

**C**ONGRATULATIONS to the Socialist workers of Reading and Bridgeport on their splendid victories in the election. Your victories are the result of persistent work of many years in reaching the working masses with the message of human liberation, of class solidarity, of using public powers for the relief of the distressed, and looking forward to the day when thousands of Readings and Bridge-

ports will be fortresses of Socialist power.

Your movements have reached the heart, soul and intelligence of the working masses, the class upon which a Socialist movement must build if it is to be worthy of its ideals and aims. To the extent that the movement follows your example by resting its claims upon the support of the working masses will it merit advance to ultimate

victory. Forward to this goal! Greetings to you and the rank and file! We know that you will earn the confidence placed in you last Tuesday!

To party members and Socialist sympathizers throughout the country the carrying of these two industrial cities by the Socialist Party will come as an inspiration. These successes teach an important lesson. That lesson is being learnt. The

masses thrust into the social pit are not interested in closet philosophers around a lunch table sketching blue prints about the road to power. The masses are traveling the road while the philosophers dispute how many angels can dance on the point of a needle.

Let the philosophers dance while the masses march. Go to the masses and multiply the Readings and the Bridgeports!

WITH WHICH IS COMBINED  
**The American Appeal**  
Founded by  
**Eugene V. Debs**

# NEW LEADER

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Official Organ  
of the  
**SOCIALIST PARTY**  
of the States of  
New York,  
Maryland and  
Pennsylvania,  
and endorsed by  
Massachusetts

## Landslides for Stump, McLevy

### Every Socialist Elected in Reading and Bridgeport

#### N.Y. Vote Shows Effect of Strife

Total of 67,207 in City Reveals Consequences of Dual Organization's Disruptive Activities and Unscrupulous Communist Tactics.

**Good Gains Up-State**  
Fine Progress Shown by Socialists Wherever Party Unity Prevails—Nearly 6000 Votes for Hoffman in Buffalo.

**LANDSLIDE** victories for the Socialist ticket in two important industrial cities, Reading, Pa., and Bridgeport, Conn., registered in Tuesday's elections, together with heavy increases in the vote in other localities, were the high spots in the "off-year" polling this year. Reading is a city of 125,000 people, while Bridgeport has over 160,000.

In Bridgeport the splendid Socialist administration of Jasper McLevy won an amazing vote of confidence when every Socialist running for office was elected, including a solid Board of Aldermen of 16 Socialists and no Republicans or Democrats, 56 per cent of the total vote for the modest trade unionist who is head of the city government, and a straight party vote that varied by only 890 from the highest to the lowest.

In Reading, the Socialists elected every candidate on their ticket, and J. Henry Stump, union cigarmaker, who returns to the Mayor's office after a four-year interval, will have only Socialists to work with, except for one old-party hold-over Councilman.

In addition, a few scattered election victories are reported from Pennsylvania towns. Many more are expected, but returns are slow in coming in.

In Olean, N. Y., a city of 25,000, where John G. Cooper has been leader in building up a fine party organization, the Socialists, with Cooper as candidate for Mayor, scored a big gain and ran second, forcing the Republican into third place. The vote for the past two elections was as follows:

1935	
Furness, Democrat	3,504
Cooper, Socialist	2,075 (29%)
Jaekle, Republican	1,632
1933	
Democrat	2,128
Cooper, Socialist	1,474 (22%)
Republican	3,060

The steady increase of the Socialist vote and of the percentage of the total vote indicate that it will not be many years before Olean joins Reading, Bridgeport and Milwaukee as Socialist strong-holds.

In Buffalo, Robert A. Hoffman, as candidate for President of the Council, polled 5,429 votes according to incomplete returns. The total will probably reach 6,000, a substantial increase.

In New York City the vote showed a loss from recent years. The total for all candidates for Assembly (given in detail elsewhere in this issue) was 66,065, as compared to 75,163 in 1933, the last election in which municipal issues predominated.

The total vote for candidates for

#### Labor Makes Heavy Gains In Scotland

**SENSATIONAL** gains were made by the Labor party in the municipal elections held all over Scotland on Tuesday, supplementing the excellent showing the party made in England and Wales a few days earlier.

The elections, at which members of municipal councils were chosen to govern the cities of the country, registered an emphatic vote of confidence in the splendid municipal Socialism, established in all the major cities of the kingdom. They have an added significance in that they furnished a barometer of sentiment for the general elections next week.

Glasgow's two years of Socialist rule, during which the city placed itself in the forefront among the world's great cities for progressive Socialist administration, was endorsed by the voters, who added four seats to the Socialist majority.

Dundee gained eight seats, and Hamilton gained two.

These gains are of profound significance, and more than counteract the slight losses in several cities of England and Wales. Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham and other cities registered slight labor losses for two reasons. One is that the great Tory campaign for the House of Commons is under way, backed by all the wealth and power of the ruling class, and designed to entrench that party in control, a campaign that has already had some slight effect in the cities. The other is that in some places taxpayers have been stampeded into voting against Labor because the magnificent housing projects of the Labor party costs money that certain elements would rather have the poorly paid workers finance.

But the losses were slight and the gains impressive and important.

Following their fine campaigns for the cities the Labor party has issued its Election Manifesto to the Nation, a platform in which "the Party asks the Nation for a clear majority in the next House of Commons in order to put into operation a boldly comprehensive policy of peace abroad and Socialism at home."

#### Good Vote in Hartford

**HARTFORD**—Close to 730 votes were polled for Abraham Perlestein, candidate for Mayor, a gain of 200 over the vote at the last city election.

Elections will be held in Meriden on Dec. 3. The local there polled almost 20% of vote at the last city election and an attempt will be made to increase it, with possibility of election of part or the whole of the ticket. Mayor McLevy will speak there several days before the election.

#### Big Gain in Yonkers

**YONKERS, N. Y.**—Otto Riegelman, Socialist, polled over 1,400 votes as candidate for Mayor. The vote shows a gain of well over 200.

#### SOCIALIST VICTORS



Mayor Re-elect Jasper McLevy



Mayor-Elect J. Henry Stump

#### General Strike Is Threatened By Milliners

**President Zaritsky Warns Employers Walkout Will Be Answer to Lowering Of Standards in Industry.**

**By Marx Lewis**

**A** LOCKOUT in the millinery industry, to which the Cap and Millinery Department of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union may respond with a lockout tying up the millinery industry of this city, looms as a possibility within the next few days, as a result of the failure of conferences between the representatives of the employers' association and the union officials, led by Max Zaritsky, president of the department.

Should the industry be thrown into a chaotic condition by reason of the strike which has been caused by the employers' decision to abrogate an agreement which does not expire until January 31, ap-

(Continued on Page Three)

#### Greene Faces Court in N.C. Labor Fight

**Special to The New Leader**

**GREENSBORO, N. C.**—Leonard Greene, national organizer of the United Textile Workers of America, and thirty strikers are on trial this week in the Superior Court at Statesville. The strikers are in court on appeals from convictions in the local court at Mooresville, and Greene is being tried for "inciting to riot," the story of which appeared in The New Leader a few weeks ago.

Attorneys Harrison and Barringer are representing the strikers, while Greene, following the course he has followed for more than thirty years when dragged into court in labor struggles, will act as his own counsel.

The strike is now in its seventh week and the strikers display the same determination they did at the outset of the struggle. However, the relief problem has become very grave as many of the strikers are facing severe privation. The appeal for financial assistance made by The New Leader has not brought the aid it should. Federal relief has been denied the strikers

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#### Mooney Seeks Help In New Freedom Move

**Asks Socialists to Locate Important Article on Case In the New York Daily Call of 1918.**

**TOM MOONEY**, labor's martyr and convict 31921 whose case is again before a California court, writes the editor of The New Leader regarding the costs of the hearing and the need of obtaining a news story that appeared in the old New York Call in 1919, 1920 or 1921.

In one of these years, Mooney writes, a news story appeared where a certain California labor exploiter "spilled the beans" at a meeting of big Babbitts in Philadelphia. He mentioned the methods used by the employers and ship owners in San Francisco in 1916 and with special reference to the Preparedness Day parade and bomb explosion for which Mooney was convicted. The big Babbitt dropped some indiscreet remarks that were reported in the Call story.

The New Leader is making a search for the item and, if located, it will be forwarded for use by

(Continued on Page Three)

#### 200 Corporations Hold Answer To "Revolution" or "Reform"

**By Chester M. Wright**

**I**F less than 200 barons had owned the bulk of the productive land of France in the year 1789, no one would have the slightest difficulty in explaining the French Revolution. Even a corporation lawyer could understand it—though he wouldn't admit it after getting on the Federal bench. But anyone would take it for granted that such a disparity of wealth and income—for wealth and income were tied tight to the land in those days—would be sure to cause unrest and upheaval in as energetic a people as the French.

But Berle and Means—two of the wisest and most cautious economists of the present day—reported that less than 200 corporations owned and controlled the bulk of the productive wealth of the United States of America in 1927. The proportion unquestionably has become higher since. And still we have no revolution!

One explanation often given of this amazing state of affairs is that the corporations have behaved so well and managed the affairs of the nation so much better than we could manage them ourselves that we all just naturally want the corporations to keep right on running things.

That explanation went out of date on October 26, 1929, when the stockmarket crashed and tens of billions of property values were swept away in a day. And it has been getting "out of date," as Artemus Ward would have said, every day and hour since. The corporations paid dividends out of surpluses while millions of workers went to the breadlines. They saw 15,000,000 workers out of jobs without making even a decent gesture of finding employment.

(Continued on Page Five)

#### All-Socialist Rule Voted in 2 Cities

**Stump Swept Into Office by 8199 Plurality, with 59 Short of Clear Majority—Record Vote Registered From the Entire Ticket Of the Socialist Party.**

**County Nominees Win**

**Hoopes Polls 29,483 for Judge Against 39,284 for Fusion Opponent—Councilmen, Treasurer, Controller, School Commissioners Win.**

**By Raymond S. Hofses**

**Special to The New Leader**  
**READING, Pa.**—Sweeping the city and making deep inroads into the Democratic party strength in rural Berks County the Socialist Party scored its greatest triumph in the history of Reading by re-electing J. Henry Stump as Mayor, and a full Socialist city administration with him.

The Socialists will have full and complete control of the city for the next four years, and back of them a majority of the voters, for the vote of the Socialist candidates was nearly as great as the two old parties combined. Every Socialist candidate in the city, without exception, was elected.

Mayor-elect Stump, who was defeated in 1931 by a fusion of the two old parties, after a fine administration for the four previous years, came back with a smashing victory, and even if the two old parties had fused the Socialist strength would have been great enough to win.

Assemblyman Darlington Hoopes, running for county judge, won heavily in the city, but was nosed out in the rural sections of the county. The strong showing in Berks virtually assures a Congressman next year.

Following is the vote for city offices: Mayor—

Stump, Socialist	29,483
Heber Ermentrout, Dem.	12,534
J. Keim Stauffer, Rep.	8,258

Reading is governed by a Council whose members are elected at large over the entire city. Every Councilman elected Tuesday is a Socialist; the only non-Socialist who will serve in the next council is an old party holdover who was not up for election.

The vote follows:

Tomlinson, Soc.	18,987
McDonough, Soc.	18,216
Sands, Soc.	18,032
Smith, Rep.	12,770
Yoom, Rep.	12,257
Sullivan, Rep.	8,764
McConnell, Dem.	9,328
Powers, Dem.	9,204
Korke, Dem.	13,333

McDonough and Tomlinson were elected for full four-year terms. Comrade Sands is in for a two-year term.

**Treasurer**

Hooverter, Soc.	18,882
Miller, Rep.	11,315
Filbert, Dem.	10,330

**Controller**

Hollinger, Soc.	18,330
Menges, Dem.	12,485
Hensler, Rep.	9,205

**School Board**

Hazelette Hoopes, Soc.	18,196
G. D. Snyder, Soc.	17,827
A. F. Stone, Soc.	17,011
Birch, Rep.	12,612

**Sweeping Victory in Connecticut Gives McLevy 13,904 Plurality Over Republican and 4995 Over All—284 for Communists.**

**50,000 Cheer Victory**

**Mayor's Triumph Confirms Overwhelming Support of His Administration—He Pledges Continued Efforts In Behalf of Workers—Conservatives Feel Blow.**

**By Abraham Knepler**

**Special to The New Leader**  
**BRIDGEPORT**—An overwhelming Socialist victory that swept every Socialist candidate into office, carried every district, and established a new record for a winning mayoralty vote, was recorded here Tuesday, when Mayor Jasper McLevy, running for reelection polled 24,262 votes, a clear majority of the total vote. Clifford B. Wilson, Republican candidate, polled 10,260, Joseph Wieler, Democrat, 8,908.

A straight party vote was polled, the lowest vote being 23,372, a difference of only 890 votes from high to low. The vote was not only one of confidence, but of enthusiastic approval in the face of the fiercest campaign in recent times. It was the first time the Socialists were on the defensive in a local campaign, and apparently they did find it difficult to defend their splendid record of the past two years.

Resorting to vilification and misrepresentation, red baiting and flag waving, and the publication for several months before election of an anonymous weekly paper, attacking the McLevy administration for the most unfounded reasons, the old parties served merely to dig their own graves, for the Socialist achievements spoke louder than the lies and hypocrisies of the capitalist parties. In fact, the latter merely served to win more voters for the Socialist cause.

Attempts were made to make

(Continued on Page Two)

#### Three Years in Bridgeport

The following table shows the Socialist vote in Bridgeport in three successive years. In 1933, Jasper McLevy swept the city, winning the Mayoralty and polling 48.7 per cent of the total vote. In 1934, when McLevy was candidate for Governor, the contest was over the re-election of Governor Cross, and the Socialist campaign was to pile up a big vote rather than expectation of election; McLevy, nevertheless, defeated both old parties in the city, polling 40.1 per cent of the total gubernatorial vote. In 1935, coming up for reelection, McLevy polled 56 per cent of the total vote.

**1933—For Mayor**

Socialist	22,726 (48.7%)
Republican	7,529
Democratic	16,584

**1934—For Governor**

Socialist	16,960 (40.1%)
Republican	10,937
Democratic	12,299

**1935—For Mayor**

Socialist	24,262 (56%)
Republican	10,260
Democratic	8,908

(Continued on Page Two)

# Bridgeport Victory Is Celebrated by 50,000

## Stump Swamps Two Old Parties In Reading

(Continued from Page One)  
 Evans, Rep. 12,142  
 Herrman, Rep. 9,566  
 Hintz, Dem. 10,143  
 Mochele, Dem. 8,565

The Democrats withdrew one candidate for the highly important school board in a vain attempt to effect the defeat of at least one Socialist by a sub-rosa fusion. But they failed—every Socialist candidate in the city was elected, as well as several in the county.

A sub-rosa last-minute fusion was attempted for Council as well, which accounts for the high vote of Smith, Yocum and Rorke.

In the county, Comrade Hoopes threw a terrific scare into the old parties by his wonderful run for county judge. He polled 29,483 votes against Presiding Judge Paul N. Schaefer, who polled 20,025 as a Democrat and 19,259 as a Republican. Comrades Charles Weiss and Robert Work were elected to the county prison board and Amos Lesher county commissioner.

The Socialists, who cast a straight vote far higher in the city and county than either of the old parties, are now the dominant political force here, and the old parties will probably now forget their differences permanently and never again face the Socialists except in combination.

### Laureldale Goes Socialist

LAURELDALE, Pa.—This town, the smallest community of Berks County, followed Reading, the largest, by electing a full Socialist administration. Every public official elected is a member of the Party.

The Socialists polled on an average of 230 votes for each office, considerably more than both old parties together.

### New Haven Gains

Special to The New Leader  
 NEW HAVEN, Conn.—Harold B. Hunting, Socialist candidate for Mayor, polled 2,381 votes, a gain of more than 600 over the party vote in the last municipal election two years ago. Communists received 244. The vote at last year's state election was 2,700 for McLevy for Governor.

Gains were made in better residential districts, while losses were sustained in the poorer sections.

### Italian Masses Still Shun Fascist "Unions"

ROME—That the Italian workers, whose organizations have been destroyed by fascism, are far from satisfied with the present regime is shown by the following statement published in the Italian semi-monthly *Gerarchia*:

"The masses are still strange to the fascist trade union and take no part in its life. There exists a part which perhaps has remote hopes, but which after the onslaughts of the fascist party ought to exist today."

### 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, Nov. 8th, Thesis I:  
**EVERETT DEAN MARTIN**  
 "The Growing Menace of Dictatorship is the Inevitable Result of the Doctrine of Equality."

SUNDAY, Nov. 10th:  
**DOCTOR GUSTAV STOLPER**  
 (Former Editor and Publisher of the Berlin Economist)  
 "The Revolt of the Masses—Theory of Ortega."

TUESDAY, Nov. 12th:  
**PROF. HORACE M. KALLEN**  
 (of New School for Social Research)  
 "Freedom and Determinism"

Coming East to Give the Speech of the Year!  
**FLOYD B. OLSON** Minnesota's Fighting Farmer Labor Governor  
 "A New Party—When and How?"  
 Grand Ball Room, ASTOR HOTEL (Times Square)

Also **J. S. WOODSWORTH** Leader of Canada's Cooperative Commonwealth Movement  
**Friday, November 15th—8:30 P. M.**

Auspices: COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION OF NEW YORK  
 TICKETS: 25c—50c—\$1.00

### 25th Anniversary—Ball & Entertainment

SATURDAY, Nov. 9  
**MANHATTAN LYCEUM**  
 66 East 4th St., N. Y. C.  
 Starts at 8:00 P. M. Sharp  
 TICKETS: 40c in advance  
 50c at the counter

Film: "The Nature Friends in Action"  
 Theatre-Collective: "People Who Think"  
 Music Group, Nature Friends Dance Group  
 2 Halls—2 Orchestras

**The Nature Friends**

Tickets obtainable: Moderne Deutsche Buchhandlung, 250 E. 84th St.; Deutsche Zentral-Buchhandlung, 218 E. 84th St.; Nature Friends Centre, 11 W. 18th St.

