

WITH WHICH IS
COMBINED
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Relief Crisis Grows as Federal Government Reduces Aid British Labor Strikes Another Great Blow for Socialism

Rolls Up Increase of Two Million; Holds 156 Seats

Socialists Win Big Victory in Piling Up 8,500,000 Ballots and Adding Ninety-Seven Mandates for Parliament.

One for Communists

Liberals Are Smashed—Independent Laborites Get Only Three Seats—Socialist Majority Now Believed Question of Time.

A VERY substantial victory for the Labor Party the smashing of the Liberals, and a clear demonstration that neither fascism nor Communism has any standing in England marked the results of last week's parliamentary election in Great Britain. The Labor Party gained nearly 2,000,000 votes and 97 seats. Its total representation is now 156. As was expected, the Conservatives were returned to power, with a majority of 244 seats for all the government parties, representing a loss of 41 seats and a plurality of only a little over one million votes.

Now Real Opposition

The Labor Party polled nearly 8,500,000 votes, or 40 per cent of the 21,389,000 votes cast—a remarkable achievement, indicating that the party has regained all the ground lost in 1931, even though it failed to attain its former representation of 287 in Parliament. A turn of slightly more than 1,000,000 votes would have given the Labor Party a clear majority in the House.

The Labor Party will now return to Parliament as the real Opposition, reinforced by many of its ablest leaders, who lost their seats in the election of 1931 because of the situation created by the defection of Ramsay MacDonald and his group. MacDonald was badly beaten in his Seaham district by Emanuel Shinwell, his Labor opponent. The MacDonald group was reduced from 13 to 8 and MacDonald himself emerged from the election a broken man.

Among the Laborites returned are twenty-three former ministers and under-secretaries, including Herbert Morrison, Arthur Greenwood, J. R. Clynes, Hugh Dalton, A. V. Alexander, H. B. Lees-Smith, Tom Kennedy, F. O. Roberts, and others—a brilliant galaxy of parliamentary leaders and fighters.

Of the 20 candidates nominated by the left wing Independent Labor Party only three were elected, including James Maxton.

The Communists elected only one member, Willie Gallacher. Their leader, Harry Pollitt, was defeated by a Laborite by over 11,000.

They are now less of a factor in British political life than they have ever been. In years past they have had one representative in Parliament at a time, Shapurji Saklatvala and J. T. Walton Newbold. In the past decade they made just enough progress to elect one member out of 615 in the House of Commons.

Sir Oswald Mosley's fascist party did not count at all, having kept out of the election altogether for fear of making itself ridiculous.

Labor may well be proud and satisfied of its achievement. Much more important than the gain of 97 seats was the piling up of the increase of nearly 2,000,000 votes. Any hopes that may be entertained as events develop for a Labor majority in the next election are based on solid ground.

The striking discrepancy between the vote cast for the Labor Party and the Conservatives and the distribution of seats between these

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Clement R. Atlee, M.P.
Parliamentary Leader of the
British Labor Party

Interstate Party Meet Is Called

FIVE eastern states, representing approximately one-half of the total membership of the national Socialist organization, will meet in December in New York. The meeting will be on the initiative of the New York State Executive Committee and Socialists in the respective states.

The purpose of the conference will be to prepare a platform to be submitted to the next national convention of the party in May, draft a substitute declaration of principles and to agree on an interstate legislative program which is to be submitted in Connecticut and Pennsylvania by the Socialist members of the state legislatures, and also to be introduced in the legislatures of the other states. The New York legislative program will be submitted to the New York State Federation of Labor with a view of securing joint action in advancing the labor measures to be included in the program.

Before taking up the detailed program by which it is hoped to promote cooperation on unified action on a platform, principles, and a program of legislative measures, the State Executive Committee thoroughly discussed the internal party situation.

In planning New York's cooperation for the conference, the S.E.C. suggested the creation of a committee of seven, representing the Socialists of the states to be invited, two of whom have been designated to act for New York state. The committee will meet in advance of the conference, which will be in session for two days.

Among the measures the committee considered as requiring a joint campaign will be state labor disputes acts, embodying the terms

SPOKANE SOCIALISTS ENDORSE NEW LEADER

SPOKANE, Wash.—Local of the Socialist party, the largest local in the state, with the largest number of branches and of paid-up members, has heartily endorsed The New Leader as its official organ.

Other locals are expected to follow suit.
Keep up the good work in The New Leader!

World Labor Backs Sanctions As 51 Nations Begin Action

Penna. Miners Win Complete Unionization

Special to The New Leader
PITTSBURGH.—The United Mine Workers of America is again making history.

The recent proceedings of the convention of District No. 5 here show that the vanguard union of the American Federation of Labor is rapidly regaining its proud position. The representatives of 40,000 organized miners gave the impression of tireless victors out to conquer new worlds. That the miners will not be satisfied with their present gains is obvious. There is among them the spirit of the union miner of the past; they tasted victory, found it good, and now with determination will proceed to conserve their gains and fight for new achievement.

Because it represents the greatest soft coal producing center in the country, District No. 5 is regarded as one of the pivotal units of the miners' union. The huge membership is scattered among 190 locals and represents a 100% unionization with contractual relationships with every commercial and captive mine in the district, including the mines of the powerful Mellon-controlled Pittsburgh Coal Company.

Fagan Reports Notable Progress

President Patrick Fagan in his report traced the fight made by the union to regain control of the industry and pointed out that at the beginning of 1933 the district had less than 2,000 members. The present average monthly dues-paying membership is 35,000. The wages at that time ranged from \$2

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ON November 18 the sanctions voted by the League of Nations against fascist Italy for her attack on Ethiopia went into effect. For the first time in history 51 nations have joined in such a move. It is not yet possible to determine with certainty how the sanctions will work out, but it is expected that the process of economic strangulation of fascist Italy's war adventure will gather force and momentum as it proceeds and will, before many months are over, accomplish its purpose of compelling Mussolini to listen to reason and make peace.

The organized workers of the world, represented by the Labor and Socialist International, the International Federation of Trade Unions and the American Federation of Labor, are backing, with high unanimity, the movement against fascist Italy.

In the article printed below Comrade Vladeck, who has just returned from a tour of leading European countries, where he consulted with prominent Socialist and labor leaders, explains the attitude of European Socialism and labor on the vital issue of sanctions.

By B. Charney Vladeck

FOR the first time in history, almost all the nations of the world are applying punitive measures against a fellow nation for flouting a covenant to which it has subscribed and for invading a peaceful country without justification. November 18th will be noted by all historians as a fateful date. However, in the United States the whole matter of economic sanctions against Italy is being treated very superficially.

It is frequently declared that the only power behind the application of sanctions is Great Britain, which is motivated entirely by selfish interests and opposes Musso-

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J. S. Woodsworth Tells Of Rise Of The C.C.F.

By William M. Feigenbaum

A STORY of the creation of a nation-wide Socialist Party out of scattered organizations spread over more than three thousand miles, of the integration of elements often pulling in different directions into a unified whole and of the rise of that Party to the position of a serious political factor was told by J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, Canada's political agency for Socialism, on the occasion of his recent visit to New York.

There were almost insuperable obstacles to overcome, Comrade Woodsworth explained, but today the Canadian comrades feel they are on the way. Geography and climate, differences of temperament and tradition among language, racial and religious elements, as well as three political circumstances united to keep the C.C.F. from winning its rightful place as the powerful Opposition party at the recent elections. To these Woodsworth added Communist tactics of disruption that must be admired if only for the ingenuity of the leaders who thought them up.

The three influences that kept the C.C.F. this year down to 340,000 votes and eight members of the House of Commons, Woodsworth explained, operated in different ways, but each played its part. That strength, incidentally, was the greatest ever won by the workers in that country. [The vote reported in these columns several weeks ago, somewhat larger than

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States and Cities Face Grave Task As Winter Nears



Daniel W. Hoan
Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee, retiring head of the Mayors' Conference, elected Honorary President of America's Mayors

Dock Strike Looming In All Ports

LOS ANGELES.—A tie-up of ships in practically every port of the United States and affecting 40,000 longshoremen is being planned by the International Longshoremen's Association as a reply to the refusal of steamship companies to meet the union's just demands in Gulf ports.

A. H. Peterson, international organizer of the I.L.A., announced this week that plans for a general longshoremen's strike, which would cripple approximately 70 per cent of the vessels engaged in inter-coastal trade, were being completed.

The strike would affect from 12,000 to 14,000 men on the Pacific Coast, 8,000 in Gulf ports and some 20,000 on the Atlantic Coast.

The tieup would hit all shipping lines having connections with Gulf ports, with longshoremen handling seagoing ships cooperating to the extent necessary.

In a telegram to President Roosevelt, Mr. Peterson declared that the only solution, if a general strike was to be averted, "seems to be government intervention." Declaring that relations between longshoremen and employers on the Pacific Coast were "more amicable than at any time heretofore," Mr. Peterson added, however, that "the adamant stand by the Gulf employers is forcing the I.L.A. to use all efforts even to the extent of refusing to work vessels of

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Hoffman Polls 6051 in Buffalo

Special to The New Leader

BUFFALO, N. Y.—The official canvass of the Board of Elections shows that Robert A. Hoffman, Socialist candidate for President of the Council, polled 6,051 votes, as contrasted with 4,761 votes previously cast for same office; and 5,120 votes for Herman J. Hahn for Mayor two years ago. George Beech for Comptroller polled 5,698 votes.

Mrs. Elizabeth C. Roth for Councilman-at-large with 6,956 votes ran high on the city ticket. John J. Metselaar, also for Councilman-at-large, polled 5,684 votes.

The Communist vote in Buffalo was 550.

Government's Abandonment of Assistance for Feeding and Housing Unemployed Creates Appalling Situation.

Confusion of Plans

Thirty-Hour Work-Week Looms Increasingly as the Only Practical Solution for Coping with Problem of Joblessness.

WHAT may prove to be the gravest human crisis in the depression period is approaching as a result of the Federal Government's program of gradually turning the job of relief over to the states and cities throughout the country. The states have been in receipt of financial assistance from Washington and the cities have cooperated with the states in feeding and housing the unemployed, but with the shift of the whole burden upon the states and cities public officials have become nervous and apprehensive.

Last week Governor Lehman of New York warned the State Conference of Mayors meeting in Rochester to give attention to the problems of unemployment relief and municipal financing. The division of the cost will be 60 per cent for the states and 40 per cent for the municipalities, an increase of 140 per cent for the cities. Under the old arrangement with Federal aid the state pays 17 per cent and the cities 25 per cent. The number of persons this state and its municipalities will have to support is over 600,000.

The fears of a great human crisis in relief throughout the nation brought the United States Conference of Mayors into action early this week when that organization, headed by its president, Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee, headed a delegation of over a hundred mayors in Washington to confer with Federal authorities. Hoan commented sharply on a periodical review of the relief problem made by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. That organization made the following statement:

"There are strong intimations that the administration intends to insist that the states and their sub-divisions carry the burden of relief in the future. Improvement in the economic position of the states and municipalities is such that they are fully capable of bearing a larger load."

Mayor Hoan remarked that there were few agencies "which know less about civic affairs than chambers of commerce."

"That's true not only in Milwaukee, but in every city," he said. "Since the depression, merchants have had to drop out of the chambers because they could not pay their dues, while the public utilities have doubled their memberships."

"It may be that some time in the future, cities and states will be able to care for people who cannot work. But they do not have funds even for 'unemployables' right now. The Federal government must give them time to adjust budgets and make plans."

Other city executives reported that the problem of relief is too staggering for the cities to cope with it. Mayor Latimer of Minneapolis declared that "the relief rolls in Minneapolis are becoming bigger, with about 200 relief cases added every week" and that the same conditions prevail in St. Paul and other Minnesota cities.

The vast sea of human misery (Continued on Page Three)

Pauline Lord, Richard Bennett and Michael Strange at Rand Playhouse

Olson Calls For A Party Of Workers

By Victor Riesel

GOVERNOR FLOYD B. OLSON, Farmer-Labor executive of Minnesota, leader of that midwestern group, declared it was ready to join forces with radicals, progressives and labor to create a strong third party to fight for a society based on production for use, not for profit at a mass meeting of 1,500 people called by the American Commonwealth Federation, at the Hotel Astor in New York City on his first Eastern appearance.

A powerful national third party led by the American Federation of Labor would be an important factor in the 1940 presidential race, it was predicted. The platform of this new coalition would be simple enough, he said later. "It means government ownership of the key industries, capital goods and natural resources. Its success will be rooted in the mass organization of workers."

Scoring the old political machines, Mr. Olson asserted that they had never been able to maintain a decent standard of living in the United States. One-third of the American people, he said, even at the peak of the prosperity years, were underfed. An adequate standard of living cannot be obtained under a capitalist production of profit.

"This ideal cannot be attained with either of the two old parties. The Republican live on the glory

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By George Field

RICHARD BENNETT, famous character of stage and screen, Michael Strange, actor-poet, and Pauline Lord, stage and screen star, will be featured on the program following a benefit preview of the opening production at the Rand Playhouse, cultural division of the Rand School of Social Science, Sunday evening, November 24. "Question Before the House," a social drama in two acts by Eugene Mayer and Doris Yankauer, will be presented that night for the first time in New York.

The play has been directed by Mrs. Henry B. Harris, assisted by Spencer Binyon. This is Mrs. Harris' third production since returning to the theatre after a retirement of three years. For twenty years Mrs. Harris directed the destinies of the Fulton, Harris, Hudson and other theatres in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and other cities. She has returned to the theatre to devote her time and talents in the interest of the younger generation of the theatre. Mrs. Harris believes that the theatre of today is frequently stagnant with old ideas, that the theatre must experiment and branch off into new fields and have a broader social vision.

The Plot a Labor Subject

"Question Before the House" is a drama with a social background. The authors take the audience to the campus of a great eastern women's college. While the students are interesting themselves in the study of labor problems a strike is taking place in the college town. The attitudes of the students toward the strikers, the strike

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Danish Party Leads Again In Elections

This is the first contribution to The New Leader by Reginald Spink, a resident of Copenhagen.

Comrade Spink will contribute regularly to these columns, telling the work of the Socialist governments of the Scandinavian countries.

By Reginald Spink

Special Correspondence

COPENHAGEN.—At the general election October 22 the Danish government coalition of Socialists and Radicals increased its strength by six seats, with 82 seats as against 67 for the combined opposition. This is the second time the government has been returned with an increased majority since it first came into office six and a half years ago. It thus constitutes a record, no Socialist government and probably no government of any kind in a democratically governed country, having ever increased its strength twice in succession.

Sabotage by Upper House

The Socialist-Radical Government came into power in 1929. There remained, however, a reactionary majority of three in the Upper Chamber (the Landsting), which has pursued a policy of sheer obstructionism and every bit of legislation has had to be bargained

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Labor Official Freed By Brooklyn Court

Charles DiNeri, secretary-treasurer of Local 913, Hairdressers' and Cosmetologists' Union, affiliated with the A. F. of L., was acquitted of charges of coercion when he came before the Court of Special Sessions in Brooklyn, following his arrest and two days' incarceration at the Raymond Street jail.

The court dismissed the case without even requiring the union official to put in a defense.

The case is of particular significance because of the fact that upon his arrest under peculiar circumstances DiNeri came under the suspicion of "labor racketeering." The police swooped down upon the union offices, arrested DiNeri on a bench warrant and held him in \$5,000 bail. Unable to raise the bail, Di Neri, who had never been arrested before, spent two days in jail and it was not until his attorney, Charles Solomon of Goldberg and Solomon got his bail cut in half that he was released.

The fact that the case was dismissed without even a defense indicates how flimsy a basis the ballyhoo about "labor racketeering" so often has.

Meyer Gillis Reaches Seventy

EVEN the closest friends of Meyer Gillis, prominent New York Socialist, were surprised to learn that he was 70 years old on November 18.

Comrade Gillis, who has been one of the most active workers in the party for over 40 years, came to New York from Philadelphia more than 30 years ago and has been an active party member here ever since. In Philadelphia he had been a trusted worker in the early days of the movement there.

Meyer Gillis is a valued worker in every branch of the activity of the Socialist movement. He is a member of The New Leader Board, is active in the management of the Rand School and Camp Tamiment, and finds time for intensive activ-



New York union bakers strike against the Cushman bakeries

Solidarity the Great Need in Workers' Struggle

By Charles Hohmann
Editor of the Bakers' Journal

THE working class of all countries is confronted by a task which presses for solution, unless misery and want are to go unchecked. Whatever may be claimed to the contrary capital-

ism today remains in the same crisis we have experienced for years and which demonstrates conclusively that the ruinous mischief of its own make can no longer be remedied.

Extent of Crisis
More than one hundred million people in capitalist-controlled countries continue suffering resulting from this crisis, and, according to President Green of the American Federation of Labor, more than ten per cent of this army of unemployed are in our own country. True, in quantity our production has increased, but without increasing the number of workers employed. We may record an increase in the productivity of machinery—an increase that makes thinking people fear for the future.

As one of its latest and most desperate means to save itself from complete decay Capitalism is mobilizing fascism, as for instance in Germany where the lords of industry and the princes of high finance helped the Hitler Nazi crowd into the saddle; and in Italy where, a little over a decade ago Il Duce Mussolini was called to action in their behalf. Everywhere the leading capitalist interests are supporting the dictatorial fascist rule, financially and politically, although the Nazi and fascist leaders pretend to fight Capitalism.

Capitalism Wars on Labor
To crush the bona fide economic and political labor movement is the only means the capitalist class seems to know to escape the crash in the abyss of ruin. Upon the ruins of an exterminated labor movement the capitalists expect to reconstruct their old machinery of exploitation at the expense of the toiling masses.

May hundreds of thousands of human lives be sacrificed, may millions crouch and groan under the crushing weight of starvation; what of it! May our cultural achievements be lost, Capitalism does not care! Within a century it has revolutionized the entire economic and social life of mankind until today it has reached the end of its rope, reached the final stage of its rule. But Capitalism is still dreaming of ruling for centuries to come, though it would have to make a new start.

This capitalist desire explains the desperate activity against organized labor. The workers of all countries enjoying the "blessings" of your health, your vigor, your mental and physical energy and especially the joy you take in serving the cause to which we are all devoted and service to which has kept you young, and to wish that we all will live to see some of the things that you have worked for all your active, interesting and fruitful life, "Fraternal and affectionately, The New Leader."

of Capitalism are face to face with the same problem; everywhere they are facing a bourgeoisie interested in defending the capitalist order of society. Of course, the power of these two classes is not always the same, but it differs only according to the degree of capitalist industrial development. Capitalist class here, working class there—no fundamental community of interests, no cooperation based upon fair play and equality!

Awaken the Workers!
Unable to save its economic apparatus Capitalism takes refuge to all possible crude and brutal measures, but without permanent success. The working class appears in the arena for action. It has but two ways open: The application of such measures under Capitalism that will protect the workers' immediate life interests or the realization of greater benefits under Socialism. Either of the two means is feasible, provided the working class has the required strength to secure the necessary demands. To state the demands squarely and openly is a necessity, because it means action, and action requires power. There are people among the leaders and among the rank and file who believe that things should be painted in most roseate colors and the bourgeoisie would readily consent. But do not fool yourselves! Consent will only come when the working class, well organized and inspired by the spirit of solidarity, will demonstrate its influence and power.

To promise the realization of Socialism within the coming few years might be attractive, but very imprudent. Every intelligent worker should be clear on this point. Lack of power, lack of intelligence and solidarity in the next few years will not permit to permanently end the rule of Capitalism. This being the case, we are bound to think of our immediate future and to enforce our immediate demands which, when secured, will enable us to live and prepare for the greater struggles yet to come.

