

## British Socialists Launch Great Drive to Win Nation As Electoral Battle Nears

**Labor Eager for Contest,  
Confident of Victory—  
Tories Dodge Fight,  
While MacDonalds Face  
Gloomy Prospects.**

LONDON.—With the eviction of Ramsay MacDonald as the tenant of Ten Downing Street and the installation in the Premiership of the leader of the Tory Party, Stanley Baldwin, all parties are getting ready for the General Election that cannot be long delayed. Attorney-General Inskip publicly said the election "is likely any time after the summer is over."

The Tories are not anxious for that election, while Labor is eager to go to the country, confident that all the losses of 1931 will be wiped out and that the party will regain the position it won when it was called to organize the second Labor Government six years ago.

The Tories had hoped to postpone the election until the spring while still masquerading behind the facade of a "National Government" supposedly representing all parties, with MacDonald maintaining the fiction of a "National Labor" party in the premiership. As time went on however, and MacDonald was shoved more and more into the background, it was impossible to pretend that he was actually the head of the Government, and with his passing into a relatively minor post the "National" government automatically gives way to a Tory ministry, and an election is therefore inevitable.

Labor is happy for the opportunity to appeal to the electorate, and is making preparations to enter a winning battle. The whole Labor Party strategy is for victory, and for the building of a Socialist Britain.

A record number of Labor candidates will be nominated, more than in 1929, when 569 went to the polls.

It is the intention to fight over the widest possible front, and every section of the movement is now being mobilized for the campaign.

### Big Campaign Planned

Eight million leaflets monthly are to be broadcast throughout the constituencies. A sustained drive is to be made at once to double the party's membership before the election.

Great organizing conferences are to be held in every part of the country. Together with the trade unions an immediate effort is to be made to rally the agricultural areas to the Labor Party.

Immediately after the summer holidays the Labor Party intends to launch an impressive platform campaign in all the key centres.

Mass conferences and demonstrations are to be addressed by Front Bench members and ex-Ministers, led by George Lansbury, Leader of the Party, from one end of the country to the other.

On Saturday and Sunday, June (Continued on Page Two)

## Publicly Owned Power Plants Pushed in N. Y. and Minneapolis

SUPPORT by the Socialist Party of the municipal plant proposal of Mayor LaGuardia as the first step in the campaign for the public ownership of all electric facilities in New York was expressed by Dr. Harry W. Laidler, chairman of the Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party, and Louis Waldman, New York State Chairman.

A turbulent hearing, at which Waldman appeared, was held at City Hall Wednesday, when representatives of the utilities spoke in opposition to municipal ownership and operation. Comrade Waldman presented a statement on behalf of the Party, the City Affairs Committee and a number of unions. Comrade Laidler's statement was filed with the Board of Estimate.

"We favor Mayor LaGuardia's proposal," Dr. Laidler said, "as the first step in a comprehensive program of public ownership. We have enough experience in this country to indicate the definite advantage of public versus private ownership of our electrical utilities from the standpoint of consumer (Continued on Page Two)

## Ouster of Calles Victory for Labor, Says Iglesias

**Deplored Strikes and Labor  
Organization—Cardenas  
Backs Organized Workers**

The following statement, written exclusively for The New Leader, is by Santiago Iglesias, Secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and Resident Commissioner in Congress from Puerto Rico, to which post he was elected as a Socialist. The statement, based on authoritative information direct from labor sources in Mexico City, casts light upon the recent crisis in that country arising from the contest between President Cardenas and General Plutarco Elias Calles.

**By Santiago Iglesias**  
GENERAL PLUTARCO ELIAS CALLES, ex-President of Mexico, in his statement, June 11th, deplored the widespread labor unrest in Mexico, and mentioned among recent strikes those of the Mexican Tramway Company, which he said was bankrupt, and of the Mexican Telephone Company which has complied with all just demands of the workers.

General Calles did not see any justification for the demand on the part of the workers for an increase in wages in the latter company and the protests made against the former company by the workers because of lower salaries.

He censured the division existing among labor factions because of strikes, which, he said, have injured the industrial life of Mexico in recent months. He strongly criticized two labor leaders, Vincente Lombardo Toledano and Alfredo Navarrete, ex-members of the Mexican Federation of Labor (CROM), whom he called leaders of chaos. He declared the country was tired of labor agitation, especially when it was not justified, and he cited the tramway workers' strike and the telephone workers' strike.

He added that the strikes were causing great disappointment to capital and grave injury to the community and that these labor leaders were lacking in ethics and of the most elemental respect for the rights of the organization.

General Calles' statements censuring the wave of strikes which has engulfed Mexico in the past few months brought again Mexican labor affairs to the public eye. The declaration of President Calles was directed to two labor leaders, Lombardo Toledano and Alfredo Navarrete, ex-members of the Mexican Federation of Labor which celebrated its seventeenth anniversary on May 12th.

The Mexican Federation of Labor (CROM) is still the strongest organization of bona fide workers in Mexico. It was this organiza- (Continued on Page Two)

## Hitler is Doomed by Cancer, Reports from Germany Say

**40,000 Cloakmakers to  
Strike on Monday**

AT the moment of going to press we learn that a strike of 40,000 cloakmakers in New York will in all probability be called Monday. The Merchants' Association refuses to yield on two vital points, the limitation of contractors, and jobber responsibility for wage and work conditions. The workers are determined to fight to the limit to repulse this offensive of the bosses upon the gains they have won with so much bitter struggle.

The General Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union will meet with the leaders of the cloakmakers' union on Monday, when the strike will be called. The workers are in a fighting mood and victory is assured, they say.

## Hoopes Doubles Penna. Funds For the Aged

**Socialist Legislator Forces  
Increase of Appropriations  
from \$19,880,000 to  
\$40,000,000 in Deter-  
mined Battle in House**

**Special to The New Leader.**  
HARRISBURG.—Throwing a monkey wrench into the commonwealth's fiscal affairs for the next biennium, Representative Darlington Hoopes, Berks Socialist, has succeeded in virtually doubling the appropriation for old age assistance for the current biennium.

Most Republicans and many Democrats voted for Hoopes' amendment to the old age assistance appropriation increasing it from \$19,880,000 to \$40,000,000. The vote to boost the appropriation was 135 to 33.

The governor has the right to pare all appropriations, but whether or not he will slice the old age assistance allowance is entirely a matter of conjecture. (Continued on Page Three)

## Norwegian Labor Victorious As Factions End Differences

**By Hans Rheinlaender**

(This article on Socialism in Norway was written by a German Socialist who has just completed a study of the Socialist and labor movement in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, in all of which countries Socialists now direct the government. The New Leader presents these articles to those earnestly interested in obtaining sound knowledge of how the workers in various lands are fighting for emancipation under the banner of Socialism. There is no more interesting and important sector of the struggle than the Scandinavian countries, from which the workers of greater lands have much to learn. Articles on Socialism in Sweden and Denmark by the same writer will appear in future issues.)

ALTHOUGH Norway, Sweden and Denmark cannot be measured in American distances, politically these small states are of greatest interest. They have passed through a hard economic struggle to maintain their political independence, and the development of their Socialist movement deserves our particular attention. It may sound paradoxical, but it is nevertheless true that the workers of great countries have something to learn from the experience and political acumen of the Scandinavian lands. The very smallness of these countries makes it easier perhaps to obtain a proper perspective of the forces at our disposal and those of the opposition, and serves to protect us from the danger of overestimating our own power and underestimating the power of the other side. It may be said of all three Scan-

## New Nazi Terror Sweeps the Reich; 1,200 Jailed

**Fiendish Tortures Inflicted  
on Socialist Workers on  
Orders of Hitler Himself  
Four Murdered.**

A NEW wave of sadistic terror against members of the Socialist and labor movements of Germany has been launched by the Nazi government behind the veil of strict censorship that shrouds that once-great country, according to private advices that have reached Socialist quarters in England.

Coincident with the strengthening of the censorship that came to a climax when a number of issues of the New York Times were barred from Germany, the gentlemen who rule Germany have been carrying on a campaign of savage persecution against Socialists, Communists and members of the secret trade union organizations that honeycomb the country despite the attempts of the statesmen in the high places to destroy all decency and civilization in that country.

The persecution is being conducted through the Gestapo (German State Police or Secret State Police), the organization of which the ineffectual Hermann Wilhelm Goring is the head.

At least 1,200 persons have been arrested, and most of them roughly treated. At least four have died as a result of their brutal treatment in police cells.

Others have been subjected to savage "third degree" punishment, reminiscent of the practices of the Nazis at the moment of their seizure of power, when they went quite insane and ran amok over the country.

It is reliably reported that the new drive against the secretly organized workers was ordered in a moment of cold, maniacal fury by Adolf Hitler himself. For months the sadistic "leader" of all the German people has been looking upon the signs of discontent with his lunatic regime with a growing madness. Wages are falling, prices are rising, working conditions are growing worse and the discontent (Continued on Page Two)

**Reports from Socialist  
Sources of the Führer's  
Serious Illness Gain Con-  
firmation in Cables from  
Munich.**

CHANCELLOR HITLER is seriously ill with cancer of the throat and his days are numbered, according to information received from reliable sources in Germany close to the Wilhelmstrasse by the Neue Volkszeitung, German Socialist weekly of Munich.

This information is strengthened by a cable from Munich appearing in the New York Times of Thursday, based upon a cable from the Bavarian capital to the Times of London.

The cable read in part: MUNICH, June 19 (London Times Dispatch).—It has been learned from Bad Reichenhall, a Bavarian mountain resort near the Austrian border, that the Summer Department of the Reich Chancellery is being established at a hotel there for the convenience of Reichsführer Adolf Hitler. He will spend the Summer months at Haus Wachenfeld, near Berchtesgaden.

The Bad Reichenhall office will be under the direction of Dr. Lammers, Secretary of State at the Chancellery, and part of the staff of Rudolf Hess, the Führer's deputy, is to be temporarily transferred there.

The New York Times appended the following explanation to this cable:

"Bad Reichenhall is particularly resorted to by sufferers from throat ailments. Herr Hitler went there several months ago when he was similarly afflicted, shortly before the Berlin visit of Sir John Simon, the British Foreign Secretary."

In its current issue the Neue Volkszeitung says:

"When Adolf Hitler canceled the visit of the British Foreign Minister Simon several months ago he did so for more than diplomatic reasons. The physicians, cognizant of Hitler's inclination to excited conversation, feared that his cancer of the throat would be severely aggravated by much talking if he did not resort to a rest of at least 14 days. At that time, Hitler had to rest as much as possible at Berchtesgaden, but despite that Hitler's guests had observed that Hitler was suffering from hoarseness. During his last ad- (Continued on Page Two)

## Labor Disputes, Security Bills Passed With Jokers; Court Fight Now Expected

**Hillquit Amendment  
Unanimously Passed**

MADISON, Wis.—By unanimous vote, the Wisconsin assembly is on record for the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment to the Federal Constitution, sponsored by Socialists.

A resolution by Assemblymen Edward Kiefer, Herman Wegner and Arthur Koegel, Milwaukee Socialists, petitioning Congress to enact the amendment, received the assent of the 97 assemblymen present.

The amendment, drafted by the late Morris Hillquit, Socialist leader, would provide Congress with power to enact legislation regulating labor conditions, provide for social security measures, and take over national resources, properties and enterprises for the social and economic welfare of the people.

The Pennsylvania assembly is also on record for the amendment. The amendment has been introduced in Congress by Representative Vito Marcantonio, who sits in the Lower House for the district in which Morris Hillquit waged three stirring and historic campaigns for Congress in 1916, 1918 and 1920. In 1916, it was generally conceded, Hillquit was elected but counted out by old-party election night arithmetic.

## Socialists Push Hillquit Draft For Amendment

**Hoan Heads Drive for Con-  
stitutional Revision Pro-  
posed by the Late Party  
Chairman—Unions En-  
dorse the Amendment**

MILWAUKEE.—A campaign to add the "Workers' Rights Amendment" to the Federal Constitution is planned by the Socialist Party, according to Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, chairman of the party's organization committee. The committee met in the City Hall to map out details.

The amendment, drafted by the late Morris Hillquit, would give Congress power to pass all necessary types of social welfare legislation. Pensions, unemployment and sickness insurance, child labor, minimum wage, maximum hour laws, and government ownership are all authorized.

"The Supreme Court decision," said Hoan, "knocks in the head any possibility of even such inadequate social security as a 'liberal' capitalist government might want to afford. It not only knocks out the railroad workers' pension act, but all other items in the Roosevelt 'social security' program. It casts grave doubt on the prospects of a legal thirty-hour (Continued on Page Four)

**Millions of Workers Will Be  
Deprived of Benefits if  
Vitiation Provisions Stand  
—Fight Goes to Con-  
ference.**

WASHINGTON.—Without a record vote and almost by acclamation the House of Representatives passed the Labor Disputes Act sponsored by Senator Wagner of New York and Representative Connery of Massachusetts, a bill hailed by President Green of the American Federation of Labor as "The Magna Charta of Labor in the United States."

At the same time, however, the House passed an amendment by Ramspeck of Georgia that vitiates the usefulness of the bill by prohibiting the National Labor Relations Board from fixing as a collective bargaining unit a group of employees of more than one employer.

On its face, it would appear that by that "joker" the labor movement as such is exempted from the benefits of the collective bargaining clauses.

Despite the vigorous battle waged by Chairman William P. Connery of the House Labor Committee, the "joker" was adopted by a vote of 127 to 87.

The bill, previously adopted by the Senate, now goes to a Conference Committee, which will report out a measure to be passed in identical form by both houses.

The bill, as it left the House, contains many striking provisions that justify President Green's jubilation, but likewise it contains provisions that cause many workers and labor leaders to have serious misgivings of its permanent value. There is also the certainty of a court fight over its constitutionality.

One of the provisions in the bill as it goes to Conference is that the Labor Relations Board is to be an independent agency, not under the Labor Department as its sponsors desired.

The day in Washington provided two important victories for labor and progress, both tempered by "riders" and jokers, the passage of the Labor Disputes Bill and the adoption by the Senate of the Social Security Bill, also badly marred with "jokers."

WASHINGTON.—A badly mutilated Security measure finally passed the Senate with six negative votes and now goes to a Conference Committee, where differences between the Senate and the House bill recently passed will be ironed out.

The Security Bill, one of the most comprehensive social insurance plans ever adopted by a nation at a single stroke, is nevertheless badly marred by "jokers" that in many ways destroy its effectiveness.

Millions of workers and professional people will be denied the full value of whatever security the bill offers by the two "jokers," one proposed by Senator Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri, the (Continued on Page Two)

## Memory of 'Gene Debs Honored at Big Pilgrimage to Canton

**Special to The New Leader**

CANTON, Ohio.—Socialists from all over Ohio and adjoining states gathered at Canton to do honor to Eugene Victor Debs, who seventeen years ago made his famous appeal for peace here, for which he was sentenced to prison for 10 years.

Before an enthusiastic audience at Nimitz Park and from the same platform from which Debs spoke in 1918 many Socialists spoke of Debs' influence on the American labor movement and urged the building of a strong Socialist movement as a monument to his memory.

Among the speakers were John Sommerlatte, Secretary of the Rayon Workers' Union No. 2096, who acted as chairman; Bob Parker of New York, member of the National Executive of the Young People's Socialist League; Dennis R. Smith, who covered the Debs meeting in 1918 as reporter on the Canton Repository; Henry Huefner of Cleveland, member of the National Executive Board of the Workers' Sports League; Elmer (Continued on Page Six)

Ledford of Toledo, member of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Ohio and active trade unionist, who read Debs' Canton speech; Roy Burt; Joseph Caldwell of Providence, cell-mate of Debs in Atlanta prison, and George W. Rhodes, President of the Federated Trades Council of Reading, Pa.

Rhodes, who spoke in behalf of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania, struck the keynote of the occasion. He said: "In Reading we have a united front between Socialists, trade unionists and the organized unemployed. This is in accord with the teachings of Debs. We face a united front of Republicans, Democrats and Communists, whom we expect to defeat in the forthcoming city election. We propose to agitate, educate and organize in Pennsylvania for the type of Socialism advocated by Eugene Victor Debs."

Greetings were received from Theodore Debs and a splendid musical program was rendered by the Workmen's Circle Chorus of Cleveland and Akron and by the Jugoslav Chorus.



Premier Johann Nygaardsvold

# British Labor Launches Great Electoral Campaign

## Publicly Owned Power Plants Being Pushed

### New York

(Continued from Page One)

and worker. Regulation of our electrical utilities has utterly failed to protect the consumer."

Successful publicly owned electric plants in Los Angeles, Tacoma, Seattle, and other large cities were cited by Dr. Laidler in his report. He pointed out that private lighting cost an average of about 50 per cent more than public lighting according to a survey in 1932.

Under public ownership, Laidler said, it is not necessary to continue to pay high dividends, often on watered stock, to private owners. Under public ownership the tendency of the plant is that of constantly reducing bonded indebtedness. Under private ownership such indebtedness constantly increases. In a study of few years ago of public versus private ownership of electrical utilities in Wisconsin, it was found that the debt against the municipally owned electric plant was only 12.7 per cent of its investment while, in the case of privately owned utilities, this debt amounted to about 88 per cent, Laidler pointed out.

Dr. Laidler called attention to the fact that the New York Telephone and the New York Edison Companies had spent in recent years from \$5,000,000 to \$8,000,000 each in fighting against rate reductions.

Comrade Waldman in his memorandum in support of the plan submitted five reasons why the Socialist Party is supporting the "Yardstick" idea. They are:

1—Present residential rates in New York City are excessive.

2—The Consolidated Gas Company in exercising a monopoly of the electric business in New York City has been profiteering on the city consumer including the city itself.

3—Regulation of utility companies has failed. This seems obvious from the ability of the utility companies to charge exorbitant rates in times of depression under the very nose of the public service commission of New York City.

4—In cities where public ownership of electric systems were established, the rates charged are much lower, the plants are successfully operated, and the private companies were forced to bring their rates down.

