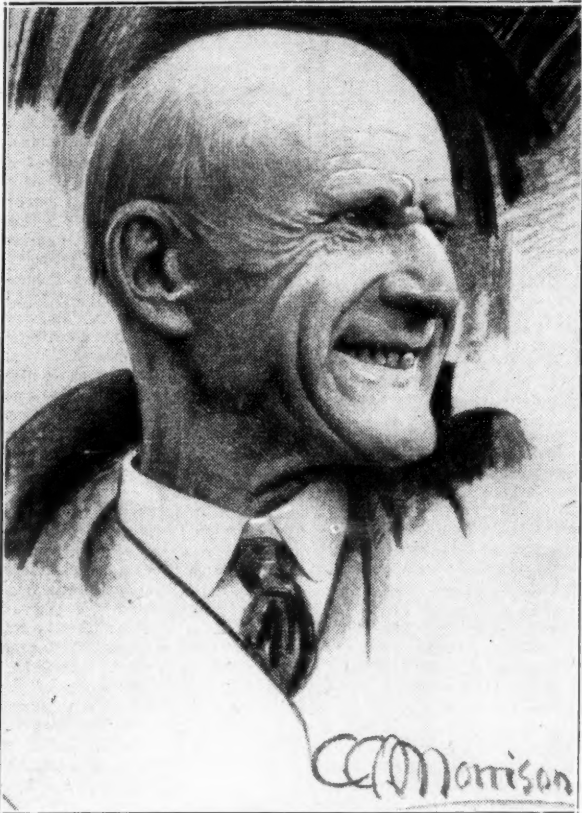


Latimer, Socialist, Elected Minneapolis Mayor

AS FIRM AS GRANITE



A striking portrait drawing of Eugene V. Debs as he left Atlanta penitentiary in December, 1921, after two and one-half years of confinement. This picture has never before been published.

We Salute You, Gene!

JUNE 16 is the seventeenth anniversary of the anti-war speech delivered by Eugene V. Debs in Canton, Ohio, a speech for which he received a sentence of ten years in prison. All honor to Eugene V. Debs, the bravest soul, the noblest figure in the Socialist and Labor movement in the United States!

Eugene V. Debs was a born leader of men. He did not seek leadership; it came to him because he had all the qualities that make for genuine leadership. Again and again he warned the masses against deifying leadership, saying that the leader can desert as well as lead. Yet leadership came to him because he did not seek place, power, prestige and personal aggrandizement for himself.

Debs did not compromise within the party or outside. He was the soul of honor and rectitude. Petty intrigue, compromise with dangerous and utopian ideas, were not within his ken. He was a tower of granite against all this. United with firm adherence to democratic Socialism was a lofty idealism that made him the most magnetic personality in the Socialist movement in this country.

'Gene's philosophy issued out of the struggle of his class, the workers whom he regarded as the indispensable basis for a promising Socialist movement. With the parlor radical he was impatient, with the lunatic fringe he could use words that seared, and with the half-baked he always counseled, "learn, learn, learn." He knew the value of knowledge because it took him many years to acquire it.

Fiercely evangel of the working class, we salute you, 'Gene! You hurt us when you laid down your torch. Millions mourned your passing and so long as we who worked with you live we can never forget you.

Emancipated humanity will deal more kindly with you than mankind did when you were with us. You will come to life again while your enemies will be forgotten. While they pass into oblivion you will walk into our Socialist temples, mount the pedestals built for you, and the citizens of our Socialist Republic will pay you the respect of affection which is your due.

We salute you, 'Gene! You have earned the right to rest and we know that you sleep well!

(Debs' Canton speech on Page 7)

Social Democrats Regain Control in Massachusetts

Left Wingers Are Routed in Election to State Committee—Convention Maps Revival of Activity—New Leader Declared Official Organ.

Special to The New Leader.

BOSTON, Mass.—The members of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts, expressing themselves through the best attended, most enthusiastic constructive state convention in many years, by an overwhelming majority entrusted the conduct of their affairs to a state committee predominantly "old guard" in make-up. After several years of so-called "militant" control the membership showed its lack of confidence in that element and expressed itself in no uncertain tones.

The older comrades had tolerantly given the so-called "militants" the fullest opportunity to show what they could do, and had cooperated fully and freely with them. The result was the usual party paralysis, persecution of older members, sidetracking of old and trusted comrades and placing in positions of responsibility untried members whose conduct of affairs has been disastrous to the party and the movement. The cli-

max was reached when the "militant" state committee, voted 8 to 3 to demand that the charter of New York organization be reworked, a motion that was overruled by the membership by a vote of over 5 to 1.

In this convention the Socialist Party members take back the management of their own affairs.

By S. Syrjala

BOSTON.—One of the best attended and most constructive Socialist state conventions in many years closed Sunday, June 9th, at the American House with the enthusiastic singing of the "Internationale," having accomplished much during its two-day session.

From the very beginning of its session Saturday afternoon in the new Amalgamated Clothing Workers' building there pervaded a comradeship spirit of tolerance and a real desire for harmony which continued throughout the sessions.

The Saturday session was taken (Continued on Page Two)

Labor Takes Lead in Fight To Amend the Constitution; Moves for Speedy Revision

A. F. of L. Council Names Committee to Prepare Draft for Presentation to Congress—Maps Comprehensive Program of Legislation While Pushing Plans for Resistance To Wage Cuts.

By John Powers

Mussolini Faces Crisis as Tension In Italy is Growing

Savigliano Garrison Mutinies—Mothers Storm Barracks In Protest Against African Adventure—Wholesale Arrests in Many Cities.

LONDON.—Despite fascist censorship news has reached London of a wave of unrest in Italy. A growing revolt against Mussolini's domination is making itself felt, accentuated by his latest adventure in Ethiopia.

A number of Genoa mothers forced their way into the barracks and protested against the calling-up of their sons for service in Africa. Some of the women were arrested.

In Savigliano disorder among Italian troops comprising the garrison there had to be repressed.

Numerous arrests of "intellectuals" with anti-fascist leanings have taken place recently, while heavy prison sentences have been passed on critics of the Mussolini regime.

In Turin and Milan houses have been searched from floor to ceiling by police, and arrests made. More than a dozen professors were taken into custody in the two cities.

The arrested people include Dr. Luigi Einaudi, son of the distinguished economist and himself a fellow of the London School of Economics; Dr. Cesare Pavese, Dr. Umberto Robbio, and Dr. Franco Antonicelli.

These four men collaborated on the production of a literary periodical, "La Cultura."

70 Sentenced

Others arrested were Dr. Massimo Mila, editor of a musical periodical, who had just returned from the Florence Music Festival, the painter Carlo Levi, known in London and Paris art circles, and Professor Barbara Allison, of Turin University.

During the past few days heavy sentences were passed by special tribunals on anti-fascists. In Venezia Giulia, 70 anti-fascists received sentences totalling 564 years.

Many arrests have been made in the Alto Adige, formerly South Tyrol, following the clandestine distribution of leaflets calling on the inhabitants to "do the same as the Saar."

The present atmosphere of tension is being aggravated by news of sickness and mortality among the Italian troops dispatched to Africa "for defense" in the event of a clash with Abyssinia.

Daily Herald's Comment
Commenting on the situation, the Daily Herald, organ of the Labor Party, says in an editorial entitled "Darkest Italy":

"People who may be inclined to think that terrorism is easing down because there is less news of it should remember that."

If they do not remember, they are in danger of forgetting the men and women whose lives are being taken or robbed of all happiness by dictators.

News is leaking through now of the intensification of repression in Italy. Possibly it is due to the failure of some of the Italian people to manifest any enthusiasm for the Duce's military expedition to the Italian colonies in Africa.

Anyhow, it was reported that 19 men were condemned to prison, one for 20 years, in Rome a fortnight ago for anti-Government propaganda in Trieste.

Since then there have been other incidents, some of which we report on another page.

Is it wise of the ruled who employ such methods to mock at the barbarism and uncivilized nature of other races?

(See article on Page Eight)

WASHINGTON.—Assuming the lead in the battle for a Constitutional amendment to circumvent the obstacle toward social and economic reconstruction put forward by the Supreme Court in its decision destroying the National Industrial Recovery Act, organized labor has taken steps to present an amendment to Congress for ratification by the states.

While President Roosevelt is giving indications of dodging this fundamental issue and the Republican Party, through its "Grass Root" convention at Springfield, Ill., has definitely allied itself with the forces of rugged individualism and reaction, the organized workers of the nation, speaking through the American Federation of Labor, are acting. Through its executive council, which concluded a memorable session in Washington last week, the A. F. of L. has clearly posed the question of adjusting the fundamental law of the land to the needs of the nation.

A committee was appointed to draft the desired Constitutional amendment for presentation to the council on August 5. A final draft will be laid before the convention of the A. F. of L. in October, after which it will be presented to Congress. Thus the machinery has been set in motion for meeting the gravest crisis that has confronted the country since the Civil War.

The immediate purpose of the Constitutional amendment which labor will make its own is "to meet and overcome the objections to the enactment of social and economic legislation by the Congress of the United States, as set forth by the Supreme Court decision," but the larger purpose is to open the road to comprehensive national economic planning and social control of industry and government vital to the life of the nation and the aims and ideals of organized labor.

Labor Is Spearhead in Drive

By its decision the executive council has made organized labor the spearhead in the drive for Constitutional change. Organized labor thus emphasizes its role as the most advanced and most dynamic social force in America. The executive council has made it known that instead of waiting for "five or ten years," as was suggested by President Roosevelt when he touched on the question of the need of Constitutional change to meet the consequences and implications of the Supreme Court's decision, labor will at once launch the campaign for such change. At the same time it is pushing the immediate demands as embodied in the pending legislative program of the A.F.O.L.—the Wagner labor disputes bill, the Black-Canary thirty-hour work bill, the Guffey coal stabilization bill, passage of social security legislation, and enactment of a new law to replace the NRA which would help conserve gains already attained.

Coupled with this program and its drive for a Constitutional amendment to halt once and for all the interference of the Supreme Court with the play of economic and social forces and the needed changes arising therefrom, labor is (Continued on Page Five)

MAYOR-ELECT



Thomas E. Latimer

Socialists in Two State Legislatures Complete Work

Legislators in Connecticut and Pennsylvania Do Fine Year's Work for Workers in Sessions Just Closed

By Abraham Knepler

HARTFORD.—One of the most liberal legislatures the staid, conservative state of Connecticut has ever seen, adjourned Wednesday, June 6. It was the first session in which the Socialist Party was represented, and that fact dominated all the sessions. A number of progressive social measures were passed, measures which, two years ago, could not even be reported out of committee.

On the other hand, a number of important measures failed of enactment. Some which were not passed may have a chance of passage in the special session, which, it is expected, will be called by Governor Cross in late summer or early fall.

On the whole, however, it must be admitted that more progressive legislation was passed than either labor or the Socialists dared hope. The great and growing Socialist vote and the growing militancy of labor were factors responsible for the changed complexion of the Legislature.

The part the five Socialist legislators played was of inestimable importance. Controlling the balance of power in the Senate, in most instances, and unconcerned about patronage, the Socialists set before themselves and the legislature a goal of social legislation for the state, and of corrective legislation for Bridgeport, the city they represented.

The election of Socialists to the state legislature for the first time in Connecticut's history, and the doubling of the Socialist state vote, startled the old party politicians. In order to curry the favor of the discontented, the politicians realized they would have to give in to a certain extent. The Democratic sword suspended by the Socialists—their balance of power in the Senate—served as a constant reminder to the old partyites.

Socialist Influence

The influence of the Socialists can best be appreciated by comparing the activities of the 1933 legislature with that of 1935. In 1933, not a single progressive social measure was passed. Almost from the start of the session, the Democrats and Republicans wrangled over minor court judgments and other patronage, finally result-

(Continued on Page Five)

Sweeps the City by 25,000 As Farmer-Laborites Gain The Control of All Offices

Mayor-Elect, Veteran Socialist, Leads in Magnificent Victory—Arthur LeSueur Chosen Education Commissioner—I. G. Scott, A. G. Bastis and A. R. Gisslen Among Socialist Aldermen.

Special to The New Leader.

Rep. Marcantonio Moves Hillquit Amendment for Congressional Action

Special to The New Leader.

WASHINGTON.—The constitutional amendment drafted by Morris Hillquit, late Socialist leader, designed to protect Federal labor and social legislation from being nullified by the Supreme Court, has been introduced in Congress by Representative Vito Marcantonio of New York.

The amendment, if adopted, will make secure any national legislation affecting the workers' interests. It definitely establishes the jurisdiction and authority of the Federal government in this domain and precludes the possibility of nullification of social and labor laws by reactionary judges.

It is considered probable, however, that the substance of the amendment will be incorporated in a draft now being prepared by the A. F. of L., designed to achieve the same purpose, coupled with provisions for national economic planning.

It is believed that if the unions and their friends get behind such an amendment it will become a great national issue.

Jack Bergen Wed To Ethel Arkin

BOSTON.—Jack C. Bergen, Socialist representative in the Connecticut legislature and Socialist member on the Bridgeport Board of Education, was married here to Ethel Arkin, daughter of Leon Arkin, manager of the Boston edition of the Jewish Daily Forward.

Bergen's bride is an active member of the Socialist Party, and in 1934 ran for the Massachusetts legislature from the 14th Ward of Boston. The couple will reside in Bridgeport.

Butchers' Union Fights Communist Conspiracy

Fake Meat Strike Exposed as Maneuver Designed to Help Dual Communist Organization Destroy A. F. of L. Affiliate—Shakedown for Stalin Dailies Revealed.

The charge that the so-called "Consumers' strike against the high cost of meat and poultry" was instigated to gain revenue for what calls itself the City Action Committee, to gain monetary support for the Daily Worker and the Morning Freiheit, Communist dailies, and to break the Hebrew Butcher Workers' Union and substitute for it the Amalgamated Food Workers' Union, a Communist dual union, have been definitely substantiated.

Joseph Belsky, secretary of the Hebrew Butcher Workers' Union, an A. F. of L. affiliate, told The New Leader that he had affidavits from numerous kosher butcher shopkeepers to the effect that they had been told that pickets would be removed from their shops when they acceded to the following four demands:

- 1—Meat prices lowered 4c per pound.
- 2—Proprietors to pay \$2.00 a month dues and display a sign of the City Action Committee.
- 3—A donation to be made to the Freiheit and the Daily Worker.
- 4—Members of the Hebrew Butcher Workers' Union to be discharged, and in their place members of the Amalgamated Food Workers' Union to be hired.

Belsky also charged that a resolution had been introduced in the

MINNEAPOLIS.—Thomas E. Latimer, old-time Socialist, for many years Farmer-Labor party alderman in this city, was triumphantly elected Mayor Tuesday by a majority of 25,000.

With him were elected a complete Farmer-Labor city administration, including a majority of the City Council. Most of the elected officials are Socialists, some of them pioneers of the Socialist Party in the Mid-West.

Latimer, for many years state secretary of the Socialist Party in Minnesota, has been a Socialist for twenty-five years. He was a miner, and turned Socialist in his early youth, at a time he began to study law. For many years he has been associated with every important strike in Minneapolis on the side of the workers. He is one of the best-loved Socialists in the Middle West.

Among the elected officials is Arthur LeSueur, former member of the National Executive Committee and urged as a Socialist presidential candidate in 1916. LeSueur was elected to the Board of Education. He came into the Socialist Party with Eugene V. Debs nearly 40 years ago.

The Aldermen elected include Al G. Bastis, elected as a Socialist in 1914 and re-elected ever since, and A. I. Geffen and I. G. Scott, elected as Socialists 16 and 12 years ago, and regularly re-elected ever since.

The full city administration, all Farmer-Labor and mostly Socialist follows:

Mayor, Thomas E. Latimer.
Comptroller, Oscar Hall.
Treasurer, E. A. Russell.
Board of Estimate, Al. Hanson, Park Dept., Ed. A. Hendricks, 33rd District, Ed. Chaigner, 29th District, Dept. of Education, Mrs. Arthur Carlson, Arthur LeSueur.

Library Board: Myrtle Harris, Leila Witche Harding.

With the 7 Farmer Laborite holdovers in the City Council and the 7 elected Monday, Latimer will have 14 out of 26 to carry on his program.

City Action Committee to the effect that the strike was to include meat only, and exclude poultry. He said that the Salesman and Poultry Workers' Union although an A. F. of L. affiliate, is controlled by Communists.

A member of the Committee on the High Cost of Living, of which Comrade Esther Friedman is chairman, said a representative of the Poultry Workers' Union had come to her and said, "We'll support your strike if you don't strike against us. Then we can get the butcher workers."

No pickets were put in front of gentle butcher shops during the course of the "strike." Belsky said that workers in gentle shops were either unorganized, or organized in the Butcher Workers' Industrial Union, a Communist dual affiliate.

The Communist Daily Worker commenting editorially on the charges, said, "They claim that the City Action Committee against the High Cost of Living is demanding \$2 dues from union members. . . . These gentlemen lie." The charge in Belsky's statement is "Proprietors are to pay \$2 monthly dues."

In the same issue, in a "news" story, the Daily Worker says, "The City Action Committee said yesterday (Monday) that the organization had offered to assist the Butchers' Union [failing to say which Butchers' Union] in their fight for union wages and hours."

Labor Legislation Passed in N.Y. By Socialist and Union Pressure

By Pauline M. Newman

THE 1935 session of the New York Legislature adjourned April 17th. It is not, therefore, too late to review its actions insofar as they concern the wage-earners.

As I look back on past legislative sessions I cannot help concluding that this year's was one of the most constructive in its history. Its accomplishments will not meet with the approval of those who stand for "all or nothing," to be sure. But, then, those who stand by such a slogan do not approve of anything.

I maintain that even as Socialists we have reason to be glad that no less than three score bills, proposed and endorsed by the New York State Federation of Labor, have been enacted into law, every one of which will benefit the workers. Some of these bills have been before the Legislature year after year; and year after year they went down to defeat. Not so this year. When the 1935 Legislature adjourned we knew that we had secured in the labor bills that became law a solid foundation on which to build. It will depend entirely upon us as builders to complete the structure in a way that neither the Economic Council nor its allies—sometimes parading under the mask of religion or education—will be able to destroy it.

The reactionary industrialists did everything they could to prevent the legislators from taking any action on labor legislation. The old song of "this is not the time," and "if you pass this piece of legislation you will drive industry out of our State," was heard from the movement a labor bill was introduced. But in spite of their concerted effort labor secured the passage of its program.

It succeeded not because the 1935 members of the Legislature were better men and women than were their predecessors, but because of a more aggressive and more determined leadership of organized labor; because of a wide-awake public opinion in favor of labor and social legislation, and because of the cooperation of the New York State Department of Labor.

The excellent and tireless work of George Meany and John M. O'Hanlon of the State Federation of Labor, the cooperation of the Women's Trade Union League, the Committee on Labor Standards, the League of Women Voters, the Consumers' League, Abraham Lefkowitz of the Teachers' Union, Louis Waldman of the Socialist Party, Frieda S. Miller, director of the Division of Women in Industry and Minimum Wage of the State Department of Labor—all gave the best of their experience, knowledge

and ability to make the 1935 Legislature of New York count for the wage-earners of the State.

Unemployment Insurance
An unemployment insurance law is no longer a dream; it is a reality. One of the immediate demands of the Socialist party platform has been achieved. Years of Socialist agitation has, we believe, helped to direct public opinion toward accepting it as an instrument for minimizing the despair and suffering caused by unemployment.

There are some who think this law "bad"; while space prohibits describing it in detail, it is a fact that it has solid worth and is an enormous advance over past years. The Socialist party supported this bill before minor changes were made. Comrade Waldman appearing at the public hearing on this bill made a brilliant plea for its passage. A thunder of applause greeted him, and many non-Socialist men and women applauded the party and its brilliant spokesman.

Anti-Injunction Bill
Another bill which became law and to which the Socialist Party gave its whole-hearted support is the Anti-Injunction Act; as a matter of fact this law is practically based upon a model anti-injunction

bill prepared by State Chairman Louis Waldman, which has been described in these columns. It is one of the best laws of its kind in the country.

48-Hour Law for Women
The enactment into law of a straight 48-hour week for women in factories and mercantile establishments brings to an end an interesting chapter in the history of the Women's Trade Union League and other organization that began the good fight twenty-five years ago! I don't suppose many were thrilled when this law passed, for it is generally assumed that when the NRA came into being most women workers enjoyed a shorter working week. This is partly true. But there are still thousands of women throughout the State who work longer than 48 hours a week.

Industrial Home Work
Industrial home work has long been considered a menace by organized labor and, indeed, by all socially-minded people. It is the worst form of exploitation, frequently hidden under a mask of benevolence, especially during years of depression. Employers who pay home workers at the rate of from 2 to 5 cents an hour consider themselves benefactors. Are they not helping those unfortunate to keep body and soul alive? Are they not making it possible to keep the family together? Industrial home work is a curse not only upon organized labor but upon the community as a whole. But here again we find the Constitution of the State in the way. And until we change the Constitution, elimination of this evil is out of the question. Therefore, the amendment to the home work law which passed in the 1935 Legislature is definitely a

step in the direction toward its complete abolition.

Workmen's Compensation Law Still Further Improved
It seems safe to say that our Workmen's Compensation Law is one of the best if not the best in the country. When this law passed the Legislature some twenty-five years ago, it was not half as good as it now is. The improvements came with the years. Each year organized labor proposed amendments which when passed made the law more adequate, more just for the wage-earner—its chief beneficiary.

The amendments this year include:

1. The extension of the Workmen's Compensation Law to include all occupational diseases, as well as accidents.
2. Eradication of medical abuses, such as fee splitting and solicitation of the injured which have arisen in recent years.
3. The creation of a special State fund to assure beyond doubt the payment of all Workmen's Compensation Law claims.
4. Providing for regulated and free selection of competent doctors by the injured. (Heretofore, the injured had to accept the doctor selected by the employer.)

There are more amendments to this law which passed the Legislature making our Workmen's Compensation Law worthy of the effort that was put into it.

These are only a few of the highlights of a session remarkable largely for the results achieved by the indirect influence of the Socialists and unions outside. How much greater would the results have been if the workers were on the floor—not in the lobbies!

Utah Workers Betrayed By Democratic 'Friends'

By Murray E. King

SALT LAKE CITY.—Utah's last legislature has just furnished a striking demonstration of the fallacy of expecting anything for labor from either of the old political parties. The Republicans in the past have been so invariably anti-labor, that they were abandoned by Utah labor before the last state election and an alliance was formed between organized labor and the Democratic Party.

Never was labor's expectations so high. The Democratic Party had appeared to have wiped out its shady and shifty past by promulgating the New Deal. It was not the same party. A new era of progressive legislation was promised. Labor under the New Deal of the new Democratic Party was to get a new deal of its own. Hadn't President Roosevelt proved this in a hundred ways?

To argue against this labor attitude was to invite the resentment of the average member of organized labor in Utah.

Besides, the Democrats had unqualifiedly promised to put through the entire labor program. Upon the strength of this pledge organized labor helped the Democratic Party to elect an overwhelming majority in both branches of the legislature. Moreover, they elected a few trade union men to the legislature. Wasn't this proof enough of their sincerity?

New Deal Fruits

The legislature has met and adjourned. Practically only two items in labor's considerable legislative program were passed. One of them was vetoed by the Governor. The rest of the proposed measures were defeated.

The only measure that was enacted was ratification of the Child Labor Amendment. At first the House defeated it. Then overnight pressure was put on the House by the administration in Washington and the measure was taken up again and passed.

The Governor's bill, passed by both houses, to protect miners against coal mine explosions. The mine owners opposed this protec-

tion of human life because it would entail expenses and might reduce profits.

On the other hand, the great corporate interests, which the Democrats had so roundly berated when they were the minority party, came in for special favors and many bills bitterly opposed by organized labor were passed.

A peculiar shift of functions occurred. In previous Republican legislatures the Senate seemed to be the branch to which was assigned the function of defeating all progressive, popular and labor legislation which happened to get by the House.

For a considerable period the reactionary Republican Senate was blamed by the Democrats for every shortcoming of the state government. For the first time in the history of Utah a Democratic Senate was elected—not only a Democratic Senate, but a New Deal Senate. Now something wonderful and glorious for labor and for the whole people was going to happen.

Labor Holds Empty Bag
In the old Republican Senate was a certain Democratic member of the minority who made a fine record pushing progressive and labor bills, denouncing the corporations and condemning the Republicans. He was re-elected and made the leader of the now dominant Democratic faction. Now something was going to happen.

Something did happen which caused the organized workers to pinch themselves to see if they were awake. This great popular Democratic leader, who, by the way, is a professor from the University of Utah, almost immediately fulfilled the function of his Republican predecessor and his Democratic following suddenly became as reactionary as their Republican predecessors. Practically every labor and progressive measure passed was killed by these Democrats, just as such measures had been killed before by Republicans.

Labor is now wondering if the Senate has been assigned this duty of killing all progressive measures that get by the House, and if it makes no difference whether the Senate is Republican or Democratic.