Immediate Demands
The immediate means leading out of the morass of misery and privation have been announced by the trade unions for years: shortening of the hours of work, increase in wages and liberal public employment under union conditions, etc. This will mean that with a shorter work-week more men will secure employment, the consumption of labor's products will grow, many small business people will be able to earn their livelihood and will not become tributaries to strike-breaking. To extend the public work program may mean to levy more taxes which are to be paid by those in possession of the taxable property.

This presupposes the political

supremacy of the working class. For this way employers must be found who will be paying higher wages and grant shorter work hours for their employees. This again demands strong union organization whereby employers may be induced to accept agreements of collective bargaining, who will sign contracts with the labor organizations. This shows clearly the next step to be taken by the working class.

Build the Unions
Build up your organizations to comprise all workers. Trade unions representing all those whose maintenance of life depends upon wage labor. This accomplished, you need no longer fear that the bourgeoisie will refuse to listen to the voice of organized labor.

Help create such a powerful movement and you will at the same time help construct the new state of society under which human beings willing to work will not need to suffer starvation. There exists among the workers a natural will for cooperative power, but there is a long way to the creation of conditions that will make this power of labor a living reality. Many thousands of our fellow workers are subject to the deceptive phrases of our opponents; they still fail to listen to our advice, but fall victims to the capitalist teachings and the misleading propaganda of capitalist hirelings. Unfortunately the labor unions cannot reach these erring brothers and sisters at a time like the present, when unity and solidarity are most needed. Yet without this unity and solidarity there is little prospect for enduring success in our efforts to lead the poor and oppressed toilers out of the hell on earth which has been created under present economic conditions, that permit a comparatively few individuals to monopolize the means of production to the great detriment of all those who are doing the world's useful work.

Solidarity Our Need
Those still far away from our ranks cannot be made to see that the great chariot of labor and human progress cannot be pushed over the hilltop while some are pushing forward and onward, the others backward and downward. Yet this principal obstacle in the forward march of our movement must be overcome, unity of action and solidarity must displace dissensions and ignorance. Unless this be achieved the working class will be condemned to disintegration and ruin.

Realizing these alternatives it becomes our most sacred duty to arouse the wage workers everywhere, to educate them, to organize them, to teach them solidarity, not merely in theory, but in practice. If this work of education, organization and propaganda is to be

carried on with energy, enthusiasm, determination and perseverance, success will and must crown our efforts.

The Future Is Ours
Our lives and theirs depend upon the conscientious fulfillment of this historical mission. We must hang together or we will hang separately, as our great American pioneer and patriot Benjamin Franklin told the members of the Continental Congress on July 4, 1776.

Before we have a right to expect the awakening of those still ignorantly opposed to our movement, there must be a general re-awakening, a sort of spiritual resurrection, among the men and women already gathered under the banner of organized labor. And for our own reawakening we should be imbued with the spirit of hope, enthusiasm and self-confidence expressed by one of our American poetesses, under the caption: When Night Is Darkest, Dawn Is Near-est:

Let those who have failed to courage,
Tho' the enemy seem to have won;
Tho' his ranks are strong, if he be in the wrong.
The battle is not yet done.
For sure as the morning follows
The darkest hour of the night—
No question is ever settled
Until it is settled right.

Bombing Is Solved; Hearst Discredited

MILWAUKEE. — William Randolph Hearst was made to "eat his words" when he blamed the recent bombings in Milwaukee to Socialist and radical influence.

The disaster which killed the insane bomber and several others brought to light that he had had no connection with any radical organization and his acts were the result of a diseased mind. While Hearst was blaming the Socialists, police found that the bomber intended to blow up the city hall and Mayor Daniel W. Hoan.

In Hearst's "Milwaukee Sentinel," in two-inch type, the youthful member is called a "Radical Terrorist," and in type only slightly smaller is announced what purports to be a revelation of the "Red Leanings of the Bomber."

The Milwaukee Leader, Socialist daily, in a front page editorial said, "But what are facts to the Hearst publications here or anywhere? What are decency and idealism and protest to papers of that type? This reporting of the bombing outrage is only the most recent exhibit of the Hearst method and manner. At the same time, no sane, sober citizen can help feel the menace of that kind of journalism in his community. The poor bomber is gone. Hearst's employees, upon orders, can say anything they want about him to the commendation of the ageing master in California. Against this will stand the word of the bereaved mother and the bereaved sister: 'Idy was an enthusiastic supporter of President Roosevelt.'"

Hearst apparently intended to use this to discredit the Socialist administration which comes up for re-election in the Spring, but medical authorities and psychiatrists agree that the acts of the bomber were caused only by a thwarted imagination.

O man, bowed down with labor,
O woman, young yet old;
O heart oppressed in the toiler's breast
And crushed by the power of gold—
Keep on with your weary battle
Against triumphant might!
No question is ever settled
Until it is settled right.

Miners Win Unionization

(Continued from Page One)
to \$3 per day, with working hours from 10 to 14 per day, and with the miner entirely at the mercy of the company in computing weight of coal loaded. The president's report further indicated that the growth and effectiveness of the union are reflected not only in winning the 7-hour day, but also in the wage rates. Compilation of rates of 25 companies show that the increase ranged from 47% to 277%. One company paid to motormen in 1933 \$1.50 per day for an 8-hour day. Today the same company pays \$5.66 for a 7-hour day.

Every mine has a checkweighman elected by the union miners. In addition, Fagan called attention to achievements which cannot be computed in dollars and cents, but which represent gains of tremendous importance, such as the feeling among miners that they are protected, that they no longer need to fear loss of jobs for mere expression of opinion or refusal to submit to company dictates.

In the fight for favorable Federal labor legislation, President Fagan declared that "when we were in Congress fighting for this legislation and for the Wagner Labor Disputes Act and for Social Security legislation, whom did we

Resolutions calling for the formation of a Labor Party were referred to the international organization. The voting was preceded by an intelligent discussion devoid of any bitterness. That the miners have become politically conscious as workers, and that their venture into legislative halls for legislation dealing with their industry has established within them a definite association between jobs and votes, there can be no doubt. The opposition argument to the Labor Party resolution indicated that they were not yet prepared to venture into independent labor politics.

The convention was addressed by Thomas Kennedy, international secretary-treasurer; John Phillips, president of the State Federation of Labor; John O'Leary, an international board member and Labor member of the Labor Board under the Guffey Act. International Vice-President Phillip Murray presented a careful discussion of the United Mine Workers as an international organization and the bituminous coal mining industry as a basic, highly competitive enterprise and as an employer of over one-half million men. He stated that the United Mine Workers of America has a greater percentage of miners belonging to its organization now than ever at any time in the history of the union, and that out of 550,000 bituminous miners employed in the entire industry 40,000 are unorganized or belong to company unions or other kinds of mine unions. He concluded by pointing out that power and strength entail responsibility and good judgment, and urged the delegates to bear constantly in mind the interests of the people who have entrusted them with leadership.

Through the courtesy of the convention, The New Leader and the publications of the Labor Chest were placed on sale in the convention hall with the approval of the delegates.

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(Formerly People's Institute)
IN THE GREAT HALL
8th Street and Astor Place
At 8 o'clock—"Has Judaism Benefited Mankind?"
FRIDAY, Nov. 22nd—Theis H. EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
"The Economic Interest Has Been Overemphasized in Current Sociological Discussion."
SUNDAY, Nov. 24th:
DOCTOR JOSEPH JASTROW
formerly Professor of Psychology, University of Wisconsin
"The Epidemic or Cyclical Nature of Public Opinion."
TUESDAY, Nov. 26th:
Prof. SCHUYLER C. WALLACE
Department of Jurisprudence, Columbia University
"Liberty and Responsible Government"

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(Continued from Page One)

for. The Socialists are out for the abolition of this Second Chamber, but it is difficult to dislodge the small majority that will bring its abolition, as it is elected on a basis of restricted suffrage.

When this reactionary majority became aggressive the government appealed to the electorate—in 1932—and were returned with an increased majority. The Upper Chamber majority was then compelled to draw in its horns, but gradually again became more and more aggressive. Things reached a climax this summer when the Conservatives refused to renew the currency control system introduced by the Stauning government—the first step to a Socialist planning of foreign trade. They began to cry out for a general election. And they got what they asked for. Below is the state of parties in 1932 and after the election in October:

Against the Government	
	Seats
	1932 1935
Conservatives	27 26
'Left' (very much Right—represents interests of big farmers and landowners)	38 28
Independent "People's" Party (semi-fascist offshoot from "Left")	— 5
Single Taxers	4 4
Moscow Communists	2 2
Schleswig Party (German Minority)	1 1

Member f. Faroe Island National "Socialists" (Nazis)	1	1
	73	67

For the Government	
Radical Left (Democratic liberal party; Republican. Draws its support from small holders and middle-class democrats)	14 14
Socialists	62 68
	76 82

A glance at a few of the figures will show how great the Socialist victory actually was. About 99,000 more electors voted this time than in 1932; the Socialist vote was increased by over 98,000. That is to say that all the other parties combined made a net gain of less than 1,000 or a shade over 1 per cent of the Socialist gain. The Socialist percentage of the total poll went up from about 41 per cent in 1929 to 42.7 per cent in 1932. In 1935 it was up to 46.1 per cent.

A Brilliant Campaign
The Socialist election campaign was brilliantly planned and efficiently carried out. The day Prime Minister Stauning announced his intention of dissolving Parliament the streets were flooded with leaflets putting the Socialist case. The next day all the hoardings displayed Socialist posters. These were unusually good. One of the most effective of the posters showed a footballer in a red jersey about

to head the ball into the net. The simple caption was—"Use Your Head: Vote Socialist."

Speeches were made from loud-speaker vans which thus quickly drove through the towns. In between the speeches records played the two election songs—"Stauning Again" and "Danmark for Folket!"—Denmark for the People. The tunes were soon on everybody's lips. They got off the mark quicker than the opposition and kept it up to the end. On the eve of the election was held the biggest political meeting Scandinavia has ever seen. Copenhagen's biggest building was full to capacity and an enthusiastic overflow meeting was held outside in the rain.

Nazis Crushed
The opposition campaign was violent but negative. Both the Conservatives and the National "Socialists" had hoped to do big things at this election. Their defeat was as crushing, if not so spectacular, as that of the Big Farmers' Party. In Copenhagen, where the Nazified youth of the party were particularly violent and aggressive in their methods, the Conservative vote dropped from 89,500 to 80,400, while the Socialist vote rose by no less than 33,000.

By this election Denmark has demonstrated to the world its position in the vanguard of civilized states. Fascism stops short at the Danish frontier to Socialist Scandinavia.

Why World Labor Backs Sanctions Against Italy

Workers in All Lands Favor Penalties

(Continued from Page One)

line because of its fear of a strengthened imperialistic fascism. At least this statement is erroneous.

Labor Backs Sanctions

There is another power behind the policy of sanctions, the power of labor. Organized labor in Europe today is an influential factor in international politics. Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Belgium and Czechoslovakia are ruled wholly or in part by Socialists. In Great Britain and France, Labor represents a good third of the voting strength of their respective parliaments. In Holland and Switzerland, a good fourth. And Labor is for sanctions!

Old-fashioned pacifism has been ruled out by European Labor with startling emphasis. Since the war Labor has been the backbone of all pacifist movements. Year after year, the European Socialist parties and trades unions conventions came out for peace at any price and for immediate disarmament. Today the Labor and Socialist International, the International Federation of Trades Unions and most national Labor bodies in Europe have come out for sanctions against Italy, with all the consequences implied in their application.

Labor vs. Pacifism

George Lansbury, long the Parliamentary leader of the British

Labour Party and the most outstanding and most esteemed prophet of peace, finds himself practically alone. Labor throughout Europe is impatient at the routine and procrastinations of the League of Nations in the application of sanctions. Only a few years ago, when Japan stepped out of the League of Nations as a result of its occupation of Manchukuo, Labor was still pacifist. Today the whole picture is changed. Why?

It is impossible to give an adequate answer to this question from pure theory. In this country particularly the sentiment for keeping our hands off Europe and for continuing a policy of isolation is so strong that the easiest thing for a political party, whether Republican, Democratic or Socialist, is to succumb to this sentiment under the guise of a beautiful and well-sounding opposition to all war.

The League of Nations, to the average American, is either a disguised scheme by which America is to get entangled in European quarrels or an instrument for the powerful imperialistic nations of Europe in the perpetuation of their power and influence.

European Labor Learns

The whole thing looks different to a European from the standpoint of his own experience and his own

condition. Every country in Europe today, with the possible exception of Great Britain, is in mortal dread of fascism and in each country Labor is more aware of it than any other class of the population. For the past several years European Labor has witnessed with its own eyes the ruin and destruction brought upon it by fascist rule. In Italy, Germany and Austria the free trade unions and the political parties of Labor were completely destroyed. In the semi-fascist countries like Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, Labor is being slowly but firmly strangled to death.

If the League of Nations should fail, fascist and semi-fascist countries would be in a position, with or without war, to extend their influence all over the continent. Czechoslovakia would have to become either a part of the fascist alliance or succumb in a hopeless war. Poland will become a catspaw for Germany. Holland, Belgium and even Switzerland would be put economically in a position which would compel them either to serve fascism or to fight it.

The Scandinavian countries, France and Great Britain would be on the defensive. It is enough for one to spend a couple of weeks in Europe to convince oneself of the truth of this.

The League Against Fascism

A strong and effective League of Nations is essential to the further development of European Labor. A weak and failing League of Nations is an invitation to fascist aggression. European labor is for sanctions because a vigorous application of sanctions will

strengthen the League of Nations and make of it a real instrument for the protection of the weaker nations. Besides, there is a feeling that these sanctions, vigorously and promptly applied, will undermine the power of Italian fascism and put a little fear into the hearts of German and Austrian fascism. It may be true that behind the policy of sanctions there is involved a great deal more than the interests of labor. It may and it may not be true that the Nationalist government of Great Britain is behind the sanctions because of Mussolini's threat to the British Empire; but labor says, it is to our advantage that other groups are also interested in taming Mussolini and in strengthening the League of Nations. We shall fight reactionary governments in our countries the best we can but we will be with them whenever it is of advantage to the position of labor.

To the question why labor has not shown such concern in the matter of Japan, labor says that first of all Japanese militarism is not an immediate threat to Europe and secondly that since Japan left the League of Nations, labor has learned better of what it might mean to the peace of the world and to protection of democratic governments.

And the tremendous vote given the Labor Party in the elections of last Thursday will compel the British government to apply the sanctions with vigor and strength.

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

States and Cities Face Grave Task As Winter Nears

(Continued from Page One)

brings the 30-hour week vividly into the foreground as a vital legislative necessity, and here the trade unions of the country can serve the organized workers and the jobless millions at the same time by transforming the demand for the 30-hour week into a national crusade.

The displacement of human labor power by machines and technical changes in industry has cast up millions of workers for whom capitalism has no use. They are a permanent by-product of the depression, but they cannot be dumped into the ocean like the by-product of New York City kitchens. Neither can they be transformed into untouchables, a permanent caste of idle men and women to be fed a low standard of rations to keep them alive in their misery.

Meantime there is increasing suffering in a number of states where the Federal Government has already withdrawn its direct financial assistance. State and city authorities in these states are, in many instances, fearful of food demonstrations as winter adds to the suffering of the jobless masses. Before Congress meets again this problem is likely to bulk larger than anything else in the United States.

The various aspects of the Federal programs that have been tried to keep the laboring masses from starving and the choice confronting the Federal authorities are summarized by the United States News in a recent issue as follows:

Choice of Five Plans

1.—The dole. Cost about \$1,500,000,000 a year. Tried and regarded by relief officials as unsatisfactory.

2.—Production for use. Cost under \$1,000,000,000 a year. Involves use of idle factories, idle raw material and idle labor to produce and distribute goods among unemployed. Tried on a small scale, planned for bigger, but opposed by business and dropped.

3.—Large scale public works. Cost in the billions and not a direct method of caring for unemployed. Depends on "pump priming" to cause industrial revival to absorb those out of work. Tried and not in high favor with the President.

4.—Combination work-relief and public works. This is present plan. Cost between three and four billions a year.

5.—Straight work relief. Sought by Mr. Hopkins, who figures that its cost to create 3,500,000 jobs could be between two and two and a half billions a year. Would involve dropping public works and other big-scale planning projects.

The experiments outlined above and the choice of other experiments contemplated by the Federal authorities reveal a policy of guessing and uncertainty that promise no more satisfaction than the haphazard changing policies of the past two years.

Workers are not guinea pigs on an operating table subject to "experiments" by political surgeons and quacks. Millions of workers have been hurled into idleness and there is only one way in which to re-employ most of them, and that is by a drastic reduction of the hours of labor to not less than 30 hours a week. This is a program on which Socialists and the trade unions are united. It is not now a matter of changing the whole capitalist system. That is desirable, but the vast majority of even the sufferers from the depression do not understand this and they do not have the power to effect it even if they did understand.

The fight for the 30-hour week must be renewed with tremendous vigor and enthusiasm and it must be taken up without delay.

Notable Gains By Local 142 In Two Years

Women's Neckwear Workers, Led by Tuvim, Celebrate Anniversary of the Founding of Union.

WITH a magnificent demonstration of enthusiasm for their union the members of Local 142 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union celebrated the successful close of



Joseph Tuvim

two years of fruitful activity at a big Webster Hall banquet recently.

The dinner was in the nature of a tribute to Joseph Tuvim, who with that dinner rounded out two years of leadership of the ladies' neckwear workers with a success almost unparalleled in local labor annals, considering the obstacles to be overcome.

The trade is one that did not easily lend itself to organization. It is based upon what appeared to be a passing whim of style, the flimsy collars women suddenly began to wear about their throats, and the manufacturers were able easily to exploit the inexperienced women they employed.

Tuvim, however, with a background of many years of activity in the labor movement, took charge of the task of organizing the workers, and within a short time he had built up a powerful union that won substantial concessions from the employers. Utilizing the benefits of Section 7-A of NRA and employing all the resources of the general offices of the I.L.G.W.U. Tuvim was able to organize the bulk of the workers in the trade, largely Italian and Negro girls, and to instill in them a spirit of solidarity that many older unions might envy. His union has won conditions for the workers undreamed of in the trade in past years.

The appearance of the members of the union in two May Day parades, in 1934 and 1935, aroused the greatest enthusiasm among the on-lookers, the girls wearing neckpieces of their own manufacture, each division with a color of its own.

In addition, the union has conducted Rand School classes in Socialism with Frank Crosswaith and others as teachers, and hundreds of members have become subscribers to The New Leader.

In recent months the local has also organized the artificial feather workers, an even more sweated industry than the neckwear workers, and substantial gains have been won for them.

The members of the Local have a spirit of solidarity and an enthusiasm for their union that is almost unique even among the most experienced and devoted trade unionists. They have a feeling not that they belong to the union but that the union belongs to them.

In two short years a large section of the women workers of New York have learned lessons in trade unionism, in Socialism and in solidarity that others have taken years to acquire. Local 142 is a veritable miracle of the labor movement.

So great is their affection for Tuvim that at the dinner they surprised him with a fine wrist watch, and for his charming wife, Comrade Mary Tuvim, fully as popular with the members as Joe, the girls had a fine cigarette case.

seeking a workable solution for the unorganized American people, and spoke of long struggle of the Canadian Socialists.

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On the Socialist Educational Front

By Frederick Shulman

Tid-Bits from the Political Table

THE political naivete of American voters can be accurately gauged by sampling the punishment they absorb, with appreciation, in the form of campaign speeches. One esteemed Democrat claimed the right of being reelected on the ground that "I learned honesty at the knees of my mother."