5—The offer of rate reduction by the consolidated gas system is

### Minneapolis

(Continued from Page One)

A definite pledge was made that Farmer-Labor city officials will proceed to carry out the provisions of the platform in reference to public ownership of light and power. In its convention last March, the Farmer-Laborites pledged city officials elected with their support to proceed immediately with the establishment of a municipal light and power plant.

Governor Olson's veto of the sales tax scheme brought thousands of votes to the support of the Farmer-Labor ticket. Literally hundreds of merchants not only cast their votes for the indorsees of the association but worked actively for Farmer-Labor candidates.

made in bad faith and designed to block the proposal for a municipal plant.

In support of the last reason given, Comrade Waldman said:

"When one bears in mind that as recently as two months ago, the Consolidated System obtained an injunction to restrain the Public Service Commission from enforcing its order reducing rates in the city by 6 per cent—a reduction which meant an estimated annual loss in revenues of about \$9,000,000—he cannot escape the conclusion that the offer of the Consolidated System now to reduce rates involving a loss in revenue of a little over \$7,000,000, has been made only for the purpose of defeating the proposal for a municipal plant. That policy is nothing new for the Consolidated System. Its attorney, William L. Ransom, in his letter to Colonel Fogg fully revealed the low moral standards adopted by these utility companies in dealing with the public. He admitted that 'the preliminary draft follows rather closely the form of the one I worked out for the Brooklyn Borough Gas Company, which was prepared in particular to conceal and gloss over, and in particular to fortify, an increase in rates commingled with a change in form.'"

A delegation of the women's committee of the Socialist Party and the Conference Against the High Cost of Living attended Wednesday's hearing before the Board of Estimate to speak in favor of the municipal power plant bill.

## CLAESSENS SPEAKS AT OPENING OF LABOR COLLEGE IN BOSTON

BOSTON. — August Claessens, chairman of the Labor Committee of the Socialist Party of New York City, delivered an inspiring address on the problems of workers' education at the conference on workers education of the New England Labor College last Sunday at the Bradford Hotel in this city. His address was warmly received and questions and answers followed. The conference set up a continuation committee of one delegate from each organization to work with the college board of trustees.

Delegates from labor unions and central bodies representing the basic industries of Massachusetts attended the conference. Albert Sprague Coolidge, member of the Board of Trustees, opened the conference with greetings to the trade union and other delegates. John D. Connors of New Bedford, president of the New Bedford Teachers' Union, and vice-president of the New Bedford Central Labor Union, was chairman, and Mrs. Anne Kim-

ball of Boston secretary. Miss Alice Dodge of the Women's Trade Union League and chairman of the credentials committee, reported that delegates were present from twenty trade unions, fifteen fraternal organizations, two cooperative societies and two central labor bodies.

Philip Kramer, vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and business manager of the Boston district, greeted the conference in behalf of his organization. Other speakers were Michael Salvaggio of the Educational Committee of the United Shoe and Leather Workers' Union, Joseph Massidda, chairman of the Educational Department of the National Leather Workers' Association, George N. Cottell, New England organizer of the United Textile Workers' Union, and S. Yonas of the District Committee of the Workmen's Circle.

The resolutions committee, headed by George N. Cottell of the U. T. W. U. as chairman, brought in a resolution endorsing the New England Labor College and urging the trade unions and international organizations to set up scholarships at the college for worthy students who would be willing to use their knowledge to serve labor.

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## Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund Is Holding Fine Convention in Own Home

WITH 60 delegates in attendance representing about 50,000 members, the triennial convention of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund (Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbekasse), the great German workingmen's fraternal order, is planning to meet changing conditions and adjust their organization to make a wider appeal to the younger generation of German workers.

The convention is concluding its two weeks' sessions at the organization's own building at 714 Seneca Ave., Queens County, N. Y. C., with an enormous amount of technical work completed. In addition, the delegates voted a number of important public questions.

Resolutions were passed on the subjects of the imprisonment of Tom Mooney, the demagoguery of William R. Hearst, the case of Angelo Herndon, Admiral Yates E. Stirling's stupid proposal to invade the Soviet Union, the use of armed force in industrial struggles, and the hatred being stirred up against foreign-born workers for their interest in the radical movement. The convention voted \$50 to carry on the work of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, and \$2,000 to the Tom Mooney defense fund.

Most fiery, however, was the resolution condemning fascism in all its forms. At the suggestion of Comrade Gerhart Seger of the German Social Democratic Party, that resolution was enlarged so that it could be sent to all newspapers and government officials in the United States.

among the German workers everywhere in America, has felt the effects of the coming of a new generation, and plans are being laid for the development of English-speaking branches to offset the losses suffered by the passing of the older members.

The organization celebrated its 50th anniversary in 1934, and the percentage of elderly members is so great that there has been a considerable drain upon the resources of the organization for benefits. The expected influx of younger members in English speaking branches will bring not only a fresh stream of members but also materially strengthen the finances.

Much of the time of the convention has been devoted to organization and financial problems, highly technical in nature. Political questions have been rigorously kept off the floor by agreement between the large Socialist delegation present and the elements that take their political "line" from the Muste-Cannon organization of Trotskyites, with which Carl Johanning, general secretary, is associated. The agreement, however, meant nothing to three Communists, members of what they call the "Group to Safeguard Proletarian Interests." The convention had voted that they had been elected delegates by the use of improper methods, but they secured their seats through an appeal to the New York Insurance Commissioner. The convention voted al-

most unanimously to condemn the practice thus employed to secure convention seats for Communist delegates.

Later the Communist Group circulated a document containing what was declared to be a false impression of the financial situation of the organization. The document was unsigned, the Communists, when challenged, declaring that the signatures had been "accidentally" omitted.

The proceedings of the convention have been characterized by solid, sober seriousness, the workmen (and a handful of women delegates) devoting themselves to their problems with the intelligence and sense of responsibility for which the German Socialists have always been noted.

The Krankenkasse was organized in 1884 by active German Socialists and trade unionists as a proletarian fraternal order; during the period of the Bismarck anti-Socialist laws, when many Socialists were forced to flee from persecution.

During their existence the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund has organized branches in practically all industrial centers of the country.

The Krankenkasse has always taken an active part in labor and working-class political struggles. At present it is waging a heroic campaign against all kinds of fascism be it of Hitler or Mussolini type. The organization has its own 5-story building at 714 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn, and it issues a monthly magazine, "Solidarity."

## Green Warns Fur Workers Against the Communists

A. F. of L. President Declares Labor Will Not Tolerate Any United Fronts with Disruptionists—Threatens Expulsion of Locals—No Compromise with Boring From Within and Dual Unionism.

WARNING that locals affiliated with the International Fur Workers' Union that admit Communists would not be recognized by the American Federation of Labor was given this week by President William Green, when he declared that the A. F. of L. was determined to put a stop to the "boring" from within by Communists in A. F. of L. organizations.

President Green's warning held out the possibility of expulsion of the International Fur Workers' Union from the Federation.

Mr. Green's intervention in the fur situation came as a result of a resolution adopted by the recent convention of the International Fur Workers' Union in Toronto providing for a "united front" with the Fur Workers' Industrial Union, a dual Communist organization, headed by Ben Gold, which for ten years has kept the workers in the fur industry in a state of turmoil and has been responsible for the chaotic labor situation in the industry.

Under the Toronto resolution, members of the Communist organization are to be permitted to join the fur workers' international, with the provision that forty days after completion of registration of such members in this city a general election is to be held in all New York locals.

The situation was considered at a conference held here several days ago attended by William Collins, New York representative of the A. F. of L.; Matthew Woll, vice-president of the Federation; David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U. and members of the A. F. of L. executive council; Sidney

Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

President Dubinsky declared his only concern in the situation is to bring some order out of the chaos that has so long ruled the fur industry.

President Green issued his warning through Woll after receiving a report on the conference. He let it be known that the American Federation of Labor would not permit itself to be deceived by hypocritical Communist professions of readiness to cooperate with the labor movement, and declared that the emphasis which is now again being laid by the Communists on a policy of boring from within wherever possible while continuing to maintain dual organizations in industries where they are unable to pursue these tactics would be met with energetic resistance from the labor movement.

It is expected that New York locals of the fur workers' union that may come under the domination of the Communists as a result of the "united front" brought about by the Toronto resolution of the International Fur Workers' Union, will be expelled from the A. F. of L. and that the international itself will go the same way if it permits Communist domination.

In making known Mr. Green's warning, Mr. Woll pointed out that the A. F. of L. was following the policy that has long been its own, and of the British trade union movement and the International Federation of Trade Unions.

## NAZI TERROR SWEEPS REICH

(Continued from Page One)

of the masses is becoming more and more noticeable every day.

In the recent shop council elections, carried on under typical Nazi methods with no choice to the workers but to vote "Yes" or hand-picked lists of Nazi tools or to put themselves on the spot as opponents of the Nazi rulers, fully fifteen per cent of the workers dared vote NO.

It was the result of those elections that drove the Nazi rulers to the madness that resulted in their latest outburst of National "Socialist" fury.

The Gestapo have been busy in Berlin, Hamburg, Chemnitz, scene of a recent strike, Leipzig, Breslau, Zeitz, Zwickau, Baden, and the Ruhr, and the Rhine industrial districts.

In Berlin more than 100 workers were arrested, while in the Wuppertal industrial area there were over 600.

In Dortmund four men who have continued to work in the interest of Socialism were brutally beaten to death.

At Baden, some of the arrested men were told they were going to be shot. They were blind-

folded and taken out on to the police parade ground.

There they were placed against a wall, and a firing squad lined up in front of them.

The customary orders were given; only the last one, "Fire," was omitted.

The wretched men were then left in suspense, hovering as they thought between life and death, and the procedure was then repeated. Two men went mad under the strain.

More is going on in Germany than the world is aware of. No wonder Hitler is seeking to drown out the sounds of the torture chambers in "his" own country by striding the world-theatre in an ill-fitting suit of mediaeval armor!

## Women Continue Drive On High Cost of Living

The Women's Conference Against the High Cost of Living announces that the leaflet "Housewives, Are You Worried?" is ready and can be ordered by mail from headquarters at 7 East 15th St., New York City, at \$2 per thousand.

Petitions against the high cost of living should be sent in to headquarters immediately.

## HITLER'S ILLNESS

(Continued from Page One)

dress before the Reichstag, when his party friends observed with consternation that, contrary to his habit, he repeatedly had to clear his throat because he was no longer able to stand the strain of speaking, the fact long whispered in informed circles in Berlin became apparent: Hitler was suffering from the disease that killed Kaiser Friedrich III.

"Although, for political reasons, Hitler would rather sacrifice his health than to permit the world to know that he was doomed to death, he was compelled to yield to the advice of physicians and let Göring read the speech he had prepared for delivery at the funeral of the victims of the Reinsdorf explosion, while he remained standing silent nearby.

"Hitler is now in an advanced stage of cancer and will be compelled to undertake a journey to the South before autumn."

The informant of the Neue Volkszeitung was mistaken in one detail, for, as the New York Times cable shows, the journey had to be undertaken immediately.

The throat which has uttered so many stupidities and the voice that has brought so great calamity upon Germany may soon be silenced.

## BILLS PASS CONGRESS

(Continued from Page One)

other by the defeat of a section urgently moved by Senator Costigan of Colorado. Senator Loneragan of Connecticut was the leader of the forces that encompassed the defeat of the section that would have permitted about 22,000,000 workers, professionals and self-employed people to buy voluntary annuities from the government.

The Clark "joker" permits private employers who have their own private pension plans to be exempted from the compulsory features of the bill. This will encourage employers to restrict jobs to young people and to discharge them long before they reach the pension age, as well as encouraging company unions.

Party lines vanished in the voting on the bill and the Clark amendment. The six negative votes on the bill as amended included one Democrat—A. Harry Moore of New Jersey—and five hard-shell, reactionary "Grass Roots" Republicans.

Thirty-five Democrats—including many considered "progressive"—and sixteen Republicans voted for the Clark amendment, while three Republicans—Frazier, Hiram Johnson and Norris—voted against it. Nye was "paired" against it.

The bill, as amended, with all its weaknesses and shortcomings, with its ungenerous provisions for old age, unemployment, disability, etc., is nevertheless a milestone in social legislation in this country. It follows the lines—although not the details—of legislation urged by the Socialist movement for a generation.

The Midwood-Brighton unit of the Conference will continue activities during the summer, including open-air meetings, and a lawn party on Wednesday, June 26, at the home of Mrs. Endelson, 226 Beaumont St., Manhattan Beach. There will be a speaker. Admission is free.

## Election Battle Is Near Finding Workers Ready

(Continued from Page One)

22 and 23, an important conference of Labor M.P.s and candidates is to be held in London in preparation for the intensive work in the constituencies. At the first session on "The Technique of Elections," Geo. R. Shepherd, National Agent, will speak on "Organization and Tactics," W. W. Henderson on "Press and Publicity," and Arthur Henderson, Jr., on "The Law of Libel and Slander." W. A. Robinson, chairman of the National Executive, will preside.

On Sunday afternoon, with J. W. Bowen in the chair, Dr. Hugh Dalton will speak on "Labor's Foreign Policy." In the evening, Lansbury presiding, Arthur Greenwood will speak on propaganda methods for the General Election.

To Reach Rural Areas Under the leadership of Dr. Christopher Addison, George Dalas and Walter Smith, a special campaign is to be organized to prepare the rural areas for the election and to extend trade union organization in the agricultural districts.

Midday meetings are to be held during markets and auctions. Great rallies are to be organized in all the big rural areas, addressed by the trade union and Labor Party leaders.

An essential feature of this campaign will be to explain Labor's agricultural policy to the rural workers.

Meanwhile, the "National" Government organizers are hard at work making bargains in the constituencies for a "coupon" election. As Conservative M.P.s run away from hopeless constituencies, these places are to be graciously handed over to the Simonites and "MacDonaldites"—but the best places everywhere will be reserved for the Tories.

The "MacDonaldites" face the election in a despondent spirit. Ramsay MacDonald at Seaham, his son Malcolm at Basethlaw, and Mr. J. H. Thomas at Derby are in the gravest danger of defeat—the rest of their seats are hopeless.

Shrewd political observers are quite certain that Baldwin's new Cabinet is only a "stop-gap" affair, designed to carry over till the General Election.

Should it win the next election, there would be early and drastic reconstruction, and the few remaining non-Tories would soon be thrown overboard.

Ditching "National Nonsense" The real reason for the present reconstruction was that the Tories intended to be top-dog. Having replaced Mr. MacDonald, they are now saying in their clubs that they want to get rid of all this "National Government nonsense." And if he does not agree, Mr. Baldwin will have to go, too.

When the House of Commons returns to work, Mr. Baldwin's heterogeneous group of supporters will be seething with internal rivalry and jealousy.

Here are some of the discordant elements: The Simonites are split into two camps as the result of Ernest Brown's promotion and the rebuff to Mr. Hore-Belisha, Minister of Transport. None of them trusts each other—least of all their leader, Sir John Simon.

The tiny group of "MacDonaldites" are annoyed that none of them get preferment, while their leader's son is awarded one of the rich plums by being taken into the Cabinet.

A smouldering rebellion is developing among Scottish Tories as a protest against the exclusion of Sir John Gilmour, ex-Home Secretary, from the reconstructed Cabinet.

It is stated that he was offered a Peerage, which he declined, and it is possible that he may join the Diehard Group in opposition to the Government.

Generally speaking, there is the idea that the reconstruction was a hastily-devised ramp and that it shows no indication of statesmanship, fair-play or even political decency.

masses claiming it was time to make the Government feel their strength, and to bring about a definite transformation of the social order, in other words, a social revolution. The Mexican Federation of Labor claims that Lombardo Toledano started a reign of terror among employers, either they had to pay for peace or industrial activities in their factories would cease. The wave of strikes which have hit Mexico have been promoted by Lombardo Toledano, not because the workers were justified in striking, but because Lombardo Toledano saw a means of economic advancement in this way.

Morones, in his speech, said he had proof from employers who had been intimidated by Lombardo Toledano, and who had to pay for peace and tranquility in their plants. Some of the employers claim that they had been threatened in such a way that they had to pay from two to three thousand pesos for industrial peace in their factories.

In other words, Morones claims that Lombardo's program is a new racket which has no name in the Spanish language.

Morones claimed that the radical group of Lombardo Toledano also had shown its willingness to cooperate with the Government but in their own way. Lombardo Toledano agitated among the

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# Rep. Hoopes Doubled Penna. Appropriations for Aged

(Continued from Page One)

## Hoopes Voted Ablest Member of Legislature

HARRISBURG, Pa.—An almost unanimous verdict that the Socialist Party furnished the outstanding leader and the ablest legislator in the 1935 session, now coming to a close, was shown by a poll of the correspondents reporting on legislative doings.

Twenty-eight newsmen considered their job incomplete without informing the Pennsylvania reading public of their collective opinion of the men they regarded the ablest, or the most industrious, funniest, hand-somest and the one they would most like to see stay at home.

Darlington Hoopes, Reading Socialist, was voted the "ablest all-around" man among the 250 legislators in the House. Hoopes, informed of the distinction conferred upon him, said, "the compliment really belongs to my party."

Berks County Democrat, took the lead in opposing the Hoopes amendment.

However, the Democrats were divided while the Republicans gen-



Darlington Hoopes

erally supported the amendment. Having no executive responsibility at the capital, they could put responsibility up to the Democratic Governor as to whether the appropriation should be whittled down. Had the Republicans been vested with the executive power it is likely that the positions of the two parties would have been reversed.

Finally, when the final test came the Hoopes amendment went through with a big majority vote! The Socialist victory is a striking example of what a determined representative of the working class can do in taking advantage of the tactics of evasion and expediency followed by the representatives of the ruling parties.