Dear Friends:

WE APOLOGIZE to those who sent in Five Dollars' worth of subscriptions, either five at One Dollar a year or twenty at 25 cents for three months, and still have not received their copy of Sholom Asch's exciting novel "Three Cities". Our supply was exhausted within two weeks after initiation of the drive. Copies will be mailed to you in a few days — as soon as our order is filled.

The work of hundreds of our friends who responded to the drive has brought Socialist propaganda and education into the homes of thousands of American working men and women — through the new NEW LEADER.

We appeal to our friends who have not yet sent in their quota of Five Dollars in subscriptions — get into action today! Events in America are crashing along at lightning speed. A Socialist weapon of propaganda and education must be built to fight reaction in every city, town, and hamlet in the Nation. **THE NEW LEADER IS THAT WEAPON.**

We must build The New Leader into a daily. At present it is the leading Socialist and labor weekly in the United States. Get busy today. Our Special Summer drive ends July 30th. Remember! \$5.00 in subscriptions brings to you, FREE, a copy of the year's best seller "Three Cities".

Fraternally yours,

THE NEW LEADER.
S. M. Levitas, Manager

Men think of **CRAWFORD** when they think of **SPORT CLOTHES**

It's a sensational Crawford season!

THAT'S why Crawford sales figures show a 70% increase! And the increase shows the public's approval of Crawford Custom Quality Sport Clothes.

Luxurious white GABARDINES and Doeskins	\$18.75
Soft-textured white Shellands, unbelievable value	\$18.75
Lustrous GABARDINE Sport Suits in blues, browns, grays, greens and pastels, verified \$35 value	\$18.75
Custom Quality air-cooled Tropicals	\$18.75
White Cruise Cloth* Suits	\$11.75
Suits of genuine Imported Linen	\$11.75

*Exclusive Crawford Creation

\$18.75 No Charge for Alterations

REGULAR AND HARD-TO-FIT SIZES TO 52

Odd Sport Jackets	\$10.75
Sanforized (woven) Slacks	\$2.00
Flannel Trousers	\$5.00
Doeskin Trousers	\$6.50

CRAWFORD
CUSTOM *Quality* CLOTHES

STYLED BY D'AMBROSIO

NEW YORK: 826 Broadway, Cor. 12th St.; 841 Broadway, Cor. 13th St.; 100 5th Ave., Cor. 13th St.; 1282 Broadway, Cor. 33rd St.; 462 7th Ave., Cor. 35th St.; 663 8th Ave., Cor. 57th St.; 152 E. 66th St., N.Y. Lexington Ave.; 115 W. 125th St., N.Y. Lenox Ave.; 1591 St. Nicholas Ave., N.Y. 180th St.

BROOKLYN: 467 Fulton St., Cor. Lawrence St.; 90 Flatbush Ave., N.Y. Schermerhorn St.; 1700 Pitkin Ave., N.Y. Rockaway Ave.; 1512 Pitkin Ave., N.Y. Loew's Pitkin Th.; 1622 Pitkin Ave., N.Y. Hopkinson Ave.; 26 Manhattan Ave., N.Y. Varot St.

BRONX: 10 E. Fordham Rd., N.Y. Jerome Ave.; 340 E. Fordham Rd., N.Y. K'bridge Rd.; 378 E. Fordham Rd., N.Y. Webster St.; 526 Willis Ave., N.Y. 149th St.

JAMAICA: 168-05 Jamaica Ave., Cor. 169th St.; At the End of the "L", Jamaica, L. I.

NEWARK: 94 Market St., Cor. Washington St.

JERSEY CITY: 4 Journal Square; 317 Central Ave., Cor. Griffith St.

ALL STORES OPEN EVENINGS
Other Crawford Stores in Boston and Philadelphia

OPEN SUNDAY

The following Crawford Stores are open on Sunday:
841 Broadway, 826 Broadway, 26 Manhattan Ave., 1700 Pitkin Ave., 1622 Pitkin Ave., 1512 Pitkin Ave.

TO THE 'LIBERAL' NATION

By J. Baskin
General Secretary of the Workmen's Circle

The Nation, a "liberal" weekly, carried in its June 5th issue a caustic attack on the Socialist Party by Benjamin Stolberg, who seems to be neither to the right nor to the left but very much in between. In his article he stopped long enough to deliver a gentle kick at the Workmen's Circle as an organization occupied for the most part in "bitter denunciation of Stalin."

As General Secretary of the Workmen's Circle, I immediately replied to Stolberg, but the "liberal" Nation, which on alternate Wednesdays flaunts its liberalism and parlor-Communism, has thus far found reason to refrain from printing it.

The letter follows:
Mr. Benjamin Stolberg, who in his judgments on the Socialist Party assumes a pontifical air from whom there can be no secrets, evidently deems it important to take a jab at the Workmen's Circle, the great Jewish Fraternal Order having a membership of 70,000 in the United States and Canada. This is what Mr. Stolberg says, by way of an appendage to the general tenor of his article: "Another powerful Socialist auxiliary is the Workmen's Circle, a Jewish workmen's benevolent society whose energies are also expended mostly in bitter denunciation of Stalin as a fascist."

I was under the impression, and if I am wrong I'd like to be corrected, that the doings of an organization are known to the public by its official acts, published statements, and the decisions of its governing bodies. I would therefore

like to ask Mr. Stolberg when and what act did the Workmen's Circle as a body denounce the Soviet Union or slander its leaders? To say that the Workmen's Circle is "expending its energies in bitter denunciation of Stalin" is, to put it mildly, the malicious statement of a man who is in fundamental ignorance of the purposes and activities of the Workmen's Circle.

Far from spending its energies on trivial political squabbles, it is exerting them for the betterment of the conditions of its membership and the laboring masses generally. The Workmen's Circle is an inter-party organization where adherents of every wing of the labor and radical movements have the freedom to advocate their special brand of economic and political thought so long as their activity does not deliberately react to the harm of the organization.

I can hardly understand Mr. Stolberg's purpose in dragging the Workmen's Circle into the net of Socialist organizations for his caustic and oh-so-sophisticated attack. His spurious attack is merely words, hostile words, without base or foundation. It is to be hoped that the readers of the Nation will see behind their malice.

Unity House Opens June 21

The opening festivities of Unity House, summer resort of the I.L.G.W.U., ordinarily a gala event, will take on added color this year because of the new buildings erected since last year's fire.

The reopening of the seventeenth summer season will take place the week-end beginning Friday, June 21. The rates are \$7.50 in the old buildings and \$8.00 in the new. There is a special low bus rate of \$3.25 for the round trip.

Social Democrats Regain Control in Massachusetts

(Continued from Page One)

up with the election of the necessary convention committees and speeches by fraternal delegates. Speeches were made by Albert Sprague Coolidge on behalf of the N.E.C., Frank Fenton, general organizer of the A. F. of L. for the Boston C.L.U., Joseph Greenfield, of the Chelsea Labor Lyceum; Max Hamlin of the Workmen's Circle, and Morris Hurwitz of the Colt strike committee. The size of the convention made it necessary to move to the American House for the Sunday session.

Organization plans include the addition of an assistant secretary to take office management from the shoulders of the secretary, endorsement of the Vanguard, establishment of a Labor Committee, creation of a legislative committee and the establishment of study classes wherever locals exist.

A considerable part of Sunday's session was taken up by the adoption of a revised state constitution.

By a unanimous vote the convention adopted as the basis for a new Declaration of Principles to be adopted by the next national convention a revision of sections upon which there has been violent disagreement, a revision by a committee consisting of comrades in the state who voted for and against the Declaration. It was decided to send the revised Declaration for support to party organizations in

other states.

A resolution of the party press was unanimously adopted which calls for the setting up of a committee to make plans for the publishing of a party paper in Massachusetts, pending which the state office is to send news of party activities to The New Leader and other papers.

A state executive committee of the following was elected: Albert Sprague Coolidge of Cambridge, Leslie Richards of Holyoke, Louis Epstein of Worcester, Sylvester McBride of Boston, John Suominen of Fitchburg, William Connors of New Bedford, Joseph Bearak and Leon Arkin of Boston, Thomas Nicolson of Lawrence, Savele Syrala of Arlington, and Max Hamlin of Boston. The alternates in order of their vote received are as follows: Louis Marcus of Boston, John Hall and Joseph Massidda of Lynn, Powers Hapgood of Brookfield, Dan Downey of Methuen, and Toivo Hannula of Gardner. The committee is overwhelmingly "old guard" in make-up.

Comrade Alfred Baker Lewis was unanimously re-elected state secretary.

Before the convention adjourned Comrades William N. Revo representing the "old guard" and Glen Trimble the "young guard" spoke briefly, expressing their pleasure over the harmonious and constructive convention, hoping the delegates would return to their locals to work for Socialism harder than ever before.

Comrade Coolidge presided at the Saturday session while Comrade Leslie Richards of Holyoke presided Sunday and Comr. Louis Marcus, veteran Boston Socialist, was vice-chairman. Comrades Ann Kimball and Dave Boynick served as secretaries.

Published every Saturday by The New Leader Publishing Association, 7 E. 15th St., New York City; Tel. ALgonquin 4-4622. Entered as Second Class Matter, January 19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
1 Year, New York City Edition, \$2.00
1 Year, National Edition, \$1.00
1 Year to Foreign Countries, \$2.00
1 Year to Canada, \$2.00

Party Crisis Grows Acute as Socialists Strive To Save the Organization from Disruption

Maneuvers of the Left Wing To "Get" New York Exposed; Thomas Leads Factional Crew

Amazing, Undemocratic and Contradictory Motions in National Executive Committee Directed Against New York State Organization in Desperate Efforts to Capture Control in Violation of N.E.C.'s Own Buffalo Decision—Factionalism Run Mad.

By James Oneal

WITH great reluctance The New Leader is again compelled to give attention to the crisis confronting the Socialist Party. New York State is not alone affected, as a review of what has happened in a number of states shows. That review will be found in another article in this issue.

This review may be supplemented by a letter which Norman Thomas sent to a number of his friends last February, excerpts of which appeared in the daily organ of the Communist Party last Saturday. He makes the humiliating confession that "We are rapidly losing in many parts of the country in the political field to Long, to Dr. Townsend, to Upton Sinclair, and God knows who else."

That is to say, the Socialism of Norman Thomas and his militant and Communist friends in the party is losing to these mountebanks. Their Socialism has had the field on a national scale. It appears in the literature published by the National Office and in the agitation of Thomas himself who has toured the country again and again. The "Socialism" that crumbles before Long, Townsend and Sinclair is a "Socialism" that is revealed as worthless. It is a "Socialism" that has splintered the crackpot Communist splinters to enter the party with tragic consequences that are all too obvious to real Socialists.

"American" Socialism

It is this kind of "Socialism" which the National Executive Committee seeks to impose on New York State. It is the kind that has brought almost collapse of the party vote and membership in New Jersey. It is the kind that threatens some other states. It is the kind that has brought paralysis of party activities as Thomas admits in the same letter from which we quote. Curiously enough, although Thomas and his allies have control of the national administration, he declares that the "right wing in New York" is responsible for this general decline of the party and its activities. A report from the National Office last April on the national drive fund shows that in states where his militant crowd controls the heavy decline of contributions is the same in these states as in all others. Certainly, New York State has had no power to prevent these states from making a record.

The fact is that the "American" Socialism that emerged in the national convention of 1932 with Thomas leading the fight to remove the "European born" Hillquit as National Chairman, has reached the end of its tether. In the National Executive Committee in the past few months it has also staged the most amazing actions ever recorded in the history of the party executive. These actions have been mainly directed against New York and in review they present a sorry picture of incompetence, often compounded of malice and an itching desire for undisputed "leadership."

At the Buffalo meeting of the N.E.C. New York State had been summoned to appear and "show cause" why the state charter should not be revoked. The N.E.C. was prosecutor and as such the N.E.C. was required to "show cause" why the charter should be revoked. Instead of trying to prove New York guilty of some offense, New York was summoned to prove itself innocent! This reversed the judicial process followed even by capitalist courts and New York refused to recognize such a summons.

The Stage Properties

The stage was set to take away the charter. A paper of a dual organization in the party in New York City had been started and that organization was ready to fall heir to the state organization. The militants went to Buffalo in force and expected to benefit by the split which the majority of the N.E.C. would effect by revoking the charter. Threats of a membership re-

ferendum if the charter was revoked stayed the hands of the majority of the N.E.C. The latter would not tolerate revoking the charter of the strongest state organization in the country. Moreover, this drastic action would have its repercussions in many states and the majority of the N.E.C. feared the outcome.

Therefore, a document of nine points was framed and sent to New York with the request that the State Committee make a reply within six weeks. The reply was made on May 5. From party members in many states came letters commending the tolerant and objective character of this reply. It seemed that an era of good feeling would follow. Nothing was in order but a meeting of the N.E.C. to consider the reply.

Some weeks later Hoan joins Thomas in two motions, one stating that the reply "leaves the basic issues unsettled and cannot be accepted as satisfactory" and raising other questions not contained in the nine-point Buffalo statement. It also provided for the appointment of a special committee of three for an inquiry into New York party affairs. The second motion was amazing. It picked the committee which was to consist of Devere Allen of Connecticut as chairman; M. V. Leof, Philadelphia, and William F. Queik of Wisconsin.

In voting against the two motions the writer pointed out that the procedure was unfair, unparliamentary and a travesty on party democracy. Nothing was in order but a hearing on the reply of New York.

(Continued on Page Four)

Thomas Confesses His Socialism Decays Before Demagogic Critics!

Last February, Norman Thomas sent a letter to some "leaders" of the Socialist Party which Earl Browder, high commissar of the Communist Party, quoted in a speech to his party members. The speech appears in the Daily Worker of June 8. Thomas makes the humiliating admission that the Socialist Party under the administration of his faction is decaying and that his kind of Socialism cannot withstand the assaults of demagogues like Huey Long, Dr. Townsend and Upton Sinclair. Here are extracts from the Thomas letter:

The Thomas Admission

It looks as if we had escaped or delayed a split only to fall a victim of paralysis. With a few shining exceptions practically everywhere the party is losing, not gaining morale.

Already to an AMAZING EXTENT, we have lost what I may call the cultural field to the Communists in spite of their appalling mistakes. We are RAPIDLY LOSING in many parts of the country in the political field to Long, Dr. Townsend, to Upton Sinclair, and GOD KNOWS WHO ELSE.

Among other things, as chairman of the Finance Committee, I find it is a virtual impossibility to raise money from friendly sources because of the general belief that we are dead or dying.

Unconscious Humor

The New Jersey State Committee, after devoting an entire session throwing active Branches and Locals out of the party, passed the following motion: "Moved to elect a committee to analyze reasons for slump in party activities. Carried."

Yipsels of Left Move Closer to Communism

THE Yipsel situation in New York City would require a volume to cover adequately. There isn't an old disease of the Socialist movement since the organization of the First International that it does not have.

Last April eleven New York Yipsels led by David Atkins and Julius Bertman issued a manifesto announcing that they were joining the Trotsky organization and its Spartacus Youth League. James P. Cannon, commissar of the Trotskyists, was announced to speak at a meeting in this manifesto and Yipsels were invited to attend. Exit one group of crackpots!

The latest eruption in the Yipsels is a four-page document signed by fourteen Yipsels which shows how crackpots can reason themselves into madness. It is in part similar to a program outlined by City Organizer Retzkin in the Socialist Call. The untitled "revolutionists" present "Principles of Revolutionary Socialism" and a program of "Organization." They give the final word on how to "seize power," how to forge the "weapons" to get it, what they are going to do after they drink their bowl of blood, and completely settle all other problems of the past, present and future.

Of course, the Bolshevik revolution weighs heavily on their brains. So they are going to set up "workers' councils" to meet the expected attack of the "armed forces of the state." They will carry on their blood-curdling attack "outside of and directed against the capitalist state." Yes, they will "organize the masses of workers and armed forces for the armed overthrow of the capitalist state." Then comes the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Have a shudder with us!

These crackpots do not need education, so they announce to the world that "we must shift our emphasis away from MERE educational and electoral propaganda." Organization is to be restricted to picked miners and sappers and all members must be "instantly available at call" to the "leaders and organizers." This is to be the "vanguard" that will be the "revolutionizing, guiding, initiating, conscious" factor to "give leadership

N.E.C. Probers Arrive in N. Y. To Investigate the Party As Browder Throws Off Mask

Communist Leader Admits Alliance with Militants in the Socialist Party!

Earl Browder, high commissar of the Communist Party, made a speech last May to his faithful which is reprinted in the Daily Worker, June 8. Browder openly referred to the work of Communists in building a "left wing" in the Socialist Party and of the necessity of his allies remaining in the Socialist Party to keep developing this "left wing." We reprint below an extract from the Browder speech. What have our party members to say of this Communist conspiracy in our party?

Browder's Statement

We want to BUILD A STRONG LEFT WING in the Socialist Party, influence its development. We don't want to draw out from the S. P. individuals in small groups. It is of no particular use to us that individuals leave the S. P., even if they announce they are going to enter the C. P. This tends to demoralize the struggle inside the Socialist Party. It creates the suspicion that we are interested ONLY in breaking up the S. P.

Those drawn out of the S. P. are not the basic workers who we want with us. Those basic elements we will have to take in great chunks.

in all phases of the class struggle.

The above is a short digest of the tripe which is typical of the crackpot trends in the New York Yipsels with which the party has had to deal for a year or more. What new stew they will serve we do not know, but this is the thing that Norman Thomas nurses regardless of its effect upon the movement as a whole. He may compromise with it but New York Socialists will not yield a single inch to these infantile fevers.

Stalin Henchman Reveals Communist Conspiracy to Demoralize and Destroy Socialist Party Through Plants and Stoolpigeons—Hails Assistance of Left-Wing Elements in Pushing United Front Maneuvers—Cites Help of Powers Hapgood.

THE mask has been thrown off. The Communist Party, through Earl Browder, official spokesman of the Kremlin in Union Square, now openly admits what has long been suspected.

The devastating internal warfare in the Socialist party is a deliberate plant of the Communist party for its own purposes! The well-meaning "militants," wrangling over such vital matters as who changed the lock on the door of the Yipsel office, are now revealed in the embarrassing role of dupes of the Communists whom they thought they were fighting.

The warfare within the Socialist party was planned by the Communist party as a maneuver, and countless well-intentioned though chuckle-headed "militants" fell for it. As they fight over the countless tremendous trifles in New York and California, in Jersey City and Detroit, in Hartford and Boston, they are doing the work of Earl Browder and his gang, and doubtless Browder and his commissars are laughing uproariously at the spectacle—that is, assuming that a Communist can ever laugh.

By a curious coincidence, on the very day the New York organization of the Socialist Party learned that a smelting committee had been designated to "investigate" certain high crimes and misdemeanors (referred to in the columns below) the Daily Worker (June 8) carried as a full page article an encyclical by His Holiness Earl Browder for the edification of his faithful followers, in which it is stated in so many words that "We want to build a strong left-wing in the So-

cialist Party; influence its development."

Responsible officers of the Socialist Party had before them the latest motions of the National Executive Committee that had as their apparent object the maintenance of continued fratricidal warfare, and the official Communist admission that it had all along been a Communist "maneuver" to keep the Socialist Party in turmoil using the "United Front" as a means to the end; indeed, Commissar Browder mentions by name as one who cooperated in such united fronts a member of the Socialist Party's Nat'l Exec. Comm. who has cast affirmative votes on every motion that has kept the party in constant turmoil; that member is Powers Hapgood.

Browder's statement is long, dull and stupid, but then, it is a Communist document; but it spills more beans to the square version than any previous Communist document. For its complacency, its arrogance and its smugness it can be matched only by other Communist documents. But few make so many damaging admissions in so short a space.

A private letter sent by Norman Thomas to some of his "militant" friends discussing party matters quite naturally fell into Browder's hands, and he comments: "Of course, comrades, we would be making a big mistake if we would make the same conclusions as Thomas does, that the S. P. is dead and dying, and think we have only to sit back and watch it die. IT IS NOT SO SIMPLE AS NORMAN THOMAS THINKS." (The emphasis is ours but the English is Browder's.)

To match the amazing arrogance of that statement one would have to go back to the lamented Gregory Zinoviev. Whether or not Norman Thomas wanted the party to die is a matter he must settle with his own conscience and his own friends, BUT BY THAT STATEMENT, EARL BROWDER, RESPONSIBLE COMMUNIST OFFICIAL, ASSUMES THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR CONTRIBUTING TO A HOPEFUL-DEARLY DEMISE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

Only One Choice

We are charitable to most "militants" and assume they do not know they have been dupes of the Communist strategy. THERE IS NO LONGER ANY EXCUSE FOR THEM. They must line up either with the Socialist Party or with the Communist wreckers. THERE IS NO OTHER CHOICE.

Elsewhere in this issue is told the story of the amazing maneuvers of the National Executive Committee that have no meaning except as they can be interpreted as deliberate disruption, deliberate wrecking; elsewhere is told the story of the wreckage of the Socialist Party in state after state WHENEVER THE SO-CALLED MILITANTS HAVE GAINED CONTROL WITH THEIR POLITICAL ALLIES OF THE COMMUNIST R.P.C. That story has no meaning, it makes no sense, unless studied in connection with the Browder revelations.

Browder boasts of the success of the United Front maneuver in Cleveland, where the National Chairman of the Socialist Party speaks at a May Day meeting with an official Communist. He does not add—that is reported on another page—that the united front with the wreckers spelled the end (temporary, we are confident) of the cordial relations of our party with the organized workers. He boasts of the cooperation in United Fronts with Powers Hapgood, but he does not add that Hapgood has been one of the most uncompromising foes in the Socialist Party of those things that would lead to harmony and party unity.

"At this moment," says Browder, "we must give the most emphasis to a concentrated drive to win the Socialist Party members to the United Front, to bring the Socialist Party officially into a general united front."

(Continued on Page Four)

N. Y. Declines to Deal With Probe Committee

State Executive Committee's Reply Challenges Jurisdiction of National Executive Committee Before Answer Filed on Buffalo Nine-Point Program Has Been Considered—Whole Procedure Resented

New York State Executive Committee to the National Executive Committee:

Dear Comrades:—We have just learned that by a majority vote your committee has decided to "investigate" New York State and has selected a committee for that purpose.

We have also learned with amazement the contents of the three motions that were adopted. A fourth motion by Comrade Daniel W. Hoan, which sought the selection of a fair committee, was defeated.

We were not aware that New York State was under charges before the N.E.C. No notice of any charges was ever served upon us. No opportunity for the submission of any answer to charges was ever given to us. This simple procedure is elementary, and is an indispensable procedure even in the courts of what the majority of the N.E.C. is pleased to consider "bogus democracy."

Your statement of March 24th, 1935, adopted at your Buffalo meeting, suggested nine points upon which you stated harmony might be established. You desired New York State to advise you whether those nine points could serve as such basis.

The New York State Committee on May 5th officially adopted and forwarded to you its statement with respect to your nine points, indicating as to each of the points what had been done and what it is further possible to do not only by New York State but by the N.E.C. to restore harmony and unity in the party as a whole.

The membership of the party not only in New York but throughout the country hailed our statement as a truly comradely approach towards the solution of the party's unfortunate situation created by irresponsible factional groups, to which some members of

the N.E.C., have, we regret to say, given aid and comfort. If that answer is not to the taste of some of the members of the N.E.C., the remedy does not lie in the automatic and illegal step taken by a majority of your members in the adoption of the three motions to "investigate" New York by a hand-picked committee.

This step of yours is in violation not only of the party constitution but of your own resolution adopted at your Buffalo meeting which states, "Upon failure of the respective groups substantially to comply or reach agreement along these lines within the time specified, and upon receipt of formal charges from any branch or local in New York State, notice of said charges and a hearing thereon at a special meeting of the National Executive Committee at the earliest practicable date will immediately be given."

You will note that the statement adopted by yourselves after long and full deliberation with opportunity for mutual consultation provided, first, for the receipt of charges "from any branch or local in New York State"; second, for the service of notice of such charges; third, for "a hearing thereon"; that is, on such charges, and finally, that such hearing would be held "before a special meeting of the National Executive Committee."

It would seem that you should have respect for your own decision recently made. New York state had a right to rely upon that decision. Must we assume that there is no good faith even when you make a formal decision with respect to New York? In violating the procedure laid down in your own decision could breach of faith go further?

Where are the charges against the state of New York? Who preferred them? Why was not

notice of such charges served upon New York State? And why is no opportunity given New York to answer such charges if they exist?

Is the anxiety of some members of the N.E.C. to wreck the New York organization so great as to make them impatient of the processes even of the machinery they themselves set up? And have all safeguards under the National Constitution been swept away under "militant" rule?

Your present procedure is on a par with your motion to order New York State to "show cause" why its charter should not be revoked, a motion you were compelled to abandon in the name of decency.