The Socialist speaker who followed him on the platform remarked that the said Democrat must have learned honesty across the knees of his mother; that many of his colleagues were very poor students; that others must have been born without mothers or had mothers who possessed no knees at all. Other Democrats campaigned on Fred Shulman the stirring issue that they believed "honesty is the best policy." The people have not yet realized that these democrats have lapsed their policy for non-payment of the premium.

At a symposium in a Brooklyn hospital the representative of the Republican-Fusion party concluded a speech studded with historical references to the constitution (so inaccurate that our own James O'Neal would have broken out in a

cold sweat had he heard them) by saying, "I am sorry I can't stay to hear the Socialist speaker knock my head off. They always do." Whereupon the Socialist candidate told the audience that it would be highly impolite for him to omit doing what his opponent had so earnestly requested and he proceeded with the work of decapitation.

But as has often been said, the Socialists get the applause and the old parties get the votes. And this means that we must employ new methods of propaganda to reach the people, and must seriously review our old methods, strengthening those that stand the test of criticism and scrapping those obsolete and ineffective. In a later article the writer will discuss the educational and propaganda activity now in use in the party and by the Party.

A Useful Definition

In a popular work of science there can be found as apt a definition of the Communist movement and its activities as could be written in a month of Sundays. Of course the definition was not intended to refer to our "Pseudo-revolutionary contemporaries" (it is great to be able to hurl that magnificent word "pseudo" back into the teeth of the Reds—but their steady and rapid shift to the right entitles them to be so branded). Here is the definition:—"It seems clear that the Ichneumon grub and the like which hatch inside of a caterpillar and eat it alive are not so much parasites as 'beasts of prey' working from within."

DOCK STRIKE

(Continued from Page One)

any company operating to the Gulf in any service."

Green Protests Investigation

WASHINGTON.—President William Green of the American Federation of Labor has protested against a proposed investigation by the Department of Justice of waterfront labor troubles on the Pacific Coast.

Upon learning that West Coast shipping interests were seeking to force such an investigation, with prosecution of unions said to be responsible for tying up shops and cargoes, Mr. Green told newspapermen that he would oppose "any interference on the part of the Department of Justice."

The key to the situation, Mr. Green said, is the longshoremen's strike at New Orleans.

"The longshoremen," Mr. Green declared, "are trying to do their best to secure recognition at New Orleans, where the employers have taken on a number of scabs to break the union's strike."

The request for the government investigation was filed with the Department of Justice by Elisha Hanson, representing some of the principal shipping interests on the Pacific. The request is motivated by the old gag of restraint of trade under the Sherman anti-trust act.

GOV. OLSON TALKS

(Continued from Page One)

of rugged individualism and the god of things as they were in 1929," Gov. Olson said. The Democrats can't make this system click. You cannot have abundance without a financial capitalism."

The Supreme Court was attacked as an obstacle to social progress and economic welfare of 130 million people. Olson excoriated the five-men decisions, declaring they were a usurpation of the legislative authority vested in Congress.

J. S. Woodworth, M.P., head of Canada's Cooperative Commonwealth Federation bloc in Parliament, told of the trials of the Dominion's C. C. F. before they achieved a well-knit national organization. Woodworth was first elected while jailed for his active anti-war struggles. He has been in Parliament for fourteen years, leading the Socialist group. According to Woodworth, they were able to force through Canada's first old age pension laws by wielding this political bludgeon over the Conservatives and Liberals.

Organized labor of New York City was represented by Joseph Schlossberg, general secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and a close associate of Mr. Woodworth. He welcomed this upsurging of forces

The Workers Abroad

**Fascism Ebbs As Socialist Tide Flows In—
Social Democracy the Spearhead
of Drive Against Dictatorship—
British Unions Grow**

By John Powers

Continued Advance of Socialism and Democracy

THE advent of Hitlerism to power in Germany in 1933 and the collapse of the Austrian Social Democracy and labor movement in 1934 shocked the international Socialist movement as no events had done in many decades. In October, 1934, came the heroic but abortive rebellion of the workers in Spain. With tens of millions of unemployed in the leading industrial countries and capitalism and reaction everywhere on the offensive, the future looked dark, indeed, for Socialism and labor. The forces of the organized workers were thrown on the defensive in many countries and a spirit of pessimism pervaded the entire world of labor.

But mark the change in the past twelve months! In Germany—a crisis of Hitler's war economy accompanied by a disintegration of the political structure of Nazism, the growing rise of opposition and discontent, increasing evidences of the economic, political and moral bankruptcy of fascism, definite indications of its ultimate, inevitable destruction. Nazism on the defensive—fighting for its life.

In Italy—a situation bearing the same characteristics, with the Mussolini regime outlawed by the decent opinion of mankind as the enemy of peace and civilization and confronting the united front of 51 nations engaged in a military, economic and political boycott of the government headed by the leading gangster of Europe. Mussolini, too, is fighting for his life and, in the opinion of all well informed persons close to the situation, there is no escape for him. For him, too, the day of reckoning is drawing near.

In Austria—a rapidly advancing disintegration of the fascist regime, with indications multiplying of its probable early collapse. In all other important countries where under the impact of the victories of fascism in Germany and Austria the forces of reaction had raised their heads and embarked upon an offensive against democracy and Socialism the fascist movement has been beaten back. The fascist wave is arrested and receding. The Socialist tide is once more on the ascendancy. Once more, as on many other occasions in history, Socialism and labor are proving to be indestructible. The counter-offensive of democracy and Socialism is developing all along the line, in the non-fascist as well as in fascist countries.

The British elections of last week (reported elsewhere in this issue) added another to the brilliant series of victories which have marked this counter-offensive. Under the inexorable pressure of circumstances and events and the telling blows of labor, fascism is on the run. The uncertainties and imponderables of the situation are still too many to permit ourselves to fall into an exaggerated optimism, but there is every reason to be confident that while the final victory of culture, freedom and Socialism may be delayed it cannot be thwarted.

An interesting review of the situation is found in the *Neuer Vorwärts* of Nov. 3, organ of the German Social Democratic Party, published in Czechoslovakia.

The elections of recent months in a number of countries have clearly demonstrated that the Social Democracy is again everywhere on the march, says this journal. Even in such semi-fascist spots as Danzig and Hungary democracy has made great progress.

The *Neuer Vorwärts* lays stress upon the importance of the fact that particularly in the countries bordering upon Germany the Social Democracy has shown itself to be the spearhead of the anti-fascist forces. Instead of a rapid acceleration of the crisis of Socialism and democracy, which the fascists, in common with the Communists, had hoped would be the consequences of the victory of Hitlerism in Germany, there has come a crisis of fascism and a revival of democracy.

"A spiritual cleansing process is taking place in the democratic countries which is destroying the fascist hopes that the spirit of Hitler or Mussolini is to dominate Europe," says the *Neuer Vorwärts*, pointing to the elections in the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland as evidence that the overwhelming majority of the people in these, as well as in other countries, are opposed to fascism and dictatorship of any kind. The tremendous efforts made by the fascists, with financial assistance from Berlin, to poison public opinion outside of Germany with the germs of fascism have proven fruitless. The various elections in France in recent months have demonstrated that the French people have no sympathy with the dictators and are determined to preserve their democratic order.

The world, indeed, is on the move, says the Socialist organ, but not in the direction the Nazis wanted. The free peoples look hopefully to the future. They see before them the prospect of peaceful progress, the amelioration of suffering and need and improvement of living conditions. The German people, under the leadership of Hitler, on the other hand, are facing catastrophe, political, social, economic.

The *Neuer Vorwärts* calls for a united effort of all opposition forces in Germany for the overthrow of the Hitler regime and the restoration of democracy.

The Socialist journal declares that the first thing the German people must do is "to free themselves from the effects of the agitation against democracy and the parliamentary system that had been conducted in Germany for fifteen years"—both by the fascists and Communists.

"Reaffirmation of democracy, the will to restore the political institutions of democracy," concludes the *Neuer Vorwärts*, "must become the common objective of the entire fighting opposition in Germany, and when this opposition will lead firmly towards this aim—a democratic constitution in place of the criminal dictatorship—it, too, will be victorious."

British Trade Unions Increase Membership

Confirmation of the steady rise in trade union membership reported to the Trades Union Congress this year is supplied by official figures published by the British Ministry of Labor. These figures are detailed in an article by Herbert Tracey.

Statistics collected from country-wide returns show that last year the total membership of all trade unions in Britain and Northern Ireland rose to 4,567,000, an increase of 180,000 or over 4 per cent as compared with the previous year. This total includes about 31,000 in branches of unions in the Irish Free State and about 24,000 overseas branches.

Male trade unionists have increased proportionally much more than female unionists in the last year. There are now 1,052 unions, a decrease of 19 from the previous year. Many unions have amalgamated with others.

Rand Playhouse Opens Sunday

(Continued from Page One)

has been serving the Socialists and labor movement for thirty years. Many of the loyal supporters of the Rand School were enthusiastic when Hendrick van Loon, Anita Block, Leonard Lieblich, Prof. Ned H. Dearborn and John T. Flynn set the keynote for this playhouse when it was dedicated early in October. They will have reason to cheer after the preview of "Question Before the House" this Sunday evening, and the appearance before the visible and invisible audience over station WEVD of Richard Bennett, Michael Strange and Pauline Lord. Tickets are available for the opening night, November 24, and Saturday evenings thereafter (curtain at 8:45 p. m.).

The enthusiasm of the first audience at the dedicatory program some weeks back, and the hundreds who have joined as members of the Rand Playhouse (dues \$1.00 a year, and New Leader readers are invited), indicates beyond doubt that this new venture of the Rand School has long been awaited by our friends inside and outside the movement. The Rand Playhouse promises to add sparkle and color to an educational institution which

has been serving the Socialists and labor movement for thirty years.

Well-Known Supporters

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By Eugene Lyons

Art in a Straitjacket

IT is primarily as a reporter that I venture to speak. I have been about a bit in recent years and have seen in close-up some of the things that provide the raw material for every abstract and ideological disputation here. For six years I lived in Russia, where the most significant social experiment of our epoch is being made. For weeks or months at a time I have lived in Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany.

My interest in human beings as such, and my background of many years activity in the American labor movement, led me far beyond the strict frontiers of news reporting. I observed the troubles of writers and painters and musicians because that too was part of the general political and social picture. Their troubles, however, touched me a little more closely because journalism, after all, is at least a poor relation of the arts; and because my extra-professional interests brought me into exceptionally intimate contact with literary men.

Those who have not seen with their own eyes, and experienced in their own nerves, the meaning of art in a straitjacket, art that is regulated by police edicts and marshalled into goose-stepping regiments, can scarcely imagine what it means. Intellectuals on this side of the ocean somehow translate the whole thing into bloodless and abstract philosophical arguments. When they talk of art in propaganda, and propaganda in art, they ignore the rebellious, very personal, terribly intimate upsurge of talent in which art has its being.

They assume that by slapping a doctrinal label on a man or a woman, by calling them anti-fascist or anti-Germanic or anti-proletarian, they have defined the impetus which drives those people to express themselves in their own words and their own emotions despite police regulations. They do not and perhaps cannot understand the atmosphere of suppression, of pervasive fear, in which the artist under dictatorship must try to work.

Art in Chains

They say, and with plenty of justice: "Isn't economic pressure, the need for keeping alive, a condition of existence for the artist, as for anyone else, in any country?" True, but not true enough to cover and to justify the outright persecution, the total outlawry of every artistic spark that does not stay put in the mold prescribed by decree. There are relative values in these matters.

I am not talking generalities. I could mention the names of artists in Russia and Italy and Germany who have been broken on the rack of political persecution. But I should only make their fate harder by naming them. In all these countries the smug official excuse is that the victims are "counter-revolutionists," "enemies of the fatherland," etc. I know the worthlessness of such explanations.

It is rarely a question of an enemy of the particular regime. Such enemies have been hunted out and destroyed, year after year. There are laws to deal with treason and counter-revolution, whether in deed or word, and the dictators are not flinching about applying those laws. Enemies, if they exist, hide in dark corners. They never have the temerity to write anything that is counter-revolutionary in a genuine sense. And they would be crazy to submit such stuff for publication anyhow.

No, those lashed with the whips of censorship and persecution are the naive ones—and there is a strain of basic naivete in most real artists; those who write and sing from some deeper inner compulsion. They are not enemies—but simply heretics. Often enough, it happens, they sing in the innocent certainty that they are in tune with the new faith. Only afterwards they are informed by the politicians of art that they have sinned against some section of the ritual drawn up by the faction in power.

Dogmas of Ruling Group

The fundamental fact is that dictators and bigots—whatever their special doctrine may be—are distrustful of the artist. They suspect, and correctly, that he is

at bottom, perhaps unconsciously, a rebel; that in the anxiety to capture some portion of truth or reality as he sees it, the artist will ignore or ridicule the sacred dogmas of the ruling group.

The Nazi autocracy signalized its assumption of power with a bonfire that will blaze in the memory of mankind for centuries. They burned at the stake those books whose authors or contents did not jibe with the Nazi doctrine of race hatred and Germanic ascendancy. A book of my own ("Life and Death of Sacco and Vanzetti") was in that bonfire and I am embarrassed by the fine company in which it died. The medieval spirit of that fire is the spirit that rules all art and culture in Germany today.

In a Reichstag speech last year Hitler said:

"The Reich government will undertake a moral rehabilitation of the body politic. The entire educational system, the theatre, cinema, literature, press and radio, they all shall be the means to this end and dedicated accordingly. . . . Blood and race will again become the springs for artistic intuition."

Under that doctrine every Jewish writer and actor, painter and musician—and their contribution to German culture is immense—has been silenced. Every artistic work that reveals the faintest echo of ideas and emotional states wider than the Nazi dogma is suppressed forthwith, its creator pilloried, or worse. The full force of a dictatorship that glorifies violence, that believes (like others blinded by hatred and mentally paralyzed by routine formulas) that the end justifies any means, is directed against everything, past or present, which reflects humanistic, compassionate, broad-minded attitudes. Even Goethe, that German of Germans, is frowned upon because his sympathies were gener-

Interstate Conference To Meet Soon

(Continued from Page One)

of the National Labor Relations Act. It was felt that despite the efforts of labor to have the national measure apply to all major industries, including manufacture, the courts may restrict the operation of the act to purely interstate industries. State acts would remedy this defect, the committee held.

Other measures would be child labor legislation, stronger anti-injunction labor, minimum wage legislation, and other laws that will provide the protection to labor which was contained in the National Industrial Recovery Act.

A committee was named to draft New York legislative program. It consists of Louis Waldman, Harry Kritzer, of Kings, and Marx Lewis, of New York. The program will be submitted to the New York State Federation of Labor's legislative committee which will meet within the next few weeks to draft or organize labor's program for the 1936 session of the State Legislature.

Chinese Laborer Toiled 15 Years Without Cent Of Money Payment

NEW ORLEANS.—The story of a system of peonage under which one Chinese laborer worked 15 years on the shrimp platform at Bayou Grand Calou, near Houma, La., without receiving one cent for his labors during that time, was told in the Federal court when Tang Sang, 46 years old, who came from Canton, was arraigned for a hearing on a charge of illegal entry into the United States.

Sang admitted he had been a seaman on the S. S. Elmleaf, from which immigration officials charged he deserted in 1920 at the mouth of the river. Sang went direct to the Bayou Grand Calou and set to work on the shrimp platform.

To the immigration commissioners he said that in the 15 years he had worked on the shrimp platform he had not been paid one cent in cash.

He said his employers had furnished him with food and clothing, but no money because they knew he was illegally in the country and could not protest.

HOW WE GET OUR "NEWS"

THE United Press, one of the two premier news-gathering agencies of the United States, sent out a story, dated Ethiopia, on November 15, announcing the imminence of the fall of Harar. The story was signed by the name of a staff correspondent in the field with the Italian armies.

Later in the same day the U.P. sent the following bulletin over its wires:

"Editors.—Please kill Sandri story regarding imminence of fall of Harar. The message was delivered to us under his signature, but on checking back we find he did not send it."

The bulletin is signed UPA New York PC134P (1.34 p. m.). The correspondents with the Italian armies are the guests of the general staff, they are allowed use of the cables without cost to their papers, and according to Professor Gaetano Salvemini stories favorable to the Italian cause appearing in American papers are cabled back to Italy and printed in the Italian press as "proof" that free America favors the fascist cause.

This trifling incident gives a vivid sidelight on what constitutes "news" under a dictatorship.

ous enough to embrace cultures and viewpoints beyond the German frontiers.

Bottomless Stupidity

Not long ago I talked to a great German architect, perhaps one of the world's greatest. His work is now being suppressed, his career seems finished. It is considered un-German, un-Aryan, although he is himself 100 per cent German and "Aryan." His great ideological sin, it appears, is his preference for flat roofs and straight lines. Flat roofs are a symbol, in the Nazi imagination, of the Orient and therefore of what they call the Judeo-Bolshevik spirit. It is an insult, they insist, to the superior German tradition of gabled roofs! In many places gables have actually been stuck on top of this architect's creations to make them ideologically acceptable!

The bottomless stupidity and pettiness of such things would be a matter for laughter, if they did not underline the absurdity of forcing art into the straitjacket of arbitrary parochial dogma in any land where an Infalible Revelation and an Infalible Leader sit enthroned.

In the book "Moscow Carrousel" I record the comic tragedy of a Bolshevik writer whose characters suddenly went counter-revolutionary on him. For ten editions they were good Soviet citizens, but in edition number 11 they turned traitors and must be either reformed or liquidated. You see, these characters in the novel are ordinary peasants, living happily on their own land. That was all right when the novel was written—it was desirable to show peasants living contentedly under the Soviet flag. But things have changed. By now it is not allowed to show a peasant enjoying life outside the fold of a collective, especially if he possesses several cows. Therefore they must be liquidated. This novelist is a Communist, but he is also an artist, and he weeps for his liquidated characters.

Self-Respect Crushed

I cite this not as important in itself but as a slight measure of the bigotry and narrow partisanship that passes as art criticism under dictators. The first question about a book is not, "Is it art?" but "Is it ideological?" Is there any danger that it may make some reader aware of the realities around him? And the answers to such questions, as given by the censorship police and the spies of literature who pose as critics, are always in the narrowest and most hidebound theological spirit.

I am quite as distressed as some of my readers may also be that I am obliged to speak of fascist and Bolshevik straitjackets in the self-same terms. Unfortunately the methods—and the effects on art—are the same. The motives are different, but apologists for *Schrecklichkeit* in the arts have yet to prove that such methods advance by one inch the ultimate motivating ideals of the Soviet revolution. In fact, indirectly, in liberalizing the system somewhat recently, the Kremlin has admitted that ruthlessness in literature has retarded those ideals.

From 1928 to about 1932 I was witness to an organized, pitiless war of extermination against writers and other artists who did not sign away unconditionally the last vestige of their artistic integrity and human self-respect. The leaders in that war were literary time-servers and toe-lickers, most of them without a trace of talent for anything except the art of persecution. The story of the havoc they wrought has been told brilliantly by Max Eastman in his "Artists in Uniform."

I can only add the testimony of personal observation. I knew many of those whom the literary Inquisition succeeded in crushing. Their crime was not counter-revolution. Their crime was that they were artists rather than servile ward politicians. I knew many of those who accepted an even more terrible fate—those who bowed their necks to the yoke, choked their artistic consciences and proceeded to manufacture political advertisements officially labelled "Art."

