A. F. of L. organizer in charge of the Detroit office.

Committees are active in automobile production communities, in most of which Automobile Workers' Federal Unions are already flourishing.

With the cooperation of Al Cook, president of Automobile Workers' Federal Union No. 18331, and others, a big meeting was recently arranged at Flint, Mich., the General Motors stronghold. Employees from Buick, Chevrolet, Fisher Body and A. C. Spark Plug plants attended the meeting, which completely filled the large auditorium of the Pengelly Building.

Other meetings are being now planned, while the details of actual organization are being followed through in a vigorous fashion.

Butcher Helpers to Strike

A strike involving over 5,000 butcher helpers and delivery men employed in retail kosher meat markets will be called within a few days. A mass meeting has been called for Monday, December 17, at 8 p.m., at the headquarters of the Butchers Union, 231 East 14th Street.

CITES GROWTH OF UNIONISM IN SOUTH

NEW ORLEANS.—Pointing out that over 1,000,000 workers have joined 1,400 local unions of the American Federation of Labor in the South in the past year, George L. Googe, southern representative of the A. F. of L., told the Regional Labor Board at New Orleans that legislation at the next session of Congress must give specific and definite interpretation of Section 7a, regarding labor's right to collective bargaining. Moreover, new legislation must give the National Labor Relations Board power to enforce its decisions to keep the bosses from chiseling, Googe insisted.

meat and poultry shops, says Jos. Belsky, secretary of the Butchers Union, indicates the necessity of calling a general strike. About 1,000 youngsters are employed on the West Side, Upper Manhattan and Washington Heights and paid \$6 and \$7 a week for 70 working hours. These boys, whose ages range from 18 to 20, not only deliver orders by car, bicycle or motorcycle, but also do actual butcher work in retail shops, actually performing the work of men.

An official complaint has been registered with the NRA by Louis Waldman, attorney for the union. The union also plans to call out its regular butcher men on a sympathy strike to aid these helpers and delivery boys.

PHILADELPHIA.—Waist and Dressmakers' Local No. 50 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has received charters from the General Executive Board establishing separate locals for the Cutters, Silk Dress Branch, and the Cotton Garment Branch

UNION DIRECTORY

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

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

CLOAK, DRESS, DRIVERS' & HELPERS' UNION, Local 102, I.L.G.W.U., Affiliated with A. F. of L. 131 West 33rd St., CHickering 4-3631—Saul Metz, Manager.

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

CORSET and BRASSIERE WORKERS' UNION, Local 32, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Abraham Snyder, Manager.

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

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

JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAIST-MAKERS' UNION—Offices: 232 West 40th St., N.Y.C. Tel. LONGacre 5-5190. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening. Joint Board meets every Wednesday evening in the Council Room at 218 W. 40th St. Julius Hochman, Gen. Mgr.; Phillip Kapp, Sec'y-Treas.

THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Phone, CHelsea 3-2149. David Dubinsky, President.

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, I.L.G.W.U., Office, 60 West 35th St., Phone, WILd 7-8611. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union. Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmund Perlmutter, Mgr.; Sec'y: Louis Stolberg, Asst. Mgr.; Maurice W. Jacobs, Sec'y to Exec. Board; Nathan Saperstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.

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

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St., Phone, ALgonquin 4-7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

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

WAITERS' and WAITRESSES' U. I. T., Local No. 1, A. F. of L. and U. I. T., 290-7th Ave. W. Lehman, Sec'y; Tel.: LACKawanna 4-5483

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 62 of I.L.G.W.U., 873 Broadway, New York City. Telephone, ALgonquin 4-1861. S. Shore, Manager.



FOR EDUCATION



By Lou Freeman of Rebel Arts

Well, What Can We Do for Our Boys?

train themselves for jobs. What would happen to motivation, which he had discussed at so many conventions? He must act—and quickly.

The Mayor answered the telephone at once. The principal's voice was correct: "We must, Mr. Mayor, impress upon our young people ideas of success rather than of failure. I cannot answer for the educational result if our young men and women are brought face-to-face with unemployment."

The very next day the long, gray reptile was gone. The young people were saved. The mayor himself came over and spoke exultantly on "Character, the Key to Success."

THERE are several pitiful things about our educational plight. In one state fifty thousand children cannot go to school at all. If they could go they would not learn much that would be of use to them. But they would have the general idea that they were learning. Twenty-five percent of our teachers get pay that is below the minimum provided in the NRA blanket code. The number of children has increased since 1930, and the appropriations have decreased. We now spend an average of \$68 a year per child, and that average means that in some states we spend almost nothing a year. Classes have grown too large. Employed teachers have too much work. The number of unemployed teachers runs into the hundreds of thousands. If the federal government had not vastly increased its appropriation we should hardly have any public education in a

rose, and up the street. In sheet across had written of Failure." ed with his no matter twisted the the building et stretched led a dirty, e knew who new municipi was just se men evi-

dently lacked character-training. Perhaps they had loyalty and perseverance, but the lack of thrift and enterprise was evident. And, to his horror, he recognized faces—and they were not old. Fingers were pointed at windows. Alumni were reminding each other of scenes of youthful adventure, showing familiarity with his own class-rooms.