The motion made by Norman Thomas to instruct the committee to be created to "investigate" New York on "additional" matters, including that of Local New York's May Day demonstration, shows the utter hypocrisy of the entire investigation. He himself was a speaker at the May Day demonstration arranged by Local New York and the labor unions of that city. He highly praised the demonstration and publicly pretended to approve of it. Now he seeks to convert that into a charge of misconduct against Local New York.

Accuser Picks Judges!

May we remind you that it is customary in democratically-run organizations that the accuser is not permitted also to pick the judges. Not so with your N.E.C. If Norman Thomas chooses to charge misconduct against New York he is privileged to do so, but he may not at the same time select the investigators or the judges of New York. The pretense that this committee is only to inquire into the facts and to report them to the N.E.C. is no justification for hand-picking its members. It is the same as to permit one party to a controversy to select his referee to take

the facts and report to the court. It is obvious that a fact-finding committee has an unlimited choice in the selection of facts, in the omission of others, in the convenient arrangement of "facts," in the coloring and distorting of evidence. A fact-finding committee that is not objective and impartial, particularly in matters of party controversy, cannot be dignified as being fact-finding. It is more in the nature of a lynching party or whitewash committee, as the case may be. In this case the committee was selected to do a job for the "militants."

Let there be any mistake that the selection of the committee was intended to be partial, one-sided and factional we desire to call your attention to Norman Thomas' statement accompanying his motion naming his committee and in opposition to Comrade Hoan's motion, which called for a committee to consist of a representative of New York State, a representative of the N.E.C. and a third selected by the two. Thomas stated that if Hoan's motion was adopted and his own hand-picked committee defeated, then he would record his vote against any investigation at all. In other words, Thomas wanted an investigation only if his own committee could do the investigating.

Such an "investigation" is a farce, and New York State will not be a party to it.

Oppose Gang Methods

We demand that you immediately recall this so-called "investigation." If there are any charges against New York we demand that you serve a copy of such charges upon us. Give us a reasonable opportunity to answer them, and we will be ready for a hearing before any impartial tribunal.

We will not permit the "militant" faction to gang New York.

We are confident the decent

members of the Socialist party are behind us in our demand for democracy within our own party.

It is astounding that in times so grave to the entire labor movement, so fraught with possibilities for constructive and intelligent work among the masses the "militant" majority on your committee find only time for destructive work the effect of which can only be the wrecking of the Socialist party. You seem to have neither time nor energy nor a program for the constructive work of Socialism of which there is so crying a need today.

You have complete control of the National organization. You have real opportunities for building the party, were you so minded, did you possess the capacity, and took the time to apply yourselves to the task. In any constructive program for the building of the party or the service of the labor movement, New York like the other organized states, would be ready to offer all its resources and its fullest cooperation.

While failing the party in this critical moment you are at the same time hindering whatever constructive work the New York state organization is ready to undertake by annoying and harassing the organization with senseless and futile motions, charges and investigations.

The State Executive Committee will continue, despite the handicaps you have created, to do its Socialist work and carry on the affairs of the Socialist party of New York. It will refuse to submit to your farcical "investigation" before the Thomas hand-picked committee. It declines to be diverted from its task.

Fraternalty yours,
State Executive Committee.
By Herbert M. Merrill,
State Secretary.

Left Wing Covers States with Party Wreckage

By William M. Feigenbaum

THE Detroit convention was held just a little over a year ago. Its decisions were to start a new stream of new members into the party and revivify Socialism in America. A National Executive Committee was elected composed largely of "new" elements who would turn their backs on the "fossilized" policies of the past and bring about "Socialism in our time."

Those roseate hopes have not been fulfilled. For over a year the "new" leadership has kept the Socialist Party in turmoil. Four meetings of the National Executive Committee—in Detroit, Milwaukee, Boston and Buffalo—have spent the major portion of their time on factional matters, arising out of the "new" leadership. But the correspondence of the N.E.C. has been devoted not to planning and organizing Socialist work, but to the internal situation injected into the party by this "new" leadership.

Party work in the entire country is virtually at a standstill. In every part of the country the membership is going down, and in some states the party lies in ruins. Wherever there has been a strong party organization, wherever the prospects for Socialist work seemed promising, wherever the organized working masses appeared to be responsive to the Socialist message, there the "new" leadership took a hand and endeavored to lead the party to "Socialism in our time." And wherever they have succeeded in gaining considerable influence, or control of the state organization, the result has been paralysis, collapse and ruin of party prospects.

Whether or not there is a connection between that "new" leadership and the openly avowed purpose of the Communist Party, as frankly stated by Earl Browder, Stalin's Commissar to Union Square, "to build a strong left-wing in the Socialist Party, influence its development . . ." must be left to others to figure out.

Herewith is presented an account of the "progress" toward "Socialism in our time" in a number of the states since the "new leadership" took control.

NEW JERSEY

Socialism has always found fertile soil in New Jersey, and even in the earliest days of the movement there were strong organizations in Newark and Hudson County. Almost wholly working class in character the party grew steadily, entirely under "old guard" leadership, until in 1932, when 42,998 votes were cast for Norman Thomas for President, the all-time high-water mark in that state. Not only in votes, but in influence, in respect, in public esteem in the labor movement Socialism had grown to impressive stature in that state.

About two years ago the "militant" element got control of the state organization, with Eric Ross as state secretary. The old-timers, tolerant of differences of opinion and eager to win new active elements, were willing and eager to cooperate with the "new" leadership.

There is room here for only a bare outline of what has occurred in that state, but it is sufficient to give an indication of what is going on in the party.

A state convention was held December 8 and 9, 1934, and the "militant" controlled state committee voted to invite a "keynote" speaker from the outside. By a majority of one vote the committee selected as "keynote" Murray Baron over B. C. Vladeck. At that convention the R.P.C.-"militant" alliance showed its hand and virtually declared open war upon the Social Democratic elements in the party.

Just prior to the convention New Jersey had become a base of operations for Communists within the Socialist Party working against the Socialists of New York. Ben Gitlow, who applied for Socialist Party membership without renouncing his Communism, was rejected in New York but accepted as a member in Essex County (although living in New York). Also admitted in New Jersey was Irving Brown, rejected as a Communist in New York, whose wife is secretary to Jay Lovestone. Brown is a member of the R.P.C., and in the publication of that bizarre organization it was announced that he had been "assigned" to work in that state and that he had been given a "column" in the New Jersey state paper, the New View—of which more anon. Many Yipsels and "militants" have charged that Brown is one of the Communist plants within the Socialist Party.

The R.P.C.-"militant" alliance likewise "captured" Essex County, including Newark and the outside towns in which Gitlow and the other Communists secured membership. Their methods would make a peculiar story, for which there is no room here, they had long held Camden. The stage was set for their "putsch," and it was not long before it began.

Years ago Henry Jager had started a little personal sheet for

New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, California Organizations in Ruins---Oregon Is Driven From Party---Drive Launched to Demoralize Fine Connecticut Organization---Record of Incompetence and Failure---Party Grows Only Where "Militants" Have Been Kept From Control---Picture of Factional Destruction Revealed

Socialist propaganda called the New View. He had induced the state organization to take it over, and it has been published as a monthly in Camden. Last summer the "militants" tentatively decided to take over the New View, bringing it to Newark, turn it into a weekly and use it as their organ to fight The New Leader. Later Norman Thomas in the N.E.C. had a motion passed to "study" the New View with a view of making it a "regional" paper—whatever that means. But the "militants" started their own sheet and left the Camden R.P.C.'ers holding the bag. The Ross organization thereupon started a drive to get some money for the New View and convert it into a weekly, presumably in opposition to the New York factional sheet as well as The New Leader.

Their plan was a grandiose raffle, with prizes somewhat on the order (although not of the magnitude) of the Irish sweepstakes. On March 4th, Ross and another member of the state committee appeared at a meeting of the Hudson County Committee with several hundred raffle books. The county voted not to participate in the raffle, giving as their reasons the nature of the raffle itself, the possibility of legal difficulties with the post office, and the fact that they were with The New Leader and did not care to convert the New View into a competing weekly.

Six days later, without a hearing or trial, the state committee suspended the Hudson County charter, and it has since been revoked.

Local Hudson County is one of the finest in the country, with close ties with the labor movement; indeed, the May Day meeting this year was held under the joint auspices of the central labor body

and the party, with James Oneal as chief speaker. It has carried on splendid Socialist work, and it has a long and honorable tradition of Socialist education. But it declined to support a raffle, and it is out of the party!

Branch 3 of the Jewish Verband, a Newark branch 38 years old, the backbone of the Newark movement, was likewise "suspended," the suspension being lifted only after a county meeting at which the members were prevented from voting on the county officers for the forthcoming year.

Twelve to eighteen more branches are slated for suspension.

The Essex County meeting broke up in a riot after the suspended (later reinstated) Verband members were barred from voting. Ben Gitlow, now a good-standing member of the party (thanks to Ross' Irvington branch) shouted "Throw him out!" when George H. Goebel tried to speak in a meeting of the local with which he has been honorably associated for thirty-five years.

Goebel Suspended

Goebel himself, for many years member of the N.E.C., one of the founders of the Socialist Party, the man who first carried the message of Socialism under the Arctic Circle into Alaska—George H. Goebel, who has made more Socialist literature, sold more Socialists than any man in the United States, is suspended from the party. And for what? For selling The New Leader at a meeting in Newark!

That is not all. Now as to May Day in Newark. The Essex Trades Council voted for the first time in its history to hold a May Day parade and meet-

ing, indicating its willingness to cooperate with the party, but not with the Communists. In connection with that a meeting was arranged by Branch 3 with Charles Solomon as speaker.

Less than a week before May Day, Newark was plastered with posters announcing a "United Front" May Day meeting with Communist speakers and Ross as chairman not far from the place where the Socialists were holding their previously arranged meeting at the same time. The Daily Worker later printed a picture of Ross shaking hands with Communist spokesmen at that meeting. The effect upon the labor movement has been disastrous. Earl Browder has hailed that "United Front" as a "victory." The result has been that unions have announced that they will have no more to do with a party of double-crossers.

In 1932 Thomas polled 42,998 votes. Two years later, after two years of "militant" control, the state vote was about 8,800.

CONNECTICUT

The party has stood solid as a rock against disruption in this state, where Socialism has made such wonderful progress. By special agreement with the "militants" the issue has never been permitted to intrude in party work. As a result there has been a harmonious party, doing constructive work, in complete control of Bridgeport and with three Senators and two Assemblymen. The party works in close affiliation with the labor movement and in the legislature our five members have done excellent work.

The result is that Communist disruption has not been able to get to first base.

But the Communists need a "united front" (Commissar Browder says so!) and to get a "united front" the solid unity of the party must be smashed.

The opportunity came a few days ago. The State Committee instructed the legislators to oppose the sales tax. But after the decision of the State Committee the bills in the two houses were changed in form, and if the Socialists had voted against the sales tax they would by that same vote have voted against any relief for the jobless. They were confronted by a situation that they faced (properly) by voting for relief of the jobless (at the same time being compelled to vote for the sales tax, which they had long opposed).

That was all the "militants" needed. Charges were filed against the five, and a motion made to expel the three Senators and two Assemblymen from the party. Just what was wanted to demoralize the party and destroy the magnificent work thus far accomplished . . . and to continue the march of the "new" Socialism in the United States.

A motion was made to have Local Bridgeport try the five members and, if found guilty, to censure or expel them. This was defeated and Devere Allen moved that the matter be referred to the N.E.C. for "investigation."

It is reported that after the five members of the legislature left the meeting, Allen tried to have the actions reconsidered. This was defeated. It is said that a move is being made to send the dispute to a referendum. This report of what has occurred is provisional and The New Leader awaits more definite information.

Fortunately, the State Committee defeated the motion . . . but the

seed has been sown. By deliberate action of the "militant" faction the harmony of the party has been impaired in Connecticut. For what purpose? For whose benefit?

OHIO

The Socialist Party has always been strong in Ohio. Long before the war there was a powerful movement in Cleveland and in the other industrial cities; many of the leading members of the labor movement were party members, and important unions worked in the closest harmony with the party. The party in Ohio was always predominantly proletarian in character.

Even before the war Socialists carried many of the Ohio cities, while Cleveland, Toledo, Cincinnati, Ashtabula, Akron and other great cities had Socialist Councilmen and other officials. As long ago as 1912 (without women voting) Ohio gave Debs 90,144 votes. The movement was largely smashed by the war terror, followed by Communist disruption, Charles E. Ruthenberg using Cleveland as his base of wrecking operations.

During the years that followed old-time Socialists joined hands with newcomers in the movement to rebuild the party. It was slow, painful work. In 1928 Norman Thomas received 8,683 votes in that state, but by 1932 the party had so far recovered that his vote was 64,094.

Largely under the leadership of the old-timer Sidney Yellen, there was real progress in rebuilding. Members of the labor movement were drawn into sympathetic association with the party. Comrade Yellen as state secretary was always able to get enough money—largely from trade union sources—to keep the party machinery going, and he succeeded in building that

spirit of cooperation with the labor movement to such an extent that at the opening of the state convention in Cleveland, February, 1934, Dan Moley, president of the Cleveland Federation of Labor, addressed the delegates and welcomed them to the city upon behalf of the organized labor movement; Coleman Claherty, A. F. of L. organizer stationed in Akron, who had organized the rubber workers, likewise welcomed the delegates in a warm and fraternal speech. James P. McWeeney, another A. F. of L. organizer and president of the Cleveland Metal Trades Council (75,000 members), welcomed the delegates on behalf of the metal workers. And at the convention banquet most of the prominent labor leaders of Cleveland sat down with the Socialists and contributed liberally to the collection.

The Metal Trades Council, which has a fine building, freely gave the use of that edifice to the party for its classes in Socialism and public speaking, and for lectures. The unions were constantly asking for Socialist speakers at their meetings. Socialists were welcome at all union meetings everywhere.

The Cleveland Federation of Labor, at the suggestion of active comrades, organized a meeting for Comrade Julius Deutsch. That Federation likewise assumed responsibility for the deficit incurred by the local on a Socialist lecture course, as well as for the party's extensive educational work. Trade union headquarters were glad to display prominently Socialist posters for lectures and other affairs.

When James Oneal spoke in Cleveland, February, 1934, all the outstanding leaders of the labor movement attended a luncheon in his honor and applauded his stirring appeal for independent labor political action. Many union officials joined the party; in a number of trade unions Socialist educational groups were formed from which many party members were recruited.

At the convention of 1934, however, the "militant" elements captured control, ousted Yellen as state secretary and proceeded to show how the "new" elements could run a party. The feeble results of the work of the "old guard," as listed above, were to be surpassed by the new elements that were going to win "Socialism in our time." Here is the record:

Robert Dullea, for eight years a high-pressure stock-and-bond salesman, succeeded the "fossilized" old-guardians in the state office. His first job was to get the state ticket on the ballot. This is a difficult job, but the "incompetent" Yellen never failed to secure the necessary 25,000 (later 50,000) signatures. This task, however, proved too much for the bond salesman, and the Socialist Party had no ticket in Ohio. The field was left to the Communists, who managed to get on the ballot. (Except that a minister named John Sommerlatte was designated as candidate for write-in votes for Governor.)

There was one Socialist candidate for Congress who was able to get on the ballot and give the workers an opportunity to vote for the ideals the party had been spreading so long. THAT WAS SIDNEY YELLEN.

The bright new elements, led by the stock peddler, began at once to seek a united front—not, however, with the organized workers in the trade unions (progress toward which united front had been so encouraging under the "reactionary" old guard) but with the Communists.

The "maneuvers" came to a climax on May Day. Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party, in a pastoral letter to his faithful sheep, reports: "The National Chairman of the Socialist Party [Leo M. Krzycki, officer of the Amalgamated, who has voted consistently with the 'militants' in the maneuvers that have brought the party to its present sorry state] speaks on May Day from the same platform as John Williamson, Cleveland organizer of the Communist Party in a formal united front."

It was that incident that Norman Thomas refers to with gratification in the column he contributes to the factional sheet of the dual organization in New York.

That "formal united front" is hailed as a "symptom" in Browder's encyclical. It is, indeed, a symptom. What was back of it, and what is its result?

The call for a May Day demonstration was signed by Max S. Hayes, editor of the Cleveland Citizen, official organ of the Cleveland Federation of Labor, candidate for Vice-President on the Farmer-Labor ticket in 1920, a founder of the Socialist Party; John Luthringer, labor attorney; Trent Longo, business agent of Paint and Varnish Workers' Local 710, International Brotherhood of Painters (all former members of the Socialist Party); Abraham Katofsky, vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and several other important labor leaders.

The arrangements called for a

Maneuvers of the Left Wing to 'Get' New York

(Continued from Page Three)

York State. But assume that the motion was a legitimate one. The committee was stacked against New York and it was picked by Thomas. Allen had just voted to recognize the dual party organization here by voting to accredit its organ. That organ, by the way, was launched with the knowledge and cooperation of persons in the National Office. Quick displayed his prejudice against New York in the Milwaukee convention of 1932. Leaf had recently had a letter in the Communist press dealing with internal affairs of the Socialist party and in Philadelphia had said that he was uncertain whether he would remain in the Socialist Party or join the Communist Party!

Strange Proceedings

Still assuming the motion legitimate, there was the amazing fact that Thomas made it; Thomas who is the leader of the dual party organization here! Still more amazing is the fact that the members of the N.E.C. were deprived of making any nominations for the committee of three. Thomas picked them and later developments show that unless he picked them he wanted no committee at all!

The writer, of course, voted against these motions and pointed out the above facts. Suddenly the motions were withdrawn on the ground that they were not satisfactorily framed. This left New York in a state of expectancy. What would come next? Would the majority of the N.E.C. do the fair thing by waiting to consider New York's reply at its next meeting?

We soon had answers to these questions by motions 14, 15, 16 and 17. No. 14 was by Hoan which repeated the statement that New York's reply was not satisfactory. No. 15 was by Thomas who again picked the committee but dropped Allen, who could not accept, and Leaf. Why did he drop Leaf? He did not explain. Was it because I had exposed his Communist leanings? We have no answer to this question.

Thomas picked Roy Burt, national organizer, Raymond S. Hofes of Reading, who has declined, and Quick again. Thomas praised Burt as a good mediator. It is important to recall that in a summer party school in California where Burt was teaching a noose was hung from the ceiling with a placard saying that it was intended for those who have been party members for thirty years or more. Mediator, indeed!

A Fishing Committee

No. 16 was by Hoan who proposed that the committee of three be chosen as follows: one by the N.E.C., one by New York, and these two to choose a third to serve as chairman. If a chairman was not chosen within ten days

then the N.E.C. would also choose him. No. 17 was by Thomas. It proposed to instruct the committee to investigate the Nemeser case, the Lang case, the united front on May Day in New York, etc. That is, the committee was to fish in New York for other matters outside of the nine-point statement of the N.E.C.

This brings the story to the most amazing phase of this whole sorry episode. The motions above mentioned were adopted by votes ranging from 7 to 8, except Hoan's motion 16 which provided for a different method of choosing the committee of three. It was defeated by 8 votes.

Throughout this farce I voted against each motion while Graham and Hoopes did not vote.

Before Thomas knew the result of his motion permitting him to pick the committee he sent a statement to the national office that if it was defeated he wanted his motion cast in favor of the inquiry to be changed and cast against the inquiry!

What this means is that he was opposed to any inquiry unless he picked the committee! I quote his own language:

"I am voting for motion 15, naming the personnel of the committee. Should that be defeated and Hoan's motion 16 be passed, I should want to change my vote to the negative against any committee of inquiry."

But we have not yet reached the heights of this farce-comedy. Thomas voted for the inquiry. That motion was primary and without first adopting it, electing a committee would be impossible. Having adopted the primary motion, no member could vote for a com-

mittee and then demand that his vote on the primary motion be reversed if he is not permitted to choose the committee. It is an impossible procedure and yet this is what Thomas insisted upon! The proceedings in this whole affair were grotesque and unfair; they moved from comedy to farce and from farce to comedy.

New York State will no more respond to the summons of the Thomas picked committee than we did to the summons to "show cause." These are upstart methods outside the range of decent and democratic procedure and we will not be accomplices in such methods.

One other aspect of this procedure shows how the minds of these upstarts work. A letter from the National Office to The New Leader was received on Tuesday, June 11, saying that the picked committee would arrive in New York that day. It is given ten days to make an inquiry and to frame a report.

Slip-Shod Methods

Now, one member must be back in Missouri on June 17, which means that he must leave New York June 15. It should have a half-day to work out its agenda and procedure. This leaves the committee but 3½ days for the inquiry!

Then if the committee were a legitimate one, decency and fairness require that New York State should have at least a week's notice to prepare its case. No advance notice is given to all! The committee arrives on Tuesday and New York is expected to appear on the same day! (Later. The committee did not arrive till Wednesday morning!)

The committee is expected to give 3½ days to the inquiry and

ten days in which to make a report. Slip-shod, stupid, malicious and undemocratic, the whole proceedings are characteristic of the methods of the majority of the N.E.C.

Finally, the notice of the arrival of the committee received on Tuesday was not sent to the State Chairman or the State Secretary of the Socialist Party but to The New Leader. So the state organization does not even have an official notice that Thomas has picked a fishing committee! Nothing more grotesque has ever occurred in the annals of party history.

Just as interesting is the Thomas motion to investigate the Lang case, the Nemeser case, the united front. In each state the party provides appeal agencies for carrying any case up to bodies higher than the branch and local. He thinks that the Lang decision was not "adequate." He is a member of local New York. Why does he not carry the case up to the State Committee?

In the case of Nemeser he makes veiled accusations of racketeering. Why does he not present charges and stand personally responsible for them before a grievance committee? That is what any other party member would do. He has often accused party members of offenses but has never assumed this responsibility. If he can provide evidence that Nemeser or any other party member is guilty of racketeering I will join in demanding that member's expulsion. Decency and democracy require that Thomas should present charges, not sow suspicions.

Thomas's Methods

But this has been his course. In a letter to some party members a year ago he "feared" that U.

Solomon, elected chairman of the City Central Committee, had been guilty of practices when manager of The New Leader that would warrant his expulsion and possibly prosecution in court. This was based upon a veiled hint of Sam DeWitt that Solomon got away with some money when the latter was manager. The facts were that DeWitt, the accuser, as treasurer of The New Leader Board sent Solomon a check for more than a hundred dollars that was due Solomon and DeWitt had to withdraw his statement to prevent prosecution by Solomon.

In March Thomas wrote another letter accusing us in New York of being in some way contaminated with Republican and Democratic politicians. I wrote him demanding that he assume responsibility for the statement by bringing charges as his statement placed every member with whom he disagreed under suspicion. He never acknowledged my letter and he has never brought charges.

Now the same course is taken regarding Nemeser. Such conduct is reprehensible in any member but it is even more so in one who covets the respect and confidence of party members. It destroys the tissues of human trust by striking in the dark, sows suspicions and hatreds, and at the same time provides provocation for others to act in the same way.

The writer has often served on the National Executive Committee in the last twenty years and he is compelled to state that this one is the lowest grade the party has ever had. It does not know how to transact business in an intelligent way, it does not respect its own decisions, a number of its members are only interested in personal prestige and power, it has wrecked Indiana, seeks to wreck New York, and other states may yet feel the impact of its blundering actions.

When the king as executive of a nation dies or goes insane it often becomes necessary to appoint a regency. The disintegration that has come of the present executive's meddling and blundering requires that it should resign. Instead of the N.E.C. investigating states the states should investigate the N.E.C. before it completely ruins the party.

When one thinks of the unparalleled opportunities the party has to reach the working masses, to serve them, the labor movement and itself, one is moved almost to tears when contemplating the petty intrigues, the megalomania for leadership and bossism, the stupidities and bungling with which the party has been afflicted for a year. It is time for the membership throughout the country to speak in no uncertain terms regarding this frightful disservice rendered the party since the Detroit convention.

SMASH THIS INSOLENT COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY TO DESTROY SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES!

Browder Throws Off Mask

(Continued from Page Three)

It is interesting to note that Socialist influence among the organized and unorganized workers is greatest where the success of the Communists in their united front propaganda is least, and that wherever the Communists have succeeded the influence of the Socialist Party vanishes. This is true in Cleveland, in Newark, and in other cities. In cities like Bridgeport and Milwaukee, in Reading and in Pittsburgh where no Communist can get to first base the greatest Socialist progress has been made.

No wonder Browder seeks to intensify his drive in the Socialist Party! The party refuses to die by itself, despite Norman Thomas' lament!

"It is of no particular use to us," writes the Commissar, "that individuals leave the S.P. even if they announce they are going to

enter the C.P. THIS TENDS TO DEMORALIZE THE STRUGGLE INSIDE THE SOCIALIST PARTY." Mark you, Browder is not worried about demoralizing the Socialist Party; he is worried that the struggle within our party should not be demoralized. "It tends to create the suspicion that we are interested ONLY in breaking up the S.P."

"COMRADES," declares Browder, "THE MOST SERIOUS HELP WE CAN GET OUT OF THE S.P. IS NOT IN THESE INDIVIDUALS BUT IN THE UNITED FRONT FOR WHICH THEY COULD BE OF SERVICE IF THEY REMAIN WITHIN THE S.P."