## Pioneer Youth Camp

Pioneer Youth of America, Inc., of 69 Bank Street, N. Y. C., is registering children now for its camp at Rifton, New York. Pioneer Youth Camp has a working class point of view and is devoted to the interests of workers' children. In this inter-racial, non-sectarian cooperative children's community the methods of progressive education are combined with the ideals of the labor movement.

Parents who want their children to spend a healthy summer outdoors in a community where they will develop initiative, creativeness and a sense of social responsibility, are invited to consult with the Camp Registrar, Mrs. Frima Frumes, 69 Bank Street, New York City; telephone, Watkins 9-4627.

## Features of the Week on (1300 Kc.) WEVD (331 M)

Sun.—11 a. m., Forward Hour; 12:15 p. m., Variety Show featuring Celia Budkin; 2, Metropolitan String Ensemble; 3, Edith Friedman, pianist; 8:30, Chicago Opera Company; 10, Symphonies; 10:45, Don Carlos, poet-philosopher. Mon.—8 a. m., Starting the Day Right; 9:30, List; 10:30 p. m., String Ensemble; 11:30, Italian Music. Tue.—8 p. m., Slavavsky String Quartet; 8:15, Frank Bohn, news commentator; 8:30, Cecil Burrows, baritone; 8:45, Louis Waldman, Socialist Party State Chairman; James J. Wilson, Assistant District Attorney; "Practical Problems in the Administration of Justice"; "The New Leader News Review; 10:45, "The Four Chords," vocal quartet. Wed.—8 p. m., Travel Talk; 8:15, Welfare Council, talk; 8:30, Premier Instrumental Trio; 8:45, "How Can Civic Organizations Help the Administration?" Frederiek L. Guzenheimer, Executive Secretary, City Affairs Committee; 10, Raymond Shannon, baritone; 10:15, "National Labor Scene," University of the Air. Thur.—8 p. m., Panel Discussion, "Housing"; 8:30, Eugene Byron Morgan, baritone; 8:45, Charlotte Tomhuys, violinist; 10:15, Newspaper Guild on the Air, talk; 10:30, Ruth Robinson, soprano. Fri.—8 p. m., WEVD String Quartet; 8:15, Frank Bohn, news commentator; 8:30, Sigmund Spaeth, "The Talent Detective"; 10, Max Wechsler, violinist; 10:15, "The Church in Action for Peace," talk. Sat.—6 p. m., "Jewish Events of the Week," talk; 8, Metropolitan String Ensemble; 8:30, Don Aylon's Orchestra; 10, Chicago Opera Company.

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# Vital Labor Problems Will Be Discussed at Tamiment Institute

By William E. Bohn

THAT the speakers at the labor conference at Camp Tamiment June 27 to June 30 will discuss the vital and dramatic problems, which have come to the fore since labor was put on the defensive by the sudden ending of the New Deal, is evident from announcements by the committee in charge of the program.

The program as originally prepared was issued on May 26th, and it included an address on "Collective Bargaining and the NRA" by Francis J. Gorman, Vice-President of the United Textile Workers of America, and one on "The NRA and Labor" by Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and member of the National Recovery Board. Other addresses, for example that by Max Zaritsky, President of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, on "Legislative Aids to Collective Bargaining," were very much tied in with the New Deal program. Then, on May 27th, the Supreme Court declared all the chief features of the National Industrial Recovery Act unconstitutional. Forced to fall back on its

own power, Labor had to draw up a new legislative program and prepare to support its demands on many widely scattered fields by strikes or threats of strikes.

Labor problems suddenly became extraordinarily acute. Labor's demands were in the headlines, and interest in the Tamiment conference grew by leaps and bounds. It happened that the headlines of the conference were the very men who were in the key positions in Washington and at the headquarters of the various unions, the men who were helping make the decisions both for Labor and for the government. Edward F. McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor, David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, John P. Frey, Secretary of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor were at the very center of things.

Under these circumstances the sponsors for the Tamiment Labor Conference have notified the speakers that they will be expected to discuss whatever problem is most acute in his part of the field at the time the conference is in session. Thus guests will get more than conventional discussion.

The conference has been formally approved by the Essex Trades and Labor Council, which represents the heart of the labor

movement of northern New Jersey. Many New York locals and governing bodies have elected delegates to represent them at the sessions. In Baltimore and Philadelphia committees made up of leading Socialists and trade unionists are organizing delegations. From Pittsburgh, Pa., Sarah Limbach, Socialist State Secretary, sends news of the setting up of the following committee: Julius Weisberg, Stewart Way, Edward Mueller of the Printers' Union, and James W. Houston of the Moulders' Union.

It is expected that Saturday, June 29th, will see the largest crowd ever assembled at Camp Tamiment.

In the afternoon, at three o'clock, will occur the dedication of the memorial to Morris Hillquit, and in the evening at 8:30 will take place a general session of the conference which will be addressed by Senator Gerald P. Nye, Sidney Hillman and Algernon Lee. The addresses will be followed by a dramatic review produced by Mac Liebman and his company of players.

On account of the extremely low rate being offered the limited accommodations are being rapidly filled, and labor unions and other bodies which wish to be represented at the conference are warned that they should make their reservations as early as possible.

## Factional Sabotage of Socialist Party Institutions Culminates in Outrage in The New Leader Office

ON Friday, June 14, between six and seven o'clock, when there was no one but the stenographer in the business office of The New Leader, and no one in either of the adjacent offices, Sidney Hertzberg came in, accompanied by John Herling, and proceeded to tear up several hundred copies of the current issue which he found there, scattering the pieces over the floor, and then industriously wrote the word "Pimp" on the walls and on pictures hanging there, and on nearly a hundred pieces of paper, which he placed as conspicuously as he could. The stenographer vigorously protested, but in vain. Herling is reported to have asked him to desist. Charges were filed against both Hertzberg and Herling before the grievance committee; Wednesday evening the Grievance Committee exonerated Herling on his statement that he had vainly sought to stop Hertzberg.

It is necessary to report this fact in The New Leader, first because inaccurate rumors would otherwise get about, and also because the incident does not stand alone. This is but the latest of a long series of similar acts which have taken place within the last six or eight months, and which closely parallel a campaign of the same nature waged by the Communists against all the organizations in the People's House in the early 'twenties.

This winter and spring telephone wires installed by the Rand School to provide for broadcasts from the Debs Memorial Radio Station have been cut three times; plumbing and other fixtures have several times been broken in a way that could have been done only with implements

## Bridgeport Party Picnic

BRIDGEPORT.—The annual picnic of the West Side Socialist district clubs will be held this Sunday, June 23, at Columbus Park, on North Park Ave. near Capitol Ave., Bridgeport.

The picnic will start at 10 a. m. and continue through the day and evening. The 10c admission price entitles each person to a full day of fun, sports, dancing, music and good comradeship. Refreshments to satisfy the appetite and the spirit will be on sale at the usual reasonable prices.

## Eight Party Organizations In Interstate Conference Sunday in New York City

Stirred to keen resentment because of the incompetent and meddling actions of the new National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party for a year, representatives of six states and two language federations will meet in the Hotel Pennsylvania Sunday morning to consider the party crisis which these actions have brought. The new committee was elected at the Detroit convention last year and since then the party has lost 5,500 members. The party vote has also suffered a heavy decline in the states where the party has been in the hands of the element with which the majority of the N.E.C. is affiliated.

The states to be represented at the conference include Pennsylvania, Maryland, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York. The Finnish Socialist Federation and the Jewish Socialist Verband will also be represented. These organizations include the largest subdivisions of the party and contain the majority of the party membership in the East where the party is the strongest. Evidence of intrigues by various types of Communists in the party and cooperation between this element and the "militants" in various states has accumulated, but New York State has had the worst dose. The spread of this disintegrating influence into other states has made this situation a national problem which concerns all other states and for that reason the interstate conference is being held.

## I.L.G.W.U. Cultural Department at Work

The athletic division of the Cultural Groups of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union will reach its climax for the year on June 29, when the girls' basketball teams of Local 142, the New York Ladies' Neckwear Makers' Union, and Local 150 of South River, N. J., will play at Unity House, summer playground of the I.L.G.W.U., for the national labor championship.

The fine work of the Cultural Groups was beautifully demonstrated in the recent first annual music, drama, dance and sports festival held at the New York Hippodrome when the Mandolin Orchestra, choros, dance and dramatic groups, and athletic division presented a program of songs and skits descriptive of the class struggle, and a remarkable movie of 25 years of I.L.G.W.U. growth and struggle was shown.

President David Dubinsky of the I.L.G.W.U., speaking at the Hippodrome, highly praised the accomplishments of the cultural department of his union and called upon the workers to take an active part in its activities.

Future activities of the recreational division include the presentation of eight one-act plays, scripts of which have been given to dramatic groups of various locals. It is hoped that these plays might be presented in Unity House in August. In addition, summer programs include presentation by the Group Theater of "Awake and Sing," a current Broadway production, at Unity House sometime this summer.

"Following the summer," said Schaffer, "we hope to include more workers in our activity until our present vanguard of a workers' cultural movement shall become the mass itself."

# Bridgeport Now Has Full Control Over Its Finances

By Abraham Knepler

BRIDGEPORT.—With the end of state legislative activities, the Bridgeport Socialist administration is turning to important municipal business, with the aid of charter changes passed by the legislature.

The city purchasing department, having received legislative authority to act as the centralized purchasing agency for every city department, is making great headway. It has standardized equipment and supplies wherever possible, so as to enable the city to make quantity purchases at substantial savings.

For the first time a city administration is awarding contracts on the basis of bids publicly advertised for and open to all. Purchasing awards to political favorites and campaign contributors is no longer a practice. It is estimated that about 25 per cent will be saved by the new system, instituted by the Socialist administration.

The city recently passed an ordinance barring city officials, whether holding remunerative or honorary offices, from selling supplies to or in any other way doing private business with the city. The ordinance eliminated the vicious practice of allowing a city official the "inside track" in selling goods, often of an inferior grade, to the city, usually at a high rate of profit. It also made it necessary for any officials who wished to continue to do business with the city, or bid for the business, to vacate their offices. This made it possible for the Socialist administration to replace them with others more sympathetic to the Socialist policies.

The department which most strongly resisted that policy was the Board of Apportionment and Taxation, whose members were originally appointed by the Mayor of the city, with extraordinary powers conferred by the 1933 leg-

islature, in order to forestall control by the probable election of a Socialist administration in the fall of that year. The terms of all the members of the board were extended until the end of 1937. The board was to have complete financial authority, with the power of obstructing any policy of a possible Socialist administration by simply refusing to appropriate money. Although the board did not employ all its power to paralyze the Socialist administration elected in November, 1933, it did obstruct the Socialist administration on many occasions. As a result the Socialists sponsored a referendum vote in 1934, asking the repeal of the tax board's "ripper" powers by the state legislature. The Socialist demand for repeal was overwhelmingly endorsed by the citizens.

The Socialist legislators, with the moral backing of the voters, introduced a bill in the state legislature for the repeal of the act. This week the Governor signed the bill repealing the "ripper" act and restoring to the Mayor of the city the right to make his own appointments to the board upon the expiration of the normal terms of the tax board members.

Starting last week there has been a steady stream of resignations from the board, although the terms of only three of the seven would have normally expired by July 1. By Tuesday of this week, every member of the once mighty tax board had submitted his resignation. The spineless manner in which the members resigned—not all together in one bold stroke, but meekly, one by one, as though each began to lose courage to battle against the administration as he saw another colleague give up—spelt another decisive victory in the fight of the Socialist administration against the city's once strongly entrenched vested interests. An entirely new board will now be appointed by Mayor McLevy.

## Gala Concert Opens Season at Rebuilt Unity

A festive opening celebration on Saturday, June 22, will introduce members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, other unions, and those of the Socialist movement to the New Unity House in Forest Park, Pa.

A beautiful new main building, surrounded by cottages and other new features and improvements, has been built to replace last year's house which was destroyed by fire. Jacob Halperin, manager, and S. Novik, assistant manager, are in charge and may be reached either at their New York office at 3 West 16th St., or in Philadelphia at 1008 Cherry St.

Outstanding artists who will be on hand for the summer entertainment include the Philharmonic String Quartette, Dora Bovshoer (Russian folk songster), Leon Kairoff (singer of character songs), and the Slav Male Quartette from the Russian Opera Company.

Special week-end rates and low-cost bus transportation have been provided for to allow as many as possible to attend.

## Bronx Socialists to Nominate Candidates

A general membership meeting of the Socialist Party of Bronx County will be held Friday evening, June 21, at the Bronx Labor Center, 809 Westchester Ave., at 8:30 o'clock.

Candidates for public office will be chosen and the general campaign initiated. Bronx County, in addition to candidates for Assembly and Aldermen, will nominate for Congress in the 22nd and for four newly created posts on the Municipal Bench.

Vigorous campaigning for the enactment of the Hillquit "Workers' Rights Amendment" to the Constitution and for the election of Socialist representatives is definitely indicated by the energetic street corner campaign and literature distribution drives already begun by the party branches in the borough.



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WAITERS' and WAITRESSES' UNION, Local No. 1, A. F. of L. and U.E.T., 290-7th Ave. W. Lehman, Sec'y; Tel.: LACKawanna 4-5463.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 62 of I.L.G.W.U., 875 Broadway, New York City. Telephone ALgonquin 4-1981. S. Shore, Manager.



This is how the trade union girls of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union look when they're off duty. The aggregation of basketballers, representing Local 22, is one of the best teams of its kind in the country, runners-up to Local 142 in the I.L.G.W.U. championship series. They are shown just before the famous game aboard the Battleship Illinois moored in the Hudson River, when they were tied in knots by the Ladies' Neckwear Union team.

# JOIN LABOR PICNIC at ULMER PARK, JULY 27!

# Stadium Season Opens:—Opera-Ballet Programs Announced

## Iturbi to Conduct Opening Concert with Spalding as Violin Soloist

With the opening of the eighteenth season of Stadium Concerts on Wednesday night, at 8:30 p. m., a program of eight weeks' nightly performances by the Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra will begin which will be divided between the symphonic repertoire, grand opera, and ballet. Jose Iturbi, the popular Spanish conductor who will direct the symphony programs during the first five weeks of the season, has chosen for Wednesday's inaugural offerings music of wide appeal, featuring the distinguished American violinist, Albert Spalding, in the Mendelssohn Concerto. The first half of the program consists of Wagner's "Meistersinger" Overture and Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. After the Concerto, Mr. Iturbi will conclude with the Dances from De Falla's "Three-Cornered Hat."

The second night, Thursday, will bring the first opera performance. Alexander Smallens has chosen "Aida" as an appropriate opening work. The opera will be repeated Friday but, in case of rain, will be postponed until the following evening and a symphonic program will be substituted in the Great Hall.

The leading roles in "Aida" have been assigned as follows: Rosa Tontoni will sing the title role; Paul Althouse of the Metropolitan Opera will be heard as Rhamadis; Cyrena Van Gordon, the Metropolitan contralto, as Amneris; Mostyn Thomas as Amonasro; Louis D'Angelo as the King; John Gurney as Ramfis; Louis Purdy as the Messenger; and Paceli Diamond as the Priestess. A ballet of twenty girls and eight men has been arranged by Alex Yakovlev supplemented by Monna Montes and Leon Fokine as the solo dancers. The stage director for all the opera performances is Alexander D. Fuglia and the assistant conductor Alberto Sciarretti.

On Saturday night Jose Iturbi returns to the podium with this program: Overture to "The Marriage of Figaro" of Mozart; Symphony No. 1 in C-minor, Brahms; and Wagner, Siegfried Idyl, Funeral March from "Götterdämmerung," and Prelude and Finale from "Tristan and Isolde."

On Sunday Mr. Iturbi again conducts; on Monday and Tuesday the Fokine Ballet will give its first pair of performances.

Following Mr. Iturbi's five weeks' regime, Willem van Hoogstraten will take over the symphonic concerts. This will be the latter's fourteenth consecutive year as Stadium conductor.

## Crawford-Montgomery in "No More Ladies" at Capitol—Impressive Stage Show

Joan Crawford and Robert Montgomery come to the Capitol Theatre's screen for the week beginning today in "No More Ladies"—featuring Charlie Ruggles, Franchot Tone and Edna May Oliver.

Produced by Irving Thalberg and adapted from the successful Broadway stage show by A. E. Thomas, the film is said to retain all the fine drama and sparkling humor of the original, with the addition of one of the finest screen casts of the year.

Billy Rose's "Small-Time Cavalcade"—by Ben Hecht—exactly as presented for a season at the Manhattan Music Hall, will be the principal stage attraction supplementing the screen feature. There will also be a Capitol presentation featuring Helene Denzon, premiere danseuse; Helen Alexander, coloratura soprano of Major Bowes' Capitol "Family" of radio fame, and the Danny Dare Ballet.

Don Albert will conduct the Capitol Grand Orchestra in an especially elaborated overture, entitled "Rimsky-Korsakoff Melodies."

## Guy Robertson at Palace

Guy Robertson, who sang the star role and won acclaim for himself in "The Great Waltz," will appear in person at the RKO Palace.

ALL THIS WEEK  
**MAE WEST**  
in  
**"Goin' to Town"**  
ON THE STAGE  
GUY ROBERTSON  
MELLS, KIRK AND HOWARD  
PAUL TISEN  
LUIS AND GABY  
and other RKO Acts  
**PALACE** B'way & 47th St.

**MUSIC**  
**LEWISOHN STADIUM**  
Amsterdam Avenue and 138th Street  
**STADIUM CONCERTS**  
PHILHARMONIC-SYMPHONY  
Opening, Wed., June 26  
Symphonic Programs  
Wed., Sat. and Sun. Nights at 8:30  
Conducted by ITURBI  
Opera Performances with Star Casts  
Thursday and Friday Nights at 8:15  
Conducted by SMALLENS  
**POKINE BALLET OF 49**  
Monday and Tuesday Nights at 8:30  
Prices: 25c-50c-\$1.00—Audubon 3-2434

## Glamorous Stage and Screen Star



Tallulah Bankhead not only stars but is now the producer of "Something Gay," the comedy at the Morosco, which will continue there indefinitely.