Poor man! He was having a hard time. Then some of his bright students crowded through the stagnant column to gain entrance to the temple of hope. They pushed aside the jobless to get in and

urt Renders a ial Decision

required to many of the e exempted if they go that is why rsities have rom which

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nters—Car- s? ardozo of- opinion or d what the- thoughts ately con- being de- cts upon to bear e country s of gov- scription, e.) mat- the issue ourt.

Justices Brandeis and Stone went out of their way to concur in the obiter dicta; there was no dissenting opinion on the main point.

All of which means just what it means. There is nothing left to say except to recall a judicial decision of Mr. Justice Ma-artin Dooley, one of the wisest men in American history.

The United States had just acquired the Philippines, and our laws had been applied to the Filipinos, but none of our liberties, so-called, had been granted them. The Supreme Court was called upon to decide whether or not the Constitution follows the flag. The court found that it did and it didn't—just one of those decisions.

Whereupon Ma-artin Dooley, in response to a question from his friend Jawn Hinnissy, mopped up the bar, rang up the price of a glass of beer on the cash register, and delivered this judicial decision: "The Constistooshun may or may not follow the flag, but the Soo-prame Court follows the illiction ray-toorns."

And this decision is referred to the learned justices who found as they did in the matter of militarism.

But the really pitiful plight is that of the educators. They have not lost their jobs. They still sit at their desks, still address conventions, still manipulate legislators to get appropriations. But their situation is far more tragic than that of children without schools or teachers without pay. For they are without an idea. Hoover and the industrialists failed, and they were voted out. We got at least the phrase "New Deal." Some one had an idea there should be something different. In education all that the leaders ask for is money to go on doing the same old thing, the thing that has failed.

Long ago these men sold out to business and industry. Ph. D.'s and LL.D.'s sold out to C.C.'s, Chambers of Commerce. They learned to supply a market, installed efficiency systems, adopted mass-production methods. Think of two thousand doctors of philosophy a year, a large percentage turned out by Nicholas Murray Butler, the Henry Ford of the industry! When Henry can't sell his cars he stops the machines. Cars aren't made. When Nicholas can't sell his A. B.'s and Ph. D.'s what can the poor man do? The raw materials keep on coming. The machines must be kept going. For, though we have been producing parts for the industrial and commercial mechanism, we have pretended to produce men and women. So the animated and dangerous over-production piles up. It would be terrible if the Henry Fords of education had to confess that they are all wrong. And think what would happen to the normal schools!

Public education was a good idea. The upper classes had had a little decorative learning. Now the other classes were getting ideas of equality, and they wanted some of it. The thing had to be done on a large scale and at public cost. At first the rich were against it. Then

they had a second thought. They could make more profit out of trained people. So, instead of opposing they adopted the new plan, they dominated and directed its working out. This new gadget could be made practical. It could produce results. It did.

Education was nothing new. In the Middle Ages a boy learned his craft from his father. He learned it well. He knew that there would be a job for him. There was a job. But modern business requires more uniform and adaptable techniques, reading, writing, book-keeping, stenography, sciences, salesmanship. Much better that the public should furnish them—at no direct cost to commerce and industry.

Very soon the humanities, which had delighted the aristocrats, were harried from the program. The only history that was taught was the sort that induces loyalty to the American system in America, the British system in Britain. Music and the other arts were "frills." Athletics was O K because it would develop bodies and, incidentally, would divert people from developing their minds.

So we got what we have, education as a part of the industrial system. Depression affects it as it does steel and leather. Demand is gone. Of the millions of high school and college graduates between 1930 and 1934 only one-fourth have met a consumer demand, have found a place in the industrial outfit. Where are the others? I have met them at the meetings of unemployed. Often we have an intercollegiate get-together with the unacademic poor looking on without envy. There have been no college yells. Perhaps there is some class feeling. A Yale man will show one from the University of California how to fix the newspapers under his vest, or a man from McGill will discourse wisely on ways of pan-handling or something else which he never learned in school. These men were taught only one thing, and now that is useless.

I know quite well that our educational administrators, in co-operation with sympathetic Washington officials, are making heroic and partly successful efforts to keep some young people off the streets and in the class-rooms. One college proudly announces that it has more than a thousand students who have Uncle Sam in loco parentis paying their bills. But this very project shows the intellectual bankruptcy of our leadership. All our administrators can think of is more of the same thing, the thing that is all wrong, the thing that got us into our trouble.