Intellectual Apologists

In 1932 the worst phases of the Inquisition were ended. Those who had defended it suddenly and miraculously realized that it had been stupid and destructive. But the end came not through the artists themselves—they were helpless. It came in a sudden decree from above—a boon graciously granted by overlords which might be revoked and barrenness of art under a dictatorship was demonstrated. At the moment there is a distinctly more liberal tendency in Russia, at least as against the excesses which preceded it. But the artist is still a creature living in fear of his own talent, for any day it may betray that he has an individualized viewpoint and a personal touch in his work.

Certainly, propaganda can be true art. A great deal of bourgeois propaganda is authentically artistic. But it is not for the chastisement of faithful believers that censorship and political hounding

"Can Such Things Be?"

By Adrien Gambet

Hair-Shirt Herbie

CAN it be? Yes, it is! Who has popped up on the front page again but our old friend Herbie Hoover. Surely you remember him? Hair-Shirt Herbie, who used to be President and then became the Forgotten Man. Why sure, you remember how he got elected back in 1928 by explaining Republican prosperity to everybody? And how just six months after he took office everyone heard a dull and sickening thud which turned out to be that same good old Republican prosperity collapsing of pernicious anemia? And how we then heard Herbie explaining that while the Republicans controlled prosperity they couldn't do a damn thing with a depression. And how we all kept thinking that if he'd just produce the prosperity he had up that silk hat, we'd all stop worrying about the depression? Sure, now you remember.

No Pot, No Chicken

And then we all remember how Herbie promised us all a chicken in every pot. Well, Herbie became the Forgotten Man so very rapidly that no one has bothered to point out that he really kept his promise—although in a somewhat roundabout way. Finding that the chickens had all disappeared, Herbie did a very sensible thing. By the time we had him hanging around Washington for a few months, nine-tenths of us didn't have a pot left for a chicken or anything else. Thus Herbie found it comparatively easy to put a chicken in each of the few pots that were left. So you really can't blame him—that may be what he had in mind all along.

The Bigger They Are . . .

That's just what frightens me. Here's Herbie bobbing up again with a plan for ending the depression. Well, he may be slow, but he certainly gets there. That's probably why he wanted to be re-elected back in '32. After four years in the White House, unable to do anything about the depression, he was probably just getting this swell idea to Do Something About It and wanted to hang around a little longer to try it out. Well, I know one country where about 125,000,000 people figure that Herbie had his chance and that it would be just as well not to give him another.

The Donkey Pasture

NOW you've got to give the Democrats credit—they're up and coming boys. When they saw Herbie muddling through they were seized with an uncontrollable desire to get into the White House and do their own stuff. So they did. And what did they do? Well, in a country without either chicken or pot, with people dying of starvation, they proceeded to pay the farmer to stop raising the chickens. In a country where at least one-third of all the children, according to some of the greatest medical authorities, suffer from under-nutrition. Fearless Frank began handing out checks to the wheat-growers. For what? For growing wheat. No, for not growing wheat. Because every one had enough to eat? Oh, no; because so many people didn't have enough to eat! Can you beat it? And we call that government. "Let Them Eat Cake"

Were wages so low that people couldn't live on them? Frankie had a remedy. He fixed minimum wages at \$14 a week (and it was surprising how fast minimum and maximum began to mean the same thing), and then he promptly devalued the dollar so it was worth only 60 cents and the \$14 shrunk to about \$8.50. And then the prices began to go up—but the wages didn't—but the stock dividends did. Oh, yes, Frankie has done a lot for the people, to—the best people.

Government for the Government

But for sheer cock-eyed insanity the WPA takes the cake. It has just been revealed that Administrator Tugwell has a "man wanted" sign out with 5,012 jobs to fill. When the applicants come in they ought to get a warm welcome and first-rate care, because Mr. Tugwell has a staff of exactly 12,089 to interview them and hand out the jobs. I suppose one will hold your hat while another pulls up a chair for you. The 5,012 relief jobs will pay \$300,000 a month, or less than \$60 a man: the clerical staff

exists in dictated lands. It is for those who retain some shred of independence of mind, some breadth of spirit; for those who retain a saving skepticism and are unable honestly to subscribe to a rigid catechism.

American intellectuals enamored with the idea of political "discipline" as applied to art have not the slightest comprehension, it seems to me, of what they are defending. They are juggling words. They have never seen that discipline in action, with a pitiless Secret Service to enforce it. They have never translated it into terms of concentration camps and exiles and the crudest discriminations and humiliations under systems of

gets \$1,750,000 a month, or about \$145 a man. That's what is known as re-distributing the country's wealth. I used to hear a lot about "Government of the people, for the people and by the people." I guess it should be changed to "Government of the government, for the government and by the government." It must be swell thing if you are on the inside!

America for the Indians

THESE days it seems that every one is just bursting with ideas for saving the country. They just appoint themselves saviors of mankind and go to it. The latest apostle of this sort is George N. Peek, chairman of the Exports-Imports Bank—a fact which, of course, does not color his viewpoint. Mr. Peek has just given birth to a full-grown "Policy for America," and it's nothing less than a 100% affair. Among other things, he calls for "rigorous tightening of immigration laws to reduce alien influence in our domestic affairs."

Although little in the way of written record survives, I have a feeling that the Indians were in favor of that a couple of hundred years ago. Mr. Peek's ancestors probably were not at that time. They usually have to be here ten or twenty years before they get the feeling that they own the country and that the fine flower of the immigrant stock ended abruptly with their coming.

The Best of All Possible Countries

But I really can't see what Mr. Peek is getting into such a lather about. I have never yet found one of the gentlemen who declaimed about the evil influence of the alien who wasn't quite ready to tell you that this was far and away the finest of all countries. Well, if that is so, I can't see what harm the alien agitator can accomplish.

Does Mr. Peek think the American people are so stupid that they are unaware of the bliss in which they dwell? It seems to me that the agitator isn't going to get to first base anywhere unless there is something wrong with conditions, unless there is already in existence a discontent upon which he can work. No one worries about food if he isn't hungry or likely to be; no one worries about the weather if his clothing is in good shape. No, I'm afraid that Mr. Peek is simply admitting that conditions in this country would stand a lot of improvement.

Wisdom Knows No Boundaries

AND if this is not the best of all countries in the best of all possible worlds, what difference does it make where the improvement comes from? If Mr. Peek has the naive idea that civilization in America is a home-grown product, then Mr. Peek shows an ignorance as abysmal as that of Herbert Hoover when he begins to rant about the American system.

The bases of our government lay in the philosophy of a Frenchman and the economics of an Englishman, and they have been constantly modified since—as has everything else in American life—by the stream of ideas which has usually flowed from Europe to this country. Of course, Mr. Peek simply hasn't said what he means. What he really wants to do is to continue to get conservative and reactionary ideas from abroad but to exclude anything that stands for genuine progress.

A Wall to Keep Out Ideas

Even at that he isn't very bright about the way he wants to go about it. Ideas can trickle into this country by other means than the aliens this banker so much despises. They can come in in books; they can be brought back by Americans who go abroad, and in this day of short-wave radio, they can even come over the air.

Now Mr. Peek should be reasonable; he should also establish a censorship over books and foreign radio stations and he should forbid Americans to travel. Thus we would soon have a counterpart of a European dictatorship established by Mr. Peek in the name of the American democracy he professes to love so much. And thus Mr. Peek stands exposed as what he is, rather than what he professes to be.

But Mr. Peek and others of his ilk should remember that no country has yet set up an effective wall against ideas—and maybe some of the current crop of European dictators may be learning that right now.

arbitrary power. In many cases, curiously enough, it is their rebellious spirit, their reaction against the immediate American scene, that drives such intellectuals into the "discipline." The same rebellious spirit, I am sure, would drive most of them into political heresy once the dictatorship is established and their precious discipline is no longer a pleasant, stimulating, self-important and voluntary game.

They might then realize that there is something wrong in the logic of advancing art by suppressing its primary manifestations, the perverted logic that executions under any system bring not death but life.

How Reading Was Captured by J. Henry Stump

Mayor-Elect of Reading, Pa.

Election Victory Was Not An Accident But The Outcome Of Years Of Incessant Education And Organization, - Socialist Principles Translated Into Language The Average Worker Could Understand, - Union Of Socialists With City Workers, - Pioneer Work of Jim Maurer

EIGHT years ago, when the Socialists of Reading elected a Mayor, two Commissioners and other officials, thereby gaining control of the city, capitalist newspapers announced the victory as an accident. But the election of two more Commissioners two years later, giving the Socialists complete control, and the election of Darlington Hoopes and Lilith Wilson to the legislature for three successive terms and the record-breaking victory this year, is evidence that the victories were no accidents.

The victories in Reading can only be attributed to one cause—a long period of Socialist agitation and education. The Socialist movement of Reading was organized in 1897 by a small group of men and women who were conducting a labor exchange, a sort of co-operative scheme. When the party was organized the membership knew very little about the fundamental principles of Socialism, but were attracted to the movement because of its working class character. Some of the early members suffered the usual fate of the pioneers of the movement everywhere. In Reading some of the members were employed at the Reading Co. railways shops and a blacklisting process was instituted against them. This, however, did not stop them. They studied Socialist literature and became more familiar with the aims and purposes of fundamental Socialism. In the early years of the movement the meetings were held under the trees on the mountain side and in the winter months in any place that was available.

In 1902 we had but a handful of members. What this small group lacked in numbers they made up in activity. The comrades went out night after night distributing literature. Jim Maurer was one of our pioneer speakers, and many nights found Jim on a street corner speaking to a half dozen people. Our movement grew slowly owing to the blacklisting. An important thing to note about our movement is that it was mostly a movement of native-born people. We understood our city and its people. Reading, it can be said, is a typical working class city; in fact, there are few cities in the country where the workers constitute so large a portion of the population.

Helping the Workers

The Socialists continued their activities, not in sitting around a table and voicing revolutionary phrases, but being active in the affairs of the working class. Whenever there was a strike or whenever the workers were in any kind of trouble, the Socialists were there to help them. It is important to mention a factor that appears to have been very important to the success of the Socialists in this city, and that was the active participation in the activities of organized labor.

When we first became active in the unions controlled by Democratic and Republican politicians, we met the same fate as Socialists did in other localities. We were classed as undesirable and trouble-makers. Did we quit under the denunciation of the politicians? No, we remained. We were careful not to become a nuisance. We just acted sensibly, and when there was a disagreeable job to be done that no one else wanted to do, we took the job and did it as well as we could.

It was not long before the rank and file of organized labor recognized that we were not in the unions to destroy them, as the politicians had told them, but to help strengthen them in order to fight the battles of the workers. The result was that we soon captured control of the unions. For years the Socialists controlled the central body and by the end of 1927 I rounded out my twelfth year as president of the Federated Trades Council.

Our victories have been the result of organization and education. In 1910, when we first elected Jim Maurer to the legislature, of course, it was declared an accident; but we proved this to be untrue by electing him to the same office a second and third time after that.

Education Widespread

When we look back over the many years of speech-making and the tons of literature distributed, and knowing the people of this community as we do, we feel that there is no other city in the country that has as many people who are conversant with working class economics.

Let us see how it was done: In 1910 we determined to elect Jim Maurer to the legislature. We called a meeting in May of that year; about sixty-five people responded. We organized our forces and decided to distribute literature to every home in the city every

Sunday, beginning with the first Sunday in June. At first it meant that long hours were required of every one each Sunday, but gradually we obtained new converts to help, and until the night before the election we had one man or woman for each half city block.

Our literature distribution was so well organized that when a last-minute lie was circulated by the politicians the Sunday before elec-



Mayor-Elect Stump

tion, we got our printing presses busy on Monday and had every distributor start at a given time and we distributed literature to every home in the city, or 25,000 pieces in twenty minutes. That had something on Uncle Sam's mail delivery.

The distribution of literature did not cease with our success at the polls. We kept it going Sunday after Sunday throughout the winter months.

We continued going along fine, electing five Councilmen and just missed electing a Mayor in 1911. When the war came, instead of our movement going down it went right ahead. We had a dues-paying membership of over five thousand in an anti-conscription league, and we continued our activities right through the period of the war despite the attacks of the super-one hundred percents.

In 1917, right in the period of the war fever, the old party politicians were so alarmed about us that they did not put two tickets in the field. They organized a so-called "American" party composed of candidates of both old parties in order to defeat us in the municipal election.

In 1919 I was a candidate for Mayor for the first time in a cam-

paign that was waged on the issues of the war. We were defeated by a few hundred votes, and then only by a last-minute fusion by the old party politicians. A very interesting thing happened at that time. On November 23, right after the election, a mob of thousands of persons, led by the super-patriots, marched to our headquarters in order to prevent meeting. It was only cool-headedness on our part that prevented a repetition of the Centralia outrage, but our manner of handling this affair made many new followers for us among the workers.

Again in 1923, with another combination ticket formed just before the election, and with many Socialists not registered, we were defeated by a small margin.

In 1927 we determined we were going to carry Reading for the workers. We started early and decided that instead of trying to carry on a purely propaganda campaign, we would beat the opposition at their own game. We selected what we knew would be made important issues in the campaign, and we dwelt largely on those issues. We rallied our forces despite the fact that our party membership had dwindled to less than a hundred members.

Before the campaign closed we had thousands of people working for us. The politicians tried to divert the interest of the voters by attempting to draw us into controversies concerning theories, religion, and what not. We, however, stood firm on the municipal issues. We emerged with a victory that had no equal in the history of Reading. We were elected by the largest vote ever cast for Mayor and City Commissioners.

Best Administration

We gave the people of Reading the best administration it ever enjoyed—and the best proof of this

was that the old party politicians were compelled to throw off the mask of political hypocrisy in 1931 by forming an open fusion against the Socialists.

After a vicious campaign of lies, vilification and character-assassination on the part of the old party politicians, and having all the forces of reaction with them, including many clergymen and the underworld, we were defeated by a little more than 2,000 votes.

We profited by our experiences in that campaign and decided to build our party organization along different lines. We established a

block system, with a worker assigned to each city block, and a few weeks before the election this year we knew the sentiments of practically every voter in the city. Those who were on the fence concerning the Socialists were plied with special literature, with good results.

The campaign this year was even more vicious on the part of the old parties than four years ago, but with our splendid organization, literature that was well planned, and distributed three times a week, we were in a position to nail the lies of the politicians.

Our victory this year broke all records. Our candidates for city offices were all elected and by the largest votes ever cast for municipal offices. In addition, we elected three Socialists to important county offices, the first time we elected county officials, and only the fact that the old party candidate for Presiding Judge was on both the Democratic and Republican ticket prevented us from electing Darlington Hoopes.

At this time it might be well to mention a few things about the practical work done by the Socialists that resulted in our successes. Between political campaigns, in addition to study class work, lectures and activities in the unions, we were active in organizing cooperatives and other institutions that were helpful in financing our movement. While it is true that some were failures, we profited by our experiences.

Financing the Party

We have several cooperatives and they are a great help to our movement. Our cooperative cigar factory, in which the Karl Marx cigars are made, was organized in 1905, and the profits derived therefrom were responsible for the present headquarters which we own free of debt. Another important factor responsible for our success was our weekly newspaper, The Reading Labor Advocate, which we purchased in 1918. In addition to the valuable services rendered in fighting the battles of the workers, it was a valuable asset in furnishing the sinews of war. Our earnings for the movement have averaged approximately \$1,000 per year.

The establishment of our own fine picnic park, which has become the most popular picnic park in this section, as been a great asset for Socialist propaganda, and money-raising for campaigns.

Another important factor was our printing plant, organized in 1920 at a capitalization of \$30,000 and with present assets of over \$70,000. It was rather amusing when some of the out-of-town comrades were at our inauguration in 1931 to find them criticizing us for doing commercial printing in our plant. That was an important part of our work. With profits made on the commercial work we were able to produce our chain of Socialist and labor papers below cost and still pay dividends to our stockholders. Running commercial institutions may not be good dogmatic Socialism, but we feel it is good practical business sense.

Comrades, I feel that if we Socialists are going to succeed, we must adopt different tactics than have been in practice in many localities. For years we have been using a foreign phraseology; we have been speaking in terms that were not generally understood, and in many instances making our movement as repulsive and unconventional as possible in order to be different. We must make our appeal to the average American psychology if we are to succeed. In my humble opinion the trouble is not with the American working class, as we imagine; it is rather with ourselves. We should remember that there is actually a political revolution in the United States every eight or twelve years, when millions of voters flock from one of the major political parties to the other and then back again. This is evidence that the people are dissatisfied, and it is our task to reach them with our propaganda. This, I believe, can be done if we find a practical way to do it.

Let us show the workers the need of a working class political party. Let us organize our party in other localities, using methods such as we used in Reading. Let us make our appeal in their own language which they understand. Let us wage our campaigns on practical issues instead of on something that is going to happen in the mystical future. Let us do our propaganda and educational work between campaigns.

Comrades, we appeal to you to forget left and right differences during these times when the field is ripe to carry our message to the American people. Let us again get back into the old-time spirit and work for the Cooperative Commonwealth and the emancipation of the working class!

Woodsworth Tells of Canadian Socialism

(Continued from Page One)
the vote reported by Woodsworth, was based on erroneous information.]

Three Influences

The total vote for all parties was 4,022,567, of which the Socialists in the C.C.F. received close to ten per cent of 337,832. The Conservatives polled 1,223,250; the Liberals 1,877,460, and the Social Reconstruction (or Stevens) Party received 373,479. The Social Credit Party, concentrated largely in Alberta, received 137,493, and all others polled 74,053. The Communists received 29,498 votes.

"There was a complete swing of the pendulum away from the Conservative party of former Premier Bennett," Woodsworth said. "It was almost a hysteria, with the slogan, 'Get rid of Bennett.' Bennett is a very rich man and he had sponsored a mild New Deal, for which he was charged with fascism, and with 'interference with business' for his regulative measures. The opposition to Bennett was so great that vast masses of people swung completely over to the Liberal party to punish him, unwilling to 'waste' their votes on the C.C.F."

Then there was the Stevens party, a curious phenomenon that may have petered out or that may possibly become the nucleus of a frankly fascist party, Woodsworth said.

The Stevens Party

Harry H. Stevens was a member of the Bennett cabinet and about two years ago he sponsored the work of a committee to study price spreads, that is, the difference between cost of production and prices to the people. The committee brought in a voluminous report that was a blast against what in Canada are called the departmental stores and against the chain stores. Stevens thereupon left the cabinet and started a fiery crusade against the chain stores and department stores, with a fervor reminiscent of the early days of the Hitler movement and with a hostility to such large-scale retailing similar to that of the Nazis in the pre-1933 period.

Like the German fascists who took the name National Socialist party, Stevens likewise took a name for his movement right out of the Socialist movement. "There is a fine group of university men," Woodsworth said, "somewhat like the British Fabians, who are working out a Socialist plan for Canada. They are known as the League for Social Reconstruction. Stevens organized a party, called it the Social Reconstruction Party, and waged a terrific election campaign heavily financed by the retailers who were drawn to him by his blasts against the big stores and chains. He asserted that he was going to become at least the Opposition, but as a bid for power his campaign was a tremendous flop. He himself was elected, his candidates polled 373,000 votes, but no one was elected with him. Now, unless he becomes frankly fascist that is the end of his party. It can be easily seen, however, how that movement sidetracked much of the sentiment that would otherwise have gone C.C.F."