Browder is frank, at any rate. How many of our duped, deluded but still honest "militants" will read what he says, realize that they have been tricked, cheated,

outraged and used as tools of a contemptible gang of political high-binders—and return to decent and constructive party activity?

Browder spoke too soon. If he had waited a few more weeks his dupes within the Socialist Party would have completed his work for him, and he could gloat over the wreckage of a party that could not be destroyed by capitalist persecution and by the war terror.

Militants! Seek out those among you who have done this dreadful thing to OUR party; expose them to the contempt they deserve, and rejoin the united ranks of a harmonious and unified party, working shoulder to shoulder for the noble ideals to which our party is dedicated.

SMASH THIS INSOLENT COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY TO DESTROY SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES!

(Continued on Page Six)

Socialists in Two State Legislatures End Work

(Continued from Page One)

ing in a deal between the Republicans and a Democratic faction. That was their main interest.

This year action on the judgments was not taken up until the last two weeks of the session, because of the insistence of the Socialists that relief must come before patronage. Only at the end of the session did the Democrats and Republicans dare to make a deal on patronage and overcome the Socialist balance of power.

Measures Won

Among the bills passed were the old age pension act, the state child labor act, broadening of powers of the public utilities commission, improvement of workmen's compensation act, reduction of maximum work week for women in industry to 48 hours, decrease in interest rate on small loans, making the bank commissioner receiver for closed banks and eliminating big receiver's fees, tax on premiums and investment income of Connecticut insurance companies, the Merritt Highway construction and the following Bridgeport bills: civil service; repeal of "ripper" powers of taxation board; central purchasing authority; central maintenance bureau of tools and firemen's pension act; trunkline highway bill transferring to state responsibility for maintenance of city's interstate through route.

Among the undesirable bills defeated, largely through the efforts of the Socialists, and in some cases almost entirely through the efforts of the Socialists, were the teachers' loyalty oath bill, the sales tax, the federal rehabilitation corporation which would in reality be setting up a labor camp in the state, the anti-red bill, the proposed armory for Bridgeport.

Desirable legislation which was defeated (or died in committee) included the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, state aid to municipalities for relief purposes, the income tax, the dividend and interest tax, 40-hour week bill, unemployment insurance, model farms.

Work in Pennsylvania

Special to The New Leader.

HARRISBURG.—The Socialists continue to show their worth in the Pennsylvania Legislature even though a small minority of two.

Darlington Hoopes, Berks Socialist, led the fight which defeated a bill designed to make it difficult for unemployed to obtain relief. The pretext of the bill was that it was aimed at chislers.

Hoopes described this measure as a dangerous piece of legislation particularly because of its mandatory penalty of a \$100 to \$500 fine or 90 days to one year in jail. Hoopes pointed out that there has been a persistent effort on the part

DR. A. SHUYER
Optometrist
31 Union Sq., W. Cor. 16 St.
ALgonquin 4-7680

Eyes examined—Glasses fitted
For the past 20 years at 172nd St. and Washington Ave.
Dr. Shuyer has examined the eyes of over 40,000 persons.

RESTAURANTS

RICHIE LIEU
RESTAURANT
61 FIFTH AVE. (Cor. 13th St.)
The choicest wines and liquors served at our newly installed bar.

C. SCHNEIDER **M. LIEBOWITZ**
"VILLA ROMA"
First Class Strictly Modern Hotel
All Improvements—Pleasant Sundays
SPRING VALLEY, N. Y.

One hour out by auto, also reached by buses leaving Hotel Astor every hour

HALLS and LYCEUMS

BROOKLYN
LABOR LYCEUM
849 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn
Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals.
STAGG 3-3843

Workmen's Educational Association
Free Library open from 1 to 10 p. m.
Halls for Meetings, Entertainments and Balls. Tel. REgent 4-10038

MME. ROSE, Inc.
Exclusive Beauty Salons
ELECTROLYSIS \$1.00 per Treatment
PERMANENT WAVING—ALL METHODS
Largest and most exclusive in Bensonhurst
Expert always at your service
6704 BAY P'WAY 2249 65th STREET
Bensonhurst 6-10664, 9625 BEachview 2-9346

Labor Feels That the President Has Let Them Down on NRA

Special to The New Leader.

WASHINGTON.—Labor feels it has been badly "let down" by President Roosevelt on NRA extension.

When the President made his celebrated "fighting" statement to the newspaper men on the Friday afternoon following the Supreme Court decision knocking out the NRA, labor was elated. Here was a call to battle for the right of the people to legislate on social and economic questions as they saw fit, labor thought.

The President said in effect that the Supreme Court decision harked back to the horse and buggy stage of the United States. He gave notice that he proposed to carry the issue to the country and see whether the people wish to stand as one nation or as 48 state sovereignties, leaving the federal government powerless to deal with vital economic and social questions affecting the whole people. As one newspaper commentator remarked: "Mr. Roosevelt has argued with the uprise over the NRA decision."

The statement seemed clear on its face an indication that the Chief Executive would fight for extension of the NRA, with its labor safeguards and standards, which labor believes are worth saving, despite their admitted and obvious shortcomings. Statements of administration spokesmen bore out the impression that Mr. Roosevelt was mad clear through and would put up determined battle for a new NRA, either by legislation designed to meet objections of the Supreme Court or by a campaign for a constitutional amendment.

Ghost of the NRA

And then came the "let down," which left a decidedly bad taste in labor's mouth. Almost on the eve of the special meeting of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council to consider the crisis caused by the Supreme Court ruling came the word from the White

House that the President would ask for a "skeletonized" NRA, a mere ghost of its former self, which would study and report on the abandonment of codes for the next nine months.

Said the Executive Council, in announcing that it had decided at the special meeting to press with all its power for a new National Recovery Act:

"We would regard the adoption of the Senate resolution extending the skeleton of the National Recovery Act and the abandonment of its administrative machinery as a surrender to the opponents of national recovery and of national recovery legislation."

That was taking direct issue with the President on his plan—a plan that privately was denounced as nothing but surrender to the big interests intent on beating down standards of wages and hours and working conditions set under NRA codes.

In sharp contrast with what seemed to be the backbone of the President on his first plan to fight for a constitutional amendment to permit Congress to pass labor and social legislation to keep pace with modern conditions, the Executive Council declared for labor leadership of an aggressive campaign for an amendment.

Labor Opinions

The effect of the President's retreat is undoubtedly to strengthen the feeling in labor circles that the workers must depend more on their economic power and less on government aid. The Executive Council, in emphatic terms, urged organization as the workers' best hope of advancement. Official journals of affiliated unions are voicing the same feeling. The Bakers' Journal, official organ of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America, pointed out that the "best friend of labor" is labor itself, in line with Marx's slogan of "The emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the workers themselves," which it carries under the masthead on its first page. Wrecking of the NRA shows anew, the Journal declared, "how futile it is for the workers to depend wholly and entirely upon government dominated and controlled by the employing interests."

Labor feeling may be further expressed by the following, a consensus of opinion gathered by this correspondent:

"With the President's decision to drop codes, the bridges are burned behind labor and the only way forward lies in the field of organization. Labor must strike out in an aggressive organizing drive, national in scope and embracing all industry. This offers the best hope of progress in view of the collapse of the NRA program. In the last analysis, labor progress under the NRA depended upon its economic strength and this is true now even more than before the Supreme Court decision and the President's apparent weakening in the fight to preserve NRA benefits. There is no substitute for organization, NRA or no NRA."

Labor Standards Attacked

The Executive Council made public a report showing widespread attacks on standards established under NRA codes. Observers here are surprised that the attack has not been more general. Evidently there is a considerable section of business which fears it would be disastrous to abandon all standards, at least at one fell swoop. Even the bitterest opponents of NRA began to show signs of lack

ing its lines for a new attack upon the citadel of exploitation and privilege.

"That is the spirit of labor and it is fighting on in that spirit."

A NEW UNITY HOUSE
RISES FROM THE OLD!
Gala, Festive Opening June 22nd

MEMBERS of the International, other unions and the Socialist movement are invited to come for the opening of the beautiful new main building and cottages, and to enjoy the many other new features and improvements for the 1935 season. A gala program has been arranged. Special weekend rate and low-cost bus transportation.

UNITY HOUSE FOREST PARK PENNSYLVANIA
N. Y. OFFICE—3 WEST 16th ST., CHelsea 3-2148
PHILADELPHIA—1008 CHERRY ST., Walnut 2792
J. HALPERN, Manager M. S. NOVIK, Manager
"Owned and operated by the I.L.G.W.U. on non-profit basis."

House that the President would ask for a "skeletonized" NRA, a mere ghost of its former self, which would study and report on the abandonment of codes for the next nine months.

Said the Executive Council, in announcing that it had decided at the special meeting to press with all its power for a new National Recovery Act:

"We would regard the adoption of the Senate resolution extending the skeleton of the National Recovery Act and the abandonment of its administrative machinery as a surrender to the opponents of national recovery and of national recovery legislation."

That was taking direct issue with the President on his plan—a plan that privately was denounced as nothing but surrender to the big interests intent on beating down standards of wages and hours and working conditions set under NRA codes.

In sharp contrast with what seemed to be the backbone of the President on his first plan to fight for a constitutional amendment to permit Congress to pass labor and social legislation to keep pace with modern conditions, the Executive Council declared for labor leadership of an aggressive campaign for an amendment.

Labor Opinions

The effect of the President's retreat is undoubtedly to strengthen the feeling in labor circles that the workers must depend more on their economic power and less on government aid. The Executive Council, in emphatic terms, urged organization as the workers' best hope of advancement. Official journals of affiliated unions are voicing the same feeling. The Bakers' Journal, official organ of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America, pointed out that the "best friend of labor" is labor itself, in line with Marx's slogan of "The emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the workers themselves," which it carries under the masthead on its first page. Wrecking of the NRA shows anew, the Journal declared, "how futile it is for the workers to depend wholly and entirely upon government dominated and controlled by the employing interests."

Labor feeling may be further expressed by the following, a consensus of opinion gathered by this correspondent:

"With the President's decision to drop codes, the bridges are burned behind labor and the only way forward lies in the field of organization. Labor must strike out in an aggressive organizing drive, national in scope and embracing all industry. This offers the best hope of progress in view of the collapse of the NRA program. In the last analysis, labor progress under the NRA depended upon its economic strength and this is true now even more than before the Supreme Court decision and the President's apparent weakening in the fight to preserve NRA benefits. There is no substitute for organization, NRA or no NRA."

Labor Standards Attacked

The Executive Council made public a report showing widespread attacks on standards established under NRA codes. Observers here are surprised that the attack has not been more general. Evidently there is a considerable section of business which fears it would be disastrous to abandon all standards, at least at one fell swoop. Even the bitterest opponents of NRA began to show signs of lack

ing its lines for a new attack upon the citadel of exploitation and privilege.

"That is the spirit of labor and it is fighting on in that spirit."

A NEW UNITY HOUSE
RISES FROM THE OLD!
Gala, Festive Opening June 22nd

MEMBERS of the International, other unions and the Socialist movement are invited to come for the opening of the beautiful new main building and cottages, and to enjoy the many other new features and improvements for the 1935 season. A gala program has been arranged. Special weekend rate and low-cost bus transportation.

UNITY HOUSE FOREST PARK PENNSYLVANIA
N. Y. OFFICE—3 WEST 16th ST., CHelsea 3-2148
PHILADELPHIA—1008 CHERRY ST., Walnut 2792
J. HALPERN, Manager M. S. NOVIK, Manager
"Owned and operated by the I.L.G.W.U. on non-profit basis."

White Collar and Professional Workers Under Capitalism
Their Relation to Social Change
TWENTY-FIRST L.I.D. SUMMER CONFERENCE
AT NORTHOVER CAMP, NEAR BOUND BROOK, N. J.
Friday night, June 21, through Sunday, June 23, 1935

CELESTINE E. WATKINS, Survey Book, and NORMAN THOMAS on Middle Class Occupations; Tradition, Tenacity, Friday night, June 21; Saturday: Round Tables of various occupational groups under expert discussion leaders; Saturday night: Men on Horseback, RAYMOND GRAY; Sunday: Middle Class Interests and a New Social Order, B. CHARNY VLADECK; Sunday: Panel Discussion by Round Table leaders; Chairman, NORMAN THOMAS; Sunday afternoon: Philosophical-Interpreters of the Middle Class: PATERA, FELDER, MARX, SPEAKERS: ARTHUR LIVINGSTON, ABRAHAM L. HARRIS, DAVID BRENNER; The Place of White Collar and Professional Workers in a Socialist Commonwealth, Dr. HENRY W. LUNAN.

Cost for Entire Conference \$7.50. Rate: \$2.50 per day—Registration Limited. Conference fee \$2 for L.I.D. members; \$3 for non-members.

Information and Reservations:
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
112 East 19th Street Tel.: ALgonquin 4-5465 New York City

of courage when the sweeping nature of the Supreme Court decision became apparent. They had been demanding ending of the NRA, but when it came they were not so jubilant after all. Big industry has been seemingly making an attempt to maintain code wages and hours. But those who know are saying:

"Watch and see what happens when Congress adjourns. Business is on its good behavior now and won't make any precipitate attempt to return to pre-code conditions. But if Congress adjourns without doing anything to establish effective control of wages, hours and working conditions, look out for a change, with code standards under fire all over the nation."

Claessens Honored on 50th Birthday At Dinner

MORE than 500 Socialists and trade unionists sat down to dinner last Friday night to honor August Claessens, upon the occasion of his fiftieth birthday and the 25th anniversary of his entry into active Socialist party work.

The dinner, which was held at Beethovens Hall, 210 East 5th St., N. Y. C., was a mass turn-out of the active spirits of the party and of a number of unions. Many locals of the I.L.G.W.U., the Amalgamated and other important unions sent official delegations, and practically all the active party branches had tables or groups.

The great hall was tastefully decorated with red flags and flowers, and there was a huge birthday cake on the head table, especially baked by the Bakers' Union. Claessens' two young daughters, Sylvia and Eugenia, eyed the cake covetously throughout the evening. There is no report on what happened to it when they got it home.

The dinner was one of the gayest affairs in recent Socialist history, and the guests sang, cheered, laughed and had a lovely time generally, as was appropriate considering the occasion.

James Oneal was toastmaster, and speeches were made by active Socialist workers, as well as trade union spokesmen, among them being Harry W. Laidler, Matthew M. Levy, Louis Waldman, William E. Bohn, Esther Friedman, Algernon Lee, Morris Finestone and others, as well as Claessens himself.

George H. Goebel took a collection (a good one) for the campaign fund of the 6th A.D., under whose direction the dinner was held.

Telegrams and messages of affection came to Claessens from far and near; merely to list them would fill a column of this paper. Summed up, they indicate that Claessens, the Little Giant of the Socialist platform, is one of the best-beloved comrades in the movement, and the senders of the messages were eager to have Claessens know about it in his own lifetime.

A notable absentee from the dinner was Norman Thomas, who was addressing a meeting called by the Yipsels three blocks away, at which the conduct of Local New York was vigorously assailed by a number of speakers, including Thomas himself. The meeting was called long after the Claessens dinner had been arranged, and a call was sent to all party members to attend.

In a letter to Claessens Thomas explained that he did not know about the dinner until it was too late to change the date of the Yipsel "militant" meeting.

MUSIC LOVERS: 100,000 of the finest records in the world on sale at 50c and 75c per record (values \$1.50 and \$2). The Symphonies, Chamber Music, Operas of BACH, BEETHOVEN, BRAHMS, MOZART, WAGNER, etc. Mail Orders, Catalogue, THE GRAMO-PHONE SHOP, Inc., 18 E. 48th St., N.Y.C.

Unions Line Up Members For Big Picnic, July 27th

Tens of thousands of New York trade unionists will join the throngs at the annual picnic of this city's Labor and Socialist movement at Ulmer Park, Saturday, July 27.

The Workmen's Circle as well as Socialist party branches will turn out in record numbers, judging from the early demand for tickets. The largest turnout, however, from all indications, will be from unions who are responding in greater numbers than ever before. Locals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have ordered large blocks of tickets.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union locals who thus far have already acted upon the matter are doing as well as their brother organizations in other trades. Other unions are also sending in big orders.

The committee in charge urges all trade unions, Workmen's Circle and Socialist Party branches to send in their orders for picnic tickets so that tickets may be printed in their own name.

The Women's section of the Socialist party has sent out notice to all women party members and sympathizers to be at Ulmer Park early that day and prepare food for the guests, to be sold at reasonable prices. Temporary booths will be erected where all kinds of merchandise will be sold and raffled. Tickets may be secured in room 408, 7 East 15th St. Phone ALgonquin 4-2620.

Crosswaith Flight Receives Falcon Charter at Party

Presenting a charter to Crosswaith Flight 27 of the Red Falcons of America last Sunday, Frank Crosswaith said, "Mercy is something you beg for, Justice is something you fight for." He told the children that they were growing up in a period when the working class would soon fight for justice, and it was well that they were educating themselves for that fight.

The occasion was the charter party of the Flight held at the Flatbush Cultural Center, 1719 Avenue P, Brooklyn, in which the children presented skits for which they were prepared by their guide, Ann Holmes, who was assisted by Thomas B. Feigenbaum. Comrade Feigenbaum presided as master of ceremonies.

New Leaflet for Housewives

The new leaflet on the high cost of living, "Housewives, Are You Worried?" "Is the best leaflet written on the subject in years," according to Comrade Esther Friedman, chairman of the Women's Committee on the High Cost of Living, sponsors of the leaflet. Branches are urged to obtain a bundle of at least 1000. They can be obtained at the Socialist party office, 7 East 15th St., N. Y. C., at \$2 a thousand.

Housewives are urged to fill their petitions on the high cost of living at once and file them at headquarters so that plans for the demonstration at City Hall can be completed.

Pocketbook Workers In Big Drive

Taking advantage of the lack of security to unorganized workers which has resulted from the voiding of the NRA by the Nine Old Men, the national organization committee of the International Pocketbook Workers' Union has issued a leaflet calling on all unorganized pocketbook workers to form shop committees and join the union in order to maintain what little gain they have had from the NRA.

As a result of the NRA decision, the leaflet says, "non-union employers are no longer bound to pay minimum wages or employ their workers the maximum hours, as prescribed by the Ladies' Handbag code. . . . Now that the NRA has been killed they will, no doubt, attempt to reduce even the meager NRA wages or increase the hours, or both. What will be your answer? Will you take it lying down, or will you FIGHT LIKE MEN FOR YOUR RIGHTS AND FOR AN AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING?"

Boston Picnic

BOSTON.—The annual Fourth of July picnic of Local Boston will be held this year at Grape Arbor in Norwood. There will be sports, a light program, dancing, swimming, boating and a good time for all. Further announcements later.

CAMP TAMIMENT PENNSYLVANIA

ECONOMIC and SOCIAL INSTITUTE
JUNE 27 TO JUNE 30

1935 Topic: "Labor, Industry, Government"

SPEAKERS

JOHN T. FLYNN Chairman of Sponsors
CATHERINE BAUER
DAVID DUBINSKY
DR. ABRAHAM EPSTEIN
JOHN P. FREY
FRANCIS J. GORMAN
SIDNEY HILLMAN
ALGERNON LEE
DR. HARRY W. LAIDLER

LOUIS WALDMAN Chairman of Sessions
EDWARD F. MCGRADY Senator
GERALD P. NYE
LOUIS H. FINK
DR. I. M. RUBINOW
CHARLES SOLOMON
MARK STARR
B. CHARNY VLADECK
CHESTER M. WRIGHT
MAX ZARITSKY

Institute Rate: \$3.00 per day. Registration Fee: \$1.50 for all sessions.

Attractive June Rate \$24 Per Week
Including Delux Cabins

Tennis, Swimming, Canoeing, Dancing, Stage Presentations, Full Screen Talking Pictures.

July and August: \$29 per week.
Registration and Information
7 East 15th Street, New York ALgonquin 4-6875

UNION DIRECTORY

Monday evening in the Council Room at 218 W. 40th St. Julius Hochman, Sec. Mar.: Philip Kapp, Sec'y-Treas.

LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Phone, CHelsea 3-3148. David Dubinsky, President.

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, I.L.G.W.U., Office, 66 West 55th St.; Phone, WIshington 7-4911. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union. Joe Abramowitz, Pres.; Sigmund Perlmutter, Mgr.; Sec'y: Louis Stolberg, Asst. Mgr.; Maurice W. Jacobs, Sec'y to Exec. Board; Nathan Saperstein, Chairman of Exec. Board.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union. Downtown office, 640 Broadway; phone, SPring 7-4548; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St.; phone, WIshington 7-1276. 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 Rodos.

CORSET and BRASSIERE WORKERS' UNION, Local 52, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Abraham Snyder, Manager.

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

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union. Office and headquarters, 919 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn; STAG 2-0786. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice-President, Stephen Tobasco; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Helb.

JOINT BOARD DRESS and WAIST-MAKERS' UNION—Offices: 232 West 40th St., N.Y.C. Tel., LONGacre 5-5100. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening; Joint Board meets every Wed.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11616, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone, ALgonquin 4-7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottman, Secretary-Treasurer.

WAITERS and WAITRESSES' UNION, Local No. 1, A. F. of L. and U. L. 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 4-1461. S. Shore, Manager

JOIN LABOR PICNIC at ULMER PARK, JULY 27!

Chorus Girls' Cavalcade Glitters at the Garden

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

EARL CARROLLING CUTIES

"EARL CARROLL SKETCH BOOK." A new hysterical historical revue, "being a history of these United States as seen through the eyes of a chorus girl." By a page full of writers, composers, directors, under the guidance of Earl Carroll. At the Winter Garden.

This American Cavalcade sweeps across our history through the eyes of a "Vanity Girl"—to whom indeed all is vanity. But there's many a pretty conceit! A revue is often defined as a vaudeville show connected by dancers; but an Earl Carroll revue may better be defined as dancers interrupted by vaudeville. But those dancers make a gorgeous evening. They are backed by a coruscating chorus, a bevy of belles (on whom Earl Carroll has built his reputation) whose beautiful forms, divined beneath charming costumes or touched by but three spangled spots, move with swift rhythm or languid grace. And the solo dancers—who must be extraordinary to fit this background—meet the challenge with superb performances. Two girls called the Hudson Wonders, do some loose-limbed gyrations not even the circus can surpass. Jane Moore in several numbers combines humor with dancing in a way that conveys her rhythms to the audience, in ripples of laughter. And—helped by the chorus and multi-colored lights—Mlle. Nirska does a great-winged butterfly dance that is one of the evening's high spots in liquid grace and fluid beauty.

Interrupting the dancing come a number of episodes, a sort of Hollywood history of these bright states of ours, with a few added because some one liked them—such as the performance of Red Rust, a dog whose contortions almost make you think him boneless. But most of the skits have dates and even other historical allusions, such as Greta Garbo as Barbara Frietchie, Marlene Dietrich as Betsy Ross (Sibyl Bowman is good in various numbers); Charlotte Arenen excellent as Jenny Lind; the Bayonne quintuplets (with one for a spare) presented by P. T. Barnum; and a few dictionary tit-bits from Noah Webster. Sometimes there is unconscious social satire in this chorus girl's survey of our years.

The total absence of any serious sense of the basic causes moving through the age. Once this appears, in an excellent song out of today's armament stir: Let the man who makes the gun carry the gun and shoot the gun, and that's the end of war. But Lincoln's greeting of a northern girl and her southern sweetheart is prelude to "There's music in a kiss"; and McKinley says that our chief thought in annexing Hawaii was her romance and her music, whereupon, to the tunes of the "vibrolinn," the nearly nude chorus lies on large mirror-steps, and rolls or lifts languid legs in many a voluptuous movement. Color, suggestive jokes and stimulating dances—though also clever and graceful dancing; swift movement in a care-free atmosphere; history as a vanity case where chorus girls may decorate their days.

Experimental Players Open Their Season Thursday With "Swiss Movement"

When the curtain rises on the first act of "Swiss Movement," the Experimental Players' production of the comedy by Hans Adler,

In "The Sketch Book"



Lorraine Teatom, winner of many beauty contests, recently seen in "Calling All Stars," is one of the many beauties in the new Earl Carroll Revue at the Winter Garden.

which will open at the Ambassador Theatre on Thursday, June 20th, something new in production will have been inaugurated.

A single performance will be given to an invited audience consisting of producers, managers, directors and critics. This particular production is being given for one of the leading Broadway impresarios—Lee Shubert. The play has been directed by Mrs. Henry B. Harris and the complete cast, which is composed of Audrey Barlow, Donal Whalen, Martha Reed, Sylvia Saxe, Harold Currier and Arthur Athens, is from the Experimental Players' Acting Company and Auxiliary Group.

The Experimental Players' laboratory performs from many angles. If an author wishes to have his play worked upon and the group believes the play worthy, it immediately takes its place on the schedule of production. The play is cast from the members of the acting company and its auxiliary. A few weeks of rehearsal and the play is ready to be shown to an audience of producers who have been asked to consider the play's merits. The producers gain by seeing the play rather than reading it in manuscript form. The producer in accepting the play has an idea of how and whom to cast; he may use any of the actors of the group in his production of the script. The group acts as agent for both the author and the actor.