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 Visit the **NEW YORK LABOR TEMPLE**  
 243-247 EAST 84th STREET

Every Wednesday, Saturday, Sunday free Entertainment & Dancing  
**OTTO STEINERT**, the well known RADIO STAR, and Karl's complete Orchestra will furnish the pleasure you want.  
 First class FOOD, WINES, LIQUORS and BEER at the most popular prices.

## VICTORIOUS SOCIALIST CANDIDATES IN TUESDAY'S ELECTION SWEEP



Walter Hollinger Charles F. Sands Wm. Hoverter Stewart Tomlinson Howard McDonough Fred Schwartzkopf  
 John M. Taft George D. Snyder Alvin Stone Amos Lesher Hazelle Hoopes

## McLevy Scores Great Triumph For Socialism

(Continued from Page One)  
 voters believe that organized labor and relief workers were opposed to McLevy, but the workers of the city, employed and unemployed, showed in no uncertain terms how much they thought of the Socialists by returning them to office by the biggest vote in the city's history.

### 50,000 in Victory Parade

The parade following the election showed even more the spirit of Bridgeport's citizens. A tremendous ovation was given the Socialists as 50,000 people marched the main streets to Mayor McLevy's home and then returned with him through the same streets in a four-hour victory parade. The celebration was the largest in the history of the city, with the possible exception of the original Armistice Day celebration, and was greater even than the ovation accorded the first Socialist victory of two years ago.

Mayor McLevy, in a brief message to the voters after the greatest political triumph of his career and of the Socialist Party, said: "I thank the voters for their confidence in my administration during the past two years and promise them that during the next two years they shall never have cause to regret their support of me today."

The decisive victory gives the Socialists greater municipal control than they ever had before, and more control than any other Socialist city in the country possesses. All the candidates were elected for two-year terms, with the exception of the Education Commissioner, who has a three-year term, and the selectmen, who are elected an incomplete Board of Aldermen, with complete oard Bof Aldermen, with no other party represented.

The successful candidates are: Mayor, Jasper McLevy; City Clerk, Fred D. Schwartzkopf; Town Clerk, Richard Schulze; City Treasurer, John Shenton; Board of Education Commissioner, John McDermott; Sheriffs, Isadore Kravetz, William Kasten, Stephen Hatanich; Selectmen, John D'Agostino, Martin Lynch, Harry Rawlinson; Aldermen, 1st District, Michael Gratt; 2nd, Mrs. Sadie Griffin; 3rd, Thomas Tennant; 4th, William Douglas; 5th, A. William S. Neil; 6th, Philip Schnee; 6th A, Samuel Silverstone; 6th B, William Haefele; 7th, George Rosenbeck; 8th, Clifford A. Thompson; 9th A, John Schiller; 9th B, John M. Taft; 10th, Charles Mottram; 11th, William Hutson; 12th A, Michael Quaka; 12th B, Harry Oldfield.

## Vote for Assemblymen and Aldermen

Vote for Assemblymen			Vote for Aldermen		
<b>MANHATTAN</b>			<b>MANHATTAN</b>		
1935	1933		1935	1933	
1. Bruno Fischer	466	436	1. John Braun	476	441
2. David Lasser	317	355	2. Morris Goldowsky	324	356
3. Joseph Goldberg	248	441	3. E. R. Hardy	338	459
4. Julius Green	385	410	4. S. P. Ulanoff	390	389
5. Marx Lewis	228	232	5. Norman Furman	186	237
6. A. N. Weinberg	856	1,020	6. August Claessens	884	1,058
7. S. Lipschitz	587	754	7. Murray Baron	772	819
8. Joseph Belsky	612	795	8. Jos. Mandelsohn	674	819
9. Bruno Rantane	611	619	9. Henry Fruchter	648	644
10. W. S. Farrell	417	748	10. Edwin Koppel	433	771
11. Wm. Edlin	615	546	11. David Rubinow	564	413
12. J. F. Sullivan	615	442	12. Rose Pearlman	478	415
13. Dorothy E. Pfaff	415	419	13. Jos. Gott	395	399
14. Elizabeth Solomon	414	403	14. Martha Hohmann	428	476
15. Adrien Gambet	415	441	15. Louis Binger	310	300
16. Jos. Sugar	346	462	17. Max Wagner	386	300
17. Benj. Blumenberg	323	313	18. I. Minkoff	238	334
18. Chas. Youngstein	447	504	19. U. Ford	481	550
19. Alma Crosswaith	408	410	20. Isaac Schiff	385	320
20. Abr. Grossman	274	333	21. Annie Peters	376	453
21. N. A. C. Walter	513	513	22. Fred Hodgson	652	492
22. Brandon Saxton	551	460	23. Hugo D'Agostino	1,315	1,035
23. Saul Parker	1,283	1,206	24. Jos. Beckerman	268	348
Total Manhattan	11,336	12,252	Total Manhattan	11,915	12,317
<b>BROOKLYN</b>			<b>BROOKLYN</b>		
1935	1933		1935	1933	
1. Lillian Clark	377	390	33. C. B. Driscoll	368	374
2. Morris Waldman	5,232	5,679	34. Jac. Dubno	556	766
3. F. Conigliaro	270	230	35. Harry Schachner	701	591
4. Sidney Goldstein	744	716	36. Frank Costa	259	251
5. Thos. Tucker	412	690	37. Geo. Weissman	220	268
6. Harold Grossman	998	1,464	38. D. M. Cory	180	275
7. L. W. Cohen	227	286	39. W. M. Feigenbaum	5,933	5,864
8. Andrew Johnson	180	317	40. Geo. Field	1,394	2,043
9. Chas. Kanowitz	1,408	2,115	41. Alex Kahn	4,573	5,776
10. David Breslow	355	442	42. Reuben Joffe	555	783
11. S. K. Binyan	856	871	43. Edw. Grief	5,246	6,543
12. Viola Yavner	528	663	44. Gwen Lurie	1,417	1,978
13. Reuben Parness	264	456	45. M. H. Franke	930	810
14. Hyman Sussman	670	572	46. Rose Manz	377	493
15. Jos. Leppo	163	225	47. Frank Smith	568	668
16. Julia Primoff	4,577	6,118	48. Ellen Emery	513	793
17. Harry Robinson	561	839	49. J. M. Feldman	958	1,521
18. Sigm. Goldstein	5,146	6,590	50. Harry Lopatin	1,155	1,519
19. Morris Blumereich	359	427	51. Sam Babetsky	295	460
20. Sidney Schmarak	427	570	52. Aaron Katz	157	260
21. A. B. Gold	1,382	1,759	53. J. A. Weil	457	447
22. Samuel Block	2,123	2,546	54. Morris Schwab	299	357
23. Irving Ostrowsky	1,224	1,492	55. Meyer Singer	774	894
Total Brooklyn	28,483	35,457	56. Jos. Morgenstein	1,625	1,884
<b>QUEENS</b>			<b>QUEENS</b>		
1935	1933		1935	1933	
1. E. Steinberger	1,079	941	57. Jack Humfress	1,201	1,770
2. A. Bercowitz	789	995	58. James Oneal	1,717	2,743
3. Henry Layburn	902	1,205	59. Vito Tancredi	602	868
4. John Colquhoun	1,510	2,316	60. Benj. H. Hill	969	1,182
5. Arthur Simpkins	1,346	1,636	61. Edwin C. Johnson	995	1,065
6. E. P. Gottlieb	624	695	62. Matthew Cerda	760	1,205
Total Queens	6,259	7,793	Total Queens	6,244	8,833
<b>RECAPITULATION</b>			<b>RECAPITULATION</b>		
1935	1933		1935	1933	
Manhattan	11,336	12,252	Manhattan	11,915	12,317
The Bronx	19,213	18,716	The Bronx	18,700	18,183
Brooklyn	28,483	35,457	Brooklyn	29,510	35,589
Queens	6,259	7,793	Queens	6,244	8,833
Richmond	774	945	Richmond	816	1,121
Total N.Y.C.	66,065	75,163	Total N.Y.C.	67,207	76,043

## THE "KISS OF DEATH" FAILS IN BRIDGEPORT

Special to The New Leader  
 BRIDGEPORT, Conn.—What may be called the "kiss of death" is implied in the caress of the Communist Party in its announced withdrawal a few weeks ago of its candidates in favor of the candidates of the Socialist Party. The reactionary press and politicians immediately seized upon this in an attempt to prejudice workers against voting for the Socialist candidates.

The "Times-Star" ran an editorial under the caption "Communist Candidate" which was directed against Mayor McLevy. It hastened to declare that "the Socialist and Communist parties are standing shoulder to shoulder behind one candidate." It added, "That Mayor McLevy should stand today revealed as the candidate of both the Socialist and Communist parties is revolting to many of those who have ardently supported him in the past two years."

A special writer in the same paper also harped on this theme. One anti-Socialist candidate also asserted that there was a "distinct understanding" between the Socialists and Communists.

The Socialists, in a last-minute full page advertisement in the local newspapers, flatly charged that the old parties had formed an alliance with the Communists in order to frighten voters away from the Socialist ticket running for reelection.

Of course, the Socialist Party rejected the proposed Communist embrace, but the reaction to the offer of a caress shows that the "united front" means agreement for Socialists to attend their own funeral as mourners.

The Communists, following their latest "line," drove a wedge into the Socialist ranks. Wherever they got our people to listen with willing ears to their siren call for "united front," they brought confusion, disintegration and ruin. Wherever, as in Bridgeport, their proffered hypocritical aid was indignantly and promptly rejected—**SOCIALISM TRIUMPHED!**

The Communist campaign reached a new high in vigor and energy; it reached a new low in proletarian morality. Endorsing a Democrat here, seeking Republican support there, hypocritically offering a "United Front" to Socialists elsewhere, the Communist "line" became an insane zig-zag often indistinguishable from the appeal of the most reactionary parties. The main idea seemed to be to throw the Socialist ranks into confusion, a well-known Communist tactic everywhere in the world.

Therefore, the Communists and their press made it their business to attack some Socialists and praise others, to take a hand in all internal Socialist disputes, praising one side and damning the other, ostentatiously ceasing their savage and wholly insincere heckling of past years (while advertising for sale in the factional Socialist organ a book in which Earl Browder "proves" that fascism was brought to European countries by the Socialist parties).

That they succeeded in creating the confusion that was their primary object, cannot be denied. How much longer they will be permitted to continue their tactics depends solely upon the Socialists themselves.

There are lessons in this election. Real Socialists will learn the lessons. And as the party members and supporters learn the lessons, Tuesday's setback will have had a salutary effect in the preparations for the greater battles of the future.

Socialism is on the march. No outside agency can stop its triumphant progress!

## Communists Poll 284

Special to The New Leader  
 BRIDGEPORT.—The Communists, despite their loudly announced "support" of Mayor Jasper McLevy and the whole Socialist ticket, had a ticket in the field in the election.

Michael A. Russo, their candidate for Mayor, polled 284 votes, just a shade over one-hundredth of the vote for McLevy.

The star on the Communist ticket was Kieve Liskofsky, elected Selectman two years ago as a Socialist. He quarreled with the party, was ousted from membership and went over to the Communists. He was named for City Clerk against Fred Schwartzkopf, because of his supposed vote-drawing power. He polled 283 votes to 23,421 for the Socialist.

## New York Vote Shows Result Of Sterile Party Conflict

(Continued from Page One)  
 Aldermen were 67,207, as compared with 76,043 in 1933.

William Karlin, as candidate for Supreme Court in the First District, polled the following vote:  
 Manhattan 10,601  
 The Bronx 16,752  
 Total 27,353

Jacob Hillquit, candidate for Judge of the Court of General Sessions (Manhattan) polled 12,823.

Local judicial candidates in Manhattan fared as follows:  
 Irwin Nussbaum (2nd)—2,130  
 The Bronx candidates for municipal court judge polled the following vote:  
 Alfred Belskin (1st)—7,665  
 Henry Kavesh (1st)—7,580  
 Samuel Orr (2nd)—11,763  
 Matth. M. Levy (2nd), 11,960

In Kings County the vote for judges was as follows:  
 Harry Rappaport (6th) 2,812  
 M. C. Miller (7th)—2,544

In the heated campaign for District Attorney of Kings County, many of the voters lost sight of the fine campaign waged by Frederick Schulman, Socialist. His vote was 23,467.

Theodore Shapiro, candidate for a State Senate vacancy in Brooklyn, polled 2,731 votes.

Leonard Lazarus, for District Attorney in Queens, polled 5,857 votes.

Two Congressional candidates, running to fill vacancies in the House, received the following vote:  
 Samuel A. deWitt (2nd) 6,231,  
 Tyrell Wilson (22nd)—1,140

George A. Gibbs, for Municipal Court in Queens, polled 1,266 votes.

Socialists cannot ignore the fact that the party suffered a distinct setback in New York, nor can they be blind to the reasons for that setback. This was an "off-year," and the main interest of the people was in local fights; the Republicans seeking to "discredit" the New Deal and the Democrats to hold local offices in the city and to pave the way for a defeat of Mayor LaGuardia in 1937.

Nevertheless, those circumstances do not explain the slump of the Socialist vote. Socialist speakers everywhere found the deepest interest where they reached the people; street meetings were better in attendance and attention than ever—but there were not enough street meetings, nor any other kind of activity.

The reason for the poor showing in New York can be placed squarely at the doorsteps of those who have for years kept the party in a state of internal turmoil and who have waged guerrilla war upon the organization. A section of the party, with a dual and parallel organization, simply did not cooper-

ate with the party organization, treated the organization with a hostility unheard of in party history, published a factional paper as a rival to the party's official organ, organized rival meetings to the party's own meetings and in every way carried on for a faction rather than for the party.

The results were—disastrous. Every section of the party lost ground where this warfare was permitted. Neither "militant" nor "old guard" candidates was able to stand up under this criminal situation. The internal warfare resulted in dreadful party paralysis, which will continue to spread so long as factionalists are permitted to go on with their factional warfare.

It is significant that Socialist strength holds and gains wherever there is no such warfare, FOR THE MASSES ARE EAGER TO ACCEPT OUR MESSAGE WHERE THE PARTY IS IN A POSITION TO GIVE IT. The vote stands still and declines and party progress stagnates IN PRECISE PROPORTION AS INTERNAL WARFARE IS PERMITTED TO GO ON.

Reading and Bridgeport are free of such factionalism.

Reading and Bridgeport today are the brightest stars in the Socialist firmament!

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## Gov. Olson in N. Y.

WHEN Floyd Bjornstjerne Olson "blond" Scandinavian giant of the "Northwest," addresses the Commonwealth Federation's rally in the Hotel Astor on the evening of November 15, it will mark the first major Eastern invasion of the Mid-Western Farmer-Labor movement as well as the initial appearance of the Governor.

Governor Olson is in his third term as Farmer-Labor Governor of Minnesota. He has announced that he will run for the U. S. Senate in 1936 against Republican Tom Schall.

Floyd Olson's career as a progressive goes back to his early days as a stevedore and lumberjack in the I.W.W. movement. His father was and still is a worker in the railroad yards who scorns to "rise" with his son's political fortunes.

J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., leader of the Canadian Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, now the important Third party of that country, will also speak. This will be Comrade Woodsworth's first appearance in New York.

# Randolph Tells of Battle For Negro Workers' Rights



A. Philip Randolph

AT the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters led the fight to force the Federation to commit itself against all discrimination against Negro workers by its trade union affiliates, according to A. Philip Randolph, National President, who, together with M. P. Webster, 1st Vice-President, directed the strategy of the battle.

The issue was raised when Randolph objected to the passing of a motion to refer to the Executive Council without debate all resolutions not reported upon because of the lateness of the hour on the last day. Randolph charged the Executive Council had delayed the report on discrimination to a time when adequate discussion was impossible. Delegate Feeny, President of the Structural Iron Workers' Union, suggested that special consideration be given the report which was accepted by President Green.

Randolph then attacked the report of the Executive Council and styled it a form of dignified, diplomatic and rhetorical camouflage and a complete evasion of the issue. He asserted that the claim that Negro workers organized into federal labor unions directly chartered by the A. F. of L. offset discrimination by national and international unions, was a makeshift and no solution, since federal unions neither organized or protected Negro workers, as they had no economic strength and made more for division, separation and isolation than integration and organization.

**Randolph's Substitute**  
He also charged that the federal unions were a form of dual unionism which tended to weaken both the national union and the federal union since they were in competition in attempting to cover the same class of workers such as, for instance, Express and Freight Handlers. Randolph added that Negroes have the same capacity for organization as white workers, as shown by the success of the Sleeping Car Porters and that the Negro workers were not seeking

merely an opportunity to fight, suffer, sacrifice and share the burdens of all of the workers in building up a labor movement to advance the cause of industrial democracy.

Randolph offered a substitute motion for the one presented by the committee on Negro labor problems appointed by President Green. The substitute was opposed by Green who stated that the Executive Council had done all it could inasmuch as it had no power to compel a national or international union to accept or reject a worker as a member. He deplored such a condition but it existed and the A. F. of L. could not force a change through legislation that had to come through education. He insisted that a few unions discriminated against Negro workers through the color bar and expressed sympathy and agreement with the economic philosophy of Randolph.