The down-and-outs wrap newspapers about them to keep out the cold, but the self-satisfied staff of the great headquarters of American education have nothing to wrap round them to conceal their poverty of mind. They have not got one new idea out of the depression. You might suppose that these smart men would think up a new deal for the schools. Did they not supply the President with his Brain Trust?

There are two great things which education can do besides fitting people for jobs which do not exist. It can turn out better people, people with enriched minds and hearts, people better fitted to live in the sort of world we have now, a changing world in which we must face national and international problems of social and economic planning. Our system has failed to do both these things. It has failed deliberately. It never intended to do these things. Because it overlooked the larger ends of its activity it has failed miserably with regard to the one smaller aim to which it has devoted the great equipment which the people have provided.

What we need is not more money for education. We need an entirely different idea of what education is.

Editor's Corner

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

By James O'neal

Armed Insurrection

BLANQUIISM, a phase of the Socialist movement before the rise of Marxism, has again appeared in this country. Louis Auguste Blanqui, son of a member of the French convention of 1793, devoted his activities to underground organization and arming his followers for a surprise attack on the government in some crisis assumed to be favorable for such action. Michael Bakunin, stormy petrel of force anarchism, elaborated the tactics of Blanqui on an international scale. This force anarchism became such a danger to the movement that the Marxists expelled the followers of Bakunin from the First International in the seventies. However, the movement was so weakened that it was not until 1889 that the International was revived.

The force philosophy appeared in the United States in the late seventies as a result of brutalities by public officials in strikes and corruption in Chicago elections which deprived some Socialists of offices to which they had been elected. At the Pittsburgh congress of 1883 the force elements carried the day for their program and in the next two years the Anarchists captured the local organizations of the Socialist Labor Party in every large city of the country. This force phase of American labor history was brought to an end by the Haymarket affair.

Other phases of the force philosophy have appeared from time to time, but it never obtained a substantial foothold until 1919, when a large section of the Socialist Party organized as a left wing and by the end of the year this became two Communist parties. Armed insurrection became such an obsession that circulars were distributed in the larger cities in advance of May Day and Labor Day calling for "armed insurrection for the overthrow of the bourgeois state." Police spies had already honeycombed the Communist organizations. The spy always has played the role of being more left than the left. It is his purpose to push force to its logical conclusion. Having enjoyed many months of this "revolutionary" intoxication, the members of the Communist organizations were induced to hold secret local meetings on the same night throughout the country. The government agents then raided these meetings and bagged many hundreds of the Communist leaders.

In the meantime the secret publications of the underground movement paid certain compliments to the Socialist Party. It was "yellow" and "cowardly," "agents of the bourgeoisie" who did not dare to lead the masses against the "bourgeois state." The party was committed to a "legal fetish" and to "parliamentarism." With the Communists, open organization of the party was a prejudice revealing its "petty bourgeois" character. The chaos following the end of the World War showed that the class struggle was entering the period of a "civil war" and the "yellow Socialists" refused to acknowledge it and prepare for it.

This delirium began to pass and by 1921 the underground groups were beginning to talk of an "open party" and to criticize the romance of armed insurrection. There were intellectual battles fought in the secret haunts of the Communist groups. Some members were still afflicted with the delirium, others were recovering and still others had recovered. It was a bitter dose to turn "yellow" and follow the course of the Socialist Party into the open, but it was eventually accomplished early in 1922. The result was an "open" Communist Party.

The revival of the force philosophy fifteen years ago was the result of the war, and the revival today is the result of the depression and the rise of fascism in Europe. The same ideas and methods appear. There is nothing in it that is new. Those who urge force think of it in terms of the Russian revolution. In that great historic event the armed forces of Czarism turned against the old order and went over to the masses. This has occurred again and again in history, especially in the "teapot" revolutions in Latin America.

But what has been urged by the Blanquists, Bakuninists, and Communists is the organization of the civilian workers into groups, drilling them and arming them for an attack on the armed forces of the government. In every instance this program has attracted police spies and government agents have dealt with it as easily as taking candy from a child. The spy becomes so earnest a "revolutionary" that members cannot tell where the revolutionary ends and the spy begins. If any person wants to help reaction he may do so by encouraging this folly.

A Personal Note.—In the last several weeks the writer has received several hundreds of letters, too many to be personally acknowledged. These comrades will kindly accept our appreciation and understand that it is impossible to acknowledge all of them personally.

New Jersey Convention

THE 35th annual New Jersey state convention was held last Saturday and Sunday at the Workers Circle, Trenton, with an attendance of 104 delegates. Saturday afternoon was largely occupied with routine business, the State Secretary's report and election of convention committees, and an evening banquet, with Norman Thomas as guest speaker. Every moment of Sunday, from 9 a. m. to the closing enthusiastic motion of thanks to Ruth Berthold, convention secretary, at 7 p. m., was jammed full of important business.