## Shirley Temple's Latest, "Our Little Girl," at RKO-Albee Theatre

Shirley Temple is at the RKO Albee again in her new picture "Our Little Girl." For the young in heart as well as in years, there is a thrilling circus sequence. Producer Edward Butcher, it is said, spared no expense in bringing a complete circus, big tent, wild animals, elephants, and all. "Poodles," Hanneford, world-famed clown and rider, has an exciting act, clowning, riding, falling, thrilling. Other circus celebrities seen here are "The Clarkonians" in a swinging act, and the clowns Hambone, Dumbell, Smiling Sambo.

In the cast are Rosemary Ames, Joel McCrea, Lyle Talbot, Erin O'Brien-Moore, Jack Donohue, Poodles Hanneford, Gus Van, Farrell Macdonald and Jack Baxley. The direction is by John Robertson.

## Kay Francis at Strand

Kay Francis's new starring vehicle, "Stranded," a Warner Bros. feature production, is current at the Strand Theatre. "Stranded" was directed by Frank Borzage. George Brent plays the leading masculine role opposite Miss Francis, and other featured principals are Patricia Ellis, Barton MacLane, Joseph Crehan and John Wray.

## The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

### THAT WERE KINDNESS!

"KIND LADY." By Edward Chodorov. At the Booth.

I want to say a word about "Kind Lady," which opened while I was out of town; and not merely because the quiet naturalness of Grace George has always pleased me. For behind the grisly tension of the play lurks a double indictment of the profit system. In the first place, we see a sweet old lady, wealthy through no fault of her own, but wholly incompetent to handle that wealth, which she distributes by purchasing art masterpieces for her private collection and by spurts of charity when a face on the street awakens her pity and opens her purse. Then, feeding upon such fungus growth of the profit system, we behold a new kind of money-seeking leech, a group of lovelorn wealthy men or women, worm their way into the household (in this case, the pretended wife pretends to faint just outside the mansion, and the pretended doctor says she must not be moved from the room they've carried her to) and at length make the owner prisoner, force the signing of papers, inform inquirers the owner has gone on a long trip, and meanwhile manage and ultimately take possession of the estate. It's an eerie business, but quite possible, as the play makes clear, and along with kidnapping shows the abuses which result from the inevitable excess at both ends of the profit system.

### "Charlie Chan in Egypt," with Warner Oland, Opens at Roxy Theatre

"Charlie Chan in Egypt," the newest in the series of Fox films based on the Earl Derr Biggers murder mysteries, with Warner Oland as "Chan," opens today at the Roxy Theatre as the featured screen attraction following "Vagabond Lady."

"Charlie Chan in Egypt" continues the thrilling adventures of the celebrated Honolulu sleuth, created by the late Mr. Biggers. In this newest picture, which was directed by Robert Ellis and Helen Logan,

Charlie Chan is brought to Egypt to solve a series of murders among the members of a museum expedition. Stepin Fetchit, well-known comedian, Pat Paterson, Frank Conroy, Rita Cansino, Thomas Beck and Paul Porcasi have important roles in this picture.

### Group Theatre Announces Series of Lectures and Symposiums for Fall

The Group Theatre, now represented on Broadway by "Awake and Sing!" at the Belasco Theatre, and "Waiting for Lefty" and "Till the Day I Die" at the Longacre, has announced a series of seven lectures and symposiums on the theatre, to be held in the Fall. The course has been approved by the Board of Education as an "Alertness Course" for credit towards salary advancement for the public school teachers of New York City.

Individuals prominent in various branches of the theatre will lead the discussions, which will deal with the organic relation of playwriting, acting, direction, scene designing and criticism to each other and to the theatre as a whole. A required part of the course will be attendance at six designated Broadway productions, the price of which is included in the tuition fee.

The course is not restricted to teachers, although registration will necessarily be limited. Applications will be filled in the order of their receipt. The tuition fee for the course will be \$15.00; this amount will include the cost of the six theatre tickets.

The symposiums will be held on Saturday mornings, beginning the first week in October, from 10:30 to 12:30, at a theatre to be announced later. Registration, which will take place in the Fall, will be in charge of Helen Thompson of the Group Theatre, 246 West 44th St., New York City.

## On Albee Screen



Shirley Temple as she appears on the Albee screen in a scene from her latest film, "Our Little Girl."

### "The Headline Woman" on Fox Brooklyn Screen—Fowler and Tamara on Stage

At the Brooklyn Fox Theatre this week's attraction is "The Headline Woman," with Roger Pryor, Heather Angel, Jack LaRue, Ford Sterling, Conway Tearle, Jack Mulhall, and Morgan Wallace.

On stage, Irving Edwards presides as master of ceremonies with Fowler and Tamara, world-famous dancers, the 16 Rockets from the World's Fair; Genevieve Tighe of the World's Fair; Vanities and Virginia Gibson, "the California Songbird." Ben Nelson's orchestra completes the stage show.

She rose  
from the slums  
**"NELL GWYN"**  
Alluring, bewitching, daring...  
starring  
**ANNA NEAGLE and CEDRIC HARDWICKE**  
who recently triumphed in  
"Les Misérables" and "Becky Sharp"  
**RIVOLI**  
Broadway at 49th Street  
Doors open 9:30 a.m. Midnight Shows

Based on the Famous  
F'way Stage Success

Rich, rare, and clever...a dazzling, modern picture, of turn-about love that's as bubbling as champagne—with effects high and hilarious!

Joan  
**CRAWFORD**  
Robert  
**MONTGOMERY**  
They're always a joy together! The stars of  
"Forsaking All Others" in their best picture yet!

**NO MORE LADIES**  
with CHARLIE RUGGLES - FRANCHOT TONE  
EDNA MAY OLIVER - Directed by E. H. GRIFITH  
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture

**CAPITOL** **BILLY ROSE'S CAVALCADE**  
B'way & 51 St., Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir.  
ON THE STAGE  
by BEN HECHT

**KAY FRANCIS in "STRANDED"**  
A Warner Bros. Picture with GEORGE BRENT  
Her first lover comes back to make up for 9 years between kisses!  
B'way & 47th St. to 1 P.M. Midnite Shows weekdays  
**STRAND-25c**

**Fabian's FOX B'way**  
FLATBUSH at REEVES  
HEATHER ANGEL - ROGER PRYOR  
Jack LaRue, Ford Sterling, Conway Tearle, Jack Mulhall  
**"The HEADLINE WOMAN"**  
ON THE STAGE  
FOWLER & IRVING EDWARDS  
16 Rockets  
Other Acts  
**25c**  
10 P.M. & 11 P.M. WEEKDAYS

ALL THIS WEEK  
**Shirley Temple**  
in  
**"OUR LITTLE GIRL"**  
with  
ROSEMARY AMES  
JOEL MCCREA  
**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 v Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th Street, New York.

## Rand School Summer Institute Next Week

IMAGINE the hand of time turned back to June, 1934. You are in the People's House, 7 East 15th St., N. Y. C. There is a Rand School Summer Institute going on, with young men and women from 13 states. They hitch-hiked, they came in old cars, they jumped freights—somehow they managed to reach New York and the Rand School for a week of intensive study. On their arrival they were given a welcoming banquet. Then they were put up at the homes of comrades. They were provided with food for the stomach, for the brain, for the heart, and they were shown the sights of the radical world of New York City. Finally, they were taken to Camp Tamiment for a glorious week-end. And thus, morning, afternoon and evening for eight days were crowded with stirring experiences.

All this is to be repeated this year at the Rand School and Camp Tamiment. Again there will be 40 students from out-of-town, divided as follows: 12 from Pennsylvania; 10 from Massachusetts; six from New York; four from Michigan; three from New Jersey; two from Illinois; and one each from Connecticut, Georgia, and Vermont. The Young Circle League of America contributes 15 students to the institute.

Sunday, June 23rd, at 6 P. M., there will be a welcoming supper with the local comrades as hosts. Algonquin Lee, president of the Rand School, will be toastmaster, and the speakers will include Bertha H. Mailly, Larry S. Davidson of Michigan, Frank R. Crosswaith, himself a graduate of the Rand School, and leading comrades from Pennsylvania and Massachusetts.

**The Program**  
Monday morning, at 9:30, 10:45, and 12 noon, and continuing through Thursday, three classes will be held on the Labor and Socialist Movement, as follows: Monday: Algonquin Lee, Socialism as a Democratic Working Class Movement; William Keelin, Attitude of Socialists Towards Trade Unions; Herman Kobbé, Socialism and the Middle Classes. Tuesday: William E. Bohn, Socialism and American Tradition; Marx Lewis and G.

August Gerber, The Conduct of Elections; and William M. Feigenbaum, The Socialist and Labor Press. Wednesday: Joseph Shaplen, Socialism as an International Movement; Frank Crosswaith and Esther Friedman, The Negro and the Socialist Movement; Woman and the Socialist Movement; and August Claessens, The Essentials of Public Speaking. Thursday: Algonquin Lee, Socialism and Bolshevism; Julius Gerber and Sarah Limbach, The Organization Problems of Locals and State Bodies; Larry S. Davidson, and George H. Goebel, The Technique of Putting It Over.

Afternoons will be spent in visiting the offices of the Jewish Daily Forward and meeting Abraham Cahan; the leaders of the Workmen's Circle, Nathan Chavin and Joseph Baskin; the outstanding chiefs of the powerful needle trades unions. Then a visit will be made to the Amalgamated Apartments. A trip will be made to radio Station WEVD, and to other points of interest. The students will also see the sights of the city.

Monday evening the out-of-towners will spend a quiet evening in the library, listening to William E. Bohn and James Oneal on building a working class library, and the source of American Labor and Socialist History. Tuesday night they will participate in a discussion of workers' education, led by Henry Fruchter, Larry Rogin, Fred Shulman and Leon Couzens. Wednesday night we hope to have Rebel Arts perform and Samuel H. Friedman lead a discussion in cultural activities. The problems of youth will also be sandwiched in during the evening sessions, as well as other special topics.

Thursday afternoon the students will be on their way to Camp Tamiment to become parts of the large audience which will attend the conference on Labor, Industry and the Government, with the outstanding labor and Socialist spokesmen on the program. And they will also enjoy sports and fun at this marvelous out-door playground. Sunday, they will be on their way home.

And this is the program of activities for this year's Rand School Summer Institute. Those interested in coming to the supper, 6 P. M., on Sunday, June 23rd, should get into touch with the Rand School Institute, 7 East 15th St.

## Socialists Push Hillquit Draft

(Continued from Page One)  
week, the Wagner bill, the Lunden bill, and other legislation that will help labor.

"The only answer is a nationwide protest against the power of nine old men to block the advance of social welfare legislation by amending the Constitution in the manner suggested by Morris Hillquit, one of the greatest labor attorneys in the history of this country. The Socialist Party adopted the 'Workers' Rights Amendment' in 1931 and today renews its fight to have it adopted."

**Wins Legislative Support**  
"The bill has been introduced each session in the Wisconsin and Pennsylvania legislatures and has finally passed the Pennsylvania House under the guidance of Lilith Wilson. It has been endorsed by an unanimous vote in the Wisconsin House."

"Every effort on the part of Socialists and sympathizers must be put behind the amendment. The organization committee has worked out plans which will enable every person to do his or her share in making this amendment the law of the land, and in the process, showing how only through the Socialist program can the country be saved from chaos."

Hoan announced a Labor Committee for the Workers' Rights Amendment was being set up with Frank N. Trager, outstanding labor leader from Baltimore in charge as secretary. George A. Nelson, head of the Farmers' Union movement in Wisconsin, and Chester A. Graham, secretary of the Farmers' Union of Michigan, have been asked to become chairman and secretary respectively, of the Farmers' Committee.

A campaign to secure a huge petition to supplement the resolutions adopted by organizations

## Railroad Machinists' District Union Supports Amendment

MILWAUKEE.—Machinists of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul road have gone on record as favoring the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment. The resolution was made by delegates of the Milwaukee System Federation, known as District 73, of the International Association of Machinists, who are holding the annual convention of the federation here.

The resolution declares: "Whereas, Representative Vito Marcantonio in Congress has introduced in Congress a proposed amendment known as the Workers' Rights Amendment therefore be it resolved, that we, the delegates to this convention of District 73 of the International Association of Machinists, go on record in favor of this resolution, and be it resolved, that we urge all union members actively to support this amendment and bring it to the attention of workers everywhere."

## Socialists Push Hillquit Amendment in Chicago

CHICAGO.—By a recent motion the Chicago Pocketbook Makers' Union urged that the Chicago Federation of Labor endorse to Congress and to the Executive Council the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment to the Federal Constitution. The Executive Board of the Chicago Federation of Labor agreed to make a study of the amendment and report at an early session on its findings.

Meanwhile, Socialists in more than a score of unions are pushing a drive for endorsement of the amendment by labor bodies.

## TO FILE NOMINATIONS IN NEW YORK STATE

State Secretary Herbert M. Merrill of the Socialist Party of New York calls attention to the amendment of the Election Law relating to the number of signatures required on designation petitions of candidates.

The percentage of enrolled voters of a party required to designate a candidate for the primary was increased from 3 to 5 by the last Legislature, and hereafter independent candidates will require 7 per cent of the total vote for Governor instead of 5 per cent as hitherto.

The last day for filing designation petitions has been changed from the fourth Tuesday preceding the primary election to the fifth Tuesday before the primary election. The last day for filing this year will be August 18th.

# Jasper McLevy, Socialist Workingman

A Success Story With a Difference,—The Perservance, Devotion, and Faithfulness of the Scottish Workingman Was Not for Himself But for a Great Cause—Two Years of Socialist Rule - By Louis Hendin

ALMOST two years have passed since the Socialist administration assumed the reins of city government in Bridgeport, Conn. It is appropriate just before the campaign for the reelection of the administration starts to strike a balance sheet of the accomplishments of our Bridgeport comrades under the very able and effective leadership of Jasper McLevy.

McLevy is a type of Socialist leader who believes that "theory is not enough." His conception of Socialist progress is sound theory plus constructive action. Like the late Keir Hardie, founder of the mighty British Labor Party, McLevy proceeds on the principle that a successful political movement of labor is impossible without labor. He is a great Socialist and a great labor leader, a Socialist statesman in the best sense of the word.

We do not mean to suggest, however, that he does not also envisage other elements whose support the Socialist movement requires for victory. Like Marx, he believes that Socialism must be a movement of "all the living and the suffering."

In short, McLevy is a Socialist who carries the conviction to people that Socialism does not come to set up one brand of class rule in place of another, but to emancipate the whole of mankind. There is something distinctly Lincolnian both in his appearance and character. To many he is known as "Honest Abe, Jr.," a man of working class simplicity, great common sense, lofty idealism, immeasurable patience and perseverance, unbounded devotion to principle and unswerving loyalty to his comrades.

Bridgeport is an industrial community of 150,000 people, sixty miles from New York, like many another industrial community in the East. To obtain an answer to the question how Socialists came to achieve power in Bridgeport, I went there to investigate.

Comrade McLevy received me in his office and for more than three hours we discussed the situation in his own community and general problems of Socialism and Socialist organization. I have known Comrade McLevy for a long time and have met him frequently, but this was the first time that I had occasion to meet him in his office as Mayor. He received me warmly and despite the fact that he is an extremely busy man, and despite the many business interruptions to our conversation he was eager to help me get the information in which I was most interested.

## How Socialists Won

Repeatedly I returned during the interview to the question of how the Socialists came to achieve their success in Bridgeport. I perceived that this was not due to any miracles. Bridgeport is fortunate in having a group of comrades of practical ability and common sense, and closely affiliated with the labor movement. They are an organic part of the labor movement and nearly every one of them plays an active role in his respective union.

Another fortunate circumstance has been the absence of factional disorders within the movement. The comrades have always been too busy doing real work of organization and enlightenment to waste time on theoretical hairsplitting. The immediate needs and problems of the working class have always been their most important concern, and they have sought to utilize these problems as the background upon which to build their educational and political activity.

The great victory in Bridgeport in 1933 did not come overnight. It came as a result of thirty years of tireless labor, of harmonious, practical effort. Although fully 90 per cent of the organized workers of the city now support the Socialist administration, Comrade McLevy and his colleagues have also gained the friendship and support of thousands belonging to the exploited elements of the middle classes. In other words, our Bridgeport comrades have known how to combine their activities in the labor movement with their efforts among other elements of the population without whose support victory is impossible.

That the victory of two years ago was no mere fluke and that the Socialist administration has retained and increased its popularity is demonstrated also by the results of the state election of last year, when Comrade McLevy, as candidate for governor, received a majority of the votes in Bridgeport and the Socialists elected three senators and two assemblymen, the city's entire representation in the legislature.

## No Futile Gestures

By their splendid conduct at Hartford, our Bridgeport comrades demonstrated their ability to behave as working class parliamentarians, directing their efforts to the greatest possible measure of achievement rather than engaging in futile "revolutionary" gestures. In my interview with him, Comrade McLevy emphasized the im-

portance of such strategy and stressed the point that it was "the main duty of Socialists in a legislature to obtain definite, substantial results of an advanced social character."

[The practical achievements of the Socialist legislators have been reported in this paper from week to week by Abraham Knepler, our Connecticut correspondent.]

Budget reform, under which strict control of departmental expenditures has been established, making possible rigid economy where such economy is necessary and possible, is among the other outstanding achievements of the McLevy administration. This contrasts sharply with the former hit and miss method of spending the city's money. Every department is compelled to adhere closely to its allotment and the Mayor keeps a close eye on how moneys are spent.

The city welfare department is the only department whose expenditures have gone up considerably.

"This is only natural," Mayor McLevy said, "for the Socialist administration is doing everything in its power and within the financial capacity of the city to help those in need."