**Frey Favors Substitute**  
John P. Frey, Secretary of the Metal Trades Department, strongly supported the substitute. He spoke feelingly of the problem of the Negro workers, the matter of race prejudice in some of the unions and told of his efforts to bring Negro workers into the Molders' Union. He observed that he had attempted to enlist the cooperation and support of the late Booker T. Washington in the organization of Negro workers, but had failed.

Following him M. P. Webster, 1st Vice-President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, pointed out that the porters were leading the fight to bring the Negroes into the trade union movement and to make them more favorable to the A. F. of L., but that this fight was handicapped by discrimination practiced against Negro workers by some of the unions. Upon the support and cooperation he had given to the Pullman porters' fight and told of the great difficulties Negro workers encountered in trying to organize through the federal labor unions.

Randolph again pointed out that the Railway Labor Executives' Association, headed by George Harrison of the Railway Clerks, had left out of the Railway Labor Act, when it was formulated with Coordinator Joseph B. Eastman, sleeping car porters, although every other class of railroad workers was included by name. Randolph declared that there were more than 20 unions that discriminated against Negro workers through the color bar or other devices among which were plumbers, electrical workers and machinists. The President of the Electrical Workers' Union challenged delegate Randolph's statement that the Electrical Workers discriminated against Negro workers.

**Randolph to Campaign**  
The report of the Executive Council ended with the statement that "We therefore recommend that all national and international unions and the A. F. of L. conduct a continuous campaign of education to bring to the white workers the necessity for greater unity of the workers in the labor movement to the end that all discrimination against Negroes will be removed."

This is the first time that anything definite by way of a recommendation to be executed on the part of the A. F. of L. by the Executive Council has been made, commented Randolph. However, he continued, it is inadequate and declared the fight will continue under the leadership of the porters to eliminate the color bar and all forms of discrimination against Negro workers in the unions.

Randolph is mapping out an extensive program to prosecute this fight through the central labor bodies of various cities, State Federations and federal and local unions of the various national and international unions, as well as the educational agencies of the A. F. of L. He expects to take up with President Green some definite plan for formulating and conducting an educational campaign among the white and Negro workers as recommended in the Executive Council's report at an early date.

## GREENE FACES COURT IN N. C.

(Continued from Page One)  
on the ground that no funds are available for this purpose.  
This answer of the government is quite in contrast with the assistance it has given to the mill owners. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation came to their aid last week with a loan of \$800,000! This large sum will enable the mill owners to continue the fight against the union which is fighting for the observance of the Wagner Act. The whole set up in this bitter struggle shows desperate workers on strike to enforce the law, the strikers hailed into court because of strike activities, the government granting a huge sum to the strike-breaking corporation while it denies relief to the striking workers!

Rarely has there been such a combination of judicial, financial and corporate power hurled against striking workers whose offense consists in the use of economic pressure to compel a corporation to comply with a law of the Federal Government. The case is so important that the strikers urge unionists to bring the matter before their organizations without delay, sending resolutions of protest to the Labor Department at Washington and at the same time contribute financial aid to the union members and their families.  
Contributions may be sent to James Starr, International Secretary-Treasurer, 605 Bible House, New York City. Trade unions and sympathizers are urged to act upon this matter without delay.

## WEVD Features of the Week

Sun., 11 a. m.—Forward Hour. 12:30 p. m.—Jennie Goldstein-sketch. 1—Bertha Kalish. 10—Symposium.  
Mon., 8 a. m.—"Starting the Day Right"—Jacob S. List. 8:25—City Consumers Guide.  
Tues., 8 p. m.—Dolores Hanford—soprano. 8:15—University of the Air. 8:30—"The Message of 91"—talk by Harry Greenberg. 8:45—Amato and Tristone—recital. 10—New Leader News Review.  
Wed., 8 p. m.—"Looneytone News"—Humorous News Sketch. 8:15—University of the Air. 8:30—Amateur Variety Show. 10—Grace Castagnetta—concert pianist. 10:30—Evening Musicale—Gwen Morrow—soprano.  
Thurs., 8:15 p. m.—University of the Air. 8:30—Amateur Variety Show. 10—Edith Friedman—piano. 10:15—Newspaper Guild on the Air. 10:30—"The Crowd Speaks"—Man in the Street Broadcast. 10:45—Sky High Ranchers—hill-billy music.  
Fri., 8 p. m.—Classic Art Quartet. 8:15—University of the Air. 8:30—Amateur Variety Show. 10:15—Sheila Graham, journalist. 10:45—Cornbread, Ham and Cabbage—songs.  
Sat., 10 a. m.—Voice of Local 89—Italian Variety Show. 6 p. m.—"Jewish Events of the Week." 6:45—Jennie Moscovitz—sketch. 10—Opera.

## BIG CEREAL COMPANY STANDS BY 6-HOUR DAY, RAISES WAGES

BATTLE CREEK, Mich.—A six-hour working day for all workers, together with substantial increases in wages, is the rule in one of the biggest cereal factories in the country, the Kellogg Company, it is announced by W. K. Kellogg, head of the firm.  
The increase in wages will average 12.5%, and will be retroactive to October 28th. Kellogg says the new regime will apply to all workers in his employ. The company established the 6-hour day five years ago, and the wage increases are now made to keep the workers' incomes up.  
Under the new regime the minimum wage, paid janitors and other unskilled workers, is increased from \$4 to \$4.50 for a six-hour day, the highest in the company's history, including wages paid for the eight-hour day which was abolished December 1, 1930.  
Wages in the higher brackets, which include most of the company's men, employees, are increased in proportion. Wages of women employees were raised two years ago so that their earnings for six hours' work equal those previously paid for eight hours.  
Employees work six days a week, except in the winter, when they are on a five-day basis. The plant employs four shifts in each 24-hour period.

## 50th Anniversary of the Central Organ of Swedish Social Democracy

The Stockholm *Social-Demokraten*, the central organ of the Swedish Social Democratic Party and chief of the widely-read Swedish Party journals, has celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its existence. Now that the German party press is no more, it is probably the oldest of the large dailies which serve the workers' cause in the different countries.  
Its history is closely bound up with the rise of the Swedish working class and the development of the Swedish Social Democratic Party to the most powerful party in the country, to the party which today leads the Government of Sweden.  
The memory of Hjalmar Branting, the great leader of the Swedish workers, is inseparable from the history of *Social-Demokraten*. Of the younger generation of leading men of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, the present Minister of Education, Arthur Engberg, in particular, was for many years editor-in-chief of the *Social-Demokraten*. Today the direction of the paper is in the hands of Comrade Frederik Ström.  
The party celebrated the jubilee of its central organ in festive manner. At the jubilee meeting Arthur

## Membership Gains in California

More than \$30 has already been pledged for the year to keep Ward Rogers in the state as organizer; a meeting held October 30 for the Santa Rosa victims of vigilantism, \$45.69 raised; reading room opened in downtown Oakland; Union of Professional Workers organized through efforts of the Socialist Party; Oakland-Berkeley celebrated the windup of California's Lyceum course October 14 with Comrade Raymond Henderson as speaker. Topic, "Come and Get It." Henderson is State Chairman of the party. Henderson will handle the appeal of Norman Mini, one of the victims of the Sacramento conspiracy.

Tillman K. Garrison was recently elected secretary of the Local East Bay executive committee. Individual members of EPIC clubs have expressed themselves as wishing to see delegates to go to the next Democratic convention pledged to vote against Roosevelt as they feel Roosevelt knifed their illustrious leader "Uppy" in the last gubernatorial election; recently, when the president was in California, he did not call on the "leader" of his own party! The one who was going to capture the old "mule" as a vehicle for the working class to ride to victory.  
Membership in the party is gaining here and the phrase: there is NO short cut to Socialism is being voiced, and by those who thought there was a few months ago.

## Thanksgiving Week-End Seminar for Massachusetts Yipsels Begins Nov. 29

FITCHBURG, Mass.—The Massachusetts Yipsels are planning a seminar for Thanksgiving week-end, Nov. 29, 30 and Dec. 1st, to be held at Saima Hall (owned by the Finnish Socialist Federation) Friday evening, Nov. 29th, will be given over to a social or get-together for the students.  
There will be five courses as follows: Socialist Fundamentals, Organization, History of the Socialist and Labor Movement, Co-operation, an hour each day, and one hour of Parliamentary Law on Saturday.

## Michael Strange at Rand Playhouse Nov. 10

Sunday evening members and friends of the Rand Playhouse will gather at the Rand School studio, 7 East 15th Street, for an intimate get-together and social evening.  
Michael Strange, actress-poet, who has just returned from an extended stay in Hollywood, will address the gathering. An interesting program of entertainment has been arranged. Plans for the coming season will be announced by Mrs. Henry B. Harris, director of the Experimental Players. Admission is free.

Engberg and the Socialist Prime Minister, Per Albin Hansson, were among those who spoke.

## Mooney Appeals For Aid in His Latest Battle

(Continued from Page One)  
the Mooney defense counsel.  
Mooney writes: "Our difficulties are great in this hearing, the Supreme Court has refused to give us a copy of the transcript of testimony. They have refused to pay transportation of our witnesses and expenses for them. This added expense doubles our burden."

"That you may have some idea of what the cost of the testimony will be, the testimony of John McDonald taken by deposition in a Baltimore hospital, Maryland, cost our Defense Committee \$300. The testimony of the entire hearing will run into thousands of dollars, and we are having considerable difficulty to meet our current running expenses during the course of the hearing which is now in its fifth week, and will last an equally long period.

"To increase our burden still further, two very important witnesses refuse to come to California to testify. At our expense, the referee has agreed to go to Portland, Oregon and Cheyenne, Wyoming, with our attorneys to take the depositions of these two important witnesses, a week from today. If there is anything you can do to aid us in this purpose it will be doubly appreciated, and I am sure you will have no hesitancy in rendering us this assistance."

The New Leader passes on this personal appeal of the famous labor prisoner and martyr to its readers and earnestly appeals to every reader who can spare a contribution to send it to the defense without delay. Send your contributions to the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, P. O. Box 1475 X, San Francisco, Cal.

## Rand School Women Plan Rummage Sale In December

The Women's Committee of the Rand School is planning a Thrift and Rummage Sale for the benefit of the Scholarship Fund the first or second week in December. The chairman of the committee is Mrs. Minnie Weinstein, 227 East 57th St., and she is asking for an active committee of fifty women to solicit and collect goods and give their time during the week of the sale.  
Goods, preferably new, but if used, not too much used, will be welcome, and comrades are asked to bring their donations to the Rand School where they will be taken care of until the sale opens.  
The committee hopes that the many friends of the Rand School will ransack their shelves for goods that can be turned into cash. Women willing to serve on the committee are asked to communicate with the Rand School, ALgonquin 4-3094.

## Spring Products Strike Solid in Its 19th Week

The 19 weeks of strike and police terror and more than 75 arrests with high bail and serious charges against those arrested have failed to accomplish the object of the Spring Products Corp., 175 Walnut Ave., Bronx. That is, to split the ranks of the strikers and break the strike.

The 375 workers, the majority of whom are Negro and Spanish, are determined to win union recognition, the 40-hour work week and a 25% wage increase. They struck under the leadership of the Metal Bed and Spring Workers' Local 140-B of the Upholsterers' Carpet and Linoleum Mechanics' International Union, A. F. of L., on June 25th after the employers raised working hours from 40 to 52½, cut wages and refused to consider the demands of the union.

All unions are being approached by the strikers' committees and their response has been good. The expense is very largely due to the prolongation of the strike, high bails and fines.

In order to raise additional funds, the union has arranged a benefit performance for the support of the Spring Products strikers to be held at the Renaissance Theatre, 138th St. and 7th Ave., Friday, Nov. 1, at 11:30 p.m. Tickets are on sale at union headquarters, 114 West 14th St., New York City, as well as at the theatre.

# Shirt Workers Wage Strike Against Company Union

PHILADELPHIA.—Following close on the expose of the role played by the Prudential Insurance Company in establishing and maintaining a company union at the Baskind Shirt factory in Lebanon, Pa., comes reports of the reaction of workers in a widely separated part of the country, as Indianapolis and Reading.

In both instances, when confronted by workers with the expose of the company's anti-labor activity, company agents attempted to crawl out from under.

Exposure of the company's aid and comfort to company unionism is producing serious financial losses to the company in Reading inasmuch as not only are many individual unionists cancelling policies or changing their minds about taking policies but the very large and profitable group-insurance contracts, covering thousands of workers in Berks County hosiery mills, are being held up because of the workers' insistence on refusing to participate in any deal with the Prudential.

Up in Lebanon, notorious haven of chiselers, dominated by the Bethlehem Steel Trust, the Shirt Workers' Union found itself at grips with the city's shirt manufacturers who denied their employees the right to bargain collectively and belong to a union.

**Strike Wins Justice**  
A six-week strike returned justice and victory to the workers in the S. Kanto factory, resulting in the first union agreement in the history of the town and striking terror into the heart of the steel trust, grand-daddy of the nation's company unions. The chiselers' association, perked up sufficient strength, however, to lend backbone to the L. Baskind management which sought to entrap the John Hancock Insurance Company

into setting up its company union. When the company, apprised by Labor Publications Foundation, publishers of the Labor Record; that its policies had been forced on the Baskind worker by one of its agents who acting on instructions from the Baskinds, bulldozed and coerced the shirtworkers at a meeting in the plant, to accept membership in the "Lebanon Baskind Employes Association," carrying with it Hancock policies; it immediately cancelled the policies, severely rebuked the agent and withdrew entirely from the scene.

What was too raw and improper for the Hancock company to stomach was the meat, however, for the Prudential Company. Prudential officials intimated that the Hancock company was a "sissy."

When confronted with the same evidence that caused withdrawal by the Hancock Company, the Prudential after many weeks stalling, unblushingly declared that their "investigation" had disclosed nothing "out of the way" and that they would continue to operate as a company union incubator.

The reports of NLRB investigations are expected to show conclusively the tie-up between the shirt manufacturers' illegal company union and the Prudential Insurance Company. The latter, however, has stuck its head in the sand like the silly ostrich, and pretends to see nothing wrong in its anti-labor activity although it professes high regard for labor and has for Executive Vice-President, Colonel Franklin O'lier, whose career as a high American Legion official, was full of expressions of affection for the

American Federation of Labor. Despite the Prudential's pretense that their policies are voluntarily sought by the Baskind workers, membership in the company union was compulsory, the insurance premiums are checked off their "dues" which in turn are deducted from their pay envelopes by the management.

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## Schenectady Vote

Special to The New Leader  
SCHENECTADY.—Despite extraordinary conditions the Socialist vote of Schenectady County in Tuesday's election was fairly comparable with that of 1934.

James F. Houlihan, candidate for Commissioner of Public Welfare, polled 1,484 votes, compared with 1,601 votes for Charles Solomon for Governor last year. Mrs. Florence Martin and Dr. Lewi Tonks, candidates for Assembly, received 682 and 830 votes respectively, compared with 766 and 794 polled by James Polan and Mrs. Marie Steele in 1934. The Charter League and United Labor Party tickets apparently cut into the Socialist municipal vote heavily, since the high man, Charles W. Noonan, in the vote for Councilmen-at-Large, received only 788, while Herbert M. Merrill, candidate for Mayor, received 760. These figures are taken from a tabulation of a Schenectady morning newspaper and may be changed quite substantially by the official count. No announcement has been made concerning the number of votes received in either county or city by the United Labor Party and the Communists.

## Milliners Make General Strike Threat

(Continued from Page One)  
approximately 10,000 union people employed by the one association with which the union is contending will be directly affected, while the industry as a whole, employing about 25,000, will be indirectly affected.

Union officials, who for several months have been anticipating the possibility of an attempt by the manufacturers to write a new agreement in the slack period instead of waiting until the eve of the season, made it known, both to the association representatives and to the general public, that the union is ready to cope with the situation. At the same time, President Zaritsky declared that the employers' action was the height of folly. The effect of the decision will not only be to banish orderly procedure in an industry which has pioneered in establishing and maintaining industrial peace and collective relations, but to bring back evils which had been banished years ago, he declared.

Manufacturers, in seeking the abrogation of the agreement, indicated that in writing a new one they want some of the provisions of the present agreement eliminated, the effect of which would be to lower the standards of the workers. Zaritsky, declaring that he sympathized with those who believed that there are evils which should be dealt with jointly by the union and the employers, assured the employers that there will be no lowering of labor standards.

In a statement issued to the membership, President Zaritsky urged them not to become panic-stricken by the threats of the employers. "The union is stronger than I have ever known it be," he declared. "It is capable of defending every condition that we have won. More than that, it is ready to do so, if the employers want to restore industrial strife to an industry which has been singularly free from it for years."

"In their confusion and bewilderment, the employers are creating a dangerous precedent, the serious consequences of which they will discover after they have undermined the confidence of the workers. Breaking agreements whenever it suits the convenience of one of the parties is a dangerous procedure."

"Not only will we not permit ourselves to be stampeded into a return of conditions our union outlawed years ago, but we wish to remind the employers that in their blind fury caused by cut-throat competition and self-destructive practices they are bringing to an end one era and establishing another which may be marked by continuous strife and turmoil."

"As one more deeply interested in the welfare of the industry than any of them—because I speak for those whose bread and butter depends upon its success—I hope that the employers will have saner councils prevail, and will avoid trouble in the industry. However, if they prefer to precipitate it, we are ready."



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# The Audience Finds "There's Wisdom in Women"

## AIRY NOTHINGS

"THERE'S WISDOM IN WOMEN." By Joseph O. Kesselring. At the Court.