Saturday's chairman was Herman F. Neisser, and Edw. C. Thompson, president of the New Jersey State Federation of Painters and secretary of the New Brunswick Trades Council, was vice-chairman. Sunday's chairman was Robert Becker of Plainfield, with Dr. Louis Reiss of Newark as vice-chairman.

It would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast than the sessions of Saturday and those of Sunday or better prove that whatever the stand of the "leaders" of any or all factions, the rank and file are tired of the energy used up in the discussion of theoretical questions to the practical exclusion of any real organization or propaganda work. The opening set-up of the convention was frankly factional, the element that supported the Detroit Declaration insisting that the referendum result (330 to 251) gave them the right to dominate.

In the convention, sitting as delegates, were several commonly supposed to hold membership in Connecticut, New York and other states, who almost overnight seemed to have become members of and delegates from New Jersey branches, among them Irving Brown and Francis A. Henson, national secretary of the Revolutionary Policy Committee, a group being investigated by the N.E.C. and which Norman Thomas in his convention banquet speech indirectly but almost bitterly assailed, holding that there was no room in the party for any who as delegates, officers of the party, etc., acted on orders of any caucus or group within or without the party.

These facts are told only to emphasize the great change overnight when the rank and file had a chance to speak and show their determination that the convention do nothing to provoke bad blood or have any comrade feel he must sacrifice his conscience to remain true to the real objectives.

Under the persuading, earnest leadership of Goebel of Essex, an old-timer, and aided by the fair and diplomatic chairmanship of Becker, himself a supporter of the Declaration, practically every divisive motion was voted down, including a motion to reaffirm the Detroit Declaration and making loyalty to it the first test. As the day wore on more and more of the delegates forgot faction, even Camden, usually solidly "Left," dividing; and with a degree of good will at the convention closing that has not been evident for years.

As part of this determination to "stop chewing the rag" over what we will do twenty years from now, as one delegate put it, and to get down to real aggressive, victory-winning organization and propaganda, was a complete change in the State organization. The State Committee, for many years elected by caucus, will now be a body of 15 chosen in the convention. As part of the emphasis placed on this committee's work being organizational, that part of the constitution, on motion of Goebel and with only one delegate objecting, was made to include "It shall not be within the province of the State Committee to formulate or act on principles, policies or resolutions." The adoption of this clause later was used as making unnecessary any motion against the United Front when it was offered, delegates holding it was already covered.

In the matter of trade union activities, on motion of Smith of Essex, it was voted that the trade union resolution adopted at Detroit, together with suggestions laid down by our National Labor Committee shall be the basis of similar work in New Jersey.

The Resolutions Committee report, extending greetings to Russia as a Socialist state, was the occasion of one of the spectacular episodes of the convention, Heck of Newark, one of those exiled to Siberia in 1905 and 1907, electrifying the delegates with an appeal not to greet as comrades a government which today holds his fellow revolutionists of 1907 in prison and that in one day they had just shot down without trial 66 men. Bernstein and others took the same position, with the result that the resolution as finally adopted in extending greetings to Soviet Russia also demanded the release of working class political prisoners. Another resolution calls for a state educational committee to arrange for tours of speakers on educational subjects and who will see to it that all viewpoints are presented and that the speakers represent all trends of thought within the party. A motion was also adopted that The New View, the state monthly, shall absolutely refrain from permitting any factional matter and to devote all its space purely to propaganda matters and state party notes. Eric Ross of Kearney was re-elected State Secretary on the first ballot.

The committees follow: Constitution: Bausch, Jones, Levinson, Alexander, Berthold; Resolutions: Agnes Martin, Johnson, Rosencranz, Stempa, Smithauer; Organization: Rappaport, Cleveland, Friedman, Tullman, Hahn.

The new state committee of fifteen consists of Becker, Neisser, Johnson, Jones, Hoedemaker, Dolder, Bausch, Blake, Delferson, Stempa, Lichtman, Tullman, Levinson, Watkins.

N. Y. SOCIALISTS MAKE BIG STRIDE TO HARMONY

By Samuel H. Friedman

A PROGRAM of action looking toward harmony within the Socialist Party and united action against capitalism was launched Wednesday night at a hugely attended and enthusiastic Central Committee meeting, which was the most peaceful held in New York City in many moons.

Spurred on by the demand from all tendencies in the party for an immediate discontinuance of harmful internecine strife, the Central Committee unanimously accepted the report of the special executive committee meeting which had elected a "harmony committee" of five consisting of Alex Kahn, Emil Bromberg, Issay Minkoff, Jack Altman and Max Delson. The purpose of this committee, which was named in the dim hours of the morning after a five-hour session, was to prepare a plan of action for revitalizing the party, bringing about harmony and inaugurating a program of renewed activity.