The third element that played a great part in the way the election worked out was the Social Credit craze of the wheat-raising province Alberta and to a lesser extent Manitoba and Saskatchewan. William Aberhart, leader of the

Social Crediters and now Premier of Alberta, is a school teacher, a preacher and a fanatic of the most extreme type; Woodsworth said he is the kind that preaches the imminent end of the world and the other horrific prophecies that pious preachers so often find comfort in. He spoke over the radio, in school houses, everywhere, advocating a sort of modified Douglas theory. Indeed, he went better than Major Douglas, in that he promised a "basic dividend" of \$25 a month, and the impoverished and starved farmers ate it up. The result was a clean sweep by that party of the provincial elections, and a few weeks later, a sweep of all Alberta members of Parliament by the Social Crediters. The United Farmers of Alberta, a constituent part of the C.C.F., hitherto the governing party in that province, was temporarily wiped out.

The Social Crediters
But Woodsworth does not believe the fever will last long. Major Douglas himself, appointed by Aberhart as financial adviser of the Alberta government at a big salary, prefers to stay home in England and fish—it is too much for him to try to carry out his own theories when faced with reality. But Aberhart was also given a financial adviser from Montreal, a man from the Canadian equiva-



J. S. Woodsworth, M.P.

lent of Wall street, and it is plain that big business is about to liquidate Social Credit in its own interest.

These three political forces united to keep down the C.C.F. vote, but they were but temporary, they will pass, and the mass uprising which uprooted hundreds of thousands of voters, will redound to the benefit of the C.C.F. in no distant time.

Tim Buck, Too

The Communists played their usual role in Canada, Woodsworth said, first trying to get into the

C.C.F. by devious means and through multiplication of "innocent" clubs, then trying to destroy it by attacks from without, and finally seeking to break up the party by their "united front" tactics.

In the recent parliamentary elections the Communists selected two of the leading Socialist candidates, A. A. Heaps and Angus MacInnis in Winnipeg, for a frontal attack. They named as Heaps' opponent their strongest man, Tim Buck, national leader of their party. The campaign against Heaps was vitriolic, but in the midst of it they hypocritically began to talk about "unity" with those they were seeking to destroy.

Pretending to abandon their opposition to the C.C.F. they appealed for a "united front." Turned down by the party executive, they did what they likewise tried in the United States, appealing to each candidate separately with honeyed words to accept Communist support.

Woodsworth was one of those "endorsed" by the Communists. A special issue of the Canadian Worker devoted to his candidacy was printed. "I didn't see many copies of that special issue in my district," Woodsworth smiled, "but Heaps' constituency was flooded with it, to 'prove' that while he

British Labor Makes Gains

(Continued from Page One)

two parties is explained by the inequality of the British electoral system. Election is by pluralities and minority parties are seriously handicapped by the fact that there are no run-off elections.

The vote shows that the Conservatives won one seat for each 27,000 votes cast, while Labor had to poll 55,000 votes for each seat obtained. Under a more equitable election system the Labor Party would have received 276 instead of 156 seats.

"The Labor Party has won enough seats to restore it to a position of the real Opposition, so the new Parliament will start off on the normal two-party basis which prevailed before there was any Labor organization and when the tussle went on year after year between the Conservatives and the Liberals," cabled the London correspondent of the New York Times. "The Liberals are now eliminated from the political picture."

The Liberals lost 17 seats and now have only 19 members in the House of Commons.

The election proved that Socialism is on the march in England as it is in other countries. It adds to the brilliant series of victories which the Socialists have won in recent months in Denmark, Sweden, Holland and Switzerland. It tends to confirm the fact that fascism in Europe has been definitely checked by the advance of the forces of democratic Socialism and that Communism, as well, is a force of negligible importance in Western Europe.

Under the leadership of the Labor Party the British workers, supported by increasing numbers of electors from other classes inspired by the Socialist message, Great Britain is moving inevitably toward the realization of the Socialist ideal expressed in terms of democracy and constructive building.



Socialists throughout the world have reason to feel elated over Labor's victory, which should inspire them everywhere to greater and unremitting efforts for the triumph of their cause.

THE LAW IN ITS MAJESTY



As labor legislation enters the courts, and how it looks when the noble judges get through with it.

Editor's Corner

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

By James Oneal

NOVEMBER 5th was the eightieth anniversary of the birth of Eugene V. Debs, the noblest figure in the American Labor and Socialist movement.

When Debs was released from prison late in 1921 a sub-committee of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, of which the writer was one, went to Terre Haute to greet him and talk over party problems.

The split with the Communist insurrectionists in the party had occurred late in 1919. Comrade Debs did not participate in the controversies that followed. Meantime the insurrectionists were claiming him. We knew better. Comrade Debs was never a romanticist.

In 1912, when the advocates of sabotage were seeking to control the national convention of the party, Comrade Debs spoke out against violence in any form. He said that to advocate it "would at once be the signal for all the agents provocateurs and police spies to join the party and get busy."

Gene Debs was a revolutionary Socialist, not a saboteur and insurrectionist. He considered the advocacy of these methods to be infantile.

Naturally, when we met 'Gene in Terre Haute we talked with him frankly about the Communists claiming him as supporting them and their advocacy of insurrection. He hoped he would have some influence in reasoning the Communists out of their folly.

I knew that any statement by 'Gene Debs on insurrection would be so important that I carefully noted down what he said at the time and later made copies of it. Here is his precise language.

"Comrade Debs opposes armed insurrection, civil war and secret organization. He is positive and definite in his repudiation of all such theories and methods. There was no equivocation in his position regarding this. 'I expect some former comrades to indulge in bitter attacks on this score,' said Debs, 'but we should not sink to their level. We should treat them as we have treated another organization [the S.L.P.] that has followed this policy of abuse ever since the Socialist Party was organized.'"

This uncompromising view of 'Gene Debs is of special importance today when again there are those who defend the right of members of the Socialist Party to advocate insurrection in the name of "democracy" and "free speech" in the party.

Party Democracy

Real Socialists want a political movement based primarily on the claims and interests of working people. They want that movement a democratic organization responsive to the rank and file of its members. Its members set up constitutions, by-laws, rules and regulations after ample discussion. Whatever variation of opinions there may be in the organization is expressed through these agencies. If any members defy these agencies and set up their own, democracy is impossible. Indeed, the proper functioning of the organization is halted in proportion as the democratic agencies created by the party members are ignored or defied.

This issue has been up in the Socialist Party organization for several years. It has now come to a head because a dual organization could no longer be tolerated. We refer to it here because this week the Call sent a statement to the daily press regarding this issue which it also runs this week. Much that is in that press release we shall ignore, but there are two references made to this issue of democracy, and we shall consider them.

The statement declares that "dictatorial power over the entire Local [New York] has been handed over to a small faction." They will also "carry the fight for party democracy to the national membership if need be."

On that issue they are lost. In all of the statements issued by this group they have never denied that they maintain an illegal organization within the party organization. They are not satisfied with the agencies set up by the party members. They parallel the party organization, call "membership meetings," send communications to the party branches, issue their own literature, and they held campaign meetings independent of the party organization. They cannot deny these facts. They are known to every party member. There is plenty of documentary material on hand to prove it. They have exercised party functions not conferred upon them by the party members through the constitution, by-laws, rules and regulations of the party.

A big majority of the party membership have ceased to have patience with this conduct and, as reported in The New Leader last week, Local New York has decided to dissolve this dual organization. This is what any trade union or any other organization whose members are defied by an illegal organization would do.

The dual organization in fighting the decision to dissolve it declares that the decision is "dictatorial" and that they stand for democracy! The fact is that the by-laws of Local New York confer upon it the power to dissolve such organizations and even branches as well, whenever such action will make for harmony and efficiency.

Moreover, the supporters of an illegal organization forget Point 3 of the peace pact signed by a big majority of the National Executive Committee and the State Committee last July. Dissolution of a few branches had been effected and of this power of Local New York the two committees said the following:

"THE DISSOLUTION OF THE BRANCHES WAS CLEARLY WITHIN THE POWER OF THE CITY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AS PROVIDED BY THE LOCAL'S CONSTITUTION."

In the face of this evidence, the sponsors of the dual organization do not have a leg to stand on. They are fighting against democracy, not for it.

Farewell Dance In Bensonhurst For Louis Daile

A farewell reception and dance will be given Saturday night to Louis Daile, member of the Young Socialist Alliance and organizer of the Social List Club of Bensonhurst.

The dinner will be held at the headquarters of the Bensonhurst Branch, 6618 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn.

Comrade Daile is leaving to take up his residence in Canada. The comrades are eager for a big turnout as a token of their appreciation for the fine Socialist work of a fine Socialist.

Crawford Clothes a Boon To Hard-to-Fit Men

Crawford sales are 70% higher than last year.

It is not by accident that thousands of men find near-perfect fit in the numerous Crawford stores. An entirely different theory of designing, heretofore virtually unknown in the ready-to-wearer clothing field, forms the background of this solution to the appearance problems of the hard-to-fit.

The old way of styling clothes resolves itself to a matter of achieving a perfect fit for a tailor's dummy constructed to match the proportions of a mythical "average" man. This would be a perfectly satisfactory method were it not for one thing: Ninety-nine per cent of the men are not "average" in at least one part of their anatomy. Nature gave some men exceedingly long legs, others have legs that are very short, some men are quite stout, some very thin, some have the shoulders of a football hero, others have shoulders that slope sharply—and so on, ad infinitum.

AXELRAD MONUMENT TO BE UNVEILED

A monument over the grave of Abraham Axelrad, old-time Socialist and member of the Forward Association, who died last March, will be unveiled next Sunday, November 24, at Mount Hebron cemetery, Section 76, at 2 p. m.

Comrade Axelrad was father of Jacob Axelrad, active Brooklyn Socialist who was candidate for Supreme Court justice in this year's election, and his main interest was the progress of the Socialist movement.

To reach the cemetery go to the end of the Flushing subway, whence it is a five-minute trolley ride to the cemetery.

In the event of inclement weather the unveiling will be postponed to Sunday, December 1, at the same hour.

Broome County Booms

BINGHAMTON, N. Y. — The canvass of Socialist sympathizers in Binghamton and nearby cities is being continued and is adding new members to the organization every week.

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(Adv.)

Women Backing Big Rand School Bazaar

Preparation for the Rand School bazaar are getting under way with a rush. The Women's Committee of the school is putting on this bargain-counter festival to help furnish the money for the scholarship fund. This is a cause which everyone is glad to help, and the trade union supporters have been especially generous in furnishing large quantities of attractive goods for the sale.

Early in December, when the whistle will blow for the sale to open, the comrades will have a wonderful opportunity to do their Christmas shopping early and easily.

Mrs. Minnie Weinstein, speaking for the committee, said that friends who want to help must do so immediately. Two things are needed. The first is a greater number of donations of goods. Friends are asked to send to the Women's Committee at the school any new or slightly used articles. Practically anything can be sold except the kitchen stove. And, too, the women need the use of cars. There is a lot of rushing about, goods must be gathered and errands must be run. Anyone who can donate a car even for a few hours will be making a fine contribution.

Everyone is asked to stand by for the announcement of the date and place of the bazaar.

Buffalo Vote

By Robert A. Hoffman

Special to The New Leader.

BUFFALO.—The high Socialist vote in Erie County, according to the official canvass by the Board of Elections, was received by Stephen F. Burton, attorney, for Supreme Court Justice. He polled 8,772 votes.

John M. Secord, general secretary for the Great Lakes of the Marine Cooks and Stewards' Union, candidate for Sheriff, polled 8,094 votes. The Socialist candidate for Sheriff in 1932 polled 5,938 votes, a net gain this year of 2,156 votes.

Official figures for municipal offices are not yet available.

Women's Unit to Aid Picketing at May's

The Women's Unit of the Socialist Party of East Flatbush voted at its meeting Wednesday afternoon to participate in the picketing of May's Department Store on Fulton Street, Brooklyn, Saturday afternoon. The women comrades will picket between 12 noon and 2 p. m.

RAND SCHOOL NOTES

On Thursday, Dec. 5, at 8.30.—Professor Gaetano Salvemini will lecture on "Is Fascism a Social Revolution?"

On Monday, Nov. 25, at 8.30.—Walter Rautenstrauch, Professor of Industrial Engineering at Columbia University, will lecture on "The Engineers and Social Reconstruction."

On Monday, Nov. 25, at 1.30 p. m.—Helen Alfred will lecture before the women's group on "The Housing Problem."

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Reading Inauguration January 4

PITTSBURGH.—An invitation to attend the inauguration of the Socialist Administration of Reading was released by the State Committee of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania and Local Berks Cty. (Reading).

The inauguration will take place on Monday, January 6th, 10 A. M., at the City Hall. All party branches and locals are requested to be officially represented. Friends and sympathizers of the party have also been asked to attend.

Reduced railroad rates have been arranged for. Those wishing to go can communicate with the State Office, 122-9th Street, Pittsburgh.

Big Election Gains in Pennsylvania Towns

Special to The New Leader

BROOKVILLE.—The unofficial County vote returns indicate great gains for the Socialist Party in the November elections. The vote rose above the peak year 1932 and is close to 7% of the total vote cast.

CURWENSVILLE.—Partial returns from Clearfield County, the centre of the Central Pennsylvania coal fields, shows an increase in the Socialist vote from 15 to 20 per cent. This will bring the vote above that of the presidential election of 1932.

QUAKERTOWN.—10% of the total vote cast for county candidates was cast for the Socialist Party. The vote shows an increase is expected throughout Bucks County.

PITTSBURGH.—George W. Hartmann, Socialist candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court, and Wm. Adams, candidate for Judge of the Superior Court, carried the city of Reading in the November election.

In Bucks County, outside of Reading, Hartmann ran over four thousand votes ahead of the Republican candidate, Judge Horace Stern, and five thousand votes ahead of the Democratic candidate, Judge Barnes. Hartmann polled a vote of 15,216.

William Adams ran second in the county, defeating the Republicans. In Reading, Adams ran ahead of both candidates, receiving a vote of 15,080; Adams' lead over his opponents is the same as Hartmann's.

"Pay-Up-Dues" Drive

PITTSBURGH.—The "PAY UP YOUR DUES" campaign conducted by the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania is bringing encouraging results. Pennsylvania is now the second largest state in membership and represents 15% of the total membership of the party. It functions through eight locals and 173 branches scattered through 49 counties.

Locals and branches are urged to continue the campaign so that before the year 1935 is over, Pennsylvania will show a considerable gain over 1934.

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Local 10 Noses Out Amalg. Basketeers

In a fast knock-down basketball game, Local 10, Cutters, downed Local 158, A. C. W. of A., by a 31-30 count in the final seconds of play. This was the Clothing Men's basketball debut.

On Sunday afternoon, 1:15 p. m., Starlight Park, a soccer "natural" hugs the spotlight. Local 10 tangles with Local 60, Dress Pressers who are out for a "kill" over the Cutters for past trimmings. This game will be immediately followed by an American Soccer League contest between the Philadelphia Germans, the result of which will go a long way towards deciding the champs in the professional football league.

Cooper Union Lectures

The Department of Social Philosophy of Cooper Union has announced the following program:

Nov. 22, Everett Dean Martin on "The Economic Interest Has Been Overemphasized in Current Sociological Discussion." Nov. 24, Prof. Joseph Jastrow, "The Epistemic or Cyclical Nature of Public Opinion." Nov. 26, Prof. Schuyler C. Wallace, "Liberty and Responsible Government."

W. S. & D. B. F. Celebration

The Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, for more than half a century a pioneer in the field of fraternal insurance and advocate of social insurance, will celebrate its 51st anniversary Sunday, Nov. 24, at St. Nicholas Palace, 66th St. and Columbus Ave., New York.

A program will be presented consisting mainly of the splendid achievements of workers' cultural club. The program will include the mass chorus of the Workers' Singing Societies, the modern dances of the Nature Friends and a 30-piece philharmonic orchestra under the baton of Franz Kaltenborn. Norman Thomas will be guest speaker.

The program will start at 3:30 p. m. sharp.

Lecture Calendar

Friday, Nov. 22.—William M. Feigenbaum, "The British Labor Movement," 1140 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, 18th A. D., Br. 1.

Sunday, Nov. 24.—William Bohn, "The American Worker and Education," 204 East Broadway, Manhattan, 4th A. D., Br.

August Claessens, "Our Social Heritage," 767 Allerton Avenue, Bronx, Upper 6th A. D., Br.

Monday, Nov. 25.—James Oneal, "Outstanding Personalities in American Socialism," Studio of WEVD, Hotel Claridge, 44th St. and Broadway, Manhattan, Chelsea Branch.

Tuesday, Nov. 26.—Dr. Louis Hendin, "Lessons of the Recent Elections," 6618 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn, 16th A. D., Br.

William Karling, Current Events, 274 East Broadway, Manhattan, New Era Club.

Friday, Nov. 29.—Louis Hay, "Consumers' Cooperation and the Labor Movement," 1140 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, 18th A. D., Br. 1.

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"Parnell" Ties Politics and Love in Strong Drama

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

FATE OF EMPIRE

"PARNELL." By Elsie Schaffler. At the Barrymore.

All fair, we are told, in war. Which is another way of declaring that war itself is a ghastly unfair business. And even when the Irish fight for independence was political instead of military, it was waged with whatever weapons came to hand. In trying to save Parnell, his followers urge that when a general calls his troops into battle they, seldom pause to ask him with whom he slept last night. But Gladstone, who raises that question when it down his enemy, never looks at the foul stains on the sword he swings.

"Parnell" might be a picture of any leader who finds the world "well lost for love," for the current play is a vivid presentation, with the characters neatly caught in their personal ways, yet moulding a general situation. Complaisant husbands, becoming aware of their wives' infidelity only when blindness ceases to pay, have been historical since Maccenas; Antony and his paramour had more to lose than Parnell and Mrs. O'Shea; and the scheming of a Gladstone can be found—if not equalled—in the machinations of every so-called statesman since Jacob won the striped lambs.

The story of how a love affair delayed Ireland's freedom is, however, the specific story of "Parnell," well told, with dialogue that goes beyond the surface, with excellent acting not only by the main pair, Margaret Rawlings and George Curzon, but by the many more, and with the sure directing to be expected of Guthrie McClintic. It is unfortunate that Elsie Schaffler, who died during the rehearsals, cannot be on hand to enjoy the deserved success of her play "Parnell."

"Mother" at Civic Repertory

"Mother," which is being presented by the Theatre Union, opened last Tuesday evening at the Civic Repertory Theatre. The play is based on the novel by Gorki of that name. It was written by Bert Brecht, author of "Three-Penny Opera," and translated by Paul Peters, author of "Stevodore." Hans Eisler, noted German composer, wrote the musical setting for the play. A review of "Mother" will appear in the next issue of The New Leader.

At the Palace

The RKO Palace Theatre augments the first New York showing of "To Beat the Band," a new RKO Radio Picture, with the presentation of Kay Francis in "I Found Stella Parish."

Fresh from her triumph in "Barbary Coast," Miriam Hopkins heads a great cast in this screen play of dramatic power.

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Miriam Hopkins

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"SPLENDOR"

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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 Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th Street, New York.

Two Features at Brooklyn Strand

"Ship Cafe," a rollicking romantic comedy drama with music, featuring Carl Brisson, Arline Judge, William Frawley and Mady Christians, heads the double feature program at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre this week. The second feature is "The Case of the Missing Man," with Roger Pryor, Joan Perry, Arthur Hohl and Tom Dugan.

Well-Known Pianist in Recital



Alton Jones, who will be heard in his annual New York recital at Town Hall on Tuesday, Dec. 3.

"Legong" Continues Run at World Theatre

"Legong," made in the Island of Bali by the Marquis Henri de la Falaise, is now in its eighth week at the World Theatre.

"Legong," it is explained, means in Balinese "Dance of the Virgins," and its story of triangular romance unfolds in the picturesque primitive homes, the intimate market places and the ancient and magnificent temple enclosures of this Island Paradise of the Pacific which has been kindly host to Charles Chaplin, Miguel Covarrubias and numerous other travelers of the sea lanes to the Dutch East Indies.