It, as Shakespeare once remarked, the artist gives to airy nothing a local habitation and a name, the author of the present play is an artist. Deft is the word that fits the evening: deft direction and acting (especially of Ruth Weston and Gleen Anders) give vitality to the deft dialogue. If there were something for all this to grow upon, all would be well. The story is of a pianist who needs women, his wife who has given up a career to help him and who can't give up—because, after all, she loves him and he needs her and he is writing a concerto that will spring from Liszt without that composer's shallowness. The theme has a shallowness of its own, but the characters move with a measure of reality, and the deft handling provides many moments of pleasant entertainment. J. T. S.

## Helen Arthur Presents

Although she has been a manager in the theatre for many years, the name of Helen Arthur has never appeared as the producer of a play until this week, when "Night in the House," Rodney Ackland's dramatization of Hugh Walpole's famous novel, "The Old Ladies," opened at the Booth Theatre. For many years Miss Arthur was manager of the Neighborhood Playhouse. Subsequently she was the guiding genius of the organization known as The Actor-Managers, which produced several Broadway shows. She has been the manager of Ruth Draper and of Agna Enters. But the only representation she had on the program during these many years was as manager.

Now Miss Arthur emerges. On the signboards and on the program at the Booth Theatre it is "Helen Arthur presents."

Widely known in the theatrical profession as an astute manager and beloved and respected by those who knew her as patrons of the Neighborhood Playhouse, Miss Arthur has heretofore refrained from bringing her own name before the public. But last spring, even before it was produced in London, she was sent the manuscript of "Night in the House," then known as "The Old Ladies," under which title it was presented in London. She fell in love with it and bought the American rights then and there, with the idea of producing it herself.

The contract was signed four days before the London premiere. When Miss Arthur received the first night reviews from overseas she was delighted, because the play had received the most ecstatic sort of notices from the British critics. Although the cast was small, employing only four women players, she began at once planning a production. It was necessary to have just the right players—all the more necessary, perhaps, because the cast was so small. After considerable thought she engaged

## Star of "Personal Appearance"



Gladys George who has been worshipping New York Theatre audiences for more than a year as the glamorous cinema star in "Personal Appearance," Brock Pemberton's smash hit comedy, at the Henry Miller's Theatre

## 'Crime and Punishment,' Highly Praised French Film, in American Premiere at Cinema De Paris

The American premiere of "Crime and Punishment" (Crime et Chatiment), based on the great classic by Dostoevsky, will take place at the Cinema de Paris on Tuesday, Nov. 12. The film stars Pierre Blanchard and Harry Baur and includes in its cast Madeleine Ozeray, Alexandre Rignault and Paulette Elambert. It was directed by Pierre Chenal. Over six hundred English titles have been added to make the action entirely clear to American audiences.

Acclaimed as a great psychological study, this French film has been running for three months on the Boulevards in Paris, and gives every indication of continuing indefinitely. Italy, at the Venice International Exhibition, awarded the Coupe Volpi to the star, Pierre Blanchard, for his stirring portrayal of Raskolnikov, as the best international screen characterization of the year. Entered in the competition at the exhibition were the best films of the United States, Germany, Russia and France, among them "Anna Karenina."

Nance O'Neil, Josephine Hull, Mildred Natwick and Ellen Hall. She hired Donald Blackwell as director and Aline Bernstein, who had been her scenic designer at the neighborhood Playhouse, to design the setting.

The setting is said to be one of the most interesting of the season, showing an entire English house, with action taking place simultaneously on two floors.

## MUSIC

**PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY**  
KLEMPERER, Conductor  
AT CARNEGIE HALL  
This Afternoon at 3:00  
BRAHMS: Symphony No. 1  
Weber—Sibelius—Stravinsky  
Thursday Evg., 8:45; Friday Aft., 2:30  
BRUCKNER: Symphony No. 8  
BEETHOVEN: Symphony No. 7  
Saturday Evg., 8:45; Sunday Aft., 3:00  
SCHUMANN: "Rhenish" Symphony No. 3  
BEETHOVEN: Symphony No. 7  
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

## Osgood Perkins Puts The Mind "On Stage"

### MENTAL MAGIC

"ON STAGE." A comedy by B. M. Kaye. At the Mansfield. The author of this play cannot, by himself mentioning Pirandello, avert mention of his debt; his obligation to Osgood Perkins is also great, for "On Stage" wins its interest largely through the constant efforts of that talented performer. The idea of the play draws movement out of a play being written, for the author (Osgood Perkins) makes himself one of his own characters. But, we are often told, when a writer is creating effectively, his characters rebel, refuse to do as he wants them, dictate their own course. This is what we watch happen at the Mansfield; rather, a mixture (attempt-

ing to reproduce the creative process) of facts the author invents and actions that result from the nature of the persons he has created. Still more complicated—and anguishing to the author—grow the incidents rising from the fact that the author is also a character in his work; as a character he falls in love with the heroine and wants to stay with her forever, leaving the dull real world for the ever-bright realm of dreams. (Apparently this author's writing is all wish-fulfillment.) Doomed to come back to real life, the author (Osgood Perkins) finds that even in this world there may be a measure of joy. And the author (B. M. Kaye) has evolved an interesting play out of an aesthetic problem. J. T. S.

### "Midsummer Night's Dream" Continues at the Hollywood

Max Reinhardt's production for Warner Bros. of Shakespeare's "A Midsummer Night's Dream," which he directed in collaboration with William Dieterle, is now in its 5th week at the Hollywood Theatre. The Shakespearean comedy is being shown in each metropolis on a road show basis. "A Midsummer Night's Dream" has a large all-star cast which includes James Cagney, Joe E. Brown, Dick Powell, Jean Muir, Victor Jory, Verree Teasdale, Hugh Herbert, Anita Louise, Frank McHugh, Ross Alexander, Ian Hunter, Mickey Rooney, Olivia de Havilland, Hobart Cavanaugh, Grant Mitchell and many others.

### Chas. Laughton, Clark Gable, Franchot Tone on Capitol Screen

After two years in preparation and a year in the filming, M-G-M brings its two-million dollar production, "Mutiny on the Bounty," starring Charles Laughton, Clark Gable and Franchot Tone, to the Capitol Theatre starting today.

The film was directed by Frank Lloyd and produced by Irving Thalberg. Included in the cast are Herbert Mundin, Dudley Digges, Eddie Quillan, Donald Crisp, Henry Stephenson, "Mamo" and "Movita," native girls, who are said to be astoundingly fine in the roles of the two girls with whom Gable and Tone find romance.

HELEN ARTHUR presents  
**NIGHT IN THE HOUSE**  
By RODNEY ACKLAND from Hugh Walpole's novel "The Old Ladies"  
NANCE O'NEIL JOSEPHINE HULL MILDRED NATWICK  
Staged by DONALD BLACKWELL. Settings by ALINE BERNSTEIN  
BOOTH THEATRE, West 45th Street

"Enormously stirring drama!"—Brooks Atkinson, Times  
NORMAN BEL GEDDES presents  
**DEAD END**  
by SIDNEY KINGSLEY  
BELASCO THEA. 44th St., E. of B'way—EVGS. 8:40  
Matinee Thurs. and Sat. at 2:40

"A Farce Both Funny and Profound"  
—ROBERT GARLAND, World-Telegram  
**ON STAGE**  
with OSGOOD PERKINS  
"BRILLIANT, ORIGINAL, EXCITING!"—William Lyon Phelps  
MANSFIELD THEATRE, 47th St. W. of B'way—CHL. 4-3978  
Evenings 8:40 — Matinee Wednesday and Saturday at 2:30

SAM H. HARRIS and MAX GORDON present  
**MARY BOLAND**  
IN A NEW MUSICAL COMEDY  
**JUBILEE**  
Book by MOSS HART Music and Lyrics by COLE PORTER  
Entire Production Supervised and Staged by HASSARD SHORT  
Dances created by Albertina Rasch  
With a Cast of 100, including:  
JUNE KNIGHT and MELVILLE COOPER  
IMPERIAL THEATRE Evgs. 8:30; Mats. Wed. and Sat., 2:30  
45th, West of Broadway

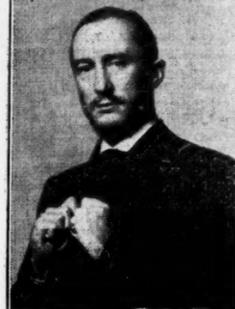
D. A. DORAN presents  
**"There's Wisdom in Women"**  
by Joseph O. Kesselring Staged by Harry Wagstaff Gribble  
with RUTH WESTON — WALTER PIDGON  
GLENN ANDERS — BETTY LAWFORD  
CORT THEA. 48th Street East of B'way—BR. 9-0016  
EVGS. 8:40; MATS. WED. & SAT. 2:40

"A first night audience greeted this turn of events with such cheers and bravos as have resounded through no playhouse since the season began."  
—Richard Lockridge, Sun  
**"LET FREEDOM RING"**  
by ALBERT BEIN  
BROADHURST W. of Broadway Evgs. 8:30, 50c to \$2.50  
THEA. 41th St. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 50c to \$1.65

"His fun is large and obstreperous"—Percy Hammond, Herald Tribune  
"Comical enough to provide a rough-and-ready evening"—Rob. Garland, W.-T.  
"To judge from the laughter in the house it has considerable Soviet solidarity."  
—Brooks Atkinson, New York Times  
**SQUARING THE CIRCLE**  
"Each American, Russian or Turk'll enjoy 'Squaring the Circle'."  
—Leonard Lyons, Eve. Post  
LYCEUM THEATRE, W. 43th St.—BR. 9-0646—Evgs. 8:40, Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40—SEATS 5 WEEKS IN ADVANCE

"ROBUSTLY FUNNY."—Walter Winchell  
**"A SLIGHT CASE OF MURDER"**  
Hilarious Comedy in two acts by  
DAMON RUNYON & HOWARD LINDSAY  
48th STREET THEATRE, East of Broadway  
EVGS. 8:50. MATS. WED. & SAT., 50c to \$2

## George Curzon



Who will appear as Parnell in the play of the same name, which the new firm of Smith and Ayer will offer at the Barrymore Monday.

## Martha Graham and Dancers In Two Dance Recitals

Martha Graham, assisted by her company of twelve dancers, will give her first concerts of the present season on Sunday evenings, November 10 to 17, at the Guild Theatre.

"Shipmates Forever" and "Pompeii" at Palace and Other RKO Theatres  
"Shipmates Forever" and "The Last Days of Pompeii," now at the

RKO Palace, is so well thought of by RKO officials that they are currently playing this same twin feature show for a full week at the neighborhood theatres. Dick Pow-

**MUSIC HALL**  
SHOW PLACE OF THE MONTH  
GARY COOPER  
ANN HARDING  
in  
**"Peter Ibbetson"**  
New Walt Disney Silly Symphony "ON ICE"  
On the GREAT STAGE:  
"MEMOIRS," three spectacular, colorful episodes from the days of Empress Eugenie, produced by Leonidoff, Symphony Orchestra.  
New Shows  
Reserved Phone CO 5-6333

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**"The LAST DAYS OF POMPEII"**  
PRESTON FOSTER  
BASIL RATHBONE  
ALSO  
**"SHIPMATES FOREVER"**  
RUBY KEELER  
DICK POWELL  
**PALACE** THEATRE  
B'way & 47th St.

WARNER BROS. present MAX REINHARDT'S Production of  
**"A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM"**  
HOLLYWOOD THEATRE, Broadway & 51st St.  
Phone Circle 7-5900 or by mail.  
Twice Daily, 2:30 & 8:30, Evgs. 55c-2.20, Mats. 55c-1.10

**NOW Playing**  
The girl that got GABLE  
The TRUE drama of mutiny and primitive love. Stolen paradise that was heaven—after hell-at-sea in the most amazing human experience ever recorded. The story that has thrilled millions is at last on the screen.  
"The" Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer thrill!  
Charles LAUGHTON · GABLE  
Clark  
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with FRANCHOT TONE HERBERT MUNDIN · EDDIE QUILLAN  
DUDLEY DIGGES · DONALD CRISP  
**CAPITOL**  
B'WAY & 51st St.  
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IT'S GOING TO BE DIFFERENT!! Dancing! Side Shows! Freaks! Clowns! Casts of all the shows will attend our County Fair. Stupendous! Astonishing! AND ABOVE ALL.....GAY!  
FRIDAY EVE., Nov. 15, at 10:00  
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NEW LOW PRICE **75c** in advance at all the usual stands—One dollar at the door

BROCK PEMBERTON presents  
**2nd YEAR PERSONAL APPEARANCE**  
with GLADYS GEORGE  
by Lawrence Riley — Staged by Antoinette Devvy  
EXTRA MATINEE ARMISTICE DAY (MONDAY, NOV. 11)  
HENRY MILLER'S Theatre, W. 43rd St.—Evgs. 8:40, Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

GOOD BALCONY SEATS  
50¢ \$1.00  
\$1.50 \$2.00  
SCIENTIFICALLY AIR CONDITIONED AT 70°—ONLY LEGITIMATE THEATRE SO EQUIPPED  
**3 MEN ON A HORSE**  
"A Knockout"  
Sobel—Mittor  
PLAYHOUSE 48th St. E. of B'way  
Eve. 8:45, Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:45 EXTRA MATINEE MONDAY, NOV. 11

AMERICAN PREMIERE  
Tuesday, Nov. 12  
**"Crime and Punishment"**  
(CRIME ET CHATIMENT)  
From the great and powerful story by DOSTOJEVSKI  
—Complete English Dialogue Titles—  
"For his performance in this film Pierre Blanchard received the award for the greatest screen performance of the year."  
CINEMA de PARIS  
66 Fifth Ave. at 12th St.  
Cont. Noon

**TRANS-LUX INTERNATIONAL**  
THEATRE Fulton & Delcolb, 64th St.  
**'Peasants'**  
"Crackles with the fires of Life...superb screen drama."  
—N. Y. Times  
"Memorable and thrilling film in every way."  
—World-Telegram

**"3 KIDS and A QUEEN"**  
May ROBSON-Henry ARMETTA  
Charlotte Henry - Frankie Darro  
★ PLUS BIG STAGE SHOW ★  
RAY HEATHERTON  
L A M B E R T I  
JOE & JANE MCKENNA  
GAE FOSTER GIRLS - OTHERS  
Freddy MACK - Rosy Rhythm Orch.  
**ROXY** ANY DAY!  
11th Ave. & 66th St. ANY SEAT!  
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**"The Melody Lingers on"**  
with a brilliant cast headed by  
JOSEPHINE GEORGE  
HUTCHINSON-HOUSTON  
HELEN WESTLEY-JOHN HALLIDAY  
WILLIAM HARRIGAN - WALTER KINGSFORD - MONA BARRIE - LAURA HOPE CREWS - DAVID SCOTT - FERDINAND GOTTSCHALK  
A Reliance Picture  
Directed by David Burton  
Plus Walt Disney's newest MICKEY MOUSE in full technicolor "ON ICE" with Donald Duck  
United Artists **RIVOLI** B'WAY 49th St.

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WARREN WILLIAMS in "The Case of the Lucky Legs"  
And a Saga of Immortal Heroism—"BORN FOR GLORY"  
Added Attraction—"VITAPHONE CASINO"—A Vitaphone novelty  
**BROOKLYN STRAND** Fulton St. & Rockwell Pl.  
25¢ Afternoons 40¢ Evenings 25¢ Midnite Show Sat. 15¢ Children at all times

FABIAN'S  
**FOX** FLATBUSH at NEVINS  
25¢ to 6 P.M. plus "MAKE A MILLION"  
PAULINE LORD  
BASIL RATHBONE  
in a Columbia Picture  
**"A Feather in Her Hat"**  
CHAS. STARRETT

"BY ALL ODDS, THE FINEST SINGLE PERFORMANCE ON THE CURRENT SCREEN!"—WORLD-TELEGRAM. — WARNER BROS. PRESENT THE MOST GLAMOROUS STAR ON THE SCREEN  
**KAY FRANCIS in "I FOUND STELLA PARISH"-STRAND-25c**  
DIRECTED BY MERVYN LEROY — WITH IAN HUNTER — PAUL LUKAS — SYBIL JASON — MIDNIGHT SHOW — BROADWAY AND 47th STREET — TO 1 P.M. Weekdays



# SOCIALISM AND WAR by K. Kautsky

## A Review of Socialist Opinion on This Burning Question - - - - What Are We To Do To Prevent Another War? What Should Be Our Policy If War Comes Again?

**Author's Note:** The following articles constitute the concluding chapter of a large work, in which I trace the changes in Socialist opinion on the question of war and their historical development. The first volume of the work in question, "War and Democracy," embracing the revolutionary wars to the period of 1848, appeared in 1932. Two additional volumes, covering the period of 1854 to 1878, are in manuscript.

The articles presented below, of which this is the first, are an entity in themselves. They contain a short resume of important points of view and conclusions bearing upon the policy of Social Democracy in any future war. Since the problem has unfortunately become acute in recent weeks, I have decided to publish this concluding chapter immediately, for it is rather uncertain, in view of the catastrophic condition of the German book market, when the entire work is likely to be published. Such is the fate of independent authors who insist on writing thick volumes.

By Karl Kautsky

### The War Danger

French and British Socialists who in 1914 supported their governments in the war did so in the belief that they were fighting war itself. In German militarism they perceived the sole disturber of peace. The war against German militarism was to be the last war.

They saw no possibility of its overthrow except by war of all Western powers against Russia. And they were ready to support any country that went to war with Russia. As late as 1878 they considered a war of England and Austria against Russia absolutely essential.