The "harmony committee" had had only 48 hours to work in and was not yet ready to render a full report. Its tentative report, however, after some debate and some splendid speeches by Comrades Kahn, Delson, Simon Berlin, James Oneal, Matthew Levy and Usher Solomon, was also unanimously accepted, and the committee was given until the next Central Committee meeting, January 2, to map out a detailed—and unanimous—program.

Meanwhile it was agreed, again unanimously, that all factional maneuvering and activity was to cease in executive committee, central committee and branches until then; that no recalling of delegates was to take place before that time, and that all delegates were to look forward to the January 2nd meeting in the hope for a strongly united party, ready to start the new year right by launching a remendous drive against the real enemies of the working class—the capitalist system and its allies.

The chronology of recent events has been swift. Following the attempt to bring about unity at the Boston meeting of the N.E.C.—which in turn followed the New York State Committee's ringing call for an end to factionalism—the organization and propaganda committee unanimously voted to ask the city executive committee to rescind its fourfold action at its previous meeting. On Wednesday night, December 5, Samuel H. Friedman appeared before the executive committee to submit the respectful but urgent request of the organizers. It was decided to call a special executive committee meeting for the next Monday night, December 10, to consider the suggestion of the organizers. At Monday night's meeting, action was taken—in the appointment of a "harmony committee"—which bids fair to begin a new era.

"There are real differences, but in a normal party many of them could be settled," Comrade Oneal pleaded—"there is so much that unites the groups that we should do all in our power to go forward together. Otherwise each group will part, with only dead sea fruit in its hands."

The movement for harmony seems about to crown with success the efforts of the unity conference which after Detroit inaugurated a move to bring together so-called "militants"—and so-called "old guards." Successful in New York,

Jacob Panken Ascends Bench

(Continued from Page One)
precipitation for his sense of Socialist integrity in first consulting the committee.

The Domestic Relations Court has jurisdiction over family troubles, as well as juvenile delinquency. All boys and girls who fall afoul of the law for anything short of murder are brought before that court, and there the humanity and social understanding of a jurist of the type of Jacob Panken will be able to do infinite good.

Comrade Panken has several times declined appointments to the bench and to the public offices when in his opinion it was improper for a disciplined Socialist to accept. Several months ago he was asked to accept a place on the Municipal Court bench to fill a vacancy caused by the death of the sitting judge; he declined because acceptance would involve running for re-election. Somewhat similarly, in 1927, when he was running for re-election to the seat on the bench to which he had been elected as a Socialist, he was offered and declined, endorsements by the Republican and the Communist parties, and he ran only on the Socialist ticket.

Jacob Panken, one of the most colorful of the Socialists in the East, had a long career of service to Socialism and the labor movement behind him when he was elected Justice of the Municipal Court in 1917. He had been one of the ablest labor lawyers, as well as one of the most popular speakers on the party platform when he was elected. During his ten years on the bench he was known as one of the most human judges in the judiciary, and lawyers were known to be eager to have cases tried before him.

Comrade Panken is 55, and is well known abroad as well as in the United States. He has been a delegate to every International Socialist Congress since 1923, and to almost every national convention since the founding of the Socialist Party. He has run for Mayor, Governor, United States Senator, and many other offices. His new post will not interfere with his party activity.

Comrade Panken has been associated since his retirement from the Municipal Court bench with Comrade Matthew M. Levy in the partnership of Panken and Levy, a practice largely in the field of labor.

Party Progress Missouri

The State Executive has resolved that the Missouri Party will support any consolidation with Farmer-Labor, Sinclair Epic Progressives and other parties only if the principles and aims of Socialism are not compromised.

Motion to consider United Front with Communist Party on specific issues resulted in 3-3 tie vote and balance of S.E.C. will be polled to determine policy to be followed.

The Communist Manifesto and The Case for Socialism were adopted as official textbooks and a sixty-day probation period for new members adopted at the end of which period new members certify having read these textbooks. Provisional charters and dues stamp receipts will be issued to new locals until end of probation period. The party pledged its full support to Local Kansas City in its fight for free speech over the radio, Local Kansas City having been denied the right to make its statement over Station KMBC after the station had accepted full payment for its broadcast.

Educational Committee, consisting of Jos. Rogers of Webster Groves, Doris Preisler and Robert Saunders of St. Louis, was elected to handle educational activities, including summer schools and routing of speakers!

West Virginia

Dr. Robert T. Kerlin of Keyser will carry eleven articles on Socialism in the Cumberland (Md.) "Daily News," running through three months and beginning at once. This paper has the largest circulation in eastern West Virginia and western Maryland.