Cossack Chorus in Concert

A musical event of the first magnitude will occur in New York on November 29th. On this date the world-famous Don Cossack Russian Male Chorus, conducted by Serge Jaroff, will celebrate the 13th anniversary of their debut by giving their 3,000th concert in Carnegie Hall.

"Land of Promise" in American Premiere at Astor Theatre

"Land of Promise," a sound picture depicting the rebuilding of the Jewish homeland, all scenes photographed in Palestine, had its American premiere at the Astor Theatre on Wednesday evening, Nov. 20. The film presents for the first time the dramatic story of the settlement in Palestine of the Jewish exiles and refugees from Germany. An unusual score of original music, specially arranged by Boris Morros, acts as the musical background of the picture. The narrative is spoken by David Ross, well-known radio announcer.

Marion Kerby Program of Negro Exaltations and Kentucky Mountain Songs

Marion Kerby, well known for many years on the dramatic stage, will give her first independent vocal recital in New York at Town Hall on Monday afternoon, Nov. 25, completing the transition from theatre to concert hall to which she has devoted herself for the past five or six years. Her program will consist chiefly of those highly dramatic negro melodies which Miss Kerby has termed "exaltations," but it will also include a group of negro nursery rhymes in song, and a group of Kentucky mountain songs. Every number on her program will be new to her repertory in New York.

All of the musical arrangements of Miss Kerby's repertory are the work of the young American composer, Hamilton Forrest. Her accompanist at her forthcoming New York recital will be Lloyd Brown.

"On Stage" for Mansfield

"On Stage," the new Laurence Rivers production, opens Tuesday Rivers production, continues at the Mansfield Theatre.

CARNEGIE HALL, FRIDAY EVENING, NOV. 29, at 8:30

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"DRAMATIC NOVELTY SPLENDIDLY DONE"—Mantle News

THEATRE UNION'S MOST DARING PRODUCTION

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A PLAY WITH MUSIC

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One of the Theatre's Ablest Craftsmen



George Kaufman, having completed work on the Marx Bros. new film in Hollywood, has returned to Broadway for the opening of his latest play, "First Lady," Opening Tuesday at the Music Box, with Jane Cowl in the leading role.

Dostoevsky's Dramatic "Crime and Punishment" at Radio City Music Hall

Columbia's production of Dostoevsky's world-famed novel, "Crime and Punishment," brought to the screen with Peter Lorre and Edward Arnold in the dramatic

leading roles, is now in premiere at the Radio City Music Hall.

Directed by Josef Von Sternberg, the masterpiece has in its supporting screen cast Marian Marsh, Tala Birell, Gene Lockhart, Charles Waldron, Thurston Hall and Johnny Arthur.

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IN A NEW MUSICAL COMEDY
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—Leonard Lyons, Eve. Post
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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. FREIGENBAUM, Associate

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

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1935

OUR HEARTS ARE BLEEDING

ONE of the saddest pieces of news the metropolitan press has ever printed was the information in a story wirelessly from Rome by Anne O'Hare McCormick to the New York Times that Mussolini is aging under the terrible strain of the Ethiopian war.

This breaks our hearts. Having done nothing to deserve the Ethiopian attack upon Italy's dignity, glory and independence except to provoke it, it is hardly to be wondered at that the good Mussolini is breaking down.

For close to a decade and a half, as undisputed master of Italy's government and policies, Mussolini has pursued a peaceful course, doing no more than to exalt the stiletto, the revolver and the blackjack; to proclaim to his beloved people (who have every opportunity to talk back to him if they are prepared to suffer attack, mutilation, incarceration in the Lipari Islands or assassination, or the persecution of their families) that war is the highest and noblest aim of nations. He has done no more to offend Ethiopia and the rest of the world than to convert his country into a vast concentration camp and barracks, with boys armed, girls taught to plunge bayonets into human entrails and babies instructed in the use of machine guns. He has done nothing more than to send a quarter of a million of his armed men to a country with whose people his people had no quarrel, with orders to slay, burn and destroy.

He has been brave, and he would not be intimidated by the attack upon Italy's home borders on the Harar, Addis Ababa and Jijijji fronts; so he sent his sons and son-in-law to defy the King of Kings.

No wonder he is worn and harried! It is very sad.

A NEW FEUDALISM

SOCIALISTS who follow current changes in property relations as a result of the depression will find that the government and the big banks are becoming our biggest landlords. Banks through foreclosures on mortgages and the government through loan defaults are thus acquiring vast possessions in land and homes. The government hangs out a "for sale" sign for many of its properties, but as there are few purchasers one suggestion made is that arrangements be made for the banks to acquire these holdings. This program would nurse a huge financial landlord more extensive than feudal landlords of a few centuries ago.

The banking oligarchy long ago became the master of all but a few big industries, including the railroads, and this invasion of another field by the oligarchy forecasts the reign of a group of powerful financial nobles over the whole of our economic life. This would be a monstrous offshoot of depression capitalism, a phase of economic change which makes labor organization, political and economic, more vital than ever if the working masses are not to sink to the level of vassals in an empire dominated by banking kings.

HOOVER'S PERFORMANCE

THE address of Herbert Hoover last week recalls the historian Taine's observation that the ruling class of France was already intellectually dead before the Great Revolution swept it aside. One does not have to accept the Roosevelt New Deal to attack the Hoover drive. Here is a man who, for two years and three months while he was President, stood helplessly by while the social order of which he was official spokesman steadily sank. He had nothing but pious piffle to offer in that period. As the hour arrived for him to leave the office the rest of the system, the banking structure, crashed into the ditch.

Hoover now returns two years and eight months after that earthquake with another line of drive. The man has no comprehension of what is the matter. He sees some leaks in the government roof but he knows nothing about the decay of the underlying economic structure of society. A few smug epigrams and a discussion of finance and taxation were all that he had to offer in the face of the supreme human tragedy of over ten million jobless human beings.

If this was a bid for the Republican nomination, it is the lowest ever made in the history of capitalist politics.

TWO COMPROMISERS

THE most pathetic figure in British politics is J. Ramsay MacDonald, once the trusted leader of the Labor Party. He recalls the career of Daniel Webster with his infamous Seventh of March speech and the terrible lines of Whittier that stung like a barbed lash. Webster also wobbled and then, tempted with the presidential bauble, he supported the Great Compromise. On tour in defense of his course he was hooted and hissed by many of his former followers. He was a broken man and was soon carried to his grave.

Webster's career parallels that of MacDonald who, last week, after an election tour, returned to London a broken man whose former constituents would have nothing of him. If there is a Whittier in the Labor Party he will also write some terrible lines that will sear and be remembered for decades to come.

"All I want is sleep," said MacDonald. He has earned it.

Angels of Civilization



Even the babies are being taught the use of machine guns in fascist Italy. [See Editorial "Our Hearts Are Bleeding."]

Behind the Scenes in Washington



By Benjamin Meiman
Our Washington Correspondent

USUALLY I do not care for community singing. Socialists usually turn up their noses when others sing Hallelujah. But I can't help joining the chorus in singing praises of the Canadian trade pact. Socialists have always been in favor of breaking down trade barriers as a means of keeping peace in a world of traders.

The adoption of the Hawley-Smoot tariff act in 1930, which built higher and higher tariff walls around our country, produced as its natural result retaliation from other countries. American exports suffered terribly. Thus it has always been. Trade is not a one-way street. Our statesmen are now trying to extricate our country from these high tariff walls through reciprocity trade pacts.

Few New Deal achievements have filled President Roosevelt with greater personal elation than the reciprocal trade treaty with Canada. He derives satisfaction on two scores—its intrinsic value for business pump-priming, and because of the example it sets for economic peace throughout the world. As the United States and the Dominion have failed for about 70 years to place their economic relations on a basis of mutual agreement F. D. R. thinks the give-and-take deal just effected is destined to become a landmark in North American history. In case disgruntled agricultural or industrial interests seek to make the treaty a campaign issue next year, with possible revival of the ancient protection vs. free trade issue, the President is prepared to take up the challenge. He will defend the pact as a project which transcends sectional or group advantages and promotes national interests as a whole.

The Canadian agreement, it is hoped, will double or treble American commerce with Canada. This commerce has dropped off enormously since 1929. Canadian imports into the United States fell from \$503,000,000 in 1929 to \$232,000,000 in 1934, and exports from the United States fell from \$899,000,000 to \$302,000,000. It is undoubtedly true that this commerce would have dwindled anyway because of the depression, but the reduction has been enhanced by trade barriers erected on each side of the border.

It has been the dream of Secretary Cordell Hull to bring about a lowering of international trade barriers ever since he became head of the State Department. It is his belief that one way out of the depression is to revitalize international trade. Increased foreign trade means more production, rather than restriction.

Canada is and has been the second largest customer of the

Let's Join the Chorus of the Hallelujah Singers of the Canadian Reciprocity Tariff Pact—Mayor Hoan Tells it to Them

United States, and the United States has been the second largest customer of Canada.

It is not to be expected that American distillers will view the Canadian agreement with any degree of favor. It cuts import duties on Canadian whisky from \$5 a gallon to \$2.50, and the same cut will come on Scotch and other whiskeys, aged four years or more in the wood. The hope of the administration is that not only will this reduction in duty increase the supply of properly aged whisky in this country, but also that it will cut the profits of the bootleggers to such an extent that they may be largely forced out of business. The high prices of liquor in this country, largely maintained by the tariff duties, have given those gentlemen a chance to continue at their trade in a big way.

City Mayors in Convention at Washington

MAYORS of 100 American cities, who daily have been face to face with local relief problems, are now having their annual conference at the Nation's capital.

Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee, who is chairman of the conference, said that the time when local communities can adequately care for their unemployed still is some time in the future.

Hoan commented sharply in an interview on a statement in the

Oneal Will Address Union Mass Meetings In Two Ohio Cities

Three large mass meetings under the auspices of trade unions are being arranged for James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, in Cleveland and Akron, Ohio, early in December. Oneal will lecture on the history and present problems of the American labor movement. A fourth meeting may be arranged in Cleveland and there may be requests for meetings in Detroit and a few other cities.

Oneal will lecture in Akron on Sunday, December 1, before a big mass meeting of three rubber unions and this will be followed by mass meetings of trade unions in Cleveland on Monday and Tuesday, December 2 and 3.

These educational meetings are in part due to increasing interest in The New Leader as a fighting organ of the organized workers. Details of these meetings will be announced later. Other cities in that section that desire an Oneal lecture, should write to The New Leader without delay.

Periodical Review of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which said: "There are strong intimations that the Administration intends to insist that the States and their subdivisions carry the burden of relief in the future. Improvement in the economic position of the States and municipalities is such that they are fully capable of bearing a larger load."

After a derisive snort, the veteran mayor said there are few agencies "which know less about civic affairs than chambers of commerce." "That's true not only in Milwaukee, but in every city," he added. "Since the depression, merchants have had to drop out of the chambers because they couldn't pay their dues, while the public utilities have doubled their memberships."

"It may be that some time in the future cities and States will be able to care for people who can't work, but they don't have funds even for 'unemployables' right now. The Federal Government must give them time to adjust budgets and make plans."

"There are only two alternatives in this relief problem. These people must be fed, or they can be permitted to starve. But don't forget that when animals locked in a barn begin starving they're likely to kick the barn down."

Demanding that the New Deal "stop the typewriters so that the steam shovels can go to work," Mayor LaGuardia of New York vigorously took the Roosevelt Administration to task for delay in its work relief program. He denounced the Government's "semi-colon boys" and said: "You can't feed people epigrams and slogans."

He said: "Any idea that Federal relief can be stopped abruptly on July 1, 1936, is unthinkable and impossible. Now is the time to prepare for it. Congress will soon meet. We must have definite recommendations and plans to submit to the President and Congress for next year."

Criticizing many of the "bureaucratic offshoots" of the Federal relief program, LaGuardia issued a special warning against Undersecretary of Agriculture Tugwell's plan to develop "satellite cities" around large urban centers. He declared: "The only way they can entice industry away from the cities is by offering cheap labor. This would bring down all our standards."

Relief Administrator Hopkins, speaking before the conference Tuesday morning, promised continuing government relief for "those at the bottom of the heap." He said the government intends to "keep its hands on the relief plow and never take them away. The form of this relief may change from time to time and from year to year but you may be sure that relief will continue."

This assurance of continued relief put the mayors in a better mood. And it will have the same effect on others.

Recovery, But for Whom? Is it Too Slow for Safety?

By Algernon Lee

SUPPOSE your ship springs a leak when she is a thousand miles from land. You work your pumps to capacity; but the leak gains on you. You alter the ship's course, put on all sail, and make top speed toward the nearest port. It is a race between the water steadily rising in the hold and the ship steadily nearing the shore. If the ship can run a thousand miles before enough water comes in to counterbalance her buoyancy, she is saved. But running five hundred miles does not half save the ship; running nine hundred does not save nine-tenths of the ship; she must make the whole distance, or she sinks—and when she sinks she is sunk, and that's all there is about it.



Algernon Lee

Something like that is the logic that must be applied in judging the President's optimism about recovery from the industrial depression. Granted that some progress is being made toward the haven of safety—is that progress rapid enough to bring us to port in time? Are the pumps really working to capacity? Is the ship making top speed? Above all, are we steering the right course? To such questions it will not do to say: "Hush! That is the captain's affair. We must have confidence in him." That kind of answer may go well enough on board a ship at sea, in the literal sense of the words, but it does not befit the captain of the ship of state. No man who is fit to be called the leader of a self-respecting nation, or of a self-respecting party, resents honest questioning and criticism.

When the President or anyone else talks of "recovery," we must know just what he means.

Between the fall of 1929 and the summer of 1933 there was a great decrease in the output of all kinds of manufactured goods, in the quantity of coal and oil and metals taken from the earth, in the number of buildings erected, in the tonnage of freight carried, in the amount of electric current generated, and so forth. Taken by and large, industrial production of goods and services fell, in less than four years, to hardly more than half what they had been at the peak. Since the summer of 1933 production has risen considerably—it is hard to say just how much, but surely to three-quarters of what it was in 1929 and perhaps even more. In this sense there has been a fair measure of recovery.

Between 1929 and 1933 there was a very great decline in the amount paid out in dividends, in the profits of firms and individual business men, in interest paid on bonds and mortgages, and in rent paid for farms and homes. In other words, the aggregate income of the property classes was greatly diminished. Since 1933 the tendency has been reversed. The statistics at hand are not full and precise enough to show how much property incomes have increased in about two and a half years. Possibly the rate of increase is somewhat less than that of industrial output, but certainly it has been very substantial. In this sense too there has been a large measure of recovery. It is likely to continue, at least for

those who have already the largest properties and the largest incomes.

The industrial, commercial, and financial capitalists, then, especially the large ones, and a good many in the middle and lower strata of the property classes, did more business in 1934 than in 1933, are doing more in 1935 than in 1934, and may expect to do still more in 1936, and are getting correspondingly larger incomes. For them, recovery is something real and substantial. It is not yet complete. How much farther it will go, no one can be sure. But the President's "breathing spell for business" is intended to favor its continuance.

The property classes, however, are far from being the bulk of the population. Leaving out of account the working farmers, whose ownership of land does not yield them a property income, but only gives them more or less of an opportunity to produce a livelihood by their own hard labor—leaving them out of account, the large majority of the people have very little property. They live almost wholly by the receipt of wages (sometimes politely called salaries). They receive but a negligible amount of profit, interest, and rent—far less, in the aggregate, than what they pay in ground-rent out of their wages.

Has there been recovery for this class?

Yes, let us grant, there has been some.

Between 1929 and 1933 the number of unemployed workers had grown from two or three million to fourteen million or more. The wages of those who were still employed had been severely cut. By both processes the income of the working class had been enormously reduced. Since the summer of 1933, it is alleged—and let us accept the figures at face value—the number of unemployed has been brought down to eleven million. Continuing at the same rate, and making a moderate allowance for growth of population, by 1944 or thereabout the evil of unemployment might be brought down to the 1929 level. That is a long time for working people to wait.

Average wages have probably fallen rather than risen in the last two years, and especially in the last six months. The increase of employment has been largely re-employment of low-paid rather than of high-paid workers. The aggregate income of the working class has therefore increased even more slowly than has the number of those employed.

Yes, the wage and salary workers have had a share in the partial recovery that has been going on—but a much smaller share than has come to the property classes, the recipients of rent, interest, and profit. Will recovery from their point of view continue. Possibly, even probably—but lagging ever more and more behind the recovery which is measured by industrial output or by property incomes.

And this brings us back to our starting point. Is the ship nearing the land fast enough to be reasonably sure of actually reaching port? Or is it just going to skulk a hundred miles or so from land, instead of five hundred?

There is a good deal to be said on that point—and next week is also a week.

The New Leader Book Corner

Labor in Colonial New York

By James Oneal

"LABOR IN COLONIAL NEW YORK, 1664-1776. By Samuel McKee, Jr., New York. Columbia University Press. \$3.

IN the 180 pages of this study the author has presented a valuable addition to other studies of the laboring masses in the colonial period, this one being confined to about a century in one colony. The work includes a study of free labor, apprenticeship, indentured servitude and slave labor. Original sources have been diligently consulted and, of course, the most important of the secondary studies.

Economic conditions and legislation affecting bound laborers in colonial New York for the period studied do not appear to differ much from other northern colonies except for Pennsylvania where there was a large German supply brought to this country often under peculiarly revolting conditions. No convicts were exported to New York as in Virginia and Maryland and it is curious that the New York records do not reveal what they had served their time of service. As the author suggests those who had been trained for trades continued to follow them while others drifted into agricultural pursuits.

Negro slavery seems to have been unusually harsh for a northern colony and some harsh aspects of southern slave codes appear to have been enacted by New York.

As in the South, white mechanics vigorously protested against the use of skilled Negro slaves because the "honest and industrious tradesmen are reduced to poverty for want of employ, and many of them forced to leave us to seek their livelihood in other countries." In the South this antagonism between free whites and skilled Negro slaves survived to the Civil War and it has not been wiped out in the modern period.

The trial of slaves for the outbreak in 1712, of whom 21 were executed, some being burnt, one broken on the wheel, and one hung alive in chains, gives an idea of the barbarous criminal code of that period. However, the slave rising in 1741, the trial and its aftermath of hysteria and revolting punishments, reads something like the witch trials in colonial Massachusetts. A sixteen-year-old Irish indentured girl supplied incredible testimony and it was not until her fantastic tales began to incriminate some persons of "unquestioned social position as to render her accusations preposterous" that the orgy ended. Horsmanden, one of the presiding judges, found it perfectly consistent to believe the earlier tales of the girl and inconsistent to believe those that compromised persons of social eminence!

Students of the colonial economic and labor history of New York will do well to add this study to their bookshelves.

THE NEW LEADER MAGAZINE SECTION

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Section Two

Why Socialists Are Against a United Front With the Communists

By David Shub

THE Executive of the Labor and Socialist International has again rejected the Comintern's proposal for a united front. There are some who cannot understand this action. Have not the Communists changed their attitude on certain vital points of principle and policy? Did not the recent seventh congress of the Comintern open the door for joint action between the Communists and Socialists? Why continue the fratricidal struggle if there is a way offered for its liquidation?

These are some of the questions asked by those favoring a united front. When we compare the speeches and resolutions adopted at the seventh congress of the Comintern with those of former congresses, we are compelled to agree with Trotsky that Stalin is now engaged in practically liquidating Communism in its old Leninist form. The seventh congress of the Comintern tossed into the waste basket of history the entire philosophy of Leninism upon which the political and organizational policy of Communism was founded. The Comintern has abandoned the foundations of Communism as embodied in the famous twenty-one points formulated by Lenin in 1919.