### Engels Revises Views

Marx died shortly thereafter, but Engels lived to a time when it became clear to him that the terrible consequences of war, its economic, moral and political destructiveness, were so great as to outweigh any possible positive advantages that might accrue with revolution born out of war. Engels attained to this conviction through study of the modern war technique with its mobilization of ever larger armies and its enormous capacity for destruction. Coupled with this was the rise of a revolutionary movement within Russia, foreshadowing the downfall of Czarism without war. As against those comrades who desired war as a means of facilitating the revolution, Engels warned of the consequences that would ensue for a government brought into power under the desperate conditions resulting from modern war and the danger of its own early collapse.

From his study of the technique of modern warfare Engels also drew the conclusion that the time of popular armed insurrections was over, that the people were helpless when pitted against modern armies firmly in control of a government determined to utilize

horrors of defeat than by victory; the quickest possible conclusion of a democratic peace based upon ended in victory for the French, but it resulted also in the downfall of the Jacobins. Since that time the reasons for any attempts to facilitate revolution through war have greatly multiplied.

### Our Problem Today

Of this there can no longer be any doubt, but what shall be our attitude and policy when a government appeals to the arbitrament of arms against our will? Shall we cling to the example set us by Marx and Engels in such circumstances, or must we adapt our policy to the changes that have intervened in the past fifty years? Some Socialists of the Second International insisted emphatically upon the necessity of pursuing the latter policy, maintaining that it was not necessary to determine the aggressor in any war. They took the view that we must oppose any government that entered into war, that war under any circumstances was inexcusable. Their position was that we lived in the era of imperialism when any war was a struggle of two robbers for loot and that both sides taking part in war were equally subject to condemnation. The proletariat, they argued, was strong enough to thwart the war plans of any government if it so desired. A strike of transport and munition workers, supported where possible by the army, would be sufficient to render any war impossible. The supporters of this policy believed

those who preached it to distinguish the aggressor from the attacked or to take into consideration the character of one's own government and that of the opposite side. The duty of internal peace while the war was in progress was proclaimed as absolute, forced upon us by the nature of the prevailing circumstances.

### Both Extremes False

Like the advocates of absolute resistance to all governments in war, the champions of absolute duty to support one's own government argued that their principle had already become the generally recognized principle of Social Democracy before the war. IN REALITY NEITHER OF THE TWO PRINCIPLES HAD EVER BEEN WIDELY ACCEPTED IN SOCIALIST CIRCLES.

Until the outbreak of the World War the majority of Socialists remained true to the old conception that we must distinguish between governments, particularly between aggressor governments and others; that the Socialist International must exert all its power, moral, political and economic, against the aggressor.

We admit that it is not always possible to determine clearly the aggressor and the attacked, but in such cases, too, the warring governments are not to be measured by the same yardstick as far as the interests of international Socialism are concerned. The victory of one may be more dangerous than the victory of the other. Thus, for example, in the conflict between Russia and Japan, in 1904, it was difficult to determine the aggressor. Both were robber governments struggling for loot—Korea and Manchuria. But there was no doubt that the victory of the czar would have been more dangerous for Socialism and democracy than the victory of the Mikado.

NEITHER MAINTENANCE OF INTERNAL PEACE NOR UNQUALIFIED OPPOSITION CAN BE REGARDED AS THE SELF-EVIDENT DUTY OF SOCIALISTS WHEN WAR THREATENS. ABOVE ALL, WHAT WE MUST SEEK TO ATTAIN IN SUCH SITUATIONS IS CLARITY AS TO THE CONDUCT AND CHARACTER OF THE RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS INVOLVED IN THE CONFLICT AND SHAPE OUR POLICY ACCORDINGLY.

But does not this attitude entail the danger of disagreement among the Socialists of the respective countries as to the questions involved and, consequently, of a split in the Socialist International precisely at the moment when unity is most essential to the interests of labor and of the world in general?

Of one thing we may be sure: there would certainly be danger of a split in the International were all Socialists to adopt the view that all governments engaged in war were to be regarded, without any further investigation, as aggressors, and deserving only of most determined opposition. Unfortunately, this view, as expressed in a given situation, may be in such violent contradiction with the facts as to be acceptable only to a few fanatical groups and sectarians blind to reality. In no country has this extreme view ever exercised any influence upon the masses to any appreciable degree.

The opposite view, namely, that Socialists must support their respective governments for the sake of the national defense when war is in progress, and regardless of circumstances, is by its very nature incompatible with any functioning of the International in time of war. This cannot be said, however, of the position of those who maintain that our attitude must not be the same with respect to the various belligerent governments but must depend upon the responsibility of each government for the outbreak of war and its continuance.

Of course, differences of such dimensions may arise with respect to these questions as to lead to a split in the International. But this need not necessarily be so. Whether a split is to occur would depend less upon the constitution of the International and the degree of international consciousness of the Socialists of the respective countries than upon the character of the war itself. The more complicated the war and the more difficult to determine its mainsprings, the more likely would be the differences of opinion as to the character of the war, its origins and significance.

### Lessons of History

During the World War the International was rent asunder because the character of the conflict as a war of coalitions was more complicated than preceding wars. That the split in the Socialist International was not to be attributed to any lack of international consciousness was evident in the speedy reunion after the war of the respective Socialist parties who

had so bitterly fought each other while the conflict was in progress. Whatever difficulties there were in accomplishing this reunion emanated not from opposing national elements but from tactical and ideological disagreements within the labor movement itself, which found expression in the rise of an anti-democratic tendency against democratic Socialism and which called itself Socialism.

How easily differences of opinion may arise in a great war and how acute they may become because of the violent passions fanned by such a struggle is demonstrated, for example, by the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. Although only two nations were involved the differences unleashed within the German Social Democracy in the first few weeks of the war were, indeed, very great, with Bebel and Liebknecht on one side and the Party executive on the other. (For a while Marx and Engels found themselves in disagreement as to the causes of the war and their attitude thereto.)

Had the war been prolonged, both in its military and political aspects, a split in the German Social Democracy and even in the Socialist International would have probably proven unavoidable. But the development of the War of 1870 was unlike that of the War of 1914-1918. Within a month the French imperial armies were shattered and the character of the war itself became unmistakably clear: the French Republic, which had in the meanwhile been established, offered an honorable peace, while the Prussian monarchy demanded the annexation of French territory, basing this demand upon military, not national considerations, for the Alsatis constituted no German Irredenta, but, on the contrary, rejected emphatically their "liberation" from France. To accomplish the forcible annexation the Germans continued the war to Sedan.

It then became clear that the acute differences of opinion within the German Social Democracy and among Socialists in general had nothing to do with any lack of international solidarity. Complete unity was restored in the German Social Democracy and in the International as soon as the character of the war had been clearly determined.

### Clarity Essential

TO ESTABLISH SUCH CLARITY WILL ALWAYS BE THE FIRST AND FOREMOST TASK OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM IN ANY WAR. THIS CANNOT BE DETERMINED BEFOREHAND, BY INTERNATIONAL DECISIONS, FOR ALL WARS, IT MUST BE DETERMINED ANEW WITH THE OUTBREAK OF ANY NEW WAR. HOW SUCCESSFUL WE MAY BE IN THIS TASK WILL DEPEND, ABOVE ALL, UPON THE CHARACTER OF THE WAR, I. E. UPON THE CHARACTER OF THE GOVERNMENTS ON EACH SIDE INVOLVED IN THE CONFLICT.

In a war involving two great coalitions it may be difficult to determine which of the belligerent governments were actually responsible for its outbreak, not only formally, but still more difficult may be the task of establishing clearly the consequences that may be entailed to the future development of humanity in the victory of one or the other group.

But there is one way whereby the Socialists of a given country, as well as the International, may always determine clearly, not only at the outbreak of a war but during its progress, the attitude they should assume toward their government: they must demand from it an honest and unequivocal statement of its war aims, and they must oppose resolutely any government which refuses to provide such

a declaration or whose aims and conduct render impossible the conclusion of a speedy, democratic peace. It is always the duty of Socialists in all countries to demand such peace, not peace at any price.

A democratic peace will always find the International united in its support. Socialists must at all times, both upon the outbreak of war and when war threatens, demand from their governments a clear exposition of its aims and make their own attitude dependent upon that. Nor must we be satisfied with general, ambiguous declarations. We must be clear in our minds as to the exact facts and implications of the situation and we must demand clarity of exposition from the respective governments before we can formulate our own policy at any given moment.

Should war break out nevertheless, despite our own efforts to prevent it, then it will become the most important duty of the Social Democracy, to bring about clarity as to the concrete war aims of each of the belligerent governments, assuming that such clarity will not have been established in the meanwhile by the very nature of the situation itself.

**Editor's Note:** In his next article Comrade Kautsky discusses the League of Nations, the Socialist attitude thereto, the potentialities of the League as an instrument for peace, ways and means of fighting the war danger, and the all-important position occupied by the United States in the struggle for peace and international stability.

What Comrade Kautsky has to say on all these problems and other aspects of the great task of the maintenance of peace is of the utmost importance to Socialists everywhere in determining their point of view and shaping their policy.



War today: Ethiopian boys marching to meet the Italian invaders.

Its downfall was to bring perpetual peace.

Unfortunately, this proved to be illusory. To be sure, the destruction wrought by the World War was so tremendous and the development of the destructiveness of the implements of war since then has been so great that civilized nations recoil in horror from the prospect of another war. Yet the threat of war is again making itself heard in loud voice. For the Socialist International and the Socialist parties this raises once more the old question: What are we to do to prevent another war, what are we to do in the event war comes again?

Marx and Engels had never considered the question, how war was to be prevented. They regarded the question as superfluous. A government dependent upon the support of the working classes would never pursue a policy of war without consent of these classes. On the other hand, the influence yielded by the working classes in a state in which they constituted no appreciable political factor was never so ineffective as in time of immediate war danger or at the outbreak of war. Lacking power to overthrow such a militarist government in time of peace, the workers and the Socialist parties will, as a rule, find it even more difficult to do so at the outbreak of war. This was how Marx and Engels reasoned.

The question that Marx and Engels put to themselves at the outbreak of a war was, which side they would support. To answer this question they sought to determine who actually began the war, who was the aggressor. Equally important to them was the question of who was likely to come out victor and how the new situation thus created would affect the fortunes of democracy and the development of the class struggle, what new prospects and possibilities would arise therefrom, and how we should prepare to utilize them to the fullest possible advantage.

In some international conflicts Marx and Engels went even further. They perceived in Russian Czarism the great enemy of European democracy. For many years

all the instruments of destruction at its disposal. But Engels was by no means pessimistic, for he built his hopes upon the propagandist power of Socialism and the development of the proletarian class struggle as certain to wield decisive influence upon the army, even without direct propaganda within the army organization, and particularly in countries with universal military service of limited duration.

All these factors as perceived by Engels in the last years of his life have gained greatly in significance and continue to determine our ideas on the question of war. It is more than ever our duty to do our utmost to prevent war, external war as well as civil war. We must do all in our power to avert a situation necessitating the solution of political questions by force of arms. The French Revolutionary War, begun in 1792, reasons and circumstances, branding them as betrayers of international Socialism, and accusing them of inciting the workers of the various countries to kill each other for the sake of capitalist interests instead of calling upon them to unite against the common enemy for the overthrow of international capitalism.

### World War Lessons

Conception of Socialist policy was added to the preceding ones. According to the proponents of this conception, it was not necessary to determine in the event of war who was the aggressor and who the attacked, or whose victory would constitute the greatest danger for international Socialism and democracy. Every country involved in war, they argued, was threatened by the armies of the enemy. Foreign invasion and defeat of one's own country were a misfortune for all classes and for the entire people. It was, therefore, the sacred duty of every citizen who loved his people to help repel the invader, to support his government, to fight for victory.

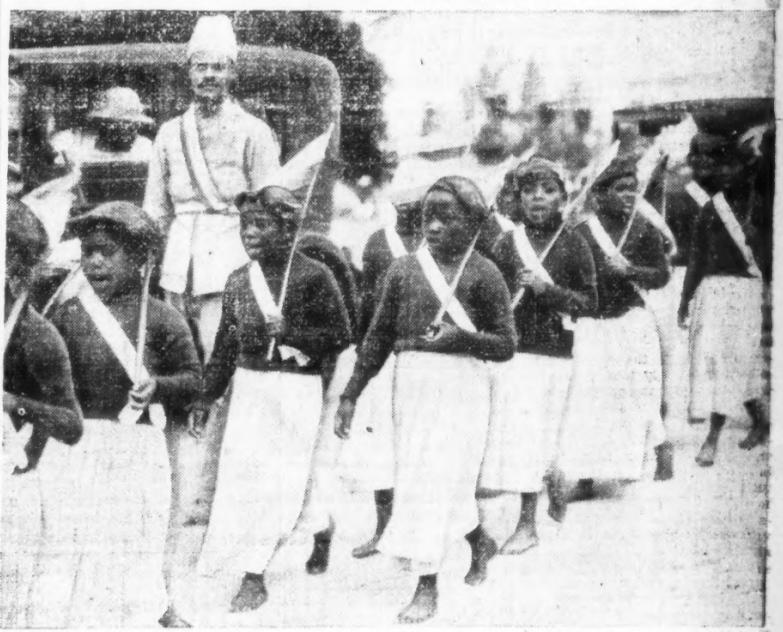
Those who propounded this point of view forgot that there was a much more effective way, in time of war, to protect one's own people and country from invasion and for

that even should the workers and soldiers refuse to respond to any strike call, it remained the duty of all Socialists in all the belligerent countries to preach the idea of a strike, to do all in their power to organize strikes, to wage uncompromising struggle against their own government and to sabotage all war preparations.

The struggle of this conception against the one of Marx and Engels, the latter representing that of the entire Social Democracy, occupied the attention of the Second International until the outbreak of the World War. The new conception described above failed to become dominant, but its supporters made enough noise to make many believe that they represented the true Social Democratic, internationalist point of view. They denounced as traitors all those who supported their governments in war regardless of mutual consideration of the independence of the belligerent countries and of their respective life interests. The duty to protect one's own people from invasion and the consequence of defeat does not in any way entail the necessity of supporting one's own government without reservation.

Any government which provokes war by making excessive demands or prolongs the war by such demands, thus rendering impossible conclusion of a democratic peace, is a government exposing the people to the danger of invasion, defeat and all the horrors of war. In such case, it becomes the highest duty of Socialists, not only as regards the International but also as regards their own people, to combat such a government and, when possible, to bring about its downfall in order that it may be succeeded by a government able and willing to conclude a democratic peace as quickly as possible.

This conception was ignored in some Social Democratic circles during the last war. The duty of "defense of one's own country" became the duty of keeping the internal peace (Burgfrieden), of defending one's own government. This was based upon the fact that the country was in the midst of war. To perceive this duty, it became no longer necessary for



Even the girls fight in modern war. Ethiopian lasses on their way to the front.

## Portrait of a 'Liberal' 200 Corporations

HERE is a little picture of a "liberal" in action.

The "liberal" is the New York Post, a paper that would have you believe it espouses every radical cause, and that is so interested in the internal affairs of the Socialist Party that it has become the unofficial organ of a faction of the party as against the party organization. The Post also furnishes a daily platform for Ludwig Lore, ex-Socialist and ex-Stalin Communist, from which Nazi and Communist lies and slanders against the Socialist movement are regularly peddled.

The Post, being so "radical" that the Socialist Party and the trade union movement is hardly satisfactory to its editors, naturally had to take a stand upon the issues of the recent New York election. Its stand was expressed in an editorial urging the election of Tammany Assemblymen, and a cartoon by Jerry Doyle, urging voters to "drive the termites out."

The cartoon showed a structure in course of construction, with heavy beams holding up the edifice. The edifice was labeled Governor Lehman's constructive program. The termites were little insects labeled G.O.P. Assembly candidates, and the heroic figure of a voter was shown with a ballot for Democratic assemblymen, in the shape of a fit gun, killing the "termites"

before they could get at the beams holding up the structure.

The beams were labeled "social insurance," "anti-injunction law," and other excellent things. There was not, however, any beam labeled "Child labor amendment." The noble Democratic assemblymen for whom the "liberal" and "radical" Post was urging voters, had joined the termites in blocking ratification of that amendment in the New York legislature.

There is a "liberal" in all his glory. Sneers and lies about Socialism—SUPPORT FOR TAMMANY HALL!

### The Falcon Call

The Falcon Call, official organ of the Red Falcons of America, now ready for its readers, contains excellent stories written from a Socialist and labor point of view. Among these are excerpts from Debs Canton speech, an editorial attacking the Nazi Olympics, poems and articles, all written especially for children. The illustrations, by such artists as Bernie Seaman, Diana Hoffman and Julius Kaplan are the finest ever seen in a children's magazine.

Rates for bundle orders can be obtained by writing to the National Office at 721 Moxley Building, Chicago, or to the New York office at 7 East 15th St.

(Continued from Page One)

majority of the magnates of these corporations are doddering fools.

But there is nothing to show good intentions among the bulk of the corporation barons of America. The New Haven railroad is one of those barons; and it is going into bankruptcy after nearly 30 years of almost unrelieved rascality. The Milwaukee road barons played a poker game with a great property that made the New Haven like a hand of penny ante. The utility barons have boasted that they fool the public and collect the expenses of that fooling from consumers.

The tobacco barons and textile barons compete with each other in gouging wages to the lowest conceivable; the packing barons have levied toll on the agriculture northwest for forty years; and the charge is not refunded that until the law stepped in, the milling barons of Minneapolis gyped the farmers of Minnesota alone out of 500,000 bushels of wheat a year.