The organization is entirely co-operative and, it is said, has been planned as carefully as any socialized form of community government. All matters of policy are voted upon by an executive board appointed by the members of the group. Important questions are discussed by all members, each one having a voice in the final decision. Actors in and out of production have equal standing. The leading actor of this production might well be a walk-on in subsequent productions. It may so happen that individuals may not be cast for

Group Theatre presents
Waiting for Lefty
and
Till the Day I Die
by CLIFFORD ODETS

LONGACRE THEATRE, West 4th St.
Eves. 8:30—\$1.65 to 40¢
Mats. Wed. & Sat.—\$1.10 to 40¢
For Theatre Party Benefits, Call Helen Thompson, PEnn. 6-7234, or write The Group Theatre, 244 W. 44th St.

Gilbert Miller & Leslie Howard in association with Arthur Hopkins present
LESLIE HOWARD
THE PETRIFIED FOREST
by ROBERT SHERWOOD
"THE REIGNING DRAMATIC HIT!"—New York Times
BROADHURST Theatre, W. 44th St. L.A.C. 4-1515. Eves. 8:45
Mats. Wednesday and Saturday, 2:45

GOOD BAL-
CONY SEATS
50¢ \$1.00
\$1.50 \$2.00

SCIENTIFICALLY AIR
CONDITIONED AT
THEATRE
ATTRACTION
EQUIPPED

3 MEN ON A HORSE
"A Knockout"
Sobel—Mirror

PLAYHOUSE 48th St. E.
of B'way
Eve 8:45 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:45

THE GROUP THEATRE presents
"AWAKE and SING!"
by CLIFFORD ODETS
at the
BELASCO THEATRE 44th STREET, East of Broadway
B'way 9-5100 — Evenings at 8:40
Matinee Thursday and Saturday

Fabian's
FOX
FLATBUSH at NEVINS
ON STAGE

BETTE DAVIS
Colin Clive, Ian Hunter, Alison Skipworth
"THE GIRL FROM
10th AVENUE"
CHAS. AHEARN OTHER
BIG ACTS

25¢
15¢
10¢
W. 10th St.

"Becky Sharp," New Triumph in Technicolor in World Premiere at Radio City Music Hall

"Becky Sharp," starring Miriam Hopkins and filmed entirely in the new three-component Technicolor process—the first feature photoplay of its kind—is now in its world premiere showing at the Radio City Music Hall.

Based upon William Makepeace Thackeray's famous fiction classic, "Vanity Fair," and the Langdon Mitchell stage play, "Becky Sharp," the picture is a Rouben Mamoulian production, made by Pioneer Pictures and released by RKO-Radio.

Above and beyond the technical triumph achieved in filming the feature photoplay entirely in the new Technicolor process, "Becky

Sharp" is said to offer an absorbing drama, rich in striking characterization. This was the play in which Mrs. Fiske scored her greatest triumph, and in the role of the immortal coquette, Miss Hopkins has a part calling for both sparkling humor and tense emotion. In her supporting cast are Frances Dee, Sir Cedric Hardwicke, Billie Burke, Alison Skipworth, Nigel Bruce, Alan Mowbray, G. P. Huntley, Jr., Colin Tapley, William Faversham and many others.

The composition of color for the settings and costumes seen in the film was created by Robert Edmond Jones, well-known New York artist.

"Oil for the Lamps of China" Stays at Strand

"Oil for the Lamps of China" is now in its second week at the Strand Theatre. Capacity business, it is said, has been done at all afternoon and evening performances since the premiere of this new Cosmopolitan production, which is released by First National. Josephine Hutchinson, Pat O'Brien, Jean Muir, John Eldridge, Lyle Talbot and other well-known players are in the picture, which Mervyn LeRoy directed. "Oil for the Lamps of China" is based on the best-selling novel by Alice Tisdale Hobart.

Mary Boland-Charles Ruggles on Palace Screen

Charlie Ruggles and Mary Boland are teamed as the grand old married couple of the screen for the ninth time in "People Will Talk," new Paramount comedy, which has its Broadway premiere at the Palace today.

Leila Hyams and Dean Jagger head the supporting cast, and Alfred Santell directed the picture. Several plays or that by the merest chance an actor may have landed continually. The financial remuneration is the same for all, so long as those members not active attend the regular weekly meetings and understand the full meaning of the word "cooperative."

The Experimental Players' acting and auxiliary groups are open to all—producers, playwrights, directors, experienced actors, their less experienced conferees, stage managers—in general, to all those interested in theatrical production who may be of value to the organization.

Thus the audience which will attend the opening performance of the Experimental Players' production next Thursday evening will see the dawn of this new era in production—production methods which will be copied—methods which may change the future course of the drama in America. The Experimental Players have paved the way.

Capitol Holds Over "Public Hero No. 1"—Stage Show

Although scheduled for one week only, "Public Hero No. 1"—acclaimed by press and public alike—will be held over for another week on the Capitol's screen starting today.

Featured in "Public Hero No. 1" are Lionel Barrymore, Chester Morris, Jean Arthur, Joseph Calleja, Paul Kelly and Lewis Stone.

Sophie Tucker and her "WHN Music Hall Revue," which is meeting with enthusiastic approval at every performance, will also occupy the Capitol's stage for the additional week. Miss Tucker is co-starred with the comedians par excellence, The Ritz Brothers, and Donald Novis.

Bette Davis in "Girl From Tenth Ave." at Fox Brooklyn—New Stage Show

Bette Davis in "The Girl From Tenth Avenue" is now on the screen at Fabian's Fox Brooklyn Theatre.

Ian Hunter, Colin Clive, Katharine Alexander, Alison Skipworth, John Eldridge, Philip Reed, Helen Jerome Eddy and Edward McDowd support Miss Davis. Alfred E. Green directed from the screen play by Charles Kenyon, based on the play by Hubert Henry Davies.

Charles Ahearn and his orchestra head the stage show which also includes the Twelve New Yorkers.

"Vagabond Lady" on Roxy Screen—Paul Ash on Stage

Top notch performers of the stage and screen are featured in the show at the Roxy this week. The feature film is the new comedy romance, "Vagabond Lady," with Robert Young and Evelyn Venable and Reginald Denny. On the Roxy stage is Paul Ash in person with his "Jamboree of Stars."

! 2nd Week !
PUBLIC HERO No. 1
An M-G-M Picture
with an All-Star Cast
Plus—On Stage
SOPHIE TUCKER
3 RITZ BROS.
DONALD NOVIS
CAPITOL
B'way & 51st

ALL THIS WEEK
CHARLIE RUGGLES
MARY BOLAND
in
'People Will Talk'
BAER vs. BRADDOCK
FIGHT PICTURES
ON THE STAGE
JACK FULTON - LEW PARKER
"Footloose of 1935"
IRENE VERMILLION
and other RKO Acts
PALACE B'way & 47th St.

SHOWPLACE OF THE NATION
MUSIC HALL ROCKEFELLER CENTER
where better pictures are shown
MIRIAM HOPKINS in "BECKY SHARP"
In the New Technicolor, directed by Rouben Mamoulian
ON THE STAGE: Russell Market's "BLACK AND WHITE" revue in six gay scenes. Symphony Orchestra under direction of Erno Rapee playing "Pines of Rome."
DOORS OPEN WEEKDAYS 11:30 A.M. SATURDAYS 10:30 A.M.
SUNDAYS 12:30 NOON Phone Columbus 5-6533
Let Mezzanine Seats Reserved

"OIL for the LAMPS of CHINA"
with PAT O'BRIEN - JOSEPHINE HUTCHINSON
2nd Big Week! • **STRAND**—25¢
B'way & 47th St. Midnite Shows weekdays

ALL THIS WEEK
Katharine Hepburn
in
'Break of Hearts'
with CHARLES BOYER

ALSO ADDED ATTRACTION
Baer vs. Braddock
Fight Pictures
ALBEE Albee Square BROOKLYN

THEATRE PARTIES
Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of THE NEW LEADER. Phone Algonquin 4-4622 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager New Lead Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th Street, New York.

Margaret Perry



Who has the feminine lead in "Ceiling Zero," the Brock Penberth success at the Music Box Theatre.

Hepburn on Albee Screen—Baer-Braddock Fight Films Added Attraction

Katharine Hepburn steps from period pictures and definite type characterizations to modern romance in "Break of Hearts," having its Brooklyn debut this week at the RKO-Albee Theatre. The new production presents the star as a girl of today who wears fashionable gowns that are as new as tomorrow. It also presents her with a co-star as leading man, Charles Boyer, who scored in "Private Worlds." John Leal is the third figure in a romantic triangle.

Besides a choice selection of short subjects, the official Max Baer-James J. Braddock championship battle pictures are also to be seen on this same show.

Phillip Moeller, of the New York Theatre Guild, directed "Break of Hearts." Jane Loring was associated with him in the direction. Pandro S. Berman produced the story.

Party Progress

New York City United Socialist Drive

Branch officers are urged to push the drive with utmost vigor. The National, State and City officers are urged to meet in person to discuss the drive in need of funds. The branch quota can be raised through personal donations of members, branch officers and other workers. The quota prepared are not likely to work hardships upon any branch or individual if a serious attempt is made to raise the money as quickly as possible. Each branch should elect a special committee for the purpose of raising funds. The purpose is to have it "go over the top" with the utmost speed. We hope that at the next meeting of the O. and C. Committee organized by the members of the party they have collected up to date.

Nominations

Letters have been mailed to all branches and county committees in connection with nominations. Wherever joint meetings are to be held to provide for nominations for officers, the party must have a particular branch such meetings should be called with the utmost speed. Petitions will be ready to sign early in July. Nominations must be in before that time. Call personally or telephone the office for further instructions.

Literature

Leaflets are ready for distribution and comrades are urged to organize literature distributing campaign in their districts. A leaflet on the "Supreme Court and the NRA" is being printed and will soon be available for distribution.

Open Air Meetings

The season for open air meetings is here. Each district should have at the very least one good open air meeting a week. The central office is ready to cooperate with the branch officers, provide committees and speakers, and provide. Elect your committees immediately and see that propaganda is spread in your district.

July 4th Union Square Meeting

Preparations are being made for a monster Union Square meeting on July 4th. Traditionally, we have been holding such meetings to emphasize the need for civil liberty, economic justice and the fundamental fact that the Independence Day should be something more than lip-service but should represent an awakened consciousness of the need for industrial democracy, too. All members of the party are urged to be in Union Square on July 4th, at 11 a.m. Prominent speakers.

"O. and P." Meetings

At our Monday O. and P. meetings we notice the absence of several organizers who, for some reason or other, continue to stay away. We must emphasize the importance of each branch being represented, because of the undertakings which need the cooperation of all concerned. The petitions soon to be issued, the picnic, July 4th meeting, United Socialist Drive, etc.—these are matters that affect the work of every branch organizer. Members of the party are urged to see to it that branches instruct their organizers to attend these meetings.

WOMEN'S ACTIVITY

Monday, June 17, indoor meeting of Unemployed League, Bronx, Labor Lyceum, 809 Westchester Ave., Estelle Abramson, speaker.

MANHATTAN

12th A.D.—Branch meeting Tuesday, June 18, at 8:30 p.m., at 206 E. 18th St. Murray Baron will speak on "The Effects of the Supreme Court Decision on Labor." Nominations for public offices.

BRONX

Upper 8th A.D.—Strawberry festival Saturday, June 15, at clubhouse at 2220 Bainbridge Ave., near 205th St. station of Bronx 8th Ave. subway. August Glassens will entertain. Admission charge small.

Lower 6th A.D.—Branch meeting Tuesday, June 18, 1638 E. 172nd St. Amalgamated Cooperative League, Branch meeting Monday, June 17, at Assembly Hall, 80 Van Cortlandt Park So. Nominations for Assembly and Alderman. Plans for the picnic. Reports of committees.

KINGS

Bensonhurst—Henry Jager will speak Friday, June 14, 8 p.m., at Bay Parkway and 68th St. for The New Leader and Forward.

Williamsburg—Will speak on "Supreme Court's Decision on NRA" at our branch on Tuesday, June 18, at 8 p.m. 23rd A.D. Kings—At meeting Tuesday, June 18, nominations for Assembly and Alderman will be made. Meeting in Brownsville Labor Lyceum.

14th A. D. Bx. L.—Branch will hold house-warming Saturday, June 15, at 1148 Eastern Parkway. Music, entertainment, refreshments. Admission 30 cents. Outdoor meetings are in full swing; with new headquarters plans are being completed for classes, unemployed leagues and forums. Various other Socialist and labor organizations are co-operating with us in making new headquarters. Successful Street meetings every Friday at Utica and Eastern Parkway.

Midwood Branch—All members, at

Paralysis and Turmoil Follow 'Militant' Control

(Continued from Page Four)

Declaration, with its flamboyant generalities, the official statement of the party, membership in the party would instantly become illegal and a party card a one-way ticket to the penitentiary. They therefore withdrew from the party, pending a new statement of party principles that would permit them to function legally as a party. They are continuing their fine Socialist work, hoping soon to be able to rejoin the national organization.

CALIFORNIA
This state was hardest hit of all by the "militant" madness. In that state 79,201 men and women voted for Debs in 1912, and in 1920 the vote was 64,076, even after the war-time madness and Communist disruption. After the black days of reaction the vote was 19,595 in 1929, and by the united efforts of all sections of the movement the Thomas vote in 1932 was 63,299.

But the "militants" gained control, and the result was crisis after crisis. Roy Burt was sent to conduct classes in Socialism. At the Socialist school a noose was hung from the ceiling, with a sign indicating that it was for all "old guard" members who boast of long party membership.

The Socialist "education" of the "militant" variety was so excellent that again and again masses of Yipsels were exposed as Communist plants, and when the EPIC movement came along the party vote and membership vanished like chaff before the wind. In 1912, when Theodore Roosevelt ran for President as a "Progressive" with a platform consisting of many Socialist "immediate demands" the Socialist education inculcated by the Old Guard was so sound that the party not only did not lose to Roosevelt, but the vote more than doubled and Socialism had its greatest year in American history. But in California the vote dropped to between 4,000 and 14,000 because the Socialist education of the "new" elements did not build Socialists!

These are but a few of the high lights. Much could be written about Indiana and the reasons for the debacle there; about Massachusetts and the recovery of that state for democratic Socialism after years of disastrous "militancy"; about the South, where one "militant" local even reported "underground" members! But this story gives an idea of what is going on.

In contrast there is New York where the "fossilized" "old guard" has kept control and where the party increased its vote in the face of terrific difficulties; there is Pennsylvania where the "militants" are not permitted to get to first base to interfere with the superb work of the Socialist legislators; there are Maryland and Connecticut, and other states where the banner of democratic Socialism is kept flying by those comrades who know what Socialism is, who know what the difficulties of Socialist propaganda are, who know there is no short cut to victory, who know that the masses are in the working class and that there the work must be done; and who take pride in the fact that they are heirs to the party of Debs and of Hillquit, of Berger and of Hanford, of London and of Shipplough. They are keeping the red flag flying and they will permit no one to haul it down!

ILLINOIS
In this state the collapse of the Socialist Party is more tragic than almost anywhere else. After a number of years of complete "militant" control, with the party in the hands of Roy Burt, Maynard Krueger, Arthur G. McDowell, Jack Sullivan and others of the "new" elements, we find a party in ruins, membership cut more than in half and the vote slashed almost to nothing.

Illinois is an old banner state for Socialism. In 1904 Debs polled 69,225 votes there (without women voters), and in 1912 the vote was 81,278. Then came the war and Communist disruption, and in 1928 there was a vote of only 19,138 for Norman Thomas. By united efforts of all sections of the party it was raised to 67,258 in 1932; friendly relations were established with the unions, and party work seemed to be booming. Then came the "militant" blight. The party almost failed to get on the ballot in 1934, but when it did it polled between 13,000 and 15,000 in the state. In the city elections the party did not get on the ballot, and the city that gave a vote of over 100,000 in 1912 gave no votes at all in 1935!

OREGON

The fine organization that polled 15,450 votes for Thomas in 1932, the all-time high-water mark for Socialism in that state, is almost entirely proletarian. When the Declaration of Principles was adopted the comrades there felt that they could not remain in the party, considering the state Syndicalism law. They believed that with that law on the books and the

Teachers' Union Fights Drive Of Disrupters in Its Ranks

Attempts by Communists, both of the "official" variety and of the Lovestone complexion, to disrupt the Teachers' Union of New York are being brought out into the open by an investigating committee of the American Federation of Teachers.

Since 1922, members of a so-called "rank and file" group within the union have attempted, by the usual Communist vilification and slander of trade union officials, to disrupt meetings, so that constructive union work cannot be carried on, according to a message sent to all union teachers by the officials of the union. The "rank and file" groups are identified as followers of the Communist party.

In the past year, the situation has come to a head, and has been aggravated by a "progressive" group with Lovestonite affiliations. As a result the union proposed the following resolution:

Preamble: Factionalism in the union, amounting to civil war, has hindered the effectiveness of the union. Factionalism, if continued, must lead to the break-up of the only important teachers' organization in the city.

Policy:

1. All separate organized groupings within the union must be dissolved.
2. Criticism within the union should be encouraged.
3. Acts and not persons should be discussed or criticized.
The factional leaders on the executive board refused to point blank to consider the resolution, thereby proving they were interested more in disrupting the union than in offering honest constructive criticism, union officials said.

The aim of the present investigating committee is to ferret out groups and individuals who are making for disorder and union disruption.

At Tuesday's meeting a large group of Communists claiming to be teachers staged a demonstration outside. A responsible official of the New York local of the union asked to have them come in so that the committee might "see what we have to put up with."

In the recent union elections, the candidates of the Organized Union Majority with which most Socialists in the union are cooperating were swept into office by a vote of from 900 to 1,000 as against about 500 for the "Rank and File" or Communists and about 200 for the "Progressives," or Lovestonites.

New York State
Binghamton.—The Broome County local has elected Frederick Shoemaker of Johnson City to succeed Emerson Venable as financial secretary-treasurer. Comrade Venable has been removed to another state.

Dunkirk.—Organizer O'Brien reports that not less than twenty members and sympathizers express themselves willing to assess themselves ten cents weekly toward a weekly Socialist broadcast. Local Broome County has also responded to the request of the State Secretary for an expression of the membership on this subject.

Those Who Go to War

From the Noble Speech Delivered June 16, 1918, at Canton, Ohio . . . By Eugene Victor Debs

THESE very gentry who are today wrapped up in the American flag, who make the claim that they are the only patriots, who have their magnifying glasses in hand, who are scanning the country for some evidence of disloyalty, so eager, so ready to apply the brand to the men who dare to even whisper opposition to junker rule in the United States.

No wonder Dr. Johnson said that "Patriotism is the last refuge of scoundrels." He had the Wall Street gentry in mind, or their prototypes, at least; for in every age it has been the tyrant who has wrapped himself in the cloak of patriotism, or religion, or both.

They would have you believe that the Socialist Party consists in the main of disloyalists, and traitors. It is true, in a certain sense. We are disloyalists and traitors to the real traitors of this union.

Wars have been waged for conquest, for plunder. In the Middle Ages the feudal lords, who inhabited the castles whose towers may still be seen along the Rhine—whenever one of these feudal lords wished to enrich himself, then he made war on the other. Why? They wanted to enlarge their domains. They wanted to increase their power, their wealth, and so

they declared war upon each other. But they did not go to war any more than the Wall Street junkers go to war. The feudal lords, the barons, the economic predecessors of the modern capitalist, they declared all the wars. Who fought their battles? Their miserable serfs. And the serfs had been taught to believe that when their masters declared and waged war upon one another, it was their patriotic duty to fall upon one another, and to cut one another's throats, to murder one another for the profit and the glory of the plutocrats, the barons, the lords who held them in contempt. And that is war in a nutshell.

War for Masters

The master class has always declared the war; the subject class has always fought the battles; the master class has had all to gain, nothing to lose, and the subject class has had nothing to gain and all to lose—including their lives.

They have always taught you that it is your patriotic duty to go to war to have yourselves slaughtered at a command. But in all of the history of the world you, the people, never had a voice in declaring war. You have never yet had. And here let me state a fact—and it cannot be repeated too often: the working class who fight the battles, the working class who

"I LOATHE JUNKERDOM" From Debs' Canton Speech

I hate; I loathe; I despise junkerdom. I have no earthly use for the junkers of Germany, and not one particle more use for the junkers in the United States.

make the sacrifices, the working class who shed the blood, the working class who furnish the corpses, the working class have never yet had a voice in declaring war. The working class have never yet had a voice in making peace. It is the ruling class that does both. They declare war; they make peace.

Yours not to ask the question why; Yours but to do and die.

Heroes of Peace

Oh, it is the minorities who have made the histories of this world! They who have had the courage to take their places at the front; they who have been true enough to themselves to speak the truth that is in them; they who have opposed the established order of things; who have espoused the cause of the suffering, struggling poor; who have upheld, without regard to personal consequences—who have upheld the cause of righteousness; they have made the history; they

have paved the way of civilization. Oh, there are so many who remain upon the popular side. They lack the courage to join a despised minority; they lack the fiber that endures.

But, thank God, in every age and every nation, there have been that few, and they have been sufficient; and they have lived; they have endured; and we, who are on earth today, are under obligation to them, because they suffered, they sacrificed, they went to jail; they had their bones broken upon the wheel; they were burned at the stake, and had their ashes scattered to the four winds by the hands of fate. We are under obligation to them, because of what they suffered for us; and the only way we can cancel that obligation is by doing or seeking to do in the interest of those who are to come after us. And this is the high purpose of every Socialist on the face of the earth.

Comrades of the World

Everywhere they are animated by the same lofty principle; everywhere they have the same noble ideal; everywhere they are clasping hands across the boundary lines; everywhere they are calling one another comrades; the blessed word that springs from the heart and soul of unity; that bursts into blossom upon the lips; aye, the word "Comrade"—getting in closer touch all along the battle line; and they are waging the war—the war of the working class of the world against the ruling class, the exploiting class of the world. They make mistakes; they profit with them all; we encounter defeats; they grow—they grow stronger through them all. They never take a backward step; the heart of the international Socialist never beats retreat; they are pushing forward.

They are pressing forward, here, there, everywhere, in all of the zones that girdle this globe; everywhere these awakening workers, these class-conscious proletarians, these horny-fisted children of honest toil, everywhere wiping out the boundary lines; everywhere proclaiming the glad tidings of the

SEVENTEEN years ago America was at war for an objective defined by the President as a desire "to make the world safe for Democracy." America's greatest public man, Eugene V. Debs, had been ill when the nation was dragged

into the war, but as soon as his health permitted he went on a speaking tour for the Socialist Party to spread the ideals to which he was dedicating his life.

On June 16th, 1918, he spoke at Nimishilla Park, Canton, Ohio, in connection with the Socialist state convention being held in that city. He spoke bravely, fearlessly, as always. His words were tipped with the fire of his idealism, and they had the effect of heartening his comrades in a dreadful time.

A stenographer attended that meeting and took down the speech, later turning it over to the government. Debs was indicted and tried in Cleveland. Debs' conduct of his own defense was manly—magnificent. He denied nothing; he stood on his right as an American and as a man to speak his mind. His addresses to the Court were masterly and deeply moved even the judge and jury. But it was war-time, and in an atmosphere of "patriotic" hysteria he was

convicted and sentenced to ten years in prison.

The case was appealed, and in a decision written by Justice Brandeis the Supreme Court found nothing "unconstitutional" in the verdict. And so, at a moment when the Socialist Party was paralyzed and prostrated by a fratricidal factional struggle brought into the party by elements that later openly admitted that they were Communists, Debs was taken to prison, a manly, heroic figure, the bravest and freest man in America.

That was nearly two decades ago. What Debs said that day in Canton eighteen years ago is to a certain extent "dated"; but in a larger sense what he said then can be read today and tomorrow as the expression of one of the noblest men this country has ever known. Especially today, when the war-dogs tug at the leash, and when

recently published documents bear out the truth of every charge the Socialists made at that time, a re-reading of the Debs speech is timely today. What is here printed is made up of salient parts of the speech of Debs, June 16th, 1918.

ing forward toward the light—aye, their triumph is now already begun.

Do you wish to hasten it? Join the Socialist Party. Don't wait for the morrow. Come now. Enroll your name; take your place where you belong.

Enroll in the Fight

You cannot do your duty by proxy. You have got to do something yourself, and do it squarely, and look yourself in the face while you are doing it; and you will have no occasion to blush; you will know what it is to be a man or woman.

You will lose nothing, but you are very apt to find something, and that something will be yourself. You need to know that you are fit

for something better than slavery and cannon fodder. You need to know that you were not created to work and to produce to impoverish yourself and to enrich an idle loiterer.