## More Power Needed

"To be sure, administrative reform is not the only task Socialists have before them when in power," Comrade McLevy said, "but it is extremely difficult to introduce changes of a deeper social character when we do not have control of the state legislature. The measure of accomplishment we have already attained serves, however, as an effective argument in our campaigns for greater power in the state. But however limited our power and opportunities under present circumstances may be, it is better to have the city administration in the hands of Socialists than under control of the old parties. First, we have an opportunity to show what we can do, and, second, we are able to drive home into the minds of the people that we Socialists are essentially a constructive factor, and to acquaint the people with the larger aspects of Socialism. This serves as a sound basis for extension of our power and influence in the state."

Thirteen per cent of the city's annual income of \$11,000,000 is being spent for relief, direct and work relief. Under the preceding administration there was no work relief. The Socialists have provided many of the unemployed with a measure of work relief which enables the unemployed to earn about \$6 a week. Under the old administration they got no cash relief at all.

"The unemployed know we are doing everything we can for them under difficult circumstances," Comrade McLevy said.

To cope more adequately with this problem, the Socialists in the legislature fought hard to have a bill passed providing for higher income taxes and a special tax on dividends, bonds and mortgages. The new taxes would have yielded \$1,000,000 for the city for relief purposes. The legislature refused to pass the bill, however, and adjourned without passing any relief bill. This put the Socialist administration in Bridgeport in an extremely difficult situation, and has placed its entire relief program in serious jeopardy.

While the Socialists succeeded in putting through a number of bills in the legislature they found themselves confronted with determined opposition in the matter of relief. The legislature consisting in the main of farmers showed scant sympathy for the city unemployed. The only relief measure the Socialists could have put through would have been an emergency sales tax, but this was not very much to their liking. The problem remains very acute. With 21,000 families in Bridgeport dependent on relief, the Socialists do not intend to remain quiet. They are pressing the question with increased determination and energy.

## Demand Special Session

Mayor McLevy declared that the Socialists will now demand a special session of the legislature to consider this question and obtain action. They are likely to obtain the special session, when they will raise the question in a manner that will compel the capitalist parties to take heed of the desperate needs of the unemployed.

"The behavior of the legislature in this crucial question illustrates once more the viciousness and inhumanity of the capitalist system," Comrade McLevy said. "I have been a member of the Socialist Party for 35 years and I know what it is to fight for justice for the working people. We are not going to desert the 21,000 unemployed in this city, and we are going to fight for them to the bitter end."

The Mayor is an extremely modest person and it was difficult to get him to talk about himself. Comrade McLevy is of Scotch descent, born and raised in Bridgeport. He is a roofer by trade and his ap-

Jasper McLevy



pearance is that of a cultured proletarian. Since early youth he has been active in the Socialist and trade union movements. In 1903

he polled 173 votes against Buckingham's 8,000. Since then he ran many times for various offices, and on some occasions succeeded in polling a substantial vote. It was not, however, until 1931 that his vote rose to 15,000, 2,000 less than he needed for election to the mayoralty. In 1933 he was elected Mayor by a large majority, carrying the entire city administration with him.

His career in the trade union movement has run parallel with his Party activities. As a young man he served as secretary-treasurer of the Roofers' Union, in which post he led in the fight for the eight-hour day in his trade. This gained him election as president of the Bridgeport Central Trades and Labor Union. He served

also as first vice-president of the Connecticut State Federation of Labor and president of the Trades Council. He was for a time international president of his own union.

Jasper McLevy is part and parcel of the working class and of the trade union movement. As a trade unionist and labor leader he never ceased preaching Socialism. The trade union movement and the Socialist movement have always been for him two parts of one and the same thing. He is today unquestionably the most popular figure in the labor movement of his state. He is known not only as an extremely able labor leader and organizer but also as a successful negotiator for labor, having settled many strikes and won many

victories for the workers.

Everybody in Bridgeport knows Jasper McLevy. For 35 years he has lived close to the people and with the people. In meeting halls, on street corners and in various other ways he has appeared before the workers as their champion, as one of them who knows and understands their sufferings and their needs, and as one who never hesitates to give of himself in their behalf. The workers and the common people in general have never grown weary of Jasper McLevy, as he has never wearied of fighting for them. To them he has always been and remains "our Jasper."

The Socialist and labor movements are proud of McLevy, cultured proletarian, Socialist builder and labor statesman.

## PROPERTY By Kirby Page

The Gold-Plated Anarchy of Private Enterprise Belongs to the Past—The Times Call for Some Form of Public Regulation—The Fruits of Private Enterprise.



Herewith is presented the fourth article in this important series on the meaning of capitalist property and the Socialist position in the various problems raised thereby. Last week Kirby Page spoke of the demand of Big Business, organized in Chambers of Commerce, for a minimum of restraint and coercion on the part of Governments.—Editor.

It is therefore imperative that we understand clearly the significance of the demands of big business. In a recent article in the New York Times, Mr. Henry I. Harriman, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, writes:

"One of the hindrances of legitimate business in the modern industrial age has been the demoralizing activities of the business man who under the stress

of unrestricted competition has tried to gain his ends by wage-cutting, price-slashing and practices which we have come to call unfair. If business is to go forward and to shoulder the obligations to be laid upon it, it should have the assurance that it will not be placed at a disadvantage by observing decent standards and that it will be able to protect itself against the industrial freebooter who recognizes no obligations to his neighbors and evades the responsibilities which a closely knit economic existence imposes. This assurance can be given by the enactment of permanent legislation as a substitute for the National Industrial Recovery Act, to lay the basis for real self-government in business. In the permanent act, however, the element of political compulsion—which is the essence of regimentation—should have no place. Government should restrict its function to approval or disapproval of standards of conduct set up by the industry upon their own initiative, giving sanction to them only after it finds that these standards are not inimical to the public interest."

who wield the most powerful kind of power, and in an industrial society that power is found in the control of the chief instruments of production and distribution. The groups that control the chief sources of wealth are not only dominant in the determination of economic and industrial policies but likewise exercise immeasurable influence in politics, over the press, the radio, the movies, education, and even organized religion. The 2,000 directors of the 200 largest corporations which own outright one-third of the business wealth of the nation, together with ten times this number of less powerful directors of other great corporations, will continue to dominate politics so long as their control of industry is perpetuated.

For many generations American municipalities and states have tried in vain adequately to regulate public utility corporations. Time after time these great financial units have succeeded in controlling the official regulatory commissions. By excessive overcapitalization and through unduly high rates, privately-owned public utilities continue to exploit the consuming public. Thus a Washington dispatch in The New York Times reads: "The cost of distributing electric power in New York State warrants rates only slightly above half the average now prevailing there, according to a voluminous report, representing three years of research by the Power Authority of New York State, made public at the White House. . . . Mr. Roosevelt ordered the study in 1931 while Governor of New York. . . . During the Insull trial in Chicago, Mr. Samuel Insull, Jr., admitted 'that stock which cost him and his father \$10,000 was marked up to \$5,000,000 in the forming of Insull Utilities Investment Company.' In this case stock-watering was practiced to the extent of 5,000 per cent!"

If the federal government goes far enough with its program of publicly owned and operated power plants, as at Muscle Shoals, then and only then will vested interests be curbed.

(To be continued)

## Maybe the City Women Can Teach The Farmer Something

By Jack Koerner  
Hton, N. Y.

WHY does a cow give milk?

I wonder if Esther Friedman can answer that one. City folks are an ignorant lot, and we farmers have fun laughing at them. But for once a bunch of city dumbbells have stolen a march on us smart milk producers. I am talking about the Socialist women in New York City. They went to the Mayor and told him they want the city to receive the milk that we load on the trains and distribute it at cost—with the idea that people might buy more, drink more, be healthier.

The people who do not know that milk has something to do with a calf are no more to be criticized for ignorance than the farmers who never heard of socialized milk marketing. We may be sure that the farm journals will not suggest such a plan, and the few farmers who make the discovery for themselves cannot do much about it.

Farm leaders say to farm audiences: "A red flag never flies over a farm-house." This is supposed to be a compliment to the farmers' intelligence and patriotism. However, the farmers aren't so easily aroused by a red scare, and they will listen to anyone who talks sense. To be sure, few there are among them who do not consider the capitalist system just naturally eternal. They have heard that Socialists want to divide up, and they can't be blamed for rejecting such a ridiculous recommendation. But right now they are in a first-class frame of mind to have pointed out to them a few things which will never be brought up by politicians, farm leaders or farm papers.

## The Farmer's Problems

The people the farmer pays for advice and information give it to him ready-made, and the farmer—being too busy or tired to analyze this ready-made bunk—goes around in a circle, hoping for the best but steadily reducing his capital investment to make up for the deficit in income. The manufacturer adds a certain amount to the price of his product to replace the plant and machinery go to wreck and ruin, and he is brought that much nearer to bankruptcy. Nitrate, phosphate and potash come from mines and are sold by the ton, but farmers take them out of their soil, receive very little for them, and cannot afford to replace them.

I cannot call to mind a single farmer who has bought and paid for his farm in his life time by wholesaling his produce, but I can name a number of cases where one, two, or even three, persons are working on the outside to support a farm on which they hope some day to be independent. A little common sense would show them

that the place would not support a single one of them.

If the farmers continue to accept the advice of their farm papers without question God only knows what's going to happen to them. It is doubtful if as many as two out of ten farmers in the United States own their farms in fee simple, and these few have some favorable condition not enjoyed by all. How could the farmers ever have got into this condition if there had ever been any good days for them, and why will they listen to advisers who wish to maintain practices which have brought them to this sorry plight?

A farmer said to me the other day: "You can go up any of these four roads and you will hardly find a farmer who hasn't a claim against his cows—to say nothing of his farm. Fourteen years ago I bought my farm and paid cash for it. My machinery was new and my cows and horses were good. I have milked as high as twenty cows and never hired any help. Today I have eight cows and some heifers coming on. My machinery is old, my horses aren't much good, and I am a thousand dollars in debt."

## Some Rural Views

This farmer doesn't employ labor, yet he cannot see that if wages are high in the city the demand for his produce will rise, that if city wages are high farm labor will go up and the pay for his own labor will be correspondingly higher. Farm monopolies never change their prices to him.

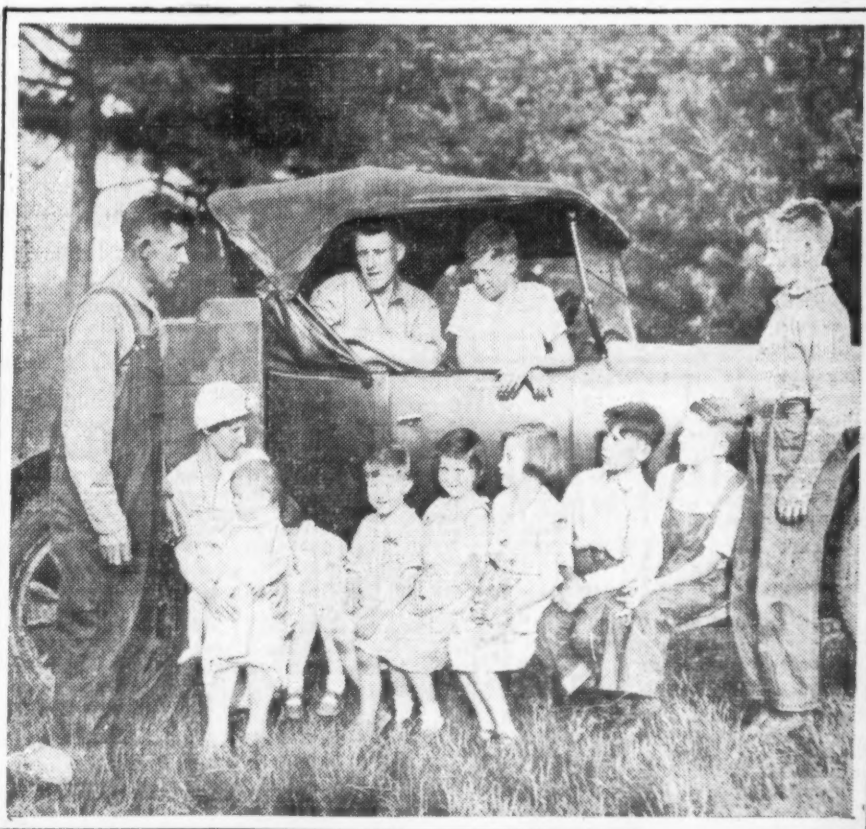
There is one way only to help the dairymen of the New York Milk Shed, and that is the way suggested by—of all people—Esther Friedman and those ignorant city women. It is to socialize the milk market. In spite of the depression this would bring to these farmers such prosperity as they never dreamed of.

Milk can be sold in New York City for eight cents a quart, and the farmer can receive five cents a quart no matter what is done with it. Congressman Sissons threatened the dealers with a law to make milk a public utility if they become too greedy. Many years ago the Socialists proposed just that in a bill introduced in the New York State Legislature by Assemblyman Louis Waldman. There was no demand for this move among the farmers.

I am not in a position to see all there is to this wasteful system of distribution, but I can see enough. With our present system of distribution there is no hope of the farmers getting five cents a quart if the Class One price in the city is less than 15 to 17 cents.

## Stupid Delivery System

This is the way milk is handled. Two milk stations in towns A and B are ten or twenty miles apart. Farmers in town A will send their milk to the station in town B, and



EVICTED FROM MAINE FARM—Eviction of Mr. and Mrs. Percy Nichols and their 10 children from a farm near Wilmington, Me., gave welfare officials another problem.

## The Workers Abroad

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

By John Powers

#### Socialists and Communists in France

THE thirty-second annual conference of the French Socialist Party was held in Mulhouse June 9 to 12. The annual report to the conference by the party executive revealed that the party showed a decline during the years 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935. Following are the figures: 1932, 137,749; 1933, 131,044; 1934, 110,000.

Discussing the situation in his report, Paul Faure, secretary of the party, characterizes the decline as "a serious problem."

"Our party has a vital need of recruitment," he declared. "It is intended to be a group with a small membership, a skeleton group, with the object of leading the masses, and if need be of throwing them into an adventure, that is to say of making a premature revolution out of fortuitous events, in which insurrectionist dynamics would constitute the preponderating factor in the victory. It has been intended to remain a party governed by democratic rulers, seeking raison d'être and its strength in the mass of the workers, whose education and organization it is pursuing in the full light of public opinion. For this reason the falling off in our membership must be stopped and a growth in membership resumed."

The party treasurer pointed out in his report that at the end of the year this membership had reached the same figure as the previous year, which means that the decline has been stopped. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the period of 1934 to the present showed a loss in party membership of more than 20,000. This is the first decline since the united front with the Communists.

The fact constitutes confirmation in cold figures of what Dr. Edith Gruenfeld in her recent letter from Paris to The New Leader described as the demoralization carried into the Socialist ranks by the united front and the consequent loss of strength and prestige suffered by the Socialists through the incursion of Communist propaganda into the movement and the confusion sown among Socialists by the communitarian marriage with the Communists.

The effects of this situation were felt also in the municipal elections in France (May 5 and 12), in which the Communists were the big winners. While the Communists gained control of 90 municipalities, as compared with the previous 47, the Socialists lost control of 7 municipalities. They are now in power in only 168 cities as against 175 previous. These figures are based upon returns from 855 municipalities of more than 5,000 inhabitants.

"By far the most important gains are those of the Communists," wrote the Paris correspondent of the Manchester Guardian. "The Communist gains, however, do not mean that France is going Communist; nearly every case the Communist candidate won with the support of Socialist votes and in many cases with radical support."

Nor is France going fascist. The elections have shown that France overwhelmingly democratic and anti-fascist. Available figures indicate that less than 10 per cent of the votes were cast for fascist candidates and that not a single municipality went fascist.

Where, then, may we ask is that "fascist danger" in France which tempted our Socialist comrades to enter into a united front with the Communists which is undermining the Socialist movement? In Germany, where the fascist danger was very real, the Communists deemed to cooperate with the Socialists and did everything in their power to facilitate the enthronement of Hitler. In France, where the fascist danger is slight or non-existent, they suddenly perceived the need of a united front with the Socialists.

As we have already pointed out in this column, the united front in France is but the counterpart of the Franco-Russian military alliance. At his recent meeting with Laval in Moscow Stalin bowed to Laval's demand that the French Communists cease opposing French military preparedness. But while complying with this demand of the French government, the Communists continue their insidious undermining of the Socialist movement in France, an enterprise conveniently facilitated by the united front into which the Socialists entered with all their agents. This, indeed, is a good way to promote fascism in France.

France is an overwhelmingly middle class country, and its middle class and peasantry are overwhelmingly anti-fascist. Cooperation with these elements rather than with the Communists would be the surest way to throw these elements into the arms of fascism. The Socialists and Communists together constitute no more than one-third of the French electorate.

That French Socialists are beginning to perceive the error of their united front with the Communists is apparent even from the report of Paul Faure as quoted above, in which he repudiates Communist tactics. Let us hope that our comrades in France will soon divorce themselves from the Communist misalliance; that they will straighten out the line of French Socialist policy in harmony with French reality and the attitude of all other important Socialist and labor parties and the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The whole problem of Stalin's policy in France, as part of the larger question of the new policy of the Comintern, the policy of military alliances and cooperation with bourgeois governments and of continued war against the international Socialist and labor movement, requires detailed consideration. It is a policy fraught with the gravest danger to international Socialism and to Revolutionary Russia itself.

#### Socialists and Spanish Parliament

THE bulletin of the Labor and Socialist International for June 1 contains the following information:

The attitude of the Socialist group in the Spanish Parliament, which has abstained from all sittings since the insurrection last October, has just been re-affirmed. When Parliament reassembled after the formation of the new Government, in which Gil Robles was included for the first time, the question whether the Socialist group would resume its place in the Chamber was raised once again. It is ready a matter of general knowledge that the decision of the group was in the negative, but it is important that the reasons for their decision should be widely known.