And still, no revolution. No sign of anything approaching revolution. The movement of the American people is a slow, stubborn, often misdirected march toward reform and the marchers are even careful not to step on the grass of the corporation barons on the way. But the people are marching, and toward reform. It might save considerable excitement at some later date if the corporation barons could be led to realize that fact.

# The Workers Abroad

## Red Trade Union International Withdraws United Action Proposal—I.F.T.U. Reveals Disintegration of Communist Organization—Liquidation of Profintern Called Only Way Out.

By John Powers

### Collapse of the Profintern

FROM the latest Bulletin of the International Federation of Trade Unions we learn that the Red Trade Union International (Profintern) has withdrawn its proposal for united action submitted to the I.F.T.U. Moscow's united front maneuver is not doing so well, and with the I.F.T.U.'s determined stand against the united front and its rejection by the Labor and Socialist International upon insistence of parties representing the overwhelming majority of the L.S.I. membership. (See The New Leader, November 2.)

We have frequently had occasion to call attention to the fact that the international Communist movement, which makes so much noise in the world, represents a negligible political quantity in nearly all countries. Of even lesser significance is the Communist trade union movement, so called. Some interesting and illuminating data is presented on this question in a report just published by W. Schevenels, general secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions. We are indebted to the Socialist Neue Volkszeitung for a copy of the report. It reveals that in the fifteen years since its formation the Red Trade Union International lost fifty per cent of its membership and that today it has virtually no membership outside of Russia.

Schevenels prefaces his report with some apt quotations from Communist authorities which help us understand what the Manchester Guardian meant when, in a recent blistering review of the criminal career of international Communism, that journal declared:

"What Karl Marx said of the Democrats of his day may be said of the Communists of our day: they emerge from the most shameful defeat with the look of triumph on their faces."

In 1921 Lenin wrote:

"The conquest of the members of the trade unions for the idea of Communism is marching forward everywhere, in all countries, in the entire world—irresistibly forward. Over thousands of obstacles it is moving onward without stop."

In 1935 Losowsky, secretary of the Red Trade Union International, wrote:

"In these fifteen years the Red Trade Union International has grown significantly as the basis of the international revolutionary trade union movement, for the struggle between reformism and Communism penetrates ever deeper into the ranks of the masses."

### The Actual Facts

After citing the quotations from Lenin and Losowsky, Schevenels proceeds to show on the basis of facts and figures what the "significant" advances of the Red Trade Union International actually are.

Nothing has been left of the Red trade unions in China, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, India, Greece and Bulgaria—countries where the Communists had managed at one time to gain a considerable following.

Communist unions have virtually disappeared also in the United States, Cuba and Argentina. In this country, the latest Communist cry, "Join the A. F. of L.," is merely another manifestation of what Sir Walter Citrine, president of the I.F.T.U. and secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, recently characterized as the attempt of the Communists to clamber upon the backs of the labor movement in an effort to conceal their miserable failure to capture and destroy it from outside.

How well Schevenels understands the nature of Communist deception may be gleaned, among other things, from his comment on the situation in the United States:

"Nor is there any consolation [for the Communists] in the assertion, made at the seventh congress of the Comintern that the united front idea was making great advances in the United States as evidenced in the recent fusion of revolutionary trade unions with the American Federation of Labor."

Those familiar with the American labor movement will recognize this Communist boast as based upon nothing at all. The extremist forces of Communist and quasi-Communist hue represented at the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor marshaled some 200 votes out of a total of more than 28,000. The Communist claim with respect to the United States demonstrates once more the degree of brazen falsehood to which Communists go in their deception and self-deception.

Schevenels also takes occasion to ridicule the assertion of the Communists and their left wing allies in the United States that the conflict between craft and industrial unionism in this country is a conflict between "reactionary" and "revolutionary" trade unions, and that the rise of new industrial unions in the mass production industries is to be regarded as a success for the united front tactics of the Communists in their fight on the "reformists."

Only "naive Russians" will believe this formulation to be true, Schevenels remarks. No intelligent American worker or person familiar with the situation accepts the stupid Communist interpretation. The conflict between craft and industrial unionism in this country is a manifestation of normal organic development and the Communists have no more responsibility for the growth of the industrial union idea than they have for last year's snowfall. It is no exaggeration to say that never in its dark career has Communism in the United States occupied so low a place in the hearts and minds of organized workers.

### Membership Loss 9,500,000

Schevenels' report reveals that since 1921 the Red Trade Union International lost virtually its entire membership outside of Russia, a loss of 9,500,000. The remaining splinter organizations functioning outside of Russia, such as those in France, Czechoslovakia and Greece, have also lost greatly in membership. The loss in France and Czechoslovakia in the past fifteen years has been fifty per cent. In Greece the membership now totals a paltry few thousand. The Norwegian trade unions, who quit the I.F.T.U. in 1923 to join the Profintern, are now preparing to return to the I.F.T.U. The Red trade unions in France have finally given up the ghost by affiliating with the General Confederation of Labor, led by Socialists, on conditions prescribed by the G.C.L.

To be sure, the loss of 9,500,000 members by the Profintern outside of Russia, revealing the utter bankruptcy of Communism among the working masses, appears on the surface to be compensated by an approximately equal addition to the membership of the trade unions in Russia within the period in question. But this, too, as Schevenels points out, is poor consolation for the Communists. The gain of some 9,500,000 by the Russian trade unions since 1921 corresponds to the numerical growth of the industrial proletariat in Russia within the same period.

As Schevenels emphasizes, membership in the Soviet trade unions is COMPULSORY. Soviet trade unions are not labor organizations in the Western sense of the word. Structurally they are analogous to the fascist trade unions in Italy and the so-called "Labor Front" in Hitler Germany. In the last two countries, as in Soviet Russia, the trade unions are not designed as independent organs for the defense and promotion of the economic interests of the workers, but rather as a buffer between the state and the workers, as a rubber stamp for the dictatorship. As in Italy and Germany, trade union officials in Soviet Russia are appointed by the government. Their task is to keep the workers from asking too much. Collective bargaining with the all-powerful dictatorship in Soviet Russia is even more of a joke than the collective bargaining permitted the workers in Italy, Germany or in company unions in the United States.

### Situation in Fascist Countries

To be sure, the I.F.T.U. has also suffered some grievous losses in recent years. The loss of the Italian, Austrian and German trade unions has been a painful one. But it is not significant, asks Schevenels, that both in Germany and Austria the collapse of the labor movement is intimately associated with the successes of the Communists in raising large masses against the trade union leadership? The destruction of the labor movement in these two countries was facilitated by the policy of the Communists themselves in fanning discord and internecine strife in the ranks of labor.

It is rather daring to assert, as does Losowsky, that the collapse of the German Federation of Trade Unions is to be regarded as marking the failure of the policy and tactics of the I.F.T.U., writes Schevenels. "This assertion is no more valid with respect to Bulgaria, Italy, Hungary and other countries.

Precisely the opposite is true. The fight against fascism, capitalism and the depression has been more successful and hopeful wherever the policy and tactics of the I.F.T.U. have been strengthened and have won the support of the large masses. Look at the Scandi-

# Tolstoy in Hollywood-- An American Tragedy

By Bryllion Fagin

The comments of Bryllion Fagin upon life and society are always keen and searching. In the present article he turns his attention to one of the most frequent and serious distortions of "Hollywood," as we have come to call the motion picture industry, in contradistinction to the films as art. Thus, it you go to see "The Last Days of Pompeii"—a better film than many by the way—you see a note that this is an entirely original story, but the authors thank Bulwer-Lytton (not for his title, on the fame of which they are trading) for the description of the eruption of Vesuvius at the close! Mr. Fagin, who tells what Hollywood has done to Tolstoy, is professor at Johns Hopkins University, and director of the effective Workers' Theatre in Baltimore. Joseph T. Shipley.

I KNOW of no way for a dead author of a great literary masterpiece on which the copyright has expired to stop Hollywood from laying its commercial hand upon his work. Hollywood is a callous monster to whom sensibility, sanctity, reverence are meaningless words. The case of "Anna Karenina" is but another instance of its brutal irreverence, its wanton disregard of all the values civilization has so painfully acquired.

We have loved Tolstoy, who have read his great works with a feeling of profound respect, who have been enriched by their beauty, their wisdom, been stirred by their tragic brooding, exalted by their nobility—we are helpless before this latest violation of a great literary creation which is now being exhibited to the American public in every city, town and village as the work of the Russian master. Two generations of literate humanity have been nourished by Tolstoy's mind, by the purity of his style, by the richness of his art. But the generation which is now growing up in America will probably never know either Tolstoy or "Anna Karenina"—the novel which William Dean Howells called the one specimen of perfect fiction. It will probably never know Anna, nor Vronsky, nor Karenin, nor Levin. It will remember the "glamorous" Greta Garbo and the painfully miscast Fredric March.

It took Tolstoy half a life of

living and reflection to write "Anna Karenina" and four years to publish it. Into it he poured all his mature conclusions on Russia with its class alignments, its customs, its traditions, its pain and poverty, its cruelty and frustrations and aspirations. Into it he poured his superb artistry to create a work which transcended Russia, which became a tale for man and woman everywhere, a disturbing thing of the spirit. What relation has the Hollywood product to the original? It has retained the names of the principal characters, some of the episodes of the plot, a few lines of the dialogue. Of Tolstoy himself nothing has been retained. Any Hollywood hack could have written the love story which serves as a vehicle for the one and only Greta Garbo.

It is safe to say that the story of Anna and Count Vronsky was not the important thing to Tolstoy. It is a mere fable, a necessary prop in the drama of Russia and humanity generally. It is this fable which the screen adapted: the story of a pretty woman who leaves her unsympathetic elderly husband for the arms of a young lover who proves unstable.

To Tolstoy, however, Anna was imprisoned womanhood, beating against the bars of convention and hypocrisy. Her husband, Karenin, typified all of Russian bureaucracy with its smugness, obsequiousness, shallow respectability and cowardice. Count Vronsky was a representative of the ruling class: "elegant, generous, bold, gay, shamelessly unrestrained in the pursuit of pleasure and scornful of all the rest." He stood for Russian Junkerism, which Tolstoy so heartily despised. Against these two dominant classes of the bureaucracy and the military Tolstoy protested by drawing the portrait of a representative of the middle class, Levin, whose ideals were formed by his observation of the life of the peasants.

The ideals of Levin are the ideals of Tolstoy. Through him Tolstoy questioned the entire basis of modern civilization. The millions of serfs living in poverty and ignorance are contrasted with the small group of noblemen and landowners living in idleness on the backs of the toiling masses. To Levin the life of the idlers "passed in eating, drinking and gossiping" and "their luxury was revolting." Levin, like Tolstoy, came to the conclusion that he himself had no right to his possessions, such as they were.

Is there even a hint of all these social implications in the picture which has been made supposedly from Tolstoy's novel? Is there a single peasant in the picture? Is there the slightest criticism of the vulgar luxury of the upper class? Is there any indication that Anna herself has thoughts beyond those for the man she loves? What of such ruminations: "Why these churches, these bells, these lies? Just to hide the fact that we all hate each other. . . . What becomes of Levin? Is he anything more than an extra who appears twice for the flicker of a moment and then is heard no more?"

The high moments of the picture are a drinking scene in a palace and an elaborate dance in another palace. Both scenes are done in the best Cecil De Mille manner. The rest is pedestrian, tiresome, silly. Behind the picture there is neither vision, vitality, nor anything approaching art. We who have loved Tolstoy—even though we haven't always been able to accept all the tenets of his philosophy—we can only protest. We can warn lovers of literature that Tolstoy's "Anna Karenina" still should be read. The proper title for the picture should have been "Murder in Hollywood."

What vision and intelligence can be seen in adapting a novel to the limitations of theatrical production can be seen at the Hedgerow Theatre, near Media, Pennsylvania, where Dreiser's "American Tragedy" is being staged. The adaptation was made by Erwin Piscator, the revolutionary German director who is now an exile in the Soviet Union. What Dreiser himself was only groping to do Piscator has done. The effect of Dreiser's novel is confused; the effect of Piscator's play is clear. And Jasper Deeter's production is electrifying. Discarding all the clap-trap of canvas sets, furniture, dishes and even a curtain, Piscator and Deeter have extracted every social implication that the book contained and focused it so powerfully that it burns itself into the mind of the audience.

Using a narrator to explain, prod, defend, confess and employ pantomime enacted on several levels, the director has succeeded in projecting the tragedy of a boy who finds himself in the no-man's-land of the class struggle. He is repudiated by the workers, because he has aspired to admission into his uncle's class of exploiters; and he is betrayed by his predatory kin, because he has no wealth except his hands.

The mere story of Dreiser's novel is justly kept subsidiary to the major story of American society in bitter conflict. Clyde Griffiths becomes the personification of the American middle-class, poverty-stricken economically but bourgeois in psychology, caught between his desires and his economic position. Only a clear perception of his dilemma and a consequent throwing in of his lot with the working class can save him. This is convincingly portrayed in Deeter's production, which is both a criticism of life and a call to arms. Above all, it is good drama and excellent theatre.

The next article in this series will be by Hendrik Willem Van Loon.



navian countries, Great Britain, Belgium, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, yes, even France, where the Communists have been compelled gradually to abandon their destructive slogans of 1921 and have been forced—to be sure, only outwardly—to join the front for the defense of democracy, freedom and parliamentarism.

"On all other sectors the I.F.T.U. has advanced both in organization and ideologically. India has joined the I.F.T.U.; successful negotiations are in progress for the affiliation of Australia, New Zealand and Ireland, and no one will dare assert that the trade union organizations of the United States, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Cuba, South Africa and Japan represent policies and ideas contrary to those of the I.F.T.U."

"Among their various boasts the Communists refer repeatedly to their leading, aggressive, self-sacrificing role in the illegal trade union movement (in the fascist countries). But on this point, too, there is nothing but imagination. The facts tell a different story. In Germany the Communists used to wield a strong influence. But only the ignorant will believe the brazen assertion that the Communists now exercise any influence upon the illegal trade union movement. In Austria the situation is even clearer.

"After the collapse of 1934 there were two organizations created (in Austria) to mobilize the workers into illegal trade unions. On one side there was the Committee of Seven (representing the old trade union leadership); on the other, there was the Rehabilitation Commission, organized on the initiative of Communists. What was the situation a year later? The Committee of Seven, affiliated with the I.F.T.U., continued to work success-

fully. The Rehabilitation Commission, which was equally successful and embraced a considerable number of workers, announced in March, 1935, that it had severed its connection with Moscow, that it accepted without reservation the principles of the I.F.T.U. and applied for affiliation with the I.F.T.U.

"In the face of this situation efforts were begun to bring about organization and ideological unity between the two organizations recognizing the authority of the I.F.T.U. The fusion was successful and the united movement is now affiliated with the I.F.T.U. And this is what the Communists claim as their success!"

### Workers Repudiate Communism

"As evidenced by other facts, the balance sheet of the Red Trade Union International consists entirely of this type of 'successes,' which can be construed as successes only in the light of the usual (Communist) misrepresentations or falsification of figures, as was the case recently, for example, when the Communist press reported coldbloodedly that the defensive measures against Communists and fascists proposed at the recent meeting of the British Trade Union Congress were rejected by a vote of 1,944,000 to 539,000. (The quasi-Communist Socialist Call in an editorial also gave circulation to this falsehood.—J.P.) In reality, the action taken by the congress against the destructive activity of the Communists and fascists was approved by the overwhelming majority of 1,944,000. Deliberate misrepresentation is resorted to persistently in the struggle between Moscow and the international free trade union movement.

# "Can Such Things Be?"

By Adrien Gambet

I WAS wrong last week: All the D.A.R. should get is the prize for the week. This week's award, consisting of a bright yellow feather and a handsomely engraved certificate of membership in the Ananias Club, must be divided between the Democratic Party of New York City and the Republican Party of the State. And it won't really be a reward: it will simply be a return compliment. For both of these organizations have just conferred upon the voters the Grand and Noble Order of the Double Cross. Here's how.

### The Daring Young Man on the Flying Trapeze

The Democrats conferred their honor in the midst of one of the most skillful tight-rope walking acts on record. The trouble was that it was too skillful: before it was over a dull but resonant thud was heard—the failure of this little scheme of the sons of Jefferson to keep its balance. In the election last Tuesday the New York City voters were faced with a Constitutional Amendment to reorganize the county governments in the city. New York is divided into five boroughs, each of which is also a county and each of which has thus two parallel sets of officers. The county governments constitute a very softly padded shelf on which the lamest of lame ducks are tucked gently away at a trifling cost to the city suckers of \$15,000,000 a year—over 85% of which sum the municipal government has no control. Outside of supplying a rest home for worthy but indigent geese of this sort the county governments serve no useful function. For years the voters have been clamoring for their abolition. Hence the proposed constitutional amendment. Everybody was for it. Our old darling Al Smith got himself photographed side by side with Mayor LaGuardia in a radio apparition for the voters to support it. All was sweetness and light.

Comes election morning and the worthy Democrat on his way to the polls, if he is known to the district organization, is handed a little ticket saying "Vote NO on Amendment No. 1" and bearing a little picture of that line on the voting machine with the correct lever pulled down to register an indignant protest against the removal of the gray bowl. Of course, the card wasn't signed—the boys are not that dumb. But the voter got it from the usual district worker who was also handing out the instructions for voting the Democratic ticket. And the voter knows that the public utterances of such adornments of New York Democracy as Al Smith must be taken with a whole lot of seasoning. What goes with him is the district captain's word. After all he's the boy who sees about the jobs, the free coal, and fixing it up with the judge when Al had a drop too much the other night. But alas, as I said, the fine Machiavellian hand was a bit too subtle and the Amendment went over any way. But just remember, sucker, there's no thanks due the Democrats if you pay \$15,000,000 less for nursing lame ducks this year.