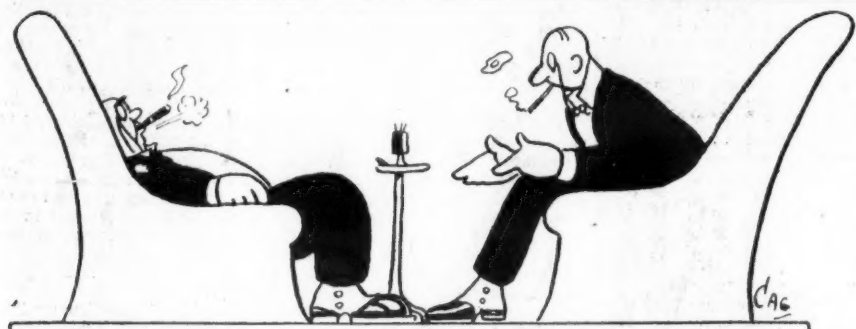
You need to know that you have a soul to develop, a manhood to sustain. You need to know that it is your duty to rise above the animal plane. You need to know that it is for you to know something about literature, and about science, and about art. You need to know that you are on the edge of a great new world. You need to get in touch with your comrades; you need to become conscious of your interest and your power as a class.

You need to know that you are fit

for something better than slavery and cannon fodder. You need to know that you were not created to work and to produce to impoverish yourself and to enrich an idle loiterer.

You need to know that you have a soul to develop, a manhood to sustain. You need to know that it is your duty to rise above the animal plane. You need to know that it is for you to know something about literature, and about science, and about art. You need to know that you are on the edge of a great new world. You need to get in touch with your comrades; you need to become conscious of your interest and your power as a class.

You will lose nothing, but you are very apt to find something, and that something will be yourself. You need to know that you are fit



"How annoying! The brokers have just called up to tell me that Consolidated Safety-Pin has dropped three points because the vulgar workingmen said they wanted a little rise in wages and threatened they would strike if they didn't get it."

"Dreadful! There ought to be a law! I shall write to my Congressman at once demanding one forthwith."

PROPERTY

By Kirby Page

Idle Dollars and Idle Men---Wages Go Down As Dividends Are Going Up---Price-Cutting, Wage-Slashing and Other Business Practices



This is the third installment of a striking series of articles by the noted economist and publicist Kirby Page on the general subject of Property and the Socialist attitude toward it. In last week's installment the writer quotes Professor Rantzenbach of Columbia University, who shows that the ownership of property in the United States is being concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, that between 1917 and 1932 the number of property-owners decreased by 750,000.

THIS excessive congestion of income in the hands of a privileged minority reduces drastically the total productivity of the nation. The industrial equipment of a capitalist country can be utilized only to the degree that its products may be sold at a profit.

If too large a proportion of the national income goes to a relatively few rich owners, and too small a share goes to the workers, the purchasing power of the latter will be insufficient to supply their needs, with consequent overproduction, diminishing demand, slowing down of the wheels of industry, increasing unemployment, still further reductions in purchasing power, stagnation and misery.

Idle Dollars and Men
Maldistribution of income is a primary cause of the prevailing paradox of idle dollars and idle men; the idle dollars now totaling 12 billions, and the idle men approximating 12 to 15 millions. With the result that a recent editorial in Banking, the official journal of the American Bankers' Association, confesses: "With the idle funds in the banks at the volume they now are, it may be taken as a matter of course that the chief occupation of banks and bankers in these days is a hunt for profitable investment—almost any safe investment." At the end of October, The New York Times reported that the Federal Reserve Board had advised the President that there was about \$12,000,000,000 idle money in the banks. So vast is the surplus of idle dollars that the government of the United States has been able to borrow money for 91 days at the absurdly low rates of 1/16 of one per cent per year and for six months at 1/4 of one per cent. In December, 1934, cash subscri-

tions to the Treasury's offering of 900 million dollars in bonds exceeded 5 billion dollars! "Treasury officials were amazed!"

Economic health cannot be secured unless billions of dollars now flowing into the vaults of owners are sluiced into the pockets of the workers. But a proper balance between saving and spending cannot be achieved so long as private ownership of heavy industry is perpetuated. Investors are chiefly concerned about interest and dividends and use the colossal power inherent in ownership to increase their own gain. The intensity of the competitive struggle compels owners to drive downward labor's share of the proceeds in order to maintain the level of private profit. The way in which this power is used is illustrated by Professor Paul H. Douglas, of the University of Chicago, in a study of the trends of wages and dividends during recent years. The following table shows the relative amounts paid out in wages by manufacturing establishments reporting to the United States Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics in various years, and also the relative amounts paid out by all American corporations in interest and dividend payments:

Year	Relative Amounts Paid Out in Wages (1926=100)	Relative Amounts Paid in Dividends and Interest (1926=100)
1926	100	100
1927	97	129
1928	95	137
1929	100	173
1930	80	196
1931	60	187
1932 (Est.)	46 to 38	155 to 164

Figures published by the New York Journal of Commerce support the evidence cited by Prof. Douglas. The relative amounts paid in dividends and interest for the years from 1926 to 1932 inclusive are given as follows: 100, 129, 136, 157, 187, 184. That is to say, according to this authoritative publication, the total amount of dividends and interest payments in the second year of the depression was 84 per cent higher than in the prosperous year 1926. Payments to capital jumped more than 50 per cent during the same period that wage payments by manufacturing establishments were slashed in half because owners had the power to appropriate privilege while workers endured privation.

The disastrous effects of this congestion of income are destined to become more extreme. A far

higher ratio of national savings is required in a pioneer land than in a nation which has become industrialized and urbanized. After the growth of population slows down and industrial expansion has reached the point where the national equipment is sufficient to produce all the commodities that

can be sold, continued saving on the pioneer scale creates social havoc. From now on the percentage of national saving in the United States must diminish and the portion of spending must increase. But private property in the mass instruments of production blocks the way.

A Flower Girl Tells Her Story

By Clara Scheched

The following story of the experiences of a flower worker is a moving document, a fragment of the life of one exploited girl, in which the pathos of proletarian life in a sweating industry is made vivid for the reader. It consists of the last section of a manuscript, the whole being too long for publication. The first section tells the story of a child in Russia amusing herself by making paper flowers, then migration to this country and working in the flower industry at terribly low wages under the eyes of bosses, some of them of the anomic type. Shifting from shop to shop, earning a little more as she shifted from one to another, the writer brings the narrative down to recent weeks and here we introduce her to our readers.—Editor.

THE next firm I worked for employed about 300 girls. Before I started, the man in charge told me that this was an NRA place and if I did not earn \$10 a week, he would not keep me. Before long, I learned that in this place the girls were making between \$7 and 8 a week. The outstanding feature, however, remained in my memory for quite a different reason. I am sorry I do not remember the name of this firm, which is particularly worthy of mention for providing these 300 girls with surroundings abounding in dirt and stench.

Once entering the ladies' room, I opened a door. I almost took a fit. I opened another and another to see if the next ones were clearer, I held my breath. What I saw there is unprintable. I never went there again. But I kept on asking myself: Does not the Board of Health know of this God-forsaken

place? Does not an inspector from the Board of Health ever visit it? I could not believe that this place was actually situated in the heart of New York City. It seemed to me I was transported to a place where the primitives dwelt, far removed from civilization. My mind was made up not to put up with these shameful conditions. Again I left my job.

Stealing Labor Time

Now I worked for a firm where they paid by the week. My pay was \$12. What particularly annoyed me was the following: Just at 12 o'clock when the whistle blew, our boss would give us extra work without pay, thus snatching fifteen or twenty minutes from the hour we were supposed to have for lunch. I looked around. They all did what they were told to do. Their lips tightened, in their downcast eyes a mingled expression of fear, hatred, submissiveness, the boss standing over them with an imperceptible smile on his face, no doubt feeling very important—his magic presence held the girls to their places. They did not dare to budge. This was too much for me. I went out for my lunch. I was always the first one to get up. The same was repeated at half past five. There was no clock in the room where we worked.

Ten minutes to six, the forelady would look at her wrist watch and say, "It is half past, girls." Besides these petty ways there was something far more detrimental to the girls. He would take an experienced worker whom he paid, let us say, \$16 a week, and put her next to another whom he paid \$10. The one whose pay was \$10 was supposed to keep up with the other whose pay was \$16. If she did he smiled; if not, he scowled at her, and all day long he would watch the girls with such a fixed stare that we could not work, the flowers fell from our hands. This speed-

ing-up was absolutely nerve-wracking and resulted in reducing the pay of the higher paid worker. Always prepared to leave, I made no attempt to conceal my resentment. I was bent on asserting my rights and I would speak up to him in front of all the girls. Sometimes I wondered why he put up with me.

A Twelve-Hour Day

When I spoke to the girls and asked them why they did not organize, they all gave me the same stereotyped answer—"They tried to organize the flower workers ten years ago, five years ago; you can't organize them." According to their line of thinking, we should not now have an airplane, a radio, or a wireless, just because we did not have to realize that what makes life interesting is the fact that the very things we did not dare to dream of doing before we can do now.

Governments rise and fall. Political experiments are being tried to make this world a better place to live in. Medical science is forever discovering new methods to wipe out sickness and aspires no less than to conquer death. The flower workers, with logic of their grandfathers, are confined to their narrow environments, apparently, unaware of the upheavals that shake the earth in our changing times. You can hardly blame them for thinking and acting as they do.

We work twelve hours each day. It makes me laugh to hear them talk of 37½, 35, or even 30 hours a week. We get up 7 o'clock in the morning and when we come home it is 7 in the evening, sometimes later. Is there anything else we can do during these twelve hours except eating, traveling, and working? During these twelve hours we are machines and the food we eat to give us energy is no different than the oil to the machine to do its work.

When we come home we are so dead tired that all we are fit

for is to go to sleep. We have no time to study, no time to read books, no time to see a show, no even time to read a newspaper or listen to the radio.

Nature has endowed us human beings with a superior intelligence to the animals. The exploiters of the workers see to it that this intelligence remains undeveloped, so that not only biologically but spiritually, we are forced back to the animal stage.

Will Workers Awake?
What is the use of having brains, intelligence, taste, when we don't use them? To fulfill our destiny in this world, surely, we were not meant for work only. To bring forth latent possibilities in self-expression spiritually, intellectually, and aesthetically is denied the worker.

Equally denied to the worker are the beauties of life. Did you ever hear of a worker making a trip around the world? To see the majestic grandeur of the ruins in Rome, the unsurpassed scenic beauty in Switzerland, the pink

and blue and velvet green mountains that seem to touch the rainbow skies in California, the so much talked-of Paris, the mystic charm of the beckoning Orient? No! The workers' lot is to produce that others may enjoy.

The splendor of the starry heavens in a cool summer's night in the country, the glory of the dawn at the break of day, the divine music of the birds, the perfumed green fields, the heavenly scented lilies, the pure fresh air, the brilliant radiance of the sun with its golden rays seen through the green leafy branches, how often do we enjoy that?

Who so much as the workers have a right to the wealth of the world, which they themselves produce, to God-given nature which was meant for all, and to the fountains of culture which make us forget in this material world and open for us infinite vistas? Not only have the workers the right to have access to these treasures, but they have the power to make it possible through united efforts and solidarity. Will they ever awake?

control. Efficiency on the spot is no adequate safeguard against bankruptcy.

Demands of Big Capital

It is true that the required degree of collectivism may be secured under private ownership—but only at an utterly prohibitive price: that of monopoly or semi-monopoly. If the various units of an industry are permitted to enter into the agreements necessary to correlation, the result will be efficiency in exploitation. The higher the degree of cooperation among the individuals who control giant industries the greater will be their power to victimize consumers and workers, and therefore the more calamitous will be the maldistribution of national income. To permit the kind of self-government in industry demanded by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States would be absolutely fatal. Industrialists desire a minimum of restraint and coercion from government. Usually they are also opposed to powerful national unions of workers. If they secure their objectives—self-government for themselves, without serious interference from government or from workers—they will certainly use this increased power for their own enrichment.

(Continued next week)

How the Belgian Socialists Fight to End Unemployment

By Adrien Gambet

HENRI DE MAN, vice-president of the Belgian Socialist Party and Minister of Public Works and Reabsorption of Unemployment in the Belgian Government, recently gave an interview in which he outlined the objectives which the department under his direction will seek to attain. This interview is of especial interest to Socialists throughout the world since de Man, a brilliant student of the social sciences, is the author of the Plan of Action on the basis of which the Belgian Socialists agreed to collaborate in the formation of the present ministry.

De Man has probably given more intelligent and clarifying attention to the relationship between the Socialist Party and the unemployed than any other Socialist thinker and his analysis of the German debacle as the result of the failure of the Social Democratic Party to attract the unemployed to its standard is undoubtedly the sanest commentary yet made on the rise of Hitlerism.

Employing the Jobless

In this interview de Man began by emphasizing the two-fold function of his department: Public Works on the one hand, and Reabsorption of Unemployment on the other; the latter, however, being quite a different thing from Unemployment Relief which, together with employment offices, lies within the province of the Minister of Labor. The Reabsorption of Unemployed is concerned solely with the possibilities of creating new jobs.

Henri de Man, Socialist Member of the Belgian Government and Author of the Famous De Man Plan, Tells How Socialists Meet the Challenge of Joblessness

of the Office of Economic Relief which has been set up in de Man's department and to which he intends to devote most of his time.

Still, although public works may be only one sector in the war against unemployment, de Man considers it an important one because: (1) they provide employment for a large proportion of those now unemployed; (2) they likewise stimulate private industry (in some public works the proportion of indirect to direct wages is 4 to 1); (3) thus there is brought about an increase of purchasing power, equal to the sum of both direct and indirect wages, which increases the economic stimulation. From this it follows that the economic influence of public works depends less on the number of workers actually and directly engaged on the projects than it does on the final repercussion in the industrial and commercial fields. For instance, for every twenty-five unemployed who actually are engaged on such a public project, there might be 100 more workers in an organized industry who would be given employment as a result of the demand for materials for such public works. For this reason de Man's administration has abandoned the policy, based on faulty economics, which tended to favor non-economic processes of work.

Machine Production

Inspired by the same economic reasoning the government is encouraging the co-operation of manufacturers with a view to producing within the country the mechanical tools which will be required on the big projects, since the execution of public works can hardly alleviate the unemployment problem extensively so long as it is necessary to purchase such materials from foreign industry. Thus on the initiative of the Department of Public Works, which is under a Socialist minister, the contractors and the manufacturers have come

together to study the production of the necessary machines in Belgium and it seems probable that in the near future a practical solution will be arrived at whereby such tools will be produced in Belgian workshops.

Up to the present time de Man's policy on these public works has revolved essentially around three main points: (1) Acceleration of those works for which appropriations exist; (2) Securing of advances from the Office of Economic Relief (which can advance loans but no subsidies) for, and the commencement of work on further projects; (3) Drawing up a program of even more projects, the need of which has been recognized, but for which neither plans nor appropriations have been made. Such public works can be divided into two categories depending on whether they fall in the general domain of the Department of Public Works or under the administration of the Office of Economic Relief.

The projects under the Public Works Department have been so accelerated, that by July all will have been begun which the preceding ministry had planned for the whole year. Among them the following are outstanding: repair of highways and bicycle routes (it must be remembered that in Belgium the bicycle is the poor man's transportation), 200,000,000 francs; the Albert canal, 285,000,000 (from this a number of subsidiary works will be developed); new canal locks for the port of Ostend, 22,000,000 francs, and work on the channel of the Sambre to Charleroi and on the Meuse as far as the island of Seilles, 15,850,000 francs.

Economic Relief

Of the works on which the Office of Economic Relief is engaged, the following may be noted: public buildings, 60,000,000 francs, of which a large part will be used for maintenance, interior fixtures

and furnishings and other similar items which will involve chiefly the handwork of the artisan; junction of the river Nethe with the Albert canal, 50,000,000 francs; sanitary work on the river Pignon, 10,000,000 francs. Likewise, the office is authorized to advance up to sixty million francs to municipalities for the construction of roads, providing they also appropriate a proportion of the total expenses. The Office of Economic Relief can lay out in all some 240 million francs towards works, the total expenditures for which would reach 793 million francs. Between the last and the 15th of May, de Man concluded arrangements for the outlay of 85 millions of the office's resources. In an effort to reduce governmental red tape he has brought about interdepartmental conferences which have effected an efficient co-operation between the various branches of the government.

Beyond the appropriations mentioned above, the Office of Economic Relief is contributing to similar works undertaken by other departments. It intends turning especial attention to expenditures on education, hygiene and water supply and the destruction of tenements. Thus the office is now making arrangements with the National Society for Low Cost Housing,

whereby 3,500 tenements and huts will be replaced by modern low-cost housing.

Present Accomplishments

As promise of what can be expected of the new Socialist minister, it is in order to point out what has been already accomplished: during the first three weeks of his administration and following the devaluation of the belga, people who had been completely unemployed went back to work at the rate of a thousand a day, or about 22,000 altogether. The following three weeks this rate dropped to about 500 per day; in short, the number of unemployed was reduced in his first six weeks by some 30,000. And in the midst of all this he finds time completely to reorganize the Department of Public Works, which he intends placing on an efficient basis where the head of it will not be, in his words, either a "signing machine" for the papers drawn up by under-secretaries, or an "umbrella" to keep off blame for the blunders of others. He intends to be more than a figurehead: he has every intention of being the director of his department in fact as well as in name. With his talent for organization and with his wide and deep learning in the fields of sociology and economics, we believe that much can be expected of one of the most brilliant of European Socialists in an office for which he is admirably fitted.

If ever there were a Socialist who was capable of running a government as well as of theorizing about running one, it is de Man.

Well, I see where Frank Lowden is all hot up about the Constitution. Y e p, that's just what we need—more reverence for the Constitution.



The Workers Abroad

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

By John Powers

Exit Mr. MacDonald

THE reorganization of the British government, marked by the long expected resignation of Ramsay MacDonald from the premiership and the assumption of this post by Stanley Baldwin, is the prelude to the great electoral contest which is to take place soon in England. The Labor Party looks forward to the contest with confidence in its ability to stage a comeback which may lead to the formation of another Labor ministry.

But whether the victory of the Labor Party will be sufficiently large to enable it once more to take over the reins of government is not as important as will be the fact of its return as the powerful opposition, its recovery from the blow it suffered in 1931 when Mr. MacDonald and a small group of his colleagues deserted their party to become members of the so-called National Government. Governments come and go, but the labor movement goes on regardless of the vicissitudes of political seasons and the defeats and setbacks which it may be compelled to suffer from time to time.

That our British comrades have builded well was shown in the very election of 1931, when despite the terrific parliamentary losses the Labor Party suffered it retained some 80 per cent of its vote. Events and by-elections since then have demonstrated that the ranks of labor are again solid, that the loss in votes has been repaired, that much additional valuable experience and knowledge has been gained, and that the Labor Party will enter the coming election stronger than ever both in organization and ideologically.

As for Mr. MacDonald, his tragedy is patent enough without it being necessary to emphasize it. The future historian will measure adequately the part he played in the rise and development of the British labor movement and the grave error he committed when, in a moment of confusion and excessive evaluation of his own importance, he deserted the party he helped build to become the undignified instrument of the Conservatives. Few today still believe in the fiction of the "National Government," which now stands out quite unmistakably as the thing it was from the beginning—a Tory government which has utilized the prestige of Ramsay MacDonald to camouflage its true character. In serving the purposes of the Tory Party Mr. MacDonald has dissipated his prestige, lost his health and emerged at the end a shadow of his old self to take a back seat on the government benches. The Moor has done his work; the Moor may go now.

But no less tragic than the position of Ramsay MacDonald and his group is that of the secessionist group on the left, headed by James Maxton and Fenner Brockway, who also deserted the Labor Party—in search of a "new" road that has led them into a blind alley. Little has been left of the latter group. Some of them had the good sense to turn back in time to rejoin the Labor Party. Others have been lost in the morass of the insignificant British Communist movement, while another handful, with Maxton in the lead, are floundering without compass on the leaky, sinking boat which was once the great I. L. P. The great mass movement of labor has passed them by.

The lesson of all this is clear and simple: there is no other road for Socialists than the road that keeps them close to the masses of the workers, the broad highway of the organized labor movement, founded not upon the ambitions of leaders, however able and brilliant, nor upon the impatience and illusions of self-appointed Messiahs who discover new truths in old worn-out utopias, but upon the mighty, creative forces of history and of life.

The MacDonalds and the Maxtons have had their personal political diversions. The labor movement goes on to victory.

I. F. T. U. Rejects the United Front

Emphasizing its desire for working class unity based upon democracy and an earnest determination to preserve the principles and policies which have promoted the growth and power of the labor movement, the International Federation of Trade Unions, at its meeting in Copenhagen on May 25, rejected the latest (March 7) united front proposal of the Red Trade Union International (whose membership is now confined almost exclusively to Soviet Russia) as "devoid of any sincere intention."

Leading in the debate on the Communist proposal Sir Walter Citrine, secretary of the British Trades Union Congress and president of the I. F. T. U., declared that the British trade unionists did not trust the Soviet trade unionists. After giving a survey of the negotiations between the Communists and the British trade unions from 1924 onwards, Citrine added:

"Nothing has changed our opinion. We are convinced that there is no possibility of getting any agreement with the Communist trade unions. We cannot do with Communists and we cannot do with Nazis. We cannot, as democrats, keep relations with those who believe in dictatorship. If we pass this resolution (resolution approving the united front) we will not promote unity in the trade union movement but disunity."

The experienced representatives and leaders of international labor know only too well the worth of Communist united front proposals. The kiss of Judas and the stab in the back, the instruments of Communism everywhere, are no longer mistaken for anything but what they are. In ever increasing measure does the international proletariat pronounce its curse upon those who have carried destruction and disaster into its ranks and upheld the hand of fascism and reaction at all critical moments and in the every-day struggle. Only in France, where the united front has become clearly the counterpart of the Franco-Russian military alliance, does the united front still linger, much to the detriment and confusion of the Socialist Party.

All Socialist and labor parties dominated not by misguided preachers and confused intellectuals but by the masses of organized workers, have definitely taken their stand against Communism and all united front proposals as designed to facilitate the Communist task of wrecking the labor movement to serve Moscow's ambitions for dictatorship over the working class.

Not from France, where the united front is helping Stalin in his marriage of convenience with the French government, but from Copenhagen, from the International Federation of Trade Unions, do the organized workers in all countries take their lead.

The answer of world labor is clear: the united front must begin in Soviet Russia, and it will not begin until the Communist dictatorship abandons its stranglehold upon the Russian workers and peasants, stops jailing and shooting Socialists, dissident Communists and all other political opponents for the sole crime of holding opinions unpleasant to the dictatorship, and gives unequivocal evidence of readiness to abandon its civil war upon the international labor movement.

But before the dictatorship could do this, it would have to cease being a dictatorship. And that would be tantamount to squaring the circle.

Young Socialist Alliance

By Victor Riesel

A FULL program of constructive Socialist activity has been outlined by the Activities and Organizational committees of the Young Socialist Alliance which has a strong following of young Socialists throughout Greater New York. Although not yet fully organized the Alliance has been doing yeoman work spreading literature, selling buttons and collecting funds for Local New York.

Its members contributed their share on the mass picket lines of various striking unions in the city. Since its inception, at the request of Local New York, it has built several well functioning distribution corps, a section of which sold thousands of copies of The New Leader at the national convention of the Workmen's Circle, which jammed Madison Square Garden. The huge May Day demonstration saw members of the Alliance placed all along the long line of march passing out leaflets and selling the party's official newspaper, The New Leader.

Alliance members were not en masse for the Anti-War Parade where they sold a few thousand buttons proclaiming that "I Oppose War." While working for the party itself, the group has not neglected union activity. The Y.S.A. is now growing steadily as a result of this participation.

The Alliance has recently undertaken the sale of picnic tickets and reports a fine response. It is also selling booklets to raise money for the United Socialist Drive in order to help New York raise its quota. As a culmination of a presummer drive for members a general organization dance is scheduled for Saturday night, June 15, at 95 Avenue B, New York City.

Sharing the Wealth

By Bebee

OUR clients failed to heed the tip given in our market letter during the chicken-in-every-pot era. That advice was to spend more, to save more and to work harder. Failure to heed the tip makes the present outlook dark. Especially so since Charles M. Schwab has made one of his perennial prophecies in which he says that business is due for another upswing. Of course, Charles may just be sore on the world because his salary is only \$250,000 a year and his envelope may have been nicked because he was a bit late in punching the clock.

Feed 'Em Figgers

THE dieticians of the economic world lay stress on a diet of figures in order to weaken the depression. "Feed 'em figgers," is their slogan. Figures dealing with bank clearances, freight car loadings and the number of light-years required for an idea to penetrate the brain of a Supreme Court judge.

GOING off the gold standard and the flight of the dollar should cause no alarm, as the situation is balanced by the plight of the dime. The effect is reflected on bar silver and has also increased the demand for the nickel. In fact, the nickel schooner is in sight, thus hastening the delayed program of drinking ourselves into prosperity again.

The Dollar—Where Is It?