The question was very fully discussed in one of the rooms of the Spanish Chamber of Deputies May 14 and 15. A majority of the members of the group was present, and nearly all of those who were absent had sent in their views in writing. The result of the deliberations as communicated to the press on May 15 in the following statement, which is in itself a telling indictment of the present regime:—

"At the meetings of the Parliamentary Socialist group the problem of the return of the group to Parliament was fully examined. After having heard the various views expressed, and the opinions sent in in writing by nearly all the Socialist deputies who were absent for valid reasons, the group decided not to change its decision to remain absent from Parliament as long as the workers' centers and organizations which have been closed down are not re-opened, and the publication of our newspapers authorized, as long as the immunity of the deputies is not respected—in a word, until the power of the law and the constitutional guarantees are restored."

"In view of the importance of this decision the group decided to forward it to the Executive Committee of the Party, with a request that this body decide what it regards as most convenient at an early date."

The Socialist and labor movement in Spain are recovering rapidly from the effects of the insurrection and it may be hoped that before long it will once more play its former important role.

#### Labor Party Annual Conference

THE National Executive Committee of the British Labor Party has announced the arrangements for the 35th Annual Conference to be held at Brighton, from September 30 to October 4. The Executive Committee has assured that the Annual Conference this year will be the last held prior to the dissolution of the Parliament and a general election.

Following the adoption of the Party's Policy Report, "For Socialism and Peace," by the Southport Conference last year, the National Executive has had the subjects of Old Age Pensions, Coal and Power, and the Cotton Industry under special consideration, and will present reports upon them to the Brighton Conference. A special resolution dealing with the Unemployment Act, 1934, will also be submitted; and it is further proposed that a special section of the Annual Report should be devoted to the International Situation.

# How Socialism Conquered Norway

It Was a Long and Tedious Process, But Finally the Ancient Viking Land Was Won for the Workers -- Back On the Right Road After Wandering In the Fields of Would-be Dictatorship . . . . . by Hans Rhinelaender

(Continued from Page One)

trade balance has always been passive—3:4. Both the export and import figures are extremely modest.

#### History of the Movement

The development of the Norwegian labor movement has been very interesting. It began soon after the middle class revolutions in France and Germany in 1848. At that time Marcus Thrane founded an association of workers with a program which would hardly have withstood the criticism of scientific Socialists. But within two years the association had 273 branches with 21,000 members. A year later the number had grown to 300,000. These organizations were principally of a fraternal and educational character, maintaining benefit funds, schools and libraries. Despite their limited scope and activities they did not escape persecution. Thrane and several of his comrades were accused of "incitement to mutiny," and sentenced to prison terms of five years and more.

With the partial abatement of the reaction that swept Europe after 1848, Norway, too, obtained some freedom of movements. Reports of the Paris Commune and of the activities of Marx and Engels reached the country. A young peasant writer, Olaf Fjortoft, launched the newspaper *Fram* (Forward). He began to propagate Socialist theories and soon thereafter founded a Socialist labor organization which enjoyed rapid development, and published its own organ, "The Social Democrat." Simultaneously with this came also the rise of a trade union movement under the leadership of Christian Holterman-Knudsen, a printer. By 1886, the movement had a fine newspaper, *Socialdemokraten*, edited by Carl Jeppesen, a young brush binder.

The unification of many workers' organizations, most of which had been working independently, into the United Norwegian Labor Party was achieved in 1887. The period was marked by energetic struggles for extension of the franchise, which was also a demand of the bourgeois left. Too weak as yet to proceed independently, the United Norwegian Labor Party cooperated to the best of its ability with these left elements in this struggle. By the turn of the century, the party under Holterman-Knudsen's leadership had achieved a truly Social Democratic basis and a following in the country. In the meantime, the franchise had been extended so as to give the vote to all men who had attained the age of 25.

In the elections of 1900 the party received 6,000 votes in the cities and 1,000 votes in the country. Three years later its vote had increased to 23,000, with 6,700 in Oslo, 2,050 in Bergen, and 1,455 in Trondheim.

#### Democracy as Instrument

Agitation for further extension and improvement of the franchise continued. Success followed these efforts. The first parliamentary labor group of five men was increased to ten in the first direct elections in 1906. From that point progress was rapid.

In 1915 the women received the vote. The Labor Party—as it now designated itself—received 198,111 votes, or 32 per cent of the total vote cast. The party became the second strongest in the country. Its representation in parliament rose to 19. Its vote had risen to 209,560, as against 201,325 for the conservatives and 187,655 for the bourgeois left. In 1921 the voting age was reduced to 23, coupled with the introduction of proportional representation. The 1924 election took place, however, in the midst of a split in the party, with both the Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party in the field. The first polled 192,612 votes, while 83,629 votes were cast for the Social Democratic Party—a total of 276,245. There was also a Communist Party to add to the confusion.

In 1930 the parliamentary seats were distributed as follows: Labor Party and Social Democratic Party, 47; Communist Party, none (the Communists had six seats in 1924 and 3 seats in 1927); Conservatives and Freethinkers of the left, 41; Independent Freethinkers, 3; Bourgeois left, 33; Peasant Party, 25; Radical People's Party, 1.

The figures for 1933 covering the vote of the Labor Party, which in the meanwhile had achieved unity with the Social Democratic Party (1927), were very encouraging. Our party received 500,622 votes and captured 69 seats in the Storting out of 150. It lacked only 7 seats for a clear majority.

This brief review reveals that our Norwegian comrades have traversed the same painful road which other Socialist and Labor parties have been unable to escape. The struggle for democratic Socialism, for the souls, minds and votes of the Norwegians, waged on the background of Norway's beautiful landscape, dotted with fjords, mountains and lakes, was by no means an easy one. As in France, Italy, Germany, England, Poland,

Russia and other countries, the struggle for the support of human beings was essentially a contest for the methods of struggle. While some comrades wished to adapt themselves to the methods which had been proven best in other countries, others were of the opinion that radical methods would bring us quicker to our goal because they offered a short cut. If you have ever tried to scale a mountain you have probably experienced the illusion which so many have had, the illusion of the apparent shortest road to the mountain top, but which in reality proved the longest and most wasteful, both in time and effort, whereas another road, which at first glance appeared to be the longest, actually brought you to the goal in quicker time. The inclination of younger comrades to throw themselves headlong into the fray is a natural human trait. Who of us older comrades has forgotten our own *Sturm und Drang* period?

#### Martin Tranmael's Role

One of the most energetic minds of the Norwegian Labor Party is Martin Tranmael, now 56 years old. As a young man of 20 or thereabouts he emigrated to America, where he came in contact with the I.W.W. It was natural for the young fighter to find himself in sympathy with that organization, since the Socialist movement in the United States appeared to him too "mild." He was devoted body and soul to his more "radical" class comrades, and upon his return to Norway he achieved almost immediately a position of prominence in the labor movement and gained a large following. Tranmael has often been referred to abroad as a Communist and Bolshevik. As a matter of fact he was neither, and it was impossible to classify him under any particular cliché. It would have been fair to call him a Norwegian I.W.W.-ite. In a European sense he inclined to syndicalism, an inclination which he has preserved to this day.

Tranmael was only 34 years old when upon his return from the United States he assumed the editorship of the party organ in Trondheim. At that time he was the leader of the syndicalist opposition in the party and in the trade unions. He was anti-parliamentarian and anti-militarist, and together with Eugene Olansen he wielded particularly great influence upon the youth. It was his influence that was most responsible for the split in the party and its exit from the Labor and Socialist International. Supporting Tranmael in that critical period were such prominent comrades as Halvard Olsen, Elias Volan and Alfred Madsen. This group had the assistance of some intellectuals under the leadership of Professor Edward Bull.

The split mentioned above occurred at the conference of the Labor Party March 28, 1918. Both the "moderate" and extreme comrades presented resolutions. The radical resolution was carried by a vote of 159 to 126. By this vote the old party administration was retired. A year later the Norwegian Labor party joined the Communist International, where it never felt quite comfortable. The Norwegians sent a delegation to the conference of the Independent Social Democratic Party at Halle, Germany (1920), where the question of unity between the German Communists and Independents was discussed, and at which Zinoviev, then president of the Comintern, made his celebrated appearance.

#### Split Over the 21 Points

The main purpose of the Norwegians was to discuss with Zinoviev the granting by Moscow of certain dispensations to Norway. Moscow's famous 21 points, which parties affiliated with the Comintern were called upon to swallow, were a bit too rigid for the Norwegians, and as a result of the mission to Halle a portion of the Norwegian Labor Party seceded and formed the Social Democratic Labor Party. Of the 17 representatives in the Storting 9 joined the new party. Its organ was the *Arbeiderpolitik*, edited by Oskar Pedersen, and, later, by Hans Amundsen. Magnus Nielsen and Michael Puntervold were co-chairmen of the party.

There ensued a period of bitter strife between the two parties, particularly within the more "radical" Labor Party. Very soon the Labor Party began to have difficulties with the Comintern. As was the case everywhere where splits had occurred the greatest sufferers

in the theoretical conflict were the workers. Two big strikes of metal workers were lost, ending in wage reductions. In November, 1923, at a conference of the Labor Party, Tranmael introduced a resolution adopted by a vote of 149 to 103—declaring that it was the duty of the Labor Party to adapt its policy to the will of the majority of the party. The majority supporting this resolution was no longer with Moscow. The representative of the Comintern attending the conference thereupon declared the majority excommunicated from the Comintern. The minority left the hall and formed the Norwegian Communist Party, with Olav Scheffo, Halvard Olsen and Sverre Støstad as leaders.

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#### Unity Finally Achieved

Thus there were now three labor parties in Norway. This situation continued for three years. After the election of 1924 the workers began to bethink themselves. How little affiliation with the Communist International corresponded with the convictions of the most prominent comrades in Norway may be gleaned also from the fact that they made various other efforts to establish international relations, but without success. Experiments in the formation of the so-called "Paris International" likewise failed. Writing in the Scandinavian journal *Kulturfront*, Einar H. Tønnessen pointed out in 1933 that even during the war various efforts had been directed from Norway to establish contact with the "revolutionary Zimmerwald movement."

The "Zimmerwaldians" (so-called because of their meeting in the Swiss village of Zimmerwald) were representatives of the German Independents, who had seceded during the war from the German Social Democratic Party (the two parties were reunited in 1923). Fortunately, the Norwegian workers, like the Socialists of the entire world, had the same aim, their differences being only on the question of method. The conflict on this point between the various Socialist and Labor parties has long ended and there is now once more one united Labor and Socialist International.

It would have been strange, indeed, if a man of the tempestuous temperament of Tranmael had remained unaffected by the cyclonic events of the war and post-war period and had failed to ask himself every day many painful questions. No thinking Socialist could live through the past twenty years without asking himself again and again whether his road was the right one. With profound admiration do we gaze upon our old friend Karl Kautsky, who did not hesitate at the age of 80 to draw conclusions from the experiences of recent years which certainly do not harmonize with some of the things he wrote and said fifty years ago. To the best of our knowledge there is only one person in the world who has determined that there is nothing more for him to learn, because he had learned everything there was to know as a bricklayers' helper in Vienna: his name is Hitler.

#### Movement Now Reunited

The Norwegian workers are now marching again in unity and cooperation. The only faction remaining outside the movement are the Communists, who represent an insignificant number. There are now no obstacles remaining to the return of the Norwegian Labor Party to the Labor and Socialist International.

From 1927 to 1930 Tranmael was a member of the Storting. He declined to stand for re-election because he wanted to remain only an editor and propagandist. This alone indicates that he is a man of exceptional mould. The Norwegian Labor Party has adapted itself to stern realities. In doing so, it has given consideration to the feelings and desires of all comrades. Once more there is a united party of labor in Norway. Since March of this year it has been in control of the government. In assuming the reins of government the party acted not against the opinions of comrades inclined to the left, but with their clearly expressed agreement, including Tranmael's. The government has two big immediate tasks before it: to bring order into the nation's finances and to provide work for the unemployed.

An interesting episode of several weeks ago illumines well the existing situation. The new government, headed by Comrade Johann Nygaardsvold, issued an order requiring all government offices to fly the Norwegian national flag on May Day. The reactionaries in the Storting sought to utilize the order as an excuse for ridicule of the Labor Party. "The Social Democratic workers, employees and officials," they said, "will surely be nonplused when they see the national flag instead of the Red Flag flying from government headquarters." Nygaardsvold replied that he considered it desirable to have the national flag flying side by side with the Red Flag. Tranmael gave the order his approval. We, too, agree with Nygaardsvold and Tranmael. First, the effect of the order was to recall to the entire population of Norway the significance of May Day; second, it served to emphasize to the Social Democratic workers of the country that they had a real stake in the state which was being ruled by their representatives, as contrasted with states in which the workers occupy a position of inferiority and are relegated to citizens of the second and third category. In a state which accords to all citizens equal rights there is no reason to show disrespect to its standard.

#### A Wholesome Mixture

The Social Democratic government of Norway has a difficult task before it, for it does not have a majority in parliament. As stated above, it controls only 69 seats, lacking 7 for a majority. In the event of necessity, the Peasant Party stands ready to support the government, having come to the conclusion that the Social Democracy serves the interests of the peasants better than do the bourgeois parties of purely urban orientation.

The men who form the Norwegian Labor Government cannot be described as belonging to the "right" or "left," for the experiences and perturbations of recent years have produced a very wholesome mixture. What we can say is that the comrades in question combine a realistic conception of things and a practical approach to the problems before them with a determination to act with firmness and energy.

In addition to the premier, Comrade Nygaardsvold, who in his youth also worked in America, those participating in the government include Halvan Kol, well known historian, foreign minister; Adolph Indreboe, a municipal administrator, finance minister; Alfred Madsen, trade union and party worker, minister of trade and commerce; K. O. Bergsvik, authority on social legislation, minister of public welfare; Niels Hjeltnet, popular veteran parliamentarian, minister of education; Tryve Lie, jurist, minister of justice, and Hans Ystgard, a peasant, minister of agriculture.

The determination with which our Norwegian comrades are tackling their tasks is hailed by all friends, who wish them success.

## Socialism Is Still the Strongest Political Force in Czechoslovakia

FULL details of the recent elections in Czechoslovakia are available with election figures, and they show that Socialism is still the largest and most important political force there despite the disturbing strength shown by the German fascists. There are 49 Socialist deputies out of 300, to 45 Republicans and 44 Heinlein-camouflaged Nazis.

The total vote of all parties in the Republic of 14,726,158 people was 8,229,165, and the two Socialist parties polled 1,334,729 votes, as compared to 1,470,062 in 1929. The Sudetendeutsche Partei, the camouflaged Nazi crowd led by Heinlein, polled 1,249,497 votes, and the Republicans 1,176,517. The Communists polled 849,485 votes, and the National Socialists (the Benes party who are really democratic national Socialists) received 755,931, as compared with 767,571 in 1929.

The Heinlein party appeared in a national election for the first time, and its vote came entirely from the German section of the

Republic, its appeal being strictly nationalistic. It concealed its Nazi nature throughout the campaign, and it is believed that it gained many nationalist German votes that would have gone to one or another of the genuinely democratic parties if it had come out openly as a fascist crowd.

The Czech Socialists increased their vote from 963,312 in 1929 to 1,034,804, but the German Socialists, under the terrific pounding of the Heinlein nationalists, fell from 506,750 to 299,925. The two Socialist parties, operating in the two sections of the Republic that speak different languages, work in the closest cooperation with each other.

The Communists, polling the almost solid vote of the sections of the Republic that were taken from the old Russian Empire, increased from 753,444 to 849,485.

A frankly fascist party, appearing for the first time, polled 167,440 votes.

The Senate elections the following week showed approximately

the same results. The two Socialist parties polled 1,199,879 votes (German Social Democrats 270,298 and 909,581 for the Czech Socialists); while the Heinlein party polled 1,083,721 and the Agrarians 1,042,836. The Socialists received 1,228,271 at the last election (841,331 for the Czech Socialists and 446,940 for the German Social Democrats); while the Communists rose from 644,895 to 737,635. The Benes National Socialists (not Nazis) rose from 666,607 to 671,621. There will be 26 Socialist Senators in the new Parliament, the largest single party there, as compared with 31 in the old. There will be 23 Heinlein fascists and 16 Communists.

Wherever nationalist passions were not an issue the Socialists gained substantially, and they lost only in the face of the same sentiments that caused large masses of Germans in the Saar and the Danzig Free State to vote, not for Hitler or for fascism, but for Germany.

#### Relief Strikers

of Canada, aroused over their 20 cents a day wages, are riding box cars across the entire continent to the Capital at Ottawa, where they will make a formal protest to the government about their pay.



## Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

### Modern vs. Backward Leadership

THE utopianism of the Bolsheviks is also registered in the action and methods which they seek to impose upon the Labor and Socialist movement in other countries. They seek to lead the movement in the countries of high-grade capitalism. They reverse the Marxian concept. Marx and Engels regarded the workers in nations of advanced capitalist production as the "advanced sections" of the proletariat, the section that is entitled to lead. This class struggles in nations where the modern capital structure has reached an advanced stage of development.

In drafting the Preamble to the Working Rules of the International Workingmen's Association in 1864—the First International—Marx embodied this historical conception in it. This he considered essential to prevent the Labor and Socialist movement from falling back into the "old errors" of the early utopians, errors which the Bolsheviks have revived. The following paragraphs are significant:

"That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, which embraces all countries in which MODERN SOCIETY exists, and whose solution depends upon the practical and theoretical cooperation of the MOST ADVANCED COUNTRIES."

"That the present awakening of the working class in the INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES of Europe gives occasion for new hope, but at the same time contains a solemn warning not to fall back into OLD ERRORS, and demands an immediate union of the movements not yet united."

Thus even in organization and action Marx looked to those countries where the modern capital structure was developing, not to the countries that had not yet entered the cycle of capitalist production or that were in a low stage of this production. Economic development in nations of the first class were favorable to a Socialist movement, but in nations of the second class only a bourgeois revolution was possible. As Werner Sombart wrote, "social ideals are only utopianism so long as they are merely evolved in the head of the theorist. They obtain reality only when they are united to actual economic conditions, when they arise out of these conditions."