F. G. Strickland is teaching a well attended class on economics and work-

the movement for united action—and no time wasted attacking each other—is expected to spread to all other cities where there may chance to be such unnecessary strife.

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ing class history in Huntington. Members of the local, the Central Labor Union and non-Socialists are attending.

Michigan

Local Wayne County has issued an invitation to hold the State Convention in Detroit, Jan. 25 and 26. A New Years Party will be held Dec. 31 at Doty Hall, Woodward and Blain Aves.

Branch 1. E. M. Jandy will speak on "Crime and Society" at the regular Saturday evening Forum, Dec. 15. Y. P. S. L. will sponsor a Christmas Dance Dec. 22 at 225 E. Forest.

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia. The annual convention was held Dec. 8 and 9 with delegates representing eleven branches and the Y. P. S. L. at the Labor Institute.

Abe Belsky, city organizer, reported on organization, propaganda, educational and political activities. The work of the past year was discussed and plans made for future activity.

A resolution was adopted "Deploing the attitude of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party on the United Front, an attitude which Local Philadelphia considers demoralizing in the extreme and requests the N.E.C. not to engage in any United Front activity with any Communist group or innocents' organizations nor to permit the states to go into any United Fronts."

Another resolution calls upon the State Executive Committee and the N.E.C. to declare that the acceptance by a group of party members of the so-called Revolutionary Policy Committee with its Communist program of dictatorship and doctrines which include the theory of "armed insurrection" to a dangerous departure from Socialist principles and tactics and that members belonging to such groups have no place as members in the Socialist Party.

New Jersey

Dover. A Rand School study class meets Friday evenings at the party headquarters, 13 S. Sussex St. Party meetings are held Wednesday evenings and the Y. P. S. L. meets Sundays at 3:00 p.m. at the same address.

New York

State Vote. An analysis of the 1931 vote shows that, for Governor, gains over the vote of 1927 were made in 54 counties, losses in only 8 counties, despite a decrease of over a million in the total vote. There were 15 counties which doubled their vote, 6 which tripled, 6 which quadrupled and 2 which showed a five-fold or greater increase; 52 out of the 63 counties gave Norman Thomas more votes for United States Senator than they did for President in 1932. The effect of the Thomas tour through the northern counties during the campaign is shown by the vote of St. Lawrence County, which county gave him 1804 votes this year compared with 204 in 1932.

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Syracuse. Local Onondaga County has opened headquarters in Rooms 308-310-311 of the Griffin Building, 134 West Onondaga St. Julius Deutsch of Vienna is to speak at the May Memorial Church this Saturday evening on the "Menace of Fascism." On Sunday afternoon a "mobilization" meeting and social gathering is to be held at party headquarters.

Rockland County. Membership Drive meeting, for members, Sunday, Dec. 16, 2 p.m., at the home of Julia Sauter, 312 N. Highland Ave., Upper Nyack. Rand School Educational Course meets at the same place, Thursday, Dec. 20, at 8 p.m.

The New Leader Book Corner

The Decline of Capitalism

By James Oneal

THE DECLINE OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM. By Lewis Corey. New York: Covici Friede. \$4.

THIS is the first book by an American Communist, except Calverton's "Liberation of American Literature," that is an original study and worth reading. It is an intensive study of American capitalism in terms of Marxian economics. The analysis is exhaustive and detailed, and a wealth of data is presented in tables and graphs to illustrate the text and interpretation.

The book is divided into eight sections and twenty-six chapters which begins with the ballyhoo that accompanied the New Capitalism of Coolidge and Hoover and concludes with a section on The Struggle for Power between the proletariat and the ruling capitalist and imperialist classes. One may disagree with the author's analysis of the system of production and exchange in some phases of its American evolution, but it is doubtful whether any Marxist could present a study as extensive as this one that would not meet some reservations by other Marxists in the interpretation of some detail or details.

In brief, Corey presents the economic contradictions of capitalism, the exploitation of the labor power of the working class, the production of surplus value representing the unpaid labor of the workers, the division of the plunder among various sections of the exploiting classes, the increasing parasitism of owning groups that renders no service to industry or society, the class distribution of income and wealth, the economic contradictions that inevitably bring on industrial depression, the rise of the imperialist mania, the role of monopoly and finance capital in the imperialist era, the class composition of capitalist society and the class antagonism, the decline of the capitalist mode of production here and abroad, and the basic struggle between those who seek its preservation and those who struggle for its abolition.

It is obvious that a book of this kind that runs almost to 600 pages cannot be adequately presented to the reader in anything more satisfactory than the summary given in the above paragraphs.