The Comintern has abandoned the idea that fascism paved the

An Exposition of Communist Policy Here and Abroad—Comintern's Continued Efforts to Wreck Socialist and Labor Movement—An Answer to Dimitroff—Communism As Ally of Fascism and Reaction—Let Us Have a United Front With Organized Labor—Milwaukee, Bridgeport and Reading Point the Way.

way for Communism. It has abandoned also the corollary to this idea, namely, that Communists must not interfere with the progress of the fascist movement in any given country, since the triumph of fascism facilitated the ultimate victory of Communism. No longer does the Comintern cling to the policy that Communists must not interfere with the work of the fascists for the destruction of democracy. (This was the policy which Stalin and his Comintern had preached in Germany, as everywhere else, before the advent of Hitler to power, a policy which contributed fundamentally to the victory of Hitlerism.) The Comintern has finally declared itself ready to defend the "remnants of bourgeois democracy" wherever they are threatened by fascism.

The Comintern has abandoned also the theory of "social fascism," i. e. the theory that the Socialists, too, were fascists, and that the Socialist parties constituted merely "the left wing of fascism." (This, too, was a Stalin discovery.)

The Motives of the Comintern

The Comintern is now calling the Socialist parties of all countries to a united front with the Communists, to joint defense of democracy and civil liberties.

As regards certain countries, the Comintern has even declared itself ready to support coalition governments with the Socialists and even with moderate liberals in order that democracy might be saved.

It would be a great mistake to believe, however, as we shall show, that Stalin and his Comintern are honestly interested in bringing about unity in the international labor movement and securing the foundations of democracy in ALL countries. Nor has the Comintern given up its aim of destroying the Socialist and labor movements.

We have read carefully all the speeches made at the seventh congress of the Comintern as published in the Moscow Pravda and in the Moscow Communist International, official organ of the Comintern. They have only strengthened our conviction that Stalin and his lieutenants are as insincere in their united front proposal as they are in their sudden professions of love for democracy.

The policy of the Comintern is not dictated by any genuine desire for working class unity or the interests of international Socialism and democracy.

The motivating force behind the latest united front maneuver of the Comintern is Russian national policy and consideration of the ex-

pedients and necessity of Soviet diplomacy.

The Soviet rulers are in deadly fear of an attack by Nazi Germany or a joint assault by Germany and Japan. For the first time in more than fifteen years Soviet Russia is confronted with a real, not an imaginary, war danger. It is this war danger that prompted the Soviet government to join the League of Nations, which it had previously denounced as a bourgeois deception and a conspiracy against Soviet Russia. This war danger is also responsible for the conclusion by Soviet Russia of a military alliance with France and her efforts to win the friendship and cooperation of countries allied with France.

The strongest supporters in France of the military alliance with Russia are the Radicals, who constitute the most important element in the government. The rise of a fascist government in France would create the serious danger of a Franco-German understanding at the expense of Russia. For Russia this would be a veritable catastrophe.

Hence the great concern evinced by Stalin in the preservation of the "remnants of bourgeois democracy" in France. No less is his concern for the maintenance and extension of the military power of France. This explains the orders issued by Stalin to the French Communists after Premier Laval's

visit to Moscow to stop their opposition to military preparedness and the armament program of the French government. This explains also Moscow's orders to the French Communists to enter into a united front not only with the Socialists but also with the bourgeois radicals for "defense of the liberty and welfare of the French people."

For the same reasons Stalin is for the moment interested in the preservation of the existing democratic regime in Czechoslovakia, France's military ally. But as all Czech parties, even the most conservative, are bitterly hostile to Hitler Germany and stand firmly for the country's alliance with France, the Comintern cares little as to which of these parties constitute the government in Czechoslovakia. That is why the Communists in Czechoslovakia cling to their old policies, although the possibility is not excluded that Stalin may find it advisable to adopt the same tactics for Czechoslovakia now in force in France.

In Poland, where a semi-dictatorial government is now in power, friendly to Germany and hostile to Russia, Moscow faces a different situation. The Polish Socialists and peasant parties are opposed to their government's policy. So is the extreme reactionary, semi-fascist party of Popularists-Democrats, which for nationalist reasons, fearing Germany's power and distrusting her policy, is hostile to Germany and favors alliance with France. It is extremely important for Soviet Russia to wear Poland from Germany. For this reason the Comintern is now ready to sacrifice the old Communists line in Poland for a broad, anti-fascist or, rather, anti-Pilsudski "people's front," which would embrace even the arch-reactionary, anti-semitic Popularists-Democrats. This was openly advocated at the seventh congress of the Comintern. Stalin is not concerned about the arch-reactionary, anti-Semitic position of the Popularists-Democrats in Poland. The fact that they are opposed to Germany is quite sufficient for Stalin. He is ready to ally himself with these reactionaries, who are more important so far as the requirements of Russian national policy are concerned than the left wing Socialists of Poland.

We would not be surprised if Stalin's Comintern were to order also the Communists in Germany to abandon their old policy and tactics and set up a "people's

front," as in France, but with an even more conservative program. Should this come to pass, the new "people's front" would be governed not by the interests of the German workers and international Socialism but by the simple fact that Soviet Russia is for the moment gravely concerned with the necessity of setting up in Germany an organization friendly to Soviet Russia and embracing all elements opposed to the Nazi government. Stalin would not hesitate to conclude a united front with the German nationalists and monarchists if they declared themselves opposed to the foreign policy of the Nazis. Should the Nazi government, on the other hand, abandon its program of aggression against Soviet Russia, Moscow would let Germany alone entirely, which has been its policy with respect to fascist Italy. The relations between Moscow and Mussolini have been friendly and cordial all these years, as the world knows. Moscow has even been supplying Italy with huge quantities of wheat, oil, coal tar

Reply to Dimitroff's Arguments

Said Dimitroff:
"While it is sufficient for the establishment of the united front of the Communist and Social Democratic parties to have an agreement to struggle against fascism, the achievement of political unity is possible only on the basis of a number of definite conditions involving principles."

This unification is possible only:
"First, on condition of their complete independence of the bourgeoisie and the complete rupture of the bloc of Social Democracy with the bourgeoisie;

"Second, on condition that unity of action be first brought about;

"Third, on condition that the necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets be recognized."

As this passage clearly demonstrates, Stalin and the Comintern have no intention whatever to liquidate the Communist movement or give up their war upon the Socialist and labor movements in countries like England, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia or the United States. In all these countries the united front remains an instrument for the destruction of the labor movement and the luring of the working masses into the Communist party. This is also frankly expressed in the resolutions adopted

and other products for use of the Italian armies in Ethiopia. Of course, as a leading member of the League of Nations, Soviet Russia will now have to join in sanctions against Italy, because it is not to the interests of Moscow to offend the League of Nations, upon which Soviet Russia relies in the event of a German or a joint Germano-Japanese attack. But we have not heard of Soviet Russia taking the lead in demands for sanctions against fascist Italy.

Stalin is not concerned with the fate of democracy anywhere, except in France, Germany and Poland. These are the three countries whose internal affairs affect profoundly the national interests of Russia. His interest in German democracy particularly is a new event, for until the advent of Hitler he and his Comintern did everything possible to destroy democracy in Germany, as they are still doing in other countries.

This was clearly demonstrated by delegates from democratic countries at the seventh congress of the Comintern, none of whom failed to emphasize that the aim of their parties remains, as before, the establishment of a Soviet dictatorship.

This was also expressed clearly by Dimitroff, Stalin's new viceroy over the Comintern, in his speech before the congress.

We quote from his speech, published in this country under the title "Working Class Unity—Bulwark Against Fascism." (All italics are Dimitroff's.)

ed at the seventh congress of the Comintern.

Speaking at the congress, the Communist leaders of Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Iceland, in which countries Socialists are now directing the government, declared that these Socialist governments were supporting the capitalists and "kulaks" and suppressing the workers. The Communist leaders boasted that the Communists in these countries (where their influence is quite insignificant, as has been repeatedly shown in The New Leader) were organizing the masses for struggle against the "reactionary" Social Democratic ministers and leaders of the Social Democratic parties and trade unions.

"Comrade Dimitroff is quite right," said the leader of the Swedish Communist party, "when he points out that the existence of a Social Democratic government need not constitute an obstacle to the Communists in seeking to establish contact with the Social Democratic workers and trying to win them over to united action. By suitable tactics it is entirely possible to create a united front with the Social Democratic workers against their leaders and the Social Democratic ministers" (Pravda, August 7, 1935).

In similar vein were the remarks of the Communist leaders of Denmark, Norway and Iceland (see Pravda, August 1, 8 and 11, 1935).

The Truth About the United Front

Said Dimitroff:

"It must further be borne in mind that if general joint action with the Social Democratic parties and organizations requires that the Communists exercise serious and substantiated criticism of Social Democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and untiringly explain to the Social Democratic workers in a comradely way the program and slogans of Communism, in countries having Social Democratic governments this task is of particular importance in the struggle for the united front."

And:

"If we Communists exert every effort to establish a united front, we do this not for the narrow purpose of recruiting new members for the Communist parties. But we must strengthen the Communist parties in every way and increase their membership for the very reason that we seriously want to strengthen the united front."

"The unity, revolutionary cohesion and fighting preparedness of the Communist parties constitute most valuable capital which belongs not only to us but to the entire working class. We have combined and shall continue to combine our readiness to march

Communist Slander Campaign

Those leaders of the Socialist Party in all states of the Union who are opposed to a united front with the Communists and say so clearly and unequivocally are being subjected by the Communist party and its press as never before to a vitriolic barrage of slander, character assassination and misrepresentation, while the militant faction and its leaders are courted by the Communists with words of sweetness and encouragement. The Communist press is cultivating in every way possible those in our party who by their tactics are helping the Communists in their determination to carry dissension and ruin into our ranks. A reading of the Communist organs in this country will prove this to be true.

THE COMMUNISTS HAVE NOT CHANGED THEIR OBJECTIVE: THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SOCIALIST AND LABOR MOVEMENT. THIS HAS BEEN THEIR OBJECTIVE IN THE PAST AND THIS REMAINS THEIR OBJECTIVE TODAY.

In his address Dimitroff tried to show that the Comintern's new call for a united front with the Socialists is not merely a maneuver, but that the Communists are really sincere in seeking to bring about a united front of the workers against fascism throughout the world.

What is the reply of the opponents of the united front to this claim, asked Dimitroff? He recapitulated the arguments of the Socialist opponents of the united front and tried to answer them. It is interesting to dwell at some length on this portion of Dimitroff's address.

Said Dimitroff:

"Some say: 'To the Communists the slogan of the united front is merely a maneuver.' But if it is a maneuver, we reply, why don't you expose the 'Communist maneuver' by your honest participation in a united front? We declare frankly: We want unity of action by the working class, so that the proletariat may grow strong in its struggle against the bourgeoisie, in order that while defending today its current interests against attacking capital, against fascism, the proletariat may be in a position tomorrow to create the preliminary conditions for its final emancipation."

We need not argue long on this

jointly with the Social Democratic Parties and organizations to the struggle against fascism with an irreconcilable struggle against Social Democracy as the ideology and practice of compromise with the bourgeoisie, and consequently also against any penetration of this ideology into our own ranks.

"Patiently, step by step, we must make it easier for the broad masses to come over to the positions of Communism."

"Nor must the fact be lost sight of that the tactics of the united front are a method of convincing the Social Democratic workers by object lesson of the correctness of the Communist policy and the incorrectness of the reformist policy, and that they are not a reconciliation with Social Democratic ideology and practice."

In England, the Scandinavian countries, in free Belgium and elsewhere the Communist struggle against fascism consists largely of attempts to rouse the masses against the Socialist ministers and leaders of the Socialist parties and trade unions as a means of destroying these organizations and capturing the masses for Communism. This is also the Communist policy in the United States and Canada.

particular point, for we know full well what the Communists consider "the preliminary conditions" for "final emancipation" of the working class! These are revolutions by violence and the dictatorship of the Communist party, which they term euphemistically the dictatorship of the proletariat!

As long as Communists remain Communists there can be no united front with them. Communist policy and ideology make for the destruction of democracy and liberty and for the triumph of fascism, as has been amply demonstrated in a series of countries, notably Germany. A united front with the Communists would be the best way of promoting the destruction of the Socialist and labor movement and the growth of fascism. A united front with the Communists would make impossible the creation of what Socialists have always regarded as the preliminary conditions for the emancipation of the working class.

Said Dimitroff: "The Communists attack us, say others. But listen, we have repeatedly declared: We shall not attack anyone, neither persons nor organizations nor parties that stand for the united front of the working class against the class enemy. But at the same time it is our duty, in the interests of the proletariat and its cause, to criticize those persons, those organizations, those parties which impede unity of action by the workers."

In other words, the Communists say to the Socialists and trade unions: "If you conclude a united front with us, we will let you alone; if you do not, we will 'criticize' you, i. e. we will continue our efforts to destroy you."

THIS IS THE LANGUAGE OF BLACKMAILERS AND CHARLATANS. ONE DOES NOT CONCLUDE A UNITED FRONT WITH SUCH ELEMENTS.

Policy of Coalition

Said Dimitroff:

"We cannot form a united front with the Communists, since they have a different program," says a third group. But you yourselves say that your program differs from the program of the bourgeois parties, and yet this did not and does not prevent you from entering into coalitions with these parties."

To this Socialists reply:

The bourgeois parties in Europe who participate with the Socialists in coalition governments do not seek thereby to carry dissension and demoralization into the Socialist ranks and to divorce the working masses from the Socialist parties. The Communists, however, do have this as their main purpose. Dimitroff himself admits it in his statement of the purpose of the united front and the Communists prove it by their actions wherever there is a united front, in France, for example, or where Socialist groups have entered into united action with the Communists, as in Austria.

Coalition Question

Moreover, Socialist parties enter into coalition only with bourgeois parties that stand for democracy. The Socialist parties have never entered into coalition with bourgeois parties preaching dictatorship or seeking to destroy the democratic institutions of a country. The Communists, as we have seen, admit frankly that they do not believe in democracy and that their aim is the establishment of a dictatorship through violent revolution.

Said Dimitroff:

"The bourgeois-democratic parties are better allies against fascism than the Communists," say the opponents of the united front and the advocates of coalition with the bourgeoisie. But what does Germany's experience teach? Did not the Social Democrats form a bloc with those 'better' allies? And what were the results?"

The reply to this is that the two democratic parties with which the Social Democrats were in coalition until the last moment of the participation of the Socialists in the government fought to the last against Hitler's coming into power, while the Communists throughout the history of the German Republic fought to destroy it. Had the Communists supported the Socialists and the Republican parties instead of uniting with the Nazis and monarchists in the Reichstag and in the provincial diets against the Socialists and the democratic republicans, had they supported the republican cabinets, the Nazis would not have come into power in Germany.

As to "Red Danger"

Said Dimitroff:

"If we establish a united front with the Communists, the petty bourgeoisie will take fright at the 'Red danger' and will desert to the fascists," we hear it said quite frequently. But does the united front represent a threat to the peasants, the petty traders, the artisans, the toiling intellectuals? No, the united front is a threat to the big bourgeoisie, the financial magnates, the Junkers and other exploiters, whose regime brings complete ruin to all these strata."

Contrary to Dimitroff's assertion, the experience in Germany and Italy has shown that the fascists had won the support of the peasants, small tradesmen, intellectuals and even of large sections of the working class largely because of their fear of the "Red danger," which both Hitler and Mussolini had utilized to good advantage. It is an undeniable fact that even today many Germans of the middle classes continue to support Hitler because they fear (erroneously, we believe) that his downfall would lead to seizure of power by Communists.

The Communists should have thought of a united front with the German Socialists before the advent of Hitler to power—an honest, sincere united front for the defense of liberty and the republic, as was urged by the Socialists. The Communists would not hear of any such united front.

In February 1932, when Hitler

was already moving to assume power, Willi Muenzenberg, one of the principal leaders of the German Communist party and one of Stalin's chief agents in Europe, declared that "any bloc or affiliation even for temporary joint action in individual campaigns by the Communist party with the Social Democratic Party against National Socialism (Hitlerism) would forever discredit the Communist party in the eyes of the broad working masses."

In July 1932, six months before the advent of Hitler to power, the Central Committee of the German Communist party made public a manifesto declaring that fascism was already in power in Germany anyhow and that fascism could not be destroyed without first accomplishing the destruction of the Social Democratic Party and of the Socialist trade unions.

"WE MUST FIRST AND FOREMOST MAKE CLEAR TO THE SOCIALIST WORKERS," WROTE THE CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY, "THAT WE ALREADY HAVE A FASCIST DICTATORSHIP AND THAT IT IS AN ILLUSION TO BELIEVE THAT THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE FREE TRADE UNIONS ARE ORGANIZATIONS FOR ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE. THOSE WHO SEEK TO BUILD UPON THE IDEA THAT MAKING APPEALS TO THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FREE TRADE UNIONS OR TO OTHER REFORMIST ORGAN-

IZATIONS COULD POSSIBLY LEAD TO ANY KIND OF STRUGGLE ARE ONLY DISARMING THE PROLETARIAT." (Rote Fahne, Berlin, July 26, 1932.)

When Friedrich Stampfer, editor of the Berlin *Vorwärts*, chief organ of the Social Democratic Party, went to the Soviet embassy in Berlin, on the very eve of the Hitler counter-revolution, to plead with the Soviet ambassador that he prevail upon Moscow to order the leaders of the German Communist Party to conclude an honest and sincere united front with the Socialists as the only means of stopping Hitler, Stampfer was told that Moscow considered the victory of fascism in Germany inevitable anyhow.

The leaders of the Comintern had nurtured the illusion that fascism would only pave the way for Communism and that for this reason there was no need of trying to stop Hitler. Even now, after the terrible events in Germany, the Moscow Communist International permits itself to say that "the victory of fascism in Germany has not led, as was predicted by the Social Democracy, to prolonged reaction and a counter-revolutionary situation, but that, on the contrary, fascism in Germany and the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union have led to the bankruptcy of the Socialist International and to a revival of the revolutionary labor movement throughout the world." (The Communist International, August 1, 1935.)

Still Hailing Fascism

THE CHIEF ORGAN OF THE COMINTERN THUS HAILS THE TRIUMPH OF HITLERISM AS A VERITABLE VICTORY FOR THE COMINTERN.

Were the German Socialists now to conclude a united front with the Communists, who declare frankly that their aim is the establishment in Germany of a Soviet dictatorship (see Walter's speech in *Pravda*, August 9, 1935), they would only play into the hands of the Nazis and fascism.

The same must be said with respect to other countries. Were the Socialists to conclude a united front with the Communists they would thereby throw into the arms of fascism not only the majority of the peasants and farmers and of the urban middle classes but also a substantial portion of the unorganized working class. The examples of Hungary, Italy, Germany and Austria have demonstrated that as between Communism and fascism these masses turn to fascism.

The interests of the working class, of democracy and Socialism demand that the Socialists keep away from the Communists.

For this reason and because of the experience cited above, the great Socialist parties of England, Scandinavia, Holland and Czechoslovakia, where the Socialists have been brilliantly successful in keeping fascism in check, as elections in recent months have so well demonstrated, are so emphatically opposed to a united front with the Communists. For this reason the Labor and Socialist International has been compelled to turn down Moscow's latest united front maneuver.

Said Dimitroff:

"Social Democracy is for democracy, the Communists are for dictatorship; therefore we cannot form a united front with the Communists," say some of the Social Democratic leaders. But are we offering you now a united front for the purpose of proclaiming the dictatorship of the proletariat? We make no such proposal for the time being."