### Utopianism and Dictatorship

In 1905, Lenin held that because of economic conditions the coming revolution in Russia must be of a middle class character. In October, 1915, while the World War was being fought, he still held this view, holding that three demands were possible: a democratic republic, confiscation of great estates, and an eight-hour day. Russia remained a country which had not developed a modern capital structure, which had not wiped out its remnants of feudalism, which had not had its bourgeois revolution, and where Socialists, both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, expected no more than a middle class revolution.

After the seizure of power, the Bolsheviks abandoned the Marxian view that historical conditions limit what can be achieved. They decided to destroy what there was of bourgeois class, the class whose reign in other countries has been accompanied with the building of the capital structure that is essential to a Socialist society.

They decided to "leap over" this intervening stage of industrial evolution and, like the earlier utopians, to venture upon "experiment." To justify this they invented a new "social science" which they called "Leninism." A movement in a backward nation proceeded to dictate to the movements in advanced nations. To carry out this utopianism, the whole working class (wage workers and peasants) were brought under the iron dictatorship of the Communist Party. Then within the party they created a dictatorship of Lenin and his associates over the party members. Dictatorial power was concentrated into the hands of a few men and was enforced by terror, executions, imprisonment, and exile. Czar Nicholas was succeeded by Czar Nicolai! The long and bloody struggle of the working class for economic, social, political, cooperative and cultural freedom ended in this unexpected perversion of their dreams and ideals. Men and women who had served years in the dungeons of the Czar found themselves in the dungeons of the Bolsheviks.

### Bolshevik Counter-Revolution

Much is said by the Bolsheviks about "counter-revolution." They effected a counter-revolution against the whole working class of Russia. Socialists of all schools in Russia had for decades fought for liberation from the Czarist autocracy which represented economic, social, political, and cultural despotism. Socialists of all schools fought and dreamed of liberty and democracy in all these phases of life. For the Czarist despotism in economic, social, political and cultural life, the Bolsheviks substituted their own form of despotism. If this is not counter-revolution then the word has no meaning.

Once victorious, the Bolshevik dictatorship entered upon the task of creating a Socialist society without a modern capital structure. Most all the forms of economic life were to be socialized, small scale, shops, trade, petty industries, banks, etc., with agriculture a later objective. This continued for nearly four years. To be precise, until July, 1921, when Lenin announced the NEP (The New Economic Policy), a reversal of the policy of socialization. What had happened?

The economic life of Russia was collapsing in ruin. Starvation was rife and the discontent of the masses came to a head in a radical opposition in the party, peasant risings, and the rebellion of the Kronstadt garrison in the previous March. A Provisional Revolutionary Committee of Soldiers, Sailors, and Workmen ruled Kronstadt for a few days and was crushed with the guns of Trotsky. So the NEP was announced. What was the NEP? It permitted private trading, the developing of small capitalist enterprise. That is to say, it invited the building of a capital structure through the normal processes by which it has always been built. Lenin admitted the failure of the old policy. Of the NEP he said, "we put before ourselves the MAXIMUM CONCESSIONS in order to afford the small producer the most SUITABLE CONDITIONS for the display of his energies. The proletarian government, by means of concessions, can bring about an ALLIANCE WITH THE CAPITALIST STATES OF THE ADVANCED COUNTRIES, and on that alliance depends the STRENGTHENING OF OUR INDUSTRY, without which we CANNOT MOVE FURTHER ALONG THE ROAD TO THE COMMUNIST ORDER."

### Bolshevik Contradiction and Futility

Here Lenin yielded to the principle of historical necessity which requires the private accumulation of capital, the building of the economic structure that is a primary need of a Socialist society. The Bolsheviks yielded to the possessors of private capital but they did not yield freedom to the working class. On the contrary, the dictatorship became more rigid over the masses and the trade unions were made subordinate organs of the dictatorship. The seizure of the peasants' grain was abandoned for a tax on peasant production. Economic conditions began to improve and the economic life of Russia began to revive.

The Bolsheviks were the prisoners of inexorable economic law. One cannot follow their policies in detail, but the NEP was not a consistent policy of permitting a capital structure to be built. It became a cat-and-mouse policy in the succeeding years. To the extent that owners of private business became influential the Bolsheviks became scared. They seized and taxed and by various decrees terrorized the small bourgeois class and the "maximum concessions" became uncertain and worthless. The Bolsheviks wanted a capital structure but feared the bourgeois class which it brought to the front. Yet without this structure all the grandiose promises of Socialism were utopian dreaming. "Strengthening our industry" was necessary; otherwise "we cannot move along the road to the Communist order," said Lenin. But when they began to move along they called a halt because they found the bourgeois class in the line marching with them.

Long ago Marx had told them that "the Democracy of the petty traders MUST FIRST HAVE ITS TURN" before the masses can be emancipated, but the Bolsheviks who terrorized others were in turn terrorized by the logic of the Marxian law of economic history. They did not have the courage to face its logical implications so they followed a "zig-zag" policy in the NEP period. They were like a madman thrusting a man under water until he nearly strangles; then reviving him only to again thrust him under, and so on, repeating the grotesque of keeping his victim half-dead and half-alive. This was one process phase of the "new social science" which its converts throughout the world call "Leninism."

(To be continued)

## The Pennsylvania Front

### Adams Heads Strong Ticket in Pittsburgh

Trade Unionists Fill Places on Party Slate in Allegheny County—To Wage Good Campaign

Special to The New Leader.

PITTSBURGH.—Setting up a ticket headed by William Adams of Wilkesburg and Michael Petrak, a Tarentum steel worker for County Commissioners, Socialists of Allegheny County decided to conduct a very extensive campaign.

The city ticket will be headed by John Bookjahn, prominent labor unionist; Robert Lieberman, Executive Chairman of the Unemployed Citizens' League of Allegheny County; James Hueston of the Moulders' Union, and Edw. Mueller of the Printers' Union.

A committee was elected to prepare a platform and to draw up a series of leaflets.

Adams, in accepting the nomination, sounded the keynote of the campaign when he said, "Allegheny County, the historical storm center of labor strife, needs a Socialist administration not only as a measure of protection to the workers, but to serve notice on the exploiters in this district that the workers are on the march." He appealed to the party membership to participate actively in the forthcoming campaign.

### HERE AND THERE IN PENNSYLVANIA

To Name Ticket for Jefferson City. JEFFERSON COUNTY.—A general membership meeting to nominate county candidates will be held on Saturday, June 29th, at Reynoldsville.

Socialist Day in Allentown. ALLENTOWN.—Socialists in and about Allentown are asked to join in celebrating Socialist Day with an outdoor mass meeting and picnic on Sunday, August 4th, at Central Park.

Pauli in Millvale. MILLVALE.—Karl Pauli, organizer of the Socialist Party of Allegheny County, will be the speaker at an outdoor meeting on Friday, June 24th, at 8 P. M.

Rally in Universal. UNIVERSAL.—An outdoor meeting will be held on Friday, June 21st, in Universal. Karl Pauli, organizer of the Socialist Party of Allegheny County, will speak.

### UNION PROTESTS NAZI BOOSTERS IN READING SCHOOLS

PHILADELPHIA.—The Reading, Pa., school authorities are attacked for "permitting introduction of Hitlerism into the Berks County school system" by John W. Edelman, state chairman of the Workers' Education Council of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

Edelman, a member of many state commissions, condemned the visit of American educators, including Thomas H. Ford, superintendent of Reading schools, to Germany and Austria on a "study tour" conducted by the Henry Janssen Foundation. He also attacked a similar tour conducted by the Gustav Oberlander Foundation, by a party including Thomas W. Lantz, Reading, director of public recreation.

"The Janssen and Oberlander Foundation," Edelman declared, "were established and are maintained by fortunes accumulated from long years of labor exploitation that made Reading synonymous with sweatshop in the hosiery industry."

"Under the guise of furthering the exchange of cultural and educational thought and practice between the United States and Germany, these foundations have latterly been used to spread the Nazi propaganda of labor suppression and governmental dictatorship the Reading mill barons openly favor."

"It is no coincidence that the supporters of these foundations are the same gentlemen, whose attorney, Arno P. Mowitz, Nazi consul in Philadelphia, attempted in recent weeks to influence the state legislature against social legislation with a Nazi-authored pamphlet lauding the labor policies of Hitler's vicious regime."

Edelman's reference was to a booklet, "Will America Copy Germany's Mistakes?" (the labor "mistakes" of Republican Germany), translated from the German of Gustav Hartz, Hitler's personal economist. Moritz, attorney for the open-shop hosiery manufacturers' association which is dominated by the Berks millowners, retained Hartz to write the pamphlet for the Pennsylvania Self-Insurers' Association.

The pamphlet urges the abolition of workmen's compensation insurance and appeals to the basest instincts of employers to make profits irrespective of human being cost, by indicating that the employers and society (meaning employers) should be relieved of the burden of responsibility for injured, sick, aged and unemployed workers.

### SEC Stands Pat On Barring All United Fronts

Socialists Will Have No Dealings with Communists, Pennsylvania Informs National Office.

Special to The New Leader.

PITTSBURGH.—The Socialist Party State Executive Committee met at Pittsburgh Saturday and Sunday, June 15th and 16th, with the following present: Raymond Hofes, Charles Sands, Sidney Stark, Jane W. Tait, Charles Young, Julius Weisberg, William J. Van Esden and David Rinne. Geo. W. Rhodes, president of the Federated Trades Council, Reading, member of the Political Committee of Labor and active Reading Socialist was also present.

At the Saturday session, occupied with organization problems, it was decided to put two organizers in the field.

Applications of two branches for permission to join local Labor Party alliances were denied. The committee drew up a resolution in which they indicated that sporadic, insignificant efforts in communities, however sincere, cannot be recognized as a "Labor Party," and added, "We deem it the proper function of a Socialist within the Labor Movement to assist all efforts to organize workers within a party of industrial workers and farmers with a workingclass viewpoint and democratic objective." The statement also points out that should Labor recognize the necessity of organizing a political party independent of existing capitalist parties, the Socialist Party will be ready to cooperate. The Executive Secretary was authorized to secure information on the Labor Party question and make this material available to all Socialist Party branches and the labor movement in general.

The committee also decided to inform the National Executive Committee that Pennsylvania's position against united fronts with Communists and Communist splinter groups remains unaltered.

A committee was chosen to appear before the National Executive Committee at its next meeting and state the position of Pennsylvania Socialists on the internal party conflict.

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

Local. The labor committee of Local Rochester has arranged a conference for a demonstration in support of Age Security and Unemployment Insurance and is receiving the cooperation of the Central Trades and Labor Council.

Ithaca.—Local Tompkins County has succeeded in raising seven-eighths of its quota in the United Socialist Drive.

### New York City United Socialist Drive

A considerable improvement is noticeable in the response of certain branches on the United States Drive. The National Office has urged us to impress upon the branches and membership the importance of raising money for this drive as rapidly as possible. A financial emergency faces both the National and City Offices. We earnestly urge all readers to support the Drive to the utmost of their ability. Any money sent in direct to our office will be credited to the branch quota of which the remitter is a member.

Nominations. We again call attention to the importance of immediately arranging for nominations for Assembly and Aldermen. Quick action is necessary. Whenever joint branch meetings must be called, let officers of branches take the initiative and call such meetings immediately. The City Office will gladly supply any information necessary.

July 4th Union Square Meeting. Final preparations are being made for a great July 4 meeting. We urge all members to cooperate and join with us in this mass meeting on Union Square. Prominent speakers will speak, literature will be widely distributed.

"O. and P. Meetings." We want to impress upon branch organizers to attend O. and P. Meetings every Monday evening at 9 P. M. They are indispensable to the education of all our organization and propaganda work. The branches are entitled to the representation, and continual absence injuriously effect the work of the branches.

MANHATTAN. Washington Heights Branch. Social Saturday, June 22, at headquarters, 423 West 156th St., corner Amsterdam Ave., one flight up. Dancing, refreshments, etc.

Chelsea Branch. Our open air campaign opens Friday evening, June 21 at 8th Ave. and 21st St. Henry Jaeger will speak, assisted by several branch members. The Organizer, Comrade Saffers, expects to have ready for distribution at this meeting, the first number of our branch paper, "The Chelsea Comment." For the branch meeting see WEVD studios Monday evening, June 24, the Educational Committee has arranged a discussion on Modern News. Father Coughlin, Huey Long, Upton Sinclair, Dr. Townsend, etc.

BRONX. 7th A. D. Tuesday, June 25, meeting at 789 E. 181st St. 11th A. D. Tuesday, June 25, meeting at 1137 Ward Avenue. Lower 8th A. D. Bronx. Regular business, Burnside Manor, Tuesday, June 25. Gus Tyler will lecture on "History of American Labor," starting at 9 P. M. promptly.

KINGS. Midwood Branch. Highly important membership meeting, Monday, June 24, at headquarters, 1719 Avenue O. 16th A. D. Joint meeting of the branches of the 16th A. D. to nominate candidates for the Assembly and Aldermen Tuesday evening, June 25 at headquarters, 6618 Bay Parkway.

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

### Memorial to Morris Hillquit

ON Saturday afternoon, June 29th, at 3 o'clock, there will be dedicated to the late Morris Hillquit a beautiful and fitting memorial at Camp Tamiment. The central feature of this memorial will be a bronze bust, the work of the well known sculptor, Sergei Konenkov, and presented by Mrs. Vera Hillquit and Nina and Lawrence Hillquit.

The words inscribed beneath this work of art are the ones which Morris Hillquit himself chose as the summary of his life. They formed the conclusion of an address which he delivered at Utica, N. Y., before the 1932 state convention of the Socialist Party and are the last words of the widely read autobiography, "Loose Leaves from a Busy Life."

Following is the inscription: "Having chosen and followed the unpopular course of a Socialist propagandist, I am entirely at peace with myself. I have nothing to regret, nothing to apologize for."

"If, forty years ago, I could have foreseen all phases of the tortuous course of the Socialist movement in this country and in the world, I would have done exactly as I did. If I had forty years more of life in me I would continue spending them in the Socialist movement, without regard to its 'practical' prospects."

"To me the Socialist movement with its enthusiasm and idealism, its comradeship and struggles, its hopes and disappointments, its victories and defeats, has been the best that life has had to offer."

### Hoffman Heads Buffalo Ticket for Fall Elections

BUFFALO, N. Y.—The Socialist Party of Buffalo and Erie County has named a complete ticket for the coming campaign, led by John M. Secord of Ebenezer, general secretary for the Great Lakes of the Marine Cooks' and Stewards' Union, for sheriff.

The principal Buffalo candidates are Robert A. Hoffman, secretary of the city council, and George Beech of the streetcar men's union, for comptroller. Mrs. Elizabeth C. Roth, chairman of the Buffalo Parent-Teachers' Association and a director of the League of Women Voters, and John J. Metselaar, Sr., leader of the Citizens' Unemployed Relief League, are the nominees for councilmen-at-large.

District council candidates are: North, Emil Anderson; Niagara, Angelo Cordaro; Delaware, Elizabeth Olmsted Smith; University, Lucene Fullington; Masten, Matthew S. Rosen; Walden, Clifford L. Perry; Ellicott, Ray Knapp; Lovejoy, Leonard Perry; South, William J. Mueller. Assembly candidates: 1. John Ellison, business agent of the Marine Firemen's Union; 2. Christ N. Hawkland; 3. Pellegrino Pieri; 4. Clara Haushammer; 5. John Antoniewicz; 6. Ernest H. Klein; 7. Ernest D. Baumann of Snyder, organizer of Local Erie County; 8. Fred A. Rieffer of Eden. Buffalo ward supervisor candidates are: 1. Robert Di Antonio; 2. William E. Newbury; 3. Miriam Stanfield; 4. Ludwig Knapezyk; 5. Simon Kisin; 6. Stanley Novak; 7. James Cameron; 8. Gertrude Bernstein; 9. Joseph C. Mack; 10. Norman Heppell; 11. James A. Peck; 12. George Papke; 13. Samuel Brody; 14. Fred Mueller; 15. John Venn; 16. John H. Farrell; 17. Bessie Battistoni; 18. Amos E. Kresge; 19. Hazel V. Bowers; 20. John G. Davidson; 21. V. Anderson; 22. Fred Osborn; 23. Carrie A. Miles; 24. Edward E. Reitz; 25. Ernest A. Franks; 26. Anthony Provino; 27. Nicholas Mastorilli.

Fourteen active trade unionists and nine women candidates are on the ticket. Advocacy of the Hillquit Workers' Rights' amendment to the federal constitution, ratification of the child labor amendment and public ownership of public utilities will be stressed in the campaign. Mayors Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee and Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport will speak in Buffalo during the campaign.

### Communists Join Reps and Dems in Opposing Public Ownership of Utilities

NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.—Republicans, Democrats and Communists in New Rochelle seem to be united on one issue, and that is opposition to public ownership of public utilities. In a symposium participated in by spokesmen for these three parties as well as the Charter League and the Socialist Party, only Leonard Bright, for the latter, advocated a municipal lighting plant.

Antonio Lombardo, Communist candidate for Mayor, favored "sharply reduced rates," without calling for a publicly owned plant, taking the same position as the old parties.

Asked before the meeting whether a report that the Communists were opposed to municipal ownership and operation of a power plant was correct, he said it was.

### On Deck For Bronx Picnic to Bear Mountain

All hands on deck, comrades! The Bronx County Socialist Party has made all possible arrangements for the boat ride to take place Sunday, June 23, to Bear Mountain.

The committee in charge of the arrangements has procured the baseball diamond where a team composed of party members and one of young Socialists will compete for diamond laurels.

All comrades are urged to purchase their boat tickets in advance and save money, as the tickets will cost more at the pier. Tickets may be purchased at the Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th St., or from your branch organizer.

The boat will leave the pier of the McAlister Lines at 9 A. M. at Battery Park and at 9:30 at 132nd Street.