Throughout the book, however, one will find a theoretical interpretation of trends in terms of Communism and even some phases of American history that raise important questions. For example, Corey considers the Committees of Correspondence in the American Revolution as a "revolutionary party measurably aware of purposes and means, including the extra-legal." The Committees, however, were aware of only one purpose—separation from Great Britain. Within them was a struggle between the masses and the upper group of conservatives as to the program at home. Nor was Shays' Rebellion a "revolt against reactionary aspects of the

new government's policy," as the new government had not yet been formed. It was a continuation of the struggle that was waged in the Committees of Correspondence. Corey also asserts that there were no "proletarian elements" active in the Revolution. The fact is that these elements were active and so frightened the minority of ruling groups that they organized a new government to checkmate what they called the "mobility."

Here and there the author approves proletarian civil war to overthrow capitalism and cites Russia as an example. However, Russia was an example of a disintegrating army siding with the great masses at the end of a disastrous war. Organization of the civilian masses in a period of peace against the disciplined armed forces of the government is not an analogy with the Russian Revolution. How the civilian masses are to get the arms and get them on a scale sufficient to cope with the power of the government, and how far the civilian masses can get with such a program without being driven underground, are problems that are not considered. It is one thing to urge civilian workers to accumulate weapons for a nationwide struggle and quite another thing for soldiers to mutiny and turn against an old regime at the end of a disastrous war. Unless the distinction between the two is kept in mind, no intelligent conclusions can be drawn regarding the role that force has played or may play in revolutions.

N.Y. Socialists

(Continued from Page Six)

ress for the committee to survey the situation with respect to creating sentiment for independent working class political action. The committee elected to promote the party's legislative program consists of Joseph Tuvim of the I. L. G. W. U., Abe Miller of the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Morris C. Finestone of the United Hebrew Trades, Harry W. Laidler, Murray Cross of the I. L. G. W. U., B. C. Vladeck, Bertha H. Mailly, Edward F. Cassidy of Big Six, Emerich Steinberger of the B. S. & A. M., Samuel E. Beardsley of the International Jewelry Workers' Union, David Dubinsky, president of the I. L. G. W. U.; Louis Hollander of the N. Y. Joint Board of the Amalgamated, Marx Lewis, Harry Kritzer, and John P. Burke, president of the Pulp and Paper Makers' Union.

Nine Resign from R.P.C.

PHILADELPHIA.—Nine members of the Revolutionary Policy Committee in this city have issued a letter resigning from this group. They are David Felix, John Green, Wesley Cook, Alice Hanson, Julius Huss, Elwin Riemensnyder, Newman Jeffrey, Philip Van Gelder and John Park Lee.

WAY DOWN SOUTH

(Continued from Page Two)

offered my services. Dr. Spivey gave me a grand introduction, called for a collection, loaded us down with oranges and grapefruits right off the campus trees, and I left a good supply of pamphlets.

Next, on to Lake Wales. A fair meeting here and two fine Comrades, Hanson and Walker. In West Palm Beach I had no public meeting. Comrades Wacksman, Jacobs and Landau are here, all products of the Atlanta, Georgia, Workmen's Circle and they are splendid Socialists. But the local and the Workmen's Circle are very

weak and flea-bitten by Communist pests. At Lake Worth we had a good meeting, thanks mainly to Charles Johnson. Local here small and inactive.

In Miami we had two remarkably good meetings. Our local is active and growing. Soon there will be a number of Socialist branches in this city. Among the splendid comrades here are Bullema, Hankins, Eefting, Bowen, Elkins and Diamond. Comrade Mrs. Finn of New York City is temporarily in Miami and she will be a fine addition to this grand crowd. In Fort Meyers, we also

By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

A War on Lynching

THERE is nothing more important before the next Congress than the passage of a Federal anti-lynching bill with teeth in it. That is not the final answer, of course, to the race question, but in view of the success of the Federal government in dealing

with kidnapping and with gangsters, a great deal more can be done by it than by local authorities against lynching. Officials of the Federal Court are farther removed from dependence on the lynching mob itself for their continued political life. There should be monetary penalties against counties in which lynchings occur.

All this I say with emphasis, because I heard from the lips of the investigator the story of the lynching of Claude Neal in Florida, the lynching that was announced in advance and to which people were invited. The victim was tortured with indescribable brutality for almost 12 hours before he was finally killed. Nothing that I have ever read of the atrocities of red Indians compares with this tale of sadistic horror and brutality.

Afterwards the mob ran all the Negroes it could find out of town. Hitler's Germany contains nothing to compare with this particular story. Of course, the ultimate enemy isn't lynching or particular lynchings. The enemy is racial discrimination, and racial discrimination is tied up with an economic situation under which neither white nor colored people get a decent living and in which, in consequence, there is a bitter racial competition for crumbs of bread. Wages in Jackson County, Florida, where Claude Neal lived, seem to run for white and colored workers alike below \$6 a week.