The answer to this is given by

the Communists themselves, namely, that the united front is to serve as a means for preparing the ground for a Communist revolution and a Soviet dictatorship.

Said Dimitroff:

"Let the Communists recognize democracy, let them come out in its defense, then we shall be ready for a united front." To this we reply: We are adherents of Soviet democracy, the democracy of the toilers, the most consistent democracy in the world. But in the capitalist countries we defend and shall continue to defend every inch of bourgeois-democratic liberties which are being attacked by fascism and bourgeois reaction, because the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat so dictate."

What Soviet democracy looks like we know: dictatorship by a clique, suppression of all civil liberties and free trade unions, jails and concentration camps for workers, peasants, Socialists and even Communists who refuse to dance to Stalin's tune; terrorization of the whole population, universal espionage, and all the consequences thereof to the life of the people and the relation of individuals with one another. We also know by experience in all other countries where Communism has helped fascism to power, how the Communists defend democracy and civil liberties.

Said Dimitroff:

"But the tiny Communist parties do not contribute anything by participating in the united front brought about by the Labor party," say, for instance, the Labor leaders of Great Britain. Recall how the Austrian Social Democratic leaders said the same things with reference to the small Austrian Communist party. And what have events shown? It was not the Austrian Social Democratic Party that proved right, but the tiny Austrian Communist party which at the right moment signalled the fascist danger in Austria and called upon the workers to struggle. . . . Besides this, it must not be forgotten that the Communist parties of

Dimitroff's Arguments Are Answered

Austria or Great Britain are not only the tens of thousands of workers who are supporters of the party, but are parts of the world Communist movement, are Sections of the Communist International, the leading party of which is the party of a proletariat which has already achieved victory and rules over one-sixth part of the globe."

The answer to this is that the Austrian Communists could not have prevented the victory of fascism even if they had fought like lions, for the simple reason that they were only a handful. They took no part in the heroic defense put up by the Austrian workers against the fascist group. Had the Austrian Socialists accepted the tactics of the Communists and preached and concluded a united front with the Communists, fascism in Austria would have triumphed long before it did, as was amply demonstrated years before in Hungary and Bavaria.

Moscow's Armies

As regards the mighty armies of the Communist International outside of Russia of which Dimitroff boasts, they are quite negligible. According to the most recent official figures of the Communist International itself, all Communist parties throughout the world (outside of Russia) represent a total membership of 700,000. This is only about 100,000 more than the membership of the Socialist Labor party of Little Belgium alone. And we may be sure that, in conformity with Communist falsification, the figures of the Comintern are considerably exaggerated.

To be sure, the Russian Communist party has a membership of millions and rules over a country covering one-sixth of the globe, but the "assistance" which the Communist government of Russia has thus far given to the international working class in its struggle against fascism has consisted in a treaty of friendship with Mussolini immediately upon his seizure of power in Italy and a similar treaty with Hitler soon after he had unleashed his bloody pogrom against the Socialists, Communists, all democratic elements and the Jews. *Investia*, official organ of the Soviet government, declared that "the Soviet Union is the only country that has no hostile feelings toward Germany."

When the Socialist parties and trade unions of the entire world declared an economic boycott against Nazi Germany, the Communist government of Russia not only renewed its commercial treaty with Hitler but, through the Comintern, compelled the Communists in other countries to oppose the boycott of Nazi Germany. We may also ask: why are there no protest meetings and Communist demonstrations against Mussolini in Soviet Russia?

The answer to all this is very simple: cowardly fear of Nazi Germany and a desire not to interfere with normal business between Russia and these countries. Business is business!

Helping the Reaction

Said Dimitroff:

"If we were to form a united front with the Communists, we should have to withdraw from the coalition, and reactionary and fascist parties would enter the government," say the Social Democratic leaders holding cabinet posts in various countries. Very well. Was not the German Social Democratic Party in a coalition government? It was. Was not the Austrian Social Democratic Party in office? It was. Were not the Spanish Socialists in the same government as the bourgeoisie? They were, too. Did the participation of the Social Democratic Parties in the bourgeois coalition governments in these countries prevent

fascism from attacking the proletariat? It did not. Consequently it is as clear as daylight that participation of Social Democratic ministers in bourgeois governments is not a barrier to fascism."

What are the facts?

First, the Austrian Socialists had not been represented in the government for ten years prior to the victory of fascism. Because they were not represented in the government the fascists and reactionaries succeeded in filling all government offices with their own agents, which, in turn, made it easy ultimately for the fascists to seize power.

Second, also in Germany and Spain the Socialists were not represented in the government for quite some time before the advent of the fascists and reactionaries. Brüning's government in Germany, the last parliamentary government, was an entirely bourgeois government. The Braun-Severing government in Prussia, controlled by the Socialists and the democratic parties, would not have fallen had the Communists not united with the Nazis and monarchists on the eve of the Nazi

onslaught in voting down that government in the Prussian Diet. The fall of the Braun-Severing government in Prussia, the largest and most important of the German states, occupying more than two-thirds of the territory of Germany, opened the door to Hitler.

If the Socialists of Czechoslovakia were now to leave the intensely democratic coalition government of that country, President Masaryk would be compelled, much against his will, to invite the fascists of the so-called "Heimat Front" in German-Czechoslovakia to enter the government in place of the Socialists, because the "Heimat Front" is the second largest group in parliament. By their presence in the government the Socialists make it impossible for the fascists to enter.

Were the policy recommended by Dimitroff to be applied also in Belgium and other countries, the only result would be the rise of the reactionary parties to power. In other words, the policy recommended by Dimitroff is that the Socialists quit their places in all coalition governments of which they are now a part and clear the road for the entry into the vacan-

cies of conservatives, reactionaries and fascists. And this is what the Communists call a revolutionary policy.

Dimitroff's speech, representing the guiding line prescribed by Stalin for the Comintern, shows again how devoted the Communists are to the defense of democracy and what their "struggle against fascism" really amounts to.

As already demonstrated, it is only in a few countries that Stalin is ready to sacrifice for the moment the Communist "line" as the price of an anti-fascist "people's front" which would include even bourgeois and ultra-reactionary organizations. These few countries—France, Germany, Poland—are countries whose internal situation has an immediate, direct effect upon Russian national policy and interests.

The Communists themselves have blurred out the true character of the united front for which they aim.

The German Communist Wilhelm Pieck, whom Stalin entrusted with the delivery of one of the most important programmatic speeches at the seventh congress of the Comintern, declared in conclusion:

'United Front' in Canada Is Exposed by the C.C.F.

Cooperative Commonwealth Federation Tears Mask from Communists, Revealing Their Maneuver as Effort Deliberately Designed to Destroy Labor Movement—Communist Methods and Tactics in the Campaign Are Replica of Those in the United States.

AS in the United States and elsewhere, the Communists in Canada are doing everything possible to destroy the labor movement under the guise of the "united front" appeal.

We reprint below an article from the New Commonwealth of Toronto, organ of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, the Labor Party of Canada. The article reveals the methods and tactics used by the Communists in Canada, which are an exact replica of those resorted to by the Communists in this country.

The article from the New Commonwealth, dated November 9, and exposing the Communist united front appeal as a dishonest maneuver designed to destroy the Socialist movement, follows:

The stentorian appeals now being made by the Communist party for unity with the C.C.F., or, indeed, anyone else, are recognition by the Communist International and its mouthpiece in Canada that Communist methods are futile and that they must be abandoned for those of democracy and socialism. The Communists are forsaking, for the time being, their orthodoxy. They are bowing to the necessities of the Soviet foreign policy.

Concerned more with this policy than with Socialism in Canada, they seek unity on any terms. They are ready "to take any steps" to get unity with those they denounced as "social fakirs" and "social fascists."

It is a strange picture, this picture of the simon-pure doctrinaires knuckling down before their own failures and before their international necessities.

The appeal made last Sunday in Massey Hall, Toronto, by Stewart

Smith, was a frank recognition, first, that the C.C.F. was the only Socialist movement of any vitality in Canada; and, second, that the Communist party had abandoned any hope that Communist methods would help the workers in their struggle against capitalism.

The future of Communism such as it is, is to save its waning influence by clinging to the coat-tails of a movement that is rooted in Canada and has no compromises to make.

But even this frank surrender has its hidden condition and sting. The Communist party is ready to "affiliate" provided its "freedom of independence" is maintained. And its purpose in affiliating is to "transform" the C.C.F. into the broadest united front party.

The proposal scarcely merits consideration. Following upon a Communist election campaign deliberately designed to prevent the election of C.C.F. candidates in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Toronto, Vegreville, and other places, the appeal would be ridiculous if it were not also such a significant surrender. There can be only one answer—that answer is an emphatic and uncompromising NO.

No, and again no. The Communist party had six months to demonstrate the sincerity of its friendly professions and its ability to create something with which unity could be created. But it fought the C.C.F. by every unscrupulous method it could devise, and, by accident or design, it permitted the sale of its literature to Liberals throughout Canada for the purpose of creating the impression that the C.C.F. was associated with the Communist party. There are numerous such cases. This Communist literature was sold to Liberals with or without the knowledge that the Liberals would use it. If it was sold knowingly to the Lib-

erals, what is the use of talking "unity"? If it was not sold knowingly, then the organization is so slack that there is nothing worth co-operating with.

And the appeals to "vote Communist, or if you cannot, then vote C.C.F." were appeals made either with the most conscious malice, a malice aimed deliberately at weakening the C.C.F., or those appeals were made in total ignorance of the present state of Canadian opinion. The activities of the Communist party cost the C.C.F. thousands of votes, several seats and not a few deposits. The Communists can take their choice—that policy of "friendliness" was either malicious or stupid. A party guilty of either is no party to talk unity.

The C.C.F. has no desire to attack the Communist party. But it is necessarily necessary to say and say again that the Communist party has yet to show itself capable of either a conscious appreciation of Canadian working class needs or psychology or any capacity for frank and fair dealing.

THERE IS NO BASIS FOR UNITY. THERE IS NO BASIS FOR CO-OPERATION THERE IS ONLY ONE SOCIALIST PARTY, AND ONLY ONE UNITED FRONT. THAT PARTY AND THAT FRONT IS THE C.C.F.

AND ALL THOSE WHO WISH TO END THE PRESENT SYSTEM, KEEP CANADA AT PEACE, AND FORESTALL A CANADIAN BRAND OF FASCISM HAVE ONE CLEAR COURSE OF ACTION. THAT COURSE OF ACTION IS TO JOIN THE C.C.F., TO STRENGTHEN IT, AND TO MAKE IT INCREASINGLY EFFECTIVE.

The intelligent Socialist will note that the campaign tactics of the Communists in Canada in the recent election were precisely those

"The road we are taking is the creation of a proletarian united front, the creation of trade-union unity, the creation of a people's front of all the toilers, the creation of a united revolutionary party of the proletariat on the tried theoretical and organizational foundations of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."

The resolution adopted by the Comintern after Pieck's address declared:

"Now, when a political crisis is maturing in a number of countries, the most important and decisive task facing the Communists is not to be content with the success achieved, but to march forward to new successes, to extend contacts with the working class, to win the confidence of millions of toilers, to transform the sections of the Communist International into mass parties, for the Communist parties to secure influence over the majority of the working class, and thus to ensure the conditions necessary for the victory of the proletarian revolution."

What About Russia?

IF STALIN WERE REALLY INTERESTED IN THE DESTRUCTION OF FASCISM AND THE CREATION OF UNITY WITHIN THE WORKING CLASS THE WORLD OVER, HE WOULD, AS A FIRST, ESSENTIAL ACT RELEASE ALL RUSSIAN SOCIALISTS AND DISSIDENT COMMUNISTS NOW IN JAILS AND CONCENTRATION CAMPS. HE WOULD RESTORE CIVIL LIBERTIES IN RUSSIA. HE WOULD MAKE POSSIBLE A UNITED FRONT IN RUSSIA ITSELF. HE WOULD ABOLISH THE TERRORIST SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT NOW PREVAILING IN RUSSIA, AND WHICH HAS BEEN COPIED IN ALL DETAILS AND ESSENTIALS IN FASCIST ITALY AND NAZI GERMANY.

Perhaps the moment may come when Stalin will be compelled to dissolve the Comintern, to give liberty to the Russian workers, peasants and intellectuals, and to create a "people's front" in Russia, similar to that in France. But no indications of any such development are to be observed as yet. Recent rumors that some such development is to be expected emanate entirely from those left-wing Socialists who make the wish father to the thought, and we have ample reason to suspect that these rumors are being deliberately circulated by Stalin's agents, in true Communist-Machiavelian style,

they used in the United States. In places like Bridgeport and Reading, where they had not the slightest chance of making an impression, the Communists called upon their followers to support the Socialists. (As The New Commonwealth points out, this was done in Canada with the intention of embarrassing the Socialist candidates and hurting their chances, the Communists believing and hoping that their support would have this effect.) In places where the Socialists were not strong, or where the Communists thought they could poll some sort of a vote, the Communists ran their own candidates. The purpose of the maneuver was the same as in Canada and was so transparent that Socialists in Bridgeport and Reading for example, had no hesitation in spurning the hypocritical assistance of the Communists.

Unfortunately, however, there are some so-called militant Socialists who fall for the Communist trick. They actually favor a united front with the Communists, or a "partial" united front, and they denounce those Socialists who see through the Communist intrigue as "reactionary Old Guardists." We leave the verdict to the intelligent and experienced Socialists.

Clumsy Communist Maneuver Exposed

with the object of sowing confusion and demoralization in the Socialist ranks throughout the world, in order to facilitate their disorganization. This is an old, well-tried Communist maneuver.

In his concluding speech at the seventh congress of the Comintern Dimitroff said:

"Championing, as we do, working class unity, we shall with so much the more energy and irreconcilability fight for unity within our parties. There can be no room in our parties for factions, or for attempts at factionalism. Whoever will try to break up the iron unity of our ranks by any kind of factionalism will get to feel what is meant by the Bolshevik discipline that Lenin and Stalin have always taught us. (Applause.) Let this be a warning to those few elements in individual parties who think that they can take advantage of the difficulties of their party, the wounds of defeat or the blows of the raging enemy, to carry out their factional plans, to further their own group interests. (Applause.) The Party is above everything else! (Loud applause.) To guard the Bolshevik unity of the Party as the apple of one's eye is the first and highest law of Bolshevism!"

TO "GUARD THE BOLSHEVIK UNITY" OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES WHILE DISORGANIZING THE SOCIALIST PARTIES—SUCH IS THE COMMUNIST POLICY!

It is interesting to note that for special reasons this portion as well as others of Dimitroff's address have been omitted in translations circulated in England. These are the very portions which help reveal the real motives of the Communists. But they have not been omitted in the Moscow Communist International and in the Communist published in this country (October, 1935).

In the resolution adopted by the Comintern (see *Pravda*, August 29, 1935) and reprinted in the *Communist* (October, 1935), Communists in all countries are instructed to facilitate splits in the Socialist parties by supporting left Socialist wings against the so-called right wings and by inciting these wings against one another. The *Daily Worker* and the entire Communist press in this country are carrying out the instructions with absolute fidelity.

The Resolution

The Comintern resolution reads as follows:

"Within the Social Democratic parties and the whole Second International a process of differentiation into two main camps is taking place—side by side with the existing camp of the reactionary elements who are trying to continue the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, there is being formed a camp of elements who are becoming revolutionized, elements who declare for the establishment of the united proletarian front and are adopting more

and more the position of the revolutionary class struggle.

Joint action with the Social Democratic parties and organizations not only does not preclude, but on the contrary, renders still more necessary the serious and well-founded criticism of reformism, of Social Democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and the patient exposition of the principles and program of Communism to the Social Democratic workers.

"While revealing to the masses the meaning of the demagogic arguments advanced by the Right Social Democratic leaders against the united front, while intensifying the struggle against the reactionary section of Social Democracy, the Communists must establish the closest cooperation with those Left Social Democratic workers, functionaries and organizations that fight against the reformist policy and advocate a united front with the Communist party. The more we intensify our fight against the reactionary camp of Social Democracy, which is participating in a bloc with the bourgeoisie, the more effective will be the assistance we give to that part of Social Democracy which is becoming revolutionized, and the self-determination of the various elements within the Left camp will take place the sooner the more resolutely the Communists fight for a united front with the Social Democratic parties.

"The establishment of the united front of the working class is the decisive link in the preparation of the toilers for the forthcoming great battles of the second round of proletarian revolution. Only the welding of the proletariat into a single mass political army will ensure its victory in the struggle against fascism and the power of capital, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of the Soviets."

With this frank resolution before us we have no hesitation in saying that those who agitate for a united front with the Communists are enemies of the Socialist parties. Only the frank or secret agents of Stalin or of the Communist splinter groups seeking to regain his favor by helping destroy the Socialist parties and winning in reward permission to return to the ranks of the Comintern can permit themselves to agitate for the united front.

No United Front!

This explains why the Socialist parties outside of France, and including even parties of the left, with the exception of small groups and sections misled by the illusion that a united front with the Communists can be of any service to the working class, refuse to join in such a united front.

In conclusion, a few more words about the situation in the United States:

No person who views the situation in this country without hysteria will argue that there is any

serious danger of fascism in this country. But even if there were such serious danger, a united front with the Communists would be a poor instrument for averting it. Were the Socialists in this country to unite not only with the Stalinists, but also with all Communist splinter groups, the Trotskyists, Lovestones, Mustekites and all other radical anti-capitalist groups, were the Socialists and Communists to unite into one party, they would still represent a negligible force that could not elect a single United States Senator. The union of "all revolutionary forces of the working class in this country" would not alter in any way the political life of the United States. This is admitted even by the more intelligent militants. And yet they continue to flirt with the Communists.

Recently, Norman Thomas declared that he was for a partial united front with the Communists, for the defense of civil liberties in the United States.

It is extremely characteristic that Thomas could not find any better allies than the Communists for the defense of civil liberties in this country. Is it not a grim joke to assert that Communists who break up Socialist meetings and smash the heads of dissident Communists are to be regarded as defenders of civil liberties in America?

The American labor movement and the Socialist movement in this country will not be strengthened by the parading of Socialists with Communists in "anti-fascist" demonstrations. On the contrary, the Socialist movement will suffer by any such manifestations of united action exhibiting the Socialists to the American labor movement as allies of the Communists. The American workers, both organized and unorganized, progressive as well as conservative, defeat the Communists.

THE ONLY HOPE OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA LIES IN A UNITED FRONT OF THE SOCIALISTS WITH THE ORGANIZED WORKERS, THE KIND OF UNITED FRONT WHICH EXISTS IN MILWAUKEE, BRIDGEPORT AND READING. IT IS THIS UNITED FRONT WHICH MADE POSSIBLE THE VICTORIES OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY IN THESE CITIES, DESPITE THE DESTRUCTIVE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNISTS. THOSE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY WHO URGE US TO ENTER INTO A UNITED FRONT WITH THE COMMUNISTS OR INTO ANY UNITED ACTIONS, DEBATES, SYMPOSIUMS OR ANY OTHER CONTACTS WITH THEM, ARE WHETHER THEY KNOW IT OR NOT, DOING THE WORK OF THE ENEMIES OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND OF THE FORCES OF REACTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

Massachusetts Backs N. Y. on Browder Debate

BOSTON.—At a recent session of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts the committee adopted the following resolution:

"That it is the sense of this meeting of the State Executive Committee of Massachusetts that the National Executive Committee by its action on the Thomas-Browder debate has usurped the power properly belonging to Local New York, and we urge the National Executive Committee not to usurp power belonging to local and state organizations."

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