Robert A. Hoffman

Outdoor Forum in Pittsburgh. PITTSBURGH.—Karl Pauli will address the first of a series of outdoor Labor Problems Forum meetings on Wednesday evening, June 19th, at 8. Clint Golden, former Associate Director of the Regional Labor Board, will speak on the Wagner Labor Relations bill on Wednesday, June 26th. The meetings will be held every Wednesday at the West Park Band Stand, Sherman Avenue and West Ohio Street, N.S. Pittsburgh, Pa.

### N.Y.C. Street Meetings

Brooklyn, Friday, June 28, Baynton and Westchester Aves.  
Manhattan, Friday, June 28, 8th Ave. and 21st St. Henry Jaeger and others.  
Brooklyn, Friday, June 21, Hindsdale Street and Sutter Ave. Smith, Gilbert, Platoff, Harry and Emil Sapkowitz.  
Friday, June 21, Eastern Parkway and Utica Ave. E. P. Gottlieb and others.  
Friday, June 28, Hindsdale St. and Sutter Ave., Eastern Parkway and Utica Ave.

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# NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

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

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## OUT OF THE SOCIAL ABYSS

THREE little boys in Queens County, New York, wandered over the streets earning money as boot-blacks or by stealing. Two of them, brothers, 11 and 13 years of age, entered a saloon and stole \$140 from the cash drawer, and when they were arrested they were paroled in the custody of their father.

Their father is a carpenter who has not worked for three years, and he is ill, suffering as a result of his long privations; and the miserable "home" over a vacant store is presided over by his 12-year-old daughter, who must perform all the duties of a mother for five motherless boys.

A few days later the brothers, reinforced by a 13-year-old friend, got hold of a revolver and held up a derelict, sleeping off a drunk in a vacant lot. When he did not turn in any money (not having any) one of the boys pulled the trigger and put a bullet through the man's head. When the boys were arrested it was learned that the third lad is one of thirteen children of a miserably overworked mother.

A fearful picture of degradation and misery emerging out of our social abyss. The lads are undoubtedly depraved; they undoubtedly have been poisoned by motion pictures glorifying the use of firearms. The undoubtedly had learned much about the technique of stick-ups from degenerate companions.

But the thought occurs that if the three boys had come from well-kept homes in which there was sufficient income to keep all members of the family in comfort and decency, if the mother of the thirteen children and the sister of the five did not have such fearful material obstacles to face, if they had had the opportunity to live like decent human beings, this awful thing could not have happened.

Only under the damnable capitalist system of economic injustice and insecurity, only in a system of such haphazard social relations that grows out of capitalism, could such a fearful thing have taken place.

There is no task before humanity that transcends in importance the ending of that system and the substitution of a new social order in which men, women and children will live like human beings.

## "PIGS IS PIGS"

CAPITALIST interests remind us of a litter of pigs, each one fighting for monopoly of one of its mother's teats. From the time of the first capitalist enterprise in this country to the present hour these pigs have supped at government teats in one form or another and objected to workers using government for their interests.

The latest case is that of the shipping interests, whose gluttony is disclosed in a Senate report this week. Besides filling their own paunches with nourishing government milk, the fat capitalist swine have wallowed in dirt and oozed filth at every pore. While the swine urge "individualism" for the working masses they attach themselves to government, where the milking is good.

If government power is good for the exploiters, why not good for the masses?

## DEPRESSION DIETS

HOW long the physical and mental decay directly due to the depression can continue without seriously impairing the health of millions of human beings is a question we cannot answer. However, it is a tragic by-product of a sick capitalism.

Dr. Walter R. Campbell of the Department of Medicine, University of Toronto, points out that the relief diet of cheap rations fed to millions on relief is ruinous to health. Unemployment diets run high in carbohydrates, which leads to obesity. He added that the "inevitable degradation from unemployed to unemployed should not be accelerated by a falsely economical provision of foodstuffs." The cheap diets are producing a "large proportion of the mentally and physically inferior children."

When modern civilization cannot even provide a healthy diet for our children, what greater indictment can be brought against it?

## STUFFING HUMAN SKULLS

HERBERT HOOVER wiggles out of obscurity to toss a few thousand words to young hopefuls of Stanford University and then retire. One wonders how these eminent men have learned the art of stringing words together without saying anything that any human being will care to recall the next month. However, this country is notorious for its cheap wares, cheap minds and cheap politicians, and Hoover is only a sample of the bulk.

A sample of Hoover's output is the following: "The hope of social security can be destroyed both from the Right and the Left. From the Right come abuses of monopoly, economic tyranny," etc., and from the Left "come power-seeking, job-handling bureaucracies," etc.

Stuffing human skulls with this sort of drivel while civilization rots and mankind decays is typical of so much "education" in the American university. However, Hoover makes the grade as a presidential candidate next year and the G.O.P. will no doubt nurse him for a return to the White House.

## WHAT DOES HE CARE!



He's comfortable and perfectly satisfied with things as they are, in this Best of all Possible Worlds, but there's a warning hand...

## Behind the Scenes in Washington



By Benjamin Meiman  
Our Washington Correspondent

THE emaciated and skeletonized NRA returned this week to one-man rule for the nine-and-a-half months' lease of life squeezed out of Congress. James L. O'Neill, New York banker, was named by President Roosevelt to have complete charge of whatever is left of that once powerful organization. His two most important assistants are Blackwell Smith and Leon C. Henderson, Mr. Smith as General Counsel and Mr. Henderson as chief of the research division.

O'Neill will also be assisted by Leon C. Marshall, labor member of the seven-man NRA board which expired at midnight last Sunday, and Prentiss L. Cooney, as code administrator. Marshall will head a board to gather data on business and industry. Cooney will direct a vision of business cooperation to aid firms that desire to maintain voluntary codes. George L. Berry, president of the Printing Pressmen's Union and until Tuesday a division administrator, was named assistant to O'Neill, representing labor. The order set up an NRA advisory council consisting of Howell Cheney, Philip Murray, Emily Newell Blair, President William Green of the A. F. of L., Walton Hamilton and Charles Edison, son of the late inventor.

In returning NRA to a one-man control the President followed a desire expressed several months ago. The recovery agency had been directed by a board, lately headed by Donald R. Richberg. The President did not indicate how many of the 5,400 NRA employees would be retained, but declared a "steady but gradual reduction of personnel" to be a "sound public policy."

Under the President's order, the new NRA will have two principal functions: 1. A study of the effects of codes of fair competition and the results of their elimination. This work will be under the direction of Marshall. 2. Cooperation with business in the formation of voluntary maintenance of standards of competition. This work will be under Cooney's direction. The President did not expand upon his reference to possible future NRA legislation.

**Further Legislation Expected**  
In his executive order setting up the new organization, the President indicated that he anticipates further legislation to broaden and strengthen the present stop-gap NRA arrangement. He hinted some such legislation may be sent to Congress.

"So long as there is possibility of further legislation it will be desirable to maintain the general structure of the recovery administration in Washington and in field offices and to retain those essential members of a trained personnel who can be usefully employed," he said. "There will be lasting values in a careful appraisal of the two-year accomplishment of NRA and in preserving for permanent use the records of that experience."

### Pump Priming Fades Out

PUMP priming—original New Deal recovery hope—stages a fade-out. Direct work by the unemployed—in return for more or less permanent relief—moves into the picture.

In other words: Harold L. Ickes, Administrator of Public Works, definitely loses and admits it. Harry Hopkins, Administrator of Emergency Relief, and Progress Administrator of \$4,000,000,000 in spending money, wins.

The dream of a "Third Economy" in which the Federal Government would endeavor to rebuild the country with a vast land buying program, an ambitious rural electrification program, a huge program for building water-power projects, super-highways and houses, is dimmed by Presidential order. In its place appears the reality of a simple plan to get work out of those who receive Federal relief. How that work is to be done is determined by Mr. Hopkins and his 48 State progress administrators. Those will be Federal officials, confirmed by the Senate of the United States.

"The objectives of the whole program," said Mr. Hopkins, "is to put 3,500,000 people now on relief rolls to work, and not to provide secondary employment in industry." That statement meant the end of "pump priming," and explained why. His explanation was amplified by President Roosevelt on June 14, when he said that the primary purpose of the four-billion dollar work fund was to put 3,500,000 men to work. Simple mathematics showed that meant an expenditure of less than \$1,200 per man per year.

Many projects submitted to the Government involved expenditures much larger than \$1,200 a man, and where approved would make it necessary to cut down in other parts of the program. Slum clearance, grade crossing elimination, highway work on main roads, and housing all involved outlays of \$2,000 a man or more. Consequently not a great portion of the four billion could be assigned to them or there would not be enough left to give work to 3,500,000 persons.

### Social Security Passes the Senate

TO enlist the aid of Government for protection against major hazards of modern economic life the Social Security Bill, already passed by the House, has also hurdled the Senate.

It provides for old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, and aid for helpless children, the costs to be met largely by taxes on pay-rolls. No part of an emergency program, the measure is urged by its sponsors as a well-rounded attack on insecurity, tending to restrain booms and cushion the shock of depressions.

"Inadequate," asserted Senator Huey P. Long, as he introduced a bill to "share the wealth." Long proposed to appropriate \$3,000,000,000 to pay all over 60 years a \$30-a-month pension; \$1,000,000,000 for unemployment

insurance, and a like amount for dependent children. To finance the program, Long proposed to tax all fortunes over \$1,000,000 and limit individual fortunes to \$5,000,000 or \$6,000,000. The levies would range from 1% on fortunes of from \$1,000,000 to \$2,000,000 to 99% on the value of any over \$8,000,000.

For nearly two hours Monday Senator Long argued for his plan. Democratic leaders allowed Long's proposition quickly to come to a vote, when it was killed by a deafening roar of "Noes."

### Labor Demands a "Court-Proof" Labor Law

A COLLECTIVE bargaining law, "court-proof" if possible, but, in any case, a collective bargaining law! So demand labor supporters, admittedly breaking new ground in Federal legislation, as the House prepares to consider in a revised form the National Labor Relations Bill, now favored by the President.

The bill's aim as restated: To equalize bargaining powers of employer and employee so as to prevent obstructions to the flow of interstate commerce; these being defined to include industrial strife and aggravation of depressions through low wages and consequent decline of purchasing power.

Unchanged are the provisions for outlawing company-supported unions, establishing the majority rule for choice of employee spokesmen, and empowering a labor board to enforce on employers the duty of collective bargaining.

### Norris Proposes Constitutional Amendment

SENATOR GEORGE W. NORRIS, Nebraska Progressive, has introduced a constitutional amendment to prevent the Supreme Court from ruling Congressional acts unconstitutional, except by more than two-thirds majority, and only then when action was brought within six months after an act takes effect. Norris' proposed amendment also would give the Supreme Court the exclusive and original jurisdiction in cases involving constitutional questions.

The veteran Senator said in explanation: "I think it's a sad commentary on the democracy of our country that when a law is passed by the House and Senate and signed by the President it can be nullified by a majority of one on the court. Under the present system, any district judge can issue an injunction restraining the enforcement of any Federal statute on the ground of unconstitutionality, and before it winds its weary way to the Supreme Court we've spent much money, perhaps millions, in enforcement of the law."

"Millions of honest people have shaped their businesses according to the law and have spent vast sums in building them up under it. Then, finally, it is declared unconstitutional by a majority of one, which was never intended by the framers of the Constitution. It is undemocratic, expensive and there is no reason to defend it."

Thus we see that the last fort of conservatism is being bombarded. Oh, what a time, what a time!

## Facts That Must Be Faced, Unpleasant As They May Be

By Algernon Lee

WHAT is properly called defeatism, the tendency of some persons continually to harp on the failures of the movement and minimize its achievements, is of course a most injurious thing. Only a little less harmful, however, is the ostrich type of false optimism, which thinks that by not talking about unpleasant things we can escape their consequences. Sunny Jim is no doubt a much more comfortable companion than Dole.

Algernon Lee  
ful Dora, but he is not very much less harmful. Men and women who are possessed of a fair degree of courage and wisdom do not either weep and wail nor just whistle to keep from being afraid.

It would be very pleasant to be able to say that the membership of our party is rapidly increasing, or that it is having a slow but steady growth, or even that it is holding its own in spite of all adverse influences. It would be very pleasant to say any of these things, if either of them were true. Unfortunately they are not true. And to ignore the sad fact would be neither honest nor prudent.

The reports given out monthly by the National Office show that for some time our party membership had been dwindling at a really alarming rate. For each month thus far in the year 1935 the figure is considerably below that for the corresponding month in 1934. Taking an average of the five months from January to May of this year, the total was 17,743, as compared with an average of 23,600 for the first five months of last year—a loss of slightly more than twenty-five per cent.

### Decline of the States

This loss is not confined to any one section of the country, but it is far from being uniform in all the states, and the inequalities are significant.

Of the ten largest state organizations (which taken together now comprise more than three-fourths of the whole membership in the country) the heaviest proportionate loser is New Jersey, with a decline of 61 per cent in a year; next comes California, losing 49 per cent; then Ohio, 32 per cent; then Illinois, 26; Michigan, 24; New York, 22; Pennsylvania, 20; Connecticut, 17, and Massachusetts, 10; while Wisconsin stands alone

among the fairly strong states, with a gain of 11 per cent.

It is worth noting not only that this decline began very soon after the Detroit convention and the election of the present National Executive Committee, but that in California, one of the very heaviest losers, the slump followed almost immediately after that convention and had been predicted as a result of its actions. The same is true of the rather small Oregon state organization, which severed relations with the National Office and still remains outside the national party.

### N.E.C. Meddling

Indiana, which was "reorganized" by the National Executive Committee a few months since, has less than two-thirds as many members as it had a year ago. New Jersey, which makes the worst showing of all the large states, has a so-called "left wing" state committee which has for some time been busy suspending branches and locals; it was one of the first states to welcome recruits from the Communist splinter groups. In Ohio and Illinois similar influences have been at work.

Michigan has done infinitesimally better than the average of all the states. Those that have done decidedly better are Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New York, and of course Wisconsin. Even in these states the condition is bad enough, but the difference between them and the others is striking and suggestive.

The least that can be said in the face of these figures is that, if the National Executive Committee does not wish the party to be completely ruined before the spring of 1936, it should immediately desist from its factional meddling in state and local affairs, to which it has given far the greater part of its time and attention in all its meetings and mail-order proceedings for nearly a year; should pay some respect to the opinions expressed by state committees, state conventions, and referendums in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania, and tacitly held and acted upon in Wisconsin; and should devote itself to the building of a solid working-class membership by means of a consistent and unequivocal propaganda for democratic Socialism and whole-hearted cooperation with organized labor.

The situation is grave. A little more, and it may become desperate.

The rank and file have a right to know these facts, and they have the duty of acting upon the knowledge.

## The New Leader Book Corner

### Joad on Liberty

By Charles Solomon  
LIBERTY TODAY, by C. E. M. Joad. E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc. 216 pp. \$1.50.

THIS book is a sort of contemporary Areopagitica. It is written to remind us that now, as ever, eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. It warns us that the greatest danger to political freedom in the world today is that in the countries where it is identified with the social life, so many of its protagonists take it for granted. It insists that liberty cannot be saved by envisaging the struggle for its preservation as one for the maintenance of the status quo, for "the cause of liberty cannot stand still; it must either advance or retreat." Those contribute most to the preservation of the liberties we have won and still possess who employ them to win new liberties—that is economic freedom. Prof. Joad rescues his book as a restatement and adaptation of the principles laid down by John Stuart Mill in his famous Essay on Liberty, and expressing the conviction this is an extension Mill himself would have been the first to endorse.

While Prof. Joad claims no originality for his essential thesis, his contribution to the subject is timely, pertinent and noteworthy. Surveying the condition of liberty in the western world, the author notes "its almost universal decline," and since "an adequate defense of liberty can be based only on understanding of the circumstances which threaten it and the arguments by which it is assailed," Prof. Joad explains these thoroughly, presenting both the attack upon and the defense of liberty in a masterly manner.

"In over two-thirds of the so-called civilized world today men's minds have been sent to prison, and the rulers hold the keys to their cells." But "it is in Germany that the suppression of liberty has, with Teutonic thoroughness, been carried to its greatest length." However, dark as the picture is that Prof. Joad paints, it is by no means hopeless. In fact, the author has no doubt that liberty in the western world can be saved.

The great danger is, however, that those who believe in liberty

may lose it by default. They must be aroused to the dangers that threaten. Prof. Joad does not believe that fascism will ever become the government of Great Britain, which country is primarily his frame of reference. At the same time, the author is not indifferent to the inroads of reaction into civil liberties even in the western democracies.

Prof. Joad finds that the greatest danger to liberty—and to democracy, from which he holds it inseparable—lies in the fact of increasing economic insecurity, and he urges that the best defense for political liberty consists in employing it to attack and eliminate economic insecurity.

"Unless, then, men can use the liberty which democracy gives them," writes the author, "to resolve the paradox by discovering a means of distributing what science has enabled man to produce, the paradox will destroy democracy."

Your reviewer found particularly stimulating the chapter entitled "The Case Against Liberty," in which Prof. Joad considers generally the attack on political liberty from the left, taking to task such critics of democracy as H. G. Wells and George Bernard Shaw for their strictures which "are undoubtedly damaging the cause of democracy."

"Mussolini or Hitler would give short shrift to Shaw," writes Prof. Joad. "Even the magnanimity of the admiral Stalin might be found to have its limits."

What has happened in Germany and Austria has rallied British workers "to the passionate defense of the liberties which their fathers won." In effecting the transformation Socialists seek, privileges which come under the head of political liberty are their most potent ally. "Destroy the liberties won by democracy and you destroy the instruments of peaceful social change."

Discussing "revolutionary" methods for social change, Prof. Joad, speaking for Great Britain (and by implication for other western democracies), believes such methods would fail and that a fascist regime would be the most probable outcome of a "revolutionary" situation in England.