Norman Thomas

yet come out concerning these executions. We would not have justified similar conduct under the Czars, under Mussolini, under Hitler, under the Balkan dictators. We should not justify it under Stalin, even if Stalin's dictatorship has a higher social ideal for the workers. Perhaps especially because it has a higher social ideal we should require better illustrations of justice from it.

The New York Sales Tax

THE victory of the sales tax in New York is bad because it means further weakening of resistance to the whole principle of the sales tax, which is vicious. Every sales tax means that the poor are taxed to support the poorer. Eighty per cent of the volume of purchases in America are made by people with family incomes less than \$5,000, and 17 per cent by people with incomes less than \$1,000. One of the dangers of the Townsend Revolving Pension Plan for the aged, which is inspired by a high ideal, is that we should get a big sales tax under the influence of its propaganda and a very small pension for the aged.

Meanwhile the figures of income returns just made public as of the year 1933 largely corroborates the theory that the rich are getting richer. The reported incomes below \$25,000 declined. Above they increased. And the number who received income in excess of a million dollars a year went up from 20 to 46. What we want is higher income, very much higher inheritance taxes, and a capital levy, not sales taxes.

Turning to the Right

EXCEPT in the one matter of power, recent speeches by Donald Richberg and the President himself show a definite turn to what newspapers call "the right." That is, a definite effort by the Administration to reassure business. The President, for example, has postponed all forms of insurance except unemployment insurance, and the kind of unemployment insurance which he announces that he favors is not to be aided by state funds and cannot apply to men who have already lost their jobs. It has long been obvious to those with eyes to see that the New Deal is Heaven's richest blessing to business; that it is doing for business what Hoover never could have done for it and what it could not have done for itself. Roosevelt seems to want to make the lesson plain, and business, faced with the prospect of a "radical" Congress, seems to be cuddling up to the President.

Utopias

MORE danger of a fascist or semi-fascist sort arises from this new association Father Coughlin is forming, or from Huey Long's personal ambition, or from the possible developments of such organizations as Utopia, Inc., than from Smedley Butler's plot. I don't say that any of these men or organizations are fascist—yet. Father Coughlin says some true things. His attack on Cardinal O'Connell was fine. I do say that, given present world conditions, personal programs and secret societies fit into a fascist rather than into a Socialist picture. So, too, does the unscientific radicalism even of well-meaning men, let alone the fake radicalism of demagogues. Utopia, Inc., has come East. I heard much of it in the West. It has its good points and its sincere believers, but it has already had its financial scandals. It is wholly unscientific. It seems to believe that some vague mass movement can wish its particular brand of Utopia upon society, and to that end it pledges its members to "reviving devotion for, and reaffirming allegiance to, that foundation stone in our temple of liberty, the Constitution of the United States!"

It has no intelligent dynamics of power and makes no effort to organize workers of hand and brain, economically and politically, for the struggle that lies ahead. Nevertheless, we Socialists must remember that a purely negative criticism of Utopia, Inc., Sinclair's Epic Plan, the Townsend Revolving Pension Plan, or some types of technocratic clubs in the West, won't do much good unless we ourselves are on the job building a vital movement, improving our own propaganda methods, circulating more and better literature, and making better use of that dramatic form of propaganda which unquestionably Utopia, Inc., has not used effectively.

The surest way to build up reaction in America is to let the American people think that our idea of justice is satisfied by any explanation that has

had a good outdoor meeting and met another splendid group. There are no better Socialists than Comrades Foster, Matthews, Tiechler and Washburn in this small town. In Bradenton we had a poor meeting in spite of the good work of Dr. Whitaker, a well-informed and active comrade. James J. Kelly of Watkins Glen, N. Y., is now at Sarasota and he will help.

My two days in St. Petersburg and Tampa were rewarded with my largest and most successful meetings in Florida. Here are our finest locals. At the St. Petersburg

Open Forum I spoke to at least 1,000 people (mostly tourists) and the two party meetings were large and successful. I can not list the remarkably fine Socialists in the St. Petersburg, Tampa and Sulphur Springs locals. The others will forgive me if I mention only Frank McCallister (for a while a member of our Sunnyside Branch, New York City, and a Rand School student). Frank is the life and soul of the party here and I venture to predict he will soon rise high in the councils of our party. He is one of our most devoted

workers, eager, capable, intelligent and lovable.

I am now on my way through the north and western sections of this state. So far I am glad to report many new members gotten at our meetings, about \$30 worth of booklets sold and a goodly batch of new readers for The New Leader and other papers. No, I am not a Florida tourist. Just a poor Socialist organizer whom our Florida comrades entertain so hospitably that I am kept going from early morning to past midnight each day. But I am having a glorious time.