### Six of One: Half a Dozen of the Other

But you've got to give New York Republicans credit. When it comes to double-crossing they are just as much on their toes as the Democrats. And when a really fine job is to be done who should be called in but the worthy Nicholas Murray

Butler, fondly known by his students at Columbia, who recognizes bull when they see it, as "Nicholas Miraculous." A New York newspaper reports that the Republicans circularized the little lambs who were bearing their standard in the Assembly campaign, with a letter bearing the signatures of Nicholas, Elihu Root and a number of similar champions of genuine democracy.

The letter urged that the assembly candidates keep very, very mum as to where they stood on the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment. For sheer impudence the very boldness of this idea has my admiration. Now I admit I'm pretty dumb, but I always thought that when you went to the polls to vote, you voted for the man who expresses your views. But, according to the Republicans the last thing a candidate should do is let the people know his views on any important subject. I admit that this would inject an element of excitement and uncertainty that would make an election something like a crossword puzzle, but would really aid in the intelligent selection of lawmakers. But then, I give up—Nicholas Murray is supposed to be the educator, not I.

### The Wane of Fascism

During the past week the news from Europe has been illuminating. In both Italy and Germany the people are being urged to tighten up their belts, foodless meals and meatless days are the order. The Saar, which a few months ago was enjoying relative prosperity, has had the blessings of fascism descend on it with a vengeance. One of the most significant things to be observed in the papers the last few months has been a very decided wane in the popularity of fascism in the non-fascist countries.

Where is Sir Oswald Mosley? Where are the Croix de Feu and where are the Nazi ructions of New York's Yorkville? It is obvious that the dogma of dictatorship has suffered at least a temporary decline in popularity.

The best anti-fascist propaganda we have had in that period has been one Benito Mussolini. Part of the change has been due to the work of able defenders of democracy: part to the inherent weaknesses of fascism. It is now the job of all friends of real democracy to take account of this new trend, to orient their attitude to new conditions and to seize their temporary advantage. We are by no means out of the woods and, writing the day after election, there are many indications that the campaign of 1936 will be outstanding because of the confusion that will reign. Our big task will be one of clarification.

### Politics and Gangsterism

I hate to refer too often to New York City, but I feel that I must point out that when Dutch Schultz was assassinated recently much mention was made of a Tammany district leader as being intimately connected with the higher-ups in gang-warfare. That such a thing can be publicly printed is a shocking symptom of a very low ebb in political morality.

But when two or three days later it can be stated that this same man aims at extending his sway over the Democratic organization to the whole lower half of Manhattan, it is time for all those who believe in even the most primitive decency in politics to wake up. And any one who has followed the doings in Philadelphia knows that the way to wake up is not to fall into the arms of a Republican organization of equal corruption.

# Socialism Is the Way of Life

WARFARE in Africa, and resulting international complications and alliances which unmistakably warn of future wars, raise new doubts of civilization's ability to avoid self-destruction.

Any person with a grain of understanding ought to be convinced that the cause of all modern wars is the economic rivalry which is born in the womb of the system which exploits masses for the profit classes and produces wealth primarily for sale instead of for use. Moreover, it should be clearly apparent that the results of another war—with mechanical and chemical science enlisted on the side of death—is likely to destroy most of the social benefits which it has evoked after many centuries of trial and error. Yet foolish men holds fast to the cause even as he loudly decries the results of conflict.

In the face of the possibilities which loom dangerously close, Socialists appear as the only logical advocates of peace. They present a philosophy which attacks the roots of the evil. They urge the scrapping of the private profit system and the development of an economy of production for use.

Socialists are in tune with a fundamental economic fact—the fact of man's ability to produce with certainty and abundance. In days gone by, before mankind learned to harness the elements and enslave the machine, when famine and starvation were ever-present threats, there was some reason for men and nations to

compete. When there was less than enough for everybody perhaps it was reasonable for the strong to pile up huge surpluses at the expense of the weak. But that excuse for private accumulation no longer exists.

Today the very wealth which mankind possesses, the possibilities for peace and comfort, are the causes of war and misery. This is so because human beings have not yet learned to adapt themselves to the resources they have developed.

But there is a law of nature which decrees that all who live must adapt themselves to conditions—or die.

Socialism points to the way of life. Capitalism appears determined to rush headlong into death.—Reading Labor Advocate.

### Oneal Main Speaker at Debs-Hillquit Meeting in Baltimore Sunday

Local Baltimore of the Socialist Party will hold a mass meeting in memory of Eugene V. Debs and Morris Hillquit Sunday, November 10, in the Workmen's Circle building. The memorial meeting has been called for 8 o'clock in the evening and sympathetic organizations will participate. James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, will be principal speaker. Oneal was also the speaker in Baltimore last year at the meeting held as a memorial to Morris Hillquit.

# Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

### A Y.P.S.L. Party Protectorate

THE Socialist youth organizations in all countries have always been considered primary schools for young people in which they study and fit themselves for membership and service in the party organization. While in the primary school they also acquire experience in party work by cooperating with the party in various activities and under the direction of party agencies. Very often a mature party member is assigned to the local youth groups to counsel and aid them in their activities. In New York City this practice was followed for many years until the Communist split in 1919.

In recent years our Young People's Socialist League became increasingly independent of the Socialist Party and has often exercised equality of functions and powers with the party. From this stage of equality there is now a shift to a position whereby the Y.P.S.L. seeks to completely invert its primary purpose by establishing a benevolent protectorate over the party itself!

If some of my readers think that I am exaggerating, permit me to call their attention to an article in the "Socialist Appeal" of Chicago by Ben Fischer who heads the Y.P.S.L. with quarters in the national office of the party. The leading section of the article and even other sections expound this new theory of a protectorate over the party by the Y.P.S.L. Here are some quotations regarding this function of the Y.P.S.L.

"To help the party become the political guide for the working-class revolution.

"By being a constant source of criticism and examination of party policy and tactics.

"By opposing all efforts to frustrate the party by converting it into an organization whose main orientation is towards municipal socialism and enthusiastic acquiescence to every word and gesture of trade union officials.

"By resisting every effort to expel loyal party members whose only 'crime' is adherence to revolutionary Socialist principles and policies.

"When our party is in danger of degenerating or when it is being destroyed by attempts to expel left-wing elements, then the Y.P.S.L. is concerned.

"The right wing wants to destroy the Y.P.S.L. as a political youth organization, because the Y.P.S.L. is a PROTECTOR of the left wing, a force for the development of our party into a clear revolutionary party."

To this is added a pompous assessment of the Rand School of Social Science with a solemn decision that it is no good. Fischer declares that students in the school "received sermons from the Mount of 30 years experience which were not to be questioned or doubted but merely accepted." About 30 weeks of experience by teachers would probably be more satisfactory to Fischer.

Supplementing these views is a war proclamation they issued of which four versions have appeared, each differing from the others. One went out in the party national office press service, one appeared in the Call, a third in the Challenge and a fourth in mimeograph form with the following notice: "This resolution is not yet the official position of the Y.P.S.L." That is, a fifth document is to appear and perhaps more!

### Pacifist Utopianism

The fourth version has all the characteristics of immature and confused thought. It ventures into a pacifist utopianism that is startling. Believing that they are taking an unshakable "revolutionary" position, the fourth edition declares that if there is a war between fascist nations and democratic nations, "the workers of the world would have nothing to gain from the triumph of either side." That is, if all Europe became fascist the working class would lose nothing!

It is useless to argue with this. There are some views of human being that can only be laughed into oblivion and the above view is one. At the same time our youth have a morbid fear that American capitalism will drift into fascism. Why brood over such a fate if it makes no difference whether present institutions survive or they are replaced by a fascist dictatorship?

The only thing these youngsters can see is that on both sides of any conflict there are imperialist nations. It is the old error in logic of considering one factor in a complex problem and drawing conclusions from it. They are blind to everything else. A person trying to work out a chemical formula in a laboratory in this way would never accomplish any desirable results.

The youth movement is essential to the future of the Socialist and Labor movement and it must have every aid and encouragement the party can give it, but to assume a patronizing air towards such absurd views is to render a disservice to the youth movement and to the party itself. It was only a few years ago that Fischer strayed into my home where, for more than a year, I encouraged the organization of a circle and helped to finance it until it was a going concern. Now he and his associates have declared a protectorate over the party organization!

Observe that it isn't the party members who are to decide whether the party organization is or is not following a mistaken course. It is the Y.P.S.L. that is to make this decision. At the same time Fischer frankly rejects guidance and control by the party organization. He declares that the Y.P.S.L. "firmly under the thumb of party locals, stripped of inner-democracy, its national organization made unnecessary, its officers bound by EVERY PARTY WHIM" would be useless to youth.

Here Fischer assumes that any party guidance and control means destruction of Y.P.S.L. democracy. That, of course, is not true and it was not true when the party did exercise this guidance and control. On the other hand party supervision and counsel are referred to as "every party whim" but the Y.P.S.L. procreator over the party is not a "whim" at all! It is something that Y.P.S.L. has decided for itself and the party is guilty of unreasonable cussedness if it does not accept this protectorate! We have certainly reached an interesting stage of party relations with the Y.P.S.L. if the primary school governs the party. Such an attitude can only produce poisoned relations between the two organizations and make cooperation impossible.

In the past year this attitude has even taken the form of documents which declare for less emphasis on education and more on action. No Socialist ever finishes his education. It is always being expanded and added to no matter if he be a Kautsky at the age of 80. Moreover, intelligent action depends upon as mature education as we can get. The less education we have the more likely is action to be abortive and futile. Our action is likely to repeat old disappointments which more mature education would avoid.

Moreover, this applies not only to youth but to older persons. Hardly a week passes that The New Leader does not receive grandiose programs from writers who are past middle age. They want action but lack mature education.

How far the Y.P.S.L. is affected by the idea of a protectorate over the party we do not know, but the idea itself reveals an irresponsibility and assertion of functions that are certain to produce conflict. The insufferable arrogance and immaturity exhibited by Fischer in these documents have an anti-climax in a report he made to the Yipfel N.E.C. on October 4. He reported that "The morale of the League has been low" that it suffered from a "complete lack of knowledge of organizational problems, methods and techniques among the general League members," and a lack of "theoretical policy."

In other words, he declares that the members in general lack knowledge of organization, methods and theory and then, after this confession of immaturity, he proposes a benevolent protectorate over the party organization! To patronize those capable of such contradictions is to let the youth movement drift to further incompetence and eventually sterility.

### BRONX

2nd A.D.—A post-election social evening has been arranged for Saturday evening, November 9, at the Mid-Bronx Labor Center, 1401 Jerome Ave., at 170th St. Program: Rebel Arts Players, dancing, refreshments, etc.

6th A.D.—August Claessens will deliver the second of his series on Heredity and Environment, Sunday, November 10, at 9 p. m. in the Clubrooms, 767 Allerton Ave. Clubrooms were crowded to capacity last Sunday.

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## W. R. SNOW STARTS TOUR OF THE WEST

William R. Snow, one of the best Socialist agitators of the generation of 'Gene Debs and who, in recent years, has spoken throughout the Northwest and Pacific Coast states, is available for agitation meetings, it is announced. Comrade



W. R. Snow

Snow has spoken in fifteen states this year and has traveled 12,000 miles for the party.

Snow is one of the most effective of party organizers and knows working-class life in the raw. He combines a knowledge of the Socialist philosophy with a fund of wit which keeps his audiences in good humor. Working people take to Bill Snow as they recognize him as one who "belongs."

While filling dates, Com. Snow will also make a drive for The New Leader, the leading Socialist Party weekly in the United States. Those who want a good speaker to rattle the dry bones in their locality should write him as follows: William R. Snow, R. R. 2, Everett, Washington.

### TEN BABY PIGS

LAWRENCEBURG.—One baby pig plus one year equals one big sow.

One sow plus one boar equals 10 baby pigs.

Ten baby pigs at \$5 per pig equals \$50.

Ten baby pigs plus one year apiece—ad infinitum.

By this simple piece of mathematics, Robert Nanz, manager of the Old Quaker Distillery, here, has been able to raise a fund for the new-born babies of Schenley Products Company employees.

Nanz, who enjoys a close human relationship with the citizens of this town for past benefactions, has established small bank accounts for five babies born to employees during the last two months. His plan is to continue these premiums on births for as long as his pigs hold out.

Last year, Nanz did a good turn for a farmer in this town. Out of gratitude, the farmer presented Nanz with a baby pig. Nanz nurtured the animal all year until it grew to be a sizeable sow. Then he saw an opportunity to carry out a long desired plan for launching infants on a "cradle of finance," even though it be small.

Nanz knew he could get \$5 each for baby pigs on the present market. He went to the same farmer and borrowed a boar. The latter was mated with his sow. The result was 10 baby pigs, or \$50 capital with which to launch his new scheme. The premiums were immediately announced, and today five tots are listed as "depositors" at the local bank. \* \* \*

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## Classes for Women, Course on Fascism at the Rand School

Last week in the Rand School interest was centered on the afternoon courses for women. These courses, arranged by the Rand School in co-operation with the Women's Committee of the Socialist Party, will be better than ever. It is already evident that there will be a large registration. The fee for twelve sessions in any course is \$1.50. On Monday afternoons at 1:30 will be the lectures on Practical Political Problems, on Tuesdays at 1:30 William S. Duffy's class in The History of Labor in America and on Wednesdays at 1:30 Esther Friedman's class, An Introduction to Socialism. In addition there will be a class in Public Speaking and Parliamentary Practice conducted by Rebecca Jarvis at 3:00 o'clock on Mondays. All of these classes will start next week, and registration is now going on.

The Monday lectures will be a forum for the discussion of immediate problems. Among the speakers will be such authorities as Abr. Epstein, Joseph Schlossberg, Helen Alfred, Irving Lipkowitz, Charles Solomon, Gertrude Weil Klein, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, and Henry Rosner. The first lecture will be by William E. Bohn on The Constitution of the United States and American Labor.

**Salvemini on Fascism**  
On November 7th at 8:30 began one of the most vital series of lectures ever offered by the Rand School. At that time Gaetano Salvemini, famous professor of history driven from the University of Florence by Mussolini, started his series on Italian Fascism: Its Nature and Meaning. The nature of fascism will be discussed, and, among other things, the Ethiopian war will be discussed from the point of view of the fascist system.

**Rand High School a Great Success**  
All readers of The New Leader will be glad to know that the new high school division of the Rand School is a success from the outset. It is possible that a few additional students may be accepted, but since the courses are systematic and regular registration after the opening of the term is not encouraged.

**Chicago Labor College**  
CHICAGO.—Final plans for the second year program of the Chicago Labor College were perfected at the recent annual convention and the board of directors' meeting. Hugh Crumbers, printers' union official, accepted the presidency for this year. A broad selection of sixteen courses is being offered at the new and enlarged headquarters, 123 W. Madison St. The students' registration promises to be largely increased over last year's very successful record, according to Meyer Halushka and John W. Barnet, co-directors.

**Party News**  
WOMEN'S COMMITTEE  
All branches are asked to call for their quota of theatre tickets for the Theatre Party, to see Gorky's "Mother" at the Theatre Union, Thursday, December 19.

**Brighton Beach Branch.** Monday evening, November 11, discussion on election results. Proposed affair will be discussed.

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## VLADECK AT PARTY MEETING ON FRIDAY

B. Charney Vladeck, just returned from an extensive European trip, has an extremely interesting message for American Socialists. A general membership meeting has been arranged to hear him Friday evening, Nov. 8th, in the Auditorium of the People's House, 7 E. 15th St.

Vladeck visited England, France, Switzerland, Belgium and Holland. He conferred intimately with practically all the Socialist and labor leaders, and in addition made a personal visit to very important center of Socialism and Labor. With a rich fund of information, with the brilliant analysis of which he is capable, he will give the fullest benefit of his experience. The American Socialist must know what is taking place internationally, and this intimate talk by Vladeck—to party members only—will prove of inestimable value.

Keep open Friday evening, November 15th, in the People's House we will have a meeting at which the A. F. of L. Convention will be interpreted by Joseph Schlossberg, Max Danish and Marx Lewis.

**Sarah Witkowsky Dead**  
East Harlem Socialists are deeply grieved at the untimely death of Comrade Sarah Witkowsky who passed away last Saturday after a long and painful illness. She was a familiar character in every East Harlem Socialist Campaign for more than twenty years, active in all the routine chores of party work, always faithfully in the job, reliable and sincerely dependable. Comrade Witkowsky was also an active member of the Debs Branch, Workmen's Circle.

More than a hundred comrades, friends and relatives were present at the funeral services on Sunday afternoon in Borough Park. August Claessens delivered the eulogy in behalf of the party and the Workmen's Circle.

**Crawford Shows New York's Largest Overcoat Selection**  
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**THE ALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION**, Local No. 19, I.L.G.W.U., Office, 68 West 33rd St.; Phone, WIshington 7-8011. 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 Superstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.

**MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION**, Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, Downtown office, 610 Broadway; phone, SPRing 7-5483; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St.; phone, WISconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 o'clock. Manager, N. Spector; Secretary, Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodas.