THE point need not be stressed that the absence of the erstwhile fluctuating dollar is accounted for by the absence of the dollar itself. Our clients are aware that the stabilization of the dollar is only second in importance to the corraling of the dollar. The lives of our leading citizens prove the point.

Slogans and Salvation

SHARE Wealth has always been the slogan of the rich. They are willing to build up the financial structure and share the hope of better things if it takes the last phrase in the economic gospels of Long, Coughlin and Townsend.

The Luxury Market

IF the Southern workers are put to work at a wage of \$19 per month, impetus will be given to the share-wealth program. It will result in a buyers' market, followed by active trading in molasses, cornmeal, sow belly and other luxuries. The workers in the higher brackets, that is, those who are to receive a wage in excess of

"Prosperity" in Fascist Italy

By Dr. A. F. Magri

(The following article by a noted Italian economist reveals in clear facts and figures the exploitation and poverty of the Italian workers and peasants under fascism. An examination of wage and working conditions in Hitler Germany and Stalin Russia will reveal facts as appalling as those pertaining to Italy. The apologists of dictatorship, of Hitler and Stalin, as well as those of Mussolini, like to boast of what dictatorship has done and is doing for the economic uplift of the people. In forthcoming articles The New Leader will help cast some light on economic conditions in Germany and Soviet Russia.)

I AM often asked for information concerning wages in fascist Italy and the changes that have taken place under "Corporate" management. Fascist propaganda of every kind has often impudently asserted that Mussolini has inaugurated a new era of prosperity for the Italian workers; but I have noticed invariably that these assertions are unsupported by any documentary proofs. And, having a weakness for well-substantiated evidence, I have looked into the facts, using data from exclusively fascist sources.

First of all, I must confess that it is exceedingly difficult to draw simple, direct comparisons between the wages and conditions of pre-fascist Italy and those of today, because the methods of compiling statistics and index numbers have been changed again and again during the last fifteen years. The fascist government tries hard to avoid unpleasant economic figures, and resorts to wonderful feats of statistical jugglery that sometimes make it quite impossible to appreciate the real state of things. I am compelled, therefore, to set before my readers a list of facts and figures.

Wages in Agricultural Italy

The last census (1931) gives the Italian agricultural population as about 23,000,000 people, equivalent

\$19 per month, will be active buyers of cough drops in order to overcome the hoarseness that followed cheering for the late lamented NRA.

Every Cloud, etc.

INCLUDED in the cause for optimism is the news that the Standard Oil Co. made a profit of \$45,618,000 in 1934. This showing has affected other stocks and brisk curb trading in hot dogs and pretzels is expected to continue.

to 55 per cent of the total. Let us see what wages agricultural workers get. I am fortunate here in having a whole set of statistical data from 1921 to 1932 for the Southern Milanese district, one of the most prosperous of the country. In 1921, the year before fascism came into power, the salary for a man in fixed employment was 4,800 lire (about \$440) a year, while occasional workers were paid for men 2.40 lire (about 22 cents) or 1 lire (about 9 cents) for women per hour (Milan Annuario, p. 418).

In 1932 the wages were, respectively, 2,940 lire (about \$250), 1.35 (about 13 cents) and 0.65 lire (about 6 cents). One of the hardest and most unpleasant of agricultural tasks is the weeding out of the rice fields. Rice grows in marshlands, and the women who clear it of weeds and reeds must stand bare-legged to their knees in mud and water, amidst mosquitoes, frogs and water snakes, for eight hours daily during thirty or forty days. This work employs about 200,000 women, whose daily wage in 1926 was 21.80 lire (about \$2); from that date it has been falling constantly, till in 1933 it stood at 10.50 lire (about 95 cents). The reduction of these wages was always excused by the falling price of rice, but in 1932, when the price went up, they were left unchanged "in order to keep the value of rice at a remunerative level for the producers" (Lavoro Fascista, April 10, 1932). This statement throws much light on the vaunted "parity of rights" between workers and owners in fascist Italy.

The figures we have just seen show that agricultural wages have been reduced about 40 per cent; this fact is confirmed by an official of the Laborers' Federation in Lavoro Fascista, July 31, 1932. The cost of living index of the Milan Economic Council shows a fall of 26 per cent between January, 1927, and December, 1931; on this basis agricultural workers have worsened their condition by about 14 per cent.

Wages Continue to Fall

But it must not be thought that wages have remained stationary after the 1931 and 1933 cuts, or that only agricultural workers have been affected. I have mentioned them first simply because their number makes them the most important group of Italian workers. On June 2, 1933, one of the highest officials of the Confederations, Clavanzani, stated that the various salaries (already reduced by 10 per cent to 20 per cent in 1927) had been cut during the previous

five years at the following rates: glass industry, 30 to 40 per cent; cotton, 40 per cent; wool, 27 per cent; silk, 38 per cent; hemp and jute, 30 per cent; engineering, 23 per cent; building, 30 per cent; mining, 30 per cent; other industries, from 16 to 40 per cent.

On several occasions, after cutting down salaries, Mussolini stated that they would not be reduced any more (for instance, on August 1, 1928, and October 31, 1931); on another occasion (December 18, 1930) he declared that peasants' wages ought not to fall in any case below 8 lire (about 90 cents) a day; but, on page 155 of the issue for January, 1933, of the official Sindacato e Corporazione, we find that, in Southern Italy, in November, 1932, there were wages of 0.70 lire (about 6 cents) an hour for men and 0.35 lire (less than 4 cents) for women, who, working nine hours a day, earned, respectively, 6.30 lire (about 55 cents) and 3.25 lire (about 30 cents). And Mussolini expects these poor starved wretches to have large families and to rear them on such tragic pittance!

I will give now a few examples of wages for different industries and districts. The National Contract for 1934 for Women working in the silk industry fixes salaries rising from 3 lire (about 27 cents) a day to a maximum of 6.20 lire (about 57 cents) a day for skilled operatives. Carpet makers in Piedmont are paid from 4 cents to 20 cents an hour, and cement-lime makers in the same zone from 6 cents to 18 cents, as we can read in Lavoro Fascista, July 21, 1934.

Skilled Engineers' Pay

I have before me the pay envelope of a skilled engineering worker of the S. Giorgio Co. for the first fortnight of January, 1935; it shows sixty-six hours' work, for which he was paid 1.60 lire an hour (about 13 cents). Balbo's newspaper, the Corriere Padano (November 18, 1934) confesses that in the province of Ferrara salaries have fallen by 55 per cent between 1925 and 1934; that laborers earn 6.60 lire (about 60 cents) a day; and that the majority of peasant families of five or six persons must live on amounts varying from 1,200 lire to 3,300 lire per annum (\$100 to \$275).

Mussolini has recently mobilized several hundred thousand men. The official Popolo d'Italia gave, last year (July 25), the daily rates of compensation paid to the families of soldiers recalled into service. A wife gets 0.80 lire (about 7 cents); parents get 1.35 lire (about 10 cents); each child gets 0.50 lire (about 4 cents).

Clothing Workers To Aid the War On Hitlerism

THE New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has contributed \$2,500 to the anti-fascist fund raised by the Chest for Liberation of Workers of Europe, Dr. Harry Lee Franklin, Executive Secretary of the organization, announces. This contribution adds substantially to the amounts already given by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and other labor unions for this purpose, and which are expected to reach a total of \$250,000.

Stressing the need of concerted and speedy relief action for oppressed labor in the fascist ruled countries of Europe, Dr. Franklin pointed out that the action of the A.C.W. of A. will stimulate contributions from other labor unions to the campaign. Together with the raising of relief funds, the Chest is at present undertaking an energetic campaign against the spread of fascist and Nazi propaganda in the United States. All State Federations of Labor as well as more than 700 central labor bodies have been requested to assist in this work and to cooperate with other groups in fighting this insidious propaganda. The pamphlets "Labor Under Hitler" and "Labor, Democracy and Fascism," published by the Chest, are extensively distributed, and other publications are being prepared.

After reading the figures I have quoted, nobody will be surprised to see in the official Bollettino di Statistica of March, 1935, that in Milan, the richest Italian town, the sale of foodstuffs has fallen by 12 per cent between January, 1934, and January, 1935.

Billions Saved for Employers

In his speech of December 18, 1930, Mussolini stated that the reductions in wages during the preceding month alone would save about 2,000,000,000 lire (\$167,500,000) yearly to the employers. If we take into account the other cuts, we can reckon that, between 1927 and 1934, the owners have saved at least 10,000,000,000 lire (about \$837,000,000) a year. Nor does that satisfy them. The Lavoro Fascista is always complaining that contracts are constantly evaded, and asks for a firm repression of these abuses; but that same fascist State which sent to jail, for terms varying between 4 years, 6 months and 5 years 7 months, several workers of Orin who distributed leaflets of protest against the 9-hour day (Corriere, July 29, 1932), is remarkably impotent in dealing with the Capitalist.

Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

Social vs. Individualist Production

WE have seen that the capital structure of society is the basis essential to a Socialist society. This structure is social production as contrasted with the individualist production of the earlier phase of capitalism. Social production can be socialized; individualist production cannot. Petty individualist peasant production, thousands and tens of thousands of small businesses scattered throughout the country, are not adapted to socialization. Social ownership of an individualist economy is as ridiculous as private ownership of a social economy.

This philosophy runs through all Socialist literature, even the literature of the Bolsheviks down to their seizure of power in Russia. Both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks agreed that a revolution in Russia, because of the overwhelming predominance of a rural individualist economy and of small scale industry in the urban areas, could produce only a bourgeois democratic republic. The Bolsheviks, however, chose the peasants as middle class allies and the Mensheviks chose the urban middle class as allies. As urban industry carries within it the development of the capital structure essential to Socialism, the Mensheviks were in accord with Socialist philosophy and the Bolsheviks were not.

It is from this fundamental conflict of views between Socialism and Bolshevism that all the other conflicts in ideas and methods flow.

This being true, it is necessary further to consider this basic conflict before considering the others that issue out of it. In his chapter on the "Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation" in the first volume of his "Capital," Marx outlines the development of the capital structure which makes possible a Socialist society. Whether the whole of the chapter has been modified or not by later Marxist criticism, its main theme that capitalist production must reach a high stage of development, that it must be a social form of production, is accepted by all informed Socialists. The same view is presented in the "Communist Manifesto," in the Introduction by Marx to his "Critique of Political Economy," and by Engels in his "Socialism from Utopia to Science." The following from Marx's "Critique" is an excellent short statement of this fundamental principle:

Marxist Criticism of Utopians

"No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces, for which there is room in it, have been developed; and new and higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence HAVE MATURED in the womb of the old society. Therefore, mankind always takes up ONLY SUCH PROBLEMS AS IT CAN SOLVE; since, looking at the matter more closely, we will always find the problem itself arises only when the material conditions necessary for its solution ALREADY EXIST or are at least in the process of formation."

For this reason, Marx and Engels devoted Chapter III of the "Manifesto" to a criticism of various sects which, in 1847, called themselves "Socialist." One sect after another represented the ideology of some group or class not identified with working class interests. Some represented economic interests that cannot be reconciled with Socialism. These sects were limited in their views because of "TOTAL INCAPACITY TO COMPREHEND THE MARCH OF MODERN HISTORY."

The only sects of that period dealt with more kindly by Marx and Engels are the utopians like St. Simon, Fourier and Owen, who conceived of the transformation of society through "experiment," an idea revived by the Bolsheviks in the Five Year Plan. Some formed model colonies while Owen experimented with humane organization of his factories and also with colonies. Marx and Engels also placed Babeuf in the category of utopians although Babeuf voiced the claims of the working class.

Babeuf was a forerunner of Bolshevism who in France planned a general uprising in 1796 under astute leaders. They were to inaugurate a dictatorship of workers to establish "real equality." Marx and Engels pointed out the futility of this because material conditions were not suitable to Socialism. They declared it utopian "owing to the then undeveloped state of the proletariat, as well as the ABSENCE OF THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS that had yet to be produced, and could be produced by the IMPENDING BOURGEOIS EPOCH ALONE."

Bolshevik Utopians

Both types of utopians, experimenters and early Bolsheviks, were confused. Their confusion corresponded with the undeveloped and confused economic relations of an early stage of capitalism, with the survival of extensive peasant production, of a vast body of petty producers and traders, and with modern industry still in the future. Of the utopians as a whole Marx and Engels wrote:

"Since the development of class antagonism keeps even pace with the development of industry, the economic situation, as they find it, DOES NOT AS YET OFFER TO THEM THE MATERIAL CONDITIONS FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE PROLETARIAT. They, therefore, SEARCH AFTER A NEW SOCIAL SCIENCE, after new social laws, that are to create these conditions."

Modern Bolshevism, as we shall see, takes over the idea of proletarian risings (Babeuf), and the idea of "experiment" (Fourier, Owen, etc.). It is true to the utopian pattern. It is no accident that it has its origin and development in Russia, a nation where the building of the capital structure was in its early stage and where agriculture was of a primitive type. Bolshevism also prosecutes a "SEARCH AFTER A NEW SOCIAL SCIENCE" to justify itself. This it calls "Leninism." It is the old utopianism striving to enlist the Marxism which long ago declared it the output of confused middle class minds. It is not surprising that it has won much approval for its "experiment" and ideology among the bourgeois intellectuals and "liberals" while the support it won among the organized working class of the world in the confusion of the post-war period has been abandoned in practically every modern nation.

Material economic development is primary. Marxists never exempted even Socialist groups and parties from it when they began to organize in a low stage of capitalism. In the "Manifesto" already cited, they favored action which varied with the economic development of each country, support of Radicals in Switzerland although they were partly bourgeois, of agrarians in Poland (as the prime condition for national [not proletarian] emancipation), of the bourgeoisie in Germany "whenever it acts in a revolutionary way, against the absolute monarchy, the squirearchy, and the petty bourgeoisie."

March Back to Utopianism

That is, the survivals of feudal-agricultural conditions must be swept away before a modern capital structure can freely develop and the working class can organize and fight for its own class interests and emancipation. To put it another way, only a bourgeois revolution is possible under such conditions. The economic conditions for a Socialist order come during or after the reign of a powerful bourgeois class, not before it. All Marxists and even Lenin, until the Bolsheviks seized power, agreed that Socialism is impossible until the modern capital structure has appeared.

Writing of the trial of the Communists in Cologne in 1852, Marx expressed his contempt for reactionaries who assumed that the party "imagined itself capable of producing, AT ANY TIME AND AT ITS PLEASURE, that revolution which was to carry its ideas into practice." He added the following significant statement:

"The practical revolutionary experience of 1848-49 confirmed the reasonings of theory, which led to the conclusion that the Democracy of the petty traders MUST FIRST HAVE ITS TURN, before the Communist working class could hope to permanently establish in power and destroy that system of wage slavery which keeps it under the yoke of the bourgeoisie."

In the Preface to the first volume of "Capital" in 1867, Marx again emphasized this fact by saying that "even when a society has got upon the right track for the discovery of the natural laws of its own movement... it can NEITHER CLEAR BY BOLD LEAPS, NOR REMOVE BY LEGAL ENACTMENTS, the obstacles offered by the SUCCESSIVE PHASES of its normal development. But it can shorten and lessen the birth-pangs."

Bolshevism claims that a "bold leap" is possible out of low-scale petty industry and primitive agriculture into Socialism. The "successive phases" of capitalist development are ignored. It substitutes them with "legislative enactment" and "experiment." Instead of "leaping into" Socialism it travels a path back to the old utopianism!

(To be continued)

The Pennsylvania Front

No More Raiding of Party Tickets In Penna.

New Law Outlaws Theft of Nomination As Well As Fusions Against Socialists in Reading

Special to The New Leader

HARRISBURG.—The Party Raider Bill, prohibiting all except judicial candidates from being listed on more than one party ticket, passed the House and went to the Governor for his signature. It is certain that the bill will be signed.

Pennsylvania Socialists are especially interested in this bill because it will put a stop, to a certain extent, to the raiding of the Socialist ticket by Republicans and Democrats.

Of particular importance is the bill to the Reading organization. In 1931 the coalition of Republicans and Democrats defeated the Socialist administration. This year Reading will have a municipal election to elect the mayor and three members of council. It is generally conceded that the Socialists have an excellent chance to carry the city, even in a straight fight. With the passage of the Party Raider Bill fusion on the part of the Republicans and Democrats will be impossible and each party will have to have a ticket of its own.

Reading Socialists, who have been preparing for this year's election since leaving office, in making their plans for the forthcoming election had entirely omitted consideration of the possibility of legal prohibition of fusion. They are prepared to take over the city administration in either a two or three-cornered fight.

Anniversary Observed in Altoona. ALTOONA.—Secretary Detweiler reports that a Debs Peace Meeting will be held on Sunday, June 16th, at 2:30 p.m., at Highland Park. The speakers will be William Adams, chairman of the Socialist Party of Allegheny County, and George F. Griffiths, educational director of the Unemployed Citizens' League of Allegheny County.

Bellefonte to Pick Candidates. BELLEFONTE.—Center County Socialists will hold a general membership meeting on Friday, June 14th, at Bellefonte to nominate candidates for the county ticket.

Sands Speaks in Oakmont. OAKMONT.—Charles Sands of Reading, Pa., member of the State Executive Committee and Socialist candidate for member of the Reading Council, will give an illustrated lecture on "Cause of Depression" on Friday evening, June 14th, 8 p.m., at the club rooms of the Oakmont Branch, 829 Allegheny Ave.

Baltimore and Philadelphia Send Delegations to Tamiment Inst.

By William E. Bohn
NO matter what the Supreme Court may decide about the Schechter sick chicken case, the Tamiment Labor Conference is interstate business. Before the publicity about it had got into the mails spontaneous movements to organize delegations began in a dozen different centers scattered over six states to come to the lovely camp in the Poconos from June 27 to 30. The crowd that will gather to hear the representatives of the trade union movement will be a cross-section of the labor forces throughout the industrial East. It looks right now as if the delegations from Philadelphia, Baltimore, Reading, Pittsburgh, Newark, Bridgeport, and Boston would dominate the scene.

At the moment Philadelphia seems to be in the lead, but more up-to-date information from Baltimore and Pittsburgh may change the proportions of the picture. The Philadelphia friends achieved an initial advantage, for they were the first ones to set up their own committee of sponsors and get out their own literature to advertise the event. Miss Celia Rotter, who happened to be in the Quaker City over the last week-end, threw her enthusiasm into the scale along with that of the local labor leaders, and the result is a list of supporters of whom any movement would be proud. Here is the list: Dr. Jesse H. Holmes, Chairman; Harry Berger, David Braginsky, John W. Edelman, Lewis G. Hine, Jennie Libros, Simon Libros, Fred Malibie, Emil Rieve, Elias Reissberg, M. Herbert Syme. These friends promise to be on hand on June 27th with at least a hundred people from Philadelphia.

In Baltimore, where Miss Rotter also appeared to help with the work of organization, Morris L. Polin, of the Jewish Daily Forward; Dr. S. M. Neistadt, State Secretary of the Socialist Party, and others are organizing a committee similar to the one set up in Philadelphia. In Pittsburgh, the

Here and There in Pennsylvania

Debs Meeting in York. YORK.—Rev. C. M. Mitzel will speak at the York Debs Peace Meeting on Sunday, June 16th, 8 p.m., at the Party Hall, 201 South Beaver Ave., York, Pa.

To Honor Debs in Sharon. SHARON.—Sharon Socialists will join with the comrades of Youngstown, Ohio, in paying tribute to the memory of Eugene Victor Debs on Sunday, June 16th.

Cooperating With Strikers. UPPER DARBY.—Socialists of Upper Darby are cooperating with the striking fruit clerks union of this community.

Two New Branches. PITTSBURGH.—Two new branches have been organized in the Pittsburgh district: Carnegie Branch, Allegheny County, and Culmerville Branch, Allegheny County. The Culmerville Branch is composed entirely of union miners.

Mass Meeting at Bellefonte. BELLEFONTE.—A public meeting will be held at Bellefonte on Friday, June 14th, at 8 p.m., at the Court House. Elizabeth Beach, former Socialist candidate for member of the legislature will speak. Dr. George W. Hartmann of State College will preside.

Debs Memorial in Allentown. ALLENTOWN.—A Debs Peace Meeting will be held at the Municipal Park on Sunday, June 16th. Henry W. Schlegel will speak.

Good Work in Wilkes-Barre. WILKES-BARRE.—Secretary Sobers of the Pittston Branch reports that his branch is doing well. Plans are under way for a municipal campaign. Turned in 31 applications for membership cards.

Erie Joins Debs Memorial. ERIE.—An auto caravan will go to Canton, Ohio, on Sunday, June 16th, to join the Ohio comrades in commemorating the 17th anniversary of the Debs Canton speech.

Canton Anniversary in Media. MEDIA.—Local Delaware County will hold a Debs Peace meeting on Sunday, June 16th.

Pittsburgh Students at Rand School. PITTSBURGH.—The Pittsburgh district will send six students to the Rand School Summer Institute June 23-30.

Pittsburgh to Nominate. PITTSBURGH.—A general membership meeting will be held Tuesday, June 18th, at the 3rd Ward Jewish Branch headquarters, 1862 Center Ave., Pittsburgh. The order of business will include the nomination of candidates for county and city offices; a discussion of the proposed county and city platform and the report of a sub-committee which has been working on plans for the forthcoming campaign.

Bridgeport Party Picnic

BRIDGEPORT.—The annual picnic of the West Side Socialist district clubs will be held Sunday, June 23rd, at Columbus Park, Bridgeport.

There will be a full day of dancing, sports, entertainment and a minimum of speechmaking. A record crowd appears to be assured.

I. L. G. W. U. Scholarships

The rich alumni of Bryn Mawr may shy away from the Summer School for Workers in Industry, but the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in addition to extensive educational plans carried on under its own auspices (which cover more than 200 classes and several Training-for-Trade Union Service Institutes) has granted seven scholarships, three for Workers; two for the Western Summer School, Berkeley, California; two at the Southern Summer School, Little Switzerland, N. C., and one for the School for Workers in Industry at Mt. Ivy, Pomona.

Features of the Week on WEVD

Sun.—11 a.m., Music and sketches; 12:15 p.m., Variety Show featuring Celia Budkin; 8:15, Edith Friedman, piano; 8:30, Chicago Opera Company; 10, Symposium.

Mon.—8 a.m., "Starting the Day Right" with Jacob S. List; 3:30 p.m., Italian Musicale.

Tues.—8 p.m., Slavsky String Quartet; 8:15, Frank Bohm, news commentator; 8:30, Cecil Browne, baritone; 10, Raymond Shannon, baritone; 10:15, Cecil Heller Miller, soprano; 10:45, "The Four Chords," vocal quartet.

Wed.—8:15 p.m., Welfare Council, talk; 8:30, Premier Instrumental Trio; 8:45, Royal Dutch Traveler, baritone; 9:15, Newspaper Guild on the Air; 10:30, Ruth Robinson, soprano.

Thurs.—8 a.m., Social Service Workers' talk; 8:15, Charlotte Tomback, violin; 8:30, Eugene Byron Morgan, baritone; 8:45, Royal Dutch Traveler, baritone; 9:15, Newspaper Guild on the Air; 10:30, Ruth Robinson, soprano.

Fri.—8:15 p.m., WEVD String Quartet; 8:30, Frank Bohm, news commentator; 8:45, Sigmond Speed, "The Talent Detective"; 10, Max Wechsler, violin; 10:15, "Current Scene in Washington"; 10:30, Medical Hour, talk.

Sat.—8 a.m., "Starting the Day Right" with Jacob S. List; 10, Voice of Local 99, Heller Variety Show; 11, Anthony Med, baritone; 6 p.m., "Jewish Events of the Week"; talk; 8, Metropolitan String Ensemble; 8:30, Don Aylen's Orchestra; 10, Chicago Opera Company.

Slayton's Memory To Be Honored By Scholarships

Rand School Scholarships to Train Workers in Cause Provided By a Memorial Fund

Special to The New Leader

PITTSBURGH.—To honor the memory of John W. Slayton, Pittsburgh Socialists have organized a John W. Slayton Scholarship Fund.

John W. Slayton, pioneer Socialist, died on Wednesday, June 5, 1935 at the age of 73, after a lifetime of noble and useful service to the labor and Socialist cause.

William Adams, chairman of the committee in charge of the fund, announces that already sufficient contributions have been made to send several students to the Rand School Summer Institute.

"I am confident," he said, "that all those who knew and loved John Slayton will recognize this fund as a most fitting tribute to him. To help young Socialists to equip themselves for greater service to the cause to which he gave so unstintingly of his great qualities, would serve to perpetuate John Slayton and all he stood for."

The committee consists of William Adams, chairman; Sam Oshry, treasurer, and Sarah Limbach.

State Executive Committee. PITTSBURGH.—The State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania will meet at Pittsburgh on Saturday and Sunday, June 15th and 16th.

The main problems to be considered are organization, the forthcoming municipal and county elections, plans to promote the circulation of The New Leader, the official Pennsylvania Socialist paper, and methods for securing statewide labor support for the Hillquit Workers' Rights amendment.

The sessions will be held at the party office, 122 9th St., Pittsburgh, beginning Saturday afternoon at 4.

Saturday evening a reception in honor of the State Executive Committee members will be held at the home of Jane W. Tait, 1954 Perryville Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. Party members are invited.

Karol Speaks at Debs Memorial. EASTON.—A Debs Peace Meeting will be held on Sunday, June 16th, at the Central Labor Union Hall. A. S. Karol of Allentown will be the speaker.

Ticket For Clearfield. CLEARFIELD.—Clearfield County Socialists will meet June 15th to nominate a county ticket and make preparations for the forthcoming campaign.

Bridgeport Party Picnic

BRIDGEPORT.—The annual picnic of the West Side Socialist district clubs will be held Sunday, June 23rd, at Columbus Park, Bridgeport.

There will be a full day of dancing, sports, entertainment and a minimum of speechmaking. A record crowd appears to be assured.

I. L. G. W. U. Scholarships

The rich alumni of Bryn Mawr may shy away from the Summer School for Workers in Industry, but the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in addition to extensive educational plans carried on under its own auspices (which cover more than 200 classes and several Training-for-Trade Union Service Institutes) has granted seven scholarships, three for Workers; two for the Western Summer School, Berkeley, California; two at the Southern Summer School, Little Switzerland, N. C., and one for the School for Workers in Industry at Mt. Ivy, Pomona.

Features of the Week on WEVD

Sun.—11 a.m., Music and sketches; 12:15 p.m., Variety Show featuring Celia Budkin; 8:15, Edith Friedman, piano; 8:30, Chicago Opera Company; 10, Symposium.

Mon.—8 a.m., "Starting the Day Right" with Jacob S. List; 3:30 p.m., Italian Musicale.

Tues.—8 p.m., Slavsky String Quartet; 8:15, Frank Bohm, news commentator; 8:30, Cecil Browne, baritone; 10, Raymond Shannon, baritone; 10:15, Cecil Heller Miller, soprano; 10:45, "The Four Chords," vocal quartet.

Wed.—8:15 p.m., Welfare Council, talk; 8:30, Premier Instrumental Trio; 8:45, Royal Dutch Traveler, baritone; 9:15, Newspaper Guild on the Air; 10:30, Ruth Robinson, soprano.

Thurs.—8 a.m., Social Service Workers' talk; 8:15, Charlotte Tomback, violin; 8:30, Eugene Byron Morgan, baritone; 8:45, Royal Dutch Traveler, baritone; 9:15, Newspaper Guild on the Air; 10:30, Ruth Robinson, soprano.

Fri.—8:15 p.m., WEVD String Quartet; 8:30, Frank Bohm, news commentator; 8:45, Sigmond Speed, "The Talent Detective"; 10, Max Wechsler, violin; 10:15, "Current Scene in Washington"; 10:30, Medical Hour, talk.

Sat.—8 a.m., "Starting the Day Right" with Jacob S. List; 10, Voice of Local 99, Heller Variety Show; 11, Anthony Med, baritone; 6 p.m., "Jewish Events of the Week"; talk; 8, Metropolitan String Ensemble; 8:30, Don Aylen's Orchestra; 10, Chicago Opera Company.

Nervous and Irritable?

It's a warning...

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

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

Keep "Regular" with
EX-LAX
The Chocolate Laxative

WORKMEN'S MUTUAL FIRE INSURANCE SOCIETY, INC.

(ORGANIZED 1872)
A co-operative Fire Insurance Society, affiliated with the Cooperative League of America and operating under the supervision of the New York State Insurance Department.

Why Pay Exorbitant Fire Rates?

When our Society offers you HOUSEHOLD FIRE INSURANCE AT ACTUAL COST ONLY

10¢ Annually \$100 Insurance for Every \$1000 of property value, irrespective of location or character of dwelling.

Fire Losses Appraised Liberally and Paid Promptly.

\$75,000,000.00 Insurance in Force.

\$1,000,000.00 in Assets.

\$500,000.00 paid out in fire claims.

60,000 Members.

Upon admission every member must make a deposit equal to \$0.50 for every \$100 of insurance. This deposit will be repaid in full upon withdrawal.

For further information apply to the Main Office
227 EAST 84th STREET
New York City
Tel. REgent 4-4381, New York City

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

PASSAIC MOVES FOR NEW JERSEY EMERGENCY STATE CONVENTION

Special to The New Leader.

PASSAIC, N. J.—The Passaic County Committee, outraged by the recent conduct of the state committee under the leadership of the Eric Ross-Morris Rosenkrantz-Ben Galloway group in expelling branches wholesale on the flimsiest excuses, strove to organize a party organization in the state, has initiated a movement for an emergency state convention.

At the last state convention, held in Trenton in December, the so-called militants, in alliance with the R.P.C., elected their own state committee and immediately began a course of conduct that has left the state organization in ruins. The climax was capped when branches began to be expelled wholesale for declining to buy tickets for a raffle!

The executive committee of Branch One meets Friday, June 14th, at 8. Regular business meeting of branch will be held Friday, June 21st, at 8 H. Miller, P. Steinberg of Passaic, and G. DeYoung and M. Simon of Paterson have been appointed to the Passaic County Plenary Committee. Plenary will take place the latter part of June.

Branch One will commence its outdoor meetings on the street corners of Passaic the first week in August.

Yipsels meet each Wednesday evening. All indoor meetings for the month of June will be held at Passaic Labor Center, 201 Washington Place.

NORWICH SOCIALISTS POLL 12% OF TOTAL VOTE IN CITY ELECTION

Special to The New Leader.

NORWICH, Conn.—The Socialist Party polled considerably more than 11 per cent of the total vote in the elections for city offices here, the Socialist candidates polling the highest vote ever recorded for the party in local elections.

In a total vote of 5,897, the Socialists ran from 621 to 654. An encouraging feature was the fact that there was so little variation from the highest to the lowest Socialist vote.

The Socialists received the following vote:

Aldermen—Fred Holzworth, 695; Albert Boardman, 654; Councilmen—Louis Pappas, 652; A. I. Phillips, 652; Aaron Goldblatt, 652; A. R. George, 652; Treasurer—Harold S. Littlejohn, 652; City Clerk—Carl A. Johnson, 652; Tax Collector—B. E. Huntington, 652; Sheriff—Horace P. Boardman, 652; Harry L. Bowman, 652; Water Commissioner—St. Robert, 652.

The Democratic candidates polled between 2,700 and 2,800 votes for the various offices, and the Republicans between 2,300 and 2,400.

The local Socialists, constituting the Second Congressional District

THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE 75,000 MEMBERS

The Largest Radical Workingmen's Fraternal Order in Existence

\$5,000,000 ASSETS

139 Branches All Over the United States and Canada

Insurance from \$100 to \$1,000

Sick benefit, 15 weeks per year, at \$8, \$16, \$24 and \$32 per week. Many branches pay additional benefit from \$5 to \$10 per week. Consumption benefit \$400 and \$600 or nine months in our own sanatorium, located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.

For information apply to

THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

178 East Broadway, N. Y. City

Telephone ORchard 4-6006

Columbia Tea Co.



Order from your grocer this famous Russian Tea known to millions as "ZVIETCHNI CHAI"

Young Circle League

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

Workmen's Circle

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.

Published Every Saturday by The New Leader Publishing Association, 7 E. 15th St., New York City. Telephone No. ALgonquin 4-4622.

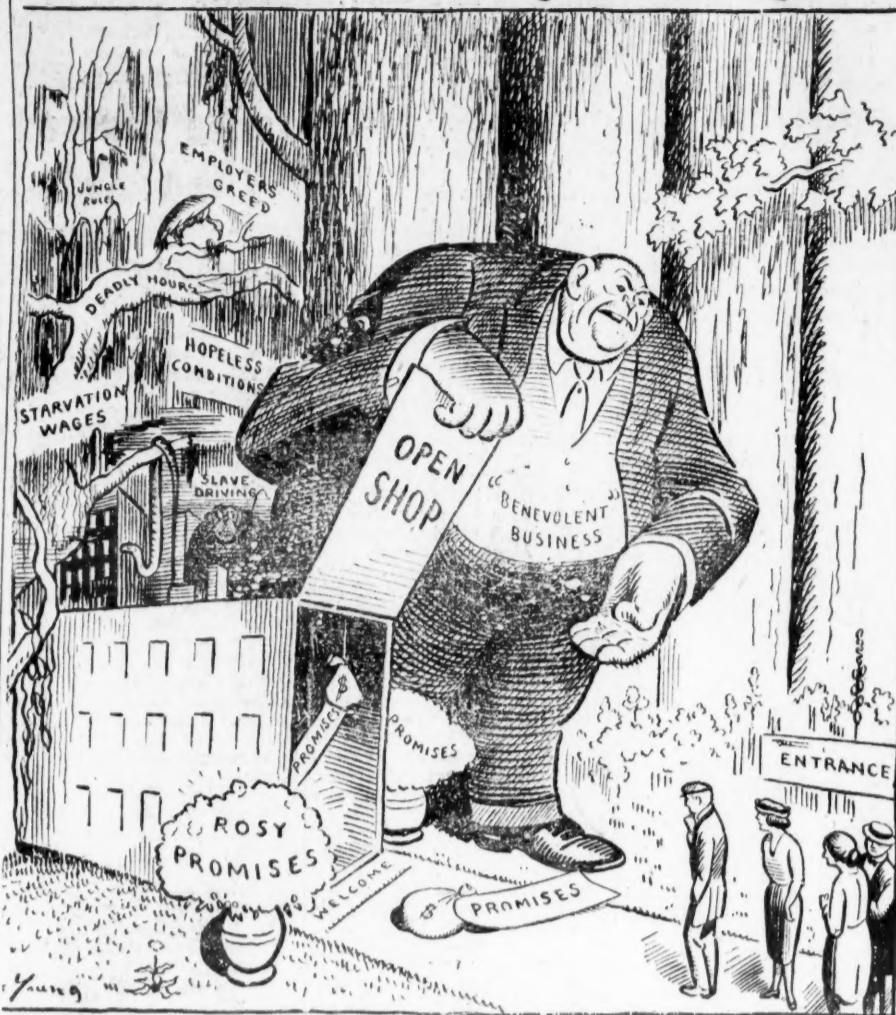
Entered as Second Class Matter, January 19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

1 Year, New York City Edition \$2.00 1 Year, Nat'l Edition \$1.00
Year to Foreign Countries \$3.00 1 Year to Canada, \$2.50

Vol. XVIII—No. 24

Behind the Open Shop



WHO'S LOONEY NOW?

ONE who reads stories of pirates in the days when a vague zone divided piracy from privateering in war gets a thrill from the daring of the sea robbers. They lived dangerously and enjoyed their work. They made one mistake. They should have buttressed their profession with laws, police, courts and armies.

In the capitalist world something like this old distinction between piracy and privateering rules. A normal rate of robbery under the rules of capitalist law is considered legitimate. What the normal rate is no man knows, but it is assumed that there is a "reasonable" rate beyond which robbery becomes piracy.

We hand a medal of piracy to Consolidated Gas which invested \$29,300,000 in the Westchester Lighting Company in 1925 and it has received more than \$27,000,000 in dividends from the subsidiary in this period. Consolidated Gas did not pay any cash on its investment.

As a once famous crank once said, "Who's looney now?"

THE HIRE LEANING

TIME was when the kings of capitalism did not claim that endowed universities were departments of their industrial enterprises. Pride of ownership today prompts the kings openly to declare their possessions. Silas H. Strawn, former president of the American Bar Association, made his announcement in an address prepared for the Middlebury College commencement.

"I am unable to sympathize with the elastic conscience of those who inveigh against the capitalistic system while on the payroll of a college or university whose budget, or whose existence, is due to the philanthropic generosity of those whose industry and frugality have enabled them to make an endowment," said Strawn.

That's frank, isn't it? The exploiters pay for the instructors and pay for their output. The capitalist class are interested in producing commodities and the instructors and the output are commodities. Moreover, strict logic compels us to admit that their claim of ownership is as well founded as their claim to the iron and steel produced in the steel industry.

A "DIRT" FARMER SPEAKS

THE Republicans of the "grass-roots" states held a vast meeting to rehabilitate their party, and heard a keynote speech by Frank O. Lowden, former governor of Illinois, multi-millionaire "dirt farmer" and son-in-law of George M. Pullman. Properly to characterize this tremendous trifle we are at a loss to decide between Shakespeare and Harry Leon Wilson; whether to say, with the Bard, that Gratiano speaks an infinite deal of nothing or that there was sound and fury, signifying nothing; or to quote the immortal Bunker Bean who said, "I can imagine nothing of less consequence."

PROMOTING CRIME

WHETHER or not the Albany team of the International League is strengthened by the services of Alabama Pitts is a matter of a little less than cosmic importance, but it is a matter of more consequence than the strengthening of a minor team in a minor baseball league whether or not the ukase of the southern judge who said that Pitts could not play is to stand. For if Pitts is told that he is never to earn an honest living at a decent (although not very important) occupation because he served a jail term, we might as well revise our penal laws and decide that any man or woman landing in jail for any offense, serious or trivial, must either be executed at once, or be locked up for life. The only alternative is to toss out graduates of the prisons to take up a life of crime.

TO THE ORATORS

SUGGESTED to Commencement orators, especially statesmen and other stuffed shirts who advise the youth to avoid "radicalism." Read the story in Tuesday's newspapers of a 29-year old woman who took her three children into a room and turned on the gas. The reason was that her husband earns \$25 a week and she was unable to make that princely sum cover the barest necessities for her growing family. And while he is enjoying his brief rest at his Hyde Park estate, President Roosevelt might also think over that incident, and his wage-scale of \$19 a month for work-relief.

AT WEST POINT

SPEAKING at the West Point Commencement exercises, President Roosevelt made an earnest plea for peace and for a larger army. The United States, said the President, "is so peace-loving that on some occasions the army had been reduced to a level unjustified by a due regard to our own safety." He explained that this is why he has been supporting legislation for a larger army and more cadets at the Point.

The President neglected to speak of commercial rivalries, capitalist imperialism and competitive militarism. He also overlooked the opportunity to call the cadets' attention to recently published books telling how American banking interests dragged us into the World War to protect their investments. Ah, well! The President can't think of everything.

More Production--But How?

By John M. Work

WRITING in a brand new magazine called The People's Money, Richard T. Ely says we need more production.

While this idea may scare some of the new dealers to death, the fact is that we do need very greatly increased production; but the question is how to get it; also how to distribute it if we get it. Products would not do any good if not distributed.

There was much production in 1929 and for some years previous, but there was not proper distribution. The national income was distributed with grotesque unfairness; hence the people did not have the money to pay for the things they wanted. They bought large quantities of products and went in debt up to their necks. Of course that could not last, and it didn't. Since then, production has greatly decreased.

The industrial plant is operating only at a fraction of its capacity. It does not operate more fully because the owners do not find a profit in sight. The people have the capacity to consume even more than the plant could produce, and, if they could buy what they

want, it probably would have to be extended somewhat. No considerable extension is likely to take place under this system, for the same reason that the plant does not run full blast: because no profit for private profiteers is in sight. One of the reasons why capitalism is through lies in the fact that there is no place for the capitalists to invest their surplus capital profitably.

There could be greater production and equitable distribution through socialization of industry.

This should be undertaken on a national scale by the federal government and on a state scale by the state governments.

What a pity it is that the federal and state governments are not in charge of men who have the will to spend most of the four billion dollars, recently appropriated, in this way, so that it would leave permanent jobs and the beginnings of permanent prosperity in its wake!

The national and state governments would be in charge of such men if the people had not made the terrible mistake of voting the Democratic and Republican tickets.

Behind the Scenes in Washington



By Benjamin Meiman

Our Washington Correspondent

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, badly in need of a little vacation, left the White House to hide away in Hyde Park for a few days. The nation's capital city has been turned over to a hundred thousand "Nobles of the Mystic Shrine" who made Washington resemble the land of the Caliphs. Washington becomes a carnival city, a playground for the Nobles of the Ancient Arabic Order.

Downtown Washington, with its wide streets and imposing architecture, has been transformed into a palm-bedecked city in their honor. Historic Pennsylvania Avenue is a palm-fringed highway by day and a dazzling light-caupied midway for fun and pageantry by night. The plaza in front of the White House has been turned into "The Pavilion of War." With the "Temple of Omar" concealing the White House and great sentinel columns covered with strange Egyptian hieroglyphics rising at the corner of Executive and Pennsylvania Avenues. Further down the street, two young sphinxes smile at the banners.

In ancient Rome the people demanded bread and circuses. Our people are more modest in their demands. They seem to satisfy themselves with just circuses...

Both Sides Displeased With NRA Resolution

THE resolution to extend the codeless (and lifeless) skeletonized NRA until April 1, 1936, which the House adopted by 264 to 121, satisfies neither William Green nor Senator Borah.

Holding that the Administration's present NRA plans constitute a "surrender," the A. F. of L.'s high command formally resolved last Friday to draft a new recovery act and seek its passage by Congress within the next few weeks.

Labor Prepares Tentative Draft

A TENTATIVE draft of the bill was before the Council when it acted at its special meeting, but it was withheld from publication pending revision at the hands of the Federation's executive officers and resident members of the Council. President William Green said the bill would be ready for introduction in Congress "in a few days." The Council deferred drafting a constitutional amendment to fit its commitment until its August 5 meeting.

The Executive Council also committed itself to a campaign for a constitutional amendment removing all doubts as to the validity of Federal Minimum wage, maximum hours, child labor and social insurance legislation.

Last week President Roosevelt asked that the NRA be retained for a few months longer, but only as a skeleton organization to compile statistics and to see that Government contractors do not employ sweatshop or child labor. It now appears that the NRA resolution passed hastily by the House on Friday covers more ground than that. Senate critics have discovered that the resolution would actually retain the provision in the Recovery Act giving the President authority to approve voluntary agreements and to suspend the anti-trust laws in favor of industries adopting such agreements.

According to Senator Borah, who has consistently fought the monopolistic practices and tendencies of the NRA, the resolution "leaves the way wide open for large business interests to make so-called voluntary agreements and then to go to the President and obtain immunity from the anti-trust laws. That would mean that they would get just what they have been seeking from the very beginning—self-government within their spheres, immunity from the anti-trust laws and complete freedom from public control and labor safeguards."

In a seven-page "declaration of purposes" in which it announced that commitment and its intentions to press for immediate legislation to save for labor the wage, hour and collective-bargaining advantages of the NRA, the Executive Council also said:

"The following summary of legislative proposals represents the minimum legislative measures necessary to meet the problem of unemployment and the national emergency which originated in 1929 and still exists:

- "1. The enactment of a new act to replace the National Recovery Act.
- "2. The passage of the Wagner-Connelly labor disputes bill.
- "3. The enactment of the Black-Connelly labor disputes bill.
- "4. The passage of social security legislation.
- "5. The enactment of the Guffey coal bill."

Concluding, the declaration says: "Labor refuses to assume a defeatist attitude; it will not surrender. It faces the situation with the determination to do all that lies within its power to secure the enactment of a new act to replace the National Recovery Act at the earliest possible date."

"Trust-Busting" Revived
SENATORS Borah, King and others of their ilk, play the anti-NRA game with anti-trust phrases popular at the beginning of the century; the old "Teddy" Roosevelt "big stick" talk. In order to placate them the Senate Resolution to extend the skeletonized NRA contains a proviso specifically prohibiting monopolistic practices in voluntary trade agreements.

When the Senate Finance Committee met Monday to consider the NRA Resolution, Senator Clark proposed that Section 5 be repealed altogether, with the proviso that nothing in the act be construed as prohibiting agreements on the subject of minimum wages, maximum hours, collective bargaining and child labor prohibition. Donald

Shall We Be a Real Party, Or Shall We Be a Pious Sect?

By Algernon Lee

SOME superheated enthusiasts in Hartford are demanding that the five Socialists elected last fall to the Connecticut legislature be forthwith expelled from our party. It is safe to say that the Connecticut state organization will be able to deal with the matter, without advice from New York or instructions from Chicago. The incident is typical enough, however; to deserve more than state-wide attention.

What is the unforgivable sin for which it is proposed that the five legislators be excommunicated? One may suspect that what really lies behind the attack is the fact that they all come from Bridgeport—a city in which the Socialist Party has for many years maintained close relations with Organized Labor and has not given the Communists or their dupes the least opportunity for disruptive action. The overt act of which they are accused is that of voting for the imposition of a sales tax—a form of taxation which the party had expressly disapproved. There is no question that they did vote for such a measure. But there is something more to be said.

What came up for final passage was not, of course, a bill drawn and introduced by the Socialist minority. It was a bill to provide funds for unemployment relief by means of a sales tax. The Socialist members could do only one of three things: Either vote against the sales tax and thereby against the provision of relief funds; or vote for the provision of relief funds even by a method of which they disapproved; or evade the issue by refusing to vote. Rightly or wrongly, they felt that the third course would not benefit the unemployed or the working class as a whole and would not win public respect for the party. As between the other courses open to them, they deemed it more important to vote for unemployment relief than to vote against the sales tax. Had they decided the other way, the Hartford oppositionists would have had at least an equally good case against them and would probably have demanded their expulsion just the same.

It is to be hoped that the Hartfordites will always remain in blissful ignorance of the fact that the sales tax is a favorite method of raising money for governmental purposes in Soviet Russia—so much so that, as recently as 1932 (later figures are not at hand) the proceeds of this tax covered half the budget. It would be too painful for them to realize that, in their eagerness to strike a blow at the Bridgeport men, they had taken an attitude, as Norman Thomas likes to express it, "unfriendly" to the Moscow regime.

We who are not so much con-

cerned as to whether the truth is friendly or unfriendly to Stalin, can consider the sales tax on its own merits. Our party has in general condemned it—and rightly, in so far as it is a rather clumsy sort of a tax, collectible only by methods which involve heavy expense and thereby reduce its net yield. That is the only sound argument against it. True, it is paid by the consumers; but so are the duties on imports, the excise or internal revenue taxes, and many others against which no special outcry is being raised. That it is paid directly by the final purchasers, not just passed on to them as a part of the final purchase price, is rather a point in its favor. It is well that we should know when we are being taxed, and how much and what for.

In a word, our attitude toward the sales tax is by no means a question of Socialist principle, but one of expediency. As a matter of expediency, it is by no means a question of distinct working-class interest. The opposition to this particular tax comes much more from the lower middle class, particularly the retail dealers, than from the wage workers. On the other hand, the question of relieving the unemployed, unless and until unemployment is done away with, most emphatically is a matter of vital interest for the working people, and for democratic Socialists it is therefore a question of principle. Only a fanatical sectarian can think it better to let the unemployed go hungry than to feed them with the proceeds of a sales tax.

The incident raises another and more general issue. What is the function of a Socialist minority in a state legislature or any other body? Granted, they should propose and advocate such amendments to old-party bills as would, if adopted, make these measures more beneficial to the workers and therefore more acceptable to Socialists. But when it comes to the question of voting for or against any particular bill in its final form, what rule are they to follow? Should they vote against every bill which is not completely satisfactory to them as Socialists? Or are they to weigh the merits and defects of each proposed measure and vote for those which will give some substantial net benefit to the toiling masses, even though old-party politicians may be able to claim some credit for them?

From the point of view of those who talk about "the bogus democracy of capitalist parliamentarianism," Socialists should no doubt vote only for bills which they themselves introduce, no matter how disastrously the defeat of some other measures may affect the workers' interest. In this sense, the Hartford expulsions are consistent—that is, they are consistently wrong.

The whole question is: Shall the Socialist Party be really a political party, really serving the working class, or shall it be a pious sect, chiefly concerned with formulas and phrases?

SOCIALISTS SWEEP CITIES

New Zealand, once called the great sociological laboratory of the world, will be swept for Socialism at the general elections in November, if the recent municipal elections are any indication.

In every part of the island paradise that has been converted into a remote and antipodean England the Labor party has made remarkable gains. Auckland, the largest city with a population of a quarter of a million, elected a Labor majority for the first time, fifteen out of 21 Council members being Socialists. Christchurch and Dunedin, the third and fourth cities in the country, also elected Labor Councils.

New Zealand, a Dominion of two large islands with a population of a million and a half, has been one of the most interesting laboratories of labor legislation in history. With no extremes of wealth or grinding poverty, the most advanced labor and social legislation was put into effect as long ago as the '90s. It used to be asserted that because such laws were imposed from above there would never be a strong Labor and Socialist movement.

There has always been a well-grounded Socialist and Labor movement there, but up to very recently it did not challenge the capitalist parties for control.

At the last two elections the Labor party elected 19 out of 80 members (1928) and 24 out of 80 (1931), and is now the Official Opposition. The party has been troubled for some time with Communist disrupters, who employ tactics similar to those in other countries, denouncing Labor party leaders as "social fascists" and seeking a united front with them. The Labor party (as reported in these columns several months ago) ordered all members and affiliated bodies to have no dealings with the Communists or any of their affiliates or "innocents."

Since then the party has grown like wildfire.