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

**WAITERS' and WAITRESSES' UNION**, 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 4-1881. S. Stone, Manager

## Cooper Union Lectures

The Department of Social Philosophy of Cooper Union presents the following program for the week:

Nov. 8.—Everett Dean Martin, "The Growing Menace of Dictatorship Is the Ironic Result of the Doctrine of Equality."  
Nov. 10.—Dr. Gustav Stolper, former editor and publisher of the Berlin Economist, "The Revolt of the Masses—Ortega."  
Nov. 12.—Prof. Horace M. Kallen, "Freedom and Determinism."  
These lectures, for which no admission is charged, start promptly at 8 o'clock.

### Shoe Salesmen Strike

The strike of the shoe salesmen at the Julius Grossman shoe stores against starvation wages and mistreatment of the men and for the recognition of the union is still in progress. Monday two strikers were arrested on the picket line. The Retail Shoe Salesmen's Union, Local 1268, A. F. of L., is also carrying on a strike against the National Shoe stores where over fifty salespeople are on strike against intolerable conditions.

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**BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS, TUCKERS, STITCHERS and PLATE-ERS' 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 Hottab, 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 4-3681.—Saul Metz, Manager.

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

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

**FUR DRESSERS' UNION**, Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union Office and headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn; STAGg 2-9798. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice-President, Stephen Tobiasco; Business Agent, Morris Bels; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Heib.

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# NEW LEADER

A Socialist Party Publication Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement.

JAMES ONEAL, Editor  
WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

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

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1935

## READING AND BRIDGEPORT

WITH sweeping successes for the Socialist Party ticket in Reading and Bridgeport, two typical working class cities and party organizations whose members overwhelmingly consist of workingmen and women, we have a lesson that has been told over and over again in party history. In these cities no pseudo-revolutionaries have shaped party policies, no scholastic speculations of what we will do during a period "of chaos and confusion" have disturbed the work of reaching the masses and no "left" yearning for a "united front" with the Com-rats made any headway. The result is a rising tide of ballot-armed workers marching in a real united front for the conquest of power.

Next week The New Leader will consider this whole issue in the party in a national survey of what has happened to the party vote and membership since the Detroit convention. There is already a marked turning of the membership in many states to intelligent policies and education that promise more Readings and Bridgeports in the coming years.

## QUACK FARMER REMEDIES

NEARLY a million rural families are kept alive by Federal aid, and the Resettlement Administration proposes to get about half of them off the dole. So we have the paradox of millions who raise the food of the nation being in want. Only the capitalist system of production could produce this absurdity.

The destitute farm workers include about 200,000 southern tenant families uprooted by machinery, cotton acreage reduction, and reduced working force by land owners. To these must be added tens of thousands of families in the drought regions of the Middle West and Southwest and others displaced by machinery. Note that the figures refer to families, not to individuals.

It is estimated that 450,000 farms, about 75,000,000 acres, should be abandoned and devoted to other uses, but the pressing job now is to get 500,000 farmers to sustain themselves. Under the original FERA program many thousands of loans were made to farmers, who signed promissory notes which are coming due, and many of them are unable to make payment. The Federal Government refuses to help these unfortunates until they repay these loans, and if this policy is enforced these farmers will sink to utter destitution.

That is, while the Administration plans to rehabilitate a half million farm families, others who had received loans sink in the economic mire. Curiously enough, one phase of the plan to help the half-million destitute is to grant loans that will enable the farmers to buy a cow or two, machines, seeds, and other essentials. When they are unable to repay these loans they will be in the position of others who are now unable to pay Federal loans.

All of which shows that the agricultural policy of the Administration is sheer guessing, haphazard, chaotic and experimental like a quack doctor treating symptoms.

## "DOG EAT DOG"

AN article by a writer for the Central Press shows the ruthless policy of extermination pursued by the Rubber Barons of Akron, Ohio. Like giant monsters of the ancient world they seek to devour the lesser firms in the business and make the workers in the plants pay the heavy costs of this war.

The industry once included 608 companies producing tires and these have been reduced to 31. War is now made on the remaining companies with the view of concentrating control into the hands of four or five great corporations. A cut-throat policy of drastic reduction of prices is under way and production costs are slashed by cutting hourly wages of the workers. The Akron Beacon-Journal is aghast at this policy and declares that if other industries follow this example, capitalism will be wrecked. We quote:

"The rubber industry, price-cutting its way to destruction, is on the threshold of another folly. Its newest idiocy is that of passing off onto employees an hourly wage reduction that has its origin in the senseless selling of tires at and below manufacturing cost. All thought of operating at a profit, seemingly, has been cast to the four winds. The one all-pervading idea in the rubber industry today is to exterminate competitors."

This, the Central Press writer declares, means that capitalism has degenerated into "dog eat dog." Expand it to other industries and it will bring chaos and disaster, but our ruling Babbitts are incapable of looking ahead. Armed with their heavy artillery of price-cutting, which they pass on to the wage slaves, they blast away at the weaker fortresses of the rubber empire, reducing them to submission. Once in control, they will dismantle some of these fortresses and add the remainder to the four or five feudal victors.

Capitalism devours its own children. It, in turn, must be taken over and its throat-slitting fangs be extracted, and the Socialist Commonwealth will perform this necessary operation.

## THE GLORY OF WAR



A thought for Armistice Day. From Humanities, a volume of striking drawings by John Vassos, published by E. P. Dutton, and reproduced by courtesy of the publishers.

## Behind the Scenes in Washington



By Benjamin Meiman  
Our Washington Correspondent

ONE would hardly look to Washington for news regarding the Italo-Ethiopian war at this particular time, when the captain and the first mate of the ship of state are away—President Roosevelt is hiding in Hyde Park and Secretary of State Cordell Hull is vacationing in North Carolina. Still there are some new developments that ought to be chronicled.

A somewhat new problem loomed on the Washington horizon through cables from Geneva which intimated that the League of Nations might seek to ascertain this Government's attitude toward placing an embargo on coal, oil, iron and steel shipments to Italy.

As long as the United States supplies these raw materials to Italy any League of Nations embargo on them would be ineffective, unless the League members wished to resort to the drastic action of blockading Italian ports and stopping such shipments.

Officials, however, would not discuss what this Government might do in regard to shipments of oil, coal, iron and steel to Italy and what attitude it would take toward another League inquiry until they had further knowledge of what was being contemplated at Geneva. Furthermore, they desire more data on present trade in those articles with Italy than they have available before taking further action.

The only official statement made at the State Department, last Monday, was that by Undersecretary of State William Phillips categorically denying the contentions of Father Coughlin that this Government secretly condoned the sanctions of Great Britain against Italy and that it has tentative plans to cooperate to make these punitive actions effective.

Unofficially it is pointed out that if the neutrality program of the United States operates to make the League of Nations sanctions against Italy effective, that is a coincidence and a by-product of the Nation's policy, but that this country will enter into no agreement with any other country or group of countries regarding those sanctions.

### Regular War Espionage Established

A NEW government agency was established to do some first-class espionage work, somewhat akin to real war espionage.

However, there is a difference between the present day espionage and that of past wars. No spies are to be sought, no "reds" or foreigners to be watched, no sabotag-

New Neutrality Problems for Uncle Sam—Government Agency for Regular War-Espionage on American Trade with Italy—Friendly Criticism of New Deal, a Sort of Boring from Within—WPA's Ambitious School Building Program to Reach all Corners of the Country.

ing or imparting of information is to be prevented. Nothing of that sort. The 1935 model of American espionage is to consist of knowing and probably preventing Americans from reaping profits of trade with Italy.

Information of all transactions between American interests and Italian representatives and buyers in neutral countries for transshipment to belligerents are to be gathered and turned over to the State Department's division of arms and munitions.

Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau disclosed that the Customs Bureau and the Coast Guard, charged with enforcement of the President's arms embargo, had submitted two reports to the State Department. Contents were held secret.

The Commerce Department is receiving reports on all exports bound for Mediterranean countries, the data to be compiled for the State Department.

All financial transactions between Italian representatives and Americans are being checked by the New York Federal Reserve Bank, it was learned at the Federal Reserve Board.

State Department officials reported that registration of arms and munitions manufacturers, compulsory November 29, has been slow. A study of exports failed to show, however, that American manufacturers have violated the arms embargo.

Information on alleged violations

### Oneal at New Leader Night in Allentown, Nov. 19

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—New Leader night in Allentown! A big mass meeting has been arranged by Local Allentown of the Socialist Party for Tuesday evening, November 19, in the American Federation of Silk Workers' Hall, 25 No. Sixth St. (Lyric Building), with James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, as the speaker.

The local comrades are preparing to get out a big crowd for the mass meeting in a Pennsylvania city that has a live local party organization. A drive will also be made for new subscribers to The New Leader.

Other live party organizations in Pennsylvania and nearby states may also have a good Socialist speaker in the coming months by arranging with The New Leader for such meetings.

of the embargo will be turned over to the Department of Justice for prosecution, officials said. There is an official suggestion that if our exporters continue to sell Mussolini sinews of war, regardless of the moral influence which the administration seeks to bring to bear against such transactions, the next step may be the publication of a list of "war profiteers." Should hostilities in Africa still be going on when Congress reassembles, there is a growing consensus that the White House will ask for an extension of the embargo on arms so as to include copper, cotton, oil, scrap iron, motor trucks, foodstuffs and other goods of which there have been considerable shipments to Italy during the past four weeks.

### Friendly Criticism of the New Deal

WITH presidential approval, members of Secretary Roper's Business Advisory Council yesterday began an intensive study of weaknesses in major bills passed by the recent Congress.

Reports on seven outstanding proposals of the Administration's legislative program will be submitted to the President. They will summarize the effects of new legislation and recommend changes.

Included in the scope of the survey are the Wagner labor act, the banking law, the utilities act, social securities measure, Guffey "Little NRA" coal act and the Frazier-Lemke farm mortgage moratorium.

Carrying the proverbial olive branch to the White House, for the first time since the council threatened to quit in indignation over the Administration's failure to accept its advice, Secretary Roper and three leaders of the group conferred with the President before he left for Hyde Park and decided to do a little stock-taking.

### PWA's Ambitious School Building Program

SECRETARY ICKES announced the Government is ready to launch a 303 million dollar school building program next year.

The program includes construction of 2,133 schools, with Federal grants of \$130,696,188, representing 45 per cent of the cost. Local communities will contribute \$172,640,876, including \$75,167,314 in loans from PWA, to be repaid to the Government, and \$97,473,562 in private loans.

A compilation of educational building allotments under the original and new Public Works program shows PWA has aided 3,099 projects, involving a total cost of more than 500 million dollars.

The new program includes 2,038 elementary and high schools, 71 additions to colleges and universities, 13 public libraries and 11 unclassified projects.

## The New Leader Book Corner

### A Muddled Professor

By James Oneal

LABOR IN MODERN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY. By Norman J. Ware. D. C. Heath and Co. \$3.48.

THE author of this study is also the author of "The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860" and a history of the Knights of Labor, both worthwhile books, but the one before us is a queer mixture of merit and unsound judgment. A number of chapters are excellent, including The Labor Movement; Beginnings, Reform and Politics; Farmer-Labor Revolt; Organized Labor and the Courts; and Industrial Paternalism. Some others, while good, are marred by statements here and there that will not stand critical analysis, and still others are largely worthless.

The volume as a whole is an attempt to explain the origin and development of the labor movement in the United States, economic and political, its policies, principles and methods, throughout the development of capitalism. Where the author confines himself to an explanation of backgrounds he is often sound but when he opens the door to the trade union and the Socialist movements he so often gets beyond his depth in attempted interpretations that it is obvious he is either an amateur or that he tries to read into history some preconceived notions derived from knowledge of some Communist writers. Some statements are inexcusable in a scholar.

For these reasons the informed reader is tossed between approval and regret long before he has reached the end of the 547 pages. Having conceded that the book has some merit, we shall confine this review to a few of the statements which litter the text and which, in our judgment, render it of doubtful value.

#### Marx and Bakunin

On page 69 the differing attitudes of Communist and non-Communist negotiators in wage disputes is presented. The trade unionist prepares himself with adequate research and the Communist with theory, the former for the immediate issues and the latter with demands that may "have little relation to the actual problem before the arbitrators." The author concludes that the Communist may be looked upon as a fool "but he is not a fool" as he represents "in theory at least as many wage earners as do the unions." What theory? Dictatorship, Soviet power, "Marxist-Leninism"? And is he not a fool who comes equipped only with a theory to settle an immediate issue of hours, wages and conditions while the masses are waiting outside for this settlement and nothing else?

Our professor falls foul of Marx after the defeat of the Paris Commune, the Marx who was "converted" to "law-abiding" policies as a result of that defeat. Moreover, Marx "knew that should his conversion come to the ears of Bakunin and other revolutionaries his reputation was lost." Poor Marx who lived to learn that Bakunin was a pan-slav chauvinist who volunteered to make his peace with the Czar. Great Bakunin whose knowledge of Marx's "conversion" did not assist him (Bakunin) in building a world movement. The professor is obviously attracted to the romantic "revolutionary" bombast of Bakunin, his "hot air" being more alluring than the scientific thinking of Marx.

He also distorts the protest by Marx that Bakunin coveted "other people's property" and assumes that Marx meant property in general. The fact is that Bakunin urged theft and banditry as "revolutionary tactics" and it was for this that Marx expressed his contempt. Later, Bakunin became the victim of a robbery by one of his own intimates and the Russian whined because of the loss of valuable papers and some cash.

Naturally, this sentimental regard for Bakunin is also expressed for Bolshevik Russia in which, he alleges, "the early Marx is resurrected." I have discussed this view in a pamphlet and have no desire to enlarge on it here except to say that Marx was buried, not resurrected, in the Soviet Union.

### Militarists Get Their Wires Crossed

Once more, writes Labor, the world is being swept by the hysteria of preparedness. The people of practically every country are being told by its militarists that its fighting forces are "inadequate" and that it must approve tremendously increased expenditures if it is to keep pace with the rest of the world.

Spokesmen for our own army and navy are urging President Roosevelt to ask for \$900,000,000 for the next fiscal year—an increase of more than \$100,000,000 over the record-breaking total of last year. This money is needed, the President is assured, to modernize our "weapons of defense."

At the same time, Stanley Baldwin, premier of Great Britain, makes a similar appeal to the people of that country on the eve of a national election. He says that "all the world knows" that the

Of Marx's conception of value we are told that Marx held that as "labor was the source of value . . . then labor should receive the full product." The statement is misleading for again and again Marx objected to the view that labor should receive the "full product." Our professor goes on to say that the Socialists have "sold out" and that "it took a Lenin to purge them and to restore intellectual leadership to the revolutionary who wrote the Communist Manifesto." This in the face of Communist cooperation with the Nazis and, above all, the bankruptcy revealed in the recent congress of the Communist International.

#### Socialism vs. Anarchism

The professor sloughs over the results reaped by the "revolutionary zeal" of anarchism in this country and directs his sarcasm against the Socialist Labor Party which opposed the arms and dynamite recommended by the anarchists in the eighties and concludes that the S.L.P. "was almost as easily alarmed by revolutionary talk and action as were the Republicans." From all this we understand what the inmate of an academic cloister means by "revolutionary." The Socialists "wanted talk" and the anarchists "wanted action." To be sure that we get his meaning the author writes: "The German Socialists in Chicago had organized Lehr- und Wehr-Vereine, military societies getting ready to fight. The National Executive Committee promptly threw them out and asserted that Socialism was quite harmless."

There is only one interpretation of these passages on pages 247-248; the author thinks it is quite "revolutionary" for the working class to organize secret military societies and drill with arms and that those who oppose this folly are "quite harmless."

#### Packed Misrepresentation

The Socialist Party gets similar treatment. After its organization it "discarded Marxist theory and the revolutionary approach and settled down to what may be called economic and political progressivism." Will the learned professor go over the early proceedings of Socialist Party conventions that are still available and point out the platforms and decisions that "discarded Marxism"?

On page 310-11 he manages, either through ignorance or something worse, to distort the views of Hillquit and Debs. The Social Democracy of 1897 organized a colonization scheme which was abandoned the following year and three years later the Socialist Party was organized. Of this period Ware writes: "Hillquit and his followers were not converted to Debs's colonizing Socialism nor to Berger's municipal program. They despised them both. But they had no place to go."

These sentences are packed with misrepresentation. I was a member with Debs of the Social Democracy in Terre Haute. Debs never favored the colonization scheme. In fact, it caused him much amusement. Moreover, it was forced through the convention of 1897 by the anarchists and their allies for whom Ware has a sentimental regard. Neither did Debs and Hillquit oppose the city program of the Milwaukee Socialists headed by Victor L. Berger. They were not closet professors shut up in an academic convent and immune from the day-to-day struggle of the working class. They knew that to build a movement representing the working class they must participate in every political struggle, local, state, national, and international, and that stupid playing with physical force, which so appeals to the learned professor, only provides an opportunity for police rats and spies to destroy the movement.

Much more could be said in criticism of this book, but enough has been cited to show that much of it is misleading and false. Too often when the professor lacks knowledge he plunges into his consciousness for an explanation instead of making a careful search for the facts. One wonders who on the publisher's staff recommended the manuscript for publication.

### Victory in Jeanette, Pa.

Special to The New Leader  
JEANETTE, Pa.—Earl C. Englehart, a member of the Socialist Party of Jeanette since its organization and secretary of the branch, was elected to the City Council on the Socialist ticket in yesterday's election.

Jeanette with a population of 15,126 is the seat of the Pennsylvania Rubber Company, several glass factories and coal mining industry. The major issue in the election was public ownership of the utilities.

greater part of John Bull's fleet is antiquated.

From France, Japan and other countries come similar tales.

All cannot be true. Surely there is some nation that is "prepared." The claims of the militarists simply don't make sense. They are up to their old tricks—scaring the people so the munitions interests may make larger profits.